

Freedom Summer

A Sourcebook for Teachers and Students



Library-Archives Division
Wisconsin Historical Society
Madison, Wisconsin
2013



PREFACE

Archivists at the Wisconsin Historical Society began collecting unpublished records of the Civil Rights movement in 1964. Within a few years, they had gathered hundreds of boxes of papers from major organizations and key individuals. Some of these collections were microfilmed in the early 1980s, and since then thousands of researchers have consulted them.

In 2012, the Society began digitizing records that document the 1964 Mississippi Summer Project. These files – more than 25,000 pages --- were made available online at www.wisconsinhistory.org/freedomssummer to help the nation commemorate the 50th anniversary of Freedom Summer.

In April 2013, we brought together here some of the most important documents for the convenience of teachers and students. Feel free to download this sourcebook and share it with classes and colleagues for non-profit educational purposes.

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FREEDOM SUMMER ABBREVIATIONS

COFO	Council of Federated Organizations
CORE	Congress of Racial Equality
DNC	Democratic National Convention
JFK	President John F. Kennedy
KKK	Ku Klux Klan
LBJ	President Lyndon B. Johnson
LCDC	Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee
MCHR	Medical Committee on Human Rights
MDFP	Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party
NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
NCC	National Council of Churches
NLG	National Lawyers Guild
SCLC	Southern Christian Leadership Council
SDS	Students for a Democratic Society
SEDFRE	Scholarship, Education, and Defense Fund for Racial Equality (of CORE)
SNCC	Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee
VEP	Voter Education Project
WATS	Wide-Area Telephone Service

FREEDOM SUMMER TIMELINE

1963 – Events Leading Up to Freedom Summer

- Aug 28 - The March on Washington** - Officially named "March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom," this mass demonstration draws 250,000 people. Martin Luther King delivers his "I Have a Dream" speech. SNCC's chairperson John Lewis criticizes the federal government for failing to protect the civil rights of Mississippi residents.
- Sep - Mississippi Voter Registration Project Proposed** - Bob Moses, director of SNCC, proposes a Mississippi voter registration project to the SNCC executive committee to consider at its September 6-9, 1963. This is the genesis of Freedom Summer.
- Sep 6 - Atlanta SNCC Meeting** - During this four-day meeting, SNCC debates Moses' idea to focus on Mississippi voter registration rather than conducting direct actions such as sit-ins and boycotts.
- Nov 4 - 'Freedom Vote' 1963** - More than 80,000 people participate in mock elections to disprove the white claim that Africa-Americans didn't want to vote. Several dozen white volunteers from Stanford and Yale universities came to help. Press coverage of their effort sparks the idea that using white volunteers might focus the nation's attention on the injustice in Mississippi.
- Nov 11 - Greenville SNCC Meeting** - At this four-day staff meeting in Greenville, Mississippi, SNCC debates bringing 1,000 northern students to Mississippi the next summer. Many staff are opposed, fearing that it will undermine local black leadership. No decision is made.
- Dec 15 - Jackson COFO Meeting** - At this meeting in Jackson, Mississippi, COFO appoints Bob Moses its project director for voter registration and Dave Dennis assistant program director.
- Dec 31 - SNCC Executive Committee Meeting** - Leaders finally endorse a Mississippi Summer Project for 1964 that includes large numbers of northern white volunteers.

1964 - Freedom Summer Project Planning and Events

- Jan 16 - COFO Proposes Challenge at the Democratic National Convention** - A COFO subcommittee proposes challenging the right of any all-white delegation to represent Mississippi at the Democratic National Convention (DNC) to be held in Atlantic City, New Jersey, in August 1964.
- Jan 22 - Hattiesburg 'Freedom Day'** - COFO helps 150 black residents of Hattiesburg, Mississippi, attempt to register to vote on 'Freedom Day.' Clergy from around the country assemble to support them.
- Jan 31 - Activist Lewis Allen Murdered** - Local NAACP organizer Lewis Allen of Liberty, Mississippi, is shot and killed for his support of voter registration efforts. This tips the scales for undecided COFO leaders, who agree to go ahead with the Freedom Summer Project.
- Feb 9 - Freedom Summer Project Authorized** - COFO formally authorizes the Freedom Summer Project. They hope a large influx of well-connected volunteers will focus the country's attention on Mississippi and force the federal government to pass voting rights legislation.
- Feb 28 - Canton 'Freedom Day'** - In Canton, Mississippi, COFO helps more than 300 black residents line up at the county courthouse to register to vote. Though there is no violence, they are guarded by police with shotguns and tear gas. It is the state's largest voter registration attempt up to that time.
- Feb - Freedom Summer Project Brochure Circulated** - SNCC describes the Freedom Summer Project to supporters in an 8-page fund-raising brochure.
- Mar 21 - Freedom School Planning Conference** - The National Council of Churches hosts a Freedom School planning conference in New York City.

1964 - Freedom Summer Project Recruitment, Training and Events

Mar 30 - Freedom Summer Project Announced - COFO officially launches the project in a one-page press release.

Mar-Apr- Freedom Summer Project Recruits Volunteers - Volunteers are invited to apply to work in Mississippi during the project.

Mar-Apr- Freedom Summer Project Enlists Local Help - COFO appeals to local black residents for help hosting and supporting volunteers.

Mar-Apr- Freedom Summer Project Locations Assigned - Project locations are decided, with staff and volunteers tentatively assigned to each site.

Apr - Mississippi Legislature Enacts Restrictions - New laws are passed that restrict picketing and leafleting and expand police authority to intervene.

Apr 12 - Black Candidates Nominated - COFO announces black candidates will enter the Mississippi Democratic Party nominating process and, knowing they'll be excluded, also run in a parallel 'Freedom Vote' in November.

Apr 14 - Volunteers Interviewed - Interviewers are told what to look for in northern volunteers who want to come to Mississippi to help with voter registration or teach in Freedom Schools.

Apr 26 - Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party Established - The party is formally established at a convention held in Jackson, Mississippi.

May - Blacks Barred from Local Democratic Party Meetings - As expected, black residents are barred from participating in the Mississippi Democratic Party's local meetings to choose candidates and convention delegates. They hold parallel Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) meetings and choose their own.

May 5 - Freedom Summer Project Volunteers Confirmed - Applicants receive acceptance letters and are informed on how to prepare for their roles in Freedom Summer.

Jun 14 - Volunteer Training Begins - Volunteers begin to receive training at Western College for Women in Oxford, Ohio, sponsored by the National Council of Churches. The first group attends workshops until June 20. A second session runs June 21-28.

Jun 21 - James Chaney, Andrew Goodman and Mickey Schwerner Disappear - Three project workers who left the Ohio training a day early — James Chaney, Andrew Goodman and Mickey Schwerner — are reported missing. They had gone to Longdale, Mississippi, to investigate the bombing of Mt. Zion Church, which had offered to host a Freedom School. They were arrested in Philadelphia, Mississippi, on their way back to the COFO office in Meridian, and were never heard from again.

1964 - Freedom Summer Project Implementation and Events

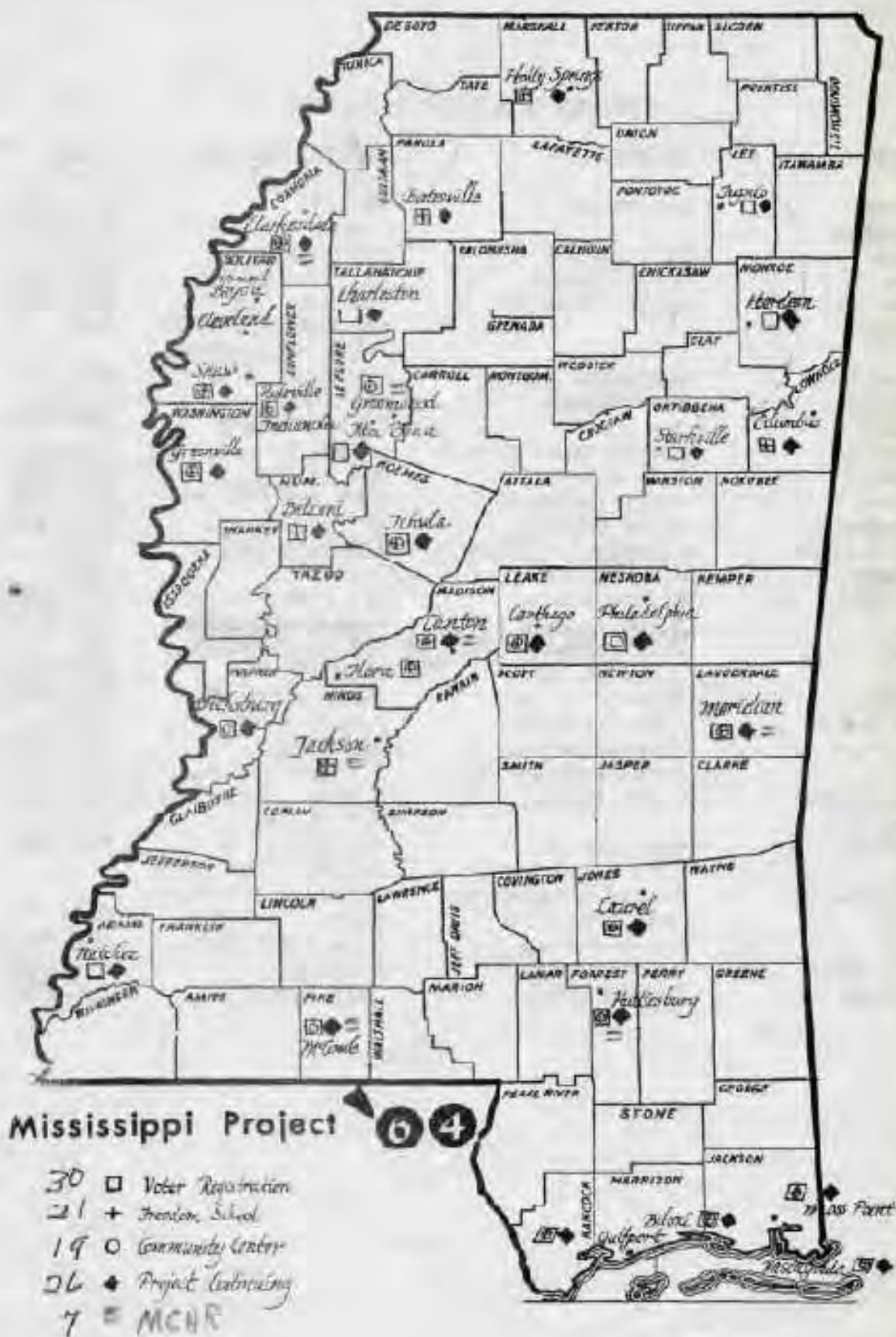
- Jun 29 - Freedom Summer Project Begins** - Roughly 500 volunteers and staff are at work in 25 locations around the state.
- Late Jun - Residents and Volunteers Continue to Face Violence** - More than 40 incidents of harassment and violence occur around the state during the last two weeks in June. By July 1, 1964, Mississippi has had five bombings, four murders, and numerous shootings of civil rights workers.
- Jul 2 - First Freedom Schools Open** - The first Freedom Schools open in the Mississippi cities of Clarksdale, Holly Springs, and Vicksburg.
- Jul 2 - Civil Rights Act of 1964 Signed** - President Lyndon Johnson signs the Civil Rights Act of 1964. It outlaws major forms of discrimination such as segregated facilities or voting laws but provides weak enforcement powers to the federal government.
- Jul 22 - Martin Luther King Visits** - Martin Luther King visits the Mississippi cities of Jackson and Vicksburg to show his support for the Freedom Summer Project.
- Aug 4 - Murdered Volunteers Bodies Found** - The bodies of Chaney, Goodman, and Schwerner are found buried in an earthen dam on a farm outside Philadelphia, Mississippi. Local police had released the three young men to the Ku Klux Klan, who tortured and murdered them before burning their car and hiding their bodies.
- Aug 6 - Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) Elects Delegates** - The MFDP's state convention in Jackson, Mississippi, elects delegates to attend the Democratic National Convention (DNC) to be held in Atlantic City, New Jersey, in August 1964. They hope to unseat the all-white delegation sent by the mainstream Mississippi Democratic Party.
- Aug 8 - Freedom School Convention** - A statewide Freedom School convention is held in Meridian, Mississippi. Students from around the state review the summer's accomplishments and draft resolutions.
- Aug 22 - Democratic National Convention Held** - In Atlantic City, New Jersey, delegates from the Mississippi Democratic Freedom Party challenge the right of delegates from the segregated mainstream Mississippi Democratic Party to represent the state. Their testimony about conditions in Mississippi is broadcast on national television and hundreds of supporters demonstrate outside the convention hall. Democratic National Convention (DNC) officials reject their challenge and they are not seated.
- Aug-Sep - McComb Violence** - In McComb, Mississippi, nine black homes, churches, and businesses are fire bombed over the course of three weeks.
- Sep - Freedom Summer Project Leaders Travel to Africa** - Entertainer and civil rights supporter Harry Belafonte brings exhausted Freedom Summer leaders to Africa. It is the first time that some Africans have seen black people working in leadership positions in government and the professions. The trip helps the civil rights leaders connect their work to the liberation struggles of former colonies in Africa and energizes them for further work upon their return to the United States.
- Oct 31 - 'Freedom Vote' Held** - Because most black Mississippians have not been allowed to vote in the official election, Freedom Summer Project leaders organize the 1964 'Freedom Vote.' This parallel election is held from October 31 through November 2, 1964, during which more than 68,000 people cast their votes. This proves to political leaders that African-Americans will be an important constituency to address after the barriers to their participation have fallen.
- Nov 3 - Official Election Held** - Lyndon B. Johnson is re-elected President of the United States and white supremacists win Mississippi's five congressional seats.
- Dec 4 - Mississippi Congressmen Challenged** - MFDP challenges the right of the five white congressional representatives elected in November to take their seats, on the grounds that blacks were systematically excluded from voting. After nine months of legal and political wrangling, the U.S. House of Representatives rejects the challenge in September 1965.

1965 – Events Following Freedom Summer

Jan 16 - FBI Indicts Murder Suspects - The FBI indicts 18 suspects in the murders of Chaney, Goodman and Schwerner. Local officials immediately drop all charges but, under federal pressure, the men are re-charged the next month. Seven are found guilty when legal proceedings end in 1967.

Aug 6 - Voting Rights Act of 1965 Signed into Law - President Johnson signs the Voting Rights Act into law with Martin Luther King, Jr., Rosa Parks, and other civil rights leaders in attendance. It not only prohibits discriminatory registration provisions but also empowers the federal government to send its own registrars to local courthouses to make sure the law is obeyed.

FREEDOM SUMMER MAP



FREEDOM SUMMER DOCUMENTS

I: Background to Freedom Summer



The Mississippi Freedom Summer project was an effort by nonviolent civil rights activists to integrate Mississippi's segregated political system during 1964. Planning began in the fall of 1963. Volunteers were recruited in the spring of 1964, they trained at Oxford, Ohio, June 15-28, and worked throughout the state from June 29-August 22 when the project officially ended.

However, work began in the summer continued for the next several months as activists challenged the legitimacy of the all-white delegation to the Democratic National Convention in August. And because most African-Americans in Mississippi were not permitted to vote in the fall election, activists held an alternative election that proved black Mississippians would vote in numbers sufficient to bring about significant political change.

1 SNCC Mississippi Project, August 1963

(3 pages) Internal memo by Bob Moses proposing a large-scale voter registration project in Mississippi; starts by reviewing earlier work there and describing the opposition

<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/1812>

2 The General Condition of the Mississippi Negro, October 1963

(20 pages) Pamphlet prepared by SNCC to educate Freedom Vote field workers

<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/1772>

3 Notes on Mississippi, November 11-16, 1963

(4 pages) Notes from a SNCC workshop in Greenville, Mississippi, which reviewed the 1963 Freedom Vote and debated the idea of inviting northern volunteers for Freedom Summer

<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/17673>

4 Minutes, COFO meeting, December 15, 1963

(5 pages) Typed minutes of a meeting at which the Freedom Summer project was debated again

<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/3100>

5 Outline of Mississippi Project Areas

(6 pages) Summary of the political situation in each county, arranged by Congressional district

<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/9874>

Memo to: S. N. C. C. Executive Committee
Re: S. N. C. C. Mississippi Project
From: Bob Moses

I. Cronology for the past two years:

S. N. C. C. began a voter registration project in McComb in July, 1961, and quickly expanded it to cover a three county area—Pike, Amite and Walthall counties. After an abortive direct action campaign in McComb, we pulled out of the area in November, 1961. During this time we joined S.C.L.C. and C.O.R.E. in a program in Jackson in August, 1961, maintaining a base in Jackson until winter of 1962.

During the winter of '61-'62, we worked with R.L.T. Smith in his campaign for Congress and helped the Mississippi Free Press for the first two or three months of its existence. The Smith campaign provided a natural opportunity to expand the voting work already begun in what was then the 4th congressional district. We made contacts in Hinds, Adams, Jefferson, Claiborne, Copiah, and Lincoln counties.

In February, 1962, we helped draft a program for the Council of Federated Organizations and provided them with two S.N.C.C. field workers to begin a project in Hattiesburg. Curtis Hayes and Hollis Watkins were assigned to Hattisburg and worked there until September, 1962, when the project was turned over to a local person, Mrs. Victoria Gray. Mrs. Gray ran the project until March, 1963, when it was stopped temporarily. This project was resumed in July, '63, by John O'Neal and Carl Johnson.

We began the summer of '62 with voter registration projects in the Mississippi Delta as a part of the Council of Federated Organizations. S.N.C.C. workers

were stationed in Vicksburg, Greenville, Cleveland, Ruleville, Greenwood and Holly Springs. These projects are still in operation, with the exception of Vicksburg.

I. The following facts are indisputable:

A. We have accomplished the following:

1. The recruitment and involvement of people from Mississippi; some adults, but mostly young people, in S.N.C.C.'s programs in Mississippi and elsewhere.
2. The establishment of "beachheads" or bases for operation in a number of towns and counties in Mississippi.
3. Gained the confidence of many local Negro leaders in the validity of S.N.C.C.'s program.
4. Provided considerable material for suits by the U. S. Department of Justice against Mississippi voting laws and practices designed to keep Negroes from voting.

B. We have learned the following:

1. It is not possible for us to register Negroes in Mississippi. (There is reason to believe that authorities in Mississippi will force a show-down over the right to vote in large numbers similar to the Federal-State show-downs over integration of schools.)
2. All direct action campaigns for integration have had their backs broken by sentencing prisoners to long jail terms and requiring excessive bail. It has not proved possible to get large enough numbers of people committed to staying in jail, or long enough money to overcome these two obstacles.
3. It is expensive to operate in Mississippi.

III. The core of the problem:

The Mississippi monolith has successfully survived the Freedom Rides, James Meredith at Ole Miss, and the assassination of Medgar Evers, without substantive change. The election of Paul Johnson reinforces all that is bad in the state: the full resources of the state will continue to be at the disposal of local authorities to fight civil rights gains; the entire white population will continue to be the Klan.

The only attack worth making is an attack aimed at the overthrow of the existing political structures of the state. They must be torn down completely to make way for new ones. The focus of such an attack must be on the vote and the Delta of Mississippi, including Jackson and Vicksburg.

IV. I propose that the S.N.C.C. adopt the following program for Mississippi:

That S.N.C.C. make its National Headquarters in Greenwood, Mississippi, starting this fall. That Jim Forman, John Lewis and other members of the executive committee spend considerable chunks of time in Mississippi during the coming year.

That S.N.C.C. launch a ~~one-man-one-vote~~ campaign for Mississippi aimed at obtaining the vote in Mississippi by 1964.

That S.N.C.C. organize local political clubs to support a Negro for Congress from the 2nd congressional district and, if possible, a Negro from the 3rd congressional district. That it begin and continue an unceasing operation against the seating of Jamie Whitten as Congressman from the Delta.

That it begin, now, to explore the ways and means of ousting Senator Eastland in the 1966 Senatorial elections.

That it begin now to explore ways and means of electing militant Negroes to local offices in Mississippi in the 1967 elections.

THE GENERAL CONDITION OF THE MISSISSIPPI NEGRO

This paper is a report published by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. It is general and extensive in scope rather than specific and detailed. The report's purpose is threefold:

1. to give SNCC's Mississippi field workers a handy reference source detailing statistically some of the general facts relating to the status of the Negro in Mississippi,
2. to indicate the dire necessity for support of community centers and county workers, and
3. to serve as a guideline for more detailed studies to be made in the near future.

In this study, the term "nonwhite people" is used instead of the term "Negro" in many instances. Because of the high proportion of Negroes in the nonwhite category, it is not a distortion to use data that refers to "nonwhites" as data that refers particularly to Negroes. In 1960, in Mississippi, 99.6 percent of the total nonwhite population was Negro, and 99.7 percent of the nonwhite farm operators were Negroes.

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
6 RAYMOND STREET, N.W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
603-0331

October, 1963

Labor Donated

PERTINENT BACKGROUND DATA

Growth in the Population, 1940-1960

Number and Proportion - 915,722 Negroes constituted, in 1960, roughly 42% of the total 2,178,000 population in Mississippi. Between 1940 and 1960, the total population remained nearly the same (percent change: -0.2), with a more than 7% decrease in the Negro population compared with an increase of more than 6% among the non-Negro population. (See Chart 1 and Table 1.)

Although birth rates among Negroes have been consistently higher than those among whites, mortality rates are higher, average life expectancy is lower and migration out of the state is considerably higher among Negroes than among whites.

Birth Rates - The higher birth rates among Negroes, in comparison with whites, are shown in Table 2. In 1949, the rate per 1,000 among the Negro population was 34.8, compared with 21.8 among whites. Since 1945 there has been a significant rise in the birth rate for Negroes. During the depression 30's, sharp declines in birth rates occurred among both Negroes and whites. (Chart 2)

Death Rates - Death rates among Negroes continue to be higher than the rates for whites, though the difference in the rates has consistently narrowed. (Table 3) It is still a fact, however, that the death rate among Negroes today is not as low as it was for whites in 1913, the first year for which we have death rate data. This is largely a reflection of the continued low standard of living under which Mississippi Negroes exist, in addition to a lack of access to adequate hospital care. (Chart 3.)

Infant Mortality - Infant mortality rates since 1920 for both races have generally gone downward. The rate for nonwhites, however, swung upward in 1957 and continued upward until 1961 when it started downward again (Chart 4). It takes no statistical genius to understand what the figures reflect: In Mississippi the chances of a Negro baby dying within the first year of life are at best twice those of a white baby. Though most babies of both races do survive, Negro babies have a greater chance of starting life with a health handicap. In communities where Negroes are subject to major segregation and discrimination, the Negro baby is much more likely to be born prematurely. Premature babies may get excellent care if they are born in or near a hospital with a modern center for premature infants, but Negroes in Mississippi are largely denied this. (Table 4)

Significant Population Characteristics, 1950-1960

Age Distribution - Table 5 compares the changes in the Negro and white population which have occurred among different age groups between 1950 and 1960. During this decade the total population of Mississippi remained almost the same. There was a net increase in the white population and a net decrease in the nonwhite population. Most significant for Negroes is the large decrease in the group aged 20 to 34. Because workers in this age group are traditionally preferred in hiring for new employment, this change in

age composition of the population may contribute to increased employment opportunity for younger Negroes. The situation may also add to the dilemma of employers whose hiring policies continue to favor white workers and workers under 35 years of age. (Chart 5)

Urban-Rural Distribution - In 1960, the Negro population was largely rural, there being over two-thirds of the Negroes in the State living in rural areas. Of the 79,545 persons who migrated from rural areas into Mississippi cities, only 5 percent were non-white. There obviously has been no significant rural-urban redistribution of the non-white population within the state during the last decade. This is largely a reflection of the fact that employment opportunities for rural non-whites in the state's towns and cities are poor. (Table 7)

County Variations - Table 8, showing the Negro and white population in 1950 and 1960 for each county, reveals the high percentage of Negroes in some counties and the considerably high out-of-state migration taking place. There are 29 counties wherein Negroes constitute more than 50% of the population. Hinds, Calhoun and Coahoma are the counties with the largest numbers of Negroes. Tunica, Clairborne, and Jefferson have the largest percentages of Negroes. The area commonly referred to as the "Gulf Coast" has shown the only consistent increases in population during the last decade. Significantly, this is the most affluent economic area or region in the state.

Cities of 10,000 or more - Table 9 shows the 18 cities in Mississippi that have a population of greater than 10,000. In all of these cities, with the exception of Biloxi, Negroes constitute 20 percent or more of the total population.

Educational Attainment

As shown in Table 10, in 1960 all Negroes aged 25 and over had completed an average of only six years of school. This is five years less than the average for whites. The average is even less in the rural-farm areas where a high proportion of Negroes live.

RECENT LABOR FORCE AND EMPLOYMENT TRENDS

Negroes in the Labor Force

Proportion in the Labor Force - The proportion of Negroes in the labor force is very similar to the proportion for whites. There is a noticeable difference in the proportions when the races are divided into sexes, however. There is a greater per cent of Negro women, particularly urban married Negro women, in the labor force, than white women. The proportion of Negro men in the labor force is noticeably lower than the proportion of white males. (Table 11 and Chart 7)

Unemployment - Table 12 shows that in 1960 the average unemployment rate for Negroes was more than 50 per cent greater than that of whites. Changes in the rates for the two races from 1950 to 1960 were relative--the same. This change has been an unfavorable one, resulting in an unemployment rate for Negroes of 7.1 per cent. (Chart 8).

Status among different age groups - Table 13 shows, for 1960, the variations at different ages in the labor force status of Negroes in comparison with white men and women. About 67% of all Negro men ages 14 or over were in the labor force compared to roughly 75% of all white men. A significantly higher proportion of Negro men under age 24 and over age 65 were in the labor force. For both Negro men and white men between the ages of 20 and 64 the rates of labor force participation were comparable. The pattern among women shows some significant contrasts. The proportion of Negro women in the labor force was higher than for white women in every age group except ages 14-19 and 20-24. Among white women, the rate of labor force participation drops after age 24 (about the average age of marriage), whereas for Negro women the rate increases through the 45-49 age group.

Industry Distribution - In Table 14, it is apparent that of the roughly one-half million employed Negroes in the State, more than a third are employed in agriculture with more than another third employed in service industries. Unbelievable as it may seem, though Negroes comprise almost 40% of the total employed labor force, only about 4 1/2% are employed in manufacturing and even less than that in construction employment.

Pattern of Unemployment - Table 15 reveals that of those Negroes unemployed, not more than 8% can be categorized as skilled workers. Though 21.1% of those unemployed were previously semi-skilled operatives or kindred workers, 31.9% were non-agricultural laborers and 21.55% were farm laborers. Thus, over 50% of the unemployed Negroes were unskilled laborers.

INCOME

Income of families, 1950-1960 - Table 16 and Chart 9 present the median income of all Negro and white persons for the years 1950-1960. In 1960 Negroes had an average annual income of \$606, only 29% of the average income of \$2,023 among whites. The difference seems particularly wide in view of the fact that a higher proportion of Negro family members are in the labor force. The data in the previous section on labor force and employment show that a higher proportion of Negro males under age 24 and women over age 24 are in the labor force than is the case among whites.

There is a relatively smaller differential between Negroes and whites for urban as compared with rural persons. In 1960, the average income of urban Negroes was 33% of the average among

whites, a decline from 38% in 1950. The urban Negro family in 1960 had an average income of \$871, compared with an average of about \$2600 for whites. Between 1950 and 1960 the average income of urban whites increased some \$800, whereas among Negroes it increased less than \$200. Among rural persons the median income of Negroes increased from \$390 in 1950 to \$474 in 1960 when it was about 31% of the average for white persons. This represented a relative decline from the \$390 average of 1950 when the rural Negro's average income was 41% of the average among rural whites. The money income of both Negro and white persons living on farms remained low and increased relatively less than that of rural non-farm and urban families in the years 1945-1949.

HOUSING CONDITIONS

Statistics revealing housing conditions for Mississippi Negroes are somewhat shocking. In 1960 there were 207,611 housing units for Mississippi Negroes. Of these, 38.1% were owner-occupied, and 61.9% were renter-occupied (significantly out of line with the national proportion of owner- and renter-occupied housing). Of the 207,611 houses, only one-third can be classified as being in sound condition; the others have been classified as either deteriorating or dilapidated. Of the homes in rural areas, over 75% are without any piped water at all and over 90% of these rural homes had no flush toilets, no bathtub and no shower. (see Table 17)

Chart 1 Population,
1940 & 1960 in thousands

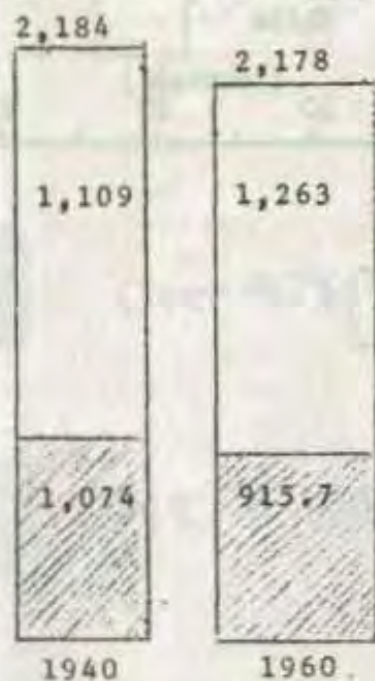


Chart 2 Birth Rates, Selected Periods
Rate per 1,000 population

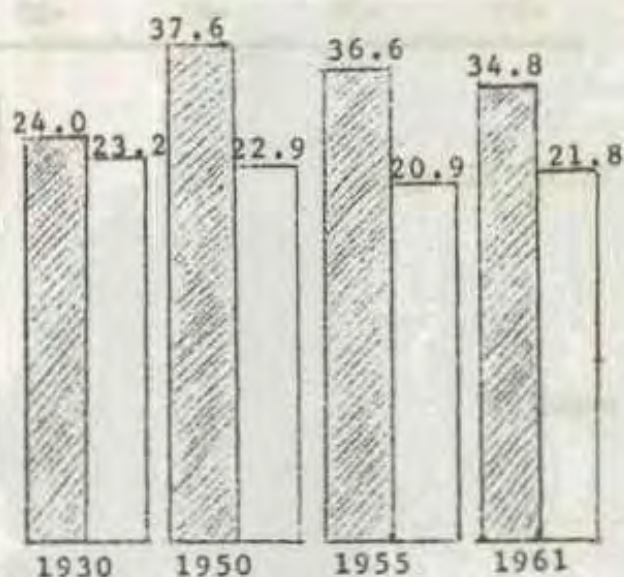


Chart 3 Death Rates
Rate per 1,000 population.

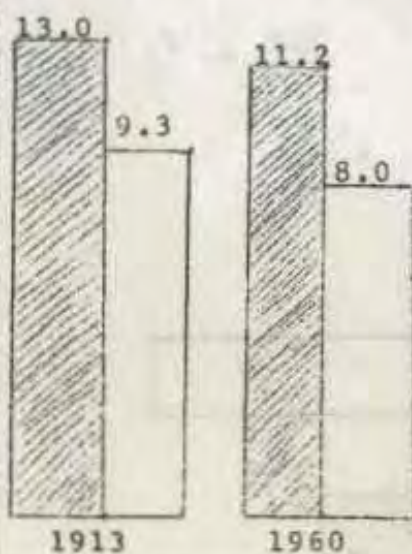
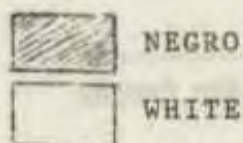
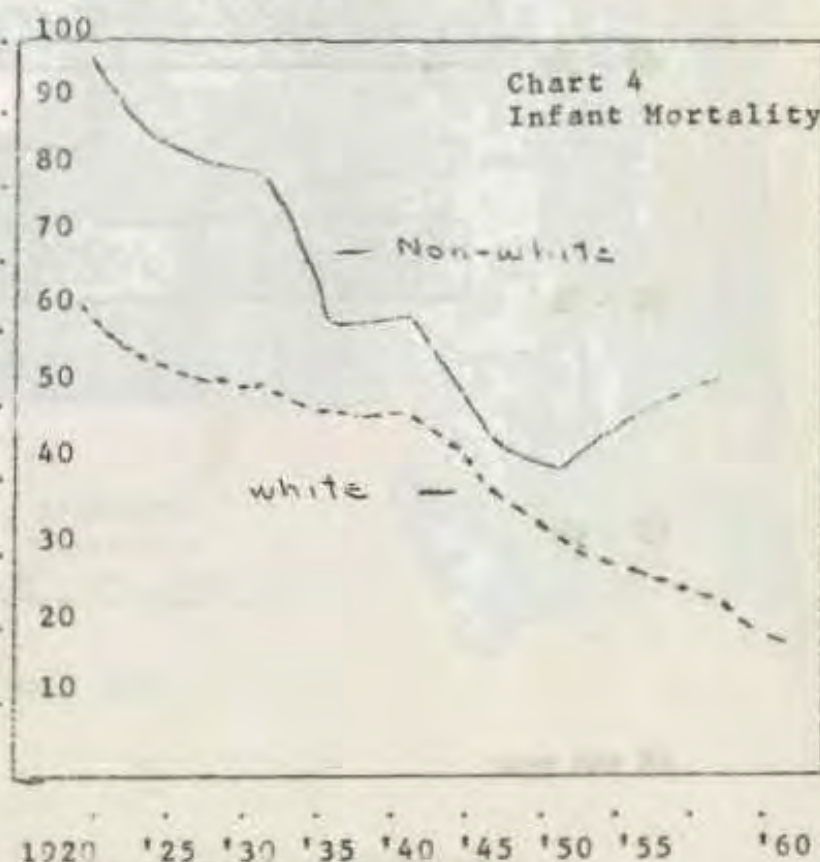
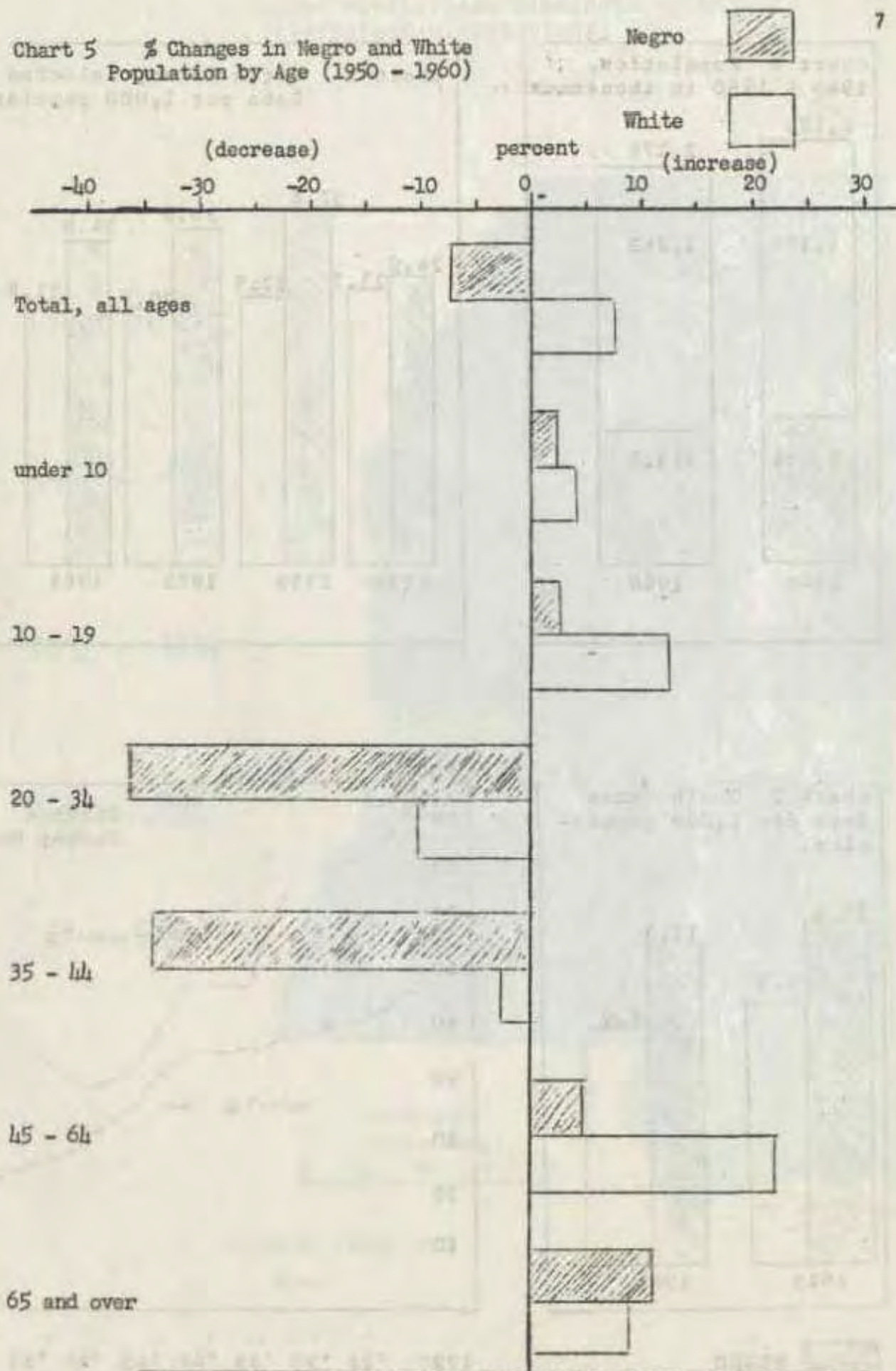


Chart 4
Infant Mortality



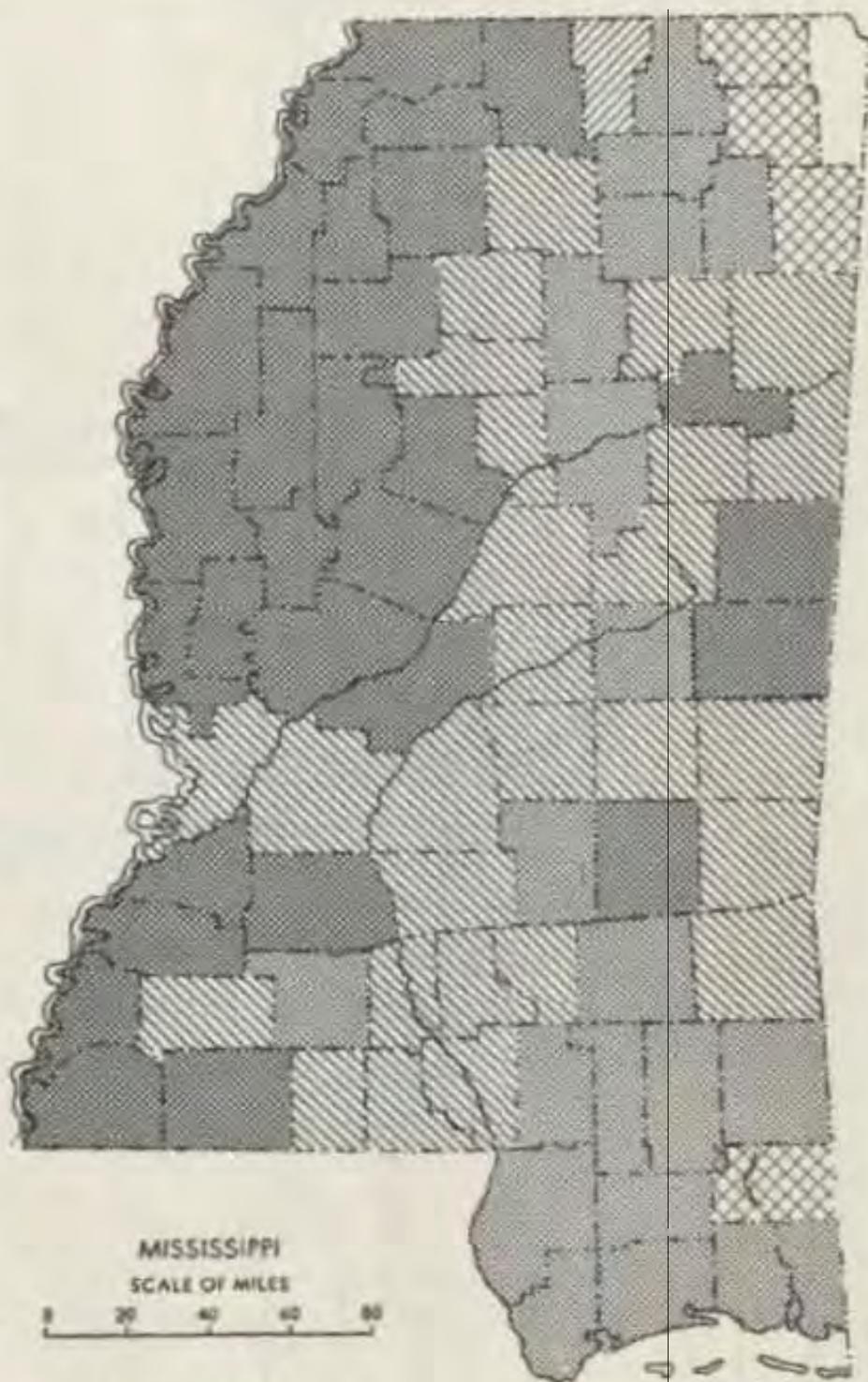
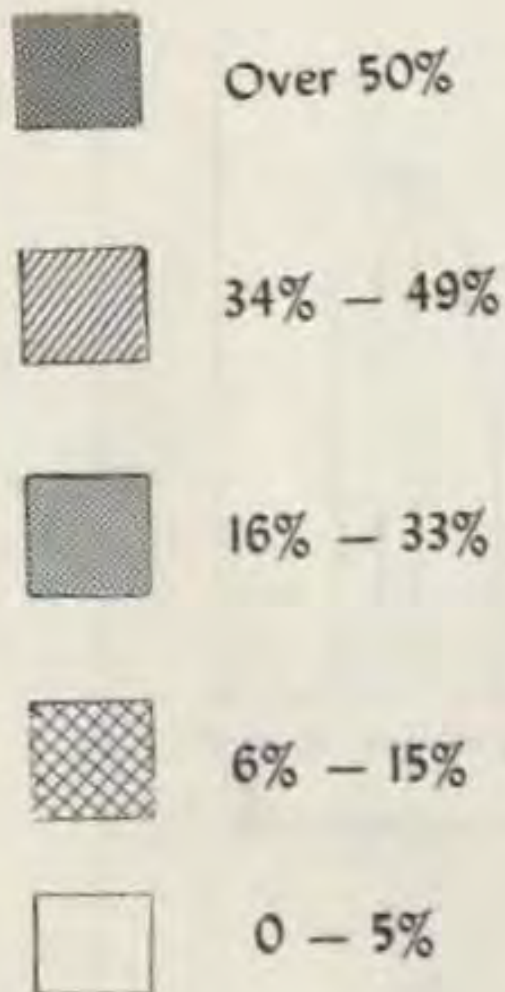
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census and
Mississippi State Board of Health

Chart 5 % Changes in Negro and White Population by Age (1950 - 1960)



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

NEGRO POPULATION, BREAKDOWN BY COUNTY
(PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION)



MISSISSIPPI
SCALE OF MILES
0 20 40 60 80

STUDENT VOICE MAP

Chart 7 Percent of Negro and White Population in the Labor Force, 1960 ⁹

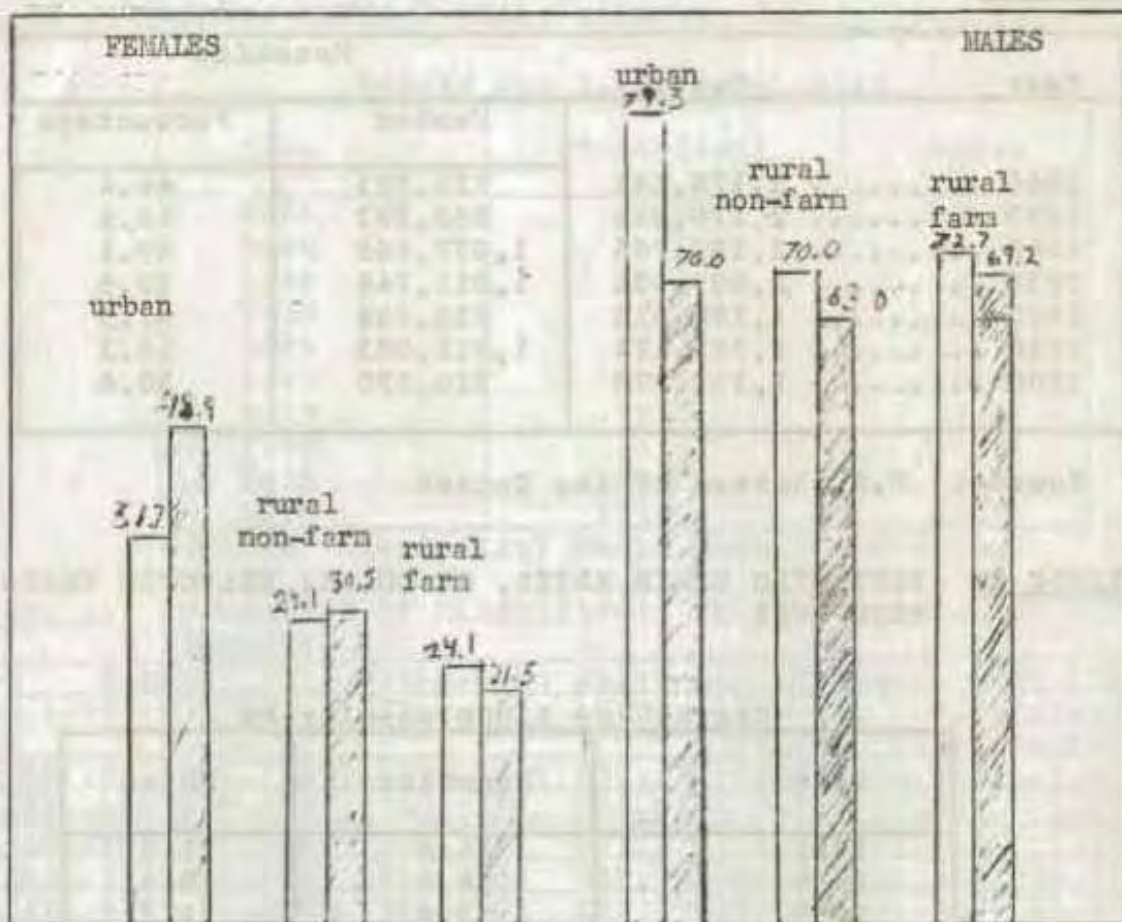
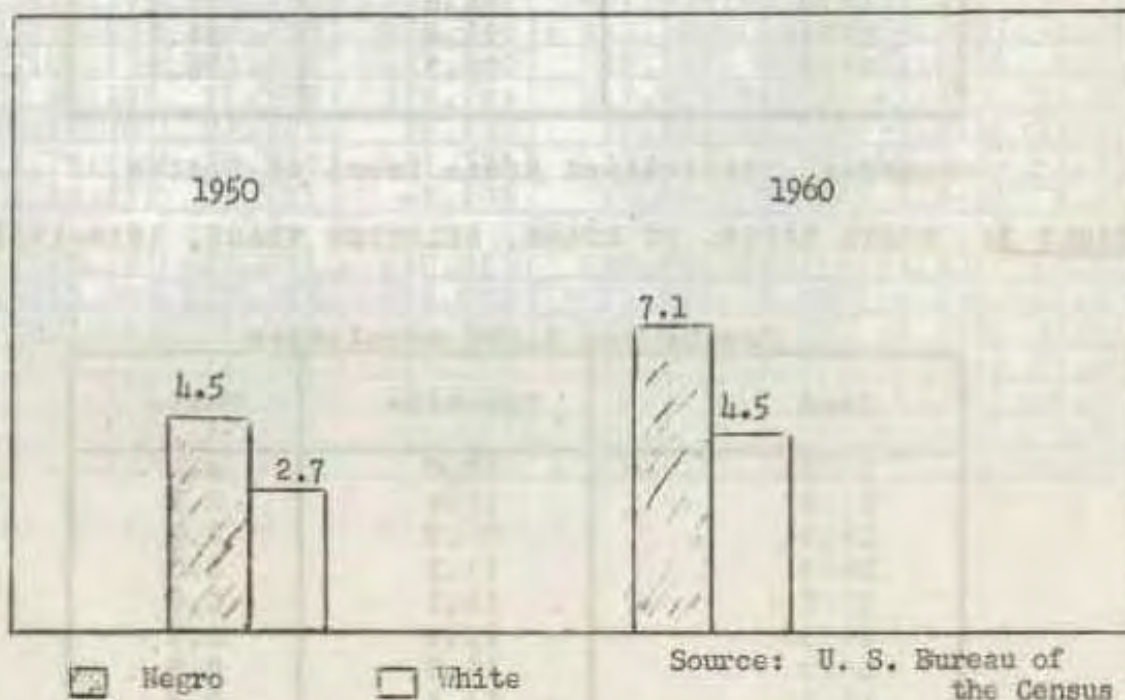


Chart 8. Percent of Negro and White Workers in the Labor Force Unemployed, 1950 and 1960



APPENDIX TABLES

10

TABLE 1: POPULATION OF MISSISSIPPI, BY COLOR, 1900-1960

Year	Total	Nonwhite	
		Number	Percentage
1960	2,178,141	920,595	44.4
1950	2,178,914	990,282	45.5
1940	2,183,796	1,077,469	49.1
1930	2,009,821	1,011,744	50.5
1920	1,790,618	936,656	52.5
1910	1,797,114	1,011,003	56.2
1900	1,551,270	910,070	58.6

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

TABLE 2: ESTIMATED BIRTH RATES, BY COLOR; SELECTED YEARS, 1920-1961

Births per 1,000 population

Year	Nonwhite	White
1961	34.8	21.8
1959	36.6	20.9
1955	36.6	23.2
1950	37.6	22.9
1940	27.3	20.9
1935	25.1	20.8
1930	24.0	23.2
1925	23.4	24.1
1920	22.7	26.3

Source: Mississippi State Board of Health

TABLE 3: DEATH RATES, BY COLOR, SELECTED YEARS, 1920-1961

Deaths per 1,000 population

Year	Nonwhite	White
1961	11.0	8.8
1959	11.4	8.1
1955	10.2	8.7
1950	11.2	8.0
1940	12.6	8.6
1935	11.6	8.7
1930	14.8	9.0
1925	14.4	8.8
1920	15.1	9.3

Source: Mississippi State Board of Health

TABLE 4: DEATHS UNDER 1 YEAR; SELECTED YEARS, 1920-1961

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Deaths per 1,000 population

Year	Nonwhite	White
1961	50.0	23.5
1960	54.4	23.5
1955	46.4	24.7
1950	42.6	28.1
1945	44.7	36.1
1940	60.9	46.4
1935	58.6	47.5
1930	84.5	51.0
1925	85.7	53.0
1920	101.1	59.9

Source: Mississippi State Board of Health

TABLE 5: POPULATION OF MISSISSIPPI, BY COLOR, AGE, AND SEX
1950-1960

Age and Sex	Negro		Nativeborn White		Change: 1950-1960			
	1950	1960	1950	1960	Number Negro	N.B. White	Percentage Negro	N.B.W.
TOTAL	987,935	915,722	1,179,964	1,250,282	-72,213	70,318	-7.3	6.2
Under 10	270,685	276,403	250,315	260,678	5,746	10,363	2.1	4.1
10-19	203,905	206,586	208,785	231,572	2,681	22,787	1.3	10.9
20-34	188,975	130,405	264,085	236,908	-58,510	-28,177	-38.5	-10.7
35-44	114,475	79,386	244,450	157,199	-35,089	-4,930	-33.8	-2.1
45-64	143,430	149,447	206,455	251,383	6,017	44,927	4.2	21.8
65-over	66,605	72,528	85,680	92,043	5,923	6,363	8.9	7.4
MALE								
Total	479,580	440,641	589,869	621,656	-33,939	37,787	-8.1	5.4
Under 10	135,685	138,456	128,310	133,140	2,771	4,830	2.0	3.8
10-19	100,490	105,074	107,490	120,351	4,584	12,861	4.5	1.3
20-34	86,520	57,893	129,785	117,612	-28,621	-12,173	-33.1	-9.4
35-44	52,755	33,923	79,810	77,182	-18,832	-2,628	-35.7	-3.3
45-64	70,940	70,053	101,770	122,485	- 887	20,715	-1.2	20.7
65-over	33,270	35,284	41,200	50,886	2,014	9,686	6.1	23.4
FEMALE								
Total	508,355	475,081	590,095	628,626	-33,274	38,531	-6.6	6.5
Under 10	135,000	137,947	122,005	127,538	2,947	5,533	2.2	4.4
10-19	103,415	101,512	101,295	111,221	-1,903	9,926	-1.9	9.8
20-34	102,395	72,512	135,300	119,296	-29,883	-16,004	-29.1	-11.9
35-44	61,720	45,463	82,320	80,017	-16,257	-2,303	-26.4	-2.8
45-64	72,490	79,394	104,685	128,897	6,904	24,212	9.6	23.1
65-over	33,335	37,244	44,480	41,157	3,909	-3,323	11.7	-7.5

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

TABLE 6: POPULATION OF MISSISSIPPI, BY RACE AND URBAN_RURAL RESIDENCE, 1960

Residence	Native-born White		Negro	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Urban	245,006	266,507	134,907	158,765
Rural; non-farm	243,385	243,131	156,597	167,778
Rural; farm	124,265	118,988	149,137	148,588

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

TABLE 7: URBAN AND RURAL MIGRATION, BY RACE, IN MISSISSIPPI, 1950-1960

AREA	POPULATION		NET MIGRATION		NATURAL INCREASE	NET CHANGE-%
	1950	1960	Number	%		
State	2,178,914	2,178,141	-424,158	-16.3	19.4%	-0.03
White	1,188,632	1,257,546	-108,470	-7.9	14.9	5.8
Nonwhite	990,282	920,595	-315,688	-25.5	24.8	-7.0
Urban	607,162	820,805	79,545	10.7	22.1	35.2
White	374,320	525,853	75,476	16.8	20.3	40.5
Nonwhite	232,842	294,952	4,069	1.4	24.9	26.7
Rural	1,571,752	1,357,336	-503,703	-27.1	18.4	-13.3
White	814,312	731,693	-183,946	-20.1	12.4	-10.1
Nonwhite	757,440	625,643	-319,757	-33.8	24.8	-17.4

Source: Mississippi State Board of Health

TABLE 8: COUNTY BREAKDOWN OF POPULATION AND MIGRATION

County	Population	No. Nonwhite	% Nonwhite	Net Change of Nonwhites, 1950-1960
Adams	37,730	18,695	49.5	-16.1
Alcorn	25,282	3,333	13.2	-14.6
Amite	15,573	8,443	54.2	-19.1
Attala	21,335	9,546	44.7	-17.5
Benton	7,723	3,609	46.7	-6.3
Bolivar	54,464	36,943	67.8	-14.4
Calhoun	15,941	4,346	27.3	1.3
Carroll	11,177	6,500	58.2	-26.4
Chickasaw	16,891	6,511	38.5	-22.7
Choctaw	8,423	2,520	29.9	24.3
Clairborne	10,845	8,245	76.0	-7.7
Clarke	16,493	6,492	39.4	-17.6
Clay	18,993	9,719	51.3	-3.7
Coahoma	46,212	31,582	68.3	-11.4
Copiah	27,051	14,059	52.0	-13.7
Covington	13,637	4,741	34.8	-9.1
Desoto	23,891	14,643	61.3	-11.4
Forrest	52,722	14,752	28.0	13.0

TABLE 8: COUNTY BREAKDOWN OF POPULATION AND MIGRATION, CONT' . 13

County	Population	No. Nonwhite	% Nonwhite	Net Change of Nonwhite, 1950-1960
Franklin	9,286	3,800	40.9	-11.7
George	11,098	1,287	11.6	4.5
Greene	8,366	1,923	23.0	27.9
Grenada	18,409	9,057	49.2	- 7.9
Hancock	14,039	2,255	16.1	10.6
Harrison	119,489	19,256	16.1	43.5
Hinds	187,489	74,840	40.0	17.1
Holmes	27,096	19,501	72.0	-20.3
Humphreys	19,093	13,335	69.8	-17.2
Issaquena	3,576	2,400	67.1	-28.3
Itawamba	15,080	874	5.8	- 6.7
Jackson	55,522	10,864	19.6	61.3
Jasper	16,909	8,507	50.3	-12.5
Jefferson	10,142	7,653	75.5	- 9.1
Jefferson Davis	13,540	7,414	54.8	-13.9
Jones	59,542	15,447	25.9	2.9
Kemper	12,277	7,449	60.7	-21.0
Lafayette	21,355	7,245	33.9	-10.4
Lamar	13,675	2,232	16.3	6.0
Lauderdale	67,119	23,484	35.0	0.4
Laurence	10,215	3,861	37.8	-18.9
Leake	18,660	8,101	43.4	-11.6
Lee	40,589	10,289	25.3	- 3.5
Leflore	47,142	30,443	64.6	-13.8
Lincoln	26,759	8,352	31.2	- 9.1
Lowndes	46,639	17,768	38.1	- 3.5
Madison	32,904	23,637	71.8	- 5.2
Marion	23,293	7,885	33.9	- 6.0
Marshall	24,503	17,239	70.4	- 2.8
Monroe	33,953	12,021	35.4	-12.3
Montgomery	13,320	5,971	44.8	- 4.1
Neshoba	20,927	5,901	28.2	-11.5
Newton	19,517	6,567	33.6	-16.4
Noxubee	16,826	12,102	71.9	-18.8
Oktibbeha	26,175	11,448	43.7	- 2.6
Panola	28,791	16,226	56.4	- 7.2
Pearl River	22,411	5,190	23.2	15.5
Perry	8,745	2,412	27.6	9.1
Pike	35,063	15,408	43.9	- 1.9
Pontotoc	17,232	3,286	19.1	-13.9
Prentiss	17,949	2,186	12.2	- 6.3
Quitman	21,019	13,304	63.3	-15.3
Rankin	34,322	12,818	37.3	- 6.2
Scott	21,187	8,137	38.4	-13.2
Sharkey	10,738	7,491	69.8	-18.5
Simpson	20,454	7,200	35.2	- 1.0
Smith	14,303	3,247	22.7	- 4.2
Stone	7,013	1,711	24.4	25.3
Sunflower	45,750	31,020	67.8	-18.7
Tallahatchie	24,081	15,501	69.4	-20.1
Tate	18,138	10,442	57.6	0.7
Tippah	15,093	2,756	18.3	-18.8
Tishomingo	13,889	679	4.9	-15.8

TABLE 8: COUNTY BREAKDOWN OF POPULATION AND MIGRATION, CONT'D. 14

County	Population	No. Nonwhite	% Nonwhite	Net Change of Nonwhites, 1950-1960
Tunica	16,826	13,321	79.2	-24.8
Union	18,904	3,312	17.5	- 8.9
Walthall	13,512	6,100	45.1	-14.9
Warren	42,206	19,759	46.8	- 1.7
Washington	78,638	43,399	55.2	- 7.8
Wayne	76,258	5,809	35.7	- 6.6
Webster	10,580	2,642	25.0	- 1.9
Wilkinson	13,235	9,428	71.2	- 3.4
Winston	19,246	8,393	43.6	- 9.7
Yalobusha	12,502	5,540	44.3	-16.8
Yazoo	31,653	18,791	59.4	-14.9

Sources: United States Bureau of the Census and Mississippi State Board of Health

TABLE 9: URBAN PLACES OF MORE THAN 10,000 PERSONS, 1960

PLACE	TOTAL POPULATION	WHITE AND NONWHITE		NONWHITE	
		MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
Biloxi	44,053	26,606	17,447	2,748	2,809
Clarksdale	21,105	9,834	11,271	5,056	6,148
Cleveland	10,172	4,902	5,270	1,841	2,042
Columbus	24,771	11,022	13,749	4,542	5,396
Corinth	11,453	5,334	6,119	1,042	1,275
Greenville	41,502	19,636	21,866	9,186	11,002
Greenwood	20,436	9,303	11,133	4,675	5,826
Gulfport	30,204	15,064	15,140	3,030	3,306
Hattiesburg	34,989	16,644	18,345	5,189	6,026
Jackson	144,422	67,619	76,803	23,854	27,702
Laurel	27,889	13,169	14,720	4,615	5,352
McComb	12,020	5,574	6,446	1,531	1,882
Meridian	49,374	22,715	26,659	7,501	9,260
Natchez	23,791	11,073	12,718	5,633	6,710
Pascagoula	17,155	8,599	8,556	1,924	1,961
Tupelo	17,221	8,158	9,063	1,847	2,300
Vicksburg	29,143	13,422	15,721	6,098	7,436
Yazoo	11,236	5,109	6,127	2,745	3,441

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census

TABLE 10: YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED BY PERSONS 25 OR OLDER, 1960

15

COLOR	NUMBER 25 AND OVER	YEARS COMPLETED						
		GRADE SCHOOL					HIGH SCHOOL	
		NONE	1-4	5-6	7	8	1-3	4
Nonwhite								
Number	383,017	24,318	92,063	61,525	37,729	67,239	42,547	16,273
Percentage		8.4	31.3	20.2	9.1	12.4	11.1	4.2
White								
Number	681,959	8,444	40,274	51,865	38,450	98,287	156,554	168,058
Percentage		1.2	5.9	7.6	5.6	14.4	23.0	24.6

Median grade: Nonwhite - grade 6

White - grade 11

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

TABLE 11: EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF THE CIVILIAN, NONINSTITUTIONAL POPULATION IN MISSISSIPPI, BY COLOR AND SEX, 1960
(% distribution)

EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND SEX	WHITE			NONWHITE		
	URBAN	RURAL NON-FARM	RURAL FARM	URBAN	RURAL NON-FARM	RURAL FARM
Both sexes:						
Total, 14 years and over	100	100	100	100	100	100
In labor force	57.6	49.3	48.9	58.1	45.7	45.1
Not in labor force	42.4	50.7	51.1	41.9	44.3	44.9
In labor force employed	96.0	94.6	96.3	91.2	92.9	95.3
unemployed	4.0	5.4	3.7	8.8	7.1	4.7
Females:						
Total, 14 years and over	100	100	100	100	100	100
In labor force	37.7	29.1	24.1	48.9	30.5	21.5
Not in labor force	62.3	70.9	75.9	51.1	69.5	78.5
In labor force employed	95.3	95.0	95.0	92.0	91.7	90.2
unemployed	4.7	5.0	5.0	8.0	8.3	9.8

TABLE 11: CONTINUED

EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND SEX	WHITE			NONWHITE		
	URBAN	RURAL NON-FARM	RURAL FARM	URBAN	RURAL NON-FARM	RURAL FARM
Males:						
Total, 14 years and over	100	100	100	100	100	100
In labor force	79.3	70.0	72.7	70.0	63.0	69.2
Not in labor force	20.7	30.0	27.3	30.0	37.0	30.8
In labor force employed	96.3	94.5	96.7	94.5	93.5	96.9
unemployed	3.7	5.5	3.3	5.5	6.5	3.1

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

TABLE 12: RATE OF UNEMPLOYMENT, 1950-1960

1950		1960	
white	nonwhite	white	nonwhite
2.7	4.5	4.5	7.1

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

TABLE 13: TOTAL IN LABOR FORCE (PERCENTAGE), BY AGES, 1960

AGE	MALE		FEMALE	
	NONWHITE	WHITE	NONWHITE	WHITE
Total, 14 years and up	100	100	100	100
14-19	33.0	34.5	15.1	16.5
20-24	80.3	64.3	38.6	40.8
25-29	89.5	92.4	43.4	39.4
30-34	91.2	94.3	47.2	42.6
35-39	91.2	93.9	48.8	44.0
40-44	91.2	93.2	49.1	46.6
45-49	90.4	92.1	49.6	45.3
50-54	87.2	89.1	46.3	41.9
55-59	81.9	83.9	40.4	35.3
60-64	72.4	71.0	30.7	26.0
65-69	49.0	44.9	18.2	14.8

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

TABLE 14: INDUSTRY GROUPING OF EMPLOYED PERSONS, 1960 (PERCENTAGE) 17

INDUSTRY	NONWHITE				WHITE			
	State	Urban	Rural Non-farm	Rural Farm	State	Urban	Rural Non-farm	Rural Farm
Agriculture	34.9	3.1	36.0	76.5	12.8	1.2	8.4	47.1
Manufacturing	4.6	6.7	4.4	2.0	23.3	20.1	29.1	20.2
Wholesale trade	1.3	2.4	1.1	0.2	3.2	4.6	2.5	1.1
Mining	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	1.3	1.3	0.9	0.8
Transportation, Communications and other pub- lic utilities	4.0	3.6	3.3	1.5	4.8	6.1	3.3	2.8
Retail Trade	8.5	14.4	7.4	1.7	16.9	20.9	16.9	7.5
Service In- dustries	35.9	55.1	31.7	12.4	26.1	31.1	23.0	10.8
Industry not reported	2.1	2.6	1.9	1.5	1.9	2.2	1.7	1.8

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

TABLE 15: MAJOR GROUP OCCUPATION OF THE EXPERIENCED UNEMPLOYED, 1960 (PERCENTAGE)

GROUP	MALE		FEMALE	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
Professional	2.4	0.6	5.5	1.2
Farmers and farm managers	3.2	3.5	0.4	3.2
Managers, officials, proprietors	3.5	0.2	2.5	0.1
Clerical and kindred workers	4.4	0.9	18.6	0.6
Sales workers	4.0	0.2	10.9	0.5
Craftsmen, foremen and kindred	28.5	10.4	1.2	0.1
Operatives and kindred workers	29.1	21.1	35.2	5.6
Private household workers	0.1	0.7	2.4	39.8
Service workers, except private household workers	3.0	6.1	12.5	12.8
Farm laborers and foremen	4.8	21.5	2.4	31.5
Laborers, except farm and mine	13.3	31.9	0.7	1.0
Occupations not reported	3.7	3.0	7.6	3.7

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

TABLE 16: MEDIAN INCOME FOR PERSONS, 1950 AND 1960

RACE	1950			1960		
	State	Urban	Rural	State	Urban	Rural
White	\$1,236	\$1,826	\$973	\$2,023	\$2,622	\$1,065
Nonwhite	\$ 440	\$ 693	\$390	\$ 606	\$ 871	\$ 474

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

TABLE 17: NEGRO HOUSING IN MISSISSIPPI, 1960

	STATE TOTAL	URBAN	RURAL
<u>Total Housing Units</u>	207,611	77,824	129,787
Owner-occupied (#)	79,059	32,913	46,146
Owner-occupied (%)	38.1%	42.3%	35.6%
Renter-occupied (#)	128,552	44,911	83,641
Renter-occupied (%)	61.9%	57.5%	64.4%
<u>Condition</u>			
Owner-occupied:			
sound	36,656	17,677	18,979
deteriorating	27,545	10,055	17,540
dilapidated	14,858	5,231	9,627
Renter-occupied:			
sound	33,168	15,294	17,874
deteriorating	52,629	15,937	36,692
dilapidated	42,755	13,680	29,075
<u>Water Supply</u>			
Hot and cold piped inside	40,870	33,181	7,689
Cold only, piped inside	39,101	30,376	8,725
Piped water outside	27,502	10,229	17,273
No piped water	100,138	4,038	96,100
<u>Toilet Facilities</u>			
Flush toilet, exclusive use	62,160	52,481	9,679
Flush toilet, shared use	7,570	6,965	605
None	137,881	18,378	119,503
<u>Bathing Facilities</u>			
Bathtub or shower, exclusive use	44,991	36,333	8,658
Bathtub or shower, shared	2,207	1,807	400
No bathtub or shower	160,413	39,684	120,729

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census



Research was done originally by Jack Minnis and published in the Congressional Record, April 4, 1963. Minnis has brought the record up to date for this publication.

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

6 Raymond Street, N. W.

Atlanta, Georgia 30314



[N.D. C 1963]

NOTES ON MISSISSIPPI

Perhaps the most significant result of the Freedom Vote campaign was in the area of organizational development. For the first time a genuinely state-wide operation was put into effect. (A central office was set up in Jackson with the task of coordinating activities around the state. A Mississippi Wats line was installed to aid in this purpose.) The five congressional district offices, established in September, became organizational bases for penetration into neighboring cities and towns, and in practice expanded their operational scope beyond the city in which they were primarily based. Contacts were made in cities and towns previously untouched by the movement. A beginning was made in the compilation of enormous state-wide contact lists, centered in files in the Jackson office. A collection of phone books from around the state was begun. Lists of all physicians, funeral directors, barbers, beauticians, and ministers in the state were compiled. (There were glimmerings of the organizational uses to which the Wats line could be put: 1) as an information relay center 2) for coordination of staff activities 3) for the gathering of information about local problems, either of a community or personal nature 4) for informing people about federal programs 5) for contacting people about the payment of poll taxes 6) for contacting people about registering to vote 7) for setting up meetings in different parts of the state 8) for arranging for speakers at meetings 9) for arranging for the movement of staff and people in general from one place to another.)

The Freedom Vote campaign, completed on November 4, was followed by a lull in activities throughout the state. On November 10 thirty staff people were brought together for a five day workshop which culminated in a weekend staff meeting.

The November 14-16 Greenville staff meeting was primarily concerned with four problems: 1) the role of whites in the movement 2) the number of Northern students to be brought into Mississippi this summer 3) programs which might lead to greater federal involvement in the state and 4) whether COFO should sponsor an independent political party or work within the framework of the existing parties. None of these problems were essentially resolved at the Greenville meeting. Perhaps the greatest amount of discussion was devoted to the question of the role of whites in the movement. A number of people seemed to question whether whites had any role working within the Negro community. While acknowledging certain educational advantages to the image of black and white working together, they maintained that this image often became one of white leading black and that in order to undermine and ultimately destroy the belief in white supremacy, it was imperative that the movement maintain black leadership. For a while, some argued that whites should only work in white communities.

Some of this conflict over the role of whites arose inevitably as part of the backwash of the Freedom Vote Campaign in which over eighty Yale and Stanford students came into the state to work. But a large part of the conflict, whether understood at the time or not, stemmed from a dissatisfaction with the nature in which decisions were made during the Freedom Vote Campaign. Both the lack of any clearly defined decision-making machinery and the hecticness of the campaign necessitated that decisions, if they were to be made at all, be made in Jackson and on the spot. Inevitably, it seemed to many on the staff as though they were being excluded from the decision-making process. With the concentration of whites in the central office as a result of the expansion in state-wide activities and the

concurrent need for specialized people, it seemed to people in the field as though whites were intimately involved in the decision-making process whereas they themselves were excluded. (This impression was not entirely without basis. But to the extent that it was true it was more the result of necessity--i.e., who was in the office to discuss and implement ideas--than of design.)

No essential changes, however, emerged from this discussion. There was simply no one willing to come out of the field in order to work in the Jackson office. On the other hand, there was a strong mandate directed to the entire staff, though in effect primarily to the central office, to attempt to involve more Negro Mississippians (e.g. from Jackson State College) into the movement.

Considerable time was spent at Greenville discussing whether to invite a massive number of Northern whites into Mississippi for the summer. It was clear from the nature of the publicity derived from the Freedom Vote campaign that the press would respond to the beating of a Yale student as it simply would not do to the beating of a local Negro. The New York Times headlined its stories about the campaign with the news that Yale and Stanford students were working "for a Negro gubernatorial candidate in Mississippi." During the Freedom Rally in Jackson which concluded the campaign, TV men from N.B.C. spent most of their time shooting film of the Yalies and seemed hardly aware of the local people and full-time SNCC workers. While it was agreed by all that this was a sorry state of affairs, many contended that such publicity was essential for awakening the national conscience and preparing a climate for greater federal involvement in Mississippi. (It was noted that for the first time the Justice Department had people on hand in the eventuality of trouble.) It was argued that by flooding Mississippi with Northern whites the entire country would be made dramatically aware of the denial of freedom which existed in the state and that the federal government would be inevitably faced with a crisis of sufficient magnitude that it would have to act. Others, however, maintained that the reality of such a program would be chaos, if not actual bloodshed. The staff could never handle a massive number of whites either organizationally (supply them with sufficient things to do) or administratively (house, feed, and bond them out of jail). The organizational development of the Negroes of Mississippi would be more setback than advanced by such an invasion. Furthermore, psychologically it would be a duplication of the same pattern--one of whites leading blacks--as the one we were trying to destroy. Local

Negro leadership would be stifled rather than encouraged.

The argument was never clearly resolved at the Greenville meeting; though many seemed in favor of bringing in a limited number of whites to perform certain specified functions. In general, it was agreed that there needed to be more emphasis placed on recruiting Negroes, and especially native Mississippians.

Also discussed at the Greenville meeting was the need for some dramatic action which would bring about a significant federal presence in Mississippi. Howard Zinn introduced the discussion by asserting that organizational protest in Mississippi could not succeed without outside assistance. Techniques that worked in other places (sit-ins, pickets, etc.) would not work in Mississippi because they would not be tolerated by the police power of the state. Therefore, no matter how strong the movement became, it would inevitably require the power of the federal government to restrain the use of police clubs, if it was to make any important gains in the state. The question then posed was how to generate enough pressure to force the government to intervene in Mississippi to ensure Negro voting rights. A number of projects were discussed (see minutes) but nothing specific was adopted at the time.

Bob Moses followed by discussing the need for institutionalizing a number of long-range projects which are now being put into operation. (See minutes) Throughout the week-long workshop it was repeatedly recognized that since the achievement of any political gains was still in the distant future the movement would have to develop its own structure, outside the state, for servicing vital needs. Along these lines the most important project which emerged from the Greenville meeting was the plan for setting up a network of community centers which would perform functions ranging from pre-natal care to political education. In addition, emphasis was placed on making greater use of federal programs, such as ~~like~~ FHA, MDTA, and RAD, and on promoting more home industries, such as the one initiated in Ruleville. It was made clear, however, that these added activities were not to detract from (but rather to supplement) our primary concern with politics.

A great deal of time at the Greenville meeting was given over to discussing our relationship with the NAACP. There was strong sentiment that if the NAACP was not going to lend its full weight behind COFO it should not be a member. But in the final analysis it was agreed that the use of the NAACP's name was of benefit to us; and that as long as the NAACP did not openly oppose our program it might be well to tolerate its lack of active cooperation.

potential issues in the community so that when the time comes to make a break with the power structure, we can have organisation, knowledge, and whatever else is needed to work for Negro interests (Bernard Lafayette).

Bob Moses used the Raleigh project as a beginning point for comments about border areas in general. There are four things we must watch out for and do in these areas:

1. This is a good place to recruit new staff, since there are so many Negro colleges around, and part of the task of the staff in these areas ought to be recruitment.
2. We must work out a philosophy of what to do with Negro office holders, which will emerge in such areas, e.g. Atlanta. We must function as the critical left-wing of their support, raising issues to them, and in general trying to work out a way to capitalise on this possibility to really make gains.
3. There is a multi-million dollar community development project being planned for North Carolina, which some persons working with John Regie in the National Council of Churches are going to run. We ought to get people on the staff of this project and get some southern kids into it, so that they can benefit from it, and also so they can help shape it.
4. What happens in the border states now will set the tone for what happens in the deep South in the future. We have committed ourselves publicly in such a way as not to be able to play too directly a role in the present shaping of the border areas. We have a major role to play as a critic, and to push for deeper changes than people are going to work for on their own.

This concluded the evening session and the last session of the full body. Beginning the next day, all meetings were of the Executive Committee supplemented by project heads and a few other persons.

MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Monday Evening, December 30. First Session of the Executive Committee

Courtland Cox presided over the full meeting of the Executive Committee on both December 30 & December 31, 1963.

It was agreed, regarding procedure, that the secretaries would summarise the previous discussion on matters to be acted upon, and that the group would then decide by consensus. Other items added to the agenda at this time were (1) appropriation of money for cars; (2) the Washington Office; (3) the New York Office. Subsequently, other items were also added to the agenda.

I. Buttermilk Bottom

After a brief discussion it was moved that SNCC offer two staff persons to the Committee on Appeal For Human Rights to assist their all out drive to desegregate Atlanta, and that we assign staff to Buttermilk Bottom as a separate project (John Lewis).

After discussion in which it was pointed out the difficulty of thinking of a section of a city as a separate project, the motion was revised to authorise two field secretaries to be assigned to Atlanta generally, to work both with the Committee on Appeal and Buttermilk Bottom and whatever else may come along. It was stressed that these should be two separate people and not the Atlanta office staff.

The revised motion was agreed upon by consensus.

Freedom Summer

X Summer Projects

1. Mississippi. Bob Moses reported on possible summer plans for Mississippi. The initiative for summer projects in Mississippi came out of the Freedom Vote, when a lot of white students came in. A number of problems are involved in considering the state with white students this summer, including the development of Negro leadership, possible violence, the ability of present staff to direct them, etc. After heated discussion at the last COFO meeting, it was decided to limit the number of white students in Mississippi this summer to 100.

While I was up in New York, summer projects were being discussed at two points. The Yale students want to send students down in quantity, feeling that they could pay their own way. A limit of 50 was tentatively suggested to them. The National Council of Churches also plans summer projects in the South in a big way, concentrating large numbers in organized projects in cities, e.g. 100 in Savannah. Jack Pratt is working on this, which will be presented to the Council for United Civil Rights Leadership.

In addition Dr. Blyth of the literacy project is working on a proposal for a six-week training program in literacy work. If we decide to have him go ahead and set up such a project he will have to be put on a retainer.

Groups are obviously organising to come down. SNCC has to decide whether to have a project, what it will do, and how many will be involved.

There are essentially two proposals. (1) pushed by Al Lowenstein, pour in thousands of students and force a showdown between local and federal governments in an election year. (2) develop an intensive educational program and with Blyth, work out just how many could be used. Perhaps if we go ahead with the latter, the National Council of Churches could fund it. Another group of students (graduates) is being organized at Harvard by Guido Goldman to work on cultural education, working out a program directly with Tougaloo.

John Lewis argued for a concentration of program on Mississippi this summer, doing both the smaller, intensive program and the saturation program. The second part, organized strictly around the issue of voting, can force a physical showdown between the federal and local governments, which is needed at the time of the conventions. Johnson cannot fail to respond.

Charles Cobb raised the consideration of what happens after the summer, when everyone leaves. Does not feel we can handle the whole situation. Bob Moses reminded persons that COFO has voted down this suggestion, and it will have to be brought to them again for consideration. Joyce Ladner felt that there might be a negative reaction from local Negro leadership because of this outside invasion.

Ivanhoe Donaldson felt that the administrative part of the problem can be worked out, and felt that we need to concentrate on the issue itself.

Bob Moses pointed out at this point that this is a very divisive question, having divided people in Mississippi as it has this group. He would not declare a personal opinion on the question when asked, feeling it would be too big a responsibility to make alone.

Marion Berry argued in favor of the saturation proposal. This next year is an important year politically, with the election. We have had no test of the new President, and if we don't do it now, we shall not have a real opportunity again. We shall have to educate people to the dangers involved

is our big chance to force Johnson to commit himself.

Jim Forman spoke in favor of the proposal, though with some reservations. Students from the North bring with them channels of publicity and communication, which is always helpful. It may be difficult during convention time to organise pressure, but there will be a lot of sentiment for the right to vote. There might be some problems of discipline: are people coming to work for SNCC and under our jurisdiction, or "to Mississippi?" That will be important. If we decide to do this, we shall have to begin by training a group of 20 now as sub-section leaders for the larger group to come. People will have to understand that they will operate as a unit, coming to the support across the state to someone in trouble. They must be prepared to get arrested. When something happens we may concentrate the full force on one spot.

Courtland Cox argued that we do not have the political program for these people sufficiently clear yet. We need persons to do the careful educational and organisational work, while using these thousands to create chaos, outside links, and to force federal action.

Charles Sherrard expressed concern over the effect of this upon the whole of SNCC. Are we willing to risk disintegration of our total operation in such a confrontation?

Jim Monson expressed concern that many undisciplined and unorganised people will just wander into the state and confuse the situation.

Bob Moses summarised the argument as follows:

arguments for:

- (a) a lot of emotional compression is built up around Mississippi which can be focused.
- (b) Mississippi is a larger question than simply racial segregation, but rather a totalitarian government, a closed society. There is broad support in the nation for a change of this, which is growing stronger all the time as more attention is focussed on the state.
- (c) there is a great willingness of students to go to Mississippi.
- (d) we can force some kind of confrontation, which will not create change at this time, but can be a platform, an opening wedge for future pressure.
- (e) the plans will force some move to buy it off, some negotiation, which will result in some change at least from the totally status quo situation of the present.

arguments against:

- (a) the federal government is simply not prepared to make the kind of commitment we will be demanding from them.
- (b) can we mount enough pressure out of this to make them be prepared; is this the best place for the final showdown?
- (c) will this initiate the threatened bloodbath and have violent consequences we cannot handle?

After further discussion and objections and problems of administration and organisation were considered, Marion Berry moved:

During the Presidential election year of 1964, SNCC intends to obtain the right for all citizens of Mississippi to vote, using as many people as necessary to obtain that end.

The motion was passed unanimously. Bob Moses was asked to discuss our decisions with COFO and report back to the next meeting of the Executive Committee where we can consider whether to go ahead with action. It was suggested

2. Other Summer Projects

- (a) Jim Farmer said that at the next meeting he will present one for Southwest Georgia.
- (b) Marion Berry stated that Knoxville will have a tutorial project this summer which can take many people. He will present the full plan at the next meeting.
- (c) Bob Moses stated that Atlanta ought to be a good place to recruit summer people for the Albany area; perhaps as a work-study project.

3. The Political Conventions

Bob Moses presented on behalf of Jim Bevel the idea that we should form an ad hoc group to plan strategy for the conventions and to agitate there. A concern was expressed regarding ad hoc groups and regarding getting caught supporting watered down demands such as at the March on Washington. Because of the rather nebulous nature of the proposal at this time, no advantage was seen in committing ourselves to it. There are possible advantages, though especially since it would be unfortunate not to capitalise on Bayard Rustin's organisational talents and national image, should he be involved. No decision was taken at present. It was decided, however, that should the ad hoc group meet over a proposal, we attend the meeting and then consider it.

XI SNCC Education

The proposal by Howard Zinn was presented again, followed by the written proposal by Miles Horton for quarterly workshops. Joyce Ladner stated that the two proposals were not in conflict and could be combined. Whoever works on overall staff education from the Atlanta office could also work out the details of cooperation with the Horton proposal.

It was agreed upon by consensus that the staff coordinator be directed to work out with Howard Zinn the specific staff needs of his proposal, and to begin to implement it.

It was agreed to accept the Horton proposal. After discussion on whether it should be accepted subject to outside funds, it was voted that we should go ahead under any conditions as a necessary step in SNCC's program, and that all offices should work on fund-raising. Dinky Romilly was assigned the responsibility for coordination of fund-raising for this project. She was directed to consult with Miles Horton for any suggestions he may have on fund-raising.

XII HUAC and Freedom of Association

Since the draft statement on HUAC had not been prepared, the decision on a position on HUAC was deferred to the next meeting. No specific assignment was made for persons to work on it. It was also agreed to maintain the present implicit policy on freedom of association until the next meeting when the position paper will be presented.

XIII National Boycotts

Ivanhoe Donaldson commented on boycotts as a result of the experience with the call for a boycott on Dan River Mills. He stated that we must be more careful on calling boycotts, since every time we call one and do not hurt the company we weaken our attack. There is a machinery that has been outlined. We need to implement it in future boycotts.

It was suggested and agreed by consensus that the proposal for the implementation of boycotts be circulated before the next meeting. The adminis-

trative committee was assigned to follow through on this.

XIV White Student-Project

Sam Shirah made a report to supplement his written report on the project for work among white students and included the following recommendations:

1. that SNCC consider this project as important as any other project in the movement. To date it has been considered somewhat "special."
2. that SNCC add persons to the staff to work in teams, possibly as inter-racial teams in some situations.
3. that they work in specific areas as outlined in the written report, including repeat visits.
4. that they be equipped with cars.
5. that the project have a special advisory group.

After several questions of information, Shirah outlined some of his approach to campuses. The role of the worker is essentially the same as that of the Negro in the Negro community: to go in with a radical position and agitate, to try to destroy apathy. In the process you are likely to alienate white liberals. If you are going to relate people to the movement, you must do this from the position of the movement. Working through the white liberal community is roughly parallel to working through the NAACP in the Negro community. The goal is to go act as to get to that small minority of potential radicals, and develop them to try to go further. One person should not attempt to convert everyone. This means, for reasons stated more extensively the other day, that the hard core areas seem most likely places to work.

The suggestions were then acted upon:

1. were given approval, with a general vote of confidence.
2. it was moved that we hire additional people according to need and budget, it being understood that staff needs for this project shall be treated as staff needs for any other project.
3. this was referred to the Staff Coordinator and the Southern Campus Coordinator-
4. this was agreed to, depending on availability and priorities; referred to the Transportation Coordinator and Sam to work out.
5. this was accepted.

XV The Mississippi Report

Bob Moses presented the written report from Mississippi, commenting on some of the projects contained within. On the work-study program, he felt that this was a major step forward; the money was easily obtained and this program ought to be extended to other places. For best coordination it ought to be run by SNCC through the proposed tax-exempt arm. On the food and clothing drive, he stated that the National Council of Churches has agreed to handle the project through Church World Service, to supply an equivalent amount to what is collected from their nearest warehouse. The New York office is to follow up on working out the details of the program. On the community centers program, Bob stated that the National Council of Churches has requested the World Council of Churches to consider a project of this kind in the Delta. This would be run by experienced people from other nations.

On COFO Bob stated that CORE is going to expend their staff in Mississippi to ten, concentrating in the 4th District, but under the general COFO discipline. It plans to put \$1,000 per month into the program, no more. SCLC's investment will come via the citizenship schools; NAACP is not interested in working in the program. Which leaves the problem of whether SNCC wants

to underwrite the balance of \$5,118.92 per month projected costs, or whether COFO should start raising funds on its own, as its constitution allows it, or whether the program should be cut back.

After discussion of COFO, the advantages and disadvantages of working under its name, and the disadvantages accruing from independent fund-raising by COFO in terms of cutting into SNCC's fund raising, it was moved by John Lewis that we support the budget, and it was passed.

XVI Southwest Georgia

Because of the hour, discussion on Southwest Georgia program was referred to the Executive Committee.

At this point, it being 9:30 PM on New Year's Eve, the meeting was ADJOURNED, and the appropriate party followed.

Minutes taken by Jim Monsonis & Cathy Cade
Prepared for distribution by: Sanford Rose Leigh

OUTLINE OF MISSISSIPPI PROJECT AREAS

17

First Congressional District

1. Lowndes County

a. Columbus is the county seat. There has been relatively little activity there. Police harassment has been minimal, but probably will increase as workers become more active. Negro leadership seems to be somewhat reticent to the COFO programs and the local community is somewhat afraid of us. However, the fear is not so intense that it cannot be broken with persistent effort. There are several strong students (high school).

The situation in most of the key cities in this part of the state are quite similar to that of Columbus.

Second Congressional District

1. Leflore County

a. Greenwood is the county seat, and SNOC maintains a two story office there, manned by approximately five people. Leflore County is generally considered a hard core resistance area. The two years of activity there has resulted in hundreds of registration attempts by Negroes, with less than 30 actually getting registered. Voter registration activity in Leflore County has been documented with shootings, beatings, bombings, arrests, and at least one incident of lynch-mob violence.

b. Itta Bena is about 15 miles west of Greenwood. The effort there was first met with bombings (tear gas) of the church where meetings were being held. In June of 1963, harassment culminated with the arrest of 45 local people as they marched in protest of the lack of police protection. In spite of this there has been persistent activity there; but the results in terms of people actually getting registered has been negligible.

2. Sunflower County

a. Ruleville is the focal point of activity, some 23 miles from the courthouse in Indianola the county seat (which is the birthplace of the white citizens council), Senator J. Eastland maintains an office in downtown Ruleville, and has a plantation in nearby Doddsville. Ruleville also is considered to be a rural hard core resistance area, and activity there has been dotted with shootings, jailings, economic reprisal, and police harassment and intimidation. Probably it will be one of the centers of resistance to the summer project. Local people are strong however and will stand up with the workers.

3. Holmes County

a. Mileston is about 12 miles from Lexington, the county seat. We have a core of good people in the Mileston area. The county has resisted actually registering Negroes, and early in the vote drive the home of one of the key local leaders was shot into and set afire with Molotov cocktails. Lately, harassment has been minimal, but could increase with a real hard vote drive in the county.

4. Bolivar County

a. Cleveland is one of the county seats (the other being Rosedale). Activity there is comparatively recent, but it is the feeling of workers there that with increased activity there will be increased resistance, in terms of economic and physical reprisals. Cleveland has a history of police violence. Rosedale is a river town (Mississippi river) in the traditional rough and rowdy, depressed and violent sense.

b. Shaw is about 15 miles west of Cleveland and our activity there has been met with little resistance. It's a depressing little town physically, with virtually every Negro living in shacks. There has been a very good response to our programs. The town can be gotten to move.

Mound Bayou is an all Negro town about ten miles north of Cleveland. The Negro leadership there is conservative, and the town itself is generally hostile to whites. However in terms of programs, the leadership can be circumvented and the local people reached.

5. Washington County

a. Greenville is the county seat, and the center of our operations in the county. It is considered a liberal city. The editor of the local newspaper supports the voter registration effort. All city officials can be talked to at various levels. The Negro leadership is generally conservative (Greenville is the stronghold of black republicanism) and tends to articulate the white power structure line about "only the qualified" Negroes trying to vote. There has been some direct action (e.g. sit-ins, marches, pickets) in Greenville, and more is likely to occur this summer. Psychologically, Greenville is a difficult town to work (apathy as well as fear) but certainly there is plenty of mobility to work.

6. Issaquena County

a. Mayersville is the county seat (pop. 187) and no Negroes are registered to vote. In 1961 they weren't accepting poll taxes. There is a core of strong people in this very rural county (slightly over 3000 people). Activity has been sporadic in this county and as yet we have met with virtually no resistance.

7. Sharkey County

a. Rolling Fork is the County seat and when we have had activity there, we have met strong resistance from the local authorities. Fear is intense and at this point persons working the county will have to live outside of it. There are 3 Negroes registered. Workers should expect strong resistance from local whites.

8. Tallahatchie County

a. Charleston is one of the county seats (the other is Sumner) and there is a core of strong people ready to move. Workers should expect active resistance from local white and local authorities. The sheriff of this county is notorious for his violence to Negroes.

b. Swan Lake is a rural settlement a few miles southeast of Sumner.¹⁹ Recently it has been the scene of mob violence and beatings apparently not connected to voter registration since we have had no project there. However in investigating this violence we have established some good contacts and are able to house workers there. Workers should expect constant harrassment and intimidation and personal violence.

9. Humphries County

a. Belzoni is the county seat and the scene of violence directed towards persons engaged in voter registration activities in the early fifties. A confederate flag flies before the county courthouse. There is intense fear in the adult Negro community, but a core of teenagers who can be mobilized. Persons working there should expect constant and extreme harrassment.

10. Marshall County

a. Holly Springs is the county seat, a relatively moderate city. There is a strong core of college students who are actively involved with COFO.

11. Panola County

a. Batesville and Sardis are the county seats. This is probably one of the most important counties in the state right now. The circuit clerk has been directed by court order to eliminate the use of the literacy test, aid all people attempting to register, and hire deputy registrars if necessary, over a one year period. This means that virtually every Negro who tries can actually get registered. There is a potential of 7000 new Negro voters within a year. There is strong local adult leadership, and a number of interested students who want to get actively involved. Harrassment so far has been minimal but could increase in light of the court order and our increased activity there. There has been one shooting into one of the churches used for meetings. One important thing about the local leadership is that it takes the initiative (e.g. sponsored their own freedom vote, and drew up their own petitions to send to the justice department).

Note: These eleven listed counties are all Delta counties, located in northwestern Mississippi. All of them are well over 50% Negro in population. It is also the area where we have met the most resistance to Negroes registering and voting -- the birthplace and stronghold of the white citizens council, dominated by the huge plantations. All of the delta counties have not been listed, but from areas such as Greenwood and Greenville, you can expect to operate also in adjacent counties.

Third Congressional District

1. Adams County

a. Natchez is the county seat, located on the Mississippi river. Our efforts there have been met with violence on the part of local whites (Natchez is one of the strongholds of the Klu Klux Klan) and harrassment by local officials. Workers can expect this to be constant during the summer.

2. Pike County

a. McComb is just a few miles from the county seat located in Magnolia. Some of SNCC's earliest work was begun in McComb, where student demonstrations were sparked. Here too workers can expect active resistance from local whites. Workers can also expect to be met with suspicion by local Negroes as they feel that SNCC deserted them in 1961.

3. Amite County

a. Liberty is the county seat. The county is rural and a stronghold for the Klan and a group called the Association for the Preservation of White Supremacy. SNCC also has historical roots in this county. Workers have been beaten and arrested. One local contact was shot and killed, and the witness to the killing has more recently been killed. At this point, Negroes are being systematically driven from the country, and white businesses are being forced to fire Negroes. Workers can expect extreme resistance to their activities at all levels. We have, however, a core of good strong contacts.

Note: These last three counties are located in southwestern Mississippi, at this point, probably the most dangerous area in the state. Workers can expect organized violence, harassment and intimidation directed towards them.

4. Warren County

a. Vicksburg is the county seat; comparatively urban and moderate in attitude. Workers can expect a degree of mobility. Harassment so far has been minimal. Local leadership tends to be conservative. With persistent work, however, a good strong project can be developed.

5. Hinds County

a. Jackson is the county seat and state capital. The leadership is conservative and dominated by the NAACP. Work in Jackson will have to be done within the context of building a community base to circumvent the established leadership after the summer. Workers should expect harassment from the police, and to a lesser degree, from the local whites. There will also be an undercurrent of resistance from the NAACP and local leadership which can be somewhat dealt with by developing a kind of political relationship with them. Expect frustrations.

Fourth Congressional District

1. Madison County

a. Canton is the county seat, an extremely strong Citizens Council town. Harassment is particularly intense from law enforcement (?) officials seemingly directed mostly at local citizens. There has been consistent use of economic reprisals; very severe. Strong local leadership has begun to emerge. Also there are very strong and very active young people.

2. Lauderdale County

a. Meridian is the county seat, second largest city in the state. It is a comparatively moderate city in terms of resistance to COFO programs. The community center there has been operating for 4 or 5

months, with no resistance from the local authorities. There were some arrests in connection with a boycott on one of the stores. However, the store gave in and hired a Negro, and now the workers are thinking of expanding the boycott. Meridian is also the base for operations in about five adjacent counties. Local leadership tends to be conservative and has generally ignored the project. There is a bi-racial committee (in existence for about 14 years) that is slow moving and has accomplished virtually nothing.

3. Leake County

a. Carthage is the county seat. A school desegregation suit is underway there, and there is strong and enthusiastic local leadership. Can be a swinging project.

Fifth Congressional District

1. Forest County

a. Hattiesburg is the county seat. The circuit clerk is under court order to cease discriminating against Negro applicants. Almost continually since January 22nd, local Negroes have been picketing the county courthouse. There have been arrests on a variety of charges. Intensity of police harassment seems dependent on the amount of activity taking place. There is a strong core of local leadership of both adults and students. The power structure seems to be keeping local white violence down. Workers should expect to operate in adjacent counties also. The community seems enthusiastic about the program. We expect Hattiesburg to be one of the key centers of activity this summer. Across the summer there should be mounting pressure focused at the circuit clerk who has failed to cease discriminating, and at the federal government for failing to take action against the circuit clerk (he should be in jail for civil and criminal contempt of court).

2. Jones County

a. Laurel is the county seat. It is one of the more moderate areas in the state, and harassment should be minimal. The city has a conservative Negro leadership and receptiveness to the COFO program has varied from lukewarm to cold. Two years ago there was a Laurel Nonviolent Movement affiliated with SNCC. Most of the students involved have since left or ceased to be involved. Community involvement will probably be slow at first, but can be built up across the summer.

3. The Gulf Coast

Harrison county is the key county, with Gulfport and Biloxi being the key cities. Gulfport is the county seat. Harassment will be minimal and workers can expect mobility. These cities are located on the gulf of Mexico where there are beautiful segregated beaches. Here, alcohol is sold freely, in a still prohibition state, and gambling is extensive. The Negro community forms a smaller percentage of the population than it does in other parts of the state. On the other hand, there has been more organization in this area (in the form of NAACP chapters) and as a result a high percentage of the Negro population is registered (somewhat better than 15%). Local citizens have been conducting wade-ins for a number of years, and probably there will be more this summer. These wade-ins have been punctuated with violence. Most violence on the coast

has come from local whites. There have been a couple of bombings. Assuming direct action takes place on the coast, workers can expect some violence from local whites to be directed at them. For the most part, however, the area is considered "liberal". Harrassment will be minimal and workers can expect mobility.

1. Harrison County

a. Gulfport is the county seat. Here, as in other coastal cities, the NAACP is strong and local leadership is generally conservative. But the summer program has won support and workers can expect a good response from the local community.

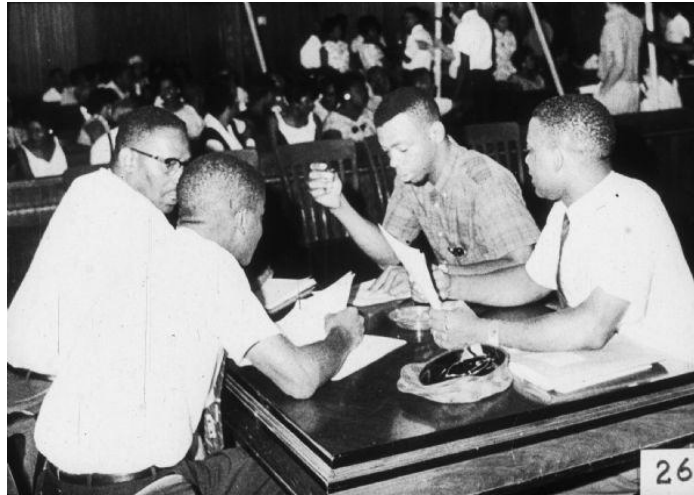
b. Biloxi has been the scene of considerable direct action in recent years (mostly at the beaches) and is now involved in a suit to desegregate the schools. The young people are anxious to engage in a broad assault on segregated public facilities, but local leadership is extremely cautious. Response to the summer project has been lukewarm and it is possible that only a limited program will be undertaken in this city.

2. Jackson County

a. Passagoula - Moss Point are actually two cities, though they are only separated by a bridge. There is one NAACP chapter which serves for both cities. Moss Point community tends to be the more active of the two. The leadership has been extremely receptive to the summer program and have made extensive preparation to house people and to find facilities for Freedom Schools and Community Centers. Workers can expect excellent co-operation on every level.

Actually, Mississippi is oppressive everywhere, and when we speak of moderate or liberal (as in Greenville) we are talking about a lesser degree of oppressiveness. Any one of these areas is liable to tighten up and become a terror hole at any given time. It must be understood that the state is determined to perpetuate itself in its present form at all costs, and will use any method - no matter how extreme - it deems necessary.

II: Planning and Recruiting, Spring 1964



The Freedom Summer Project's overarching goal was to empower black Mississippi residents to participate in local, state, and national politics. Its other main goal was to focus the nation's attention on conditions in the South so the federal government would be forced to pass laws guaranteeing all U.S. citizens equal treatment under the law. To reach these goals, more than 1,500 volunteers were brought to the state (mostly northern white college students). Programs were created to register black voters, educate residents in newly –formed Freedom Schools, open community centers, create a new political party, and challenge the legitimacy of the white-supremacist Mississippi Democratic Party.

6 Mississippi Summer Project Launched, March 30, 1964

(1 page) Press release detailing plans for the summer

<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/11412>

7 Mississippi Freedom Summer, Spring 1964

(6 pages) COFO brochure addressed to Mississippi residents on how they can help the Summer Project effort

<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/6787>

8 Mississippi Freedom Project, Spring 1964

(8 pages) SNCC fundraising brochure addressed to Northern supporters

<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/6780>

9 To Mississippi Summer Project interviewers, April 14, 1964

(3 pages) Guidelines instructing interviewers how to evaluate an applicant's ability to adjust to the movement conditions

<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/6077>

10 The Problem of Legal Aid in Mississippi

(2 pages) Summary by R. Hunter Morey of how legal support will be provided

<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/8567>

NEWS RELEASE # 24
 STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
 6 RAYMOND STREET, N. W.
 ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30314 March 20, 1964

MISSISSIPPI SUMMER PROJECT LAUNCHED

JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI - "At least 2,000" full time civil rights workers will conduct voter registration and political education programs in Mississippi this summer, according to civil rights worker Robert Moses.

The announcement of the "Mississippi Summer Project" came from a day-long conference of the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) here March 15. COFO is a coalition of national and local civil rights groups working in Mississippi.

COFO leaders said the "Freedom Summer" plans included recruiting 1,000 white and Negro college students to man "Freedom Schools", Community Centers and to work on a voter registration drive. The group will also run two Negroes for Congress in the state's 2nd and 5th Congressional Districts.

COFO Chairman Dr. Aaron Henry of Clarksdale, state NAACP head, said Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer of Ruleville would oppose Representative Jamie Whitten of Charleston in the 2nd District and Reverend John Cameron of Hattiesburg would oppose Representative William Colmer of Pascagoula in the 5th District. The two Negro candidates will also run in a "Freedom Primary" corresponding with the state's Democratic primary, COFO workers said.

If both lose, they plan to challenge the seating of the winning candidates. "We intend to challenge whether the country will permit people to be elected from districts where Negroes are not allowed to vote", COFO Program Director Moses said.

Moses, who has headed the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) vote drive here since 1961, and Dave Dennis of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) will head up the summer drive.

Moses and Dennis said the summer campaign would include:

:FREEDOM SCHOOLS that will give youth and adults political education as well as courses common to a high school curriculum;

:COMMUNITY CENTERS that will provide recreational facilities, instruction in pre-natal care, nutrition, job retraining, arts and craft classes, organized sports and libraries;

FREEDOM REGISTRATION that will register 400,000 Negroes on mock polling lists to "prove Negroes in Mississippi will register to vote if they are allowed to."

:FREEDOM ELECTION held during the state's Democratic primary on June 2 to indicate Mississippi Negroes are not satisfied with present candidates;

:Challenging the seating of Mississippi Congressmen on the floor of the House of Representatives on the basis that many Negroes are denied to right to vote in the state;

:VOTER REGISTRATION drives that will attempt to register an added 25,000 Negroes;

:EMERGENCY RELIEF AND WELFARE AID for Negroes who face job losses or evictions because of their participation in the vote drive.

Moses said the Freedom Schools, in addition to giving students a chance to learn subjects poorly taught in Mississippi's Negro schools, would teach the "politics of Mississippi" and would begin to build a core of educated leadership in the state.

Dennis and Moses said the Freedom Registration drive would try to register "more Negroes than could possibly register" under present discriminatory standards.

Dr. Henry said students were being recruited from the summer at 7 Freedom Centers located at Northern college campuses and in large cities.

COFO plans call for Freedom Summer operation in twenty-nine locations scattered throughout the state's five congressional districts.



Freedom Schools



FREEDOM SCHOOLS will be during the summer. They are schools where high school students will be able to talk about things they can't talk about in regular school. They will learn about civil rights.

There will be classes for students who:

1. have trouble with their lessons in regular school and want to do better,
2. like to read and want to learn more than they are taught in regular school.

There will be singing, dancing, sports, hikes and many other things for all students.

Some of the FREEDOM SCHOOLS will be for people who spend 6 weeks away from home to live at them.

ALL OF THE FREEDOM SCHOOLS WILL BE FREE.

Voter Registration

ARE YOU A REGISTERED VOTER?

If we were all voting then things
would be better in Mississippi.

We would have:

- enough food
- more jobs
- better schools
- better houses
- paved sidewalks

People coming here this summer can
work with you on VOTER REGISTRATION.
They can knock on doors, teach the
registration forms and drive people
to the courthouse. They can help
in any way you want them to.



Community Centers



A COMMUNITY CENTER is a place where everyone can do many different things. It will be mostly for adults and will offer many chances for them to learn things to help them live better.

COMMUNITY CENTERS will have:

- job training programs
- classes for people who cannot read or write
- classes on child care
- health programs
- adult education and Negro history classes
- music, drama, and arts and crafts workshops

If you have small children, they will be taken care of while you enjoy the COMMUNITY CENTER.

EVERYTHING AT THE COMMUNITY CENTER WILL BE FREE.

What Is COFO?

COFO is an organization made up of all the civil rights and local citizenship groups in Mississippi which decided they must work together to improve conditions in Mississippi.



For more information:

Write to - COFO STATE OFFICE
1017 Lynch Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Or call - 352-9605

Other offices near you:

CLARKSDALE - 213 4th Street
phone - 624-2913

COLUMBUS - 1323 6th Ave. North
phone - 328-8916

GREENWOOD - 708 Avenue N
phone - 453-1282

HATTIESBURG - 507 Mobile Street
phone - 584-7670

MERIDIAN - 2505 1/2 5th Street
phone - 485-9286



VOTER REGISTRATION

The struggle for freedom in Mississippi can only be won by a combination of action within the state and heightened awareness throughout the country of the need for enforcement of federal guarantees of basic human and political rights. While old and new federal laws support the right to vote, the government has not yet acted decisively to insure that all Americans can participate in governmental affairs.

In Mississippi, SNCC voter registration workers are operating in each Congressional district. Despite discriminatory voting laws and terrorism, voting workers and local Negroes have mobilized a state-wide organization for political action.

Freedom Registration has been established in most counties, with registration books closely resembling the official books of the state. The Freedom Registration Books are being used by the Freedom Democratic Party in its challenge of the all-white Democratic Party of Mississippi.

Finally, voter registration workers are assisting the campaigns of four Negroes running for Congressional office.





FREEDOM SCHOOLS

An integral part of SNCC's voter registration work throughout the rural South has been the development of young leadership. The Freedom School program was evolved to supply political education unavailable in Mississippi's public schools.

By mid-July, over thirty-five Freedom Schools had been established (three times the number expected) with an average daily enrollment across the state of 2,100. Instruction is highly individualized — each

school has a low student-teacher ratio. The program includes remedial work as well as seminars in political science, the humanities and creative writing. Some Freedom Schools have published their own newsletters. Class discussions center around solving community problems.

The students attending these schools will form a nucleus of leadership committed to critical thought and social action.

(In Forrest County, two additional schools were opened to meet an unexpected demand. There are six schools there now, with an enrollment of 675.)

COMMUNITY CENTERS

In addition to the Freedom Schools, twenty-six Community Centers are providing social services normally denied the Negro community. Staffed by experienced social workers, nurses, librarians and teachers in the arts and crafts, the centers are providing educational and cultural programs for the community. Instruction is given in pre-natal and child care and general hygiene; other programs are providing adult literacy classes and vocational training. Each Community Center is trying to establish a library; sixteen



are now in operation. Each center serves as a place of political education and organization, and will channel a wide range of programs into Negro community.

RESEARCH PROJECT

The voting and educational programs are trying to change the fundamental structure of political and economic activity in Mississippi. To get a clear picture of existing structures in Mississippi economic and political life, thirty summer workers are engaged in research into Mississippi's suppressive hidden power structure.

WHITE COMMUNITY PROJECT

White students are working in the white community of Mississippi, trying to find white Mississippians who will work toward achieving social change with a minimum of friction. While much of their work has been conducted behind closed doors, they report great success.

LEGAL PROJECT

A number of law school students and lawyers are in Mississippi helping prepare defenses for the workers arrested daily across the state. They are helping Mississippi's three Negro lawyers to launch a massive legal offensive against the official tyranny of the state. The time has come to challenge every Mississippi law which deprives Negroes of their rights and to bring effective legal action to prevent Mississippi from repeating its past crimes against Negroes.

**FOR INFORMATION ON THE FREEDOM
PROGRAM, WRITE:**

**MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM PROJECT
6 Raymond Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314**



DEVELOPMENT OF THE MISSISSIPPI PROJECT

Although the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee has active projects in thirteen Southern states, it has achieved its most dynamic success in the state of Mississippi. A state where individual political life is nonexistent, where the economic condition of a vast majority of the population is appalling, the home of white supremacy, Mississippi has become the main target of SNCC's staff and resources.

In August, 1961, SNCC went into Mississippi under the leadership of Project Director Robert Moses. Overcoming violence and hardship, SNCC workers have been able to

expand their activity into all five of Mississippi's Congressional districts. By fall, 1963, SNCC had joined with other national organizations and many voting and civic groups in forming a statewide organization, the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), and through COFO conducted a Freedom Vote campaign in which 80,000 disenfranchised Negroes cast ballots for a Negro in a mock state-wide campaign.

Preparation for real democracy calls for additional programs in the state. Literacy projects have been instituted, and food and clothing drives. But much more comprehensive programs are needed to combat the terrible cultural and economic deprivation of Negro communities in Mississippi.

FREEDOM IN MISSISSIPPI DEPENDS ON YOU

The Mississippi Freedom Project needs money now to continue the activities described in this pamphlet. We are asking the people of America—individuals as well as institutions—to contribute now to assist SNCC in its commitment to the struggle for justice in the state of Mississippi.

A contribution in any amount will help. For example:

\$5 will supply school materials for one day-student for a semester.

\$25 will pay the utility bills for one Freedom School for a semester.

\$50 will buy office materials for one voter registration field office.

\$100 will buy materials for a home nursing and baby care class for one Community Center.

\$125 will buy one tape recorder for a Freedom School.

\$400 will provide scholarship money for one Southern Negro college student, enabling him to return to school after working in Mississippi.

\$2000 will rent and remodel a building for one Community Center.

\$4000 will buy one used bus for transporting vote workers and registrants.

SEND YOUR CONTRIBUTION TO:

MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM PROJECT
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
6 Raymond Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

14 April 1964

TO: Mississippi Summer Project Interviewers
 FROM: Mississippi Summer Project Committee
 RE: Guidelines for interviewing

During the Freedom Vote for Governor campaign in the fall of 1963 over seventy Yale and Stanford students came to Mississippi. Since these volunteers were in the state for no more than a week, there was no opportunity to make extensive evaluation of their ability to adjust to movement conditions in Mississippi. But one strong observation can be drawn from their participation. The great majority of students came down with the attitude --- "I know I am only going to be here for a very short period of time, but I am willing to help in whatever way you think I can." There were some students, however, who came to Mississippi with fixed ideas about what they wanted to do and what they hoped to achieve. A case study might best illustrate this attitude.

One student arriving in Jackson received initial authorization to go to Yazoo City, a hard-core town, where in the past civil rights workers had been driven out. He was sent to Canton to discuss plans for this move with the project director there. The project director, however, viewing his entire area and its work needs, felt that a move into Yazoo City at the time would be ill-advised. The student became extremely argumentative and repeatedly insisted on being taken to Yazoo City. The project director became so harrassed he called Jackson for assistance and was advised to bring the student back to Jackson. In Jackson, several of the members of the staff leadership tried to explain the importance of abiding by decisions of the local staff head; the student, however, continued to argue and insist that he be permitted to go to Yazoo City. Since no one could reason with him, it was decided that he should remain in Jackson until it was time for him to leave the state.

This case study should give the interviewer a general idea of one criterion, and perhaps the most important one, for evaluating applicants. If the problem presented by the above student were multiplied enough times (there will be almost a thousand volunteers in Mississippi this summer) the whole program could be jeopardized and lives could even be lost.

A few more general observations can be made:

The lack of experience in civil rights activity or in the South need not (and should not) be considered grounds

for disqualifying an applicant. (This should be clear from the size of the project being undertaken in Mississippi this summer.) But it is essential that an applicant possess a learning attitude toward work in Mississippi. This is not to discourage ingenuity or creativity; it means that an applicant must have some understanding that his role will only be a stopgap one; that the movement will have to continue after he leaves and that his role will be to work with local leadership, not to overwhelm it. He can only do this if he shows some respect for what has gone before him and an understanding of what must continue after he leaves. He must be capable of understanding that the success of the Mississippi movement depends on the development of those who live and will remain in the state. A student who seems determined to carve his own niche, win publicity and glory when he returns home can only have harmful effects on the Mississippi program.

There are other criteria which should guide the Mississippi Summer Project interviewers. Perhaps it would be sufficient to list these and allow the individual interviewer as much leeway as possible in making a balanced evaluation of an applicant.

1. Experience and training in teaching or community work will be of great value to the project.
2. Special skills (e.g. in the arts, in health care, in communication) would be similarly valuable.
3. A basic sense that the civil rights movement (not just abstract justice) is a good thing.
4. A willingness to admit doubts and fears about going to Mississippi.
5. An understanding of the risks involved in working in Mississippi -- jail, possible beatings, etc. (Under Mississippi political conditions it would be impossible to insure an individual working even in a "safe situation" that he will not be arrested.)
6. Some understanding of the living conditions they will have to work under in Mississippi, i.e. the fact that they will be living in homes and sharing food with people who are extremely poor.
7. Excessive nervousness (if such can be detected in an interview) would be a hazard to the applicant as well as to others under Mississippi conditions.
8. Extremely dogmatic and ideological views would probably be a detriment to the project. Mississippi has real problems which must be approached and understood empirically.

Further, interviewers should be on guard for those who take an apocalyptic view toward the Mississippi summer program -- the struggle for political and social justice in Mississippi will not reach a conclusion as a result of this summer.

Final note: The above criteria are those which we thought would be meaningful in interviewing people for civil rights work in Mississippi. We did not believe it would be useful to list criteria which most interviewers would apply anyway (e.g. emotional maturity, responsibility). Finally, interviewers have been left to formulate their own questions for the purpose of eliciting pertinent responses from applicants.

The Problem Of
LEGAL AID IN MISSISSIPPI

R. Hunter Morey
940 Sidney St.
Greenville, Miss.
335-2173

1. The NAACP Legal Aid and Defense Fund, Inc., is not an adequate source in itself.
 - (a) Political Problems.
In Albany, Ga., the Inc. Fund evidently came in and said either the defendants come with them or the Movement would get no further aid therein - especially must they drop Rabinowitz. Civil liberties and civil rights are inoperable.
 - (b) Organizational Problems.
Inc. Fund seems unrealistically limited to the three existing local attorneys or to sending in Howard Moore (already too busy in Atlanta) or occasionally other NAACPers.
 - (c) Narrow View Of "Civil Rights".
Inc. Fund generally won't handle cases not traditionally "civil rights", e.g. traffic and criminal cases such as the harassment of Rev. Ed King
 - (d) Inadequate Offense.
Inc. Fund won't supply sufficient legal aid to defend us adequately, let alone engage in offensive suits. The suit to stop State aid to the Citizens Councils evidently was dropped for failure to prosecute - showing that the Fund won't necessarily follow through. Public facility and general injunctive action seems out of the question now. If the Fund will actually handle the Mississippi and COFO "scene" - great. However, it seems all too possible that we will plod haphazardly ahead until some great calamity strikes us before organizing supplemental aid.
2. The possibilities for supplemental aid are great. I recently participated in the National Lawyer's Guild convention and have extensively talked with Arthur Kinoy (and Oscar Chase), besides being with Len Holt for six weeks. There exists the Guild's Committee To Assist Southern Lawyers (3220 Cadillac Tower, Detroit 26, Mich.) with numerous lawyers awaiting invitations to come south for varying lengths of time and offering researching aid; the new American Civil Liberties Union southern commitment; the politically limited Lawyer's Committee for Civil Rights Under Law; and a New York group including Kunstler and Kinoy and John Silverberg. Arthur Kinoy has confidentially offered to organize a Mississippi Legal Aid Panel. This should not be discussed until after acceptance (if forthcoming) so the Inc. Fund won't have a chance to quash it before birth.
 - (a) The need for organization. At present our entire legal aid picture is one of confusion. Trial dates go by unremembered, cases are argued with little or no preparation, and grossly unconstitutional situations are allowed to continue without challenge. There should be a Mississippi Legal Aid Panel set up to coordinate our needs and assistance. There must be (a) an invitation from the top COFO leadership that such aid is desired. (an informal request for assistance in getting legal aid would be o.k., if at least a letter would be written to show that the forthcoming efforts are truly desired).

- (b) The designation by COFO of a liason man who would keep up with current and anticipated legal needs, keep accurate records, and who would communicate with
- (c) The Mississippi Panel secretary. This attorney would probably be in New York and would handle the legal aid requests and work which the COFO liason man would funnel to him. The liason man is needed so that conflicting requests are not made, and to have someone responsible for keeping abreast of legal developments in the State so that we are both better prepared and so that we can coordinate aggressive action. The Panel secretary would keep records for continuing case responsibility, would obtain the lawyers to come, etc. For example, the liason man could call up and say that in about two weeks there will be a mass voter registration leafletting in Leland, Miss., and that we expect to be arrested since the Leland cops have told us that we can't leaflet without a permit. Then the Panel Secretary would get a lawyer to come and see what is needed. There are some in New Orleans, cooperating with Kinoy, who could come, for example. Then either he would stay and handle it ~~x~~ or call and get more aid.

This Panel is ripe to be set up. Kinoy is on the Guild Committee To Aid Southern Lawyer's, has already been involved in Mississippi (in the church cases, etc.), and has many contacts with other interested groups and lawyers. He works with Mel Wulf (Legal Director, A.C.L.U.), Jack Pratt (National Council Of Churches attorney), and other lawyers.

- (d) Finances. These individual lawyers have volunteered their time. However, some travel and other necessary legal costs will have to be raised. This could well be done if just a top flight invitation were given to set up the panel. To illustrate, when I was at the Guild convention in Detroit, the main point of the CASL was that they had not been invited to assist enough. They did not have direct personal contact and hesitated to come down by themselves without any set up. LET US NOT BE DENIED AID BECAUSE WE FAILED TO ASK FOR IT.

I do not think that the NAACP Inc. Fund will like such a panel to be set up, but there is nothing they can do about it. Just as when other attorneys have come in as they have in isolated instances, the result has been one of prodding the Inc. Fund to be more active, instead of making them angry and then less active. This summer's project particularly needs to be set up responsibly. Do we really think that our present legal posture is sufficient?

Landy McNair, Don White and I took a six week "civil rights law course" with Len Holt in Washington, D.C. Landy left early and wishes to work in Yazoo City, I think, and Don is back in Columbus. I am in Greenville, but so very interested in improving our legal posture, that I would be willing to be our legal liason man. (Naturally that "legal education civil rights course" Landy, Don and I took is confidential so the Miss. authorities won't run us out for illegally trying to practice law).

COFO should communicate, in person if possible, with Arthur Kinoy (511 Fifth Ave, N.Y. 17), George Crockett, CASL Co-Chariman (3220 Cadillac Tower, Detroit 26, Mich.) about COFO's plans and needs.

R. Hunter Murray

III: Training Volunteers, June 15-29, 1964



Northern volunteers received training at Western College for Women in Oxford, Ohio, in two groups. The first was trained June 15-22 and the second June 23-29. They spent all day in workshops devoted to conditions in Mississippi, techniques of nonviolent resistance, methods of community organizing, legal and security issues, African-American history, and related topics. Some tension existed between the project staff, who were mainly black, Southern and veterans of racist violence, and the seemingly naïve and idealistic middle-class, white college students.

11 Memo to Accepted Applicants

(2 pages, undated) Memo from Bob Moses providing basic information to accepted volunteers
<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/2661>

12 Memo to Accepted Applicants #2

(1 page) Additional information which we have thought of since the first memo was written
<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/9563>

13 Security Handbook

(3 pages) Mimeographed guidelines about dangers for volunteers
<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/11018>

14 Possible Role Playing Situations

(1 page) Handout of scenarios that volunteers might encounter
<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/9547>

15 Vogel, Lise: Notes Taken at 1964 Orientation for Mississippi Summer Project

(11 pages) Handwritten notes taken by a volunteer, including talks by Bob Moses and others on conditions in Mississippi, non-violence, health, security, and other issues
<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/17155>

16 Mississippi Summer Project Workers in State as of June 29, 1964

(13 pages) List of more than 520 staff and volunteers working in the state of Mississippi as of June 29, 1964. List includes each worker's location and duty
<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/8240>

*Mark Morris*MEMO TO ACCEPTED APPLICANTS

To: Mississippi Summer Project Workers

From: Mississippi Summer Project Committee

1) We hope you are making preparations to have bond money ready in the event of your arrest. Bond money for a single arrest usually runs around \$500. We shall assume that the first person listed on your application as the person to notify for your bond will be the best person to contact in the event of your arrest.

2) There will be a series of orientation periods starting in mid-June and running until the beginning of July at Beres College. People will be staggered over three sessions, each lasting about four days.

3) After July 1 there will be a series of summer long orientation sessions held at Mount Beulah in Edwards, Mississippi. We expect all summer workers to go through some orientation period before going into the field.

4) A conference was held the weekend of March 21-22 at which various civil rights people and educators gathered in New York to work out a detailed curriculum for the Freedom Schools. The conference broke into small working groups which discussed the various Freedom School programs -- remedial instruction, leadership training, cultural activities, etc. At present various people are pulling together the results of their sessions and sending reports to the Jackson office. By the end of April we hope to be able to put together a comprehensive and detailed curriculum with working suggestions which will be circulated to all those who are being assigned to work in Freedom Schools this summer.

5) We are presently in a very critical financial condition. We are trying to run a number of very important programs this spring and at the same time we are preparing for this summer. We are running three congressional campaigns as well as a senatorial campaign and conducting a Freedom Registration program -- in which we hope to register 400,000 Negroes on our own registration books -- and building a grass-roots foundation for our delegation to the Democratic National Convention to challenge the regular all-white party delegation. Believe it or not, at the moment we are absolutely broke. Our workers go without eating and our bills are piling up. While two years ago this would not have cut seriously into our program, at the present time we can no longer operate for extended periods without funds -- e.g. we need money for office rent, phone, office supplies,

transportation, etc. We are enclosing a prospectus of our spring program and hope that you could raise some money, however small, to help finance our current programs.

6) Of course, we will also be needing a huge amount of funds for this summer. For this purpose we are enclosing a Freedom School Prospectus in the hope that you might interest some church, civic or other group in financing a specific Freedom School. In addition, it is hoped that you could help raise money for general operating funds. If there is a Freedom Center in your area, this could probably best be done by working along with the people active in the center. Though, in the final analysis, you would be best judge of what approach would produce the best results.

7) We would appreciate two more photos of yourself as soon as possible. These will be needed for publicity and other purposes.

8) Finally we must point out that the Mississippi leadership must reserve the right to "deselect" any summer worker at the time of orientation as well as to ask people to leave Mississippi at any time during the summer.

We will try to communicate with you periodically from now until the time you come to Mississippi. We will be feeding you general information, specific instructions, and suggestions of things you might do for the summer program before this summer. Thus, we will shortly be sending all Freedom School teachers curriculum material as indicated above. In addition, we will be sending out lists of materials which it would be helpful if you could help gather and send to us or bring with you. Further, there will be specific information on where you will be assigned to work and what you will be asked to do, when you will be expected at the orientation period, etc. If you own a car and are planning to bring it to Mississippi this summer there will be some specific information that we will need to know.

Keep in touch with us if you have any suggestions, require any information, etc.

Yours in Freedom,

Bob Moses
COFO Program Director

MEMO TO ACCEPTED APPLICANTS (#2)

To: Mississippi Summer Project Workers
 From: Mississippi Summer Project Committee

Here is some additional information which we have thought of since the first memo was written:

- 1) Money: The best arrangement for money is probably for you to bring \$60.00 expense money with you (above transportation costs) and arrange to have \$20.00 to \$15.00 living costs sent you weekly.
- 2) Arrests: We must re-emphasize that all workers during the summer are liable to arrest, although Freedom School teachers, white community project workers and researchers will be less likely to be arrested than others. All workers, however, should have bond ready.
- 3) Transportation to orientation site: Everyone who is near a Freedom Center (list sent earlier) should contact the center, which will be coordinating transportation from their area. If you are a long distance from the nearest center and do not have a ride or other transportation, contact us and we will try to help you.
- 4) Cars: Everyone who possibly can should bring a car this summer. The car you bring should be insured. The legal situation on cars in the state is this:

---Anyone who is in the state 60 days must secure a Mississippi driver's license. If you have a license from another state you only have to take a written test, but if you plan to be in the state over 60 days you should get your license before the local authorities know who you are. License costs \$2.50.

---Any car which is in the state 60 days must have Mississippi license plates. Tags are expensive (about 4% the value of the car). You can plan to purchase the tags. We advise that you plan to take the car out of the state periodically so you can claim that you are only visiting the state and have only been in the state x days.

We need a complete record of all the cars that will be coming down. Some of you indicated whether you would bring a car when you filled out your application. We are asking all accepted applicants to fill out the slip below, tear it off, and send it to the COFO office. You should also let the Freedom Center know if you will be driving down, so they can coordinate transportation.

 COFO
 1017 Lybch St., Jackson

CAR INFORMATION

Name _____

Present (school) address _____

I will be bringing a car to Mississippi. ()

I will not be bringing a car to Mississippi. ()

SECURITY HANDBOOK

1. Communications personnel will act as security officers.

2. Travel

a. When persons leave their project, they must call their project person to person for themselves on arrival at destination point. Should they be missing, project personnel will notify the Jackson office. WATS line operators will call each project every day at dinnertime or thereabouts, and should be notified of changes in personnel, transfers, etc. (If trips are planned in advance, this information can go to Jackson by mail. Phone should be used only where there is no time. Care should be taken at all times to avoid, if possible, full names of persons travelling.) Checklists should be used in local projects for personnel to check in and out.

b. Doors of cars should be locked at all times. At night, windows should be rolled up as much as possible. Gas tanks must have locks and be kept locked. Hoods should ~~also~~ be locked.

c. No one should go anywhere alone, but certainly not in an automobile, and certainly not at night.

d. Travel at night should be avoided unless absolutely necessary.

e. Remove all unnecessary objects from your car which could be construed as weapons. (Hammers, files, iron rules, etc.) Absolutely no liquor bottles, beer cans, etc. should be inside your car. Do not travel with names and addresses of local contacts.

f. Know all roads in and out of town. Study the county map.

g. Know locations of sanctuaries and safe homes in the county.

h. When getting out of a car at night, make sure the car's inside light is out.

i. Be conscious of cars which circle offices or Freedom Houses. Take license numbers of all suspicious cars. Note make, model and year. Cars without license plates should immediately be reported to the project office.

Living at Home or in Freedom Houses

a. If it can be avoided, try not to sleep near open windows. Try to sleep at the back of the house, i.e., the part farthest from a road or street.

b. Do not stand in doorways at night with the light at your back.

c. At night, people should not sit in their rooms without drawn shades.

d. Do not congregate in front of the house at night.

e. Make sure doors to Freedom Houses have locks, and are locked.

f. Keep records of suspicious events, i.e., the same car circling around the house or office several times during the day or week. Take license numbers, makes, years and models of cars. Keep records of the times these cars appear.

g. If an "incident" occurs, or is about to occur, call the project, and then notify local FBI and police.

h. Depending on project needs and circumstances, it may be advisable for new personnel to make deliberate attempts to introduce themselves immediately to local police and tell them their reason for being in the area.

i. A phone should be installed in each Freedom House, if there isn't one already. If a private phone is used, please put a lock on it. Otherwise, install a pay phone; this will avoid immediate pick-ups on suspicion.

Personal Actions

a. Carry identification at all times. Men should carry draft cards on c

b. All drivers should have in their possession drivers licenses, registration papers, and bills of sale. The information should also be on record with the project director. If you are carrying supplies, it might be well to have a letter authorizing the supplies from a particular individual to avoid charges of carrying stolen goods.

c. Mississippi is a dry state and though liquor is ostensibly outlawed, it is available everywhere. You must not drink in offices, or Freedom Houses. This is especially important for persons under 21.

d. Try to avoid bizarre or provocative clothing, and beards. Be neat.

e. Make sure that prescribed medicines are clearly marked, with your name, the doctor's name, etc.

f. In Relations with the Press

a. Refer questions about SNCC's perspective or policies to the Project Director.

b. Do not argue with the press. Do not exaggerate. Give the facts only.

c. The Project Director and communications person will ask for credentials of press. If you do not know the reporter, check with one of them or ask to see the reporter's credentials.

d. Try to relate your activities to the lives of the local residents. This will not be hard to do, or unnatural, if you remember your role in the state.

Information to Police

Under no circumstances should you give the address of the local person with whom you are living, his or her name, or the names of any local persons who are associated with you. When police ask where you live, give your local project or Freedom House address, or if necessary, your out of state address.

Relations with Visitors

Find out who strangers are. If persons come into project offices to "look around" try to discover who they are and what exactly they want to know. All offers of assistance should be cleared through the project director.

Records

1. Any written record of importance should have at least four copies. Keep original, send copies to Jackson, Greenwood, and Atlanta. Bear in mind that the office might be raided at any time.

2. Keep a record of interference with phone lines and of notifications of FBI. This information will go to Jackson via the communications person.

Policy

1. People who do not adhere to disciplinary requirements will be asked to leave the project.

2. Security precautions are a matter of group responsibility. Each individual should take an interest in every other person's safety, well-being, and discipline.

3. At all times you should be aware of the danger to local residents. White volunteers must be especially careful.

POSSIBLE ROLE PLAYING SITUATIONS

I. Reporter

1. What would you say if a reporter asked you about staff problems?
2. What would you say if a reporter asked you about COFO policies?
3. What would you do if a reporter asked you what do you expect out of the summer project?
4. Do you think the summer project was a good idea?
5. Do you like working with Negroes?
6. Have you found that most Negroes are dirty?
7. Are Negroes staying with white boys and girls?

II. Police

1. If a police stopped you and asked you to get into his car, what would you do?
2. If a cop told you, you are under arrest, what would you do or say?
3. If you are taken to jail, what would you say? What questions would you answer?
4. If you saw another person arrested, what would you do?
5. If you were allowed a phone call, who would you call and what would you say?
6. If you saw a person being beaten, what would you do? by police? by an outsider?

III. Non violence

1. How would you react to:
teargas, firehoses, dogs, picket line, march to courthouse,
verbal intimidations, cattle prod, etc.

IV. Canvassing

1. How would you approach a person in a community you had never seen before?
2. How could you make a person understand what voting is by relating things in his everyday life?
3. How would you talk to a real religious person?
5. How would you talk to a community leader?

V. White Local citizens

1. How would you approach a local white citizen?
2. How would you react if approached by a local white citizen?

Lise Vogel Notes of 1964 Orientation for Miss. Summer Project

BOB MOSES on MISSISSIPPI REGIONS

Monday 22 June 1964, Oxford, Ohio

Delta. Large ^(Sunflower county, Greenwood, Huleville, etc.) holdings. Organized violence, (Perkins from Greenwood),
(MS) White City Council. Big politicians trying to contain it. Lining
for civil rls. leaders. 66% negro.
SW: ^(McComb) "Redneck" poor people. ~~left~~ after March on Vandal
Klan reorganized. 162 X's ~~the~~ on single night here + NE La.
5 negroes killed since Dec. Violence not so directed against
leaders; no pattern (? unless has to do w. ^{disproportionate} rubber factory's
quiet upgrading of negroes + white resentment thereto).

-anti-negro organizations: 1) White Citizens Councils: oligarchy
2) Society for the Preservation of the White Race: ?
3) Klan: "retreats"

-need to know who belongs to what, to figure out the role of each. Just
recently (due to Summer Project + whites involved?) FBI sending
down (rather than from Jackson, New Orleans branches) crack team
to investigate.

-viz. when had students helping on their vacations, FBI men, etc.
were around. Can this be transferred to negro workers??

-think about whether ~~in~~ backyard or front porch of ^{all} America: N.Y.S.

-certain areas, just survival will be an accomplishment, huge job. (eg. SW?)
Also, a sit-in (or an unwise individual action) in NE might provoke a
killing in SW—: is everyone's responsibility.

-question is not sit-ins in downtown restaurants, etc. Can't afford it. Also if
they use the "white side" of the bus station, later might be reprisals.
(Cond.: tokens + fragments ^{of public accommodations} ineffective). SNCC (COFO) is trying to get
federal dam sites opened for recreation, this seems fruitful.
Make no more wait checking it locally + perhaps in Jackson.

-NE: TVA country. ^{more} industry, fewer negroes, less violent. (Tougaloo).

[parallel ^(to official) meetings will occur in July one, ^(county) + 1st week in August (Jackson, stable)]

SE?

with Camp. + Repres. to protest that

at Newkoba
county
picked up for traffic
violation

{	James Chaney - CORE staff (CORE)
	Michael Schwerner - CORE "
	Andrew Goodman - volunteer (NYC)

MOSES, 22 June, cont'd.

- general background

(1) non-violence. Some basic rules (no guns; BUT no preaching against guns, since is their business, + E tradition; if in a house which is being defended with guns - what to do? personal decision).

(2) safety. Don't travel (etc) at night.

(3) legal questions. First arrest, then they make up the charge. Will bail out because work ^(volunteers) we are doing can't be done in jail.

- so avoid arrest (girls: avoid exposure (dress, cafés at night)) as much as possible, without compromising work.

- lawyers of various types (NAACP, all street, ACLU, National Lawyers Guild, etc).

- NOTE: want to avoid problems of 1930s, 40s (i.e. red baiting)

It is divisive within the staff. Will accept people according to the services they can offer. (I.e. prejudice poisons whole society, affecting some as hatred of differences, i.e.). Have to discuss this, without becoming over-analytic + .. bogged down.

VINCENT HARDING

Tues, 23 June 1964

-history of the negro in America: summary

- slavery, 1619 P. Effect at least as import. as Puritanism, frontier life, Federal form of gov, etc. Forced to give up African heritage, but not permitted a new one.
- problem of qualification within principles of developing American sense + with seriously Asian society. So helped to produce a split personality; also distrust + deception, myths, etc, as well as (unnecessary) revolts.

-post-civil war

- for short while, negroes were able to participate in gov., began to realize equality under Federal watch.
- 1899, Fed. troops withdrawn. And systematic attempt to put down negroes: (1) from vote (2) from union w. the poor whites. Successful, with the help of Northern whites. Slaves had not been given land, + so freedmen still dependant on white economy, so economic as well as physical threat used.
- Jim Crow laws, and 19th/beg 20th c. legalized this (including 1896 Supreme Court decision). Segregation part of American way of life.
- 1954 (symbolic) start of ^{age of} new negro revolution. Actually had been worldwide for a generation or so. But rebellion had been present from the start..... 1954 also marked start of white resistance (White Citizens Councils also founded 1954). Then 1960, Greensboro + a spreading rip spirit of direct action protest; non-violence. 1963 F. non-violence questioned.

-negroes in Mississippi

- bitterness against "the white man" (counterpart of the "negro") must be recognized. Ambivalence towards. Remnant of our articulateness + capacity; accompanied by certain kind of aggressiveness, especially sexual; + a naive racism of Black nationalism (Black = good).
- also the majority of these negroes, not freedom fighters, will give-up war + never to desert with us.
- also many will be half-way, neither totally broken, nor yet with us.
- + finally will meet + have met negroes who have been freed, or are in the process - sometimes in their old age. Some even freed from need to hate. Many have found it out of deep religious conviction. Know also what they are risking - esp. reprisals after we return to the "free safe North".

4

-whites in Mississippi

- necessarily, I contain kind of community madness, mental illness.
- at the moment, a fear approaching paranoia: everything new & strange threatens. Everything (nation, UN, etc) against them, who are fighting a lonely noble battle. So is fear more than hate that motivates & drives the society.
- result of history, closed press, etc. Klan & Council are concerned above all with other whites; + whites feel they have to cooperate to survive.
- whites can't imagine that if negroes achieve economic & political power, they won't treat whites as whites had treated negroes. I.e. the fear of the ~~man~~ man after he has killed of all other men.
- fear also that enough death for both whites & negroes to live decently. A fairly desperate fear.
- finally: I some whites who have not lost their humanity through fear. Find them.

-how to deal with this.

- we are working for a cause within a society which thinks anyone who does this is kinky; i.e. won't be heard.
- accept & understand & try to absorb the bitterness; don't respond to it. Behave. Perhaps try not to fall into the trap of "the white man"; don't prove that you can hate "the white man" as well as they. Enough hate.
- be hesitant at first to throw out too many ideas; later, + you will learn. Also, since we are learning, must let them develop their ideas.
- fear/hate sex business. Remember that we are fighting the part wherein men have used other people. So don't perpetuate it by using other people sexually; "my summer negro", "the white girl I made" are no different from the token negro in the school - none are really known & experienced. Also we are not alone; we are watched - by negro girls, the older negroes in the community, the whites.
- black racism: recognize its existence, + our participation in it, etc.
- broken spirits: w. honesty & courtesy try to let them not see man you. Don't participate in their brokenness. Don't buy it, even if you like it.

Tues, 23 June, afternoon: Larp: Charles Morgan on the whites in
the south (passive). Jimmy Travis.

Non-violence = aggressive good will

NON-VIOLENCE Rev. James Jackson

(slapping medicine)

Wed, 24 June 1968

- we are not in a revolution yet since

- (1) institutions not in collapse
- (2) counterforce not yet formed.

What we are doing is preparing for this. And the revolution will be non-violent - not on a pragmatic basis but because:

- (1) only right, truthful approach for building the beloved community
- (2) the future beloved community has to start in the present
- (3) to create a soil of love for future dev?

- non-violence (= aggressive good will?). Fundamental attitude of life rather than technique. *Lydia*. 4 "requirements"

- (1) faith: wrestling w God = truth = ultimate reality = love. Only this can cope with fear
- (2) means + ends inherent in one another
- (3) respect for individual's worth (incl. the local sheriff)
- (4) trust in invincible psych, moral, spiritual forces operative in human life + the universe.

Non-violence cannot be a tactic

- (1) love can not be a technique (most women learn this at an early age)
- (2) weapons of non-violence can be violent with non-violent content.

- (3) I.e. without deliberate effort to injure + enforce a will. *Viz the Nixon wars - attacked in my question 1.*
(True: VERY DANGEROUS) (E.g. a good people vs. an angry one)
- (3) spontaneity of tactics depends on knowledge of creative spirit of love.
- (4) necessity of creativity in a hot situation. (True: what does this have to do with his heading?)

Non-violence requires discipline above all

- (1) physical bodily discipline
- (2) intellectual " (study of only 30 min/day) not meditation

Too much unrealistic thinking re political matters. Too many people think can work w. in existing institutions. (True: as these inst.??!!)

- (3) moral + spiritual discipline. Contempl., prayer, fasting
- (4) a personal order of life.
- (5) discipline of experimentation.

what kind of
Larp
have we
not working
for it.

1. *poly but diff*

① if a tactic doesn't have to be passively felt. That of a certain could consider alternatives someone speaks to non-violence put forward position of non-violence

→ without any feeling for words + phrases.

→ incompetent analytic decisions
→ bloody use of words. His straw
man somewhere between NACP + SNCC
Is this SCLC representative?

NON-VIOLENCE

BOB MOSES

- Guidelines:
- 1) no weapons
 - 2) non-staff local people decide whether to carry weapons.
Discuss problems of limit cases
 - 3) problem of responsibility for others who get involved through our efforts (possible relevant ideas: we too run the risks, grey area betw. victim or executioner (Gandhi))

NON-VIOLENCE IN ACTION

BAYARD RUSTIN

Two 25 June 1964

- non-violence

[can't distinguish principled + strategic non-violence. ^{see p. 5}]

- non-violence exists in everyone's life; what differs is the community in which it operates (family, allied army, all mankind)

- non-violence depends on love. In non-violent social change, to love Eastland, e.g., may involve some gentle punishment; so as to create conditions which will redeem Eastland's children.

You embrace in love the social situation until it changes; greatest act of love is to create the conditions in which man can be human.

(hit negroes in movement who expect us not to understand - intellectually the situation; they do not understand their own enemies. Don't let negroes lead

~~the movement~~ simply because he is negro; only because he knows situation better. ~~Don't let lot of negroes~~ ^{in the movement} or ^{white} ^{way}; don't permit it or you are ^{brutalizing} yourself.

- self-defense

- non-violence + injustice mutually exclusive

- can arm ourselves with certain concepts

1) expectation + hope (despite the 3 lost, etc.)

2) openness to believe that man can be that better - through ourselves

(e.g. how can a white Southern person knowing the truth still not speak out? BUT if we continue to smoke) thereby empathizing.

To understand others in light of one's own experience (+ failures).

3) fear. Can possess fear without being fearful; fear integral part of courage. Have to overcome fear in order to defend ourselves non-violently.

- note: Gandhi never faced socially pathological (i.e. applauding inhuman behavior) context. So we are exploring the possibilities of non-violence further.

Greatest defense against violence when dealing with 1 or 2 people is to show no fear, no 10/10 as victim; a neutral look of calm.

He might strike then - but he might not. / also try not to do anything

Conclusion: be careful where you go limp! in anger.

4) attitude of accepting the other fellow for what he would like to be.

People will smell you if you are hiding feelings of violence etc.

5) the only ultimate security is the voluntary acceptance of insecurity. (e.g. give your book away) (child needs insecurity of trying to walk in order to learn to walk securely)

principled vs. strategic non-violence

- I can diff betw violence & non-violence.

- BUT diff betw principled & strategic non-viol. not so clear of the ^{practical beliefs for the}

- movement working towards betterment of all not because ~~it~~ he is black — but because ~~it~~ it is the only thing moving. Not (Baldwin) — stand for the self, or homeland of Africa, or heritage, or goal of separation. Importance of negro is not his negro-ness but his desire to hold a white hand, ^(in the movement) his dedication to social truth.

- if negro struggle because he is black & oppressed, then he is the (violent) counterpart of Eskland. Non-violence says there must be no top & bottom. Must struggle for equality, community.

[remember, national guard comes in to maintain status quo (Cambridge). So don't ask for it. What will they bring if the violence springs from negro community.]

- Martin feels the ^(rights - policy) great need now is to get another group involved in Movement besides the Negro & destroy middle class allies; namely, the 50 million white poor. He would hope that next summer, whites go into, e.g. Appalachia. Educational aspect of our project may prove the most constructive.

LAWYER

- read + memorize pamphlet put out by NAACP; also chapters in Direct Action manual
- can't land cars. Drive directly to destination.
- if arrested.
 - suppose they try you w/out lawyer: ask for a "continuance" in the court room. (they judge have to let a class of lawyer)
 - note that often justices aren't lawyers (60%) + they do what the prosecutor says.
 - suppose continuance granted. Associate (would be a misdemeanor)
 - 1) guilty (probably not) / declare right not to take stand; even if you cross-examine + participate. If you do, you are subject to a horrible cross-examination. (no right of silence)
 - 2) not-guilty
 - 3) no contest = no contest. Court automatically finds you guilty. (leave alone; get you out; finishes it w/out giving out evidence + giving trial a chance to change evidence; can then start appeal right away)
- NOTE: police will ask lots of questions. Don't have to tell anything except your name
- SNCC seems to prefer that if can't get lawyer or continuance, to stand mute. If he argues + says he'll hold you in contempt, try no contest. He still may wish to hold you in contempt, in which case, plead not guilty.
- don't get upset if lawyer just listens; he's waiting for the next higher level + doesn't want to give away any contradictions he notices.
- NOTE: can change your plea via appeal to ^{next} higher court, even from "guilty".
- lawyers: 3 main groups: (1) NAACP ^{"Int. fund"} (staff will be in Jackson + in Memphis)
 - (2) Lawyers Constitutional Defense Fund
ACLU, SNCC, CORE, NCC, Legal Defense Fund, etc. ^{NY (Jacksonburg)}
 - (3) National Lawyers Guild (Jackson office)
 - (4) Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights under the Law (out of Wash.)
- Legal Defense Fund { - also have "cooperating lawyers", ca 100 (local who cooperate) (all over US (?))
- 2 staff on call this summer

- 1) not direct action. What movement can carry heavy charges, should we pay fines, other e.g. what about anti-racist school home.
- 2) if we jump on bail, does it jeopardize bail funds

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~~CRIMINAL LAW~~ ~~CRIMINAL LAW~~

- bail: always have right to post bail, unless capital crime
- trial: may have to make 2 personal appearances.
- if they try to let you out of jail at night, insist on staying in jail.
- moral charges are easiest to bring. E.g. contributing to delinquency of minors. Don't dilly-dally around unnecessarily with students. ALSO: anything known to negro community (e.g. affairs) will be known to police.
- after trial, conviction, ask judge for a call; then the jailman. Eventually, if necessary, someone release you.
- at arrest, policeman has right of search
- search warrant required for private property.
- in any charge (vagrancy, etc), ask what it is, write it down ("you can't switch charges in mid-stream")
- police brutality. ^{although this might inflame them!! perhaps be non-committal.} Inform police sergeant; tell whenever you call, your lawyer, NOTE: if 3 witnesses, Fed Gov has power to bring cases.
- going limp: Miss. police consider this resisting arrest and use it as excuse to use all force necessary.

DO PHILIP!
 STENCIL get map
 6 speak to Betty
 HOME: tell Betty to permit collect call from me on 8-79, 1 & 2
 write Peter good. { Peter Oretel } FBI INS doesn't call to camp. re/S as local, police, etc 11
 each other
 404-688-0731
 Write, telegraph, etc
 Mary: 1964 every other week, 10 pencils to nuno
 send large amount to the office to 14
 (3 Trans v. mail) checks for own
 project: certified cashier
 checks for money order
 404-688-0731
 PERSONAL
 Dr. Coles, Dr. Brenner

JOHN DEAR

- know names of officials in county, nearest FBI office, etc
- NOTE: 3 huge misinformations re Project, featured by extremist groups. Try to change this, + thus reach the "realists"

SECURITY, PUBLICITY, etc.

- Betty Gorman
 - working out of Greenwood. Working on Northside of SNCC groups.
 - personal mail: probably OK, but might be opened.
 BUT: put no personal names of people you are staying with, no addresses. Use office address for mail.
 - if mail or money is lost, lodge plaint, get affidavit.
- Jim Forman
- Bob Moses
 - Tolkien, The Fellowship of the Ring, (3 vol). Describe the weariness of the struggle of good against evil.
 - problem of justification
 - 1) SNCC also taking risks
 - 2) people being killed anyway (the killed), + in some way responsible for that also
 - 3) + somehow, all moves forward have always been accompanied by some sort of sacrifice of blood.
 - freedom school people: if can scale off a little chunk of a problem + make some steps in examining it thoroughly, then will have accomplished something really significant, Repeat.

MISSISSIPPI SUMMER PROJECT WORKERS IN STATE AS OF JUNE 29, 1964

I. COLUMBUS

328-9719 office
328-0601 Mrs. Davis' home across the street
Address: 1323 6th Ave.

Communications:

Staff

Donald White
Willie Blue
Gerry Austin
Emma Bell
Mel Carter

Volunteers

Ragnar Amundson	VR (SW)
Wayne Anderson	VR (SW)
Joel Bernard	VR (SW)
Pete Morrell	VR (SW)
Bernard Wasow	(SW) Research
David Llorens	VR (SW)
John Buffington	VR (SW)
Steven Fraser	VR
Margaret Dobbins	FS Coordinator
Neil Eklund	FS
Stu Ewen	FS
Sylvia Woog	FS
Isaac Coleman	
Joseph Maurer	
Bruce Glushakow	
Warren Galloway	
Ron Bridgeforth	
Robert Lavall	
Marvin Griffin (local)	
Rev. Roy Valencourt	
Richard Wheelock (law student)	

II. Holly Springs

1257 - office
Address - 100 Rust Ave.

Communications: Carl Young

Staff

Ivanhoe Donaldson
Cleveland Sellers
Larry Rubin

Volunteers

James Kates VR (SW)
 Lee Garrett VR (SW)
 Ralph Featherstone VR (SW)
 Harry Frye VR (SW)
 Robert Pullilove VR (SW)
 Mike Wood VR (SW)
 Dave Kendall VR (SW)
 Larry Wrights VR (SW)
 Aviva Futorian FS
 Dave Trimble
 Harry Malm
 Karen Kunstler
 Andrea Barker
 Frank Ciesiorka
 Elwood Berry
 Jon Davies
 Barbara Walker
 Barbara Blumfield
 Peter Cummings
 Sandra Hand
 Mary Jennings
 Gitte Pearl
 Pam Parker
 Harriet Tanzman
 Benjamin Graham
 Wayne Yancey

BATESVILLE

563 - 3058 - Mr. Miles' Home

563 - 7163 - Almos Johnson's house (girls living there)

Address: Route # 2, P.O. Box 20

Communications: Kathie Amatruck

Staff

Claude Weaver
 Gwen Gillon
 Pam Jones

Volunteers

Billy McDaniel (local from Hattiesburg)
 Carl Pomerance
 Joseph Murphy
 John Strand
 Chris Williams
 Gene Erickson
 Tim Morrison
 Jeff Cowan
 Jay Shetterly

GREENWOOD (Stokely Carmichael, the head of all 2nd district projects, is in charge of Greenwood).

453-1282 -office
453-7871 - office
Address: 708 Ave. N

Address: Route 4 S, Box 504
Phone: 453-1282

Communications: Stu Hauso

Staff
Doris Williams
Carol Matthews
Nellie Watkins

Staff

Stokely Carmichael
Eli Zeretsky
Albert Garner
Dick Frey
Matthew Hughes
(Willie McGee)
Ruth Howard
Sam Block

Volunteers
Robert Burger
Peter Ortiz
Robert Gamm
Edwin Wilson
Mike Lundy
Katie Davis
James Hughes
Steve Hughes
Bernard Gann
Robert Gervacio

Volunteers

William Hodes
Robert Masters
Philip Moore
Carol Kornfield
Adam Kline
Fred Magnum
Margaret Aley
Bambi Brown
Howard Iriyama
Gloria Wise
Richard Miller
Caroline Egan
Ronald Hersenery
Ray Rohrbaugh (car)
Rita Rohrbaugh (car)
Peggy Reiman
Wendy Klein
Paul Klein
Evelyn Ellis - CC
Brett Breneman - CC
Linda Wetmore - federal programs
Marcus Winter - federal programs
Ed Bauer - CC (federal programs)
Sally Belfrage - FS
Judy Walborn - FS

Volunteers
Nicholas Bonaparte - FS Coordinator
Eddie Black - FS Coordinator
Anita Marie Williams - FS Coordinator
Sally Gorman
Leroy Henson
John Fritchland
Leroy Foxman
James Davis
Don Hester
Martha Henry
Lenny Smith
Leroy Stevens
Bruce Davidson
Gene Nelson
Mary Cole
John Allen
St. Nicholas
Leol Aber

ITTA HENA

254-7562
254-7637 - Willie McGee
Address: P.O. Box 549

COMMUNITY
254-7637 - Freedom House
Address: 901 N. Main
Communications: John Gage

Staff

Willie McGee

Volunteers

John Paul
Roy Torkington

Staff
Charles Cobb (also working the counter)
Ken Freeman
Bob Wright
Linda Grant
Fred Anderson
Jesse Davis
Ray Reynolds
Claude Weaver
Muriel Williams
George Howell

HOLMES COUNTY
 5989 - home in Tehula
 Address: Route # 2, Box 56A

Staff

Hollis Watkins
 Carol Mathews
 Doris Wilson

Volunteers

Robert Berger	VR (SW)
Peter Orris	VR (SW)
Robert Osman	VR (SW)
Edwin Wilson	VR (SW)
Mike Kenney	VR (SW)
Mario Savio	VR (SW)
Cephas Hughes	VR (SW)
Steve Bingham	VR (SW)
Marshall Ganz	VR (SW)
Robert Garrosfalo	VR (SW)
Nicholas Bosanquet	- FS Coordinator
Eddie Black	FS Coordinator
Annie Marie Williams	- FS Coordinator
Betty Carstens	FS
Katey Newman	FS
John Friedland	FS
Jerry Parker	FS
James Bonds	FS
Don Hamer	FS
Martha Honey	FS
Nancy Smith	FS
Larry Stevens	FS
Bruce Detweiler	FS
Gene Nelson	CC
Mary Cole	CC
John Allen	CC
Su Nichols	CC
Joel Aber	

GREENVILLE

335-2173 - Freedom House
 Address: 901 1/2 Nelson

Communications: John Sawyer

Staff

Charlie Cobb (also working the counties)
 Pam Trotman
 Bob Wright
 Louis Grant
 Fred Anderson
 Jesse Davis
 Ray Raphael
 Claude Weaver
 Murial Tillinghurst
 George Rowell

George Winter
Joseph Smith
Lawrence Roberts
H. Paul Young
John Smith
Rev. J. H. Brown
J. H. Brown
J. H. Brown

Charles S. Gifford

(continued on p. 32)

Don'ts: Don'ts (going to Cleveland)

Doris Hurrell

Lower Dais

1997

Abstract

Abstract: *See page 100*

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(9) *abstract* *not*

Abstract

1999

Conclusions: The

Chris Barker

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(TOTAL CROWN & LIFE) THIRD RAYLES

doi:10.1002/for

STUDY NO. 7957-108-100 070-108

402-2504
Anne Moore

brother's role.

John Anderson

1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 26

William Roberts

Volunteers

Lis Fusco FS Coordinator
 Rev. Jim Corson NCC
 Jeff Sacher
 Michael Yarrow
 Gretchen Schwartz
 Joseph Smith
 George Winter
 James Dann
 Charles Scattergood
 Leonard Edwards (Law student)
 Dennis Flannigan (going to Cleveland)
 Dona Howell
 Lester Galt
 Jerry Tecklin
 Larry Archibald
 Peter Burr
 Glenn Fetty
 Ron Richards (?)
 George Robbins
 Linda Davis
 Lynn Hulse
 Jean Komzen
 Ellen Siegel
 Christine Powell
 Chris Hexter
 Parish olly
 Linda Seese
 David Gerber
 Heidi Dole

BOLIVAR COUNTY (SHAW & MOUND BAYOU)

843-5292 - Margaret Block
 843-9334 or- 843-5295 - Lois Rodgers
 843-2504 Ammie Moore
 Address: 614 Chrisman

Staff

John Bradford
 Margaret Block
 Ammie Moore
 Lois Rodgers

Volunteers

Wally Roberts -FS Coordinator
 Lisa Vogel FS
 Fred Wynn CC
 Judy York CC
 Heather Tobie
 Charles Sowersdine
 Robert Hargreaves
 Grace Morton

Bonnie Guy
 Judy Michalowski
 Katherine Logan
 Jonathan Black
 Linnell Barrett

CLARKSDALE

624-9167 - office
624-2913 - Dr. Henry's drug store
Address: 429 Yazoo

Communications: Yvonne Klein

Staff

Lafayette Surney
James Jones
Doris Newman
Annie Pearl Avery

Volunteers

Sanford Siegal FS Coordinator

Lisa Mandel
Robert Mandel
Robert Newberry
Mathew Zuerling
Charles Stewart
Lew Sitzer
Fred Winyard
John Suter
S. Zeman - CC
Les Johnson FS
Jay Stedman
Al Goodman
Margaret Hazelton
Mary Gergtz
Su Gladstone
Joe Youngerman
Stan Boyd
Paul Kendall
Catherine Quinn
David Batska
Mark Fast (went home, may return)

JACKSON

352 - 9788 - office
Address: Box 2896, 1017 Lynch St.

Communications: Bob Weil, Bill Light, Emile Schrader, Margaret Rose, Bob Byers
Wats Line Operators: Casey Hayden, Jeannie Breaker, Penny Patch

Staff

Bob Moses
Dave Dennis
Jesse Morris
Mandy Samstein
Dick Jewitt
Matteo Suarez
Annell Pom'or
Lois Chaffee
Jimmy Bolton
Helen O'Neal
Hunter Morey
Doria Moses

Staughton Lynd
McArthur Cotton
Margaret Burnham
Margaret Cunningham
Alma Bosley
Duvester Simpson

Volunteers

John Bundy	FDP
Jeff Acorn	FDP
Tim Lynch	FDP
Vincent Tranquilli	FDP
Karen Pate	FDP
Ruth Schein	Secretary
Sherwin Kaplan	Law student
Bill Robinson	Law student
Dori Ladner	
Barney Frank	
James Wilcox	
Tom Wahnman	
Su Wahnman	
Clinton Hopson	Law student
Andy Rust	Audio-Visual
Steve Smith	Fed. Programs
Rachel Brown	Fed Programs
Bob Cohen	Music Caravan
Su Cohen	Music Caravan
George Albertz	
Roger Lauren	
Edward Rudd	
Sherry Everett	

VICKSBURG

636-1592 - office
Address: 1016 Hossley

Communications:Staff

Andrew Barnes

Volunteers

Neil Hindman -	FS Coordinator
John Hunter	CC
Jan Handke	CC
Howard Stromquist	
Pat Thomas	
Jonathon Steele	
Ann Popkins	
Hank Chaiklin	
Frank O'Brien	
Richard Gould	
Holly Van Horne	
Mary Jo Cronin	
Elane Singer	
Lisa Werner	
Brian Dunlap	

CANTON

(a) (b) (c) (d) (e) (f) (g) (h) (i) (j) (k) (l) (m) (n) (o) (p) (q) (r) (s) (t) (u) (v) (w) (x) (y) (z)

859-9982 - office
 859-4289 - Mrs. Robinson's
 Address: 838 Lutz

Communications: Mary McGroarty

Staff

George Raymond
 Theodius Hewitt
 Jim Collier
 Marcellus Byrd
 Joe Lee Watts
 Landy McNair
 Hattie Palmer
 Andrew Greene

Volunteers

Dorothy Toal
 Tom Foner
 Rev. Paul Zimmerman
 Mike Peori
 Joan Abramson
 Sharon Anderson
 Margaret Benes
 Earl Bessey
 Nancy Cooper
 Bob Gilman
 Tom Manoff
 Joan Ocinan
 Susan Sanford
 Sally Schidler
 Phil Sharpe
 Richard Schwartz
 Sandy Watts
 Pamela Thomas
 Cynthia Small
 Marcia Hall
 Tom Jones
 Arlene Bock
 Martha Wright
 Jack Calma
 Bill Carney
 Al Gould
 Ann Harrison (NCC)
 Pete Praetz FS
 Nancy Wright FS

FLORA (out of Canton)

David Gabol
 Jim Ohls
 Doug Baty

(Rural Madison County)

Jody Koessecker
 G. Dean Zimmerman
 Nancy Jarvis
 Susan Fennel
 Gloria Bishop
 Than Porter
 Barbara (Simon)
 Madeline Levine
 Margaret Dobbie

MERIDIAN

482 - 6103 - office (outgoing calls)
485-9286 office (incoming calls)
Address: 2505 1/2 Fifth St.

Staff

Preston Ponder

Communications: Louise Hervey

Volunteers

Andrew Schifffrin
David Kots
John Stevenson
Edna Perkins
Peter Rabinowitz
Richard Swanson
Eleanore Teidman
Pat Wheeland
Mark Levy - FS
Betty Levy FS
Ronnie de Sousa
Gail Falk
Tina Duncan
Marylyn Leonard
Walter Hackman
Paul Miller
Carl Morgan
Diana Pachella

V. LAUREL (Still in Hattiesburg)
426 - 9163 phone in Howard Hotel
Address: 309 S. 4th Ave. (Howard Hotel)

Staff

Doug Smith
Leslie McKinney

Volunteers

Bob Jhrenreich
Leigh Stolzer
Lawrence Landerman
Jimmy Garrett FS
Tom Watts FS
Marcia Moore FS
Gwen Robinson

11.

MEMPHIS

calls - (999) 382
address: 309 S. 4th Ave.

Staff

John Ponder
Louise Hervey
Howard Hervey

Volunteers

David Kots
John Stevenson
Edna Perkins
Peter Rabinowitz
Richard Swanson
Eleanore Teidman
Pat Wheeland
Mark Levy - FS
Betty Levy FS
Ronnie de Sousa
Gail Falk
Tina Duncan
Marylyn Leonard
Walter Hackman
Paul Miller
Carl Morgan
Diana Pachella

(Local) calls
(Howard Hotel) address
309 S. 4th Ave.
Doug Smith
Leslie McKinney
Jimmy Garrett FS
Tom Watts FS
Marcia Moore FS
Gwen Robinson

HATTIESBURG

582 -9993 - office
Address: 507 Mobile St.

Communications: Terri Shaw

Staff

Sandy Leigh
Shiela Michaels
Howard Mobley

Volunteers

Margaret Hyatt
Linda Hamilton
David Owens
Ben Gershman Law student
Anthony Beaulieu
Walter Waters
Bill Minde
Nicholas Ellis
Malcolm Zaretsky
Diane Runkle
Paula Face
Greg Kaslo
Herbert Randall
Morton Mulvain
Stewart Rawlings
Lorne Cress
Lawrence Spears
Robert Stone
Lorise Jackson
James Nance
Mary Banks (local)
Joyce Brown (Research)
Carol Reese FS Coordinator
Arthur Reese FS Coordinator
Beth More FS
Doug Baer FS
Pat Yorck FS
Mary Gallatly CC
Dave Hawk VR
Jacob Hlum VR
Chris Wilson VR
Mohanne Winchester VR
Paul Terrell VR

GULFPORT-BILOXI

863-0131 - Mrs. Travis' home in Gulfport
Address: 2905 Harrison

Communications: Mike Ingraham

Staff

Lawrence Guyot
Dickie Flowers
Henry Bailey
Eddie Stevenson
Benny Jackson

Volunteers

Cathy Cade	Research
A. Hausfater	FS
Florence Jones	FS
Mary Lou Gillard	FS
George Tessaro	
Steve Miller	
Ellen Lake	
Sam Walker	
David Cleverdon	
Gwen Cooper	
Tom Rowe	
Barry Goldstein	
Gene Murphy	
Gibbs Kinderman	

PASCAGOULA-MOSS POINT

475-7055

Address:

Communications: Ron Ridenour

Staff

Charles Glen
Georgia Martin
Linda Wilson

Volunteers

Fred Mealey	
Morme McKay	
Rita Koplowitz	
Roger Barnhill	
Joe Liesner	
John Catalin	
John Else	HCC
Mary Ellikson	FS
Debbie Rand	FS
Su Ryerson	FS
Mary Larson	FS
Barry Clemson	VR
Nedra Winans	VR
Tony O'Brien	FS

IV: Murders of Schwerner, Chaney and Goodman



These three civil rights workers were kidnapped and murdered on June 21, 1964, just as the Freedom Summer Project got underway. Mickey Schwerner was a CORE staff member from New York who, with his wife Rita, had opened a community center in Mississippi in January. James Chaney was a local black activist who had recently begun working with CORE. Andrew Goodman was a new volunteer from New York on his first visit to Mississippi. Although previous lynchings of local black activists had usually gone unreported, their disappearance at the very start of Freedom Summer was widely covered in the national media. President Lyndon Johnson ordered the U.S. Navy and the FBI to lead the search for their killers and the case focused media attention on Mississippi until their bodies were found on August 4. The three were generally portrayed in the press as martyrs, especially Goodman and Schwerner, who were white northerners.

17 WATS Line Reports for June 22, 1964

(6 pages) Wide Area Telephone Service (WATS) transcripts of calls placed to and from COFO's Jackson headquarters about three missing civil rights workers, Andrew Goodman, James Chaney, and Michael Schwerner

<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/1888>

18 The Disappearance of Three Summer Project Workers, June 22, 1964

(1 page) Memo from Bob Moses sharing the facts as then known

<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/2587>

19 To Parents of All Mississippi Summer Volunteers

(3 pages) Mimeographed letter asking parents to contact elected officials

<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/1820>

20 Civil Rights: Grim Discovery in Mississippi, 1964

(1 page) Time magazine article from August 14, 1964, about the discovery of the bodies of slain civil rights workers Andrew Goodman, James Chaney, and Michael Schwerner

<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/1882>

21 Indictment of 18 Accused Murderers

(1 page) COFO press release, January 16, 1965 (misdated 64) announcing the indictment and the release of the men on bond

<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/6116>

Boy 37

6-2

June 22, 1964 (from reports on June 21 and following: Mary King and Ron Carver)
 Neshoba County (from Meridian: Louise Hervey and Jackson: Bob Weil and Bill Light)

Mickey Schwerner, 24, NYC, CORE staff; Andy Goodman, 20, Queens College, NYC; and James Chaney, 21, CORE staff, Meridian, Negro left Meridian between 9-10am yesterday going to Philadelphia to investigate the burning of Mt. Zion Methodist Church in Philadelphia and the beating of three ~~black~~ people. They were expected back at 4pm but have not been heard from since. All jails in the area were called but there was no trace of the three. Called ~~RE:Schwerner~~ Schwelb, in Philadelphia (482-0991). He is an attorney in the civil rights division of the Justice Department. He is not sure if it is a federal violation, and therefore he won't investigate. Jackson FBI won't do anything until this morning after they call the Justice Department. Schwelb was staying in Meridian last night in the Holiday Inn ~~in~~ (483-5381) (Louise Hervey-482-6103) 485-9286)

Last night two cars were circling around the Meridian office as it was getting dark.
 #51B798 '56 Ford, 2 white men - 2-tone blue car

#51B718 '54 Ford 6 men

Meridian police were called by the two summer volunteers who were in the office. They gave police the description of the two cars and told about the missing three staffers. They also noticed another car, a black Buick with 6 white men who shouted out as they went by office.

There seems to have been interference with both Jackson COFO phones. Have been ~~black~~ ~~black~~ unable to direct dial both numbers beginning about 6pm. Robert Weil reported that the state WATS line was out off for a while ~~black~~ Sunday afternoon.

More information concerning the three that disappeared:

Andy Goodman: father-Robert W. Goodman--161 W. 86, New York City; home:EN2-7265
 offices:JU6-1760

listed for bail: Ralph Engelman: 62-36 86th Street, Elmhurst, N.Y.
 interviewed by Monsonis; congressman: Keating, Javits, Fitts Ryan

Mickey Schwerner's car license: H25503- Mississippi Hinds County; blue '63 Ford fairlane station wagon

Mary called Goodman's parents at about 1:40/At. time. called Oxford with message for Rita. Sittin in Jackson office, may file story with NYT. Parents want to be called immediately as soon as any word, under any circumstances. Suggested that they call Fitts Ryan. ~~He~~ Mary also called John Dear about 1am. Dear suggested that we call the state highway patrol. Jackson called them.

Ron:

2:30am he called to Meridian. Rita had called into Meridian. At her suggestion Rev. Porter had been contacted (local minister), and was on his way over to the office for moral support. Two men had gotten out of a circling Texas car. The police were notified. Bill White was called in Jackson who suggested that Marvin Rich, CORE, NYC be called, and Dave Dennis in Shreveport. (318-868-5230) They attempted to call a Rev. Russell in Philadelphia from Oxford, but could not reach him (possibly he was moved out of the area after the Methodist conference.) They are not certain of Russell's sympathies.

~~1:35am: Ron called the Goodman's in NYC. They had called a man in DC who will contact the attorney general or his assistant (Kennedy may still be in Mass.) They were unable to get Fitts Ryan and will call Keating and Javits in the morning. Mrs. Goodman suggested that hospitals be checked and this was done. Schwelb was contacted again at 5:00am and said he was in contact with DC. State highway patrol was also contacted again. They had been told that the three were in a VW and that info. was corrected.~~

3:15am: Ron called the Goodman's in NYC. They had called a man in DC who will contact the attorney general or his assistant (Kennedy may still be in Mass.) They were unable to get Fitts Ryan and will call Keating and Javits in the morning. Mrs. Goodman suggested that hospitals be checked and this was done. Schwelb was contacted again at 5:00am and said he was in contact with DC. State highway patrol was also contacted again. They had been told that the three were in a VW and that info. was corrected.

June 22, 1964 cont'd

The reaction of the state highway patrol was one of irritation. Their job is to patrol the highways, they said, and they don't know anything about the three. One of the Jackson 14nos (phone) had been out most of the night because of operator harassment, tapes of Mizen's Council were being played over the phone (i.e. ~~phone~~ phone would ring and they'd hear the tape). This has cleared up however.

6am: Jackson office says that the story will break in NYC this morning (this was told them by Claude Sitton). The story will probably not be in NYT, but will be in radio, TV and other papers (note, story was carried on CBS world news roundup). In Oxford, Rita called Mickey's parents. Louise Herney in Meridian will have Rev. Porter talk with Mrs. Cheney. Jackson will call the state highway patrol for the third time.

(Highway patrol said that they had called the Meridian office but they didn't want to call Philadelphia because they didn't want to wake anyone up.

UPI and CBS called Jackson for information.

Ron called John Doar at his home at about 6:30am. ~~John~~ Doar had the FBI call the state highway patrol during the evening.

7:15am: There is a possibility that someone will be sent from Meridian to Philadelphia. Jackson will call all of the police stations for the third time.

~~7:45am~~

7:55am- report from the Jackson office that the three were picked up late yesterday afternoon for speeding in Washoba County and fined \$20. They were brought to the county jail in Philadelphia. After paying the fine they were released, leaving (presumably) for Meridian. This information was gotten from the jailer's wife though the jailer had earlier said he knew nothing about the three. jail phone: 656-~~3~~ 3765

Ron then called John Doar with the information and he said "I have invested the FBI with the power to look into this." He said he would pass the new information on ~~him~~ to the Miss. FBI and that we should keep him informed of new developments.

W. Goodman and Rita have been informed of new information.

Bill Light called ~~the~~ sheriff Rainey in Philadelphia this morning (9:20a). His deputy sheriff saw the ~~three~~ three looking through the wreckage of the burnt church. They were ~~three~~ picked up for speeding when they got back into their car.

Bill Light checked with the highway patrol this morning and was told that they knew about the arrests, but assumed that the three were still in jail. Light asked them to make immediate investigation but they saw no need for such. He also spoke with FBI agent ~~Ed~~ Helgerson who said he'd had no word from John Doar, and that he had no authority to ask the state highway patrol to act, and that he gets his orders from New Orleans.

~~Mr.~~ Mr. Goodman flew to Washington this morning and spoke with Matsenbach and Doar of the J.D. concerning the case.

11:00 noon: UPI has carried a report that ~~the~~ officials in Philadelphia say they released the three last night around 10pm. Two white people from Washoba county reported to Rev. Ed King that the three had been beaten and were still in jail at 8 ypm.

Before noon ~~the~~ to Washoba County, Newton County, Lauderdale County Philadelphia City, Meridian city ~~jails~~ jails have been checked and all said that they haven't kept anyone over night.

June 22, 1964

Schwerner, Goodman and Chaney, con'td

At about 1:45pm and 2:45 pm I attempted to reach John Doar and let extensive messages concerning the inactivity of local officials. The second call I told his secretary that the COFO office was planning to have a press conference at 3pm (their time) and that they would discuss fully this inaction unless they received definite statement the the ~~the~~ FBI and JD were working on the case. I also attempted to reach Burke Marshall and left a similar message.

At ~~3:05pm~~ 3:05pm Moses had a call from Meridian and was told that ~~the~~ a highway patrolman had told them that the sheriff had released the three last night and that he had an unofficial report that they had headed south on ~~gh~~ highway 19 (toward Meridian) and that there is a generalized alert out for them from the highway patrol and an FBI alert.

At 5:20pm our time John Doar called here and said that he had information that the guys had been in jail from 4-10pm last night and then had been released. He said that he had been informed that the state highway patrol had an all points alert out for the three and that the Sheriff of Neshoba county and the adjoining counties were looking for them. He said that the FBI had been instructed earlier to interview the three when they found them. He did not make a specific statement about whether the FBI was looking or investigating.

Between 3:15 and 4:15pm a press conference was held in the COFO office announcing the official opening of the program. A chronology of attempts at contacting JD and FBI was handed out and the inaction of both groups noted. It was mentioned that ~~the~~ a mailing would be sent out this evening explaining the situation to the parents of summer people and asking them to pressure the federal government. It was stated that we do not understand how people ~~could~~ could be lost for over 24 hours and more than 50 calls made concerning their whereabouts.

Several press people went to the jail in Philadelphia (Sitton, Fleming, etc.) and were allowed to look through the jail. They said there was no trace of them, and they believed that they had been released as stated previously.

At 4:55pm Bill Light called the highway patrol in Jackson and found the patrolman very hostile. The patrolman said that the highway patrol would not go into a case unless called in by the sheriff ~~or~~ or there was evidence of foul play; they wouldn't ~~make a search before 72 hours.~~ make a search before 72 hours. They said they were about to issue a missing persons alert, however because of the pressure from press, etc. (note, ~~at~~ about 3/4 hr. earlier John Doar told me that they had already issued such an alert). Light also asked the Meridian FBI man whether he had started an investigation and he said no, and that he had received no orders to do so from the JD.

8pm (about): Spoke with Rita Schwerner. She spoke with James Farmer earlier in the day who said he'd ~~talked~~ talked with Keating and attempted to speak with ~~the~~ Pres. Johnson. Rita also spoke with Keating at 4pm. Rita is planning on calling John Doar and telling him that unless she gets definite information about specific JD action or other specific attempts to investigate she will leave Oxford ~~tonite~~ tonite and head first to Meridian and then to Neshoba County tomorrow. She will also call several prominent people and ask ~~the~~ them to accompany her or at least give their support: Mike Harrington, Harold Stassen, Alan Cranston (defeated by Salinger in Cal.), Charles Porter, Oregon; William Fitts Ryan, NYC; William Myer, Frank Kowalski, and Mark DeWolfe Howe, Harvard U. Law School.

June 22, 1964cont'd

Schwerner, et.al., cont'd

9:00

[REDACTED]

during the morning Rev. Ed King, Tougaloo recieved calls from white friends in Philadelphia who told him that they had reason to believe that the guys had been beaten while in jail last night though not beaten badly. They also said that they thought they were still in jail after 10pm when the sheriff says he released them and they might have been there today as well. The investigation by Sitton, etc. suggests that they were not still in jail by afternoon. These sources also mentioned to King that Sheriff Rainey, [REDACTED] Philadelphia was a member of the Klan there.

Selma, Alabama: Benny Tucker: 10pm

they are holding a mass meeting at the First Baptist - about 350 people attending. Mrs. Dungee, Montgomery is slated to speak. A little before 10 a group of about five men in a car with a Montgomery license carried a cross up to Brown Chapel CME which they burnt. Brown Chapel is a few blocks down from First Baptist. Rev. Lewis is pastor of Brown Chapel. At the time of Tucker's call about 15 or 20 cars of whites were surrounding the First Baptist. Police officers and FBI men are there and say that they will send the white [REDACTED] away and that the Negroes should stay inside at the meeting. Chief Deputy Crockett took the cross from the Chapel and said he would give it to the FBI for evidence in an investigation. The people will stay in the mass meeting until it's conclusion and see then if the officers have gotten riden of the cars.

Monsonis, Washington: 9:45

The group of summer project volunteers from Southwest, Miss., are in DC now to see Congressmen, etc. and try to exert pressure in the Southwest Area and the state in general. They are now discussing what tack they should take tomorrow and whether they should plan pickets, civil disobedience, etc. in connection with the Philadelphia situation. They figure they will focus on the FBI if they do anything tomorrow. They are trying to contact Moses now to ask his [REDACTED] advice. Monsonis seems to feel that the JD are apprehensive about a bunch of people coming to their office tomorrow to protest.

June 22, 1964

MEMO RE: The disappearance of three summer project workers in Neshoba county, Mississippi, while investigating the bombing of a Negro church which was to be the site of a community center this summer.

Three workers for the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) have been reported missing since late yesterday afternoon during a trip to Neshoba County in middle-eastern Mississippi.

The three are Michael Schwerner, 24, and Andrew Goodman, 20, both from New York City, and James Cheney, 21, of Meridian, Miss. Schwerner and Cheney are CORE workers and Goodman a summer volunteer. Cheney is Negro. They had gone to Philadelphia, Miss., in Neshoba County, to investigate the bombing of St. Zion church and the beating of three Negroes there June 17.

The communications spokesman for the Meridian, Miss., CORE office said that the three left Meridian at 10 a.m. yesterday with the intention of returning to Meridian before 4 p.m. They have not been heard from since they left Meridian.

COFO and SNCC workers have been in touch with all local jails and hospitals, but only the sheriff of Neshoba has said that he knows anything about the group. The sheriff said the group was arrested late yesterday afternoon on a charge of speeding in their car, but were released by 10 p.m. He said that he knows nothing of their whereabouts after their release.

John Doar, a top lawyer of the civil rights division of the Justice Department, said today that the Justice Department is investigating. Earlier, a Department lawyer in Philadelphia, Miss., and an FBI agent in Jackson, the state capitol, said that they did not feel they had the authority to become involved in the search for the three workers. They said they were not sure a federal statute had been violated.

Fathers of both Goodman and Schwerner have spoken to Nicholas Katzenbach and Doar of the Justice Department to demand investigation of the case. Summer Project volunteers at the orientation session at Oxford, Ohio, are telephoning and sending telegrams to their Senators and Congressmen to demand Justice Department and FBI investigation of their disappearance.

Schwerner, project director at Meridian, is a graduate of the New York School of Social Work. Goodman is a junior at Queens College.

Senator Jacob Javits (R.-N.Y.) has notified summer volunteers from New York who called him today that he is apprised of the situation in Mississippi and is in contact with the Justice Department.

B-2
MLK

TO: PARENTS OF ALL MISSISSIPPI SUMMER VOLUNTEERS

FROM: COFO, 1017 LYNCH STREET, JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI

Immediate action is needed by all those concerned with the safety of the Mississippi Summer Volunteers. Unless the President and the Attorney General can be convinced of the need for Federal protection of civil rights workers in Mississippi, the events of Philadelphia are almost certain to be repeated over and over again in the next two months.

We are asking all parents to use their influence in the coming week to pressure President Johnson and Attorney General Kennedy into a commitment to protect workers before violence occurs, instead of waiting until the worst has happened before they offer their help. To help you understand what can be done, it is necessary to stress the following points:

The mood of Mississippi today is one of mounting tension. Acts of violence or near violence are increasing. We have enclosed a two-page report on incidents from one twenty-four hour period. The 16 incidents in the report show that violence is not limited to any section of the state and that intimidation takes an unlimited variety of forms.

The Federal Government did not act quickly enough in the Philadelphia case. We are enclosing a chronology of the attempts of COFO to obtain an FBI investigation or other Federal aid in the Philadelphia incident. This report shows that it took 24 hours - undoubtedly the critical 24 hours - to get the Federal Government to act. FBI agents in Mississippi are always white, generally Southern, and usually from Mississippi itself. Like local law enforcement officers, these agents often serve to obstruct, rather than aid, the administration of justice in civil rights cases. The enclosed chronology deals only with Federal contacts; local police changed their story continually and were useless in the attempt to locate the missing persons.

The Federal Government does have the ability to act quickly and effectively in support of civil rights. The third enclosure lists some provisions for Federal action in civil rights cases. It shows that the FBI does in fact have the necessary authority to provide protection for civil rights workers. Moreover, the President could act on executive authority to provide further protection, for instance through the appointment of Federal Marshalls.

On the reverse side of this sheet, an incident in Itta Bena is described. In this case, the FBI did help protect Summer Volunteers, and actually arrested three white men who had threatened Summer Project workers. The Itta Bena incident shows that the proper Federal agencies can act effectively when they choose to do so. The difference in the role played by the Federal Government in the Philadelphia and Itta Bena incidents was due not to differences in Federal authority, but resulted from the pressure of private citizens on the Government in the last few days.

It is difficult to stress sufficiently the urgency of our request. Without immediate action, the lives of civil rights workers will be further and senselessly endangered; and we will have failed in one of our primary goals: to offer some semblance of protection to the Negroes of Mississippi, who have suffered for decades from the kind of incident which occurred in Philadelphia.

For instance, there have been five 'unsolved' murders of Negroes in the southwest part of the state since the beginning of the year. These murders received no national publicity until the beginning of the Mississippi Summer Project. Only our presence in Mississippi ensures the continued concern of the nation for the Negroes of that state, and the chance that the Federal Government will move effectively to provide protection for their lives and civil rights.

For this reason, in spite of the danger involved, we are fully committed to continuing the Mississippi Summer Project. This does not mean that we will attempt to provoke the state. Our program remains what it has been from its first inception: an attempt to bring educational and political opportunity to Mississippi's Negroes, where they have never had these things before.

Our workers will participate in voter registration projects and will teach in Freedom Schools and Community Centers. We are specifically avoiding any demonstrations for integrated facilities, as we do not feel the state is ready to permit such activity at this time. All workers, staff and Summer Volunteers alike, are pledged to non-violence in all situations.

As a further precaution, we are limiting work to a small area around each project center. All Summer Volunteers have gone through an intensive training session on conditions in Mississippi and the responses and actions they should take to allow them to work most safely in the state. A large legal staff is being maintained in the state to help those who get in trouble.

We are asking that movement at night be kept to a minimum. We are continuing a check-in system which allowed us to know almost immediately that the Philadelphia party was missing. However, though all precautions will be taken, we are determined to continue our work; and we need your help. We request that you do the following things:

1. Contact local papers and radio and TV stations and make certain that the full story about Mississippi is being carried in your community. Use the enclosed documents and the and the experiences of your own children in Mississippi to indicate the goals of the Summer Project and the continued resistance it is certain to meet. Stress in particular the need for Federal protection.
2. Contact the President, and Attorney General, and your own state and national representatives and demand immediate Federal protection for all people in Mississippi. Organize friends and relatives to make the same demand.

We are asking the following three things from the Federal Government:

1. That Federal Marshalls be stationed throughout the state
These Marshalls should be present in all cases where violence is likely. They should be clearly empowered to make all necessary arrests, including the arrest of law enforcement officers. They should be on call at any hour of the day when civil rights workers feel they are endangered.
2. That the FBI and Justice Department officials be instructed
to provide full and immediate help in all incidents where danger is involved. FBI agents should use their power of arrest. Even more important, they should investigate immediately when so requested.
3. That President Johnson confer immediately with COFO leaders. This meeting has been requested several times in the last two months. The President declined to meet with COFO representatives, though they predicted that violence would occur early in the summer if Federal aid were not forthcoming.

The choice before Americans this summer seems very clear. They can either accept at face value the statements of the Attorney General that the Federal Government does not have sufficient power to protect the citizens of the country within its own borders - in which case the consequences will fall on those of us who live and work in Mississippi. Or they can use the influence and power they have over their own government to ensure that the events of Philadelphia are not repeated within the coming hours and days in Mississippi.

Robert Moses

Director
Mississippi Summer Project

CIVIL RIGHTS

Grim Discovery in Mississippi

In 101° heat, FBI agents swarmed over an earthen dam on Olen Burrage's Old Jolly Farm, six miles southwest of Philadelphia, Miss. Through the scrub pines and bitterweed, they bulldozed a path to the dam, then brought up a lumbering dragline whose huge bucket shovel began chewing a V-shaped wedge out of the 25-ft.-high levee. Twenty feet down, the shovel uncovered the fully clothed, badly decomposed bodies of three young men, lying side by side in a pocket of red clay. They had been dumped there while the dam was still being built, and in the weeks afterward a local contractor had unknowingly piled earth higher and higher on their primitive graves.

The agents packed the bodies in ice, sealed them in black plastic bags marked X-1, X-2 and X-3, and rushed them to the University of Mississippi Medical Center in Jackson, 80 miles away. There a team of pathologists, using dental and fingerprint charts, proved beyond a shadow of a doubt what everybody had already suspected. These were the bodies of missing Civil Rights Workers: Michael Schwerner, 24, Andrew Goodman, 20, both white, and James Chaney, 21, a Negro.

"They're Just Hiding." Thus ended a six-week search that began after the three men disappeared on June 21, just one day after they had arrived in Mississippi. They had attended a week-long indoctrination course, sponsored by a civil rights coalition called the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) at Western College for Women in Oxford, Ohio. Schwerner, son of a Pelham, N.Y., wigmaker and a graduate of Cornell, had been working for the Congress of Racial Equality in Meridian, Miss., since January, had volunteered to go up to Oxford to instruct Northern students in voter-registration techniques. Chaney, a slender young man from Meridian, had accompanied him. Goodman was the son of a New York City building contractor and a student at Queens College. All were working with the 400 volunteers sent into Mississippi by COFO to help register Negroes.

The three had had time for just one night's sleep in Meridian when they decided to drive over to Longdale to inspect the ruins of a Negro church that had been burned down by segregationists. Returning to Meridian, they were picked up outside Philadelphia by Neshoba County Deputy Sheriff Cecil Price for speeding. Price said later he had held them until 10:30 that steamy, moonlit night, then turned them loose.

The three young men never made it back to Meridian. Two days later, the burned wreck of their blue Ford station wagon was found twelve miles northeast of Philadelphia. While an army of FBI men and 400 sailors took up a painstaking ten-county search, many Mississippians preferred to believe

that their disappearance was all a hoax. "They could be in Cuba," said Governor Paul Johnson airily. "They're just hiding and trying to cause a lot of bad publicity," pshawed Neshoba Sheriff L. A. Rainey.

Brutally Beaten. Though the FBI declined to admit it, the break apparently came after agents offered to pay \$25,000 for inside information. And "somebody," as one bitter Philadelphian put it, "finally went and opened up." The informant, whoever it was, knew what he was talking about. The federal men had to dig only one hole to find the bodies. Schwerner and Goodman had each been shot through the heart with a single .38-caliber bullet. Chaney had three slugs in his body and, according to an unofficial autopsy, had been brutally beaten. "In my 25 years as a pathologist," said Dr. David Spain of New York after examining Chaney's body at his mother's request, "I have never witnessed bones so severely shattered."

Some Mississippians were shocked that the cold-blooded triple murder had not turned out to be a hoax after all. "I just didn't think we had people like that around," said a Jackson high school coach. Others seemed equally shocked that someone had violated the "code" by squealing to the FBI.

The federal agents pushed on in a grim effort to track down the killers, and President Johnson at week's end told a press conference that "substantive results can be expected in a very short time." Near the grave, FBI men sifted every inch of dirt, hunting for such evidence as cigarette butts and shirt buttons, and sent several 20-gallon cans containing straps and other possible evidence to the Bureau's Washington laboratory for analysis.

Rampage in New Jersey

Political Boss Frank ("I am the law") Hague put Jersey City on the map by making it the most corrupt municipality in the U.S. When Hague's 30-year stranglehold was finally broken in 1949, Jersey City seemed destined for lingering obscurity. But last week that drab, gritty city (pop. 275,000) was back on the map again. For three nights, hundreds of Negroes rioted, looted and tossed fire bombs in a racial rampage that was grimly reminiscent of last month's Harlem and Rochester violence.

It began when police were called to Ward F, a slum-ridden and low-income housing area that is home to most of Jersey City's 47,000 Negroes. They arrested a Negro woman for drunkenness, also took into custody a Negro man for interfering with the arrest. Almost instantly there mushroomed a rumor that the police had beaten the woman. Within half an hour, 20 Negroes were demonstrating at the Fourth Precinct station house; before long, 800 angry Negroes were milling around a Ward-F housing project looking for trouble. It wasn't long in coming.

Negro youths began pelting cops with rocks, bottles and garbage-can lids. One of them broke a liquor-store window, grabbed two bottles and flod. When a policeman fired two warning shots, the mob, which had begun to disperse, went wild. A crowd swarmed into Grand Street, surrounded a car driven by a 22-year-old white man, John Hudak. They smashed the car windows, dragged Hudak from the vehicle, and beat him with a baseball bat before police could rescue him.

The marauding eased off, only to resume the next night, and the next, as



BODY OF SLAIN CIVIL RIGHTS WORKER ARRIVES IN JACKSON
Under 20 feet of clay, X-1, X-2 and X-3.

COFO NEWS RELEASE

January 16, 1964

1017 Lynch Street

352-9605

Jackson, Mississippi

INDICTMENT OF 18 ACCUSED MURDERERS

JACKSON. Civil Rights workers in Mississippi expressed "guarded optimism" and some doubts about the indictment and arrest of the 18 men accused of murdering James Chaney, Andrew Goodman and Mickey Sawyer last June.

Some COFO and FIP leaders today (Sat.) doubted whether the indictments would result in any convictions since the Federal Jurors like, the state jurors are composed almost exclusively of white persons. The possibility that an all white jury would convict white men for murdering a Negro or White Civil Rights workers is seen here as "extremely doubtful."

It was also felt that the indictments would take the national spotlight off the other activities of the civil rights movement. Ironically, the three slain men had worked diligently on these activities; now their deaths may serve in some ways to divert attention from cause they were fighting for. Right now, for example, the FIP and COFO are directing all their energies to challenging the five segregationist Mississippi Congressmen.

FIP chairman, Laurence Guyot and other FIP members from Aberdeen, McComb, and Jackson complained about the "viciously discriminatory" bonds set for the 18 alleged conspirators. "A Negro," one Aberdeen man said, "would never have been set free on \$5,700 bond for killing a white man. He might have been lynched before that ever happened." A Philadelphia, ^{Pa.} ~~Mississippi~~ ^{Pa.} preacher said that "nothing has changed much since the arrests (of Rainey, Price and the other accused conspirators)". "They (local toughs) still beat up folks and when we call the sheriff's they tell us to go call the FBI. About a ^{month} ~~month~~ ago there was a Negro man shot in a cafe.....there was a fight there. We called Sheriff Rainey about it but they never did investigate the shooting."

V: Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party



Because Mississippi officials prevented most African-Americans from participating in the regular Democratic Party activities, organizers created a separate organization that would be open to all. They viewed this not only as a challenge to mainstream politics but also as an excellent way to equip local black residents with leadership and organizing skills.

The MFDP chose its platform and candidates democratically and offered candidates loyal to the principles of the national Democratic Party. It sent a delegation to the Democratic National Convention held in Atlantic City in August 1964, in hopes of being recognized as the legitimate voice of Democrats in Mississippi. They also held an unofficial freedom vote parallel to the regular November election. When the white-supremacist winners of the mainstream election tried to take their seats in Washington in January 1965, the MFDP legally challenged its right to represent Mississippi.

18 Freedom Candidates, Mississippi , April 12, 1964

(4 pages) COFO instruction sheet on the plan to run a parallel election, who the candidates are, and what they stand for.

<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/16515>

19 Three Basic Considerations

(3 pages) Memo detailing how delegates will be chosen and how the white-only segregationist delegation will be challenged at the Democratic National Convention

<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/7717>

20 The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party

(26 pages) Mimeographed pamphlet detailing the origins of, goals for, and opposition to the MFDP, with much information on voting in Mississippi, the planned challenge to the DNC, etc.

<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/7671>

FREEDOM CANDIDATES

MISSISSIPPI

For the first time in this century, four Negroes are candidates for national office from Mississippi. One is a candidate for the Senate and three for the House of Representatives.

The four campaigns are being coordinated under the auspices of the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), an umbrella civil rights organization in Mississippi comprising the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), CORE, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), and the NAACP.

All four candidates are entered in the regular Democratic primary in Mississippi to be held June 2. They are running on what is being called the FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY. If they are defeated in the Democratic party, they will be able to continue their campaigns as Independents in the General Election in November.

The candidacy of the Freedom Candidates is a direct challenge to the lily-white one-party political structure of the state. Only 28,000 or 6.6% of Mississippi's 422,000 Negroes of voting age have been registered to vote. 525,000 whites are registered voters.

All the Freedom Candidates will make Negro voting rights one of the basic issues of their campaigns. The campaigns themselves will serve as the focus for Voter Registration activities by COFO during the coming months.

For those not allowed to register on the official books, there will be a separate program: FREEDOM REGISTRATION. The Freedom Democratic Party has set up its own unofficial voter registration books for the purpose of registering as many as possible of Mississippi's 400,000 disenfranchised Negroes. These books, known as Freedom Registration Books, will be managed by Freedom Registrars appointed by COFO in every county. The Freedom Registrars will have the power to appoint deputy registrars to aid them in covering the county to provide every Negro with the opportunity to register to vote.

Freedom Registration has several purposes. First, it will serve as a mechanism through which Negroes can organize across the state. Secondly, it will be the focus of attempts to get Negroes registered on the official county books.

Thirdly, Freedom Registration will form the basis for FREEDOM ELECTIONS to be held at the same time as the official

elections in June and November. In the Freedom Elections, the only qualifications will be that voters are 21 or over, residents of the state, and registered on the Freedom Registration Books before the election. Whites as well as Negroes will be allowed to vote. Democratic and Republican candidates will be listed together with Freedom Democratic Candidates.

Through Freedom Registration and the Freedom Elections, it will be made clear that thousands of Negroes who are denied the right to vote in the official elections would do so if they could. On this basis, the seating of successful Republican and Democratic candidates will be challenged in Congress and in the Federal Courts on the grounds that a significant portion of the voting-age population has been denied the right to vote because of color or race.

Thus, the Freedom Candidates will serve not only to bring the issues to the people of Mississippi, dramatize voter discrimination, and the atmosphere of harassment and resistance by the official state apparatus, but will serve as a basis for challenging the rights of the incumbents to assume their seats in Congress.

As a further part of its political program, the Freedom Democratic Party will send a FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC DELEGATION to the National Democratic Convention at Atlantic City in August.

The Freedom Candidates will serve as the titular heads of the Freedom Democratic Delegation. Other delegates will be chosen through a series of meetings on the precinct, county, district, and state levels just as in the regular Mississippi Democratic Party. Unlike the regular party machinery, however, which is all-white, exclusive, and often dominated by White Citizens Council members, Freedom Delegates will be chosen in open meetings in which all registered voters (whether official or Freedom registered), Negroes and whites alike, will be allowed to participate.

At the National Convention, the Freedom Democratic Delegation will attempt to have the Regular Democratic Delegation unseated and the Freedom Delegation seated in its place. It will do this on the grounds that the Regular Democratic Delegation was chosen by undemocratic means and that the Democratic Party of Mississippi has been disloyal to the National Democratic Party.

The Regular Mississippi Democratic Party split with the National Democratic Party in 1960. It did not support the National Democratic Ticket selected by the National Convention: John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson. It also refused to support the platform adopted by the National

Convention. The Regular Mississippi Democratic Party candidates in the gubernatorial race of 1963 told the voters that the Mississippi Democratic Party stands for white supremacy and against Negro voting power. The principles of the National Democratic Party make it clear that a State party which behaves in the manner of the Mississippi Democratic Party stands in violation of National Party policy. This is sufficient grounds, according to National Democratic Party rules, to withdraw recognition of the State party.

The Freedom Democratic Delegation will be pledged to support the National Democratic Ticket and the National Democratic Platform chosen at the National Democratic Convention -- as well as being pledged to work for the full and equal rights of all Americans.

FREEDOM CANDIDATES: Below are brief biographical sketches and campaigning programs for the four Freedom Candidates.

MRS. FANNIE LOU HAMER --- running in the 2nd Congressional District against Rep. Jamie Whitten, Chairman of the House Appropriations Sub-Committee on Agriculture.

Mrs. Hamer, 47, comes from Sunflower County, the home of James Eastland, where Negroes are 69% of the population. She is the wife of Perry Hamer, a cotton gin worker in Ruleville. Until 1962, the Hamers had lived for 16 years on a plantation four miles from Ruleville. On August 31 of that year, the day Mrs. Hamer registered to vote, they were told they would have to leave the plantation immediately.

Mrs. Hamer began working with the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee in December 1962 and has been one of the most active workers in the state on Voter Registration. On June 9, 1963, while returning from a SNCC workshop, she was arrested in Winona, Miss., and brutally beaten with a blackjack while in jail. Mrs. Hamer opened her campaign in Ruleville on March 21. She hopes to use her campaign to articulate the grievances of Mississippi's Negroes, particularly in the cotton-rich Delta, the 2nd Congressional District, where Negroes are a clear majority (59%) of the population. Mrs. Hamer constantly tells her audiences that she is only saying "what you have been thinking all along."

But Mrs. Hamer plans to direct her campaign to whites as well as Negroes. It is her thesis that all Mississippians, white and Negro alike, are victims of the all-white, one-party power structure of the state. In her campaign, she explains how Jamie Whitten, from his position on the House Appropriations Sub-Committee on Agriculture, killed a bill to train 2400 tractor drivers. Six hundred of those to be trained were white.

Mrs. Hamer is presently ill in Ruleville (the nearest doctor is 10 miles away). Her condition is provoked and made more serious by after effects of the 1963 beating, from which she has never fully recovered.

JAMES MONROE HOUSTON --- candidate from the 3rd Congressional District against Robert Bell Williams, second in command on the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.

Mr. Houston, 74 years old, is a retired machinist from Vicksburg, member of the NAACP for over 20 years. He was arrested in 1934 for participation in a rural district meeting called to discuss the new Roosevelt programs. He was arrested again in Jackson in 1963 while attempting to march from a Methodist church to City Hall. In his opening campaign speech in Vicksburg on April 5, Mr. Houston told a crowd of 200-300 people that he would use his campaign to show what conditions for Negroes in Mississippi are really like. He claimed active support in all fourteen of the 3rd District's counties and said that he would represent all the people in the District if elected. For this reason, he said, his election would restore honor and dignity to the state of Mississippi.

REV. JOHN E. CAMERON --- candidate for the seat of William Meyers Colmer, second in command of the House Rules Committee, from the 5th Congressional District.

Rev. Cameron, 31, opened his campaign in Hattiesburg on March 26, addressing an audience of approximately 200 from the back of an open truck. His campaign will stress jobs, education, and citizenship rights for Negroes. In Biloxi, on April 4, Rev. Cameron called on both state and federal governments to provide training for unskilled laborers so that they may qualify for fulltime and rewarding employment. He stressed the importance of a candidate running in the 5th Congressional District who would represent the entire population of the district, rather than only one racial group.

Rev. Cameron is a former President of the National Baptist Student Union (1954-55), and holds a B.S. degree from Rust College and a Bachelor of Theology from American Baptist Theological Seminary. He is a member of the NAACP and a Friend of SNCC.

On April 4, Rev. Cameron was refused entrance to a public forum in Hattiesburg unless he agreed to sit in a section reserved for Negroes. A white minister with Rev. Cameron was threatened with arrest for attempting to discuss the matter with the Chairman of the forum. At present, Rev. Cameron is in jail, one of 66 people arrested in Hattiesburg April 9-10 under Mississippi's new anti-picketing law.

MRS. VICTORIA JACKSON GRAY --- candidate for Senate against John Stennis. Mrs. Gray, 37, of Hattiesburg, is the mother of three children. She was one of the first Negroes to register in Forrest County, where Registrar Theron C. Lynn is under Federal indictment for refusing to register Negroes on an equal basis with whites.

In an opening campaign statement given to the press April Mrs. Gray stressed that "Unemployment, Automation, Inadequate Housing, Health Care, Education, and Rural Development are the real issues in Mississippi, not 'States Rights' or 'Federal Encroachment'." Mrs. Gray's own emphasis during the campaign will be on the problems of education faced by Negroes in the state.

April 12, 1964

THE MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY...

Three basic considerations underlie the development of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party and its plans to challenge the seating of the delegation of the Mississippi Democratic Party at the 1964 National Democratic Convention. They are:

1. The long history of systematic and studied exclusion of Negro citizens from equal participation in the political processes of the state grows more flagrant and intensified daily.
2. The Mississippi Democratic Party has conclusively demonstrated its lack of loyalty to the National Democratic Party, in the past, and currently indicates no intention of supporting the platform of the 1964 National Democratic Convention.
3. The intransigent and fanatical determination of the State's political power-structure to maintain status-quo, clearly demonstrates that the "Mississippi closed society", as Professor James W Silver of the University of Mississippi asserts, is without leadership or moral resources to reform itself, and hence can only be brought into the mainstream of the twentieth century by forces outside of itself.

A. PARTY DISCRIMINATION:

The Mississippi Democratic Party controls the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of the government of the State. All 49 senators, and all but one of 122 representatives are Democrats. Repeatedly, the State legislature has passed laws and established regulations designed to discriminate against prospective Negro voters. The 1963 gubernatorial campaign was largely directed towards restricting the Negro vote. The state convention is being held in the Jackson Municipal Auditorium and the Heidelberg Hotel, both of which are segregated. In its devotion to racism and suppression and oppression of minority expression, the Mississippi Democratic Party prevents Negro Democrats and white persons who disagree with the party's racist stance to participate in party program and decisions.

B. PARTY DISLOYALTY:

Mississippi citizens who desire to do so cannot support the National Democratic goals by joining the Mississippi Democratic Party. The Mississippi Democratic Party has declared in public speeches and printed matter that it is NOT a part of the National Democratic Party. The campaign literature for the election of Gov. Paul B. Johnson, in 1963 is a case in point, as the following excerpts show: "Our Mississippi Democratic Party is entirely independent and free of the influence of domination of any national party"....."The Mississippi Democratic Party which long ago separated itself from the National Democratic Party, and which has fought consistently everything both national parties stand for..."

In 1960 the Mississippi Democratic Party failed to honor its pledge to support the nominees of the National Democratic Convention. Immediately after the convention the Mississippi party convened a convention and voted to support unpledged electors in an effort to defeat the nominees of the Democratic National Convention.

C. THE CLOSED SOCIETY:

"It can be argued that in the history of the United States democracy has produced great leaders in great crises. Sad as it may be, the opposite has been true in Mississippi. As yet there is little evidence that the society of the closed mind will ever possess the moral resources to reform itself, or the capacity for self-examination, or even the tolerance of self-examination," from "Mississippi: the Closed Society".

by James W. Silver

Civil rights groups working in Mississippi are convinced that political and social justice can not be won in Mississippi without massive interest and support of the country as a whole, backed by the authority of the Federal government. As the political leadership of Mississippi feel threatened by the winds of change, they devise new and more extensive legal weapons and police powers. Police preparations are now being made to harass, intimidate and threaten the educational and registration program scheduled to be conducted in Mississippi this summer. Five new bills, prohibiting picketing, banning the distribution of boycott literature, restricting the movement of groups, establishing curfews, authorizing municipalities to pool police manpower and equipment, and increasing penalties that may be assessed by city courts - have been hurriedly signed into law. Other similar bills are still pending.

II. ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY

To give Negro citizens of Mississippi an experience in political democracy and to establish a channel through which all citizens, Negro and white, can actively support the principles and programs of the National Democratic Party, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party was conceived. The Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), a confederation of all the national and local civil rights and citizenship education groups in Mississippi, is assisting local citizens to develop the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. This party is open to all citizens regardless of race. It was officially established at a meeting in Jackson, Mississippi on April 26th; and the approximately 200 delegates present elected a temporary state executive committee, which will be responsible for setting precinct and other state meetings. These meetings will parallel those of the Mississippi Democratic Party, and every effort will be made to comply with all state laws which apply to the formation of political parties. Registered voters in the Freedom Democratic Party will attempt to attend precinct and county meetings of the Mississippi Democratic Party.

The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party is presently engaged in three major efforts; (1) Freedom Registration; (2) Freedom Candidates; and (3) Convention Challenge.

I. FREEDOM REGISTRATION:

Official registration figures show that only some 20,000 Negroes are registered in Mississippi as compared to 500,000 whites. This represents less than 7% of the 435,000 Negroes 21 years of age in the state. The Freedom

Registration is designed to show that thousands of Negroes want to become registered voters. By setting up registrars and deputy registrars in each of the 82 counties of the state, 300,000 persons may be registered in the Freedom Registration. Last November some 83,000 Negroes were registered in a mock gubernatorial race. In the present drive, 75,000 are reported registered, and this will be greatly stepped up when the summer program officially begins at the end of June. This registration will use simplified registration forms based on voting applications used in several Northern States. Any person who registers in the Freedom Registration will be eligible to vote in the Freedom Democratic Party Convention and participate in party work.

2. FREEDOM CANDIDATES:

The four (4) candidates who qualified to run in the June 2 primary in Mississippi were nominees of the Freedom Democratic Party and in addition to their bid in the regular Democratic primary, they will also run in a mock election under the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party in November. This will help to establish the fact that thousands of Negroes are deprived of citizenship participation because of the racist character of Mississippi's voter registration procedures.

The four candidates are, Mrs. Victoria Gray, opposing Sen. John Stennis; Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, opposing Rep. Jamie L. Whitten; the Rev. John Cameron, opposing Rep. William M. Colmer, and Mr. James Houston, opposing Rep. John Bell Williams.

The Platforms of the candidates of the Freedom Democratic Party articulate the needs of all the people of Mississippi, such as anti-poverty programs, medicare, aid to education, rural development, urban renewal, and the guarantee of constitutional rights to all. This is in sharp contrast to the lack of real issues in the campaigns of the candidates who won in the primary. Senator Stennis did not even bother to campaign in the state.

3. THE CHALLENGE TO THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION:

Delegates from the Freedom Democratic Party will challenge the seating of the "old-line" Mississippi delegation at the Democratic National Convention this August in Atlantic City, N.J. These delegates will have been chosen through precinct meetings, county conventions, caucuses in congressional districts, and at a state wide convention of the Freedom Democratic Party. The State Executive Committee will be ratified and the national Committeeman and Committeewoman will be chosen at this state wide convention.

All steps necessary to preparing and formally presenting the challenge of the Freedom Democratic Party are being taken. BUT WE NEED YOUR COOPERATION AND HELP!

****We need convention delegates to champion the cause of representative government in Mississippi.

****We need 'people' who will speak out in the credentials committee and on the convention floor.

****We need hundreds of Democrats—individuals and organizations—to instruct their delegates, petition their representatives, party leaders and the President to face up to the fact that only a renegade democratic party exists in Mississippi which enjoys the benefits of national affiliation—but spurs all responsibilities and can only continue to bring disgrace to the National Democratic Party.

Excerpts from:

PLATFORM AND PRINCIPLES OF THE MISSISSIPPI STATE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Adopted in Convention in the city of Jackson, June 30, 1960:

...The Democratic Party of Mississippi stands today where it has always stood with feet firmly planted on the solid foundation of the Constitution of the United States, pure Americanism and the traditional Southern American Way of Life.

...We are opposed to strong centralized government, national or state.

We believe in States' Rights and local self-government, and are unalterably opposed to any encroachment upon the rights of the states by the federal government, or any department or agency thereof, and upon county and municipal government by the state, or any department or agency thereof.

We believe in the three separate and distinct branches of government... and we expressly condemn the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Brown school case rendered May 17, 1954, and subsequent decisions of that court, and inferior federal courts, striking down state constitutions and laws providing for the conduct and operation of public schools and public education within the states, as gross abuse of its judicial authority, flagrant usurpation of legislative function and an unwarranted invasion of rights of the sovereign states...

We are opposed to any legislation, federal or state, setting up what is known as a Fair Employment Practice Commission...

We believe that every person shall have the right to work and no person shall be denied that right because he or she is not a member of a union or other labor organization...

We are opposed to the enactment by the Congress of the United States of the so-called anti-poll tax measure as being in violation of the rights of the states to fix the qualifications of electors and in violation of the provisions of the U.S. Constitution. We favor the poll tax and are opposed to any attempt to abolish it either by federal legislation.

We believe in the time-honored and cherished traditions of the South and oppose any legislation, movement or policy which would do violence to or destroy them...

We oppose the ratification by the United States of the Genocide Convention and of the United Nations, the proposed Human Rights Convention and the Civil Rights Convention...

We believe in the segregation of the races and are unalterably opposed to the repeal or modification of the segregation laws of this State, and we condemn integration and the practice of non-segregation. We unalterably oppose any and all efforts to repeal the miscegenation laws.

We believe in the doctrine of interposition as defined in the appropriate resolution adopted by the (Mississippi Legislature, 1956)

We believe in the separation of the races in the universities and colleges, in the public schools, in public transportation, in public parks, in public playgrounds, and in all spheres of activity where experience has shown that it is for the best interest of both races that such separation be observed...

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED BY THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF MISSISSIPPI ...that we, acknowledging with humility the divine power of Almighty God, and standing fearless in our belief in constitutional government, the rights of the states, segregation of the races and preservation of your traditional Southern American Way of life, do hereby affirm and declare:

(1) that we reject and oppose the platforms of both national parties and their candidates...

(2) that we wholeheartedly approve the courageous and forceful minority report as to that portion of the National Democratic Platform entitled "Civil Rights" presented on behalf of the sovereign states of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia.

Excerpts from:

CAMPAIGN LITERATURE, PAUL B. JOHNSON FOR GOVERNOR CAMPAIGN, 1963

Mississippi Republicans Endanger Mississippi With Two Party System

The "overnight" Republicans in Mississippi are playing with political dynamite by advocating a two party system in our state.

These inexperienced, so-called Republicans proudly boast that "they are not bound by any deep-seated taboos and prejudices handed down blindly from past generations" but they never discuss the real dangers of a two party political system in a state like Mississippi with a "black-voting" minority group that represents over 45 per cent of our population.

These self-styled "young men and young women and older people with young ideas" either do not know or they deliberately ignore the facts of life as they exist in Mississippi today.

A DIVISION OF CONSERVATIVE MISSISSIPPIANS INTO TWO POLITICAL CAMPS, as now being attempted by these self-styled Republicans, WOULD GIVE THE BALANCE OF POWER IN MISSISSIPPI TO OUR MINORITY GROUP. This would be the end of our way of life in Mississippi and the peace, tranquillity, law and order we now enjoy in all of our communities would soon come to an awesome end.

MISSISSIPPI HAS ALL THE BENEFITS WITHOUT THE VERY REAL DANGERS

...As Mississippi Democrats we are enjoying all of the so-called "benefits" of this two party system, through our State Democratic primary elections, without exposing the people of Mississippi to the disastrous events and conditions that would surely follow the division of conservative Mississippians into two political camps thus giving the balance of power into the hands of the minority.

Our Mississippi Democratic Party is entirely independent and is free of the influence or domination of any national political party, and it offers an adequate framework for candidates of widely varying views to offer their services to people. Mississippi has no need for a two party system that would divide our people and stretch our political campaigning over many additional months with resulting expense, confusion and disunity.

REPUBLICAN PARTY ALWAYS REJECTS THEIR CONSERVATIVE LEADERS

...The truth is that neither national party is "conservative." Both the National Republican Party and the National Democratic Party are the dedicated enemies of the people of Mississippi. The national leaders of both -- consistently, across the years -- have pursued courses of action which have moved our beloved country ever leftward --which have threatened our citizens with ever more centralized power at Washington.

THE MISSISSIPPI
FREEDOM
DEMOCRATIC
PARTY

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Area Code 601

The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party
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1353 "U" St. NW
Washington D.C.
20009

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Area Code 202

In 1960 the Mississippi Democratic Party failed to honor its pledge to support the nominees of the National Democratic Convention. Immediately after the convention the Mississippi party convened a convention and voted to support unpledged electors in an effort to defeat the nominees of the Democratic National Convention.

C. THE CLOSED SOCIETY:

"It can be argued that in the history of the United States democracy has produced great leaders in great crises. Sad as it may be, the opposite has been true in Mississippi. As yet there is little evidence that the society of the closed mind will ever possess the moral resources to reform itself, or the capacity for self-examination, or even the tolerance of self-examination," from Mississippi: The Closed Society, by James W. Silver.

Civil rights groups working in Mississippi are convinced that political and social justice cannot be won in Mississippi without massive interest and support of the country as a whole, backed by the authority of the Federal government. As the political leadership of Mississippi feel threatened by the winds of change, they devise new and more extensive legal weapons and police powers. Police preparations were made all through the spring to harass, intimidate, and threaten the educational and political programs now being carried on in Mississippi. Five new bills, prohibiting picketing, banning the distribution of boycott literature, restricting the movement of groups, establishing curfews, authorizing municipalities to pool police manpower and equipment, and increasing penalties that may be assessed by city courts, were hurriedly signed into law. Other similar bills are still pending.

II. ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY

The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party was conceived to give Negro citizens of Mississippi an experience in political democracy and to establish a channel through which all citizens, Negro and white, can actively support the principles and programs of the National Democratic Party. The Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), a confederation of all the local civil rights and citizenship education groups in Mississippi, is assisting local citizens to develop the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party.

This party is open to all citizens regardless of race. It was officially established at a meeting in Jackson on April 26th; the approximately 300 delegates present elected a temporary state executive committee, which will be responsible for setting up precinct and other state meetings. These meetings will parallel those of the Mississippi Democratic Party, and every effort will be made to comply with all state laws which apply to the formation of political parties. Registered voters in the Freedom Democratic Party have already attempted to attend precinct and county meetings of the Mississippi Democratic Party, an experience which only offered further proof of the racial discrimination rife within this party and of its disloyalty to the National Party (See Appendix).

The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party is presently engaged in three major efforts: (1) Freedom Registration; (2) Freedom Candidates; and (3) The Convention Challenge.

A. FREEDOM REGISTRATION:

Official registration figures show that only some 20,000 Negroes are registered in Mississippi as compared to 500,000 whites. This represents less than 7% of the 435,000 Negroes 21 years of age in the state. The Freedom Registration is designed to show that thousands of Negroes want to become registered voters. By setting up registrars and deputy registrars in counties across the state, some 100,000 or more persons may be inscribed on the Freedom Registration books by the time of the Democratic Convention. Last November some 83,000 Negroes voted in a mock gubernatorial race, in which COFO President Aaron Henry ran against Gov. Paul B. Johnson.

The Freedom registrars will use simplified registration forms based on voting applications used in several Northern states. Any person who registers in the Freedom Registration will be eligible to vote in the Freedom Democratic Party conventions and to participate in party work.

B. FREEDOM CANDIDATES :

The four candidates who qualified to run in the June 2 primary in Mississippi were nominees of the Freedom Democratic Party. The Freedom Candidates plan to run again in a mock election under the auspices of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party in November. This will help to establish the fact that thousands of Negroes are deprived of citizenship participation because of the racist character of Mississippi's voter registration procedures.

The four candidates are Mrs. Victoria Gray, opposing Senator John Stennis; Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, opposing Rep. Jamie L. Whitten; the Rev. John Cameron, opposing Rep. William M. Colmer, and Mr. James Houston, opposing Rep. John Bell Williams.

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C. THE CHALLENGE TO THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION:

Delegates from the Freedom Democratic Party will challenge the seating of the "old-line" Mississippi delegation at the Democratic National Convention this August in Atlantic City, New Jersey. All steps necessary to preparing and formally presenting the challenge of the Freedom Democratic Party are being taken. Several State Democratic Conventions have already passed resolutions in support of the challenge. BUT WE NEED YOUR COOPERATION AND HELP!

1. We need convention delegates to champion the cause of representative government in Mississippi.

2. We need people who will speak out in the credentials committee and on the convention floor.

3. We need hundreds of Democrats - individuals and organizations - to instruct their delegates, petition their representatives, party leaders, and the President to face up to the fact that only a renegade Democratic Party exists in Mississippi - a party which enjoys the benefits of national affiliation, but spurns all responsibilities. Such a party can only continue to bring disgrace to the National Democratic Party.

APPENDIX A HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In 1876 Rutherford B. Hayes, newly elected President of the United States, ordered the withdrawal of Federal troops from the South. That order, for all practical purposes, marked the end of Negro participation in Mississippi government. With the troops gone and Reconstruction in its death-throes, the white population of the state united with their brethren across the South to carry out the grand design of "Redemption." Redemption meant the restoration of absolute white rule, and it entailed, first and foremost, the disfranchisement of the Negro freedman. Before the blacks could be dealt with - returned to their place - they had to be stripped of the power given them by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments; they had to be driven away from the ballot box.

Mississippi and the white South accomplished this goal in less than twenty years. The method was simple terror: beatings, lynchings, arson, torture. It worked. Paralyzed by fear of the nightriding Klans, the Negro voter in Mississippi soon became all but extinct. The pattern was repeated in all the states of the late Confederacy, and in 1901 the last Southern Negro Congressman left the House of Representatives. If Mississippi's scourging of the black electorate seemed more brutal than that of the other ex-rebel states, it could be excused on the grounds that Mississippi had a far greater percentage of Negroes than the rest -- and thus, far more reason to fear. The means, in any case, were not important; the victory had been won. Mississippi was once more the undisputed realm of the American White Man.

The black body politic destroyed, the way was clear to build, under the wing of the state government, a society in which black "arrogance and aspiration" would be impossible. Jim Crow was born, and the Mississippi Negro came slowly to understand that certain "privileges" and facilities were "FOR WHITE ONLY" - among them was the voting booth. The unwritten law of the new order (they called it Segregation) did not long remain unwritten. Lily-white legislatures passed bill after bill, enforcing the new system in every conceivable area of life, buttressing the wall, building higher, filling the chinks. By 1920 the Mississippi Negro had come to understand that everything he did was a privilege, everything he had was a gift - subject to revocation at the whim of the "white folks." The equation for the maintenance of this happy condition was simple: so long as the Negro could mount no power, he represented no threat to the system; so long as he had no vote he had no power. Keep him from voting. Negroes who objected either swallowed their objections, left for Chicago, or died objecting.

And so developed the lunatic non-politics of the Sovereign State of Mississippi. The state has always been too poor for economic issues to form the basis of any meaningful political conflict. The state has always been too preoccupied with the maintenance of its iron grip on the Negro to work toward eradicating its poverty. The status of the Negro has always been the one crucial all-pervading issue: it has always been the one subject absolutely closed to controversy. Consensus on the subject of the Negro has been essential, and required consensus in one area has a way of spreading to other areas. Solidarity became the keynote of Mississippi politics, but behind the wall of solidarity there existed only a vacuum. The prize always

went to the candidate who could shout longest and loudest the word "Nigger," who was most eloquent in his appeals for the maintenance of "Our Way of Life." Bizarro stunts replaced stands on issues as a means of gaining support. There was always, of course, the vague antipathy of the hill folk for the rich planters of the Delta, but any political movement could easily be quashed by raising the spectre of Negro power and calling for all-important solidarity.

In 1954, with segregation at last under attack, white Mississippians began to organize and institutionalize the state's isolation; the White Citizens Councils were formed in Indianola. Under pressure from the Freedom Movement the Councils were to grow into a semi-official Committee of Public Safety, exercising something that looked very much like political rule over most of the state. Spreading from the Delta, the Councils organized all over Mississippi, loudly voiced their unswerving devotion to the principles of White Supremacy and State Sovereignty, and girded for the coming attack on Mississippi's Way of Life.

Although the 1960 Freedom Rides were shocking and spectacular, they did not constitute a real threat to the Mississippi status quo. The lack of lasting results of the Freedom Rides was graphic proof that assaults on segregation per se would not work in Mississippi as they had in the upper and seaboard southern states. All of Mississippi was hard-core. The power structure of the state, as embodied in the state government, was absolutely resistant to the idea of any change in race relations. The government itself could spearhead the heavy-handed attack on "freedom riders", secure in the knowledge that the more vigorous and brutal the attack, the better the chances for re-election. There existed no political base for negotiation, no sound reason for moderation. It was clear that the Freedom Movement would make no positive headway in Mississippi until the racial composition of the electorate was radically changed.

Voter registration, therefore, was chosen as the prime focus of movement activities in the state. In comparison to the massive demonstrations taking place in the rest of the South, the program sounded mild. Voter registration volunteers would be working under the legal umbrella of hundred-year-old Constitutional amendments with the outspoken approval of the President - there was certainly no national controversy over whether the Negroes had the right to vote.

There was no controversy in Mississippi either: the white population was unanimous in the belief that voting was a privilege, one for which the Negro was obviously unfit. Robert Moses' voter registration drive in McComb, Mississippi, met with mob violence and registrars who stood fast for disfranchisement and White Womanhood. The balance of power in the registration books of Pike County did not change. In early 1962 voter registration workers moved north into the cotton counties of the Delta, and Greenwood became the focus of voter registration activity. Here again the spectacle of queues of would-be Negro registrants provoked the white community into vigilante action - this time with the added touch of Council organized economic freeze-outs.

With the Freedom Movement work force steadily growing - the new recruits being for the most part native Mississippians, the voter registration workers settled down to the long dull grind of spreading the gospel. Canvassing and persuasion took up most of their time; a good

deal of it was spent in dilapidated county jails. There was always the risk of an occasional beating; lynch mobs and shootings were infrequent but never unlikely. It became apparent that this was going to take some time.

In mid-1963 Negro registration stood at roughly three percent of all registered voters in the state; fewer than six percent of all eligible Negroes were registered. It was decided that no dramatic progress would be forthcoming in the actual registration of Mississippi Negroes until the Federal Government saw fit to enforce the Constitution in the Sovereign State. Attempts at registration, however, were to continue. The pressure on Mississippi from within Mississippi - and with it pressure on Washington - would increase. Programs for the political education of the Mississippi Negro would be developed. Along with their regular voter registration activities field workers would be expected to organize communities and to teach them the rudiments of Democracy. The Freedom Vote Campaign for Governor in the autumn of 1963 (in which large numbers of white volunteers participated for the first time - under COFO auspices) proved the basic soundness of this approach. Negroes in the state were eager for political activity; they wanted to register, they wanted to vote.

The U.S. Department of Justice in the meanwhile had not been completely inactive. The Civil Rights Act of 1960 had empowered the Department to institute suits against entire states as well as against individual registrars in cases where a "pattern or practice" of voter discrimination was found. Suits were brought against the registrars of Forrest and Madison counties, enjoining them from further interference with Negro applications. When Department investigators discovered "pattern and practice" in some sixty-odd of Mississippi's eighty-two counties, a suit was brought against the state itself, challenging the validity of the "constitutional interpretation" segment of the application form. An extremely important Circuit Court decision in the spring of 1964 ordered the registrar of Panola County to dispense with both the constitutional interpretation test and the "duties of a citizen" section of the form. At about the same time a constitutional amendment outlawed the stipulation of payment of poll tax as a requirement for voting in Federal elections.

By May of 1964 the focus of the Freedom Movement political workers had largely shifted to political education programs and state-wide community organization. The Freedom Registration campaign was conceived; the Freedom Candidates ran for national office in the Democratic Primary on June 2. And the newly formed Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party announced its plan to unseat the "regular" Mississippi delegation to the National Democratic Convention. The new party is composed entirely of native Mississippians. Organizational efforts throughout the summer are being focussed on the Atlantic City Convention in August.

This is roughly where we stand in the summer of 1964. The State Legislature was in a panic throughout the spring; it has just passed what is probably the biggest batch of clearly unconstitutional laws in the history of this country. The Citizens Council is stronger than it has ever been. The Ku Klux Klan has revived in the southwestern part of the state, and burning crosses have been spotted all over the state. The Hederman papers have managed, in a few short months, to foster a

climate of panic and fear in the white community that has spread throughout the state. It is in this climate that voter registration workers and political workers must continue and intensify present registration drives and build up the mass basis for the Freedom Democratic Party --Freedom Registration. The danger now is greater than it ever has been - and so is our hope.

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APPENDIX B
"HOW NEGRO DEMOCRATS FARED"

(The following is a summary of a longer report by the same title describing, through the affidavits of the participants, the experiences of Mississippi Negroes who attempted to take part in Democratic Party precinct and county conventions this summer.)

This past June Negroes in several parts of Mississippi attempted to attend precinct meetings of the Mississippi Democratic Party. These meetings, in which all registered voters are theoretically entitled to participate, form the base of a pyramid which culminates in the Democratic State Convention. It is in the course of this series of meetings that state party officials and National Convention delegates are elected. In this Presidential election year the Negro Democrats were not only fighting for their right to be included in the party. They also sought to insure that the state party would remain loyal to the candidates of the National Democratic Party in November. To accomplish this, they pressed for the election of delegates who shared their views, as well as for the adoption of resolutions affirming loyalty to the National ticket.

The amount of Negro activity in the precinct meetings was sharply circumscribed at the outset by the outstanding fact of Mississippi politics: the massive disfranchisement of Negro voters. The climate of fear that pervades the state acted as a further check: a sworn affidavit from a resident of Neshoba County, for example, explains that no Negroes went to precinct meetings there "because it was impossible... to make the attempt ...without suffering great economic and physical harm."

In eight precincts (in six different counties) Negroes went to their polling stations before the time legally designated for the precinct meetings (10:00 AM), but were unable to find any evidence of a meeting. Inquiries addressed to public officials proved futile: some officials denied knowledge of any meeting, others claimed that the meeting had already taken place. In these precincts Negroes proceeded to hold their own meetings and elected their own delegates to the County conventions.

In three precincts (in six different counties) Negroes found the white precinct meetings, but were excluded from the meetings. In Hattiesburg Negroes were told that they could not participate without poll tax receipts, despite the recent Constitutional amendment outlawing such provisions.

In two precincts (in five different counties) Negroes were allowed to attend the meetings, but were restricted in some way from exercising their full rights: some were not allowed to vote, some were not allowed to nominate delegates from the floor, others were not allowed to take part in choosing those who tallied the votes. In several meetings the Negroes were unable to introduce their resolution calling for loyalty to the National Party, in others they were unable to bring their resolutions to a vote.

In six precincts (primarily in the liberal town of Greenville) Negroes were allowed to participate fully in the precinct meetings. However, in some cases they were included only after white voters stalled the meetings until well past 10:00 AM in an effort to phone up enough additional white voters to offset an unexpectedly large Negro turnout. In all but one precinct (in Greenville) the resolution of party loyalty was defeated.

On June 23, 1964, Negroes tried to take part in the second level of Democratic Party meetings, the County Conventions. Most of these Negroes had been elected delegates to the county level by all-Negro precinct meetings. One, however, was a delegate from a multi-racial meeting in Jackson.

In Canton (Madison County) Negro delegates were at first unable to locate the County Convention, as the meeting was not being held in the legally designated place. When they did discover a group of whites who were in the process of drawing up a slate of delegates, they tried to join the meeting. They were informed that there would be no County Convention this year. The white group claimed to be the County Executive Committee and told the Negroes that the meeting was open only to members.

In Greenwood (Jefferson County), another hard-core area, Negro delegates were also denied the right to take part in the County Convention. The whites presiding over the meeting refused to recognize their credentials on the grounds that their precinct meeting had not been "official". A white group claimed to be the delegates from the same precincts. (At the precinct level the preceding week Negro groups had been unable to locate the white meetings; they were told there were no meetings; one group, which had arrived at 10:00 AM was informed the meeting was already over).

In one of the more "liberal" areas of the state, Meridian (Lauderdale County) Negro delegates attended the County Convention, but were not allowed to participate fully, nor were their credentials ever recognized. The meeting refused to consider their resolution of loyalty to the National Democratic Party.

In Ruleville and Greenville, Negroes did not participate as delegates, but were allowed to attend the meetings as observers. None of the white delegates from the lone precinct in Greenville which had taken the "radical" stand of adopting the Negroes' resolution on party loyalty showed up at the County Convention. (Ruleville: Sunflower County; Greenville: Washington County).

In Jackson (Hinds County) a Negro delegate, who represented one half of his multi-racial precinct's single vote, was seated with his Negro alternate in the back of the Convention room. His credentials were not seriously questioned and he was not prevented from participating in the meeting. However, the other half of the vote, a white woman, was seated with her white alternate at the front of the room, in the proper seating location for their precinct.

In Vicksburg (Warren County) Negro delegates were unable to nominate delegates from the floor to supplement the list already drawn up by party officials. However, they were allowed to participate in some aspects of the meeting and their opposition to the unpledged elector resolution received press coverage. One Negro delegate, who had elected herself because no meeting was held in her precinct, was not recognized as an official delegate, even though there was no white delegate from this precinct at the convention.

The above summary of the experience of Negroes who attempted to participate in the county and precinct meetings of the Mississippi Democratic Party unequivocally substantiates what Negroes have been saying to officials of the National Democratic Party for years:

1. Negroes are discriminated against by Mississippi's traditional Democratic Party. They are not wanted as members of this party, and are not permitted to function in the party's operation.

2. Mississippi's traditional Democratic Party is opposed to the programs and policies of the National Democratic Party and will not commit themselves to support these programs and policies. Nor will they commit themselves to support the Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates to be selected by the National Party.

The Negro voters who attended the precinct meetings felt that one aspect of the functioning of the white Democratic Party came as a surprise to them - as a result of their attendance at those meetings: They discovered that whites do not attend the precinct meetings except in token numbers and that the delegates selected are usually chosen in advance by some party official. They felt that the role of the whites in the meetings was primarily to ratify lists of names drawn up by others. They concluded that officials of Mississippi's traditional Democratic Party have been very lax in attempting to create a widely based party and in attempting to actively involve as many people in the party's machinery as possible.

The fact that in most areas Negroes were not treated so crudely at the county level can perhaps be attributed to the very different social composition of the county meetings. The county conventions are run by the top political figures in the area. Negro delegates also observed that most of the other delegates were professional men, businessmen, and the like - the so-called finist men in the community. These people did not feel threatened by the presence of a few Negro delegates, but only irritated. Consequently the whites simply ignored the Negroes.

APPENDIX C
THE F.D.P. AND THE CONVENTION CHALLENGE

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"We are not allowed to function effectively in Mississippi's traditional Democratic Party; therefore, we must find another way to align ourselves with the National Democratic Party."

The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (FDP) is open to citizens of all races and encourages the political participation of all.

The Freedom Democratic Party was established in April, 1964. At a meeting on April 26 approximately 200 delegates from across the state set up a Temporary State Executive Committee for the party. The following people were elected to serve on the Committee (the number in parentheses refers to Congressional District):

Dr. Aaron Henry, Chairman
Clarksdale (II)

Rev. Merrill Lindsey
West Point (I)

Rev. J.W. Brown
Hattiesburg (V)

Mr. Leslie McLeMore
Holly Springs (II)

Mr. Percy Chapman
Jackson (III)

Mr. Charles Robinson
Canton (IV)

Mrs. Annie Devine
Canton (IV)

Rev. R.L.T. Smith
Jackson (III)

Mr. Samuel Glover
Canton (IV)

Mr. Eddie Thomas
Vicksburg (III)

Mrs. Pinky Hall
Hattiesburg (V)

Mrs. Evelyn Wright
Hattiesburg (V)

The Temporary State Executive Committee is responsible for supervising the calling of precinct, county, district, and state meetings at which the delegates to the National Democratic Convention will be selected. As of July 5, the Temporary Executive Committee has fixed the following dates for the FDP meetings:

Precinct and County Meetings: To be held before August 2nd, at times convenient for each area.

District Caucuses: To be held during the week of August 2-8 in the following cities:

Columbus	(I)
Clarksdale	(II)
Jackson	(III)
Meridian	(IV)
Hattiesburg	(V).

The State Convention will convene on August 9 in Jackson.

The precinct meetings may be attended by anyone who has been registered on the Freedom Registration books, including persons who may be registered on official voting books of the State of Mississippi.

The following is a sample resolution that may be introduced at precinct conventions where people wish to do so:

Whereas we believe that the National Democratic Party represents the best interests of the majority of the people in Mississippi, and,

Whereas the Mississippi Democratic Party has stated in party literature that it is not a part of the national party and has not supported the Democratic presidential candidates,

We therefore resolve that the delegate(s) from this precinct be instructed to go on record, if they are ultimately selected as delegates to the Democratic National Convention, as supporting the party platform and the persons selected to be the party's candidates.

All of the above meetings of the Freedom Democratic Party will follow the pattern stipulated in the Election Laws of Mississippi as closely as possible. At each level the procedure for the election of delegates and the selection of county and state executive committees will be the same as that followed by the traditional Mississippi Democratic Party. Any variations will be published as official notification by the Freedom Democratic Party Executive Committee.

The Temporary Executive Committee has also decided to conduct a Freedom Vote between August 9-20, during which Freedom Registered Voters will ratify the National Convention Delegates selected by the State Convention.

The delegates and alternates so selected will attend the national Democratic Convention, where they will challenge the credentials of the presently recognized Mississippi Democratic Party delegation. The Freedom Democratic Party delegation will consist of 46 delegates and 22 alternates - the number allotted to the State of Mississippi by the Democratic National Committee.

The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party maintains an office in Washington, D.C., which carries on activities to mobilize Northern support for the party. The Washington office is now located at:

1353 "U" St. NW
Washington, D.C.
20009

Phone: (202) 332-7732
332-7733.

The Washington Office is administered by Mr. Walter Tillow and Miss Ella Baker, who are assisted by a small staff.

STATE DEMOCRATIC RESOLUTIONS IN SUPPORT OF THE F.D.P.

The Democratic State Conventions of Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Massachusetts, and Oregon have already cast resolutions in support of the cause espoused by the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. Similar resolutions have been passed by the Democratic Executive Committees in New York and California. In addition, two of the most populous counties in Colorado, Denver and Adams, have passed resolutions which they will carry on to the State Democratic Convention on July 18.

The following are samples of some of these resolutions:

Michigan State Democratic Convention:

WHEREAS, the traditional Democratic Party of Mississippi is undemocratically constituted in that it discriminates against large numbers of citizens; and

WHEREAS, the traditional Democratic Party of Mississippi does not support the platform and policies of the National Democratic Party; and

WHEREAS, the traditional Democratic Party of Mississippi in 1960 did not support the nominees of the Democratic National Convention despite a pledge made at the convention by leaders of that state's delegation; and

WHEREAS, a Freedom Democratic Party is being established in the state of Mississippi which is open to all citizens regardless of race and which will support the national platform and candidates; and

WHEREAS, the Freedom Democratic Party plans to seek to be seated in place of the delegation from the traditional Democratic Party of Mississippi at the 1964 Democratic National Convention;

NOW THEREFORE be it resolved that the May, 1964 Washtenaw County Democratic Convention hereby asks the state convention to urge the Michigan delegation at the forthcoming national convention to take all appropriate action to seat the delegates from the Freedom Democratic Party of Mississippi if they should petition for credentials and to deny credentials to the delegates from the traditional Democratic Party of Mississippi.

(This resolution was passed unanimously by the Democratic State Convention June 12-13, Lansing, Michigan.)

Minnesota State Democratic Farmer-Labor Convention:

WHEREAS:

1. The traditional Democratic Party of Mississippi is a totally segregated party which does not permit hundreds of thousands of Negro citizens in Mississippi to vote or otherwise participate in its affairs.

2. The traditional Democratic Party of Mississippi did not support the 1960 platform or candidates of the national Democratic Party and now proclaims that it is not a part of the national Democratic Party.

3. A Freedom Democratic Party is being established in Mississippi which is open to all citizens regardless of race and is committed to support the national platform and candidates.

4. The Freedom Democratic Party is seeking to seat its delegates to the 1964 Democratic National Convention in place of the delegates from the traditional Democratic Party of Mississippi.

5. Minnesota welcomes this opportunity to demonstrate its devotion to justice and equal rights for all citizens regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin.

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that this Convention instructs the Minnesota delegation to the forthcoming Democratic National Convention:

1. To take all appropriate action to prevent the seating of the delegates from the traditional Democratic Party of Mississippi.

2. To consider the request to seat the delegates of the Freedom Democratic Party with sympathy and in the light of all the facts that will be presented to the Credentials Committee of the Democratic National Convention.

3. To follow the same policy if the credentials of any other State delegation are challenged on the grounds on which the Mississippi delegation will be challenged.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that copies of this resolution shall be sent to the members of the Democratic National Committee, its Chairman, and to the Chairman of each State Democratic Party.

(This resolution was passed unanimously by the Democratic Farmer-Labor Party, meeting in convention June 27, 1964, at the St. Paul Hotel, St. Paul, Minnesota.)

New York State Democratic Committee:

As Democrats and as members of the National Democratic Party, we believe that the national convention, the governing body of the Democratic Party, should consist only of delegates devoted to the principles and objectives of the Party and who are duly elected by members of the Party.

WHEREAS, the present Democratic Party of some states publicly stated that they are independent of the National Democratic Party and that they do not support the policies and platform of the National Democratic Party or the Party itself; and that they oppose the principles, candidates, and objectives of the National Party; and,

WHEREAS, the present Democratic Party in certain states has systematically prevented Democrats, who happen to be Negroes, from voting in the Party primaries and from electing delegates to the Democratic National Convention and, therefore, has no properly elected delegates,

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that the Credentials Committee of the New York State Delegation at the Democratic National Convention shall exercise every effort to make certain that only those delegates who are pledged to the principles, and objectives of the National Democratic Party as expressed in the Party platform be seated as representing their state Party.

(This resolution was passed by the New York State Democratic Committee on June 15, 1964).°

Wisconsin State Democratic Convention:

WHEREAS, the Democratic Party of Wisconsin is firmly committed to the principle of one-man one-vote; and

WHEREAS, the Democratic party of this state is committed thru its platform and its candidates to actively strive for legislation that will ensure equality under the law for all citizens; and,

WHEREAS, in certain states such as Mississippi delegates are selected by a non-representative white minority; and,

WHEREAS, the official Democratic Party in certain states has not supported the national ticket or the national platform particularly in regard to civil rights;

THEREFORE, be it resolved that the Wisconsin delegation to the Democratic National Convention be urged to oppose the accrediting of those state delegates that are not loyal to the basic civil rights principles of the of the Democratic national platform; and Be it further resolved that the Wisconsin delegation to the Democratic National Convention be urged to support the accreditation of the "Freedom Delegation" as an expression of our support for the principle of one-man one-vote, and to encourage those who are working for voter registration of a disenfranchised minority.

(This resolution was passed unanimously by voice vote at the Wisconsin State Democratic Convention, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, June 20, 1964.

APPENDIX E
"The Right to Vote" in Mississippi

Official registration figures show that only some 20,000 Negroes are registered in Mississippi as compared to 500,000 whites. This represents less than 7% of the 435,000 Negroes of voting age in the state.

(The following are selected passages from a speech by Professor Russell H. Barrett of the University of Mississippi, entitled "Voting Qualifications in Mississippi"):

"...The present voting laws of Mississippi were intended to be discriminatory... These requirements have their origin in constitutional amendments which were implemented by the legislature in 1955 and 1962, and in both cases public officials carefully avoided making statements which could be used in court actions as proof of intention to discriminate. In 1954 Governor White did say that the amendment would "tend to maintain segregation," but in 1962 Representative Thompson McClellan urged legislators to avoid asking "unnecessary questions" about the legislation in public and there was no debate on the obvious purpose of the legislation in either year.

"The newspapers and the Citizens' Council were less discreet, and they were relied upon to provide whatever explanation the voters may have needed. In October, 1954, Robert B. Patterson is reported to have said at a Citizens' Council meeting, "The amendment is intended solely to limit Negro registration." The Jackson Daily News copied a statement by Patterson as an editorial, and its story on the election results carried the headline, "Constitutional Amendment to Restrict Negro Voting Given 19-1 Lead at Polls." During the campaign on the moral character amendment in 1960 the Jackson State-Times editorialized, "This proposed amendment is not aimed at keeping white people from voting, no matter how morally corrupt they may be. It is an ill-disguised attempt to keep qualified Negroes from voting; and as such, it should not have the support of the people of Mississippi." When the legislature got around to implementing the new requirement in 1962, a news report stated that the new laws "are intended to make it more difficult for Negroes to register."...

"First, the whole pattern of voting requirements and of the registration form is calculated to make the process appear to the voter to be a hopelessly formidable one. The pattern is supposed to bristle with complexities which culminate in the publication of the would-be voter's name in the local newspaper for two weeks. A major purpose of all this is to so overwhelm the voter that he will not have the audacity even to attempt registration. Behind this approach is supposed to be - and all too often is - a collection of fears that someone will challenge the voter's moral character, that he may be prosecuted for perjury, or that he may be subjected to economic or other pressures if he attempts to register. Those who have for years controlled state politics assume that this fear will be a powerful weapon against voter registration, yet the plain fact is that it is by far the most vulnerable of their defenses....

Negro Voters by District and County

(The following statistics are from the Congressional Quarterly, Week ending July 5, 1963, p. 1091 -3.)

First District (Northeast)

County	Negro Pop. Over 21	Negro Regis. Voters	Percent
Alcorn	1,750	61	3.5 %
Attala	4,262	61	1.4 %
Calhoun	1,767	0	0.0 %
Chickasaw	3,054	0	0.0 %
Choctaw	1,105	10	.9 %
Clay	4,444	10	.2 %
Itawamba	463	47	10.2 %
Lee	5,130	231	4.5 %
Lowndes	8,362	70	.8 %
Monroe	5,610	9	.2 %
Norfolk	5,172	0	0.0 %
Oktibbeha	4,592	107	2.2 %
Pontotoc	1,519	6	.4 %
Prentiss	1,070	18	1.7 %
Tishomingo	359	6	1.7 %
Webster	1,174	2	.2 %
Winston	3,611	57	1.6 %

Second District (Northwest):

Benton	1,419	150	10.5 %
Bolivar	15,939	612	3.8 %
Carroll	2,704	3	.1 %
Coahoma	14,404	1,800	12.3 %
DeSoto	6,246	4	.06 %
Grenada	4,323	61	1.4 %
Holmes	8,757	41	.5 %
Humphreys	5,561	2	.04 %
Issaquena	1,081	0	0.0 %
Lafayette	3,239	134	4.1 %
Leflore	13,567	268	1.9 %
Marshall	7,163	90	1.2 %
Montgomery	2,627	11	.4 %
Panola	7,250	2	.03 %
Quitman	5,673	435	7.6 %
Sharkey	3,125	3	.1 %
Sunflower	13,524	164	1.2 %
Tallahatchie	6,483	5	.07 %
Tate	4,326	0	0.0 %
Tippah	1,281	176	13.7 %
Tunica	5,822	22	.4 %
Union	1,626	6	.4 %
Washington	20,619	2,563	12.4 %
Yalobusha	2,441	4	.2 %

County	Negro pop. over 21	Negro Regis. Voters	Percent
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Third District (Southwest):

Adams	9,340	1,050	11.2 %
Ande	3,560	1	.03 %
Glaiborne	3,969	50	1.2 %
Copiah	6,407	20	.31 %
Franklin	1,842	146	7.9 %
Hinds	36,133	5,000	13.8 %
Jefferson	3,540	0	0.0 %
Lincoln	3,913	516	13.2 %
Pike	6,936	207	3.0 %
Walthall	2,490	3	.1 %
Warren	10,726	1,100	10.3 %
Wilkinson	4,120	110	2.7 %
Yazoo	8,719	178	2.1 %

Fourth District (Central):

Clarke	2,988	34	1.1 %
Jasper	3,675	6	.20 %
Kemper	3,221	10	.3 %
Landerdale	11,924	1,200	10.1 %
Leake	3,397	150	4.4 %
Madison	10,366	500	4.8 %
Neshoba	2,565	8	.3 %
Newton	3,018	32	1.1 %
Rankin	6,944	43	.6 %
Scott	3,752	28	.7 %
Simpson	3,186	61	1.9 %
Smith	1,293	24	1.9 %

Fifth District (Southeast):

Forrest	7,495	24	.2 %
George	580	13	2.2 %
Jones	7,427	872	11.7 %
Lamar	1,071	0	0.0 %
Marion	3,630	400	11.0 %
Pearl River	2,473	0	0.0 %
Perry	1,140	127	11.1 %
Stone	868	41	4.5 %
Greene	859	40	4.6 %
Wayne	2,556	0	0.0 %

APPENDIX F
THE VOICE OF THE TRANSITIONAL MISSISSIPPI DEMOCRATIC PARTY

The following are selections from the "Platform and Principles of the Mississippi State Democratic Party", adopted in Convention in the City of Jackson, June 30, 1960. (The Party has not yet adopted its 1964 platform; it will meet in Convention on July 28 in Jackson):

... We are opposed to strong centralized government, national or state.

We believe in States' Rights and local self-government, and are unalterably opposed to any encroachment upon the rights of the states by the federal government, or any department or agency thereof, and upon county and municipal government by the state, or any department or agency thereof.

We believe in the three separate and distinct departments of government as set forth in the federal and state constitutions, namely, legislative, judicial, and executive, and oppose the encroachment upon or usurpation of the functions of one by either of the others, and we expressly condemn the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Brown school case rendered May 17, 1954, and subsequent decisions of that court, and inferior federal courts, striking down state constitutions and laws providing for the conduct and operation of public schools and public education within the states...

We are opposed to any legislation, federal or state, setting up what is known as a Fair Employment Practices Committee, commonly known as "FEPC".

... We are opposed to the enactment by the Congress of the United States of the so-called anti-poll tax measure as being in violation of the rights of the states to fix the qualifications of electors and in violation of the provisions of the Constitution of the United States. We favor the poll tax and are opposed to any attempt to abolish it either by federal or state legislation.

We believe in the time-honored and cherished traditions of the South and opposed to any legislation, movement, or policy which would do violence to or destroy them.

We oppose the ratification by the United States of the Genocide Convention of the United Nations, the proposed Human Rights Convention and the Civil Rights Convention, the so-called World Government, World Court, or any other proposal of the United Nations...

We favor the amendment of the Constitution of the United States to limit the treaty making power of the President and the Senate...

We believe in the segregation of the races and are unalterably opposed to the repeal or modification of the segregation laws of the State, and we condemn integration and the practice of non-segregation. We are unalterably opposed to any and all efforts to repeal the miscegenation laws.

... We believe in the statements and principles of the Southern Manifesto, adopted by southern members of the House of Representatives and Senate in the Congress of the United States in March, 1956.

We believe in the separation of the races in the universities and colleges, in the public schools, in public transportation, in public parks, in public playgrounds, and in all spheres of activity where experience has shown that it is for the best interest of both races that such separation be observed.

... Under God, The Author of Liberty, we stand for individual freedom and personal dignity of the American citizen.

The following resolution was adopted in Convention in Jackson, on August 16, 1960 (after the Democratic Convention in Los Angeles):

Now, therefore, be it resolved by the Democratic Party of Mississippi in Convention assembled in the City of Jackson on this 16th day of August, 1960, that we, acknowledging with humility the divine power of Almighty God, and standing fearless in our belief in constitutional government, the rights of the states, segregation of the races and the preservation of our traditional Southern American way of life, do hereby declare and affirm:

- 1) That we reject and oppose the platform of both National Parties and their candidates.
- 2) That we reaffirm and readopt the Platform and principles of the Democratic Party of Mississippi adopted... on the 30th day of June, 1960.
- 3) That we wholeheartedly approve the courageous and forceful Minority Report as to that portion of the National Democratic Platform entitled "Civil Rights" presented on behalf of the Sovereign States of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia.

The following are excerpts from campaign literature distributed in the Paul B. Johnson for Governor Campaign, 1963:

MISSISSIPPI REPUBLICANS ENDANGER MISSISSIPPI WITH TWO-PARTY SYSTEM

The "one-night" Republicans in Mississippi are playing with political dynamite by advocating a two-party system in our state.

These inexperienced, so-called Republicans proudly boast that "they are not bound by any deep-seated taboos and prejudices handed down blindly from past generations," but they never discuss the real dangers of a two-party political system in a state like Mississippi with a "block-voting" minority group that represents over 45% of our population.

These self-styled "young men and young women and older people with young ideas" either do not know or they deliberately ignore the facts of life as they exist in Mississippi today.

A DIVISION OF CONSERVATIVE MISSISSIPPIANS INTO TWO POLITICAL CAMPS, as now being attempted by these self-styled Republicans, WOULD GIVE THE BALANCE OF POWER IN MISSISSIPPI TO OUR MINORITY GROUP. This would be the end of our way of life in Mississippi and the peace, tranquillity, law and order we now enjoy in all of our communities would soon come to an awesome end.

MISSISSIPPI HAS ALL THE BENEFITS WITHOUT THE VERY REAL DANGERS

25

... As Mississippi Democrats we are enjoying all of the so-called "benefits" of this two-party system through our State Democratic primary elections, without exposing the people of Mississippi to the disastrous events and conditions that would surely follow the division of conservative Mississippians into two political camps, thus giving the balance of power into the hands of the minority.

Our Mississippi Democratic Party is entirely independent and is free of the influence or domination of any national political party, and it offers an adequate framework for candidates of widely varying views to offer their services to people. Mississippi has no need for a two-party system that would divide our people and stretch our political campaigning over many additional months with resulting expense, confusion, and disunity.

REPUBLICAN PARTY ALWAYS REJECTS THEIR CONSERVATIVE LEADERS

... The truth is that neither national party is "conservative." Both the National Republican Party and the National Democratic Party are the dedicated enemies of the people of Mississippi. The national leaders of both--consistently across the years-- have pursued courses of action which have moved our beloved country ever leftward -- which have threatened our citizens with ever more centralized power at Washington.

The National Republican Party has followed the National Democratic Party like a shadow. Both have moved toward socialism as they catered to organized "have-not" minorities in the heavily populated urban centers, ignoring the great, silent, unorganized majority of decent, responsible citizens in this country...

Neither party as constituted today offers any hope to free men and women who value their independence and their honor. Both parties...if their platforms and their past actions are any guide -- threaten our Mississippi traditions, institutions and segregated way of life.

The Mississippi Democratic Party -- which long ago separated itself from the National Democratic Party, and which has fought consistently everything both national parties stand for -- offers to the citizens of Mississippi and to the troubled white conservative voices in the land...

The Mississippi Democratic Party is not subservient to any national party... Our free electors may vote for any American leader who will espouse the principles in which we believe.

...Let's defeat the National Republican Party's candidates on November 5th by a vote so overwhelming that it will bury forever these "overnight" Republicans who would like to divide our state and hand it over to a minority group.

Unpledged Electors

Through the system of unpledge electors, officials of the state Democratic Party are seeking to substitute their voice for that of the voters of Mississippi. They are seeking another means through which to play hide-and-go-seek with the rest of the nation. Mississippi's all-white one-party power structure would like to wait until the Electoral College meets after the election to decide who the people in the state have voted for. Through the system of unpledged electors, a handful of men would be able to bargain a majority of Mississippi's votes with the leadership of the National Republican and Democratic Parties.

The following quotations give some idea of the current thinking of some of the major political figures in Mississippi, as well as some of the presidential electors. The system of unpledged electors may well be paving the way toward a "Democrats for Goldwater" movement:

Jackson Mayor Allen Thompson (quoted in the Jackson Clarion-Ledger, July 17, 1964).

Jackson Mayor Allen Thompson Thursday voted his approval of Republican presidential nominee Barry Goldwater, but affirmed continuing support of Alabama Gov. George Wallace. Thompson ... said Mississippi 'has a golden opportunity with Goldwater' because 'he is a man who thinks like we do'.

'The mayor said he felt Goldwater could carry Mississippi 'and possibly one or two other states without the support of Wallace,' but 'if Wallace decides to give everything he's got to Goldwater the South will have a chance in November. We'll have a chance to have somebody not afraid of pressure groups.'

Thompson said he felt Goldwater was unafraid of "pressure groups or liberals" because he told the Negro vote "we don't want you, or care about you."

The South, Thompson said, will be "swept" by the Democrats this summer. There will be quite a change in the attitudes of the Democratic Party, he said. "You talk about a hot summer - it's going to be a long hot summer for the National Democratic Party."

Presidential Elector Frank E. Shanahan, State Rep. from Warren County: said he had offered to aid in a "Democrats for Goldwater" movement if it promoted the Arizona Conservative in his presidential bid and not just the Republican Party. "You've got a lot of local (Democratic) office holders in Mississippi who are going to vote for Goldwater," Shanahan said, and contended many would join a "Democrats for Goldwater" organization if the National Republican Party would promote such a group. (Jackson Daily News, July 17, 1964).

State Legislators Hayden Campbell and Russell Davis from Hinds County announced their support for Barry Goldwater, Republican presidential candidate, saying that Goldwater was the last hope for conservative government. Campbell said, "We, in America, have just witnessed the founding of a new political party... We have seen the birth of a new party in San Francisco. It is now the Conservative Party... We in the South cannot be a part of splitting the Conservative vote and giving the election to Lyndon Johnson. It is a time for all true conservative Southerners to come out openly in every way and support the leader of our new national party..."

VI: Freedom Schools



During the summer, more than 40 Freedom Schools opened in 20 communities across Mississippi. More than 2,000 children and adults enrolled in classes led by 175 teachers.

21 Overview of the Freedom Schools, May 5, 1964

(3 pages) Memo to prospective teachers

<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/2631>

22 Materials to Bring with You to Mississippi

(1 page) List from project staff

<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/2630>

23 A Note to the Teacher on Curriculum

(14 pages) Guide with curriculum outline, lesson plans, and much more

<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/14502>

24 Some Notes on Leading Discussions

(3 pages) Guide on integrating real-world situations into the classroom

<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/7994>

25 Freedom School Data, July 1964

(8 pages) Summary of statistics and activities through late July 1964

<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/2602>

26 A Resume of Activities at Freedom Schools, August 7, 1964

(2 pages) Concise summary of the activities at a number of Freedom Schools

<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/13315>

27 Fusco, Liz: Freedom Schools in Mississippi, 1964

(7 pages) Reflection on the effect of the schools on the children's consciousness

<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/9474>

28 Hard, Sandra: Reflections of a White Volunteer, September 8, 1964

(2 pages) Summary by Sandra Hard of her summer as a Freedom School teacher

<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/17776>

Memorandum

COFO

1017 Lynch St.

Jackson, Miss.

May 5

TO: MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM SCHOOL TEACHERS

FROM: Miss. Summer Project Staff

RE: SUBJECT: Overview of the Freedom Schools

The purpose of the Freedom schools is to provide an educational experience for students which will make it possible for them to challenge the myths of our society, to perceive more clearly its realities, and to find alternatives, and ultimately, new directions for action.

Just what forms this educational experience will take will vary from school to school and from teacher to teacher. We will not be able to provide all the facilities, materials and personnel we would like. This is a fact of our whole operation, and we are used to it. But we hope the curriculum will be flexible enough to overcome them.

The Freedom Schools will consist of from 5 to 15 teachers and 25 to 50 students. It does not now appear that we will be able to secure buildings for residential schools, so you will be working in day schools in churches, store fronts, homes, etc.

The kinds of activities you will be developing will fall into three general areas: 1) academic work, 2) recreation and cultural activities, 3) leadership development. It is our hope that these three will be integrated into one learning experience, rather than being the kind of fragmented learning and living that characterize much of contemporary education. How this integration can occur will be suggested by the materials we will be sending you and by the orientation period.

Since the students academic experiences should relate directly to their real life in Mississippi, and since learning that involved real life experiences is, we think, most meaningful, we hope that the students will be involved in the political life of their communities. As the day's schedule below indicates, the students will work in various kinds of political activity in the evenings. The way students will work in various kinds of political activity in the evenings. The way students can participate in local voter registration should be worked out by the teachers and local COFO voter registration staff at a meeting before the opening of school. The teachers will be free to participate in these activities with the students, although you may need the time to prepare lessons, etc., and thus will want the local staff to supervise the students' canvassing, etc. It may also be the case that on some evenings the teachers or students will plan a special event and thus the students will not do political work on that night. Or it may happen that the need for canvassing for a special event will cause local staff to ask for part of the students' day for this purpose. It is important that voter registration staff and teachers stay in close touch with each other so these things can be worked out. An average day's schedule might look like this: Early morning (7-9): Concentrated individual work on areas of students' particular interest or need. Morning (9-12 or 1): Academic curriculum. Afternoon: (2-4 or 3): Non-academic curriculum (recreation, cultural activities and

some tutoring). You will have to bear in mind that it is too hot in the afternoon for much concentrated work. Evening (7-9 or so): Work with voter registration activities, or special events like a visiting folk singer) on evenings when no political work is needed.

The development of a weekly schedule and a daily lesson plan will be left to the teachers and students of the school. All teachers will be at their school's site at least a week before the schools open July 7. This week should be used primarily for planning by the teaching group, as well as recruiting students and making community contacts. We will try to balance the schools' personnel so that various skills will be represented by different members of the teaching team.

The fact that you will do the actual development of a plan for each day means that you will have to be creative, resourceful, and flexible. To aid you in your task, we will be supplying you with the following material, either in the mail or at orientation:

1. Curriculum Guide for Freedom Schools, by Noel Day. This document will be your basic teaching material. It contains six units of study centered around values and social change. Each unit contains suggested content materials and teaching methods. It will be possible for you to center some of the writing and reading teaching around the subject matter of the units, and discussion will help students grow in public speaking ability.
2. Case studies are being prepared by various people. Some of these will relate directly to the curriculum suggested by the Curriculum Guide, some can be used as supplementary material. The Case Study Outline will explain how to use these studies of various problems related to civil rights and political change.
3. Papers on the teaching of science, math and remedial reading and writing (also short papers on teaching arts and crafts, dramatics, etc.)

Science will not relate directly to the subject matter of the curriculum guide, but it is important that students receive both a feeling for what real science is (which they do not receive in school) and tutorial help in specific scientific areas of study if they show interest. Any teachers who know this area should come prepared to do some special work with a few students and to handle a class session or two on a general "Wonders of Science" theme. The paper you will receive will give further ideas.

Math is an area of real difficulty for many students. Try to secure 11th and 12th grade (and earlier) math texts for use in tutoring. It will be difficult to develop class sessions around this subject, since students' abilities will vary greatly. The paper on teaching of this subject will help you see an approach for a classroom situation.

Remedial reading and writing work will be needed by nearly all students. Reading aloud is suggested in the Curriculum

1. Guide as are some other topics. Students should be encouraged and guided in doing outside reading. Writing should be discussed with students individually with tutorial help directed toward writing improvement.

4. A paper on Leadership Development by Charlie Cobb will contain suggestions of the kinds of skills students should develop and suggest how these can be integrated into daily activities.
5. A paper suggesting recreational and cultural activities for students will be available.

IT IS ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL THAT YOU STUDY THESE MATERIALS CAREFULLY AND BRING THEM SOUTH WITH YOU. THEY WILL BE YOUR GUIDE FOR THE SUMMER. YOUR TIME HERE IS LIMITED AND YOU MUST PREPARE AHEAD OF TIME AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE. We will **NOT** be able to replace curriculum materials if you fail to bring them with you.

We are glad you will be with the Mississippi Movement and hope that you share our excitement about the possibilities that the summer holds for real growth for you and Mississippi's young people.

1017 Lynch St;
Jackson, Miss.

1. Each Freedom School teacher must bring with him: (These are small items without which the Freedom Schools cannot operate and which you can purchase or secure easily by soliciting them or the funds with which to buy them). At least:

- 1 quire four hole stencils (A.B. Dick or Gestetner)
- 1 typewriter, typing paper, carbon paper
- 25 pencils
- 25 ball point pens
- 25 pads lined paper (preferably legal size)
- 5 magic markers (for making visual aids and signs)
- 1 pair scissors
- roll scotch tape
- package thumb tacks
- stapling machine and staples
- paper clips
- 1 item sports equipment
- first aid kit

In addition, each person who has a special skill area (from teaching remedial math to leading modern dance classes to teaching an arts-crafts skill) must bring all the materials he will need. Each teacher should choose one or more activities he could lead or teach as a specialty and bring materials to set up that program.

Finally, when you receive and read the Curriculum Guide you will find numerous suggestions for visual aids, books, etc. We cannot count on supplying any of these materials. Bring as many of the suggested materials as possible, especially for those units you particularly like.

2. Each Freedom School teacher should try to bring with him:
(or send to address below if you can secure in quantity)
blackboards, chalk dictionary
bulletin boards prints of artist's works
camera and film
maps--world, U.S., Mississippi
books that would interest high school students, especially
that require low reading levels or that center on
Negro history and thought
3. Each teacher should try to send these for distribution to
the schools. Send them ahead of time to Raymond Davis, Rust
College, Holly Springs, Mississippi.
Mimeograph machines (and stencils, paper, ink, correction fluid)
Tape recorders (and tape)
Phonographs (and records)
Film projectors (and films); Strip projectors (and film strips)
Paper (lined, unlined, poster, construction paper, rolls of
newsprint, second sheets, mimeo paper, carbon paper)
Manilla folders and envelopes (in bulk)

A NOTE TO THE TEACHER

As you know, you will be teaching in a non-academic sort of setting: probably the basement of a church. Your students will be involved in voter registration activity after school. They may not come to school regularly. We will be able to provide some books, hopefully some films, certainly some interesting guest speakers -- yet other than these things you will have few materials apart from those you and your fellow-teachers have brought.

In such a setting a "curriculum" must necessarily be flexible. We cannot provide lesson plans. All we can do is to give you some models and suggestions which you can fall back on when you wish. You, your colleagues, and your students are urged to shape your own curriculum in the light of the teachers' skills, the students' interests, and the resources of the particular community in which your school is located.

The curriculum suggestions which follow fall into three corresponding to three blocks of time into which you wish to divide your school day. First come some ideas about the presentation of conventional academic subjects: English, mathematics, and the like. We think such instruction is likely to be most fruitful at the beginning of the school day, when students are fresh. But we urge you, whenever possible, to use as materials for instruction in these subjects the actual problems of communication and analysis which the student encounters in his daily life, e.g., how to write a leaflet, how to calculate the number of eligible voters in a community.

Most of the material in this curriculum belongs to the citizenship curriculum which you may want to present during the second half of the morning on a typical school day. We assume that in this, as in all other phases of your teaching, you will use an informal, question-and-answer method. Hence, you will find that the material on citizenship is divided into seven units, each of which springs from a question, and each of which leads on to another question, which forms the next unit.

A large number of case studies have been provided to help you make the citizenship curriculum as concrete and vivid as possible. Many people, in many organizations, have taken part in preparing these case studies. If you disagree with the viewpoint of a particular case study, or of some part of the citizenship curriculum, please feel free to depart from what is suggested and to approach the problem in your own way.

Finally, we have some suggestions about the artistic, recreational and cultural activities which we think you may schedule in the afternoon, when it's hot. Don't neglect this phase of the curriculum. The comradeship formed on the ball field or in group singing may be the basis of your relationship with a student.

PART II: CITIZENSHIP CURRICULUM

Introduction

One of the purposes of the Freedom Schools is to train people to be active agents in bringing about social change. We have attempted to design a developmental curriculum that begins on the level of the students' everyday lives and those things in their environment that they have either already experienced or can readily perceive, and builds up to a more realistic perception of American society, themselves, the conditions of their oppression, and alternatives offered by the Freedom Movement.

It is not our purpose to impose a particular set of conclusions. Our purpose is to encourage the asking of questions, and the hope that society can be improved.

The curriculum is divided into seven units:

1. Comparison of student's reality with others (the way the students live and the way others live)
2. North to Freedom? (the Negro in the North)
3. Examining the apparent reality (the "better lives" that whites live)
4. Introducing the Power Structure
5. The poor Negro and the poor white
6. Material things versus soul things
7. The movement

Each unit develops concepts that are needed for those that follow.

Physically, the content (suggested questions and concepts) is on the right side of each page with suggested case studies and visual aid material listed opposite. The suggested questions and concepts in the content portion of each page constitute the teaching guide. It should be emphasized that these are only suggestions, and that individual teachers may interpret the concepts in different ways or substitute other methods. There is probably more in each unit than it will be possible to use, but it was included so that each teacher would have a range of material to choose from, and extra material if necessary.

There are two additional sets of questions that are to be reintroduced periodically, both to permit an on-going evaluation of the effectiveness of the curriculum, and to provide students with recurring opportunities for perceiving their own growth in sophistication.

The BASIC SET OF QUESTIONS is:

1. Why are we (teachers and students) in Freedom Schools?
2. What is the Freedom Movement?
3. What alternatives does the Freedom Movement offer us?

The SECONDARY SET OF QUESTIONS is:

1. What does the majority culture have that we want?
2. What does the majority culture have that we don't want?
3. What do we have that we want to keep?

Unit 1: Comparison of Students' Reality
with Others

Purpose: To create an awareness that there are alternatives.

Materials: Statistical data on education, housing, etc.
"The South as an Underdeveloped Country"

Student,
teacher
each tell
about
them-
selves

Introduction: We are not here to teach you. We are here to help you learn and to learn together. We are going to talk about a lot of things: about Negro people and white people, about rich people and poor people, about the South and about the North, about you and what you think and feel and want, and about me.

And we're going to try to be honest with each other: and say what we believe.

We'll also ask some questions and try to find some answers. The first thing is to look around, right here, and see how we live in Mississippi.

Schools--Conditions in Negro Schools

1. What kind of a school is it? Sample questions: How many grades does it have? how many class rooms? what is it made of, wood or brick? Do you have textbooks, new or old? Do you have a library, movies, maps, charts, electric lights, a gymnasium? How many teachers, white or Negro? laboratory space and equipment, desks, blackboards, etc.? Do you have history, geography, science, etc.?

2. What do you learn there? Sample questions: How many go to college? are there trade or vocational schools? What kinds of jobs are you prepared for? What about current events--who do you learn is good, who do you learn is bad, what do you learn about the South, about the North, about Negroes, about whites, about Kennedy, Johnson, Eastland, Castro, etc. What do you learn about voting and citizenship?

3. Where do you learn about these things? Radio, newspapers, TV, etc.

4. Is this bad or good? Can you think of anything that you would like to see changed? How could your school be made better?

Schools--Conditions in the white schools

Where do the white children go to school? What are their schools like? Compare Negro schools to white schools.

Visual
Aids (pic-
tures of
schools,
labora-
tories,
school
libraries,
school
rooms,
gymnasium

Here are some pictures of other schools in other states besides Mississippi (or some in Mississippi, too).

Sample questions: Do you like these schools in the pictures? Are they like your schools? How are they different? Why would you like to have better schools?

What do you see in the pictures that is different from you and your school? Why do these differences exist?

Housing--Conditions for Negroes

Sample questions: Where do you live? How many rooms are there? How many people live with you? How many beds do you have? Is your house made of wood or stone or bricks? What color is it? Is it painted, is there water, electricity, bathroom indoors, what kind of stove--wood, gas, kerosene, electric? Do you have heat in the winter? What kind? Furniture, what kind, how much?

Can you think of any kind of changes you'd like to see, any other kinds of houses you'd like to live in?

Questions: Where do white children live in this town? What kinds of houses--are their houses different? How? Better? How? Where does the Police Chief live? The banker? The store owner? etc.

Do you like these pictures? These houses? Are they like your house? How are they different? Would you like this kind of house? Why?

Note: discuss relationships between housing and schools (i.e., privacy, a place to study, quiet and books in the home, as related to studying) and housing and health (i.e., overcrowding, unheated housing as related to ease of sharing communicable diseases such as colds, TB, and infant mortality rates; bring in statistics on Negro-white life expectancy and mortality rates in Mississippi).

Question: Why do these differences exist?

Employment for Negroes

Adult Employment (men and women)

Sample questions: Who works in your family? What kind of work does your father do? your mother? Do they work for white people or for Negroes? Who works most (mother or father)? Do they get paid a lot or a little? What do they do with the money they make? pay rent, buy food, buy clothes, buy things for you? Do you think they could use more money? Why? Why don't they get more money?

Children's employment

Sample questions: Do you ever work? What kind of work? after school? or do you have to stay home from school to work sometimes? What happens when you stay home? Do you miss learning? if so, why do you have to do it?

Employment for Whites

In this town, what kind of jobs do white people do? Are there any Negro police or firemen, or store owners? Do Negroes work as clerks and cashiers in the store or the bank? Are there any Negroes who have tenant farmers, any Negro lawyers, doctors, Negroes who work at the textile mills?

What kind of jobs do people do? List responses and suggest areas through questions if necessary, i.e., who fixes cars, who makes our clothes, who sells them, who makes cars, airplanes, rockets, who builds houses, who invents machines (shoe last, air brake, telephone, etc.), who writes books, who fixes radios, plumbing, electricity, who drives tractors and mechanical cotton-pickers.

Break up into small groups and see which group can make up the largest list of jobs that people have, and what the duties these jobs have.

Question: Can Negroes do these jobs? Are they smart enough? Do some Negroes do these jobs? If not, why not?

Material on Negroes in various fields, pictures, stories, etc. Poetry reading and discussion. Photos or drawings of Negroes and Negro history figures should be posted.

Questions: Can anyone name:

- 1) a Negro inventor (George Washington Carver, Jan Matzeliger)
- 2) a Negro scientist (Dr. Charles Drews, Benjamin Banneker)
- 3) a Negro writer (Richard Wright, Phyllis Wheatley, Ralph Ellison, James Baldwin, Alexander Dumas, W. E. B. DuBois, Langston Hughes, M. L. Kind, Septima Clark, etc.)

Negro employment and white--salary comparison, etc. Review what has been discussed.

Medical facilities

Is there any hospital here? Where do you (your parents) go if they are sick, have a baby, a car accident, etc.? Where is the nearest hospital? Is it for Negroes, whites, both?

If there are different hospitals for Negroes and whites, compare facilities (how close are they? how many beds, doctors, operating rooms, etc.?).

Review Unit I (include schools, housing, employment, health)

Suggested approach: We've talked about jobs and health, in Mississippi and in other states, and we have seen that Negroes have to live one way and whites the other. Remember, we found out that your schools were (list) and we found that other schools were/had (list), etc.

Question: What can we do about this?

Re-introduce four basic questions:

1. Why are we (teachers and students) here in Freedom School?
2. What is the Freedom Movement?
3. What does the Freedom Movement have to offer you?

Unit II: North to Freedom? (The Negro in the North)

Purpose: To help the students see clearly the condition of the Negro in the North, and see that migration to the North is not a basic solution.

Summary: Starting with a new clarity of their condition in the South to raise the question of whether the Negro can escape oppression by going North.

Materials: Chester, Pennsylvania

New York City Schools

Map of U.S. with the South shaded. Point out each city.

Suggested Introduction: For years Negroes in Mississippi and other Southern states have seen how hard Jim Crow makes them live, just as we have talked about the last few days. In fact, since 1950 Negroes have left Mississippi (use census figures). Where have they gone? Most of them have moved North to Chicago, Detroit, New York, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Washington, Baltimore, Boston, etc. They have gone North looking better jobs, more money, better schools, good hospitals, better housing. Now there are more than one million Negroes in New York City alone. Do you think they've found what they were looking for? How do you know?

Magazine pictures of city skyscrapers, bright lights, wide avenues, etc.

Here is what some of those cities look like.

But how is it for the Negro?

They have had school boycotts to protest against segregation in Chicago, New York, Boston. Why?

Case studies:
NYC Schools
and Chester, Pa.

Cover the same topics as in Unit I.

Pictures or
other material
on the ghetto.

Questions: Do you have relatives there? What do they say about the North? Do you have to say "yessir" to white men there? Do you have better housing in the slums or only crowded bad housing? Do you get better jobs in the North? (The median income of Negro families, nationally, in 1960 was half that of white families.) Does it cost more to live? How about schools? Better buildings, but still segregated, still overcrowded, still old textbooks, still few college graduates.

How about housing? More integrated housing in the South. In the North, housing very segregated and more expensive for bad housing. Negroes still can't work at some jobs and they are paid less money. The overcrowding means there is more TB in Negro ghettos and a higher infant mortality rate (30% higher among Negroes than Whites).

Conclude: Itemize similarities in areas covered in Unit I (housing, jobs, schools, health).

Question: Are things better in the North--is the Negro really free, really equal? Why not?

Conclude: The Negro is a second-class citizen all over the U.S., you can't escape by leaving the South.

Introduce Questions:

1. What does the dominant culture have that we want?
 2. What does the dominant culture have that we don't want?
 3. What do we have that we want to keep?
-

Unit III: Examining the Apparent Reality (the "better life" that whites have)

Purpose: To find out what the whites' "better life" (better schools, jobs, housing, health facilities, etc.) is really like, and what it costs them.

Materials: Guide to Negro History, parts 1-3

Introduction, Suggestion: We have seen that Negroes live differently than whites in Mississippi and in the rest of the U.S.--and it seemed

Reintroduce
pictures of
schools.

What is
taught to
Whites and
Negroes.

that whites go to better schools, get better jobs, and live in better houses than Negroes.

Let us see if it's as good as it looks. The nice, new buildings, the laboratories, the school libraries, and gyms, and new textbooks and so on.

Concept: What education is.

Suggested questions: What do people learn in school besides reading, writing, and arithmetic? Do they learn things about other people? What? About jobs? What? About their country? What? About their city or town? About their government? About what they believe? About other countries? What?

1. Repeat pledge of allegiance. Analyze it: does it mean everything it says? When you say it, what does it teach you about your country and what it believes?
2. Recite the "Bill of Rights". Analyze it: Does it teach us about our country's beliefs? What? What does Freedom of Assembly mean? Does it mean you have the right to come together and demonstrate? If so, why do demonstrators go to jail? What does Freedom of Worship mean? Does it mean you can go into any church? If so, why do people get arrested in kneel-ins? What does Freedom of Speech mean? Do you have a right to say what you wish about voting and freedom and other things at rallies and meetings and at Freedom Schools? Do you have a right to say what you wish on leaflets and are you free to distribute them? If not, why not?

Question: Are these things the truth? Are they just ideals that we talk about or do Americans really believe them and practice them? Why could this be?

Concept: That truth, freedom, liberty, equality, and other ideals are often distorted and used as excuses and justifications for contradictory actions.

Questions: Are there any other things that the schools teach us that are untrue--myths? Can you point out any of the myths that are taught in the schools? What do the schools teach about Negroes?

Note: There is a real opportunity here for the teacher (white or middle-class Negro), if he can be honest and searching enough, to share the misinformation or myths he learned about Negroes

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teacher calls you "stupid" or "dumb"? Do you try harder or do you give up? Are you angry? (Set up other examples within the students' experience.)

Question: What does this kind of myth do to you? Does it make you try? Does it make you proud to be a Negro?

Discussion: Reintroduce three basic questions.

1. Why are we (students and teacher) here in Freedom School?
2. What is the Freedom Movement?
3. What alternatives does the Freedom Movement have to offer?

We've talked about some of the myths that the schools teach; let us see what some of the others are.

Note: At this point schools might use the discussion method to try to help the students discover other myths from their own experience or what they have seen or heard on TV or the movies, etc. They might even be asked to recite the plots of war movies or cowboy and Indian movies, and then follow up with questions, etc. (i.e., why are the Indians always bad and savage? Why are Negroes always domestic savages?)

Question: What do these movies teach us?

Review entire Unit III. What is taught in the schools and through other media. The myths of our society (enumerate) and what the effect of these myths is on the Negro (and other Americans) and what purposes these serve.

Re-introduce three secondary questions:

1. What does the American majority society have that we want?
2. What does it have that we don't want?
3. What do we have that we want to keep? And share?

Unit IV: Introducing the Power Structure

- Purpose:
1. To create an awareness that some people profit by the pain of others or by misleading them.
 2. To create an awareness that some people make decisions that profoundly affect others (i.e. bare power).
 3. To develop the concept of "political power".

Summary: Starting with the material learned in preceding units on Negro-white differentials in education, housing, etc. and the use of myths to distort and misinform, to develop a concept of who constructs the myths, who profits from them, and how they profit both in local (town and state of Mississippi) terms and in larger terms. And to name these people as "decision-makers" and "the power structure".

~~Proposed~~ suggested approach: Let's see what we have learned so far. We have learned that Negroes and whites live differently in both the South and the North and that Negroes are not given equal treatment in housing, education, etc. We have learned that although it seems that white people have better schools, for instance, that they pay for it by learning lies, and by learning to "hate" and be afraid. We have learned that we are misled by these lies too--that the myths have taught us to believe that we are inferior and dumb and that we have made no contributions to our society.

Now we want to find out why the schools tell these lies and find out who is helped by these lies.

Concept: That the myths serve a purpose by:

1. Keeping Negroes servile and teaching whites to feel superior.
2. Providing a justification for race relations in this country.

Question: Why do the schools tell these lies? Why hears and believes them? What do they believe? How does it make them feel to believe these things? Do the lies give them excuses? What kinds of excuses do the lies provide:

If a white man kills a Negro
If a policeman beats a Negro for demonstrating?
If a policeman beats a white demonstrator?
If a Negro is refused the vote?
If a Negro tries to integrate a school?
If Negroes are paid less money for the same work?
If white workers want to start a union?

Now who profits by these lies? Let's start here in this town.

Case study:
Miss. Power
Structure,
Part I.

Concept: That some people profit by the propagation of myths (make money, gain power, bolster up their egos, etc.).

Question: Who makes money when Negroes are paid less than white people?

Example: A cotton farmer's profit is the price he gets for his cotton minus what he pays for labor. Does the farmer make more money if the workers he hires are Negro? Why? Is it profitable for the farmer to keep Negro labor cheap? How does he do it? Do the myths help him do it? How?

Example: Why does northern industry come to Mississippi? They come from the North because Mississippi has cheaper labor and they can make more money. Why does Mississippi have cheaper labor? Because there are no unions? Because the

Ask students
about planta-
tions near
where they
live;
about fac-
tories near
where they
live.

are white workers in Mississippi who are told that unions believe in integration. Where there are no unions, the workers are paid less and the businessman makes more money. Do the myths help to keep the salaries low for whites too? (Caution: many unions maintain segregationist practices.)

Question: Why don't white people want the Negro to vote?

Example: The same farmer is able to pay Negroes less money than white people are paid because the state laws of Mississippi support segregation and inequality. Who makes these laws? How do they get their jobs? Who elects them? What would happen to these men and these laws if Negroes voted? Would you vote for a man who made laws that paid you less? Does the farmer vote for them? Does the business man? Do white workers? Why?

Concept: That poor whites suffer from the myths, too.

Questions: If there was a union, the white workers would make more money too. Why, then, do they vote for politicians who are against unions? Are they more afraid of something else? Why are they so afraid of integration? What have the myths and lies that they have learned done to them? Who profits by this? The rich farmer? The rich businessman? How?

Concept: That the police work for the power structure and enforce the status quo.

Example: The following is an excerpt from one of Franklin D. Roosevelt's press conferences in 1938, when he unsuccessfully attempted to purge Southern reactionaries from the Democratic Party. Roosevelt described the experience of union organizers in a Southern town in a way that makes one think of COFO today:

They got in town about ten o'clock in the morning. They had a list of eight or ten of the operators. They were going to see them at the noon hour.

So they went to the factory and they asked, "Where is so and so? Where can I find so and so?"

They were engaged in asking questions, when one of the mill police tapped him on the shoulder and showed his badge and said, "Come with me."

He said, "We have not done anything; we are outside and on the street and just asking to see some fellows."

"Oh, we know; come with me."

They were taken to the police station and locked up in a cell on the charge of vagrancy

Both of them had, oh, fifteen or twenty dollars apiece in their clothes.

They said, "We are not vagrants; we came down here from such and such a city."

"But you are organizers."

"Of course we are organizers."

"Well, you are in a bad place."

They were kept in jail until five o'clock, just before dark, and the judge came in and said, "What are you doing here?"

"We are down here to try to start an organization of the textile workers of this mill."

"That is what you think," he said. "Ten dollars fine and out of town before six o'clock, and do not come back."

They did not know what they were fined for, but they paid the fine, and as they went out of the courtroom, one of the marshals, or policemen, went up to them and said, "Which way are you boys going?" They said, "We have got to get out of town and we thought we would go to such and such a town, ten miles away."

They rode with him and he said, "This is where I turn off." They went about a quarter of a mile and out of a clump of bushes came some men with blackjacks and they got the worst beating up that any two people could get without getting killed.

Question: Who helps to keep the Negro from voting and the union from starting? Who helps the farmer and businessman make money by enforcing the segregation laws? Who pays the police? Who gives them their orders? Why? What would happen to a policeman who didn't obey orders? Why do the police follow orders?

Important to bring out:

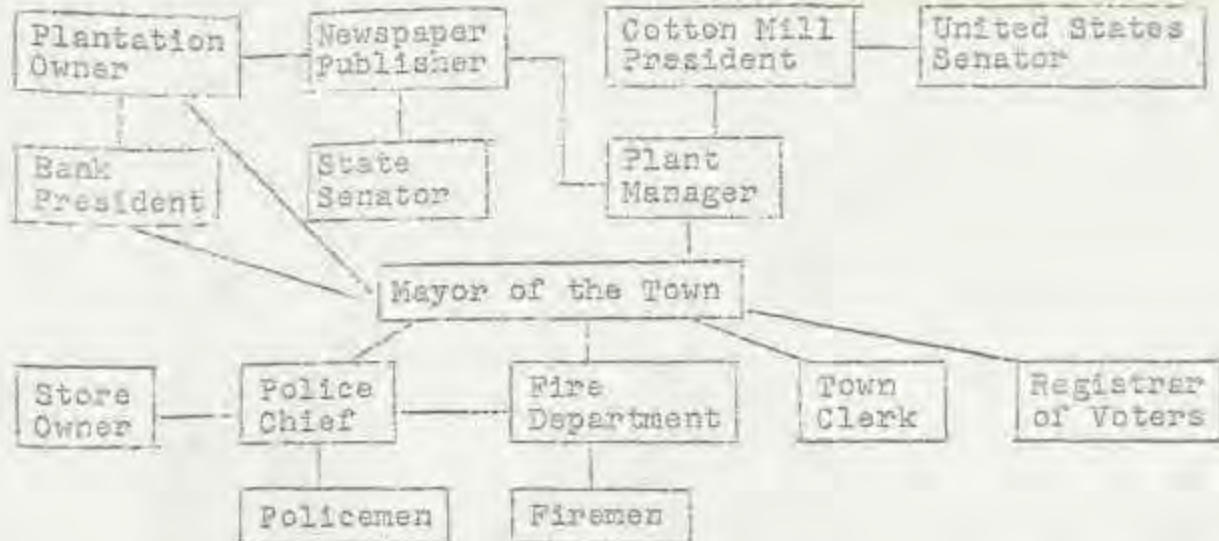
- 1. for pay
- 2. for illicit gains in graft, etc.
- 3. because they have learned the myths too, and "hate" and "fear".

Case
Study:
Miss.
Power
Structure,
Part II

What is a power structure? That is the name we give to groups of men who make the myths, who profit from them like the farmer and the businessman, who pay the police and give them their orders, who make the laws and decide what laws they want, who make decisions about who gets paid and how much they get, about who votes and who doesn't vote, about what is taught in the schools, and what gets printed in the newspapers, etc.

Can you name some of these men in your town? (Suggestion: look for the mayor, big plantation owners, businessmen, plant managers, mill owners, etc.)

Suggestion: With the information you get from either students, parents or COFO staff research, construct an organizational chart of the power structure on the blackboard or large paper.



Show how a decision made on the upper level gets passed down through the chain of command and finally implemented

Dramatize if possible.

Example: A Negro tries to register. The registrar of voters fails him, and calls the Mayor. The next day the plantation owner fires him and orders him off the land, and his name is published in the newspaper. The bank forecloses on his car, and the store refuses him any more credit and the county welfare department says he must get three references from white people before he is eligible for relief. His wife is fired from her job as a cook for a white family. When they move in with relatives, the house is shot up one night and the Negro man arrested on "suspicion."

Concept: That the Power Structure is a connecting and interlocking series of cliques that goes from local towns and cities up to the highest levels of the national government.

Case study:
The Power of the Dixie-crats

We have seen that there is what we call a power structure in this town--a small group of men that make the decisions in this town--they run it, they decide when schools are built and what is taught. They decide, as much as they can, who votes and who doesn't, they decide who gets a loan from the bank, they make the laws. In every other town and county of this state, there are other men who do the same things--who make the plans and decide what will happen for all the rest of us. They decide who will run for the Mississippi Legislature, and who will run for the United States Congress; they pay for the campaigns, they decide what laws will be made, and they help to make the myths that we all learn.

Southern representatives in Congress, acting on behalf of the Southern power structure, obstruct progress not only in the South but in the whole nation. Because of the one-party system in the South these representatives serve in the House and Senate over and over again. Their seniority enables them to become chairmen of key committees. Example: Senator Eastland of Mississippi

is the Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, influences the appointment of judges to the Federal courts in which civil rights demonstrators are tried.

Discussion: Review entire Unit IV. Raise and answer the three basic questions. Raise and answer the three secondary questions.

Record

Rocks

Pictures

Page 165 of 353

SOME NOTES ON LEADING DISCUSSIONS

You become a good discussion leader through

- 1) A little training,
- 2) Knowing some of the basic techniques in leading discussions and,
- 3) Most important of all, getting a lot of experience in actually leading discussions.

WHAT'S THE DISCUSSION LEADER FOR? --

When people get together to discuss something their discussion very often wanders all over the place. Or they may only go as far as crying on each others shoulder about their problems and let it go at that; or one person may dominate the whole deal and he doesn't allow anyone else to contribute anything; or they may all feel a little strange and never warm up to each other; or they may want to settle the discussion by a vote.

So it takes someone with training and experience in helping them organize themselves to get the maximum out of the time they are together. That's where you come in. That's what a discussion leader is for.

To put it in a more positive way, the discussion leader generally has to do the following:

- 1) He gets the people in a group to warm up to each other and helps create a unity of purpose.
- 2) He sees that everyone has a chance to participate and helps those who may be a little backward or shy.
- 3) He guides the discussion to keep it on the problem at hand.
- 4) He helps the discussion along toward a definite end.
 - a) If people are discussing a problem, he -
 - (1) Makes sure everyone understands what the problem is.
 - (2) He helps the discussion along toward what the possible solutions are.
 - (3) Then guides them along in discussing out what specific action they have to take.

SOME TIPS WHEN YOU'RE LEADING THE DISCUSSION

If you ask a question and get no response--

Rephrase your question. If this doesn't work ask some other questions which will lead into your original question.

If they start discussing two things or ideas at the same time--

Break in and tell them the two things they are talking about. Then start discussing one of them to a conclusion - then the other.

If they wander off the subject--

Gently step in and guide the discussion back to the main question you were discussing. But, if they get off onto another question and everybody is interested in it, stay with it and help guide them to a conclusion on it. Then get back to the original topic.

Be flexible. Don't try to force the discussion exactly according to the way it is outlined in your manual or the way you have outlined it for yourself.

If more than one person speaks at the same time--

Tell them, "Let's have Joe speak first, then you and you after him."

If one person tries to dominate the discussion--

Say, "You've already given some of your ideas on this question. Some of the others haven't had a chance to express their ideas yet. Let's give them a chance, too."

If someone makes an important point--

Repeat it so that everyone gets it.

If you don't understand what someone means--

The chances are that others didn't get him either. Ask, "Can you tell us what you mean by that?"

If you're through with the discussion on a question--

Summarize the important things agreed on. Summarize what action they decided to take, if any. Also summarize what things they couldn't agree upon and where the difference is.

SETTING UP THE MEETING

- 1) Get to the meeting before time - Get the meeting place ready for use.
 - A) Arrange the chairs, if possible, so that everyone can see each other when they speak.
 - B) See that the room is comfortable and clean. If it's too hot get some air in there.
- 2) Opening the meeting up - Tell what you're going to discuss at this meeting. Don't apologize for the size of the group. Make it a success with those who show up. Best discussions take place with not less than 10 nor more than 25 participants.

- a) If it's the first meeting with that particular group and they all don't know each other too well, go around the room having each one give his name. This is a good time to urge people to speak out so they can be heard by all.

Notes based on
UPWA-AFL-CIO
instruction material

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FREEDOM SCHOOL DATA:

a) Background on Freedom Schools: The Freedom Schools were proposed late in 1963 by Charles Cobb, a Howard University student until he joined the SNCC staff and "a gifted creative writer," according to Freedom School Director Professor Staughton Lynd. That "help from outside Mississippi is needed if the Negro youngster were to have any chance of access to a larger world," was an obvious fact, according to Lynd, after preliminary studies of the Mississippi educational system. In Mississippi: The Closed Society, James Silver noted that the per capita expenditure of the Mississippi local school boards for the white child is almost four times the figure for the Negro child. More than the statistics, the limited subject matter available for study to Mississippi Negro students, the fear of dismissal that restrains their teachers from exploring controversial topics demonstrated that if Mississippi's Negroes were to take part in an academic process it would have to be in a context supplemental to the schooling available through the state.

b) Freedom Schools in Operation: As of July 26, there were 41 functioning Freedom Schools in twenty communities across the state with an enrollment of 2,135 students--twice the figure projected in planning for the summer. There are approximately 175 teaching full-time in the Freedom Schools, with recruitment of 50 to 100 more in process. The typical Freedom School has an enrollment of 25 to 100 and a staff of five to six teachers, and is held in a church basement or sometimes the church itself, often using the outdoor area as well. Typically, the morning will be taken up with a "core curriculum" built around Negro History and citizenship. The late morning or afternoon is taken up with special classes (such as French or typing--both very popular) or projects (such as drama or the school newspaper.) In the evening classes are held for adults or teenagers who work during the day.

The idea of the school is centered on discussion of the group. One suggested guide distributed by COFO to Freedom School teachers noted, "In the matter of classroom procedure, questioning is the vital tool. It is meaningless to flood the student with information he cannot understand; questioning is the path to enlightenment. It requires a great deal of skill and tact to pose the question that will stimulate but not offend, lead to unself-consciousness and the desire to express thought....The value of the Freedom Schools will derive mainly from what the teachers are able to elicit from the students in terms of comprehension and expression of their experiences."

At a time when the nation's educators have become concerned--and stymied--by bringing to children of the non-verbal "culturally deprived" community the ability to formulate questions and articulate perceptions, the daily pedagogical revolutions that are the basis of any success in a Freedom School classroom become overwhelming upon considering that the students are Mississippi Negroes--possibly the single most deprived group in the nation--and the teachers are the culturally alien products of the much-maligned liberal arts undergraduate education. An indication of what is happening among the students and their young teachers in the Freedom Schools is given by a single

Freedom Schools

line of COFO advice given to the teachers: "The formal classroom approach is to be avoided; the teacher is encouraged to use all the resources of his imagination."

According to Director Lynd, the Freedom Schools may be dealt with in the context of three general situations: a) rural areas; b) urban areas where the civil rights movement has been strong; c) urban areas where the movement has been weak. "In the first and third situations," analyzes Lynd, "the Freedom Schools have been most successful, not just in numbers, but in what is going on there."

In the rural areas where there is little recreation or diversion available to the Negro community, the Freedom School becomes the center of teen-age social activities, according to Lynd. Lynd draws upon the Holmes County and Carthage Freedom Schools as examples of this rural success. When the Freedom School staff arrived in Carthage, the entire Negro community was assembled at the church to greet them; when, two days later, the staff was evicted from its school, the community again appeared with pick-up trucks to help move the library to a new school site. As this is being written, the Carthage community, with the help of summer volunteers and a National Council of Churches minister, is building its own community center which will be staffed by civil rights workers and local volunteers.

An example of the second situation, the urban success, is the Hattiesburg Freedom School system, which Lynd refers to as the "Mecca of the Freedom School world." In Hattiesburg there are more than 600 students in five schools. Each teacher has been told to find a person from the community to be trained to take over his teaching job at the end of the summer. Much of the second session in Hattiesburg will be devoted to the training of local Freedom School teachers. "Here, as in Canton," states Lynd, "there can be no doubt that the success of the schools stemmed from the intensive civil rights campaign in the community during the months of late winter and spring."

In Gulfport and Greenville, urban environments with alternative attractions, the movement has not been strong enough in the past to counteract traditional time-passing activities. Lynd notes, however, that the generalization has exceptions. Holly Springs, an urban area in which the movement has not been strong in the past, has a highly successful Freedom School.

It should also be noted that in Holly Springs, Carthage, and Shaw, the Freedom Schools are competing against the regular public schools which are currently in session as public schools close in early spring to allow students to chop cotton.

In Mississippi's stronghold of organized terror, the Southwest, the McComb Freedom School has proven the political value of the schools as an instrument for building confidence in the Negro community when canvassing is impractical. Lynd cites the instance of Miss Joyce Brown's poem concerning the Freedom School held at a bombed home which moved the community to provide a meeting place for the school. "Thus," notes Lynd, "the presence of a Freedom School helped to loosen the hard knot of fear and to organize the Negro community." There are 108 students at the McComb Freedom School.

c) The Future of the Freedom Schools: The Freedom Schools will continue beyond the end of the Summer Project in August. Freedom Schools in several areas are already running jointly with the regular public school session. The Freedom Schools offer subjects --such as foreign languages--not offered in the regular schools, and students are attracted to the informal questioning spirit of the Freedom Schools and academics based around their experiences as Mississippi Negroes. In situations like McComb, the Freedom School has proven its value to the overall COFO political program as an organizing instrument. Also, among the various COFO programs, the Freedom School project is the one which holds out a particular hope of communication with the white community. In at least two situations, Vicksburg and Holly Springs, white children have attended for short periods. Another factor in the decision to continue the Freedom Schools is the possibility turned probability that the Mississippi legislature will offer private school legislation designed to sidestep public school integration (already ordered for the fall of 1964 in Jackson, Biloxi, and Leake County). One is faced by situations such as that in Issaquena County where there are no Negro public schools, and children must be transported into other counties. The backwardness of Mississippi's educational system in the context of racial discrimination is demonstrated by the fact that in many areas the impact of the 1954 Supreme Court decision that separate cannot be equal was to have separate schools erected for the first time; the step previous to school segregation is concluding that Negro children should be educated. The rural hardcore area of Issaquena County is an example of a prolonged holdout. A final but not secondary factor is the "widespread apprehension among Mississippi Negroes as to what will happen to them when the Summer Project volunteers leave." Staughton Lynd adds, "We want to be able to tell them that the program will not end, that momentum cumulated during the summer months will not be permitted to slack off."

The long-range Freedom School program will probably be carried on through evening classes in local community centers. "Already in many communities Freedom School and Community Center programs are combined and often in the same building," according to Lynd. One source of teachers for the continuing Freedom School program will be volunteers who decide to stay beyond the summer; if only one in five stayed, fifty teachers would remain in the state. Another source would be Southern Negro students coming in under the work-study program which provides them with a one-year scholarship to Tougaloo College after one year's full-time work for SNCC. Other teachers would come through the local communities, under programs of training such as that which has already begun in Hattiesburg. Teachers could also be provided from the ranks of full-time SNCC staff members; in areas such as McComb where the movement can't register American citizens as voters, civil rights workers can teach in Freedom Schools. There is no doubt but that, in Professor Lynd's words, "It is a political decision for any parent to let his child come to a Freedom School."

The Freedom School program can develop as an aid in enabling Mississippi Negro students to make the transition from a Mississippi Negro high school to higher education. Standardized tests will be administered to the most promising Freedom School students under the direction of the College Entrance Examination Board (CEEB) in mid-August. Evaluation of these scores and other data by the National Scholarship Service Fund for Negro Students will lead some of the Freedom School students to a program involving a) a transitional educational experience during the summer after high school, b) a reduced load during the freshman year at college, and c) financial aid. Others can be helped by the already-existing work-study program.

d) Free Southern Theater: As the second Freedom School session (August 3-21) begins, a tour of the Freedom Schools throughout the state is scheduled for the Free Southern theater production of In White America. The Free Southern Theater was organized early this year by SNCC with the assistance of COFO and Tougaloo College as an attempt to "stimulate thought and a new awareness among Negroes in the deep South," and "will work toward the establishment of permanent stock and repertory companies, with mobile touring units, in major population centers throughout the South, staging plays that reflect the struggles of the American Negro...before Negro and, in time, integrated audiences," according to a Free Southern Theater prospectus. An apprenticeship program is planned which will send a number of promising participants to New York for more intensive study. The company will include both professional and amateur participants.

The development of the Free Southern Theater was sparked by the "cultural desert" resulting from the closed society's restriction of the patterns of reflective and creative thought.

Each performance of In White America will be accompanied by theater workshops in the Freedom Schools designed to introduce students to the experience of theater through participation. As the classroom methods of the Freedom School are revolutionary in the context of traditional American patterns of education, so the Free Southern theater brings a new concept of drama to these Mississippi students. Dr. Lynd comments that the aim of the Theater "is the creation of a fresh theatrical style which will combine the highest standards of craftsmanship with a more intimate audience rapport than modern theater usually achieves."

Segregated schools, controlled text books, lack of discussion of controversial topics, the nature of the mass media in Mississippi demand the development of a cultural program, to be viewed in the context of education, among an entire people.

Among the objectives listed for the Free Southern Theater by its originators are "to acquaint Southern peoples with a breadth of experience with the theater and related art forms; to liberate and explore the creative talent and potential that is here as well as to promote the production of art; to bring in artists from outside the state as well as to provide the opportunity for local people with creative ability to have experience with the theater; to emphasize the universality of the problems of the Negro people; to strengthen communication between Southern Negroes; to assert that self knowledge and creativity are the foundations of human dignity."

Among the sponsors of the Free Southern Theater are singer Harry Belafonte, authors James Baldwin and Langston Hughes, performers Ossie Davis, Ruby Lee, and Theodore Bikel, and Lincoln Kirstein, general director of the New York City Ballet.

The proposal for the Free Southern Theater originated with SNCC workers Doris Derby, Gilbert Moses, and John O'Neal, and Tougaloo drama instructor William Hutchinson.

Freedom Schools

e) Mississippi Summer Caravan of Music: Approximately 25 performing artists, including Pete Seeger, the Chad Mitchell Trio, Theodore Bikel, and SNCC's Freedom Singers, will have toured the Mississippi Summer Project Freedom Schools and Community Centers before the close of the summer. During the day they will teach in Freedom School workshops, and perform in community concerts in the evening. Communities throughout the state have already been visited by the Caravan.

The Caravan is sponsored by the New York Council of Performing Artists (Gil Turner, Chairman), and is directed by Bob Cohen at the Mississippi Summer Project Headquarters.

f) Excerpts from Freedom School Newspapers: The first ones to insist upon connecting the Freedom Schools to the opening of the closed society of segregated Mississippi are the young students of the Freedom Schools. The average author of a Freedom School newspaper article is between 13 and 15 years of age.

The cover of the first issue of the McComb Freedom School's "Freedom Journal" depicts a Negro in chains with a scroll below him reading, "Am I not a man and a brother?" One girl, in the same paper remarks, "...too long others have done our speaking for us...." Her mother is a domestic who fears for what will happen to the family due to her child's attendance at the Freedom School. One 15 year old student there remarked that the Freedom School "enables me to know that I can get along with the whites and they can get along with me without feeling inferior to each other."

Two young students in the Holly Springs Freedom School describe their home town: "The working conditions are bad. The wages are very low. The amount paid for plowing a tractor all day is three dollars. . . .The white man buys most of the supplies used for the annual crops, but the Negro contributes all the labor. In the fall of the year when the crop is harvested and the cotton is sold to market, the white man gives the Negro what he thinks he needs, without showing the Negro a record of the income the white man has collected for the year. This process of farming has become a custom. This way of livelihood is not much different from slavery."

A student describes her life in the "Benton County Freedom Train:" "We work eight to nine hours each day and are paid daily after work is over. We get only \$3.00 per day. . .and. . .chop cotton 8½ hours to 9 hours each day. . . .The man whom we work for is responsible for having fresh cold water handy in the field for the workers to drink. The whites also fail to take us to the store in time to eat dinner. . . .When it's harvest Negroes pick cotton by hand at \$2.00 for a hundred pounds and some places \$3.00 per hundred."

In the Mt. Zion Freedom School's "Freedom Press," a girl states she comes to the Freedom School because "I want to become a part of history also."

Joyce Brown, the 15 year old author of "The House of Liberty" (attached) will be a senior next year at McComb's Negro Burgland High School. When she was 12 years of age she was doing voter registration canvassing when Bob Moses, director of the Mississippi Summer Project, first began voter activities in Mississippi for SNCC in 1961.

FIRST SESSION FREEDOM SCHOOLS/APPROXIMATE ATTENDANCE

1st Congressional District

Columbus (2 schools)	60	<u>60</u>
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2nd Congressional District

Clarksdale (4 schools)	60	
Holmes County (3 schools)	105	
Holly Springs (3 schools)	155	
Greenville (2 schools)	35	
Greenwood (1 school)	60	
Ruleville (2 schools)	50	
Shaw (1 school)	25	
		<u>490</u>

3rd Congressional District

Vicksburg (1 school)	60	
McComb (1 school)	75	
		<u>135</u>

4th Congressional District

Canton (3 schools)	110	
Rural Madison (5 schools)	225	
Carthage (1 school)	75	
Meridian (1 school)	150	
		<u>560</u>

5th Congressional District

Hattiesburg (5 schools)	675	
Laurel (1 school)	65	
Moss Point (1 school)	40	
Biloxi (1 school)	35	
Guldport (3 schools)	75	
		<u>890</u>

Grand Total: ~~2,550~~

2,135

THE HOUSE OF LIBERTY

I came not for fortune, nor for fame,
I seek not to add glory to an unknown name,
I did not come under the shadow of night,
I came by day to fight for what's right.
I shan't let fear, my monstrous foe,
Conquer my soul with threat and woe.
Here I have come and Here I shall stay,
And no amount of fear, my determination can sway.

I asked for your churches, and you turned me down,
But I'll do my work if I have to do it on the ground;
You will not speak for fear of being heard,
So you crawl in your shell and say, "Do not disturb."
You think because you've turned me away,
You've protected yourself for another day.

But tomorrow surely must come,
And your enemy will still be there with the rising sun;
He'll be there tomorrow as all tomorrows in the past,
And he'll follow you into the future if you let him pass.
You've turned me down to humor him,
Ah! Your fate is sad and grim,
For even tho' your help I ask,
Even without it, I'll finish my task.

In a bombed house I have to teach my school,
Because I believe all men should live by the Golden Rule.
To a bombed house your children must come,
Because of your fear of a bomb,
And because you've let your fear conquer your soul,
In this bombed house these minds I must try to mold;
I must try to teach them to stand tall and be a man
When you their parents have cowered down and refused to take a stand.

Joyce Brown
McComb Freedom School

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE by the
Freedom School Students of
St. John's Methodist Church,
Palmer's Crossing, Hattiesburg, Miss.

In this course of human events, it has become necessary for the Negro people to break away from the customs which have made it very difficult for the Negro to get his God-given rights. We, as citizens of Mississippi, do hereby state that all people should have the right to petition, to assemble, and to use public places. We also have the right to life, liberty and to seek happiness.

The government has no right to make or to change laws without the consent of the people. No government has the right to take the law into its own hands. All people as citizens have the right to impeach the government when their rights are being taken away.

All voters elect persons to the government. Everyone must vote to elect the person of his choice; so we hereby state that all persons of twenty-one years of age, whether black, white, or yellow, have the right to elect the persons of their choice; and if these persons do not carry out the will of the people, they have the right to alter or abolish the government.

The Negro does not have the right to petition the government for a redress of these grievances:

- For equal opportunity.
- For better schools and equipment.
- For better recreation facilities.
- For more public libraries.
- For schools for the mentally ill.
- For more and better senior colleges.
- For better roads in Negro communities.
- For training schools in the State of Mississippi.
- For more Negro policemen.
- For more guarantee of a fair circuit clerk.
- For integration in colleges and schools.

The government has made it possible for the white man to have a mock trial in the case of a Negro's death.

The government has refused to make laws for the public good.

The government has used police brutality.

The government has imposed taxes upon us without representation.

The government has refused to give the Negroes the right to go into public places.

The government has marked our registration forms unfairly.

We, therefore, the Negroes of Mississippi assembled, appeal to the government of the state, that no man is free until all men are free. We do hereby declare independence from the unjust laws of Mississippi which conflict with the United States Constitution.

[1964]

A resume of activities at Freedom Schools
with special emphasis on attendance--
conducted Friday, August 7

Because of the lack of a formal questionnaire, many of the questions asked were results of the conversation rather than a minute survey. However, the following figures and comments appear pertinent.

PRIEST CREEK SCHOOL--About 50 youngsters are attending the school on a regular basis. This is equally divided between youths of a younger age and the teenage group.

ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL--St. Paul's, adjoining the ~~Priest~~ Priest Creek operation, is a relatively smaller one. At present, 21 students are enrolled. The children are younger, generally ranging in age from 14 years downward.

GENERAL COMMENT ON THESE TWO SCHOOLS: Our group viewed a debate between the schools on the use of violence to obtain civil rights. It was an impressive display of preparation and the marshalling of cogent arguments. Audience questioning also was excellent. The final vote, somewhat influenced by loyalty ties, was 17-13 in favor of violence.

MORNING STAR SCHOOL--This school has the most diversified program based on age groupings. There are about 15 youngsters regularly attending a morning class in the 8-10-year age bracket. Another class, of 11-12-year olds, consists of an equal number, 15. A teen-age group, which gathers mornings and evenings, usually attracts about 30-35 students. An adult group, mainly composed of ladies, has 6-7 members and meets in the evenings.

MT. ZION SCHOOL--Here again, there are divided sessions according to age groupings, with about 70 youths enrolled in a younger class and teenage class. In addition, Mt. Zion runs an adult program which consists of some 30 students, 12 in the upper teenage bracket and 20 in the adult grouping. The latter, in the main, are women.

There are special classes in the schools for literacy, separate and divorced from the regular curriculum and scheduling. Mt. Zion, to cite an example, has such training once a week. Mary Sue Gellatly is in charge of this special training.

ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL had closed for the day when our group arrived. We did not have an opportunity to visit TRUE LIGHT SCHOOL.

PALMER COMMUNITY CENTER--Activities break down into 5 categories. They are the library, literacy training, typing and sewing instruction, a first aid class and sports activities. Jean Opton and Mary Sue Gellatly, in charge of the center, report some 35 youngsters taking part regularly in the 5-7-year age bracket, while between 50 and 100 are in the 8-year old and up (including teenage) sections. Another part of the instruction (which probably falls into the third category of the 5 listed above) includes arts and ~~crafts~~ crafts. This is rated by the staff as especially important because such subjects are not taught at all in the Negro public schools. Nor, of course, is Negro history, an integral part of all courses. The community center, although serving school-like functions, is more of a meeting place and recreational site. This distinguishes the operation from a Freedom School.

MORE GENERAL COMMENTS--It would be presumptuous of us, based on the short observations outlined above, to attempt to make a judgment on the quality of instruction. It does appear, however, that each school has the services of at least one professional teacher (that is, a career teacher), and less experienced summer teachers therefore had experienced guidance available.

Schools, in general, are less structured than public schools of our experience, with great emphasis on personal contact between teacher and student.

2-24-2 school report

This sort of direct relationship, plus the ready response for learning by students, caused one New York City teacher (from Harlem) to comment she was more ~~satisfied~~ satisfied as a teacher in Hattiesburg than in the New York system. She plans to remain in Mississippi. A second teacher, professionally experienced from Harlem, also commented on the fresh and intensive desire to learn demonstrated by students.

There has been some drop-off in attendance at the schools since their inauguration in July. However, with the summer as a ~~temptation~~ bait to depart and considering this is the first year of such schools, the attendance appears to have held up remarkably well.

At one school, Morning Star, we attempted to learn how many of the youngsters in the neighborhood were participating in the school. One student estimated attendance came to about half of the immediate youths in the area. He cited as ~~xxx~~ reasons for failure to attend the necessity for some young people to work during the summer, disinterest and fear.

Facilities in use for instruction ranged from church rooms to the great outdoors with a large tree as a convenient umbrella. The facilities, whatever they were, seemed fresh and were put to good use.

The visiting team consisted of the Rev. Donald Clark, Mrs. Kathleen Henderson and Martin Weinberger.

FREEDOM SCHOOLS IN MISSISSIPPI, 1964

From the carbon copies of the spring's letters and reports I see what real apprehensions, as well as hopes, the people who dreamed of Freedom Schools had. Out of Charlie Cobb's idea of a situation in which there would be questioning, release from rigid squelching of initiative and expression--from Charlie Cobb's bitterness about the way the Negro has had to be silent in order to survive in white America, and his vision of the kids' articulateness and reaching for change, meaningful change, in Mississippi--out of his seeing that the kids are ready to see "the link between a rotting shack and a rotting America"--came the original plan for Freedom Schools in Mississippi. That it could be an idea that people working desperately on voter registration and on keeping alive in the state could take seriously is perhaps evidence of the validity of Charlie Cobb's dream: Mississippi needed more, needs more, than that all Negroes 21 and over shall have the right to vote. The staff in Mississippi understood what Charlie was dreaming because they, too, were daring to dream that what could be done in Mississippi could be deeper, more fundamental, more far-reaching, more revolutionary than voter registration alone: more personal, and in a sense more transforming, than a political program.

The decision to have Freedom Schools in Mississippi, then, seems to have been a decision to enter into every phase of the lives of the people of Mississippi. It seems to have been a decision to set the people free for politics in the only way that people really can become free, and that is totally. It was an important decision for the staff to be making, and so it is not surprising that the curriculum for the proposed schools became everyone's concern. I understand that Lois Chaffee, Dona Moses, Mendy Samstein, and Casey Hayden as well as Noel Day, Jane Stenbridge, and Jack Minnis worked on and argued about what should be taught, and what the realities of Mississippi are, and how those realities affect the kids, and how to get the kids to discover themselves as human beings. And then, I understand, Staughton Lynd came in to impose a kind of beautiful order on the torment that the curriculum was becoming--torment because it was not just curriculum: it was each person on the staff in Mississippi painfully analyzing what the realities of his world were, and asking himself, with what pain I can only sense, what right he had to let the kids of Mississippi know the truth, and what right he had had to keep it from them until now. And because of these sessions, the whole concept of what could be done in Mississippi must have changed.

In a way, the Freedom Schools began to operate in those planning sessions. A section of the curriculum called "Poor whites, poor Negroes and their fears," for example, considers the unity of experience between whites and Negroes, as well as the psychological and political barriers. And out of the discussions that produced this part of the curriculum came, perhaps, the idea of a "White Folks' Project," and the intense economic orientation of what was begun in Research, and Federal Programs, also new projects. And out of work with the people day after day in the Freedom Schools emerged medical concerns, and farm league ideas, and the community building of community centers. It was because the people trying to change Mississippi were asking themselves the real questions

about what is wrong with Mississippi that the Summer Project in effect touched every aspect of the lives of the Negroes in Mississippi, and started to touch the lives of the whites.

It was the asking of questions, as I see it, that made the Mississippi Summer Project different from other voter registration projects and other civil rights activities everywhere else in the South. And so it is reasonable that the transformations that occurred--and transformations did occur--out of the Freedom School experience occurred because for the first time in their lives kids were asking questions.

The way the curriculum finally came out was that it was based on the asking of certain questions, questions which kept being asked through the summer, in connection with the kids' interest in their Freedom School teachers (mostly northern, mostly white, mostly still in college), in connection with Negro history, in connection with African culture, in connection even with the academic subjects, as well as in connection with the study of the realities of Mississippi 1964 in the light of Nazi Germany 1935. The so-called "Citizenship Curriculum" set up two sets of questions. The primary set was 1. why are we (teachers and students) in Freedom schools? 2. what is the Freedom Movement? 3. what alternatives does the Freedom Movement offer us? What was called the secondary set of questions, but what seemed to me the more important, because more personal, set was: 1. what does the majority culture have that we want? 2. what does the majority culture have that we don't want? 3. what do we have that we want to keep?

The answering of these questions, and the continual raising of them in many contexts, may be said perhaps to be what the Freedom Schools were about. This was so because in order to answer anything out of what these questions suggest, it is necessary for the student to confront the question of who he is, and what his world is like, and how he fits into it or is alienated from it.

It was out of the experience of asking these questions that the transformations occurred. At the beginning of the summer, with rare amazing exceptions, the kids who were tentatively exploring us and the Freedom Schools were willing to express about themselves only one thing with honesty and passion, without the characteristic saying of the thing they think the white man wants to hear: that thing was that as soon as they could gather enough money for a ticket they were going off to Chicago, or to California! To leave the state was their ambition, and about it they were certain, even though they had not thought any further than that, even in terms of where the money was to come from, and certainly not in terms of what they would find there and what they would do there. Some sense of "go home to my Lord and be free"--some vague hope of a paradise beyond--seemed to inform their passion for the north, their programless passion.

But by the end of the summer almost all of these kids were planning to stay in Mississippi.

Within the flexible structure of the Freedom School it was natural that a confession of--an insistence on--the desire to race northward lead to a discussion of the condition of the Negro in the North, about which most of the teachers could tell specifically.

And then came the news stories about Harlem, and Rochester, and Medford, Massachusetts, and the kids were interested, and worried. But it was not just because the truth about the North began to shatter their dream of it as paradise that the kids changed their minds. The yearning for the North was, of course, the expression of a need to escape the intolerability of the situation in Mississippi. But the nature of their need to escape was that they really did not know what it was about Mississippi that they hated--or, rather, they felt that what was intolerable for them had somehow to do with the white man, somehow to do with getting only \$3.00 a day for 10 hours work chopping a white man's cotton, somehow to do with the police--but they had not yet articulated, if they knew, the connections among all those things. And they had not, as well, articulated the connections of those things with their experiences of repression at home and in school. And so the very amorphous nature of the enemy was threatening to them.

The experience in the Freedom School was that patterns began to be seen, and patterns were real and could be dealt with. So the kids began to see two things at once: that the North was no real escape, and that the South was not some vague white monster doomed irrationally to crush them. Simultaneously, they began to discover that they themselves could take action against the injustices --the specific injustices and the condition of injustice-- which kept them unhappy and impotent.

Through the study of Negro History they began to have a sense of themselves as a people who could produce heroes. They saw in the story of Joseph Cinque of the Amistad a parallel to the kinds of revolts that the Movement, as they began to learn about it, represented. They saw that Joseph Cinque, in leading a mutiny on that slave ship instead of asserting his will to freedom by jumping off the ship into the shark-waiting waters, was saying that freedom is something that belongs to life, not to death, and that a man has responsibility for bringing all his people to freedom, not just for his own escaping. Connections between then and now kept being made--at first by the teachers, very soon by the students: who do you know that is like Joseph Cinque? How is Bob Moses like Moses in the Bible? How is he different? Why did Harriet Tubman go back into the South after she had gotten herself free into the North--and why so many times? And why doesn't Mrs. Hamer stay in the North once she gets there to speak, since she doesn't have a job on that man's plantation anymore, and since her life is in so much danger? And what do you think about Fredrick Douglass's talking so straight to the President of the United States? And how does the picture of Jim Forman in the Emancipation Proclamation issue of Ebony suggest that same kind of straight talking? And who do you think the Movement is proving right--Booker T. Washington or W.E.B. duBois? And what comment on your own upbringing is made by the fact that you all knew about Booker T. Washington but most of you had never heard of W.E.B. duBois? And why are the changes of gospel songs into Freedom Songs significant? What does "We'll hail Overcome" really mean in terms of what we are doing, and what we can do?

Beginning to sense the real potency of organized Negroes in Mississippi, the kids in the Freedom Schools found an immediate area of concern in the Negro schools they attended or had dropped

out of: the so-called "publid" schools. They had grievances, but had, until drawn into the question-asking, only been able to whine, or to accept passively, or to lash out by dropping out of school or getting themselves expelled. Within the Freedom Schools, especially by comparing the Freedom Schools with the regular schools, they began to become articulate about what was wrong, and the way things should be instead: why don't they do this at our school? was the first question asked, and then there began to be answers, which led to further questions, such as why don't our teachers register to vote, if they presume to teach us about citizenship? and why can't our principal make his own decisions instead of having to follow the orders of the white superintendent? and why do we have no student government, or why doesn't the administration take the existing student government seriously?

This was the main question, which came also out of why there are no art classes, no language classes, why there is no equipment in the science labs, why the library is inadequate and inaccessible, why the classes are overcrowded. The main question was **WHY ARE WE NOT TAKEN SERIOUSLY?** which is of course the question that the adults were asking about the city and county and state, and the question the Freedom Democratic Party asked--and for which the Party demanded an answer--at the Convention.

The students were taken seriously in the Freedom Schools. They were encouraged to talk, and their talking was listened to. They were assigned to write, and their writing was read with attention to idea and style as well as to grammar. They were encouraged to sing, to dance, to draw, to play, to laugh. They were encouraged to think. And all of this was painful as well as releasing because to be taken seriously requires that one take himself seriously, believe in himself, and that requires confrontation. And so Freedom School was painful for the kids who grew the most.

Tangibly, what was set in motion out of this experience of joy and pain was the thing the Mississippi staff had hoped could happen in Mississippi, but could not totally form. In the spring before the summer, SNCC in Mississippi had tried to organize a Mississippi Student Union, bringing together kids from all over the state. And there was good response, but not on the scale the MSU was soon to achieve out of the Freedom Schools. This summer the kids began to talk boycott of the schools, but to be able to discipline their thinking about boycott so that their action would not just be acting out their frustrations but careful, considered, programmed, revolutionary meaningful action along the lines of the Montgomery Bus boycott and African revolutionary action. The kids were able to come together in the middle of the summer, in Meridian, and draw up a series of resolutions which said with terrible clarity what they felt about their world: what a house should be, what a school should be, what a job should be, what a city should be--even what the federal government should be. And they were able to ask why it was that the people did not have a voice and to assert that their voices would be heard. The seriousness of their concern for a voice is reflected in the final statement of the list of grievances drawn up by the McComb Freedom School:

We are 12 Pike County high school students. Until we are assured our parents will not suffer reprisals, until we are sure this list of grievances is met with serious consideration and good will, we will remain anonymous.

The McComb students are sending this list of grievances to the school officials, the city officials, the senators and the newspapers and the President of the United States. Out into the world: look at me--I am no longer an invisible man.

And back again into themselves. Whoever the Freedom Schools touched they activated into confrontation, with themselves and with the world and back again. On one level, it was the white teacher saying to the Negro girl that nappy hair vs. "good hair" is not a valid distinction: that it is a white man's distinction, and that the queens in Africa--in Songhai, Mali, Ghana--in Ethiopia--had nappy short hair! On another level, it was the northern Negro student-teacher saying to the kids yearning Northward that he himself had gone to an almost completely (or completely) segregated school, and that his home was in a ghetto. On another, it was a senior, suspended from the split-session summer school for participating in the movement and taking Freedom School academic courses (fully parallel) instead, saying of Robert Frost's "The Road Not Taken" that the man took the road that needed him more: "because it was grassy/and wanted wear....and that has made all the difference." On another level, it was the white and Negro Freedom School teachers sitting with the adults in the evening classes talking about what kids want and what kids deserve, and hearing the adults express some of their concern for their kids in the forming of a parents' group to support the kids' action against the schools. On still another, it was the junior high school kids in the community coming over in the evening to sit with the adults who were learning their alphabets, one kid to one adult, and both, and the staffs, crying with awe for the beauty and strangeness and naturalness of it. And on all levels, it was the whites, the northerners, listening to the Mississippi Negroes, reading what they wrote, taking them seriously, and learning from them.

Visible results of the Freedom Summer include the kids' drawings on the walls of Freedom Schools and COFO offices all over the state, as well as kids' applications for scholarships (National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students) and even more applications for the Tougaloo Work-Study program, which commits them to staying to work in Mississippi. In addition, there is the real probability that the Negro teachers in the regular schools--the teachers who have to sign an oath not to participate in civil rights activities or try to vote--have, this first week of school, begun to experience for the first time in their lives the challenge from a student that is not adolescent testing or insolent acting out but serious demanding that in truth there is freedom and that he will have the truth!

Most significantly, the result of the summer's Freedom Schools is seen in the continuation of the Freedom Schools into the fall, winter, spring, summer plans of the Mississippi Project.

Some project/ who had been in Mississippi since 1961 doing the slow sometimes depressing always dangerous serious tiring work of voter registration, first thought of the Freedom Schools as a frill, detrimental to the basic effort. At best, they were a front for the real activity. But Freedom Schools were not just, as the same project directors came to concede, a place where kids could be inducted into the Movement, a convenient source of canvassers. They were something else, and in realizing this the dubious project directors were themselves transformed by the Freedom Schools. They were, instead of anything superficial, and will go on to be, the experience--not the place--in which people, because we needed them, emerged as discussion leaders, as teachers, as organizers, as speakers, as friends, as people. I know that this is so because in leaving the Freedom School in Indianola, the county seat of Sunflower County where the Movement had been resisted for three years, and where, when we came in, the people did not know how to cross arm over arm to sing "We Shall Overcome," I learned for the first time in my life that with kids you love to disconnect is to suffer. So the teachers were transformed, too.

The transformation of Mississippi is possible because the transformation of people has begun. And if it can happen in Mississippi, it can happen all over the South. The original hope of the Freedom School plan was that there would be about 1000 students in the state coming to the informal discussion groups and other sessions. It turned out that by the end of the summer the number was closer to 3000, and that the original age expectation of 16-17-18 year olds had to be revised to include pre-school children and all the way up to 70 year old people, all anxious to learn about how to be Free. The subjects ranged from the originally anticipated Negro History, Mississippi Now, and black-white relations to include typing, foreign languages, and other forms of tutoring. In fact, these aspects of the program were so successful that the continuation of the Freedom Schools into the regular academic year will involve a full-scale program of tutorials and independent study as well as exploration in greater intensity of the problems raised in the summer sessions, and longer range work with art, music, and drama.

To think of kids in Mississippi expressing emotion on paper with crayons and in abstract shapes rather than taking knives to each other; to think of their writing and performing plays about the Negro experience in America rather than just sitting in despairing lethargy within that experience; to think of their organizing and running all by themselves a Mississippi Student Union, whose program is not dances and fund-raising but direct action to alleviate serious grievances; to think, even, of their being willing to come to school after school, day after day, when their whole association with school had been at least uncomfortable and dull and at worst tragically crippling--to think of these things is to think that a total transformation of the young people in an underdeveloped country can take place, and to dare to dream that it can happen all over the South. There are programs now, as well as dreams, and materials, and results to learn from. And it may well be that the very staffs of the Freedom Schools in Louisiana and Georgia, etc., will be the kids who were just this past summer students in the Freedom Schools in Mississippi, and discovered themselves there.

Liz Fusco, Coordinator, COFO F.S.

FOR RELEASE SEPTEMBER 8, 1964

STATEMENT OF

SANDRA HARD
COFO SUMMER VOLUNTEER
HOLLY SPRINGS, MISS.
COMMUNITY CENTER AND
FREEDOM SCHOOL PROGRAMS

I attended the second training session in Oxford, Ohio. On Monday, the first day of orientation, it was announced that the three men were missing. This had a very sobering effect on all of the volunteers -- it brought reality into focus and kept it there. As we were preparing to leave at the end of a serious week of training, it seemed as though we were going into a foreign country, a police state.

All of the programs in the Miss. Summer Project were aimed at changing the existing structure of hatred and ignorance. One direct way of doing this is through voting, thus there was the voter registration program. Another way of accomplishing this is through education and economic aid, thus the freedom school, community center and federal projects programs.

Since we would only be able to get one building, the community center people merged with the freedom school people. Our freedom school started at 9:00 every morning with freedom songs and news from the other projects in the state. The only object of the freedom school was not for us to teach our students -- we were all there to learn. We had many informal discussions with the students. The staff attempted to give concentrated instruction in some very basic areas such as english, math and Negro history and also attempted to expose the students to new subjects in which they were interested. I worked with a group of younger girls on modern and jazz dancing and with a bunch of older girls (and a few fellows) on the same plus some role-playing. Some of the girls were extremely interested in dancing but most had never had it in school. At first, I was amazed to see how these young people opened up in role-playing; but then I realized that they were merely reenacting situations which they had gone through.

I taught biology to a group of fellows who were interested in majoring in this field. Another important part of the freedom school program which I was involved in was working with individual adults on filling out the voter registration forms.

Although the most significant achievement of the freedom school program was not academic improvement (a great amount of this being impossible in just one summer), there was a measured amount of improvement. The literacy program with adults was quite successful. Through individual tutoring, some young people were able to improve a good deal -- one youngster who was beginning first grade, skipped to second within a couple of weeks.

I would say that one of the more significant achievements of the freedom school program was the interest in education that it generated. The students were encouraged to go on with school and to pursue their interests. The summer program gave them a chance to discover these interests. For instance, several potential actors and actresses discovered their talents through a play that was written and performed by the students.

Perhaps the most significant thing that the freedom school did for these young people was to let them know about the existing civil rights struggle and to get them involved in that struggle. Many of them had before never imagined that they could do anything to change the sick system that exists. Now these young people are a bunch of enthusiastic and diligent workers -- they have changed and they are going to change the structure which for so long has oppressed them.

#

VII: Voter Registration



Organizers wanted as many black Mississippians as possible to try to join the voter rolls. When black residents tried to register, they faced intimidation and harassment. For example, their names were printed in the local newspaper for two weeks to facilitate reprisals by their employers, landlords, police, and the Ku Klux Klan. Freedom Summer leaders hoped that by revealing the contradiction between American ideals of democracy and the actual reality in the South, the federal government would be prompted to act. Public outrage helped swell support for the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which prohibited arbitrary voting restrictions and empowered the federal government to intervene at the local level.

29 Dear Summer Project Worker, May 5, 1964

(1 page) Acceptance letter for voter registration workers

<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/9468>

30 Statistics of Negro and White Voter Registration

(3 pages) Tables for each of the five Mississippi Congressional districts showing how many white and blacks of voting age resided in each county, and how many were registered to vote

<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/9434>

31 Mississippi Subversion of the Right to Vote

(18 pages) Illustrated pamphlet containing statements by segregationist politicians and detailing systematic violence against black residents who tried to register

<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/10633>

32 Techniques for Fieldwork: Voter Registration

(2 pages) Manual for organizers and project staff

<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/9869>

COUNCIL OF FEDERATED ORGANIZATIONS
1017 Lynch Street
Jackson, Mississippi

May 5, 1964

Dear Summer Project Worker,

We are happy to tell you that you've been assigned to work in voter registration with the Mississippi Summer Project. Assignments to specific areas of the state will be made later and we'll notify you of your assignment as soon as possible.

Enclosed in this mailing you will find several pieces of literature designed to help you understand what you'll be doing in Mississippi:

1. COFO political program (called "Freedom Candidates")
2. List of materials to bring with you
3. Memo to accepted applicants
4. Convention challenge memo (called "Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party")

Your political work for the summer can begin with this last item. Please read it carefully and then discuss it with anyone you know who is close to the Democratic Party. See if you can solicit their support for getting your state's delegation to support the challenge at the Democratic National Convention. Send any contacts you make to Casey Hayden at the COFO office. We must have Northern support for the challenge and your contacts may make the crucial difference.

In order that all participants in the summer project may have a common basis of knowledge, we are asking each worker to read the following books. They are ranked in order of importance. Please read at least the first three before coming South:

1. Souls of Black Folk, W.E.B. DuBois
2. The Mind of the South, W. J. Cash
3. The Other America, Michale Harrington
4. Stride Toward Freedom, Martin Luther King
5. Killers of the Dream, Lillian Smith

We will be notifying you within the next few weeks of the date and place of your orientation session.

It will be good to have you with us. Please let us know if you have questions or problems.

For Freedom,

Mississippi Summer Project Staff

STATISTICS OF NEGRO AND WHITE VOTER REGISTRATION IN THE FIVE CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS OF MISSISSIPPI

FROM: "Restrictions on Negro Voting in Mississippi History," in United States v. Mississippi, No. 73, October Term, 1964, Supreme Court of the United States, document on file with the Clerk of the Supreme Court, and from sources as otherwise indicated.

MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY

P. O. BOX 1329
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI 39203
Telephone: (601) 352 - 9788

Washington Office:
1353 U STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. - 20009
Telephone: (202) 332 - 7732

1st Congressional District

Clickasaw County *

6336 eligible whites - - - 3054 registered 46.5%
3054 eligible Negroes - - - 1 " .03%

Lowndes County *

16,460 eligible whites - - 8312 registered 50.5%
8,312 eligible Negroes - - 95 " 1.1%

Oktibbeha County **

8423 eligible whites - - substantial number registered
4952 eligible Negroes - - 128 registered 2.5%

* Registration figures from Complaint in United States v. Allen, Appendix A-1.

** Registration figures from complaint in United States v. Henry, Appendix A-2.

The foregoing figures have a special significance in that 26.1% of the adult population of this District are Negroes yet only 2.94% are permitted to vote.***

***Vol. 1, 1961 United States Commission on Civil Rights Report, Pp. 272-277.

2nd Congressional District

(1) Benton County

2514 eligible whites - - - 2078 registered 82.5%
1419 " Negroes - - - 30 " .21%

(2) Coahoma County

8708 eligible whites - - - 6380 registered 73%
14,004 " Negroes - - - 1061 " 7.6%

(3) De Soto County

5338 eligible whites - - - 4030 registered 75%
6246 " Negroes - - - 11 " .18%

(4) Grenada County

5792 eligible whites - - - 5518 registered 95%
4323 " Negroes - - - 135 " 3.1%

(5) Holmes County

4773 eligible whites - - - 3530 registered 74%
8757 " Negroes - - - 8 " .09%

(6) Le Flore County

10,274 eligible whites - - - 7168 registered 70%
13,567 " Negroes - - - 268 " 2%

(7) Marshall County

4342 eligible whites - - - 4162 registered 96%
7168 " Negroes - - - 57 " .8%

(8) Panola County

7639 eligible whites - - - 5309 registered 69%
7250 " Negroes - - - 2 " .028%

(9) Quitman County

4176 eligible whites - - - 2991 registered 71.6%
5673 " Negroes - - - 436 " 6.0%

(10) Tallahatchie County

5099 eligible whites - - - 4330 registered 85%
6483 " Negroes - - - 5 " .07%

(11) Tunica County

2011 eligible white - - - 1436 registered 71%
5822 " Negroes - - - 42 " .72%

(12) Washington County

19,837 eligible whites - - - 10,838 registered 54.5%
20,619 " Negroes - - - 1,762 " 8.6%

The foregoing figures have a special significance in that 52.4% of the adult population of this district are Negroes yet only 2.97% have been permitted to register to vote.*

* Vol. I, 1961 United States Commission on Civil Rights Report, pp. 272-277.

3rd Congressional District

Anite County

4449 eligible whites - - - 3532 registered 80%
3560 " Negroes - - - 1 " .028%

Clatsop County

1688 eligible whites - - - 1440 registered 85.3%
3969 " Negroes - - - 15 " .37%

Copiah County

8153 eligible whites - - - 7533 registered 92%
6407 " Negroes - - - 25 " .39%

Franklin County

3403 eligible whites - - - 3731 registered 100%
1842 " Negroes - - - 236 " 12.8%

Hinds County

67,836 eligible whites - - - 56,363 registered 80%
36,183 " Negroes - - - 4756 " 13.2%

Pike County

12,163 eligible whites - - - 7864 registered 65%
6,936 " Negroes - - - 150 " 22%

Waltham County

4736 eligible whites - - - 4219 registered 89%
2490 " Negroes - - - 2 " .08%

Warren County

13,530 eligible whites - - - 11,153 registered 83%
10,726 " Negroes - - - 2,360 " 22%

Yazoo County

7598 eligible whites - - - 7130 registered 93%
8714 " Negroes - - - 256 " 2.9%

The foregoing figures have a special significance in that 40.5% of the adult population of this district are Negroes, yet only 5.8% are permitted to vote.*

* Vol. I, 1961 United States Commission on Civil Rights Report, pp. 272-277.

4th Congressional District

Clarke County

6,072 eligible whites - - - 5,000 registered 83%
2,988 " Negroes - - - 1 " .03%

Jasper County*

5,337 eligible whites - - - 3,000 registered 56%
3,675 " Negroes - - - 9 " .02%

Kemper County

3,113 eligible whites - - - 3,213 registered 100%
3,221 " Negroes - - - 30 " .9%

Lauderdale County

27,806 eligible whites - - -	13,347 registered	48%
11,924 " Negroes- - -	2,109 "	18%

Leake County

6,754 eligible whites - - -	5,927 registered	88%
3,397 " Negroes- - -	116 "	3.4%

Madison County

5,622 eligible whites - - -	5,458 registered	97%
10,366 " Negroes- - -	121 "	1.1%

Newton County

8,014 eligible whites - - -	5,700 registered	71%
3,018 " Negroes- - -	104 "	2.8%

Rankin County

13,246 eligible whites - - -	12,000 registered	90%
6,944 " Negroes- - -	94 "	1.35%

The foregoing figures have a special significance in that 34.4% of the adult population of this District are Negroes yet only 2.64 are permitted to vote.**

* Registration figures from the complaint in United States v. Hosey, App. B.

** Vol. 1, 1961 United States Commission on Civil Rights Report, pp. 272-277.

5th Congressional District

Covington County

5,329 eligible whites - - -	3,991 registered	75%
7,032 " Negroes- - -	202 "	3.5%

Forrest County

22,431 eligible whites - - -	12,655 registered	57%
7,495 " Negroes- - -	22 "	.3%

George County

5,276 eligible whites - - -	3,510 registered	67%
580 " Negroes- - -	10 "	1.7%

Greene County

3,518 eligible whites - - -	3,000 registered	85%
859 " Negroes- - -	43 "	5%

Jefferson Davis County

3,629 eligible whites - - -	3,600 registered	99%
3,222 " Negroes- - -	76 "	2.3%

Lamar County

6,489 eligible whites - - -	5,593 registered	91%
1,071 " Negroes	- "	0%

Marion County

8,997 eligible whites - - -	9,540 registered	100%
3,630 " Negroes- - -	363 "	10%

The foregoing figures have a special significance in that 20.8% of the adult population of this District are Negroes yet only 11.5% are permitted to vote.*

* Vol. 1, 1961 United States Commission on Civil Rights Report, pp. 272-277.

MISSISSIPPI

★ SUBVERSION OF ★
THE RIGHT TO VOTE



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Bocly, Folders

MS212212212
* 30 NOV 1962 *
THE RIGHT TO VOTE



The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

6 Raymond Street, N. W.

Atlanta, Georgia 30314

Y-1000

"All political power is vested in, and derived from, the people; all government of right originates with the people, is founded upon their will only, and is instituted solely for the good of the whole."

Article 3, Bill of Rights, Section 5
Mississippi Constitution, Adopted 1890

"Federal District Judge Harold Cox is expected to rule . . . on a Justice Department suit to speed up the processing of Negro voter applicants at Canton (Mississippi) . . . At yesterday's hearing Judge Cox, the first judge appointed by President Kennedy under the 1961 expansion of the Federal Judiciary, repeatedly referred to Negro applicants as a 'bunch of niggers'."

New York Times, March 9, 1964

"I assert that the Negro race is an inferior race. The doctrine of white supremacy is one which, if adhered to, will save America."

United States Senator James O. Eastland
(from Ruleville, Mississippi)
June 29, 1945 in the United States Senate
during debate on proposed FEPC law. Text
in the Congressional Record.



"We've got a larger than usual police force," Mayor Allen Thompson of Jackson explains. "It's twice as big as any city our size." The force was built up to control voter registration and other civil rights workers. "We're going to be ready for them," he explains. "They won't have a chance."

For the first time in United States history Negroes are organizing across an entire state to overthrow white supremacy. In Mississippi national and local civil rights, civic and church organizations, through the Council of Federated organizations, are pulling together for the right to demand changes in the Mississippi Way of Life.

At the same time there are whites throughout the state organizing to crush the movement for change. The dominant white supremacy group is known as the White Citizens' Councils, organized by Mississippi's "leading" citizens in 1954 to combat Negro voting rights and resist the Supreme Court school decision that same year. The Citizens' Councils now maintain a firm stranglehold on the governorship, the state legislature and the federal and state courts. They control local and state education throughout most of the state, and dominate the economic base and activity in the state.

Ten years ago Mississippi Senator James Eastland called for state-organized defiance of any federal efforts to ensure equal rights for Negroes. (The speech, titled "We've Reached Era of Judicial Tyranny," was delivered at the first state-wide convention of the Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi, held in Jackson on Dec. 1, 1955).

"As I view the matter," Eastland said, "it is fundamental that each Southern State must adopt a State policy or State program to retain segregation, and that all the power and resources of the State be dedicated to that end."

Eastland, a cotton-rich plantation owner who controls the Senate Judiciary Committee, attacked "gradualism" as one of the great dangers to the Mississippi Way of Life.

"The present condition in which the South finds itself is more dangerous than Reconstruction. It is more insidious than Reconstruction. It is more dangerous in that the present Court decisions are built on gradualism. To induce us to agree or to force us to comply step by

step. In Reconstruction there was the attempt to force the hideous monster upon us all at once. Our ancestors rallied and stopped it. Its weakness then was that they attempted to enforce it all at once. It will take special precautions to guard against the gradual acceptance, and the erosion of our rights through the deadly doctrine of gradualism. There is only one course open to us and that is stern resistance. There is no other alternative"

In the standard packet of literature distributed by Citizens' Council headquarters in Greenwood, Miss., several quotations are reprinted from a speech in 1907 by former Mississippi Governor James K. Vardaman. Although given in 1907, Vardaman's speech pinpoints the State's present position on Negro voting.

"The Negro should never have been trusted with the ballot. He is different from the white man. He is congenitally unqualified to exercise the most responsible duty of citizenship. He is physically, mentally, morally, racially and eternally the white man's inferior. There is nothing in the history of his race, nothing in his individual character, nothing in his achievements of the past nor his promise for the future which entitles him to stand side by side with the white man at the ballot-box

"We must repeal the Fifteenth and modify the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. Then we shall be able in our legislation to recognize the negro's racial peculiarities and make laws to fit them. This would leave the matter precisely as was intended by the fathers of the Republic."

In 1955, Lamar Smith, a Negro, was killed after urging other Negroes to vote in a gubernatorial election. He was shot to death on the Brookhaven, Miss., courthouse lawn. A grand jury refused to indict the three men who were charged with the slaying.

In 1961, Herbert Lee, a Negro active in voter registration activities in Liberty, Miss., was shot to death by a member of the Mississippi State Legislature. Rep. E.E. Hurst, a Citizens' Council member, was vindicated by the coroner's jury, which ruled the murder a "justifiable homicide."

In 1964, a witness to the Lee killing, Louis Allen, was shot to death near his home. Allen had been harassed by local police officials several times since the Lee killing. Local authorities there say they have not come up with any clues in the Allen killing.

In 1962, Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer of Ruleville, Miss., was fired from her plantation job, where she had worked for 18 years, the same day she had gone to the county courthouse to attempt to register. The plantation owner had informed her that she had to leave if she didn't withdraw her application for registration.

Leonard Davis of Ruleville was a sanitation worker for the city until 1962, when he was told by Ruleville Mayor Charles M. Dorrough, "We've

going to let you go. Your wife's been attending that school." Dorrough was referring to the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee registration school in Ruleville.

Marylene Burkes and Vivian Hillet of Ruleville were severely wounded when an unidentified assailant fired a rifle through the window of Miss Hillet's grandparents' home. The grandparents had been active in voter registration work.

In Rankin County in 1963, the sheriff and two deputies assaulted three Negroes in the courthouse who were applying to register, driving the three out before they could finish the forms.

The recording of reprisals against Negroes who attempt to exercise their Constitutional rights is the subject of another SNCC pamphlet, "Chronology of Violence and Intimidation in Mississippi Since 1961." In this pamphlet we will cut out and focus upon one chink in the vast race-walls which guard the Mississippi Way of Life: the web of voter registration requirements which ensnares any Mississippi Negro who would attempt to vote.

The White Citizens' Councils control most important state institutions. Without the right to vote Negroes in Mississippi have no institutionalized means of challenging the oppression by white supremacists.

It should be emphasized that the legal artillery of the State is by no means its mainline force against "uppity" Negroes trying to vote. The killings, beatings, shootings, jailings, and numerous forms of economic repression are important elements in the every-day "private" means of deterring Negroes from making it to the courthouse. The voting laws are the "public" face.



Hattiesburg police prevent Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee executive secretary, James Forman, from bringing Negroes to the courthouse to attempt to register to vote.

A Republic, or republican form of government, is one in which the citizens vote in order to elect representatives to make and execute decisions about how to run the government. The United States Constitution (Article 4, Section 4) guarantees to every state a republican form of government. Because the right to vote is vital to a republican form of government, the Constitution guarantees the right to vote in Article One (Section 2 and 4), and in the 14th, 15th and 19th amendments. But since 1890 the State of Mississippi has maneuvered to deny Negroes the right to vote.

Before 1890 the Constitution and laws of Mississippi provided that all male citizens could register to vote who were 21 years of age and over, and had lived in the state six months and in the county one month. The exceptions were those who were insane or who had committed crimes which disqualified them.

In 1890 there were many more Negro citizens than white citizens who were eligible to become qualified electors in Mississippi. Therefore, in that year a Mississippi Constitutional Convention was held to

adopt a new State Constitution. Section 244 of the new Constitution required a new registration of voters starting January 1, 1892. This section also established a new requirement for qualification as a register voter; a person had to be able to read any section of the Mississippi Constitution, or understand any section when read to him, or give a reasonable interpretation of any section.

Under the new registration the balance of voting power shifted. By 1899 approximately 122,000 (82 percent) of the white males of voting age were registered. But only 18,000 (9 percent) of the Negro males qualified. Since 1899 a substantial majority of whites of voting age have become registered voters. But the percentage of Negro registered voters declined.

Between 1899 and 1952 several "public" methods were used to keep Negroes off the voter lists or out of the political process to ensure white supremacy. Many Negroes simply were not allowed to register. Literate Negroes were required to interpret sections of the Constitution to the satisfaction of a white registrar. All Negroes were excluded from the Democratic primary elections. Victory in the Democratic primary in Mississippi during this period meant victory in the general election.

In June, 1951, a U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that a person could register to vote if he could read OR, if unable to read, he could understand or interpret a provision of the State Constitution. A much higher percentage of voting-age Negroes were literate in 1951 than in 1890.

The Mississippi Legislators, all white, felt the Court's decision would enable many more Negroes to register to vote. Therefore, in 1952 the State Legislature passed a joint resolution proposing an amendment to Section 244 of the 1890 Mississippi Constitution. The proposed amendment would require a registration applicant to be able to read and interpret any section of the State Constitution. The proposed amendment was placed on the general election ballot, but failure to vote on the proposed amendment was counted as a negative vote and the amendment was not adopted.

On April 22, 1954, the State Legislature again passed a resolution to amend Section 244. This time however, several new qualifications were included in the proposal.

First, that a person must be able to read and write any section of the Mississippi Constitution; and give a reasonable interpretation of the Constitution to the county registrar.

Second, a person must be able to demonstrate to the county registrar a reasonable understanding of the duties and obligations of citizenship under a constitutional form of government.

Third, that a person make a sworn written application for registration on a form which would be prescribed by the State Board of Election

Commissioners.

Fourth, that all persons who were registered before January 1, 1954, were expressly exempted from the new requirements.

In October, 1954, Robert B. Patterson, executive secretary of the Mississippi Citizens' Councils, was reported to have said at a Citizens' Council meeting, "The amendment is intended solely to limit Negro registration," according to University of Mississippi professor Russell H. Barrett.

The burden of the new requirements had to fall on Negroes because a substantial majority of whites were already registered and therefore exempted from the amendment. Most Negroes would still have to apply for registration and therefore have to fulfill the new requirements. In 1954 at least 450,000 (63 percent) of the voting-age whites were registered. Approximately 22,000 (five percent) of the voting - age Negroes were registered. With 95 percent of the 472,000 eligible voters white, the proposed amendment to Section 244 was adopted on November 2, 1954. Thus, adoption of the amendment ensured that at least 95 percent of the electorate would be white.

"Although this same amendment failed to pass in 1952," the Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi reported, "It passed by a tremendous majority when the people of Mississippi, through the Citizens' Councils, were informed of the necessity and reason for the passage of this amendment."

The new requirements were to be administered by the county registrars. But, since at least 1892 all voter registrars in Mississippi have been white. (Indeed, it should be noted that since 1892 all state officials have been white.)

In January, 1955, an extraordinary session of the Mississippi Legislature was called in order that the adopted amendment to Section 244 could be inserted in the Constitution of 1890. At this session the State Legislature also passed legislation which implemented the amendment. The legislation required the interpretation test; the duties and obligations test; exempted persons registered prior to January 1, 1954; and directed the State Board of Election Commissioners to prepare a sworn written application form which the county registrars would be required to use in examining the qualifications of each applicant. In addition, the application forms were to be kept as permanent public records.

The amendment and its implementing legislation gave unlimited discretion to the county registrars in determining whether a voter registration applicant was qualified. Neither the constitutional nor the statutory provisions set any standards by which registrars should administer the tests.

Thus, Negroes in Mississippi must face a white registrar who has no legal guidelines for determining the manner in which these tests

are to be administered; the length and complexity of the sections of the Constitution to be read, written and interpreted by the applicants; the standard for a reasonable interpretation of any section of the Mississippi Constitution; the standard for a reasonable understanding of the duties and obligations of citizenship; nor a standard of performance by the applicant in completing the application form.

The registrar has 285 sections of the 1890 Constitution from which to choose, some of which are as complicated as the question of the leases dealing with land purchases from the Choctaw Indians.

A 1963 Omnibus Suit challenging Mississippi's voting laws, filed in Federal Court by the Justice Department, maintains, "There is no rational or reasonable basis for requiring, as a prerequisite to voting, that a prospective elector, otherwise qualified, be able to interpret certain of the sections of the Mississippi Constitution."

The suit further states,

"... Registrars . . . have used, are using, and will continue to use the interpretation test and the duties and obligations test to deprive otherwise qualified Negro citizens of the right to register to vote without distinction of race or color. The existence of the interpretation test and the duties and obligations test as voter qualifications in Mississippi, their enforcement, and the threat of their enforcement have deterred, are deterring and will continued to deter otherwise qualified Negroes in Mississippi from applying for registration to vote."

But the suit does not stop at the voting qualifications themselves in attacking the efforts to keep Negroes from voting. The suit argues that since Negroes have been denied an equal public education, the state does not have the right to turn around and demand interpretation and understanding tests which reflect the quality of public education.

"In a state where public education facilities are and have been racially segregated and where those provided for Negroes are and have been inferior to those provided for white persons, an interpretation or understanding test as a prerequisite to voting, which bears a direct relationship to the quality of public education afforded the applicant violates the Fifteenth Amendment."

But the state of Mississippi was not through erecting barriers to Negro suffrage. In 1960, the Mississippi Legislature passed a joint resolution to amend Article XII of the Constitution of 1890 to include a new qualification, good moral character, to the list of qualifications to vote. On November 8, 1960, the new section (241-A) was adopted by the Mississippi electorate. Of the approximately 525,000 registered voters in Mississippi who were eligible to vote on this proposed amendment, about 95 percent were white, fewer than five percent were Negro.

As in the cases of the other qualifications, the new amendment exempts most of the voting age whites from the requirement and in-



Negro citizens attempt to cast ballots in Greenwood, August 1963. Note helmeted policeman and local citizen photographing each of them as they enter the courthouse. The photographs can later be used to intimidate them, and perhaps to force them from their jobs or homes because they tried to vote.

cludes most voting age Negroes.

Ole Miss professor Russell Barrett stated in 1964 that during the campaign on the moral character amendment in 1960 the Jackson, Miss., State-Times editorialized, "This proposed amendment is not aimed at keeping white people from voting, no matter how morally corrupt they may be. It is an ill-disguised attempt to keep qualified Negroes from voting; and as such, it should not have the support of the people of Mississippi."

During the 1960 legislative session another bill was passed, amending the Mississippi Code (Section 3209.6) to permit the destruction of registration records 30 days after the filing of the application form. In 1955 the legislature had passed a law which included a requirement that all registration applications be kept as a permanent public record. Mississippi legislators changed their attitudes after the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960 were passed.

In 1957 Congress passed the Civil Rights Act which provided that the Attorney General of the United States may bring civil actions to protect the right to vote without distinction of race or color. In 1960 Congress passed another Civil Rights Act which required that all records and papers related to registration, poll tax payments, and any other matters pertaining to voting in federal elections be preserved for a certain period. The Act also provides that the United States Attorney General may gain access to county voting records by seeking a federal court order directing that the records be made available to him. (In May, 1964, the Justice Department secured such an order in Bolivar County, Mississippi, after four years of litigation).

However, the Mississippi statute now permitted registrars to destroy evidence of discrimination against Negro applicants should Justice Department officials want to photograph the records. The law was deliberately aimed at undermining Title III (1960 Civil Rights Act), a procedure which the Supreme Court has ruled violates Article VI of the Constitution of the United States.

In the spring of 1962 the State Legislature adopted another package of bills designed to thwart growing efforts by Negroes to register and vote.

Prior to this new legislation, the Mississippi Code (Section 3213) required that an applicant fill out the application form without assistance or suggestion from any person. The new legislation (House Bill 900) amended that section, making the requirements of the statute mandatory; requiring that no application can be approved or the applicant registered if any blank on the application form is not "properly and responsively" filled out by the applicant; and required that both the oath in the application and the application must be signed separately by the applicant.

The purpose of House Bill 900 was to prevent anyone, including the

registrar, from giving the slightest suggestion about what was required on the application form. Thus, the applicant could be rejected because of the most inconsequential omission on the application form.

Another bill in the package (House Bill 901) amended the Mississippi Code so that designation of race could be eliminated from the county poll books. The purpose was to hinder Justice Department efforts to document the inability of Negroes to get on the registration rolls.

House Bill 905 amended the Mississippi Code to require the State Board of Election Commissioners to provide space on the application form where the applicant must put information which established his good moral character. It also required the registrar to use the good moral character requirement in registering voters. The bill implemented the State Constitutional amendment adopted by the electorate in 1960. House Bill 905 also retained the provision permitting destruction of application forms thirty days after they have been filed.

The 1963 Omnibus Suit attacks both the 1960 Constitution amendment and its 1962 statutory complement as "vague and indefinite," giving registrars "unlimited discretion . . . to determine the good moral character of applicants for registration . . . (but) neither suggests nor imposes standards for the registrar's use in determining good moral character."

Therefore, the Suit states, the registrar can determine:

"What acts, practice, habits, customs, beliefs, relationships, moral standards, ideas, associations, attitudes and demeanor (indicate) bad moral character and what weight should be given to each.

"What is evidence of good moral character and what weight should be given to affirmative evidence of it, such as school record, church membership, military service, club memberships, personal, social and family relationships, civic interest, absence of criminal record.

"What periods of the applicants' life are to be examined for evidence relating to his character — whether the applicants' conduct during a remote period of his life is to be considered.

"What sources, if any, such as public records, public officials, private individuals — Negro and white — will be consulted in determining the character of the applicant; or whether the determination will be made on the basis of personal knowledge, impression, newspaper accounts, rumor or otherwise."

But the all-white State Legislature did not intend to leave character investigation and judgment to the white registrar alone. House Bills 822 and 904 required disclosure of every applicant to public scrutiny so that any citizen might come forward to challenge the applicant's qualifications.

The two statutes required that within 10 days after application for registration, the registrar must publish the name and address of each



Officials in Canton interrogate Negroes attempting to register to vote. In a two day period in February 1964, over two hundred Negroes stood in line but only seven were permitted to take the registration test. Canton's mayor, sheriff, police chief and other leading white citizens are executives in the white supremacist Citizens' Council.

applicant once each week for two consecutive weeks, in a newspaper having general circulation in the county where the applicant applies.

The statutes also provided that within 30 days after application any already - qualified elector in the county may challenge in an affidavit the good moral character of any applicant, or any other qualification of the candidate for registration. Then, within seven days after such an affidavit is filed by a 'concerned' citizen, the registrar must notify the applicant of the time and place for a hearing to determine the validity of the challenge. The registrar retains the discretion to change the date of the hearing.

The registrar is authorized to issue subpoenas to compel the attendance and testimony of witnesses. The testimony is recorded and then the registrar may either decide the validity of the challenge or take the challenge under consideration. Courtroom rules of testimony are not enforced at these hearings and both the applicant and the challenger may question witnesses. Either the challenger or the applicant may appeal to the county board of election commissioners, if the registrar decides against him in the hearing.

The cost of the hearings are taxed in the same way that costs are taxed in the State chancery courts; the all-white county board can decide whether the contestants must share the costs, or the one who is decided against must pay all of it.

The statutes further provide that if no challenge to the applicant's qualifications is filed, the registrar shall determine the nature of the applicant's moral character and other qualifications "within a reasonable time." Thus, if there is no challenge by a private citizen, there is nothing in the statutes which forces the registrar to come to a decision about the application.

If the registrar should find the applicant qualified, House Bill 903 requires that the registrar write the word "passed" on the application form. However, the applicant is still not registered unless he comes back in person to the registrar and asks the result of his application. The bill places the burden of responsibility on the applicant to return to the registrar's office.

This requirement must be seen in the light of the murders and beatings of Negroes which have taken place in the courthouse or on its steps in connection with voter registration efforts.

If the applicant was ruled to have good moral character, but the registrar decided the applicant has not fulfilled one or more of the other requirements, the statute requires that the registrar write "failed" on the application. The registrar, however, must not specify the reasons for failure, because to do so "may constitute assistance to the applicant on another application."

The statute also provided that if the registrar decides the applicant has fulfilled all requirements except that of good moral character,

the registrar writes that on the application form and the reasons why he finds the applicant not to be of good moral character.

If the registrar decides the applicant has not fulfilled one or more of the other requirements, and is not of good moral character, the registrar writes "failed" on the application and has the discretion to write on the application, "not of good moral character."

This is the "public" mask worn for the outside world to explain why Negroes are not registered in large numbers in Mississippi. The 1963 Omnibus Suit asks the Federal Court to declare all of these registration requirements unconstitutional except those which were largely provided prior to 1890. Those requirements are that the applicant; be a citizen of the United States; 21 years of age or over; a resident of Mississippi, the county and election district for the period outlined in the Constitution of 1890; be able to read; that the applicant not have been convicted of any of the disqualifying crimes described in the Constitution and Code of Mississippi; and that the applicant not be insane.

Negroes are now trying to tear away this legal mask to expose the real basis of white supremacy. Without the right to register and vote Negroes cannot take part in any phases of Mississippi's form of republican government. What recourse do the white supremacists leave Mississippi Negroes, if Negroes cannot voice their opinions at the polls?



Above: Registrar's office, Forrest County courthouse in Hattiesburg.

Back cover: Elderly lady enters Leflore County courthouse in Greenwood to attempt to register to vote.

TECHNIQUES FOR FIELD WORK

11

Voter Registration

Safety

1. Know all roads in and out of town.
2. Know location of sanctuaries and safe homes in the county.
3. Make arrangements for regular checks with the Jackson office and/or the county office.
4. Decide whether night or day work is preferable.

Canvassing

1. Take pencil and paper to record any information that seems pertinent.
2. Remember that you are asking people to take their time to listen to you. You should try to present yourself in a way that will make them want to talk with you.
3. If a person closes the door in your face or will not talk with you, try to find out elsewhere why he did it. Everybody can be approached, but it may take much time and patience to reach some people.
4. If a person talks but show obvious reluctance, don't force a long explanation on them. Come back another day to explain more. Soften them up through repeated exposure. This builds confidence and builds a relationship.
5. If a person invites you in but then doesn't listen to you, try asking questions to get their attention. Try talking about other things and eventually working back to your program.
6. If a person listens and seems interested, try to give them something to do to keep their interest up. Use them to help you contact other people. Use them to talk with the rest of their family.
7. If a person already knows what you are telling him, find out how he knows it. Perhaps there is already a group in existence that nothing is known about. Perhaps there are channels of communication that could be valuable in the future.
8. When canvassing try to have a single idea in mind, e.g. getting people out to a mass meeting that evening or setting up a workshop. Don't overwhelm a person with too much at any one time.

Workshops

1. Arrange any materials (pencils, paper, application blanks, etc) beforehand so that the workshop isn't hung up for lack of these fundamentals.
2. Emphasize that any question is a good question. Encourage people

(Voter Registration Continued)

to speak up, to ask questions, to bring out their own ideas.

3. Whenever possible, use the local residents to lead the workshops, to answer the questions, to take charge. Ultimately the people will be left alone, they can never start standing by themselves.

4. Go slowly enough to include everyone. Ask questions, get the people to call a halt--use any technique to judge whether your speed is correct.

5. Many times people like to open and close workshops with a song and a prayer.

6. Praise people freely. Compliment them for any small thing. This business is new for most people and they are easily intimidated.

Taking People to Courthouse

1. Arrange transportation when necessary.

2. Be prompt if a time is agreed on.

3. Encourage people to go at least by twos, there is strength in numbers.

4. Accompany people to the door of the registrar's office where possible. At least go as far as the local authorities will permit.

VIII: Opposition and Violence



Mississippi public officials at all levels denounced the Freedom Summer Project and supported white supremacy and segregation. Business leaders joined together to fire black activists, foreclose their mortgages, evict renters, and cut off welfare. Local police trailed workers' cars and arrested activists on imaginary charges. Police often had close personal ties to vigilante groups such as the Ku Klux Klan who perpetrated violence on black residents and civil rights workers. Between June 16 and September 30, 1964, there were at least 6 murders, 29 shootings, 50 bombings, and more than 60 beatings. Freedom Summer volunteers were taught to meet this assault with non-violent resistance.

33 Mississippi Readies Laws for Freedom Summer, April 30, 1964

(3 pages) Press release describing new laws designed to halt demonstrations, prohibit picketing, ban literature distribution, and impose other means of obstructing organizers

<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/11425>

34 The Klan Ledger, Early Autumn 1964

(4 pages) Newsletter issue containing the Ku Klux Klan's reflections on Freedom Summer

<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/14269>

35 Running Summary of Incidents, June 16 through August 26, 1964

(26 pages) Printed pamphlet listing acts of intimidation and violence during Freedom Summer Project

<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/7516>

36 Partial List of Racial Murders in the South in the Last 2 Years, April 1963-February 1965

(2 pages) Document detailing 33 murders of black residents and civil rights workers

<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/15607>

37 Readings in Nonviolence

<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/2124>

(8 pages) An anthology used during volunteer orientation. It includes excerpts from Gandhi, King, Thoreau, James Farmer, Howard Zinn, and others

NEWS RELEASE
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
6 RAYMOND STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30314

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
April 30, 1964

MISSISSIPPI READIES LAWS FOR "FREEDOM SUMMER"

JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI - With the help of the State Legislature, Mississippi's police officers will be more than ready to deal with civil rights groups planning a "Mississippi Freedom Summer."

The summer drive, sponsored by the Council of Federated Organization (COFO), involves 1,000 workers in programs of voter registration, Freedom Schools, Freedom Registration and Community Centers.

Governor Paul Johnson has already signed into law five bills designed to halt demonstrations. They prohibit picketing, ban distributing boycott literature, allow cities to extend police aid to other municipalities, permit cities to restrict the movements of groups and to set curfews, and increased penalties for violating city ordinances.

Governor Johnson has asked the legislature to enlarge the power of the state police.

The five bills signed into law by Governor Johnson are:

House Bill 64 - Authorizes cities to restrain movements of groups and individuals;
House Bill 546 - Prohibits the unlawful picketing of all public buildings, streets, sidewalks and other places belonging to the city, county and state;
Senate Bill 1517 - Increases penalties that may be assessed by city courts;
Senate Bill 1526 - Authorizes municipalities to "pool" personnel, manpower and equipment;
Senate Bill 1545 - Provides a maximum penalty of \$500 and/or 6 months in jail for printing and circulating material promoting a boycott.

The State Sovereignty Commission - the official segregation watchdog - has suggested the use of other laws to halt anti-segregation protests. They are:

Section 2087-5 - Congregate and refuse to disperse when ordered by a police officer;
Section 2087-7 - Prohibits any person interfering with customers or operation of any business venture;
Section 2089-5 - Disturb the peace or peace of others;
Section 2155-4 - Make false statements to Federal authorities;
Section 2155-4 - Issue false complaints to Federal authorities;
Section 2292-5 - Obstruct by force or threats lawful arrest;
Section 2296-5 - Willful obstruction of public streets;
Section 2409-5 - Encourage any person to remain on premises of another when forbidden to do so.

The Sovereignty Commission has distributed copies of the old and new laws to state law enforcement officers.

COFO is composed of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

The second bill defines "criminal syndicalism" and then describes the penalty for this as a fine of not less than \$200.00 or more than \$1,000.00 or two to ten years in jail. But the Act is binding not only on people who instigate, advocate, suggest, teach or aid the commission of "criminal syndicalism," but on anyone who "justifies or attempts to justify", "prints, publishes, edits, circulates, sells, distributes or displays" any book or printed matter, and anyone who organizes or helps to organize, and the owner, agent, lessee, janitor, caretaker, or occupant of any building where any "criminal syndicalist" activity takes place. The full text of this bill is attached. One can only hope that the State of Mississippi for its own sake does not pass these bills.

FACSIMILE

MISSISSIPPI LEGISLATURE
BY: SENATORS COLLINS and HILBUN
INTRODUCED: MAY 6

REGULAR SESSION 1964
TO: JUDICIARY

SENATE BILL NO. 2027

AN ACT TO DEFINE CRIMINAL SYNDICALISM: TO MAKE UNLAWFUL THE ACT OF CRIMINAL SYNDICALISM: TO PROHIBIT ASSEMBLAGE FOR THE PURPOSE OF CRIMINAL SYNDICALISM: TO PROVIDE THE PENALTY THEREFOR: AND FOR RELATED PURPOSES.

BE IT ENACTED BY THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF MISSISSIPPI

SECTION 1. Criminal syndicalism as used in this Act is hereby defined to be the doctrine or precept which advocates, teaches or aids and abets the commission of crime, sabotage (which word is hereby defined as meaning willful and malicious physical damages or injury to physical property), unlawful acts of violence and force, arson or other unlawful acts or methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing or effecting a change in agricultural or industrial ownership or control or in effecting any political or social change or for profit.

SECTION 2. Any person who:

(1) By word of mouth or written words or personal conduct advocates, instigates, suggests, teaches or aids and abets criminal syndicalism or the duty, necessity, propriety or expedience of committing crime, criminal syndicalism, sabotage, violence or any other unlawful method of terrorism as a means of accomplishing or effecting a change in agricultural or industrial ownership or control or effecting any political or social change or for profit; or

(2) Openly, willfully and deliberately by spoken or written word justifies, or attempts to justify, criminal syndicalism or the commission or the attempt to commit crime, sabotage, violence or other unlawful methods of terrorism with intent to exemplify, approve, spread, advocate, instigate, teach, aid, suggest or further the doctrine of criminal syndicalism; or

(3) Prints, publishes, edits, issues, circulates, sells, distributes or publicly displays any book, paper, pamphlet, document, poster, handbill or written or printed matter in any form whatsoever containing, advocating, instigating, advising, suggesting, aiding and abetting or teaching criminal syndicalism; or

(4) Organizes or helps to organize or knowingly becomes a member of or voluntarily assembles with any society, organizations, group or assemblage of persons organized, formed or assembled to advocate, teach, aid, and abet criminal syndicalism; or

(5) Willfully, by personal act or conduct, practices or commits any act advised, advocated, taught or aided and abetted by the doctrine or precept of criminal syndicalism with intent to accomplish a change in agricultural or industrial ownership or control, or effecting any social or political change or for profit; is guilty of a felony, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not less than Two Hundred Dollars (\$200.00) nor more than One Thousand Dollars (\$1,000.00), or by imprisonment in the state penitentiary for a term of not less than one year or more than ten years or by both such fine and imprisonment.

SECTION 3. Whenever two or more persons assemble or consort for the purpose of advocating, encouraging, teaching or suggesting the doctrine of criminal syndicalism as defined in this Act, such assemblage is unlawful, and every person voluntarily participating therein by his presence, aid or instigation is guilty of a felony, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by imprisonment in the state penitentiary for a term of not less than one year nor more than ten years, or by a fine of not less than Two Hundred Dollars (\$200.00), nor more than One Thousand Dollars (\$1,000.00), or by both such imprisonment and fine.

SECTION 4. The owner, lessee, agent, superintendent, janitor, caretaker or other person in charge, or occupant of any place, building, room or rooms or structure who knowingly permits therein any assembly or consort of persons prohibited by the provisions of Section 3 of this Act or who, after notification by authorized public or peace officer that the place or premises, or any part thereof, is so used, permits such use to be continued is guilty of a misdemeanor and punishable by imprisonment in the county jail for not less than sixty days nor more than one year, or by a fine of not less than One Hundred Dollars (\$100.00) nor more than Five Hundred Dollars (\$500.00) or by both such imprisonment and fine.

SECTION 5. The provisions of this Act are severable. If any section, subsection, paragraph, sentence or clause of this Act is for any reason held to be invalid, the remainder of this Act shall remain valid and enforceable.

SECTION 6. That this Act shall take effect and be in force from and after its passage.

THE KLAN Ledger

An Official Publication of the WHITE KNIGHTS of the KU KLUX KLAN of Mississippi

DEDICATED TO THE PRESERVATION OF CHRISTIAN CIVILIZATION

EARLY AUTUMN EDITION

The "long, hot summer" has passed. Can we measure the results now, or will it take a number of years to weigh the outcome and success? The COFO has no laurels to their credit, and the general public of Mississippi has had a full of their very existence. In fact the COFO can be summed up as a complete failure. For this we owe thanks to the general public and the failure of the good people of Mississippi to accept the scum from our land as teachers and leaders in our community which was built to its magnificent splendor by the sweat and blood of our great White Fathers. For the success of our struggle against this scum, we offer our thanks to Almighty God, our Creator and Saviour.

THIS THEN IS OUR PRAYER

ALMIGHTY AND ETERNAL FATHER, AGAIN WE ENTER INTO THY PRESENCE TO WORSHIP YOU IN SPIRIT AND IN TRUTH. KNOWING THAT AS THY CHILDREN AND THY HOUSEHOLD THAT WE CAN BE GUIDED BY THY WORD, THAT WE CAN BE INSTRUCTED BY THY SPIRIT THAT YOU ARE IN CONTINUAL COMMUNION WITH THY PEOPLE, THAT THY SPIRIT IS WITH US ALWAYS, EVEN UNTO THE END OF THIS AGE. BECAUSE OF THY PRESENCE AND BECAUSE OF THE RELATIONSHIP OF THY SPIRIT WITH OUR SPIRIT WE ARE NOT ONLY GUIDED AND PROTECTED, BUT THY SPIRIT HAS CAUSED A MEDITATION IN US TO PRAY FOR THOSE THINGS WE HAVE NEED OF, EVEN WHEN WE ARE NOT AWARE, FOR THIS GUIDING PROTECTION, FOR THIS SHIELD OF THY PRESENCE WE ARE THANKFUL. WE PRAY OUR FATHER, THAT YOU SHALL AWAKEN US IN THIS GREAT HOUR OF OUR NATIONAL NEED TO THE PROBLEMS THAT FACE US AND THE CAUSE OF THESE PROBLEMS. GRANT OUR FATHER, THAT WE SHALL HAVE LEADERSHIP THAT SHALL RESPOND TO THE AWAKENING OF THY PEOPLE TO DELIVER OUR LAND TO THE POWERS OF DARKNESS AND THE FORCES OF EVIL, TO LIFT HIGH AGAIN THE STANDARDS OF THY KINGDOM THAT WE MIGHT LEAD THE WORLD IN RIGHT-FOUNESS. WE THANK THEE OUR FATHER, FOR THE ASSURANCE OF VICTORY OVER THE POWER OF DARKNESS, FOR THE ASSURANCE THAT NO WEAPON THAT OUR ENEMY BRINGS AGAINST US SHALL PROSPER, FOR THE REALIZATION OF THE FINAL VICTORY OF THY KINGDOM AND THE DEFEAT OF EVIL, AND FOR THE REALIZATION THAT THY THRONE IN THE EARTH IS FOREVER AND THAT THY ADMINISTRATION IN THE HOUSEHOLD IN WHICH YOU HAVE ESTABLISHED IN THE EARTH AND ITS INHERITANCE SHALL REMAIN BEFORE THEE, SO AS WE COMMIT OURSELVES IN THY HAND WE PRAY FOR THY GUIDANCE, FOR THY WISDOM AND FOR THY KNOWLEDGE AND FOR THE MIGHTY IMPOWERING OF THY SONS AND DAUGHTERS PROMISED FOR THIS VITAL HOUR, SO WE SAY THY WILL BE DONE IN EARTH AS IT IS IN HEAVEN, IN THY NAME WE ASK IT. AMEN.

Since Adam and Eve partook of the fruit of knowledge against God's will, there has been much trouble upon the face of this planet, Earth. Since that time it has been the nature of mankind to rebel against the things that do not please and make comfortable the human body and mind.

We human beings are very apt to overlook things taking place today that could destroy us tomorrow, and accept a compromise in order to avoid a struggle. Actually, there is no such thing as compromise in regards to principle, a thing has to be right or wrong. No evolution short of the right solution will long survive; yet, every day of our lives we are asked by the Dictators of Dictatorship to compromise our principles for the sake of their own personal and political gain. When we compromise our principles and beliefs for the sake of "getting along", we lose our most precious possession, freedom.

In the light of history, this great nation of ours is the most superb creation of man's knowledge, spirit, and labor--thanks to our wonderful Constitution (the original Constitution). Not one word of that constitution should be, or should have been changed in compromise for any reason whatsoever! Especially not to please or comfort our Godless, deadly enemy, the Communist Party of the world. I believe it is plain to everyone, now, that the Communists are, and have been from the outset, behind the racial violence and unrest in our nation; the purpose of which is to divide and conquer. I might add, they have done a terribly devastating job so far.

The big word that has gone around during most of my lifetime has been "reform". Just what are we to reform? Christianity? God, perhaps? America and Americanism, our inheritance from our ancestors? The rules and regulations of government they left us in our Constitution? Maybe these laws are not perfect, but they have served longer and better than any others in history. No book of rules (or laws) have ever been, or could ever be devised to please everyone. Yet, our Constitution, until a few years ago, served best for everyone. Before things were hopelessly fouled up and changed, the only gripes came from "do-nothings" and Communist agitators. Now, I doubt that any of us still live what would have been considered a normal life until things have been changed back, to the way they were before our leaders began legislating "common sense".

All of us should undertake the task of returning our government to its original form, for if we fail, we may well have lost ALL. This might well be the "Last Frontier" and not the bright, shiny one we have been promised by self-serving politicians.

As Mississippians and Americans we must work together as an intelligent people (which we are) for the betterment of all the people of our state and our country. We must all move together, one step at a time and build a bridge across the deep canyon ... the long leap to try to jump across may plunge us all into defeat and destruction.

I wonder if Adam and Eve in their haste to disobey God in partaking of the fruit of the tree of "Knowledge" didn't overlook a tree marked "Better Knowledge". I wonder if we are not overlooking a simple, Christian way of settling the differences that are dividing our nation. We need a Christian statesman who can unite -- not a divider. Lord, help us find one.

Use the greatest power you have left -- in the coming election for a President of these United States, vote for the man who stands for AMERICANISM and the AMERICAN CHRISTIAN WAY!

We are going to serve notice that we are not going to recognize the Authority of any Bi-Racial group, Nor the Authority of Any Public Official Who Enters Into Any Agreement With Any Such Communist Organization. We Knights are working day and night to preserve law and order here in Mississippi, in the only way that it can be preserved; by strict segregation of the races, and the control of the social structure in the hands of the Christian, Anglo-Saxon White Men, the only race on Earth that can build and maintain just and stable governments. We are deadly serious about this business. We have taken no action as yet against the enemies of our State, our Nation and our Civilization, but we are not going to sit back and permit our rights and the rights of our posterity to be negotiated away by a group of "Jewish" priests, blugum black savages and mongrelized money-worshippers. Take heed, Atheists and Mongrels, we will not travel your path to a Leninist hell, but we will buy You a ticket to the Eternal if you insist. Take your choice, Segregation, Tranquility, and Justice, or, Bi-Racism, Chaos and Death.

And I know the blasphemy of them which say they are Jews, and are not, but are the Synagogue of Satan. Fear none of those things which Thou (Christians) Shalt Suffer. Behold, the devil shall cast some of you into prison, that ye may be tried: (Rev. 13:10)

Behold, I will make them of the Synagogue of Satan, which say they are Jews, and are not, but do Lie; behold, I will make them to come and worship before Thy feet, and to know that I have loved Thee. (Rev. 13:12)

Today's so-called Jews persecute Christians, seeking to deceive, claiming Judea as their homeland and that they are "God's Chosen". They "do Lie", for they are not Judeans, but Are the Synagogue of Satan!

Does this sound like they are God's issue riding with him? No, my Friends, you are God's issue riding with him. You are his Israel and don't let anyone ever tell you different.

Today, few Americans understand the beautiful truths of "The Sovereignty of the Individual" as intended by our Bible-Instructed Founding Fathers when they wrote our Constitution. In the light of "Individual Sovereignty" we must face the Anti-Semitic boggy head-on.

Our Constitution protects a Jew as well as any other individual. If a Jew is not capable of functioning as an individual, and must take part in Conspiracies to exist on this earth, that is his problem. Our Constitution protects the individual but not conspiracies! It is only a matter of time, when, through natural processes under our Constitution, all conspiracies will dissolve into nothingness. And, any President, cabinet member, court justice, senator, congressman, or any other person caught in them will have to pay the consequences for their lack of wisdom and foresight. As an informed Christian puts it - any Jew who says our Constitution is anti-semitic is off his rocker, and should see his psychiatrist. No relief there, for persisting as a Jew consulting Antichrist, he will discover in fact our Constitution is Christian; is Anti-Jew, and Anti-Synagogue of Satan.

You have lost your Freedom, Americans, "Freedom, once lost by a great Nation, is seldom regained". (Daniel Webster)

Tyranny, Treachery, Trickery, Treason is the order of the day in Washington, D.C. Honor, Integrity, Race, Country, America's Christian Religion, are becoming unmoded.

Your most precious blood bought Individual Freedom -- of choice, of association, of individual independence, of free speech and free press, of control over your children's welfare, of the sacredness of your home and private property, right to run your own business -- of the "right to be let alone by Government", ALL ARE being insidiously but surely eroded and usurped by your overpaid public SERVANTS in an all-powerful central government. Your national Sovereignty and Security have been bartered away by these same U.N. (Not U.S.) public servants. More and more you become a regimental number in a Socialist-Communist Dictatorship. Satan and Antichrist stalk the land. American citizens once were CONSTITUTIONALLY masters, of their Government, including the courts -- but not now.

WHAT ARE YOU DOING ABOUT ALL THIS?

We are dedicated to stop this.

How many times have you heard that intergration is inevitable? This is the big lie, created by the Communist conspirators and parroted by Liberals, Socialists, Pinks, Punks, Do-Gooders and Bleeding-heart Clergymen in the hope that you will repeat it. Many people will repeat an often heard phrase without even evaluating it for truth. Repeat a lie often enough, it will be believed! (An old satanic policy.)

Once people believe that intergration is inevitable, the main struggle to install it has passed. We should not accept this concept any sooner than we would accept intergration for the idea is father to the act. The first thing you can do in the fight against intergration is to refute this insidious piece of propaganda. The only thing inevitable is mongrelization---IF WE INTERGRATE!

Volumes could be, and have been written concerning the evils of intergrating a society, but the most conclusive and damning testimonials as to the utter folly of such a practice are as handy as your family Bible and the World History Book.

God found intergration of the races so abominable that he had the entire populace of several cities destroyed--every man, woman and child! What other lesson do we really need?

Christian values do not change over the years, it is just as wrong to lie, cheat, steal, commit adultery, murder, or intergrate today as it was centuries ago. It always will be!

Those of us who sit back and do nothing to stem these socialistic acts of God-less-ness are just as guilty as the evil perpetrators. To say we don't want to get involved is a weak and invalid excuse--we are involved. Christians have always been involved in the conflict between the forces of Good and the forces of Evil. We must take action to the limit of our ability to defeat these Satanic forces that confront us, to do less is to lend tacit approval to the plans of those who would destroy us through mongrelization.

If you are not a Bible student, reflect on the lessons given us through the recorded history of our world. Egypt was at one time the greatest empire on earth, but the white citizens began to intermarry with the Negro slaves and trouble began. Even in that ancient time the Pharaohs realized the danger inherent in such a practice and prohibited it by proclamation. Alas, all too late. Corrupted, mongrelized Egypt fell and will never rule as a world power again.

The Roman Empire withstood great military armies and onslaughts from without, until the noxious host of mongrelizers within its own camp caused its social structure to crumble with moral decay.

What sets the United States apart from these and other great world governments? So far it has been racial integrity built on an abiding Christian faith. Now we would inject into the body of our own government the evil virus of race mixing that would produce therein a cancer for which there is no cure.

There is no such thing as token intergration! No such thing as a little intergration! ANY intergration is, in truth, the beginning of total intergration and its irrevocably destructive culmination -- mongrelization.

The wolf in sheep's clothing is at the door. Mongrelization under the cover of school intergration is the monstrous wolf that seeks entrance into the fold, where it would not stop until it had devoured the entire flock. Don't you be the one to open the door to this ravenous wolf, or even to help. This evil creature, mongrelization, disguised in the vermin - infested sheep's clothing must be destroyed. It will take the combined efforts of each and every Christian patriot to do this job. The responsibility of preserving our White Christian civilization for ourselves and generations of children yet unborn rests squarely upon our shoulders, yours and mine. We must not fail, for upon our hands will be the blood of the innocent! School intergration is the opening wedge to mongrelize us. You ask what one person can do. One person was responsible for having the Holy Bible removed from our schools. What you do is important. Do what you can, if it is no more than steadfastly voicing your disapproval of intergration. Do your part to kill the idea that intergration is inevitable. No matter how dark things look at times, remember you are on the right side-- the winning side. God will bless you for your effort in the continuing battle to maintain Christian racial integrity.

We would like to inform the general public that this organization has had no part in the bombing of Churches, schools and homes for which we have been blamed. The recent bombing of a church and home in McComb, Mississippi is a good example of outside agitation.

THIS IS WHY WE HAVE THE WHITE KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN OF MISSISSIPPI.

IN A DEBATE WITH JUDGE DOUGLAS AT CHARLESTON, ILLINOIS, SEPTEMBER 18, 1858, MR. ABRAHAM LINCOLN EXPRESSED HIS VIEWS AND HIS STAND ON THE RACIAL QUESTION, IN PART AS FOLLOWS:

"I am not nor ever have been in favour of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races! I am not nor ever have been in favour of making voters or jurors of negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people. I will say in addition to this that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality; and inasmuch as they cannot so live, while they do remain together there must be the position of the inferior and superior, and I am, as much as any other man, in favour of having the superior position assigned to the white race."

DEDICATED TO MAINTAIN AND EXTEND THE DIGNITY, HERITAGE AND RIGHTS OF THE WHITE RACE OF AMERICA.

Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, James Monroe, even Booker T. Washington favored segregation.

DON'T DESTROY--Pass it along--Enclose in your letters--Give to your pastor, your politician, your school teacher. Maintain the dignity, heritage and rights of the White Race.

[1964]



MISSISSIPPI SUMMER PROJECT
RUNNING SUMMARY OF INCIDENTS

- JUNE 16: Philadelphia: Mt. Zion Baptist Church burns to ground. Fire starts soon after Negro mass meeting adjourns. Three Negroes beaten by whites. Church was freedom school site.
State-wide: Negroes attempt to attend Democratic Party precinct conventions for the first time in this century. Results vary. Two Negroes, two whites elected in Jackson.
- JUNE 17: Vicksburg: Summer volunteer arrested for driving while intoxicated. Not allowed phone call. Held overnight. Acquitted at trial next day.
- JUNE 20: Fayette: Police, citizens order SNCC worker out of his house. He flees, but when car recovered two days later his camera, food, and personal documents are missing.
- JUNE 21: Brandon (Rankin Co.) Molotov cocktail explodes in basement of Sweet Rest Church of Christ Holiness. Fire; minor damage.
McComb: Homes of two civil rights workers planning to house summer volunteers bombed. One damaged extensively. Seven dynamite sticks left on lawn of third home with no civil rights ties.
Meridian: Three civil rights workers missing after short trip to Philadelphia.
- JUNE 22: Clarksdale: Four volunteers arrested on vagrancy charges while engaged in voter registration work. Held 3-1/2 hours, released.
Brandon: Negro youth killed in hit-and-run accident.
- JUNE 23: Philadelphia: Missing car found burned; no sign of three workers. Car was on list circulated state-wide by Canton White Citizens Council.
Jackson: Shots fired at home of Rev. R.L.T. Smith. White man escapes on foot, reportedly picked up by a city truck. (Smith's home is under 24-hour guard.)
Moss Point: Knights of Pythias Hall firebombed. Arson attempt on side of building. Damage slight. Used for voter rallies.
Moss Point: Two summer volunteers picked up as they leave cafe, relax on private lawn. Taken by police at 85 m.p.h. without lights at night to Pascagoula jail. Held in "protective custody" overnight, then released.
Jackson: Civil rights worker held eight hours after receiving \$5 change for a \$20 bill.
Jackson: White car fires shot at Henderson's cafe. Negroes pursue. Three shots fired, hitting one Negro in head twice.
Clarksdale: Local pastor, a civil rights leader, arrested for reckless and drunk driving. He is a total abstainer.
State-wide: Negroes try to attend Democratic Party county conventions. Participation systematically discouraged.
Ruleville: LOOK, TIME reporters covering voter rally at Williams chapel, chased out of town by car at speeds up to 85 m.p.h. Early next morning, nine Negro homes, cars hit by bottles thrown from similar car.
- JUNE 24: Meridian: Threat: "You G. D. people are going to get bombed."
Hollandale: Police, mayor tell summer volunteer he can't live in Negro section of town and register voters.

JUNE 24: Drew: Thirty volunteers, staff workers engaged in voter registration meet open hostility from whites. Weapons shown.

Canton: Civil rights car hit by bullet.

Collins: 40 M-1 rifles, 1,000 rounds of ammunition stolen from National Guard armory.

JUNE 25: Ruleville: Williams Chapel firebombed. Damage slight. Eight plastic bags with gasoline found later outside building.

Jackson: Two separate arrests of volunteers on minor traffic charges. Seven questioned in one case; charges dropped in other. (Law student presented his own case.)

Philadelphia: Southern newsman's car deliberately rammed by local citizen. Newsman gets two tickets.

Itta Bena: Two volunteers working with local Negro, handing out literature for voter registration rally, taken to gas station-bus stop by four white men who tell them: "If you speak in town to-night, you'll never leave here."

Greenville: Federal building demonstration. No harassment.

Durant: Civil rights worker's car stopped on highway for repairs. Driver charged with illegal parking. \$60 bond paid.

JUNE 26: Hattiesburg: Hate literature from whites: "Beware, good Negro citizens. When we come to get the agitators, stay away."

Columbus: Seven voter registration workers arrested for distributing literature without a city permit. Bond: \$400 each.

Itta Bena: FBI arrests three local residents for June 25 incident. Two are released on \$2,000 bail, one on \$1,000.

Clinton: Church of Holy Ghost arson. Kerosene spilled on floor, lit after local white pastor speaks to Negro Bible class. (Fifth firebombing in 10 days.)

Holmes County: Two staffers detained for illegal parking, no Mississippi permit. One arrested. Bond \$60.

Holly Springs: Harassment: beer cans tossed at volunteers, car tires slashed.

Greenwood: Freedom House call: "You'd better not go to sleep or you won't get up."

Greenwood: Voter registration worker picked up by police, released after questioning.

Jackson: CORE field secretary beaten at Hinds County jail while a federal prisoner. Third beating of a civil rights worker at same jail in two months, second of federal prisoner.

Canton: Two volunteers picked up by police, told all out-of-town visitors must register with them. Registered, released.

Belzoni: Three arrested for disturbing the peace. Two released without charges, third held on \$100 bond.

JUNE 27: Batesville: Local person helping voter registration gets obvious harassment ticket for illegal parking outside courthouse.

Vicksburg: Threatening call: "We're going to get you."

Philadelphia: Local Negro contact has bottle thrown through window of home. Threatening note attached.

JUNE 27: Greenwood: Several phone harassments; bomb threat.

Doddsville: Highway Patrol kills 34-year-old Negro with history of mental illness. Local deputy who knew Negro with patrolman. Mother asks to see body. Police reply: "Get that hollering woman away." Ruled "justifiable homicide" in 17 hours.

Jackson: Two phone threats: "We're going to kill you white SOB's."

JUNE 28: Jackson: Civil rights worker held 8-1/2 hours without charges; stopped for no reason while driving near COFO office. (Mississippi law permits holding for 72 hours "for investigation.")

Vicksburg: High school girl tells friends COFO "going to get it."

Canton: Threatening calls throughout the night.

Ruleville: Mayor tells visiting white Methodist chaplain he cannot attend white Methodist services: "You came here to live with Negroes, so you can go to church with them, too." He does, with three volunteers.

Batesville: Report local Negro man beaten, missing.

Jackson: "Hospitality Month" in Mississippi: white volunteer kicked over from behind, slugged on arrival from Oxford at local train station.

JUNE 29: Hattiesburg: Two cars owned by volunteers shot by four whites in pickup truck at 1:00 a.m. No injuries, \$100 damage to each car. Three witnesses. (Owners were sleeping two blocks away.)

Columbus: Six carloads of whites drive up on lawn of Freedom House. Five flee before police arrive. Police question, release two men in sixth car.

Hattiesburg: Civil rights worker charged with reckless driving, failure to give proper signal. Held overnight, paid fine.

Biloxi: Volunteers in White Community Program turned away from hotel.

Hattiesburg: Phone rings. Volunteers hears tape recording of last 20 seconds of his previous conversation. Someone goofed!

Columbus: Restaurants serving volunteers threatened.

JUNE 30: Vicksburg: Negro woman threatened for registering to vote.

Ruleville: Man loses job for housing white volunteers.

Jackson: Car circles office with gun, threatens teen-ager: "Want to shoot some pool, nigger?"

Jackson: Volunteer charged with reckless driving. Fine \$34. (He moved from one traffic lane to another in integrated car.)

Holly Springs: White teen-agers scream profanities, throw rocks at office from passing car.

Hattiesburg: Whites in pickup truck with guns visible drive past office several times. FBI checks June 29 car shooting.

Holly Springs: SNCC staff worker jumped by local white who threatens to shoot both him and his office with 12-gauge shotgun.

Harmony: Freedom School teachers arrive. School superintendent announces first Negro summer school in memory of local residents.

Tchula: Two carloads of highway patrolmen start excessively close watch on volunteer. Ended 48 hours later.

JUNE 30: Oakland: Police find body of white man, badly mangled by hit-run driver, no identification at all. (Later found no civil rights tie.)

Greenville: Report that on June 19 a Negro porter at Greenville General Hospital was beaten by policeman with billy club there. Porter charged with resisting arrest and disturbing the peace.

JULY 1: Holly Springs: Justice of Peace (and Mayor) has local farmer arrested on assault and battery charges in June 30 incident. Bail set at \$1,000.

Clarksdale: Pickup truck tries to run down SNCC worker and volunteer. License plates hidden.

Gulfport: Police threaten to hurt children of lady housing civil rights workers. Workers plan to move elsewhere.

JULY 2: Harmony: Sheriff, school superintendent tell community abandoned buildings may not be used for freedom school. Cross burned, tacks strewn in Negro community.

Vicksburg: Whites chase, shoot at Negro on motorcycle.

Hattiesburg: Two voter registration canvassers followed and questioned by men describing themselves as state officials.

Hattiesburg: School superintendent threatens all janitors who participate in civil rights activity. Ditto at Holiday Inn.

Hattiesburg: Local police stop Negro girl, five white boys en route home. Policeman curses, threatens arrest, slaps one boy.

Batesville: Panola County Sheriff Carl Hubbard detains several persons housing civil rights workers, spends most of night in courtyard where many workers are living.

Meridian: White teen-age girl throws bottle at civil rights group outside church, cuts leg of local Negro girl.

Canton: Local police turn on sirens, play music on loudspeaker near COFO office, fail to answer phone calls.

Gulfport: Two voter registration workers threatened: "Things are fine around here; we don't want them to change." Man grabs volunteer's shirt: "I'm going to whip your ass." Workers run.

JULY 3: Meridian: Volunteer's car goes through green light, hits local station wagon. Volunteer charged with running light, reckless driving. Bond \$122.

So So: The "Greasy Spoon," a Negro grocery and teen spot, is bombed. Damage minor. Sheriff's deputy says there is no civil rights motive for the bombing, calls it "senseless."

Greenwood: Three visiting Congressmen witness voter registration, call it discriminatory.

Tougaloo: En route to Canton, four civil rights girls are chased by two cars driven by whites. They decide to stop here (in Jackson) for safety.

Jackson: Lots of phone harassment. WATS line goes dead, then rings--a technical impossibility.

Columbus: Police impound volunteer's car---claim it's stolen because transfer papers are not notarized.

Itta Bena: Police question two volunteers about robbery, say they were only ones in vicinity. No charges filed.

Greenwood: Two tagless cars drive continually past office.

Moss Point: Police, white citizens pressure Negro cafe owners not to serve civil rights workers.

Policeman says white racist in town has gun on his person, grenade in a satchel.

JULY 3: Harmony: Sheriff, superintendent post "no trespassing" sign at abandoned school. Local citizens move books, other materials to Negro church. Police flash lights on homes.

JULY 4: Laurel: Police barely prevent large racial clash after two Negroes, two whites injured in attempt to integrate drive-in. Police fail to respond to calls for help from injured Negroes.

Clarksdale: Local manager says Negroes going to courthouse will be discharged: "I have a large contract with the head of the White Citizens Council, and I'm not going to lose thousands of dollars for one of you."

Batesville: Volunteer, local worker chased 30 miles by car.

JULY 5: Greenville: Local citizens test several restaurants. The eating places are closed either before or after testing.

Ruleville: Local segregationist visits COFO office, has a very friendly argument with civil rights workers. Police ask him to leave. He refuses. Charged with disorderly conduct. Fined.

Laurel: Civil rights worker who witnessed and reported the July 4 incident is arrested. Police say he has 4-6 months left to serve on previous sentence.

Columbus: St. Louis (Mo.) Negro beaten by whites who mistake him for a "Freedom Rider," En route to a funeral, he's fined \$75.

Laurel: Two volunteers questioned by police who stop their integrated car as it leaves Sunday school. Charges dropped against driver, but passenger arrested on vagrancy charge. She left pocketbook in car at police station, gets 10 days suspended sentence.

Jackson: NAACP integrates local hotels without major incident. Individuals integrate many other places on their own.

Jackson: Local woman's leg cut by bottle thrown at COFO office.

JULY 6: Jackson: Voter registration group harassed by police who say "One man, one vote" sticker has been found on city car. They threaten arrest for trespassing if anyone will sign charge.

Jackson: McCraven-Hill Missionary Baptist Church damaged by kerosene fire. Church has no ties to civil rights movement.

Clarksdale: Station wagon plays "chicken" with civil rights workers going home.

Jackson: Negro youth slugged by white who flees in truck.

Moss Point: Negro woman shot twice at voter rally, singing "We Shall Overcome." Three Negroes arrested when they pursue car from which they believe shots were fired. White car not checked.

Greenwood: Harassment call: "I just shot one of your workers..."

Itta Bena: Local Police, sheriff hold civil rights worker incommunicado, trigger wide search by federal authorities, SNCC.

Hattiesburg: Owner's wife pulls pistol as 15-25 youngsters try to integrate drive-in. Youngsters run, are arrested and put in drunk tank by police. Three are roughed up.

Raleigh: Methodist and Baptist churches burned to ground.

JULY 7: Shaw: Stores refuse to cash volunteer's travelers check.

Shaw: Police ask all volunteers to register. Only four do not.

JULY 7: Clarksdale: Sheriff asks white minister driving integrated car: "Are you married to them niggers? You ain't no minister, you're a SOB trouble maker. . . I'm gonna stay on your back until I get you."

Vicksburg: White boys throw bottle, break windshield of car waiting to pick up freedom school student.

Greenwood: Six young students picketing jailhouse ("Stop Police Brutality," "One Man, One Vote") arrested. So are three others with them.

JULY 8: McComb: SNCC Freedom House bombed; two injured. Despite numerous requests by Congressmen, attorneys, pastors (and a personal visit with the mayor—who also heads the White Citizens Council), no local police were seen in the area prior to the bombing. 15 FBI agents, several packing pistols, show up during day. 150 local citizens attend rally same night.

Hattiesburg: Rev. Robert Beech of National Council of Churches arrested on false pretense charge after allegedly overdrawing his bank account \$70. Bail set at \$2000.

Ruleville: Volunteer bodily ejected from county circuit clerk's office for accompanying local woman to voter registration.

Columbus: Three volunteers arrested on trespass charges after stopping at a gas station for a soft drink. Friendly conversation there until attendant says, "You boys should be on the road." They leave immediately. He files charges. Bail \$500 to \$1000 each.

Clarksdale: Bomb threat.

Hattiesburg: Bottle thrown at picnic by passing car. No plates.

Holly Springs: Civil rights worker arrested. Reckless driving. \$250.

Clarksdale: Police chief in Lafayette tells Negro cafes not to serve volunteers.

Vicksburg: Bomb threat.

JULY 9: Greenwood: Local insurance salesman slugs volunteer during voter canvas. Follows in car and rebats.

Yazoo City: Folk singer arrested for reckless driving. Quick fine.

Clarksdale: Volunteer arrested for taking pictures in court room. Photos taken in hall after police chief sprayed room deodorant on two girls.

Gulfport: Four arrested for refusing to leave local people and cross street on police orders as they near court house. Held on \$500 bond for violating anti-picketing law.

Vicksburg: Freedom school students stoned en route to class.

Moss Point: Five Negroes fired from jobs for attending mass rally. Woman fired from work for housing two volunteers.

Clarksdale: Police chief visits office when another white man comes to turn off electricity.

Gulfport: Police urge volunteer to leave for his own protection, or face charges of inciting to riot.

JULY 10: Clarksdale: Chairs removed from libraries. NAACP youths refused service at two restaurants.

Hattiesburg: Rabbi, two volunteers, two local teen-agers attacked by two men as they walked in uninhabited area. Assailants escape after attacking three men. On emerging from hospital, rabbi says Jews in Mississippi should "stand up for decency and freedom with all risks involved" or leave the state.

7-7-7

JULY 10: Vicksburg: Four civil rights workers chased by two cars, one of which has a man with revolver.

Jackson: J. Edgar Hoover opens Jackson FBI office, first statewide center since 1946. Cites efficiency as reason. Says 153 agents now in state. Says FBI can give civil rights workers "no protection" (beyond reports based on complaints and directions for investigation from civil rights division of Justice Department).

Greenwood: SNCC staff member arrested on public profanity charge. Policeman overheard him say, "We've got to get some damn organization in our office." Bail: \$15.

Moss Point: Howard Kirschenbaum, only volunteer to leave the MSP because of arrests and harassment, returns with \$2000 in gifts from New York.

JULY 11: Shaw: Local Negro offered \$400 by five whites to bomb SNCC Freedom House, \$40 for list of residents' home addresses.

Laurel: Four young Negroes injured during and after attempts to integrate Kresses lunch counter, where Negroes had eaten earlier.

Canton: Small firebomb thrown at Freedom House lawn.

Vicksburg: Amateur bomb thrown through window of Negro cafe.

Canton: Volunteer arrested on traffic charges while delivering freedom school books.

Browning: Pleasant Plan Missionary Baptist Church burns to ground. Whites sought to buy it, Negroes would not sell.

Laurel: Local NAACP president received two death threats both for July 19.

Holly Springs: Integrated staff picnic broken up by police.

Clarksdale: NAACP member testing barber shop driven out at gun point.

Harmony: Police visit local Negroes who have had contact with COFO volunteers, staff, forcing them to sign peace bonds. Police come armed with a warrant to search for liquor.

Greenwood: Local Negro woman hit in chest by white man, while accompanied by two volunteers. No police cooperation in getting assailants.

JULY 12: Canton: Two summer volunteers, visitor refused admission to First Methodist Church. Volunteers had been welcomed a week earlier.

Greenwood: Bomb threat.

Jackson: Half-body found in Mississippi identified as Charles Moore, former Alcorn A&M student. Second half-body found in river. (In mid-April, more than 700 students, all Negroes, were summarily dismissed from Alcorn after a non-violent general grievance demonstration)

Jackson: White teen-agers slash Negro woman's tires, spit in face of volunteer co-ed after integrated group eats at drive-in.

Jackson: Elderly man attacks Negro woman at Greyhound coffee shop. She is treated for cut head, hand, then charged with disturbing the peace. Out on \$50 bond. Assailant escapes.

Biloxi: Volunteer picked up while canvassing, informed of complaints by local residents, released.

Itta Bena: Local woman attacked by two white boys while baby sitting. Both her arms cut.

Natchez: Jerusalem Baptist and Bethel Methodist Churches burned to ground. Home of Negro contractor in Natchez firebombed.

- JULY 13:** Clarksdale: Negro volunteer chased out of white laundromat, picked up by police for failure to signal turn, taken to jail and beaten. Sheriff says: "You're a nigger and you're going to stay a nigger." Charged with resisting arrest, out on \$64 bond.
- Clarksdale: Chief voter registrar closes courthouse for next few days. Stated reason: court in session, no time for registration.
- Clarksdale: Owner of electric company has project leader pointed out to him, then fingers knife in his presence.
- JULY 14:** Canton: Man threatened with job loss if youngster continues in Freedom School. Youngster stays.
- Drew: Police chief, local citizens protest Albuquerque Journal article based on volunteer's letter home. Volunteer says letter was edited.
- Hattiesburg: State Sovereignty Commission visits office.
- Vicksburg: Milkman's assistant loses job because he attends the Freedom School.
- Vicksburg: SNCC team confirms burning of Bovina Community Center July 7.
- Drew: Police pick up James Dann for distributing literature without permit. Later, seven people arrested for distributing literature without a permit and blocking the sidewalk. \$100-\$200 bond.
- Holly Springs: Oxford police chief told civil rights worker he should not come back to town. Chief threatened to hit Negro over head, especially if he did not speak to others with proper respect. (No major changes.)
- Laurel: Gas bomb thrown at local Negro's home.
- Batesville: Movie which had upstairs for Negroes now offers admission only to whites.
- Canton: Three white men pursue five civil rights workers in car en route home.
- JULY 15:** Biloxi: Two arrested in traffic harassment case.
- Clarksdale: Another traffic arrest: improper turn.
- McComb: Freedom School enrolls 35 here.
- Drew: 25 arrested for willfully and unlawfully using the sidewalks and the streets during voter registration rally. Citizens Council met at 9 a.m.
- Gulfport: Civil rights worker arrested for putting posters on a telephone pole. City ordinance. Bond \$50.
- JULY 16:** Canton: Volunteers report they were beaten by police last night following arrest with truck carrying freedom registration supplies, books, miscellany. Bond set at \$150 each.
- Greenwood: Freedom Day -- 111 arrests, including 13 juveniles. Group includes 98 adults, of whom 9 were SNCC staff and 13 volunteers.
- Vicksburg: White man comes to door of home where volunteer staying. Has pistol showing in holster. Asks to see owner of house. At another home housing workers, car circles block 10-15 minutes.
- Greenwood: Silas McGhee, local resident, picked up by three whites, forced to enter cab of their pickup truck at gunpoint, then beaten with pipe and plank. Incident occurs just after he leaves FBI office. He returns there; agents take him to hospital. He has been active in attempts to integrate theatre.

JULY 16: Greenville: Freedom Day: 101 people took test, 100 more came too late. No arrests.

Hattiesburg: Two voter canvassers stopped by police.

Hattiesburg: Police question those who complain about inadequate protection for those going to Freedom School may charge them with threatening mayor.

Indianola: Of those arrested in Drew July 15, 10 women are being held at county jail and 15 men at county farm near here. Superintendent of farm tells lawyer he can't guarantee safety of those at the farm. FBI advised.

Laurel: Volunteer canvassing accosted by two white boys who accuse him of not being from Mississippi, knock materials from hand and run.

Cleveland: Freedom Day: 25 to 30 picket without incident. About 20 of 25 from Shaw group register. More than 50 from other communities came, of whom 30 registered. Process slow but polite. Ten regular and 45 auxiliary police allow only those registering or picketing on courthouse grounds.

JULY 17: McComb: Mount Zion Hill Baptist Church in Pike County bombed or burned to ground. Pastor of this church had let Project use his McComb Church, St. Mary's.

Philadelphia: Columbia law student and a writer beaten with chain by two middle-aged white men in early afternoon.

Greenwood: 15 staff and volunteers on hunger strike until let out of jail after being brought in during massive freedom-day arrests.

Greenwood: Greenwood and Drew mass arrest cases have been removed to Federal court and bonds reduced to \$200 out of state, \$100 for residents.

Yazoo: Three Negro men, late teens or early twenties, arrested for looking at a white girl.

Greenshaw: White summer volunteer harassed by three white men while putting up voter registration poster.

JULY 18: Lauderdale: Two summer volunteers arrested for willful trespass while discussing voter registration on front porch of two Negro women; no complaint made by women.

Hattiesburg: Kilmer Estus Keyes, white, of Collins, Mississippi, turned self in to local police in connection with beating of Rabbi and two workers last week. Charged with assault; out on \$2500 property bond. (Eventually fined \$500 and given 90-day suspended sentence.)

Batesville: 8 people detained one and one-half hours by sheriff who was "trying to see if there is a state ordinance against the passing out of leaflets." Statute not found; released into crowd of whites standing about. Local volunteer hit hard in jaw by white man.

Starkville: Police Chief followed two volunteers to various stops in Negro cafes, delivered lengthy "anti-agitator" speech directed at local Negroes talking to volunteers. Lengthy verbal abuse by police chief, directed to the voter-registration workers.

JULY 19: Columbus: Two voter registration workers detained in jail in Aberdeen for four hours after being picked up as suspicious strangers and refusing to be driven out of town and left on highway by police.

Greenwood: Mass arrest victims still at city jail and county farm. No visiting privileges at Farm--among those there is a 78 year-old man who is in need of medicine which no one has been able to bring to him.

JULY 19: Oxford: An Ole Miss student who has contacts at Rust College (Negro) had his seat covers slashed while car parked outside faculty home, threatening note left. He has had much harassment before, but cannot get administration to act.

Biloxi: Voter registration worker chased, threatened by two men in pick-up truck;

Biloxi: White Community Project worker arrested for trespass in white restaurant where he had worked for one day until owner discovered he was a civil rights worker. Owner turned him into police when he went back to restaurant.

Batesville: Town marshals threatened volunteers at mass meeting in Crowder (13-15 miles away). Said "Lucky I have no gun in here...wish I didn't have my badge on..."

JULY 20: Greenville: Nine shots fired at car workers went to mass meeting in. Two workers threatened that white mob would form at place where they were staying.

Hattiesburg: White volunteer beaten downtown as left bank with two other freedom school teachers. Assailant hit from behind. No words exchanged. Volunteers and attacker charged with assault.

Ruleville: Two workers ordered out of cafe. Doors locked with people inside.

Greenwood: Both barrels of shotgun fired at worker's car.

Greenwood: Trial of mass arrest victims held despite filing of petition to remove case to federal courts. Defendants remained mute on basis of violation of constitutional rights. Convicted of violation of picket law--30 days, \$100 fine.

Clarksdale: Three workers (girls) of newly formed Clarksdale Youth Action Group arrested for trespass outside local cafe in Negro section.

McComb: SNCC field secretary hit on side of head by white man as both stopped their cars for red light at intersection of two state roads and federal highway while

JULY 21: Lexington: Volunteer hit in face and body with fists by white man/waiting outside courthouse to take part in voter registration campaign.

Laurel: Rights workers believe the second ouster of summer project workers from a rented office here this summer is due to "intimidation" of local Negro realtors by white persons opposed to the Project.

Clarksdale: Volunteer arrested for running red light, paid fine.

Holly Springs: \$200 bond levied on volunteer for failure to have a car inspection sticker.

McComb: Freedom School enrollment reaches 75 in this "hard core" area.

Greenwood: Windows of three Negro cafes broken. Windows of volunteer's car also broken.

Natchez: Within 45 minutes after 3 SNCC workers arrived in this area to set up a Summer Project office, one is arrested for failure to stop at stop sign. Police Chief tells him police knew of their movements "every minute of the day." Continual following by police.

Doodleville: Three Negro youths in company of white volunteer picked up and held for "investigation" at Club 400 by police. Volunteer later arrested for "improper tags." Negro youths released on bond; amount not known.

Clarksdale: Two precinct meetings of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party attracted 160 persons here.

JULY 22: Jackson: Volunteer beaten with billy clubs by two whites at a major downtown intersection. Police officer who returned the beaten volunteer and two colleagues to the COFO office indicated that a complaint had been filled out and a pick-up call had been issued for any cars matching the assailants!

McComb: Mt. Vernon Missionary Baptist Church, organized more than 80 years ago, found burned. FBI, sheriff, and police uncovered no clues. Fire officially listed as "of undetermined origin." Neither the pastor nor his church is in any way affiliated with the civil rights movement.

JULY 22: Tchula: Driver of car carrying man who attacked volunteer here yesterday reportedly arrested.

Natchez: Local Negro taken into police custody today while walking along street with two SNCC field secretaries.

Greenville: Local Negro arrested for forgery while passing out voter registration leaflets with several other local citizens. After being questioned about civil rights activity here released for lack of evidence on forgery charge.

Natchez: Mayor tells SNCC field secretary that most of the nationally publicized shipment of arms to white terrorist groups in this area has been done in Adams Co., as opposed to the city. Police continue to follow the SNCC workers "every minute."

JULY 23: Tchula: SNCC staff member followed out of Jackson, arrested by police on speeding charge

Canton: White volunteer and Negro CORE staff member harassed by a group of white men while canvassing for voter registration. CORE staffer struck five times with wooden cane by one of the whites. The workers were on porch of some potential Negro registrants when white drove up.

Moss Pt.: Volunteer arrested today for improper turning, released on \$40 bond.

Durant: Volunteer assailed today while canvassing for voter registration. Two white men approached him and asked what it would take to get him out of town; volunteer replied he was not quite ready to leave. After approximately 10 minutes of talk, one man began to punch him, then left after several minutes of blows.

Granada: SNCC staff member arrested for speeding.

Moss Pt.: At mass meeting last night, \$33 was collected for a woman who lost her job two weeks ago for housing COFO volunteers. Several people pledge to give 50¢ a week indefinitely to help pay hospital expenses of local resident who received back and side wounds when shots were fired into voter registration mass meeting July 6.

Shaw: Local white woman tells local Negro woman that she plans to watch mail and those Negroes who get letters from "freedom riders" (presumably Summer Project volunteers) would "get hell after they leave." Mail is picked up at a post office box.

Jackson: Surprise--police court acquits three local youths on public drunk charges. Trio were arrested July 21 in Club 400 at Doodleville.

Harmony: Local residents plan to start construction of a wooden frame building for use as a permanent Community Center to be staffed by Project volunteers.

Meridian: Hearing continued to July 30 for omnibus suit filed against Ku Klux Klan, Sheriff Rainey, Deputy Sheriff Price, the White Citizens Council, and others in attempt to enjoin acts of violence on the part of defendants and the classes of officials and citizens they represent. This hearing is the first of its kind in Mississippi.

JULY 24: Holly Springs: Voter registration worker arrested for "disturbing the public peace" at a Holly Springs Freedom Day, is being held on \$500 bond. Volunteer charged with "using profanity in front of more than two people" after using two-way radio to inform office of profanities local policeman told potential Negro registrants on court house steps. Police insisted that the 40-50 potential registrants walk to the courthouse steps one by one, eight feet apart, and have a police escort from steps to registrar's office. Approximately 55 helmeted highway patrolmen and 35 helmeted local police were stationed at the courthouse for Freedom Day. Their presence in such numbers prompted cancellation of planned integrated picketing of the courthouse.

McComb: Amite County's Rose Hill Church reported burned last night. Owner of a local Negro club near Freedom House arrested and beaten. Officer tells owner "Now that you've got white folks in here, you're getting uppity."

Ruleville: A Negro woman ordered off the bus and handled roughly by driver when she sat down next to white man. All but two passengers got off.

Ruleville: Rabbi and Summer volunteer are "forcibly ejected" from office of Drew City attorney where they had gone to attend a meeting of the parents of children detained and then released July 15.

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JULY 24: Jackson, Meridian: FDP holds precinct meetings.

JULY 25: Greenwood: Ten to 15 workers handing out Freedom Registration forms prompt at least three incidents: 1) SNCC worker Eli Zeretsky approached by three whites who took his clip board from him and tore up forms. Police stood by, refused to act unless Zeretsky knew assailants' names and filed complaint with a judge; 2) white volunteer Adam Kline was jumped from behind and hit on head, police refused aid; 3) volunteer William Hodes, white, threatened by local whites in presence of police who refused to make arrest and refused to give name of citizen involved so that complaint could be filed.

Greenwood: Shot fired at home of Silas McGhee, the young man whose beating in local movie theater prompted first arrests under the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

Canton: First FDP county convention adopted resolution of loyalty to principles of National Democratic Party for strong and enforceable civil rights plank in platform. Approximately 300 people attend, of whom 102 were voting delegates elected by precincts.

Hattiesburg: Home of two local FDP leaders bombed between 1 and 4 a.m. Broken whiskey bottle found indicated "molotov cocktail" type of device. Used on home of Mr. and Mrs. Boyd, FDP temporary chairman and secretary.

Ruleville: Rock smashed windshield of local Negro housing civil rights workers; car parked in his yard.

Drew: Affidavit received from parent of one of Negro children arrested after July 15 rally: mayor and city attorney called meeting of parents, told them defense would not be provided unless children signed statement disavowing association with "the communists coming into town." According to affidavit, city attorney called Congressman Don Edwards (D-Cal) a communist and said Edwards has been "Castro's secretary." Summer volunteer and rabbi were forcibly ejected from room when they tried to attend the meeting yesterday.

Clarksdale: Bottle thrown through office window last night.



JULY 26: McComb: Two bombs were thrown at the home of a local civil rights leader. As the first bomb was thrown, leader's wife fired at car with shotgun. When car's lights were seen approaching again, her husband ran outside but was knocked to ground by second explosion before he had time to fire. About 50 people attended a voter registration meeting at this home today.

Batesville: Tear gas bomb explodes behind home in which five civil rights workers are living, forcing occupants to leave. Sheriff and deputy arrived approximately 30 minutes later, found grenade still hot, handled it a good deal so that FBI found it covered with police fingerprints.

Mileston: SNCC car burned outside home housing volunteers.

Mileston: Volunteer approached in store by two whites who ask where he lived. He pointed to Community Center. They go to their car, take a pistol each from trunk, put them in their belts, come back and tell volunteer they would "find out what was going on" when they "came back."

Canton: Church Council of Canton voted in June to keep all summer civil rights workers from attending services. One Presbyterian church took exception and admitted volunteers until today, when two white volunteers were turned away by three white men who told them they had "caused too much dissension in church." At a Methodist Church, four white volunteers were refused attendance for third week in row. As they left church, a group assembled around their car, shoved them into the car, and slammed the door with such force the window cracked. Their car was followed to its destination by pick-up truck.

Greenwood: Silas McGee, the young man whose July 16 beating led to first arrests under civil rights act, and his brother Jake are mobbed by 150-200 whites as they leave theater after they walked from theater to car. Jake hit repeatedly by whites. Both receive cuts and abrasions of face and shoulders and glass in eyes when a coke bottle is thrown through car window. Both treated at LeFlore Co. Hospital, then trapped there with SNCC staff members until 1 a.m. as cars of armed whites blocked all roads leading out of hospital. FBI, local police, highway patrol, and sheriff refuse protection out of hospital, until 1 a.m. After more than three hours of waiting behind locked doors, the sheriff followed SNCC staff and McGee car to their destinations.

JULY 27: Jackson: Aaron Henry, Ed King, Mrs. Victoria Gray replied publicly to Sen. Douglas' (D-Ill.) "conciliatory suggestion" that no Mississippians be seated at convention or the delegation be half Dixiecrat, half Democratic: "we are dubious of value of delegation that is half-slave, half-free."

Canton: On arrival at bus station, five NCC ministers are threatened by seven local whites. When ministers try to leave station in car with two local Negro housewives, their car is trapped in narrow, one-way alley for two hours. One local white stops his car in front of them, the other stops in rear. Separate crowds of 100 whites, 50 Negroes gather. Local Negro alerts CORE staff, who send pick-up truck to scene and persuade local sheriff to let ministers drive out of alley.

Greenwood: Brick thrown through window of Negro barbershop in neighborhood where Freedom Registration was held.

McComb: White volunteer arrested for "failure to yield the right of way" as he drives a group of local Negro children for voter registration canvassing and leaflet distribution for an FDP precinct meeting. Fined \$16.50.

Mayersville: Precinct meeting held in Moon Lake Baptist Church. Owner of plantation across street threatened to burn the church if any more civil rights meetings were held there. (2,399 Negroes here out of total population of 3,576.)

Batesville and Holly Springs: Precinct and county meetings.

Gulfport: Precinct meetings.

JULY 28: Itta Bena: Voter registration house broken into during night. Front porch supports broken, leaving badly sagging roof. Door half torn off, all windows broken. Posters urging citizens to vote for Fannie Lou Hamer in Democratic primary ripped off. Volunteers have received several threatening phone calls about the house and voter registration activities there.

Holly Springs: Police cars surrounding school where FDP precinct meeting was being held are themselves surrounded by approximately 200 Negro FDP participants singing freedom songs. Participants gathered around cars as they left school late at night. Police record license of every car at school, stop about 70 drivers to check licenses, arrest five on various traffic charges. School superintendent said he would burn or tear down school if meeting were held there.

Vicksburg: Precinct meetings--FDP Clarksdale: FDP county meeting.

JULY 29: Hollandale: A Negro SNCC staff member chased from a traditionally white barber shop by a razor-wielding barber: "If you don't get out of here, I'll kill you."

Ruleville: A plantation worker fired for being a freedom registrant and attending two voter registration rallies. Plantation renter tells Negro: "get off the place and don't come back. You're messed up in the voter registration and I don't want to have anything to do with you." (This type of incident occurs often; it is seldom reported in detail.)

Greenville: FDP precinct meetings. Gulfport: County meeting--FDP.

JULY 30: Meridian: The Mount Moriah Baptist Church, a Negro church located in a completely white neighborhood, burned to ground last night. Although many homes are located close to the site, the fire department was not notified until too late to halt the fire.

Gulfport: Local Negro volunteer forced into car at gunpoint last night, blindfolded, and taken into a room at a location he guessed to be Biloxi. Five men question him at length about COFO activities. They offer to pay him well for information about people and organizations who contact COFO. He was not injured or molested, except for one man repeatedly poking him with a gun. FBI investigating.

Drew: Negro SNCC volunteer and Ruleville Negro volunteer arrested in Drew for distributing leaflet for FDP on public property without permit. Total bond for two: \$600.

Meridian: County meeting. Laurel: Precinct and county meetings.

JULY 31: Brandon: Pleasant Grove Missionary Baptist Church burned to ground last night. Fire department came to scene, left before fire put out, stating they had "been called too late." A butane tank was buried next to church. FBI investigating.

Carthage: Rev. Edward K. Heining, NCC volunteer, and John Polacheck, summer volunteer, brutally beaten in office of Dr. Thaggard Sr. in Madden today. Polacheck had gone to clinic yesterday for medical treatment, but left when he was told to go to Negro waiting room (he is white). He came back today with minister, and both were met in waiting room by doctor who began berating Heining for his civil rights work. While they were talking, Heining was hit from behind. Polacheck estimates that between 5 and 10 men beat them for approximately 5 minutes. Heining reported that the doctor pushed him from the front into the punches of his assailants. Heining was knocked unconscious, suffered severe injury to the left eye with possible internal injury to the eye, severe lacerations of scalp and face, contusions on back of neck, bad cut on left ear, and swelling of mouth and lips with possible injury to gums. Polacheck got to their car parked outside clinic and pulled in the minister who was on his back outside the car. One of several whites standing around car grabbed keys. A deputy sheriff arrived, handcuffed Heining and Polacheck and jailed them for disturbing peace: the doctor had repro. ed they had used profanity. They were released on cash bond of \$100 each after being brought to station in a nonofficially marked pick-up truck and car. Trial set for Sug. 27.

Meridian: White summer volunteer arrested for reckless driving and speeding. He was not informed of charges until after being held at police station under arrest. At station, he was asked whether he was "sure" what his race is, and was hit on hand when reached for ticket to see what charges were being placed against him.

Greenwood: Silas McGhee and a summer volunteer arrested for driving with improper vehicle license. Both cars had temporary 7-day Tennessee license tags. Negro SNCC worker reported the arrests to Greenwood office over car radio, then was arrested for resisting arrest. Total bond: \$200.

Batesville: Three shots fired late last night past Negro home where five volunteers stay. July 26 the same home was tear gas bombed. A local white reportedly has threatened to kill the home owner if he does not oust the volunteers.

Shaw: Three white volunteers made to leave Negro high school cafeteria where they had been invited to a fund-raising supper. They were warmly received by students and supervising teacher, but were told by principal they must first secure permission of superintendent to enter school. One volunteer called this an "excellent demonstration of the fact that not only Negroes but whites also are not free in Mississippi."

Ruleville: Precinct meetings.

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AUG. 1: Holly Springs: Wayne Yancy, 21-year-old volunteer from Chicago, killed in head-on collision here today. He was passenger in car driven by SNCC worker Charles Scales. Both are Negro. Highway patrol claimed Scales passed another car near hill crest, crossed yellow line, hit oncoming car. He was charged with manslaughter, hospitalized with injuries. SNCC staffer and summer volunteer nurse who tried to visit him were bodily thrown out of hospital in Memphis, Tenn.

Greenwood: Two local Negro volunteers arrested for disorderly conduct in front of store belonging to police officer Henderson, who dragged a pregnant Negro woman on pavement during Freedom Day demonstration. At police station, officers twisted one volunteer's arms behind him, kicked him, shoved his head three times against a concrete wall, hit him in mouth with stick, shoved and kicked him into cell, kicked him 7 more times after he fell to floor--and then refused him a doctor. Bail originally set at \$50 each. White volunteer arrested same night on Negro business street. He was treated roughly by police during arrest. Officers pushed, kicked and stamped on his feet at station. FBI visited him within minutes of his confinement to ask if he had been beaten. Bond originally set at \$100. When SNCC workers arrived to bail out all three, they discovered bond had been raised to \$200 each. All three were bailed out.

Canton: Six civil rights workers--five white, one Negro--handing out Freedom Registration forms in downtown Canton jailed.

Vicksburg: FDP county meeting held at Courthouse, first FDP meeting to be held in govt. building.

Ruleville, Moss Pt., Jackson: County meetings.

McComb: "In White America" production at Freedom School.

AUG. 2: Greenwood: Summer volunteer arrested on Justice of Peace warrant for assault with deadly weapon. Arrest apparently connected with breaking of window in store owned by police officer Henderson. Volunteer not near store, but had been calling jail all night to obtain information on other arrests. She was held for four hours and released on \$1,000 bond.

Greenwood: Annie Lee Turner, the pregnant 15-year-old Greenwood Negro whom officer Henderson reportedly dragged across the pavement during Freedom Day, arrested today while among group of local youth gathered in front of Henderson's store. Henderson came, ordered them to disperse, then reportedly dragged Mrs. Turner to waiting police car. She was held on \$50 bond for disturbing the peace. A police blockade, with tear gas equipment, was maintained at Henderson's store for 2 hours.

Greenwood: Local resident arrested today while in his front yard. He reported that police car drove by, an officer made obscene gestures, the Negro laughed, the car backed up, and the Negro was arrested for profanity. Bond: \$50.

Greenwood: Shortly after midnight four shots were fired at SNCC office from passing car.

Jackson: Report of local Negro man beaten very badly after being arrested for an accident.

Natchez: Passing car fires shots at Archie Curtis Funeral Home. Curtis was beaten last Feb. by hooded men on desolate road outside city. He was lured to spot by unidentified caller who told him a woman was dying of heart attack. Earlier, Curtis had participated in vote drive.

Canton: Shot fired from car passing approximately 50 feet from Freedom House.

Greenville: County meeting, FDP.

Hattiesburg: "In White America" tours Freedom Schools.

AUG. 3: Columbus: Police arrest Negro volunteer for driving without a license and charge SNCC project director with allowing him to do so. Bail set at \$300 and \$100, respectively.

Batesville: SNCC project director Charles Weaver and summer volunteer Benjamin Graham arrested while trying to get names of 25 potential Negro voter registrants lined up outside courthouse. Weaver arrested while talking with another volunteer, who had been ordered out of courthouse by registrar. Graham arrested when he inquired what police were doing to Weaver. Both charged with interfering with officer. (The registrar is under federal injunction to facilitate registration.)

Greenwood: White volunteer arrested on John Doe warrant for assault and battery. Arrest stems from his participation in Freedom Registration Drive. Elderly white man with limp came up while volunteer was distributing FDP registration forms Aug. 1 and stepped on his foot. He asked if volunteer wanted

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to "punch me in the face." Volunteer did not reply. Today he was picked up from across the street from Greenwood SNCC office. Two police, one with club, served warrant and grabbed him. He is held on \$100 bond. (This is 8th arrest in Greenwood this weekend. At least three of previous arrests involved extensive police brutality at jail.)

Jackson: Local Negro volunteer arrested for vagrancy in front of drugstore near his home. He had an SNCC button on his shirt, reportedly did not have his draft card with him. He is held on \$225 property bond.

Clarksdale: White Church of Christ minister and white summer volunteer refused admission to white Church of Christ. Church members felt they were "exploiting the church."

AUG. 4: Washington, D.C.: FBI announces that two of three bodies found near Philadelphia last night have been identified as Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner. (Third subsequently identified as James Chaney.)

Shaw: Negro schools closed indefinitely following student boycott. This was triggered by Negro principal's request that three white volunteers leave cafeteria where they'd been invited for school fund-raising dinner last Friday. Students declared boycott of cafeteria, asked Student Union to assemble their grievances, then called a general boycott of the schools which was supported by 75 per cent of students. The Union called the boycott "because of the inadequate education we're getting." Its demands included up-to-date texts, a well-stocked library with Negro history materials, workshops and laboratories, foreign languages and other courses needed for college entrance. Principal relayed these requests to white school superintendent, then notified students schools would be closed. Heavily armed sheriff's deputies in helmets soon arrived on scene.

Moss Pt.: Approximately 62 people arrested during voter registration meeting held on front lawn of SNCC office. Five were civil rights workers, rest local Negro citizens. The orderly meeting had been in process for 15 minutes when an assistant deputy sheriff gave the group 5 minutes to disperse. Group stayed. Within minutes 18 helmeted policemen with guns, bayonets, and clubs surrounded them; 15 minutes later a prison bus drove up. Ten police cars and two motorcycles--total of 40 officers--accumulated. All at meeting were put in bus and taken to jail. They were held for breach of the peace on \$300 cash or \$600 property bond each.

Cleveland: Fifty potential Negro registrants lined up at courthouse this morning, accompanied by 13 civil rights workers. Negroes were admitted one by one at 45 minute intervals. Leaflets were given them without incident. But when civil rights workers moved across street, all 13 arrested for distributing pamphlets among pedestrians. Charges based on anti-litter ordinance. Bond: \$300 each.

Marks: LCDC attorney received head injuries, including large gash over one eye, when he was thrown against police car by city marshal. Attorney arrested for "obstructing officer in performance of duties" and held on \$200 bail. He had gone to Marks to check detention of voter registration worker, when he saw marshal had stopped car filled with civil rights workers. He went over to investigate and the incident followed.

Jackson: After being refused service at small cafe, local volunteer chased by white man in pick-up truck who fired two shots at him.

McComb: Pete Seeger held folk music workshops at McComb Freedom School this morning following evening concert last night.

Hattiesburg: Seeger conducted folk music workshops in two Freedom Schools this afternoon. "In White America" at the Freedom Schools here.

Meridian: Community concert by Seeger in support of Summer Project. Four people refused service at supposedly integrated "Dairy Queen." Bus driver refused to pick up person wearing CORE shirt.

Cleveland: Car with 3 or 4 armed whites circled house of local volunteer between midnight and 1 a.m., parked briefly about 100 yards from her home.

AUG. 5: McComb: Two teen-age Negro boys, students at McComb Freedom School, have received harassing phone calls from two white girls. Boys were arrested few days ago, and yesterday were sentenced to year in jail each under Mississippi's recent phone harassment law.

Natchez: Mt. Pilgrim Baptist church in Finwick - red burned last night.

AUG. 5: Show: Thirty-five parents are organizing association to meet with school board and high school faculty. In addition to students' demands which led to boycott and closing of schools, parents will take action against inadequate school lunch program, problems of split session and mechanics of desegregation in school system there.

Jackson: Community concert by Pete Seeger. Gulfport: Free Southern Theater production of

AUG. 6: Jackson: Approximately 300 delegates from precinct meetings and county conventions attended First State Convention of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. Alternates and observers bring total attendance to 1,000. Slate of 68 delegates and alternates was elected to represent Mississippi at National Democratic Convention. Hattiesburg housewife Mrs. Victoria Gray elected National Committeewoman, and Rev. Ed King, white chaplain of Mississippi's private, interracial Tougaloo College elected National Committeeman. Dr. Aaron Henry, Clarksdale pharmacist and president of state NAACP, named permanent chairman of Convention, and chairman of National Convention delegation. After Convention, newly elected State Executive Committee named Pass Christian resident Laurence Guyot chairman and Hattiesburg resident Mrs. Peggy J. Connor secretary of Party. Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, candidate for Congress in Mississippi's 2nd District, named vice-chairman of delegation and Mrs. Annie Devine of Canton, secretary. Address of keynoter Miss Ella J. Baker, currently coordinator of Washington office of FDP, received standing ovation and sparked spontaneous marching and Freedom song in hall. Among resolutions adopted were statement of loyalty to Natl. Democratic Party platform & candidates.

Gulfport: "In White America," Free Southern Theater production, at Freedom Schools.

AUG. 7: Meridian: Over 200 persons gathered at four churches to take part in memorial procession for slain civil rights worker James Chaney. Walking in silence, two abreast, in somber dress, the mourners joined approximately 400 others for memorial service at First Union Church. Procession and service followed private burial of Chaney in Meridian. Immediately following service, Free Southern Theater production of "In White America" was presented at church in conjunction with Freedom School convention which began here tonight.

Jackson: A. Phillip Randolph, president of American Negro Labor Council and longtime head of Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, addressed mass meeting of students and parents of Jackson Freedom schools which opened this week.

Aberdeen: Integrated group refused service at Tom Restaurant and Elkin Theater.

Jackson: SNCC staffer Ivanhoe Donaldson arrested for improper driver's license. He was not in car at time of arrest. There were four integrated cars in front of house at which he was picked up. Bond: \$50.

Jackson: White co-ed volunteer Mary Zeno and local Negro volunteer Rommie Drain chased by white man with pistol in belt as they canvassed for voter registration.

Jackson: Freedom School coordinator Tom Wahman arrested and fined \$17 for failing to yield proper/ lane.

AUG. 8: Jackson: N.Y. pathologist David M. Spain, M.D., reported today after post-mortem examination of body of James Chaney, "In lay terminology--the jaw was shattered, the left shoulder and upper arm were reduced to a pulp; the right forearm was broken completely across at several points, and the skull bones were broken and pushed in toward the brain. Under the circumstances, these injuries could only be the result of an extremely severe beating with either a blunt instrument or chain. The other fractures of the skull and ribs were the result of bullet wounds. It is impossible to determine whether the deceased died from the beating before the bullet wounds were inflicted. In my extensive experience of 25 years as a pathologist and as a medical examiner, I have never witnessed bones so severely shattered, except in tremendously high speed accidents such as airplane crashes."

Hattiesburg: Two men, Clifton Archie Keys, 51, and his nephew Estus Keys, 31, were tried today for the July 10 beating of Rabbi Arthur Lelyveld, 51, of Cleveland, Ohio. Pair pleaded nolo contendere, waived arraignment, and paid fines of \$500 each. They also received 90 day suspended sentences on condition of good behavior. The charge was changed by District Attorney James Finch from assault and battery with intent to maim to simple assault and battery.

Meridian: Approximately 150 outstanding students from throughout state gathered for Freedom School Convention here today. Resolutions brought by student delegates from their community Freedom Schools were divided into four groups: Foreign Relations, Medical Care, Education, and Public Accommodations, and workshops held in each area. "Seeds of Freedom," a Holly Springs Freedom School production based on life and death of Medgar Evers, was performed during evening, as well as Free Southern Theater production of "In White America."

AUG. 8: Tallahatchie: Four members of a local family--the first Negro family to attempt to register to vote from this county in several decades--have been steadily harassed since they attempted to register last Tuesday. On Tuesday night two truckloads of whites with guns came by at 6 p.m., 10 p.m., and 3 a.m. snouting obscenities and threats. They have been back several times, and the family is now afraid to go to work in the fields. The County Registrar is currently under a court injunction to determine the qualification of Negro registrants by the same standards as whites, not to limit Negro registrants to coming in one at a time, and not to use the constitutional interpretation section of the registration form. Approximately 70 per cent of the county's population is Negro. SNCC voter registration activity began here two weeks ago.

Show: Two cross burnings here were reported night of Aug. 6-7. Both were apparently intended to frighten local families involved in civil rights work.

AUG. 9: Mileston: Shortly after midnight a bomb was thrown in road approximately 40 yards from new Freedom Center. Thrown by whites from passing car, the bomb left a hole approximately one foot deep and 5 or 6 feet wide in road. There were no injuries.

Aberdeen: Two or three cannisters of tear gas were found on lawn of Freedom House here. Local police arrived and removed cannisters before FBI could take fingerprints.

Canton: "In White America" produced here tonight.

AUG. 10: Marigold: An elderly Negro man was shot to death in a gas station here this morning. Although reports vary, it seems confirmed that the man ordered gas and either had forgotten his billfold and could not pay, or received more gas than he had ordered and refused to pay for the extra. The gas station attendant began to beat him. A local policeman shot and killed the Negro who was unarmed.

Aberdeen: Two local Negro voter registration workers were stopped and given speeding tickets here after they and approximately 20 other Negroes attempted to integrate the downstairs section of the Elkins movie theater. CDC lawyer Abe Weitzman and law student Richard Wheelock were harassed as they observed the integration attempt. Their car was kicked by local white citizen, and they were stopped and questioned by police. They were followed back to Columbus by police car and carload of whites. The two given speeding tickets were driving 25 mph in a 30 mph zone. A third local Negro who participated in integration attempt was ticketed for improper lights. His lights were in order.

Canton: "In White America" presented here tonight.

AUG. 11: Gluckstadt: Mt. Pleasant Church in Gluckstadt burned to ground last night. It had been used daily as Freedom School site. Within minutes after leaving site, white volunteer Jim Ohls arrested for reckless driving.

Aberdeen: White volunteer Joel Bernard attacked by local white man today while engaged in voter registration canvassing. Volunteer was with local Negro filling out Freedom Registration form when white man drove up in pick-up truck, questioned him about what he was doing, struck him to ground, and punched him several times. Bernard managed to break away, and was searching for telephone when police car passed by. While he was explaining incident to police, his attacker--who had been following in his truck--came out and began threatening once again. Bernard taken to station for questioning, was refused use of telephone, and was refused protection back to office. He sustained bruises and grazed arm.

Ruleville: Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, candidate for Congress suffered brutal beating in County jail in Winona for her voter registration activities, is again being threatened. One of men involved in her earlier beating has been passing by her home today in pick-up truck, pointing her out to a series of companions. Mrs. Hamer, who suffered a permanent back injury from her earlier beating, states she feels the man "is up to something drastic."

Cleveland: Preliminary hearing held this morning on fatal shooting yesterday of 60-year-old Negro Neimiah Montgomery by police officer Leonard Yarborough of Marigold force. Witnesses testified that Montgomery went berserk soon after he drove into station, when attendant asked to be paid. Montgomery reportedly ran across highway to trailer and got hammer, then threatened to kill woman. Service station attendant got an axe handle and he and Montgomery struggled for it. Officer Yarborough arrived and reportedly tried to subdue Montgomery. Officer shot him twice, both bullets going into heart. This was viewed at hearing as justifiable homicide while acting in line of duty.

Anquilla: Two local Negro civil rights workers, Louis Grant and Bob Wright, arrested this evening while handing out leaflets advertising Freedom Day in Rolling Fork. Leaflets urged voter registration. (Bond set later at \$200 on anti-littering charge.)

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AUG. 12: Aberdeen: Potential Negro registrants taken to Courthouse today found it closed. Officials there said registrar was sick. There is no deputy registrar.

Greenwood: Six local Negro youths arrested today while standing in front of Doris' store in Baptist Town, singing. At least one beaten. Doctor and nurse dispatched to jail. Charges unknown.

Charleston: 24 Negro citizens attempted to register at Tallanatchie Co. Courthouse here yesterday. Approximately 93 armed whites gathered. Cars and trucks with guns prominently displayed were double- and triple-parked in front of courthouse. Potential registrants were able to take test quickly as registrar is under Federal injunction to cease discrimination. Sheriff also under Federal injunction restraining him from intimidating Negro applicants.

Ruleville: Students at local Negro school organizing to force teachers to register to vote. Only one is registered. They are also pressing to improve school conditions, and to stop practice of students financing school's operations. Classes reportedly have class field days when students go out in field and pick cotton to raise money for school.

Ruleville: Mrs. Hamer threatened with murder in telephone call to her home tonight.

Oak Ridge (near Vicksburg): Three people who have supported FDP beaten and shot at last night by men with hoods over their heads and in robes. Henry Ollins, his wife Lucy, and their next door neighbor Thomas Hick attacked by three carloads of men. Attackers broke doors of both houses and fired high-powered rifle at Hick's house. Both Mr. and Mrs. Ollins beaten; she sustained damaged hip, while he suffered rather severe beating, according to Vicksburg hospital. Hick managed to wrest hodd off one of men, and has delivered it to sheriff. According to MSP spokesman, "Warren Co. prides itself on not having a White Citizens Council, let alone a KKK."

Ocean Springs (near Gulfport): In two separate incidents, two local Negro men shot at here today. 19-year-old city employe Calvin Galloway cutting grass near beach when three white men drove by and fired pistol shots. Second incident involved man about 50, Barney Brooks. His attackers may have been same as those of Galloway. Neither was hit by shots.

Biloxi: Rental of local store for precinct meeting cancelled by owner today when SNCC poster put up. Local people reportedly told him they feared he was going to "move the nigras in."

Brandon: St. Matthews Baptist Church here burned to ground last night. Fire department spokesman told AP that department was unable to stop the fire.

Hattiesburg: Mrs. Dorethea Jackson, local Negro woman, arrested yesterday when she would not give her seat to white woman on bus. Mrs. Jackson reportedly was pulled off bus by policeman. She asserted that knife was planted in her purse. Charges as yet unknown.

Lexington: "In White America" produced here.

AUG. 13: Canton: 18-year-old Gluckstadt Freedom school student, whose school site was burned to ground two days ago, arrested today for alleged reckless driving and attempting to run Constable Bruno Holly off road.

Ocean Springs: Report here of third shooting in 24 hours at local Negro citizens, none hit. Also here last night, three white women in pick-up truck attempted to run over local Negro woman.

Cleveland: Local Negro reported that Willie Carter, another Negro Cleveland resident, offered \$200 by Shaw chief of police W.H. Griffin "to get rid of" three local Negroes--Elijah Smith, Aaron German, and Charles Bond--who are active in voter registration activity. Carter reportedly accepted offer, but second man reported it to COFO.

Columbus: Summer volunteer Ron Bridgeforth jailed at Starkville today on charges of refusing to be fingerprinted and photographed. He had gone to courthouse to pay parking fine. Bond: \$500.

Ruleville: 19-year-old white volunteer Joseph Smith arrested this evening in Drew on charges of "conduct tending to incite a breach of peace" while passing high school campus. He is in Drew City jail; bond not set.

Greenwood: Production of "In White America."

AUG. 14: McComb: Supermarket across street from church site of McComb Freedom School bombed before 1 a.m. today. All windows shattered and walls and roofing damaged. Blast, which left large hole in ground, almost knocked down voter registration worker in Freedom House two blocksaway. (over)

AUG. 14 (Cont.): Immediately after explosion, white SNCC staffer Mendy Samstein ran outside, jumped into car, passed by car with two white men in it, followed car until he could record license; he had seen car before and found it listed on McComb SNCC's "suspicious car" list. Law student Clint Hopson arrested for interfering with officer as he worked his way through crowd at bomb site and spoke with one of officers there. He was released on \$52.50 bail. Local voter registration worker Roy Lee arrested when he returned to scene of bombing and charged with inciting to riot, threatening life of policeman, cursing, and disorderly conduct. Being held on \$900 bond. McComb SNCC spokesman stated he was arrested for no apparent reason.

Natchez: Tavern next door to Freedom House here bombed tonight. Owners of tavern, an integrated couple, live in home attached to it. Tavern owned by Jake Fisherman and Evangeline Thranton. He is white, she, negro. Natchez SNCC spokesman report that police were circulating through crowd of several hundred spectators, stating that "the wrong place" had been bombed. Firemen told one of voter registration workers there (whom they did not recognize) "those outside agitators are in that house. The bomb was set for that house. They're here to stir up trouble. George Greene rents that place." Greene is 20-year-old SNCC staff member working in Natchez.

Aberdeen: Elkins theater closed down today rather than integrate. There have been two integration attempts at theater Aug. 6 and 11.

Aberdeen: 24 voter registration workers had to wait outside courthouse here last night as local Negro volunteer Leon Smith tried for traffic violation. When Smith's lawyer inquired why workers were not permitted in courtroom, judge said, "I don't hold trials for monkeys." As workers waited outside, large group of whites gathered, many with baseball bats. This morning local volunteer Sammy Bets, who tried to attend trial, fired without being given any reason by his white employer, one of white crowd outside courthouse last night.

Aberdeen: Three local voter registration workers given traffic tickets as they drove home from registration meeting last night. This is third time this week that this form of harassment used by police.

Hattiesburg: Local Negro citizen Willie Mae Martin re-arrested last night in connection with charge of resisting arrest and interfering with police officer last March. Billy McDonald, another Hattiesburg Negro resident, and FDP chairman Lawrence Guyot arrested at same time, McDonald on same charge as Miss Martin and Guyot solely for interfering. Because of legal misunderstandings, three did not know they were scheduled to appear for hearing to be held six months after their charge. Miss Martin and McDonald assigned \$200 bond and 30 days imprisonment, and Guyot \$100 and 30 days. It is doubtful that Guyot will be released before the Democratic National Convention.

Ruleville: Local attorney has informed voter registration workers here that any white volunteer staying overnight in Negro section of Drew, a small town near here, would be arrested.

Columbus: Local voter registration volunteer John Luther Bell jailed at nearby West Point today on charges of larceny and disturbing peace. He was arrested while canvassing for potential Negro registrants. Bell was one of three outstanding students selected as delegate to Freedom School convention in Meridian Aug. 8-10.

Hattiesburg: Freedom School teacher Sandra Adickes, UFT volunteer, arrested today when she attempted to have six of her students check out books from public library deemed for whites only. After they were refused applications for cards, they sat down at tables to read magazines. Short time later police chief Hugh Herrin walked in and announced library was being closed. Everyone made to leave library, which Mayor Claude F. Pittman now states was closed for inventory. This is second time this year it has closed for inventory. Miss Adickes and students were followed by police from time they left library. They went to integrated lunch counter, where waitress said she would serve only Negroes. UFT volunteer arrested outside lunch counter and released under \$100 bond on a vagrancy charge.

Greenwood: White women owners of grocery store here fired with shotguns on crowd of 75-100 Negro pickets today. Their "Happy Day" store has been object of civil rights boycott for past several days. There were no injuries reported. Police arrived shortly after shooting and dispersed pickets.

Columbus: LCDR Attorney Tom Connelly arrested on charges of reckless driving today after pick-up truck rammed into his parked car. Local white citizen Travis Hamilton ran his truck into Connelly's car, smashing door, shattering window, and injuring passenger and law student Richard Wheeler (cut on arm by flying glass). Connelly released after several hours on \$110 bond.

AUG. 14 (cont.): As Connelly was being driven home from District Attorney's office by summer volunteer Steve Fraser, their car was met by highway patrol roadblock. Fraser was given ticket for improper license. Roadblock then ended.

Canton: Bullet fired at Freedom House at approximately 10 p.m. from passing car. No injuries or apparent damage. Police came immediately upon being informed and were cooperative.

Indianola: Local white resident Joe Hopkins today drove to Freedom School while classes in session, questioned volunteer about presence of NY reporter and Attorney Andrew Goldman, fumbled with rifle, drove off. Earlier, Hopkins told Negro family living next door to Freedom School site that civil rights workers "better get out of there." He said, "I'm going to blow up that place." Two Negro citizens also told summer volunteer that several white men planned to "shoot up the place" tonight. Local police stated they would patrol area all night.

AUG. 15: Jackson: Between 10:30 p.m. and 12:30 a.m., voter registration worker beaten over head with baseball bat outside COFO office, carload of one white and four local Negro voter registration workers was shot at 8 to 10 times, four crosses were burned simultaneously, and local student shot by white man; white volunteer Philip Hocker working on pick-up truck across street from COFO office as three other workers--two Negro, one white--sat in car behind him lighting his work with headlights. Another car doubleparked beside car and truck. Young white man wearing bermuda shorts went up to Hocker, hit him on back of head with bat, and continued to hit him after he fell to street. At 10:45 Hocker taken from office to Baptist hospital, still bleeding about the head. At 11 crosses burning at Lynch St. and Terry Rd. approximately three blocks from COFO office; at Sun-n-Sands Hotel, where many Project lawyers, doctors, ministers, and national press correspondents stay; at Millsaps College; and at Valley Rd. and Hwy 80, site of soon-to-be-integrated public school. White summer volunteer and four local Negro voter registration workers shot at 8 to 10 times by two white men in car as they drove through Jackson. Civil rights workers stopped when they saw parked police car. Officer, after hearing Smith's statement, sent out report over radio that "we got some colored people who say some niggers were shooting at them." As soon as Oldsmobile containing attackers came close, police drove off. Investigating plainclothesman found 5 bullets in the car. Willie Gynes was shot in leg by white man in car passing a teen dance here. Gynes is in the Emergency ward of University Hospital.

Meridian: Two local Negro voter registration volunteers, Sam Brown and David McClinton, and SNCC staffer Preston Ponder fired upon today while driving Hwy 11 in Jasper Co. Shot hit and cracked front window of trio's car as they returned from investigating beating several weeks ago of school teacher and her mother.

Greenwood: SNCC staffer Jesse Harris arrested today for disturbing peace. Arrest made under warrant, presumably in connection with boycott currently in operation against several stores here.

Greenwood: Silas McGhee, young man whose brutal beating led to first arrests under 1964 Civil Rights Act, shot in face tonight as he sat in car outside Lulu's restaurant. McGhee alone in car when shot fired by white man in passing car. He was rushed to University Hospital in Jackson in critical condition. McGhee initially brought to Leflore Hospital here. Staff reportedly unable to remove bullet which entered through left side of face near temple and lodged near left side throat. Two SNCC staffers refused admittance to hospital because they were not wearing shirts; they had taken off their shirts to help stop McGhee's bleeding.

Laurel: Volunteer and three local Negro voter registration workers beaten today after sitting down for service at theoretically integrated Kress' department store lunch counter. Ten whites approached as Levelle Keys, James House, Larry McGill and Ben Hartfield being served. Two of whites beat group with baseball bats. Hartfield knocked unconscious. Woman pulled pistol on McGill. His mother yelled "Don't kill my son" to woman who pulled pistol. For this remark, McGill's assailant reportedly filed assault charge against his mother. SNCC staffer Fred Richardson entered store earlier, was asked to leave because he had a camera. Richardson outside Kress' when incident occurred and was himself beaten by whites who gathered at scene when he called police. His camera taken by one of his attackers. Police arrived and warrants were sworn out against several of the attackers.

AUG. 16: McComb: McComb office raided at 1:30 a.m. by 24 policemen in five cars, representing city police, sheriffs and deputies, and highway patrol. Warrants were for illegal liquor. None was found, but officers spent good deal of time reading letters and literature found in office.

AUG. 16 (cont.): The workers had just returned from an evening of canvassing bars and restaurants in McComb area, announcing rallies and Freedom Days. These were planned in response to a period of increased violence and harassment by local white community.

Greenwood: Several hundred local Negro citizens gathered at Friendship Baptist Church here to protest shooting of McGhee. Approximately 100 of those who had gathered in church came to SNCC office after meeting. Police in full riot garb, with tear gas, equipment, blocked off both ends of street on which office is located until angry crowd dispersed.

Philadelphia: Memorial service held today for civil rights workers James Chaney, Michael Schwerner, and Andrew Goodman who were slain here June 21 after inspecting burned-out church site of a Freedom School.

Laurel: White volunteer David Goodyear beaten unconscious at gas station here today, and his companion, white volunteer Linnelle Barrett, was kicked and stepped upon. They were outside their car when two white men approached and asked if they were civil rights workers. When they replied "yes," several whites milling around closed in and began beating them. Police came in three cars immediately after being notified. Within an hour after incident, police--on basis of license number--picked up assailants' car. Gas station attendant closed station and left before police arrived. Two of Goodyear's teeth were loosened.

AUG. 17: Four voter registration workers, 3 white and 1 Negro, arrested on vagrancy charges here as they left public library which had refused them service. Susan Patterson, Ben Achtenburg, Tom Edwards, and Bill Jones held on \$100 cash bond or \$250 property bond. (Hattiesburg)

Ruleville: Three local Negro youths picked up by police here and held for half an hour for distributing announcements of tonight's production of "In White America."

Laurel: Anthony Lynn hit twice by passing white citizen as he stood on street corner here today. Lynn was with local Negro citizen whom he had just accompanied to courthouse to take voter registration test. Lynn called police and pointed out his assailant to them. Assailant denied everything; police had both file affidavits.

Gulfport: Volunteer Steve Miller ^{badly} beaten today by passing white man as he left Carnegie Library. Miller sustained severe bruises on jaw, right temple, and head, and is suffering from amnesia. County police officer arrived at scene, but left without providing any aid. Taxi then refused to take him to hospital. Civil rights workers arrived at hospital with Miller about one hour after beating. They were made to wait another two hours for doctor. Assailant walked by police officer and commented "I got me one." Workers went to city police, who refused to take action for lack of complaint. Warrant filed by one of witnesses at whom assailant had swung but not hit. Miller not capable of filing warrant. Sheriff is investigating.

Indianola: Approximately 25 white citizens, some of whom were reportedly White Citizen's Council members, attended this evening's performance of "In White America." Eight to 10 helmeted police arrived in two cars, said there would be no trouble. Play features integrated cast of 8; it describes suppressions and victories of American Negro in his own country.

Winona Co.: White volunteer Tim Morrison arrested here for faulty driver's license and fined \$18.

Clarksdale: Franklin Delano Roosevelt III arrested and fined for speeding while going 25 mph in 35 mph zone. Roosevelt has been doing research on project to bring aid to civil rights workers.

AUG. 18: McComb: After series of bombings and intimidation, first Southwest Mississippi Freedom Day was peacefully conducted here today. 25 potential Negro registrants went to courthouse, 23 of whom permitted to take test. Registrar processed one applicant every 45 minutes. Police and FBI agents were at Pike Co. courthouse in Magnolia throughout day. (Of Pike Co.'s 35,063 Negro voting-age citizens, 207 (3%) registered, as contrasted to 9,989 registered whites representing 82.1%.) Over 200 local Negro citizens attended mass meeting here last night to protest terrorist activities brought against Negro citizens and voter registration workers in this hardcore area.

McComb: Attempted house-burning reported by SNCC spokesmen today. At 1:30 a.m. local Negro resident Vera Brown, whose daughter is active in civil rights movement here, woke up to smell of smoke. Gasoline-filled jar found smoking under house. Conflagration was smothered with little damage. Mrs. Brown plans to attempt to register as part of Freedom Day.

AUG. 18: Philadelphia: Shortly before 11 p.m., Aug. 15, cdr stopped across street from Freedom School headquarters here and driver kept single-barreled shotgun pointed at office for about 5 minutes, left, and returned second time. When two Freedom School teachers filed warrant about incident with district attorney, official put on it that party was COFO worker who made \$9.64 a week, "lives off people in community, and has no other visible means of support." Freedom School coordinator Ralph Featherstone refused to sign affidavit with this addition. His companion, volunteer Walter Kaufman, did sign complaint. Name of man with gun is known; action on case is awaited. Aug. 16 a rumor began spreading that office and motel across street from it, where workers eat, would be bombed. By Aug. 17 rumor was widespread--woman at motel was threatened and told workers she could not feed them any more. FBI watched office all night; local police took no action. This morning Deputy Sheriff Price, officer who arrested James Chaney, Michael Schwerner, and Andrew Goodman, came to office and took films of all workers. He came by three times. He reportedly has been questioning local Negro citizens as to the workers' activities. Today local Negro citizen beaten by white man when he went into store with Negro girl. Philadelphia staff reports man could be taken for white and was probably thought to be project worker. He came to office after leaving doctor's office. He was frightened and refused to contact local police. FBI contacted, and man questioned for about ½ hour. One agent reportedly was "very hostile."

Greenwood: Jake McGhee, younger brother of Silas, arrested here this morning for traffic violation. His mother, Mrs. Laura McGhee, hit in chest by desk sergeant when she went to pay fine. Mrs. McGhee hit officer in nose; officer went for gun. Greenwood staff members George Greene and Ed Rudd held policeman's hand til another officer came in and calmed him down. Jake fined \$100 for improper license and impersonation. Warrant issued for Mrs. McGhee's arrest for assaulting office

Jackson: 17-year-old Negro from Columbus formally announced plans today to seek state charter for Mississippi Young Democrat Club. Melvin L. Whitfield assumed presidency of new Young Democratic group at their Aug. 10 convention in Meridian, which included representatives from about 25 Mississippi communities. He will represent body, along with 9 other Mississippi officers, at meeting of National Committee of Young Democratic Clubs of America Aug. 21-23 in Atlantic City. Group, thus far all-Negro, learned few weeks ago that existing Young Democratic organization in Mississippi has never been granted charter by national body. Spokesman noted, "Our organization, in keeping with principles stated in constitution of Young Democratic Clubs of America, is open to anyone who is between ages of 16 and 40 who 'professes and demonstrates allegiance to principles of National Democratic Party,' regardless of race or creed."

Gulfport: Man who yesterday beat volunteer Steve Miller today was arrested and charged with assault. Gulfport resident James Robert Thomas released on \$200 bond. Thomas has only been charged with assault as warrant against him was filed by Miller's companion Charles Wheeler, who was not hit. Miller will swear out warrant when able.

Vicksburg: Early this morning, bottle hurled through window of barbershop owned by Mr. Eddie Thomas, Warren Co. FDP delegate.

McComb: As white volunteer Marshall Ganz drove back from Pike Co. courthouse in Magnolia to transport potential Negro registrants, he was followed by four men in unmarked pick-up truck. When he stopped at red light, one man quickly got out of truck and began running at him. Ganz quickly drove off and was followed by truck back to McComb. Passenger in truck threw bottle which narrowly missed going through window of Ganz' car.

Natchez: Five-gallon can of gasoline, a bomb-like apparatus, found under Blue Moon bar here. Bar belongs to Jake Fisher, whose brother's bar was found bombed in Louisiana over the weekend.

Yazoo City: Two local Negro citizens today filed applications for cards at local library here without incident. Police talked with two "politely" and later contacted mother of one.

Shaw: Three Negro members of Shaw Mississippi Student Union entered town library today and successfully registered for cards. When Eddie Short, James Johnson Jr., and Willie Wright left, they were followed by four police officers and watched by a number of bystanders.

AUG. 19: Jackson: Three busloads of FDP delegates and alternates to National Convention, as well as FDP staff members, left from Jackson amidst hundreds of well-wishers late this evening.

AUG. 19: Jackson: At conclusion of 3½-day staff meeting at Tougaloo College this weekend, Dir. Robert Moses announced that Mississippi Summer Project would not end. Speaking at press conference, Moses said 200 of volunteers now in state plus 65 SNCC staff and about 30 CORE staff would stay in state throughout year. This figure does not include those who will come down for minimum stay of three months who have been applying for work during year since Summer Project began. Moses also noted that medical, legal, and ministerial groups have announced plans to place Mississippi operations on a permanent basis.

Natchez: Owner of house rented by SNCC workers here has indicated he does not want to rent it to civil rights workers for fear of bombing. Company holding house's insurance indicated it does not want to continue the policy on the house.

Meridian: Church burning reported in Collinsville.

McComb: Three potential Negro registrants in front of Pike Co. courthouse in Magnolia told they would be arrested if they did not move. Three sat in car for 30 minutes. Ten minutes later white volunteer Dave Gerber arrested for speeding enroute from courthouse to McComb. Bond: \$22.50.

Meridian: Local Negro voter registration worker Sam Brown arrested on charges of disorderly conduct and resisting arrest tonight. Released on \$50 bond.

Philadelphia: Increased harassment and intimidation efforts continue at Evers Motel headquarters of Neshoba Co. mobile Freedom School here. Between 8:55 and 9:15 p.m. two carloads and one truck of white men with rifles visible parked outside headquarters on outskirts of Philadelphia. Deputy Price observed smiling as one carload of whites told him, "We're gonna get the job done tonight." While carloads of whites parked or occupants milled about in front of office and other cars cruised in area, threatening phone calls received at approximate intervals of 5 minutes stating "Your time is up." Calls continued til 4 a.m. New office opened Aug. 14 with 11 workers, four of them staff.

Jackson: At press conference, Project Dir. Robert Moses said "Voter registration drives will be increased across state. Campaigns will be intensified in Panola and Tallahatchie Co.'s, where recent court orders have opened new possibilities for work, and in other counties where legal relief appears imminent. Also under consideration are such new efforts as mobile libraries in rural areas, strengthening of citizens band radio security system, development of permanent community center facilities, and an adult literacy program specially designed by SNCC for the Black Belt."

AUG. 20: Canton: At 1:30 a.m. pick-up truck drove into driveway of Freedom House. Local Negro citizen saw "third light" inside truck, in addition to two headlights. When truck's occupants noticed all the observers they quickly drove off, and were reportedly observed trying to put out fire in bed of truck. When witnesses got to street, they found gallon jug, broken, with oily rags sticking out at top.

Philadelphia: Neshoba Co. law enforcement has used questionable building lease to try to evict COFO workers from their newly opened office. At about 11 a.m. Deputy Cecil Price, Sheriff Rainey, and District Attorney Walter Jones presented an eviction notice, indicating that six COFO workers then in office would be arrested if they had not left premises by 1 p.m. The law officers claimed the building lease was invalid, and that old tenants still held lease. Police, both city and county, appeared frequently at office from about 1 to 3 or 4 p.m. with warrants for arrest of six on trespass charges. Former occupant of building came to office late this afternoon and agreed to terminate his hold on building and to have all his property moved out within five days. COFO workers indicated their determination to stay in Philadelphia despite legal or other types of pressure. Local Negro woman told one of workers this morning: "If you leave us now, they'll kill us. They'll pile our bodies one on top of the other." Additional staff was moved into Philadelphia by late afternoon, and more will be sent as soon as needed, "to keep our pledge to the local people," a Jackson office spokesman said. Today's legal harassment followed several tense hours last night as Philadelphia office surrounded by carloads of armed whites. Following eviction notice, local Negro citizens came to office and provided "a fabulous dinner for us all."

Shaw: Herman Perry, Negro cotton farmer, elected president of the Bolivar Improvement Assn. at mass meeting here Wed. night. More than 100 attended. Assn. plans to organize Negro farmers and others for community planning and improvement. With widespread Negro unemployment and poverty in area, group hopes to become eligible for federal aid. To avoid complete economic dependence, group needs some kind of industry to employ Negroes. Assn. grew out of Freedom School class in politics. Mass meeting scheduled for tomorrow evening in Shaw, to make plans for school boycott and integration of public schools here.

AUG. 20: Clarksdale: Medical Committee for Human Rights physicians Richard Moore and Les Hoffman arrested for loitering while in their car outside Freedom House here. Released on \$16 bond each; trial Aug. 21.

AUG. 21: Belzoni: Police cars follow voter registration workers here continuously, surrounding them at every house at which they stop. Four to five cars of local white citizens also follow. This morning, police chief Nichols reportedly told workers to get out of town, that he was planning to bomb house. Yesterday Nichols entered house for second time without warrant. He said house is public place, and that warrant is unnecessary. House located about one block outside city limits. This evening three voter registration workers surrounded for several hours by 12 truckloads of armed whites as they sat in Wimpy's Cafe here. Crowd gathered as workers stopped at filling station just inside city limits. They entered cafe to report situation to Greenwood SNCC office. Sheriff closed cafe by saying to owner, "Close that place down, nigger." Local Negro citizen reportedly hit on side of head with

Gulfport: Local Negro Aaron Jones today was arrested while handing out leaflets here announcing performance by Caravan of Music folksinger. Jones now in Juvenile Court custody on

Itta Bena: Perry's Chapel burned to ground late this evening. Wood frame building deemed to be out of jurisdiction of Itta Bena fire department. delinquency charge.

AUG. 22: McComb: Local voter registration worker Percy McGhee arrested for "loitering" inside courthouse near here today. Being held on \$60 bail. McComb police officer pulled gun on SNCC staff member Seephus Hugh who went to post bond for McGhee. Four more workers went to jail and successfully bonded out McGhee.

Jackson: As two Freedom School teachers, one white and one Negro, walked along street here today, car with two white passengers doubled back, drove by slowly, and took their picture.

Laurel: A going-away picnic given by local Negroes for three white voter registration workers was broken up today by an estimated 15 white men who beat one volunteer, reportedly with sticks and chains, and shot at two others. As group sat around private lake on Negro-owned farm near here, six white men approached and asked if group knew "Dixie." When one student began to play the song, a white man grabbed his guitar and threw it in lake. About 9 other white men came out of bushes surrounding lake site. White volunteer Willard Hayden saw at least two weapons among men: a club and a chain. Weapon brought down on his head; he and local voter registration worker Robert Morgan plunged into lake to head back to farmhouse. Shots, probably from pistol, aimed at them. White volunteer David Gelfand was severely beaten by white assailants. He sustained sprained--possibly broken--wrists, and bruises and lacerations of the back. His assailant has been tentatively identified as R. V. Lee, the man who is to stand trial Friday for beating white volunteer Anthony Lynn in front of Laurel Courthouse last Monday.

AUG. 23: Tupelo: Voter registration headquarters here were object of arson early this morning. Damage was moderate. Workers arrived at office today to find attic gutted, all windows in rear part of building broken, and door burned. Neighbors reported fire department had put fire out at about 3 a.m. City investigators said there was evidence of arson. Tupelo has been the scene of FDP organizing involving 20 to 30 local workers, as well as three staff workers. Office was opened six weeks ago.

McComb: Local white citizen held for 3 hours last night by five heavily armed, hooded white men. He is described by McComb SNCC spokesmen as "poor; his friends are all Negroes and he lives in Negro neighborhood."

AUG. 24: Columbus: Rev. Cluke Arden and white volunteer Bruce Amundson were turned away yesterday from Lutheran Church here after being questioned at length by minister and church elders. Amundson was asked to apologize for having brought a Negro to the church last Sunday.

Greenville: Law student Len Edwards and three LCDC lawyers were refused a room after having made prior reservation at Holiday Inn here, when manager saw a Negro in their car.

Holly Springs: Local Negro snarecropper Mr. J. T. Dean, turned off his land for no apparent reason. This is latest in series of economic actions taken against Dean since he applied to register to vote during Marshall Co. Freedom Day Aug. 15. Aug. 16 Dean's credit cut off. He was told by land owner he was no longer needed to work the land. His water supply was also cut off. Today Howard Jones, local Negro citizen who made application to register during Holly Springs Freedom Day July 24 told at courthouse that his test has not yet been graded. So far, none of more than 200 local Negro citizens who took voter registration test this summer has been notified as to whether or not he passed.

AUG. 24: Gulfport: Local Negro voter registration worker John Handy arrested here for disturbing peace and held on \$300 bond. Arrest came few hours after Handy talked with Negroes outside Henderson's store in Greenwood, which has been boycotted for more than six weeks. Owner, Greenwood police officer, dragged young, pregnant Negro woman across pavement Freedom Day. When Handy stopped outside store, Henderson told him warrant would be issued for his arrest. (Charges dropped Aug. 25.)

Gulfport: Four local Negro voter registration workers, Luther Adams, Clifton Johnson, Jonnie Campbell, and Charles Wheeler, today were refused service at Albrught and Wood Drug store counter. They were served water, then asked to leave. Adams went back to store and asked if it were segregated; waitress replied, "You were served water, weren't you?"

Moss Pt.: Negro citizens here have decided to boycott nearby laundromat after young Negro girl arrested for attempting to wash clothes in "white section." Petition will be presented to laundry's owner tomorrow morning by boycotting citizens demanding that discrimination there be ended.

AUG. 25: Amory: Three young Negro voter registration workers, Adair Howell, Andrew Moore and Essie Carr, arrested today as they canvassed for potential registrants. Trio saw police coming and went to Negro home. Police entered home and arrested workers, charging them with disturbing peace and "forcing" Negro woman to sign form. Local officials denied knowledge of whereabouts of workers after their arrest. Howell and Moore located by FBI last this evening in Amory City jail. They are being held under \$100 bond each. Miss Carr released to custody of her parents.

Drew: Law student Len Edwards arrested for reckless driving after being followed by local police chief. He made U-turn at speed of 5 miles per hour.

Moss Pt.: Owner of local laundromat here refused to desegregate facilities when presented with petition by local Negro citizens. He reportedly stated that he realized Negroes constituted 80% of his business, but that whites would refuse to wash there if partition removed. He reportedly told Negroes that "Communists are behind this whole thing," and that "Negroes and whites had a good relationship in Moss Pt. until few months ago when COFO workers came in." (On Aug. 26, six Negroes arrested for urging fellow citizens not to patronize the laundromat.)

Mound Bayou: Seven young Negro members of Mississippi Student Union arrested today for allegedly chasing white salesman out of town. Man shot at students. Although the seven, Henry Martin, Wendel Ishman, Herbert Battle, Oliver Know, James McKay, Walter Rickett, and Gary Dillen are being held in jail, no charges have been placed against them yet.

Columbus: Group of 30 Negro high school students followed by six police cars, one containing sheriff and police dog, as they walked to voter registration meeting last night. Police remained outside meeting for over 1/2 hour and later returned to cafe where group had first gathered. Police entered cafe and told students who had just returned from meeting that they were to go home.

AUG. 26: Canton: George Johnson, registration worker, was shot at three times on his way to Freedom House early this morning. He was approximately three blocks from the house when car pulled up from behind and fired three shots from approximately 500 feet away. Johnson identified car as police car since it was equipped with searchlight and red warning light on top. Johnson, who both heard the shots and saw the flash of the bullets, ducked into nearby bushes and sought shelter in a local house. Approximately 10 minutes later he started back to Freedom House down another street and stated that he saw "the same police car which came past me at 50 or 60 miles per hour, shining its spotlight on me." Johnson entered another local home for refuge. Late last week, Johnson, in response to Canton CORE office policies, registered with the police as a civil rights worker and gave the Freedom House as his home address.



Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
6 Raymond Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

MEMO TO: CORE CHAPTERS AND ADVISORY COMMITTEE MEMBERS
FROM: CORE SOUTHERN REGIONAL OFFICE
2209 Dryades Street, New Orleans, Louisiana
RE: SOUTHERN RACIAL MURDERS

April, 1965

Attached you will find a partial list of racial murders that have occurred in the South in the last two years. Though they are only a small sample of the violence that is traditional in the South towards Negroes and their white supporters, they are a shocking example of the lack of justice in the region. In not a single case has a defendant received punishment for one of these crimes, and in all but one case there has been no conviction. In all of these cases the identity of the killer was known, at least unofficially.

Some of these murders received little or no publicity on a national level. Most fade out of the minds of the public just as quickly as they fade from the front page of the papers and from the television screens.

We feel that very little has been done to attack the Southern system of leniency towards those who commit violent acts against Negroes and civil rights workers. Perhaps one of the causes is a lack of awareness the public has of the reality of the situation. The murders are too short-lived in the minds and hearts of the American people.

Therefore, CORE in the South is beginning a program to remind Americans of the deplorable state of Southern justice and to stir their consciences so that they will demand legislation to correct the situation. In view of recent developments in Alabama and Louisiana, we are demanding the following additions be made to the voting bill now pending in Congress to deal with violence in connection with racial and civil rights matters:

1. Legislation requiring enforcement of and protection for the exercise of all Constitutionally guaranteed rights by federal marshalls, FBI agents or other appropriate federal agents;
2. Legislation requiring the Justice Department to make on-the-spot arrests of violators of Title 18, Section 241-242 of the U.S. Code;
3. Legislation making crimes of violence, especially murders, in connection with civil rights and race, a major federal offense;

Because of the intimidation in many areas of the South of Negroes who attempt to register to vote, use certain public accommodations, and exercise their Constitutional rights, we believe the 1965 Civil Rights Act and the proposed voting bill, as presented, will have little effect without the above provisions.

To begin this program, we hope you will circulate the attached list as widely as possible in your area. We hope you will make copies of the list and submit it, along with your own demands for improved legislation, to all of your local newspapers, radio and TV stations, local officials, Senators and Congressmen. Demand that your Senators and Congressmen work for the inclusion of the above in new legislation.

PARTIAL LIST OF RACIAL MURDERS
IN THE SOUTH IN THE LAST 2 YEARS - - -

April, 1963 - William Moore, White, 30's
Gadston, Alabama
CORE worker, shot to death on Freedom
Walk
Assailant arrested, NO CONVICTION

June, 1963 - Medgar Evers, Negro, 30's
Jackson, Mississippi
NAACP Field Secretary, shot to death
at his home for civil rights
activities
Assailant, Byron De La Beckwith, member
of White Citizens Council, arrested,
2 trials, hung juries, NO CONVICTION

September, 1963 - Carol Robertson, Negro, 14
Cynthia Wesley, Negro, 14
Addie Mae Collins, Negro, 14
Denise McLaure, Negro, 11
Killed in church bombing
NO arrests, NO CONVICTION

September, 1963 - Virgil Ware, Negro, 13
Birmingham, Alabama
Shot to death by two teenage boys,
white, while riding his bicycle
Assailants arrested, Suspended sentence

September, 1963 - James Robinson, Negro, 16
Birmingham, Alabama
Shot to death in the back by police
officer in "self-defense"
No arrest, NO CONVICTION

September, 1963 - John Coley, Negro, 20
Birmingham, Alabama
veteran, shot to death by police
No arrest, NO CONVICTION

September, 1963 - young man, Negro
New Orleans, Louisiana
Shot to death by police officer
No arrest, NO CONVICTION

January, 1964 - Lewis Allen, Negro, 40's
Liberty, ~~Mississippi~~ Mississippi
Shot to death at his home; had wit-
nessed a white state representative
kill a Negro in 1961; murder followed
2 years of constant harassment; vic-
tim had asked for federal protection,
but was refused.
No arrests, NO CONVICTIONS

February, 1964 - 1 woman, 2 men, Negro
20's or 30's
Woodville, Mississippi
Shot to death in parked car
No arrest, NO CONVICTION

March, 1964 - Man, Negro, 40's
Natchez, Mississippi
Shot to death at night in car
No arrest, NO CONVICTION

June, 1964 - Michael Schwerner, white, 24
James Chaney, Negro, 21
Andrew Goodman, white, 20
Philadelphia, Mississippi
Beaten and shot to death for civil
rights activities;
Several arrests, including law-enforcement
officials; NO CONVICTIONS

July, 1964 - 2 men, Negroes, 19, 20
Southwest Mississippi
Half-bodies found in river during
search for missing three (above)
Arrests, NO CONVICTIONS

July, 1964 - Lemuel Penn, Negro, 33
Athens, Georgia
Official in school system of Washington,
D.C. Shot to death in his car from
passing car when returning to Washington
from training for army reserve in Georgia.
Klansman arrested, NO CONVICTIONS

(C O N T)

Summer, 1964 - man, Negro
New Orleans, Louisiana
Shot to death at bus stop from passing
car
No arrest, NO CONVICTION

September, 1964 - Herbert Orsby, Negro, 14
Canton, Mississippi
Found drowned wearing COKE tee-shirt;
last seen in pick-up truck with white
men.
No arrest, NO CONVICTION

December, 1964 - Frank Morris, Negro, 52
Ferriday, Louisiana
Burned to death in his shop—covered
with gasoline by white men, set afire,
and forced to remain inside.
No arrest, NO CONVICTIONS

December, 1964 - Man and woman, Negro
New Orleans, Louisiana
Shot to death in motel
No arrest, NO CONVICTION

January, 1965 - Ollie B. Shelby, Negro, 18
Jackson, Mississippi
Badly beaten and shot to death by police
officers in Hinds County Jail.
No arrests, NO CONVICTION

January, 1965 - Marshall Scott, Jr., Negro, 43
New Orleans, Louisiana
Put into solitary confinement in New
Orleans jail with pneumonia; died without
medical attention.
No arrests, NO CONVICTIONS

February, 1965 - Jimmy Lee Jackson, Negro
Marion, Alabama
Shot to death by state troopers during
demonstration for voting rights.
No arrests, NO CONVICTIONS

February, 1965 - John Lee, Negro, 31
Goshen Springs, Mississippi
Found dead on country road with signs of
beating—had attended civil rights

meetings
NO arrests, NO CONVICTIONS

February, 1965 - Donald Basberry, Negro, 19
Okolona, Mississippi
Shot to death by his plantation boss.
NO CONVICTION

March, 1965 - Rev. James Reeb, white, 37
Selma, Alabama
Beaten to death after participating in
in March for voting rights
Four arrests, PENDING

March, 1965 - Viola Gregg Liuzzo, white, 38
Lowndesboro, Alabama
Shot to death from passing car while
transporting demonstrators from march
for voting rights.
Four whites arrested, PENDING

READINGS IN NONVIOLENCE

Mahatma Gandhi

"I have found that life persists in the midst of destruction and, therefore, there must be a higher law than that of destruction. Only under that law would a well-ordered society be intelligible and life worth living. And if that is the law of life, we have to work it out in daily life. Whenever there are jars, wherever you are confronted with an opponent, conquer him with love. . . . That does not mean that all my difficulties are solved. I have found, however, that this law of love has answered as the law of destruction has never done."

"Nonviolence is a weapon of the strong. . . ."

"Practically speaking there will be probably no greater loss in men than if forcible resistance was offered; there will be no expenditure in armaments and fortifications. The nonviolent training received by the people will add inconceivably to their moral height. Such men and women will have shown personal bravery of a type far superior to that shown in armed warfare. In each case the bravery consists in dying, not in killing. Lastly, there is no such thing as defeat in nonviolent resistance. That such a thing has not happened before is no answer to my speculation. I have drawn no impossible picture. History is replete with instances of individual nonviolence of the type I have mentioned. There is no warrant for saying or thinking that a group of men and women cannot by sufficient training act nonviolently as a group or nation. Indeed the sum total of the experience of mankind is that men somehow or other live on. From which fact I infer that it is the law of love that rules mankind. Had violence, hate, ruled us, we should have become extinct long ago. And yet the tragedy of it is that the so called civilized men and nations conduct themselves as if the basis of society was violence. It gives me ineffable joy to make experiments proving that love is the supreme and only law of life. Much evidence to the contrary cannot shake my faith. Even the mixed nonviolence of India has supported it. But if it is not enough to convince an unbeliever, it is enough to incline a friendly critic to view it with favor."

from "My Faith in Nonviolence", 1930

and "The Future", 1940

Martin Luther King

"From my early teens in Atlanta I was deeply concerned about the problem of racial injustice. I grew up abhorring segregation, considering it both rationally inexplicable and morally unjustifiable. I could never accept the fact of having to go to the back of a bus or sit in the segregated section of a train.

"When I went to Montgomery, Alabama, as a pastor in 1954, I had not the slightest idea that I would later become involved in a crisis in which nonviolent resistance would be applicable. After I had lived in the community about a year, the bus boycott began.

The Negro people of Montgomery, exhausted by the humiliating experiences that they had constantly faced on the buses, expressed in a massive act of noncooperation their determination to be free. They came to see that it was ultimately more honorable to walk the streets in dignity than to ride the buses in humiliation. At the beginning of the protest the people called on me to serve as their spokesman. In accepting this responsibility my mind, consciously or unconsciously, was driven back to the Sermon on the Mount and the Gandhian method of nonviolent resistance. This principle became the guiding light of our movement. Christ furnished the spirit and motivation while Gandhi furnished the method.

"The experience in Montgomery did more to clarify my thinking on the question of nonviolence than all of the books that I had read. As the days unfolded I became more and more convinced of the power of nonviolence. Living through the actual experiences of the protest, nonviolence became more than a method to which I gave intellectual assent; it became a commitment to a new way of life. Many issues I had not cleared up intellectually concerning nonviolence were now solved in the sphere of practical action.

"A few months ago I had the privilege of traveling to India. The trip had a great impact on me personally and left me even more convinced of the power of nonviolence. It was a marvelous thing to see the amazing results of a nonviolent struggle. India won her independence, but without violence on the part of Indians.

"I do not want to give the impression that nonviolence will work miracles overnight. Men are not easily moved from their mental ruts or purged of their prejudiced and irrational feelings. When the underprivileged demand freedom, the privileged first react with bitterness and resistance. Even when the demands are couched in nonviolent terms, the initial response is the same. I am sure that many of our white brothers in Montgomery and across the South are still bitter toward Negro leaders, even though these leaders have sought to follow a way of life and nonviolence. So the nonviolent approach does not immediately change the heart of the oppressor. It first does something to the hearts and souls of those committed to it. It gives them new self-respect; it calls up resources of strength and courage that they did not know they had. Finally, it reaches the opponent and so stirs his conscience that reconciliation becomes a reality."

1960

James Farmer

"On May 4 of this year I left Washington, D. C., with twelve other persons on a risky journey into the South. Seven of us were Negro and six were white. Riding in two regularly scheduled buses, one Greyhound and the other Trailways, traveling beneath overcast skies, our little band--the original Freedom Riders--was filled with expectations of storms almost certain to come before the journey was ended.

"Now, six months later, as all the world knows, the fire-gutted shell of one bus lies in an Alabama junk yard, and some of the people who almost died with it are still suffering prolonged illnesses.

"A dozen Freedom Riders nearly gave up their lives under the fierce hammering of fists, clubs and iron pipes in the hands of hysterical mobs. Many of the victims will carry permanent scars. . . More than 350 men and women have been jailed in half a dozen states for doing what the Supreme Court of the United States had already said they had a right to do. The ICC has now issued an historic ruling in behalf of interstate bus integration which may indeed mean that the suffering of the past six months has not been in vain.

"Jail at best is neither a romantic nor a pleasant place, and Mississippi jails are no exception. The first twenty-seven Freedom Riders to arrive in Jackson saw the inside of two different jails and two different prisons--Jackson City Jail, Hinds County Jail, Hinds County Prison Farm, State Pen at Parchman. . .

"Mississippians, born into segregation, are human too. The Freedom Riders' aim is not only to stop the practice of segregation, but somehow to reach the common humanity of our fellow men and bring it to the surface where they can act on it themselves. This is a basic motive behind the Freedom Rides, and nonviolence is the key to its realization.

"There is a new spirit among Negroes in Jackson. People are learning that in a nonviolent war like ours, as in any other war, there must be suffering. Jobs will be lost, mortgages will be foreclosed, loans will be denied, persons will be hurt, and some may die. This new spirit was expressed well by one Freedom Rider in the Mississippi State Penitentiary at Parchman. The guards threatened repeatedly, as a reprisal for our insistence upon dignity, to take away our mattresses. 'Come and get my mattress,' he shouted. 'I will keep my soul.'"

Henry David Thoreau

"Under a government which imprisons any unjustly, the true place for a just man is also in prison. The proper place today, the only place which Massachusetts has provided for her freer and less desponding spirits, is in her prisons, to be put out and locked out of the state by her own act, as they have already put themselves out by their principles. It is there that the fugitive slave, and the Mexican prisoner on parole, and the Indian come to plead the wrongs of his race, should find them; on that separate but more free and honorable ground, where the state places those who are not with her but against her--the only house in a slave state in which a free man can abide with honor.

"If any think that their influence would be lost there, and their voices no longer afflict the ear of the state, that they would not be as an enemy within its walls, they do not know by how much truth is stronger than error, nor how much more eloquently and effectively he can combat injustice who has experienced a little in his own person.

"Cast your whole vote, not a strip of paper merely, but your whole influence. A minority is powerless while it conforms to the majority; it is not even a minority then; but it is irresistible when it clogs by its whole weight.

"If the alternative is to keep all just men in prison, or give up war and slavery, the state will not hesitate which to choose. If a thousand men were not to pay their tax bills this year, that would not be a violent and bloody measure, as it would be to pay them, and enable the state to commit violence and shed innocent blood.

"This is, in fact, the definition of a peaceful revolution, if any such is possible. If the tax gatherer or any other public officer asks me, as one has done, 'But what shall I do?' my answer is, 'If you really wish to do anything, resign your office.' When the subject has refused allegiance and the officer has resigned his office, then the revolution is accomplished.

"But even suppose blood should flow. Is there not a sort of blood shed when the conscience is wounded? Through this wound a man's real manhood and immortality flow out, and he bleeds to an everlasting death. I see this blood flowing now. . .

"Must the citizen ever for a moment, or in the least degree, resign his conscience to the legislator? Why has every man a conscience, then? I think that we should be men first, and subjects afterwards. It is not desirable to cultivate a respect for the law so much as for the right. The only obligation which I have a right to assume is to do at any time what I think right. It is truly enough said, that a corporation has no conscience; but a corporation of conscientious men is a corporation with a conscience.

"Law never made men a whit more just; and, by means of their respect for it, even the well-disposed are daily made the agents of injustice. A common and natural result of an undue respect for law is that you may see a file of soldiers, colonel, captain, corporal, privates, powder-monkeys, and all, marching in admirable order over hill and dale to the wars, against their wills, aye, against their common sense and consciences, which make it very steep marching indeed, and produces a palpitation of the heart. They have no doubt that it is a damnable business in which they are concerned; they are all peaceably inclined. Now, what are they? Men at all? or small movable forts and magazines, at the service of some unscrupulous men in power. . . .

"The mass of men serve the state thus, not as men mainly, but as machines, with their bodies. They are the standing army, the militia, jailers, constables, posse comitatus, etc. In most cases there is no free exercise whatever of the judgement or of the moral sense; but they put themselves on a level with wood and earth and stones; and wooden men can perhaps be manufactured that will serve the purpose as well. Such command no more respect than men of straw or a lump of dirt. They have the same sort of worth only as horses and dogs. Yet such as these even are commonly esteemed good citizens.

"Others--as most legislators, politicians, lawyers, ministers,

down, i.e., destroyed as institutions. In a number of cities they have been reopened on an integrated basis, i.e. as new institutions.

"The objective of the integration movement is to remove the present social structure which makes some masters over others . . . and to develop in the South and elsewhere a truly democratic social structure, a community on nonviolence and equality."

From Unfinished Revolution, 1960

Howard Zinn

"There is a strong probability that this July and August will constitute another 'summer of discontent.' The expectations among Negroes in the Black Belt have risen to the point where they cannot be quieted. CORE (Congress of Racial Equality), SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference), and the intrepid youngsters of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, are determined to move forward.

"With the high probability of intensified activity in the Black Belt this summer, the President will have to decide what to do. He can stand by and watch Negro protests smashed by the local police, with mass jailings, beatings, and cruelties of various kinds. Or he can take the kind of firm action suggested above (enforce the law), which would simply establish clearly what the Civil War was fought for a hundred years ago, the supremacy of the U. S. Constitution over the entire nation. If he does not act, the Negro community may be pressed by desperation to move beyond the nonviolence which it has maintained so far with amazing self-discipline.

"Thus, in a crucial sense, the future of non-violence as a means for social change rests in the hands of the President of the United States. And the civil rights movement faces the problem of how to convince him of this, both by words and by action. For, if non-violent direct action seems to batter itself to death against the police power of the Deep South, perhaps its most effective use is against the national government. The idea is to persuade the executive branch to use its far greater resources of nonviolent pressure to break down the walls of totalitarian rule in the Black Belt.

"The latest victim^{*} of this terrible age of violence--which crushed the life from four Negro girls in a church basement in Birmingham, and in this century has taken the lives of over fifty million persons in war--is President John F. Kennedy, killed by an assassin's bullet. To President Johnson will fall the unfinished job of ending the violence and fear of violence which has been part of the everyday life of the Negro in the Deep South."

"Limits of Nonviolence", FREEDOMWAYS, Winter 1964.

^{*}The latest victim now is Mr. Lewis Allen, Negro freedom fighter, Liberty, Mississippi.

and office holders--serve the state chiefly with their heads; and, as they rarely make any moral distinctions, they are as likely to serve the devil, without intending it, as God.

"A very few, as heroes, patriots, martyrs, reformers in the great sense, and men, serve the state with their consciences also, and so necessarily resist it for the most part; and they are commonly treated as enemies by it.

"A wise man will only be useful as a man, and will not submit to be 'clay' and 'stop a hole to keep the wind away' but leave that office to his dust at least:

"I am too high-born to be propertied,
To be secondary at control,
Or useful serving man and instrument
To any sovereign state throughout the world."

From "Essay On the Duty of Civil Disobedience"

Tom Kahn--Strategic Nonviolence

"The idea of solving the problems of Negroes in the South by guerilla war tactics, as some have suggested, is bizarre and unrealistic. It is hard to believe that anyone who is capable of visualizing what it would lead to in practice can seriously propose that Negroes and whites should engage in a race for small arms and baby bombs. The explicit endorsement of armed force by even a small minority of the Southern civil rights forces could only lead to one of the most horrible blood-baths in history. The Negroes could not hope to win an arms race against the fanatic racist forces of the Deep South.

"One does not need to be a Gandhian pacifist to see the appropriateness of non-violent tactics for the civil rights struggle today. A consideration of such ideas is of great importance to those of strong philosophical or religious inclination, but a concern over whether violence is ever justifiable is irrelevant to the present situation. Actions like the Montgomery Bus Protest and the current sit-ins can be supported enthusiastically by all partisans of civil rights, whether pacifist or not, because they are effective in achieving their goals while at the same time undercutting the possibilities of violent reprisals and counter-reprisals. A violent response could only serve to drive the bulk of the uninvolved whites into the hands of the extremist minority which has been molesting the demonstrators. The non-violent response has in fact succeeded in isolating the ultra-racist elements in a number of situations.

"The sit-ins have demonstrated two basic social functions of nonviolent direct action:

- a) It simultaneously destroys the old institutions and constructs new ones in their place.
- b) It immobilizes the state, i.e. its police apparatus.

Throughout the South, the students have made it clear that if there are to be any lunch counters at all, they must be integrated. Segregated lunch counters have in many areas been closed

Lillian Smith

"... they have certainly disturbed something in your town--but not its peace: only its apathy, its complacency, its paralysis in the face of a changing, whirling world that won't wait, no matter how loudly we Americans, South or North, beg it to wait. And they have disturbed your peace of soul--and mine--for we have not measured up to the moral challenge offered us. And now--

"And now, we are touching a sensitive thing: a thing hard to grasp firmly and bring up for the eyes to look at: segregation, itself. What has this way of life done to us all? Have we whites, by its terrible magic, changed from human beings into hollow men? Where is our virtue? our excellence? Did we trade it for white superiority? Have we in this cultural nightmare turned into the stereotype we made of the Negro's soul? Is it we who are satisfied with things as they are? Is it we who are apathetic and without courage to speak up for the rights of our own children to grow and become? Where is the hollowness we thought we had left when, in stereotyping "the Negro" we scooped out his love of freedom, his spiritual dignity? Is it inside our own souls? Did we think we could dehumanize the Negro without dehumanizing ourselves?

"And now, we are touching something else: the dynamic quality of change, itself. How can we change the southern way of life without changing our hearts? without learning to think honestly? The nonviolent movement is telling us, by its philosophy and its ritualistic acts, that change is both vertical and horizontal activity that it comes not by a few external acts but by a great many internal acts. It is forcing us--although this may surprise most of its leaders--into making (those who can) an Orphic journey. . . ."

"... in order to change things creatively a man must accept limits to his rebellion, as Camus so wisely wrote. The Negro nonviolent group accept limits: a limit that excludes physical violence; a limit that excludes arrogant verbal attack; a limit that excludes unforgiving resentment; a limit that refuses to refuse any opportunity for conciliating talk. These are limits they have set up. At the same time, they make plain that their compassion is unlimited; as is their desire to relate themselves creatively to their community. They go further, they say: 'We want to share the burden of the past with you; men have sinned for generations and our Negro people have been hurt by this sinning but white people have been equally hurt. You, who are white and of this time in history, cannot assume the guilt of centuries. When you try by identifying regressively with the past, you break; the goodness in you becomes poisoned by guilt too heavy to be absorbed by your spirit. Why not let us take some of this burden off you? Let us all be redeemed by laying equally upon the shoulders of white and black this heavy cross of past sins. We have sinned too; in different ways from yours but we have all sinned. We want our civil rights, yes--so we may breathe easily, so our children may grow, so the old and stunted may straighten up a little. But most of all, we want a new relationship with you. You are our fellowmen: let us share with you both the burdens of the past and the future.' This is

my personal way of saying it, but I believe the words are a valid expression of the spiritual motivation of the Negro non-violent movement."

"Segregation is not a sickness limited to the South, it is everybody's sickness that leads toward diminished life or death. To shut oneself away . . . to bear another's burdens: these are the polarities of the human act, and each of us has to choose one or the other. No wall can shut away the necessity of this choice."

"It is because their leaders understand this that Negroes are asking not only for their right to grow and become as human beings, but also for the white people's right to grow and become as human beings. We miss the point if we fail to understand this. Segregation is injuring the whites, too, and the Negroes know it: they are working for everybody not just for their own group. To see how segregation has injured the whites one has only to note the moral blindness, the awesome complacency that gently walls away the crisis and the choice, and turn to sports or science or art or poetry or works, saying, 'This is not my concern.' It is so like what happened to the Germans that it hurts to think about it: the shunning of truth, the blocking off of significance. 'It was Hitler and the Nazis,' many Germans say, 'not us; we are German but not Nazis.' But we cannot slip out so easily from a crisis which involves all. . ."

"But what can one do about it? Always the question is asked as though doing were more important than being. Both are important: we must act and contemplate. We must act with humility knowing our own guilty involvement. We must act by reaching out with our minds and hearts until we can take on the burden weighing heavily on southern Negroes and whites. We must know what we are doing. . ."

"Some, in defense of the movement, ask 'What is the alternative?' The answer is, there is none save the violence of conflict with the Black Supremacists."

"Others, who feel sympathy say, 'But it is so futile; how can this movement pit its strength against the power structure!'

"But wait: it is not pitting its strength but the strength of what is good in this world--if God made this world and set up its spiritual laws, then no power structure can hold out against so strange a love, and the redeeming energy that can absorb pain without inflicting it, and the simple act of forgiveness. The great British Empire found this out when it dealt with Gandhi. . .

"The trouble is--yes, you are right: the trouble is, most of us do not believe a word of this; we think evil can overcome good any time it wants to. But maybe we have lost the gift of recognizing the power of good. Could it be that this loss of recognition is the evil weighing so heavily on the world today?"

From A Strange Kind of Love

IX: Democratic National Convention Challenge, August 1964



The MFDP sent 68 delegates to the Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City and challenged the right of the segregationist delegation to represent the state. Their testimony before the Credentials Committee on August 22 was aired live on national television. President Lyndon Johnson feared that if the MFDP delegates were seated, he would lose the entire South in the November election. Minnesota Sen. Hubert Humphrey offered a compromise, which neither the MFDP nor the segregationists could accept. Ultimately, national Democratic Party officials refused to allow the MFDP to participate in the convention and the challenge was defeated. Many people viewed this as a betrayal by the Democratic Party of both the Civil Rights movement and its own traditional values.

38 Plans for Action at National Democratic Convention, January 16, 1964

(5 pages) Memo recommending a challenge to the Mississippi delegation to the convention
<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/18393>

39 Freedom Primer No. 1: The Convention Challenge and The Freedom Vote

(10 pages) Pamphlet describing the Convention Challenge at the Democratic National Convention and the Freedom Vote.
<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/8590>

40 Statement by Charles M. Sherrod, September 1964

(6 pages) Personal account of what happened behind the scenes in Atlantic City
<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/8626>

41 The Convention Challenge

(5 pages) Explanation of why the MFDP didn't accept the compromises offered at the convention
<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/11278>

1/16/64

TO: COFO STAFF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
FROM: CONVENTION COMMITTEE
RE: PLANS FOR ACTION AT NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION

I. GOALS OF CONVENTION CHALLENGE

An investigation of the structure of the Democratic Party in the state of Mississippi revealed that it will probably be very difficult for us to set up local clubs and successfully claim that they are in fact the Democratic Party of the state. However, while we probably cannot unseat the delegates to the Democratic National Convention, it does seem that we can:

1. utilize this opportunity to familiarize the COFO constituency with the workings of the Democratic Party on the local and national level
2. focus national publicity on Mississippi and the racist character of the party in this state
3. make voting in the South an issue at the convention
4. create tensions between the Northern and Southern wings of the party which could possibly result in:
 - a) support for the unseating of Congressmen and Senators
 - b) support for our candidates and/or moderate whites for offices in Miss. and the rest of the South by money in the party
5. create ties between COFO delegates to the convention and the liberal wing of the party which will result in help for us in the future (publicity, money, political advice, pressure on the JD, etc.)

II. BASIS FOR CHALLENGING THE SEATING OF MISSISSIPPI DELEGATES

While we may not be able to actually prevent the seating of delegates, we should make as strong an argument as possible for the seating of our people as delegates. We will claim:

1. The Mississippi Democratic Party should not be seated because it is not open to a great number of the Democrats of the state in that it discriminates against Negroes. It does this by limiting the participation in its affairs to registered voters. (If some of our people are excluded from party meetings despite registration, all the better. We can then include the fact that the party excludes Negroes directly.) It is beyond question that Miss. discriminates racially in determining who will become a registered voter. (Here insert proof of such discrimination. Use Justice Department brief.) Nor can the Miss. Dem. Party escape responsibility for the fact of voting discrimination, for that party has, in effect, been the state government since the end of reconstruction. (Here cite statistics.) And it has been the policy of that party to promote a pure white electorate. (Citations here from party literature.)

The Freedom Democratic Party, on the other hand, is open to all people who wish to belong regardless of race. (A COFO meeting will have to decide whether it wants to identify itself.) It is a caucus have been publicly announced in advance. Both registered and non-registered citizens

The Freedom Dem. Party not only seeks to prevent segregation, but actively attempts to achieve integration. It is the party that speaks for all Mississippians who subscribe to the principles of the National Democratic Party.

2. The Mississippi Dem. Party does not support the policies of the Nat. Dem. Party. Rather, it is opposed to them. Not only on the issue of civil rights, but on other major points of policy is this the case. (Here there should be a point by point comparison of the Kennedy '60 platform and the Dem. State Convention platform.)

The Freedom Dem. Party is closely allied to the Natl. Dem. Party. It supports the following planks of the '60 platform: (List them.)

3. The Miss. Dem. Party has conclusively demonstrated its alienation from the Natl. Dem. Party through its frequent and bitter attacks on the national party and its leaders.

These attacks reached a zenith during the 1963 gubernatorial race, when Paul Johnson and J.P. Coleman each sought to convince the electorate that the other was the "Kennedy candidate" and should therefore be rejected. (Include details and quotations.)

4. The Miss. Dem. Party has no intention of supporting the platform adopted by the candidate chosen by this convention.

Ross Barnett, a leader of the Miss. Dem. Party, has made clear his intention to lead his party in support of an independent electors plan which attempts to put the election into the House of Representatives. (quotes here from old Ross and others.)

The Miss. Dem. Party will not only reject the Natl. Dem. Party candidate; leaders will attempt to get other states to do the same, thus endangering the Natl. Dem. Party campaign effort.

5. The Miss. Dem. Party in 1960 refused to honor its pledge to support the chosen nominees of the convention. It convened immediately after the national convention and agreed to support a slate of unpledged electors, with the purpose of defeating the National Dem. Party nominees. The state electors were in fact unpledged.

(Note: Point 1 requires that we send some eligible Negro voters to precinct conventions in hopes they will be excluded. It also requires a public announcement of some sort for the COFO district and/or state meetings. If this is not done, our argument is weakened. It should be possible to get free air time for this. If not, a small legal ad in the local newspaper run 2 or 3 times will suffice.)

(Note #2: The arguments above should be viewed as tentative, to be refined as suggested in Action Proposals.)

III. HOW DELEGATES TO THE CONVENTION ARE CHOSEN

1. The Precinct Convention

Any "Qualified elector" (ie, registered voter) may attend the precinct convention. Precinct conventions are called by the chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, who must announce the date at least 10 days in advance. They are usually held on a Tuesday during the months of Feb., March, or April. They begin at 10 A.M. and are held at the regular

voting place of the precinct. The precinct convention elects from 1 to 6 delegates to the county convention. Often these votes are split in half and an alternate is elected for each delegate. (This means that if there are 2 votes from the precinct it may send 3 people.)

(The meeting is presided over by the temporary chairman who is appointed by the County Democratic Executive Committee, until the chairman can be elected. The convention adopts its own rules. It can also pass resolutions which serve to express its sentiments but are not binding.)

2. The County Convention

The County Convention elects delegates to the State Convention. Each county has twice as many delegates to the state convention as it has representatives in the Mississippi House of Representatives. (They actually send four times that many people to the convention, using the plan of splitting the vote in half and having an alternate for each half vote.)

(This convention also selects the County Democratic Executive, which has 15 members. Nominations for the committee are selected by 5 caucuses, and nominations may be made from the floor. The County convention can also adopt resolutions.)

3. The Congressional District Caucus

The delegates elected by the county conventions to the state convention meet by Congressional District a week or more after the County convention. The meetings are usually held a week apart. At this meeting the delegates elect:

- a) six regular and three alternate delegates (representing three votes) to the National Democratic Convention.
- b) three members to the State Democratic Executive Committee
- c) one candidate for Democratic Presidential Elector

4. The State Convention

The delegates elected by the County Conventions come to the state convention, which meets in Jackson a week or more after the last Congressional Caucus. The Convention

1) ratifies the election of delegates who were selected by the Congressional District Caucus, and 2) elects the rest of the delegates to the national convention. (In addition, the Convention adopts a platform, ratifies the election of the 15 people elected by the Congressional District Caucuses to the State Democratic Exec. Committee, and elects the National Democratic Committeeman and Committeewoman. These last two sit on the Democratic National Committee, which is in charge of policy for the party between conventions.)

(Note: Mississippi has 24 votes at the Natl. Dem. Convention. The Jackson Clarion Ledger indicates that they will be sending 68 people: 46 delegates and 22 alternates. This means that two people have whole votes and the rest half votes. Since the State Committeeman and Committeewoman usually share one vote, this probably means that the state convention will elect 14 delegates, two of whom will have whole votes, and 7 alternates.)

Convention

IV. SUGGESTIONS FOR ACTION

The original thought in developing a plan for setting up political organization in the state was that local COFO units could claim to be local Democratic Clubs if COFO decided to work within the framework of the Democratic Party. However, given that the Democratic party in this state does not function by clubs, that argument may not hold up. Further to seriously challenge the delegates elected at the state convention, the proper procedure would be to have our people go to district caucuses and challenge the convention on some grounds and then set up a rump convention which would be the real convention. These would then appeal to the county convention for recognition. If this were denied they would organize on up the line (county, and state convention on their own. It does not seem that we have 1) sufficient registered voters to do this or 2) sufficient strength around the state to organize to get people in numbers to every precinct which includes Negroes.

There are things that could be done on the precinct level, however:

1. Unregistered people could go the precinct meeting and claim they are in fact qualified electors but have been discriminated against. They would get thrown out. These people should have registered in the Freedom Registration. We can then claim these people would be registered Democrats but are discriminated against by the state (which is in turn controlled by the party.)
2. Registered voters can go and try to introduce resolutions from the 1960 Democratic Platform. We will really need only the state platform to claim that the Mississippi Party is a state party only and not really a part of the National party in its thinking. It is likely that our people will not be allowed to speak, will be seated in segregated seats, etc. and we can claim that the party does not give a fair hearing to all its members. (It is unlikely that they won't be admitted since that is illegal and the Mississippi party knows that)
3. The Freedom Registration should be set up by precinct (that is people will be told their precinct, etc. when they register to educate them to the process of the party.)
4. On the state level a COFO convention can select the other delegates to the National Democratic Party Convention. These people will go to the Credentials Committee according to whatever rules we discover are applicable.

Convention

In addition a great deal of work needs to be done prior to the convention on the National level.

1. There should be a meeting of COFO people and liberals in Congress and other places in the party. (For instance Rep. Bolling is supposedly willing to support a challenge to seating Mississippi delegates.) This meeting should a) get us information on whether our basis for challenging is the best one; b) get their commitment to help with strategy and support us at the convention; c) perhaps get help with money for transportation of our delegates.

2. There should be a meeting of COFO people and other people in civil rights who are interested in demonstrations or action at the convention so our plans do not conflict and we can get their advice on strategy, publicity, etc. They could also advise us on the possibilities for civil disobedience, not against the convention itself (which would probably not win us any friends) but against the Mississippi delegation -- lying in front of their hotel rooms, etc. Bob Moses is trying to get such a group together, we understand.

FREEDOM PRIMER

No. 1

The Convention Challenge

and

The Freedom Vote



FDP



THE CHALLENGE AT THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION

What Was The Democratic National Convention?

The Democratic National Convention was a big meeting held by the National Democratic Party at Atlantic City in August. People who represent the Party came to the Convention from every state in the country. They came to decide who would be the candidates of the Democratic Party for President and Vice-President of the United States in the election this year on November 3rd. They also came to decide what the Platform of the National Democratic Party would be. The Platform is a paper that says what the Party thinks should be done about things like Housing, Education, Welfare, and Civil Rights.

Why Did The Freedom Democratic Party Go To The Convention?

The Freedom Democratic Party (FDP) sent a delegation of 68 people to the Convention. These people wanted to represent you at the Convention. They said that they should be seated at the Convention instead of the people sent by the Regular Democratic Party of Mississippi. The Regular Democratic Party of Mississippi only has white people in it. But the Freedom Democratic Party is open to all people -- black and

white. So the delegates from the Freedom Democratic Party told the Convention it was the real representative of all the people of Mississippi.

How Was The Regular Democratic Party Delegation Chosen?

The Regular Democratic Party of Mississippi also sent 68 people to the Convention in Atlantic City.

But these people were not chosen by all the people of Mississippi. Negroes were not allowed to attend the precinct, county, district, and state meetings where these delegates were chosen. Members of the Freedom Democratic



Party tried to go to these meetings, but they were turned away from the door because these meetings were for white people only. But even most white people could not go to these meetings. The Regular Democratic Party of Mississippi is not controlled by all the white people, but only by a few powerful people -- like James Eastland in Sunflower County and Billy and Gus Noble in Canton. They do not want to share their power. So they do not let most of the white people come to the meetings of the Regular Democratic Party either.

How Was The Freedom Democratic Party Delegation Chosen?

When the Regular Democratic Party of Mississippi told Negroes they could not come to its meetings, the Negroes held their own meetings. They called their party the Freedom Democratic Party. They held precinct, county, district, and state meetings just like



the Regular Democratic Party. But the Freedom Democratic Party meetings were open to anyone, black or white. At their meetings the Freedom Democratic Party also chose delegates to the National Convention in Atlantic City. Most of the delegates were Negroes. But some white people were chosen too.

Who Decided If The Freedom Democratic Party Could Sit
At Atlantic City?

At Atlantic City the delegates from the Freedom Democratic Party went to a Committee that decided who could sit and vote in the Convention. This Committee was made up of two delegates from each state. The Regular Democratic Party asked the Committee to let them sit and vote in the seats for Mississippi. But the Freedom Democratic Party said that they should be allowed to sit and vote for Mississippi. People like Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer and Dr. Aaron Henry told about the things that happened to them in Mississippi, how they had been arrested and beaten and how their homes had been shot into. They told how badly all the Negro people in Mississippi are treated. And they told how they had tried to go to the meetings of the Regular Democratic Party. They told too how they had held meetings open to everyone to choose the Freedom Democratic Party Delegation to Atlantic City. They were on television, and many people everywhere in America saw them. Many people in Mississippi saw them too.



What Did The Committee Decide?

The Committee made its decision by a vote. It voted that

the Regular Democratic Party in Mississippi should represent Mississippi at the Convention. This means that the Regular Democratic Party would sit in the Mississippi seats at the Convention and cast all the votes for Mississippi. The Committee said that the Freedom Democratic Party could not represent Mississippi at the Convention. The Committee said that only Dr. Aaron Henry and Rev. Edwin King from the Freedom Democratic Party could sit and vote in the Convention. But Dr. Henry and Rev. King would not be allowed to sit in the Mississippi seats or cast the votes for Mississippi. The Committee did not say who Dr. Henry and Rev. King would represent. The Committee also said that the members of the Regular Democratic Party of Mississippi would have to promise to support President Johnson and his vice-president in the election November 3. If the delegates from the Regular Democratic Party refused to promise this, they would not be allowed to sit and vote in the Convention.

Why Did The Committee Make This Decision?

Many members of the Committee were afraid. Many of them wanted to support the Freedom Democratic Party. But they were afraid they would lose their jobs in Washington or back home in the state where they lived. In other parts of the United States it is often just like in Mississippi. You can lose your job if you stand up and say what you believe in.

President Johnson supported the all-white Regular Democratic Party. He wanted the Regular Party to be the only official party back here in Mississippi. President Johnson was afraid, too. Freedom Democratic Party delegate Hartman Turnbow of Holmes County said the President was afraid he would lose his job too if he

stood up and said what he believed in.

Lyndon Johnson wants to be elected President again this November. He wants to get as many votes as possible in as many states as possible. President Johnson was afraid that if he supported the Freedom Democratic Party, the Republican candidate Barry Goldwater would get most of the votes in the Southern states and then President Johnson would lose his job as President.

President Johnson knows that in the Southern States there are many, many Negroes. But very, very few of them are allowed to vote. So most of the voters in the Southern states are whites. The President knew that if he supported the Freedom Democratic Party he might lose white friends in the South, and then he would not win the election in the Southern states. President Johnson was also afraid of the Regular Democratic Party of Mississippi. He knows that they do not like Civil Rights, or Aid to Education, or more Medical Care. He is afraid that the white politicians from Mississippi like James Eastland, Jamie Whitten and John Bell Williams will stop these programs in Washington. So President Johnson is afraid of these men.

But President Johnson had a lot of power at the Convention. He could tell many of the members of that Committee how to vote. The President can make many people judges or put them in other important positions. Since many members of the Committee want to be judges or important officials, when the President told them to vote against the Freedom Democratic Party, that is what they did.

What Did The Freedom Democratic Party Do?

The Freedom Democratic Party did not accept the decision of the Committee. They said that all the people at the Convention should be able to vote on who should have the seats for Mississippi. They knew that most of the delegates at the Convention, and people all over the country, believed what the Freedom Democratic Party said about Mississippi. They knew these people wanted to vote at the Convention, just as Negroes from Mississippi wanted to vote at the Convention.



The President did not want all the delegates to vote at the Convention. He knew that if all the delegates voted he might lose, and the Freedom Democratic Party would be seated. He wanted to tell the delegates what to do.

But the Freedom Democratic Party stood together. And when people stand together they become strong. When you are strong you have some power, too. So President Johnson was not the only one at the Convention with power. The Freedom Democratic Party's power came from standing up and talking about what it believed in. People believed what Mrs. Hamer and Dr. Henry said, and they wanted to support the Freedom Democratic Party. For three days, the Freedom Democratic Party and its friends were strong enough to keep the President of the United States from doing what he wanted. But the President used all the pressure that he could, and finally he was able to stop all the delegates from voting about Mississippi.

Why Did the Freedom Democratic Party Reject the Committee's Decision?

The Committee offered two token seats to the Freedom Democratic Party. And the Committee chose the two people to sit in them, Dr. Henry and Rev. King. The Committee said this offer was the best they could do.

The Freedom Democratic Party delegation also voted. They voted whether or not to accept the decision of the Committee. They voted NOT to accept the decision of the Committee. The Freedom Democratic Party delegation said the offer was not good enough. They insisted that the Committee had to do better.

The Freedom Democratic Party said it was tired of tokens. It wanted 68 votes, not two votes. It wanted to vote for Mississippi. And it wanted to choose its own leaders -- it did not want the Committee to say who could vote from the Freedom Democratic Party. The Freedom Democratic Party wanted its delegation to sit and vote with Democrats from all the other states in the country.

So the Freedom Democratic Party delegation said "No!" to the Committee. The delegation talked about the offer for many hours and voted several times. Each time the delegation said "No!". President Johnson and Hubert Humphrey could not understand why the Freedom Democratic Party would not give in. And many of our Negro and white friends could not understand either. Very few people in the country understand what it means to say "No!" to what is wrong and to say "Yes!" to what you believe in.

Most people think that you have to give in at some point so that other people will not be mad. They think that you are supposed to accept what you are offered by powerful people because that is the way things are done in this country. That

is the way things have been done in Mississippi, too, for a long time.

It takes courage to stand up for what you believe in. That is why the Freedom Democratic Party was started. So that people could stand up for what they believe in in Mississippi. But because the Freedom Democratic Party stood up for what it believed in in Mississippi, it knew it had to do this everywhere. So when the President and the Committee said "No!" to the Freedom Democratic Party in Atlantic City, the Freedom Democratic Party continued to say "Yes!" to what it believed in.

What Did The Regular Party of Mississippi Do?

The Regular Party of Mississippi did not like the Committee's decision either. They were mad because Dr. Henry and Rev. King had been able to get seats in the Convention. They were mad too because they did not want to promise that they would work for President Johnson and Hubert Humphrey in the election. So Gov. Johnson of Mississippi told the Regular Democratic Party delegation to come home. And that is what they did, all except four of them who said they would support President Johnson and Hubert Humphrey.

What Happened To The Mississippi Seats At The Convention?

The four delegates from the Regular Democratic Party of Mississippi who promised to support President Johnson took their seats at the Convention. But the Freedom Democratic Party delegation also tried to take the Mississippi seats. When the Freedom delegates walked in, the four delegates from the Regular

Democratic Party walked out. Then they went home too. So the Freedom Democratic Party delegation sat in some of the seats from Mississippi. For four days they kept coming to the Convention. In this way they showed that they felt they should be a part of the Convention, and that they wanted to support the national Democratic Party.

THE FREEDOM VOTE

What Will The Freedom Democratic Party Do Next?

The Freedom Democratic Party will keep working and spreading all over Mississippi. It wants more and more Negroes in Mississippi to take part in politics. It wants to grow and grow until it is stronger than the Regular Democratic Party of Mississippi.

The Freedom Democratic Party will also campaign for President Johnson and Hubert Humphrey in the November election. The Freedom Democratic Party is supporting Johnson and Humphrey even though Johnson and Humphrey supported the Regular Democratic Party of Mississippi at Atlantic City. The reason is that the Regular Democratic Party is fighting hard to get the Republican candidate Barry Goldwater and his conservative program into the White House. To support Johnson in Mississippi, therefore, is to help fight the Regular Democratic Party of Mississippi and the conservative program it supports.

The Freedom Democratic Party will also support other candidates in November. Dr. Aaron Henry is running for Senator from Mississippi, and Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, Mrs. Victoria Gray,

Mary Box 4, Folder 4
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and Mrs. Annie Devine are running for the House of Representatives. They are running as Independents, but they will have the support of the Freedom Democratic Party. The Freedom Democratic Party wants everyone who is registered to vote for Lyndon Johnson, Hubert Humphrey, Mrs. Hamer, Mrs. Gray, and Mrs. Devine in November. But for those people who are not registered there will be another vote -- the FREEDOM VOTE.

What Is The Freedom Vote?

The Freedom Vote is a special vote for all people, Negro or white who are at least 21 years old and live in Mississippi. This year the Freedom Vote will be October 30 and 31 and November 1 and 2. The same candidates will be on the Freedom Vote as are in the Regular Election on November 3. People can FREEDOM REGISTER anytime to vote in the Freedom Vote.



The Freedom Democratic Party will try to get more votes in the Freedom Vote than there are in the regular election. This will show that Negroes want to vote and would vote if they were allowed to. It will also show that if Negroes were allowed to vote in Mississippi, there would be different people representing Mississippi.

The Regular Democratic Party does not like the Freedom Vote. But the Negroes of Mississippi want to stand up and be counted. They know that if they vote in the Freedom Vote their voices will be heard. And they know that if they vote for President Johnson, he will have to listen.

#



It was a cool day in August beside the ocean. Atlantic City, New Jersey was waiting for the Democratic National Convention to begin. In that republican fortress history was about to be made. High on a billboard smiling out at the breakers was a picture of Barry Goldwater and an inscription "In your heart you know he's right." Later someone had written underneath, "Yes, extreme right." Goldwater had had his "moment" two weeks before on the other ocean. This was to be L. B. J.'s "moment", and we were to find out that this was also his convention.

The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party had been working rather loosely all summer. Money was as scarce as prominent friends. A small band of dedicated persons forged out of the frustration and aspirations of an oppressed people a wedge; a moral wedge which brought the monstrous political machinery of the greatest power on earth to a screeching halt.

The Freedom Democratic Party was formed through precinct, county, district, and state conventions. An attempt to register with the state was frustrated. But the Party was opened to both black and white voters and non-voters for the State of Mississippi had denied the right to vote to thousands. Ninety-three percent of the Negroes twenty-one years of age or older in Mississippi are denied the right to vote. To show to the Convention and to the country that people want to vote in Mississippi, we held a Freedom Registration campaign. In other words, a voter registration blank form from a northern state was used. Sixty-thousand persons signed up in less than three months. We presented our registration books to the Credentials Committee. Both the facts and the law were ably represented by our attorney, Joseph Rauh, Jr., who was also a member of the Credentials Committee.

No one could say that we were a renegade group. We had tried to work within the structure of the State Party. In fact, we were not only trying to be included in the State Party, but we also sought to insure that the State Party would remain loyal to the candidates of the National Democratic Party in November. We attended precinct meetings in several parts of Mississippi.

In eight precincts in six different counties, we went to polling stations before the time legally designated for the precinct meeting, 10:00 A.M., but were unable to find any evidence of a meeting. Some officials denied knowledge of any meeting; others claimed the meeting had already taken place. In these precincts we proceeded to hold our own meetings and elected our own delegates to the county conventions.

In six different counties where we found the white precinct meetings, we were excluded from the meetings. In Hattiesburg we were told that we could not participate without poll tax receipts, despite the recent Constitutional amendment,

outlawing such provisions.

In ten precincts in five different counties, we were allowed to attend the meetings but were restricted from exercising full rights: some were not allowed to vote; some were not allowed to nominate delegates from the floor; others were not allowed to choose who tallied the votes. No one could say that we had not tried. We had no alternative but to form a State party that would include everyone.

So sixty-eight delegates came from Mississippi--black, white, maids, ministers, carpenters, farmers, painters, mechanics, school teachers, the young, the old--they were ordinary people but each had an extraordinary story to tell. And they could tell the story! The Saturday before the convention began, they presented their case to the Credentials Committee, and through television, to the nation and the world. No human being confronted with the truth of our testimony could remain indifferent to it. Many tears fell. Our position was valid and our case was just.

But the word had been given. The Freedom Party was to be seated without voting rights as honored guests of the Convention. The Party caucused and rejected the proposed "compromise." The slow and now frantic machinery of the administration was grinding against itself. President Johnson had given Senator Humphrey the specific task of dealing with us. They were desperately seeking ways to seat the regular Mississippi delegation without any show of disunity. The administration needed time!

Sunday evening, there was a somewhat secret meeting held at the Deauville Motel, for all Negro delegates. The M.F.D.P. was not invited but was there. In a small, crowded, dark room with a long table and a black board, some of the most prominent Negro politicians in the country gave the "word", one by one. Then, an old man seated in a soft chair struggled slowly to his feet. It was the black dean of politics, Congressman Charles Dawson of Chicago.

Unsteady in his voice, he said exactly what the other "leaders" had said: 1. We must nominate and elect Lyndon B. Johnson for President in November: 2. We must register thousands of Negroes to vote: and 3. We must follow leadership, adding "we must respect womanhood", and sat down. With that a little woman, dark and strong, Mrs. Annie Devine from Canton, Miss. standing near the front asked to be heard. The Congressman did not deny her. She began to speak. "We have been treated like beasts in Mississippi. They shot us down like animals." She began to rock back and forth and her voice quivered. "We risk our lives coming up here...politics must be corrupt if it don't care none about people down there...these politicians sit in positions and forget the people who put them there." She went on, crying between each sentence, but right after

her witness the meeting was adjourned.

What nightmare were they having? Here we were in a life-death grip, wrestling with the best political strategists in the country. We needed only eleven votes for a minority report from the Credentials Committee. They had postponed their report three times; a sub-committee was working around the clock. If there had been a vote in the Credentials Committee Saturday we would have probably had four times as many votes as we needed, Sunday two times as many, and as late as Tuesday, we still had ten delegates committed to call for the minority report. We had ten state delegations on record as supporting us. We had at least six persons on the Credentials Committee itself who attended our caucus to help determine the best strategy. We had over half of the press at our disposal. We were the issue, the only issue at that convention. But the bleak leadership at the convention went the way of the "black dean's" maxim; "Follow leadership"--the word had been given.

The Freedom Party had made its position clear, too. They had come to the Convention to be seated instead of the all-white Party from Mississippi but they were willing to compromise. A compromise was suggested by Congresswoman Edith Green (D.-Ore.), a member of the Credentials Committee. It was acceptable to the Freedom Party and could have become the minority report: 1. Everyone would be subjected to a loyalty oath, both the Freedom Party and the Mississippi regular Party; 2. Each delegate who took the oath would be seated and the votes would be divided proportionately.

It was minimal: the Freedom Party would accept no less.

The administration countered with another compromise. It had five points: 1. The all-white Party would take the oath and be seated; 2. The Freedom Democratic Party would be welcomed as honored guests of the Convention; 3. Dr. Aaron Henry and Rev. Edwin King, Chairman and National Committeeman of the Freedom Democratic Party respectively, would be given delegate status in a special category of "delegates-at-large"; 4. The Democratic National Committee would obligate states by 1968, to select and certify delegates through a process without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin; and 5. The Chairman of the National Democratic Committee would establish a special committee to aid the states in meeting standards set for the 1968 Convention and that a report would be made to the National Democratic Committee and be available for the next convention and its members.

The "word" had come down for the last time. We had begun to lose support in the Credentials Committee. This came mainly

as a result of a squeeze play by the administration.

It was Tuesday morning when the Freedom Party delegation was hustled to its meeting place, the Union Temple Baptist Church. You could cut through the tension, it was so apparent. People were touchy and on edge. It had been a long fight; being up night and day, running after delegations, following leads, speaking, answering politely, always aggressive, always moving. Now, one of the most important decisions of the convention had to be made.

At about one o'clock, it was reported that a group from the M.F.D.P. had gone to talk with representatives of the administration and a report was given: it was the five point compromise. This was also the majority report from the Credentials Committee. There were now seven hours left for sixty-eight people to examine the compromise, think about it, accept or reject it, propose the appropriate action, and do what was necessary to implement it. The hot day dragged on; there were speeches and speeches and talk and talk--Dr. Martin Luther King, Bayard Rustin, Senator Wayne Morse, Congresswoman Edith Green, Jack Pratt, James Farmer, James Forman, Ella Baker, and Bob Moses. Some wanted to accept the compromise, and others did not. A few remained neutral and all voiced total support whatever the ultimate decision. But time had made the decision. The day was fast spent when discussion was opened to the delegation.

The administration had succeeded in baiting us into extended discussion and this was the end. We had no time to sift through over five thousand delegates and alternates, through ninety-eight Credentials Committee members who could have been anywhere in the ocean for all we knew.

The proposal was rejected by the Freedom Party Delegation; we had come through another crisis with our minds depressed but our hearts and hands unstained. Again we had not bowed to "massa". We were asserting a moral declaration to this country that the political mind must be concerned with much more than the expedient; that there are real issues in this country's politics and "race" is one.

One can logically move from this point to others. First of all, the problem of "race" in this country cannot be solved without political adjustment. We must consider the masters of political power at this point and acknowledge that the blacks are not trusted with this kind of power for this is real power. This is how our meat making and money making and dress making and love making is regulated. A readjustment must be made. One hundred counties where blacks outnumber whites in the South need an example for the future. The real question is whether America is willing to pay its dues. We are not only demanding meat and bread and a job

but we are also demanding power, a share in power! Will we share power in this country together in reconciliation or, out of frustration, take a share of power and show it, or the need for it, in rioting and blood?

The manipulation of power in our homeland is in white hands. The white majority controls the decision-making process here. At President Johnson's "Coronation" in Atlantic City there were no blacks with power to challenge the position of the administration. Moreover, there was opposition by blacks to any attempt to wield power against the administrative position. There was no black group supporting us; they had no power; they could show no power. But they had positions of power. One would support that it is part of the system to give positions meaningless labels and withhold the real power. This is the story of the bond between our country and its black children.

In the South and North, the black man is losing confidence in the intentions of the Federal Government. The case of Byron de la Beccwith is an example of what frustrates our people in this connection. The Klansmen freed in Georgia is another. Both can be explained but the emotions which they arouse in the Negro in this country cannot be explained away. The seating of the Mississippi Freedom Delegation could have gone a long way toward restoring the faith in the intentions of our government for many who believe that the Federal Government is a white man. Many Negroes believe that the government has no intention of sharing the power with blacks. We can see through the "token". We have had a name for a white man's Negro ever since any white man named one. We want much more than "token" position or even representation. We want power for our people. We want it out of the country's respect for the ideals of America and love for its own people. We need to be trusted, each for his own worth; this is why we are not chanting everlasting praises for the civil rights bill. We remember all the bills before. In fact, we remember the reconstruction period. This time, we will be our own watch dogs on progress. We will not trade one slavery for another.

Secondly, we refuse to accept the total responsibility for the conditions of race relations in this country. At the convention we were repeatedly told to be "responsible"; that Goldwater would benefit from our actions. We were told that riots in Harlem and Rochester and Jersey City and Philadelphia must stop. "Responsible" leaders have gotten up and called moratoriums in response to directives to be "responsible". The country is being hurt by the riots, we are told admonishingly.

Who can make jobs for people in our society? Who runs our society? Who plans the cities? Who regulates the tariff?

Who makes the laws? Who interprets the law? Who holds the power? Let them be responsible! They are at fault who have not alleviated the causes which make men express their feelings of utter despair and hopelessness. Our society is amous for its white-washing, buck-passing tactics. That is one reason the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party could not accept the administration's compromise. It was made to look like something and it was nothing. It was made to pacify the blacks in this country. It did not work. We refused to accept a "victory". We could have accepted the compromise, called it a victory and went back to Mississippi, carried on the shoulders of millions of Negroes across the country as their champions. But we love the ideals of our country; they mean more than a "moment" of victory. We are what we are--hungry, beaten, unvictorious, jobless, homeless, but thankful to have the strength to fight. This is honesty and we refuse to compromise here. It would have been a lie to accept that particular compromise. It would have said to blacks across the nation and the world that we share the power and that is a lie! The "liberals" would have felt great relief for a job well done. The Democrats would have laughed again at the segregationist Republicans and smiled that their own "Negroes" were satisfied. That is a lie! We are a country of racists with a racist heritage, a racist economy, a racist language, a racist religion, a racist philosophy of living, and we need a naked confrontation with ourselves. All the lies of television and radio and the press cannot save us from what we really are . . . black or white.

It is only now that a voice is being heard in our land. It is the voice of the poor; it is the tongue of the underprivileged; it is from the lips of the desperate. This is a voice of utter frankness: the white man knows that he has deceived himself for his own purposes yet he continues to organize his own humiliation and ours.

We have no political panaceas. We will not claim that responsibility either. But we do search for a way of truth.

Charles M. Sherrod

FDP

THE CONVENTION CHALLENGE

Many friends of the FDP have expressed concern and confusion as to why the FDP delegation at Atlantic City refused to accept the decision of the Credentials Committee. That decision gave Dr. Aaron Henry and Rev. Ed King votes as Delegates-At-Large, required that the Regular Democratic Party of Mississippi pledge support to Johnson Humphrey in November, and provided for a committee to work on requiring that at the 1968 convention all delegates be chosen through processes which do not exclude Negro registered voters.

In analyzing why the FDP did not accept this compromise, it is important to understand first what the FDP delegation represented and what it accomplished at the convention. The FDP delegation was not simply an "alternative" delegation chosen by Negro instead of white Mississippians. The FDP is not a Negro party, but an integrated party, open to all whites. It grows directly out of the civil rights movement in Mississippi. It came to Atlantic City demanding, not simply that Negroes be represented, but that racism be ended - in Mississippi and in the Democratic Party.

Moreover, the conditions under which the FDP delegation was chosen were certainly unique. Though the FDP delegation was chosen according to the laws of Mississippi, its role was only partially political. This is so because simply to take part in the political process of the state makes the Negro in Mississippi automatically a rebel against the segregated society. This means that he is in immediate and grave danger of losing his job, his home, and possibly his life. Many of those who represented the FDP at Atlantic City have suffered the most brutal and continual reprisals ever since they began working for their political rights. This lends a peculiar and unique air to their efforts to attend the Convention, and means that they were literally gambling their lives against the right of being seated in Atlantic City.

The third thing that must be understood is that the FDP had the support it needed to win the fight at Atlantic City. Within the Credentials Committee there was sufficient support to get the FDP's demands on the floor of the Convention, through the signing of a minority report. On the floor, there was sufficient support to force a roll call vote. Once a roll call was allowed, most observers agreed that the FDP would have been seated. What prevented this was the most massive pressure from the White House, through the mediation of Hubert Humphrey. The FDP delegation was aware of all of this, and it therefore knew that the leadership of the party and the Convention was denying it what in fact it had the popular support to win. This kind of dictation is what Negroes in Mississippi face and have always faced, and it is precisely this that they are learning to stand up against.

The specific reasons for the rejection of the Committee's decision follow:

1. Supporters of the compromise argued that the two seats would have great symbolic value. But 68 symbols would have been a lot better than two. We must stop playing the game of accepting token recognition for real change and of allowing the opposition to choose a few "leaders" to represent the people at large - especially if, as at the Convention, the opposition is all white and the people are all Negro. If the people are going to be heard in this country, then we must make the country talk with and listen to them, and not a handpicked committee. The people sent 68 representatives that they chose in open convention. The delegation could not violate that trust.

2. The first provision of that compromise was that the Regular delegation would be fully seated and recognized. The FDP did not go to Atlantic City to vote for a proposal which would recognize the Regular party as the Democratic representative in Mississippi. The FDP came to unseat the regulars because they don't represent the people of Mississippi. Even the two seats offered to the FDP would not have been Mississippi votes, but merely votes at large.

3. The compromise made pretense at setting up means of challenging delegations in 1968 from states which interfere with Negro participation in the party. But the Credentials Committee, in private talks with the FDP delegation, said that it would not guarantee a single registered voter added to the lists in the next four years. Less than 6 percent of voting-age Negroes are now registered in the state. In order to participate in regular democratic party politics in Mississippi you must be a registered voter. The compromise proposal dealt only with "voters". So, even if Negroes are permitted to attend meetings in 1968 to prove the party is "open", they don't stand any real chance of having a voice in the decision of that party.

4. Some supporters of the compromise argued that the FDP was representing all Negroes in the country and the two seats offered would mean a lot to them in the Northern cities, where rioting has been taking place. But the 68 persons came to Atlantic City to represent the Negroes of Mississippi and not the country as a whole. That is the nature of all delegations at the convention. It is unreasonable to ask the Mississippi delegation to bear the burden of the entire country - especially since it is one of the most powerless groups in the country to actually affect conditions. There is no reason why the Negroes of Mississippi should be sacrificed on the altar of national politics.

5. The compromise offered no precedent for the future, especially since it was not based on any precedent in the past. It offered the FDP nothing in the way of permanent recognition, patronage, official status or a guarantee of participation in the 1968 convention. The compromise was a completely one-shot affair; the FDP is not.

6. The committee set up to review such matters for the 1968 convention has no official status or power with regard to the 1968 convention. It may look good on paper, but its strength lies there on the paper and nowhere else.

7. The compromise was an effort by the Administration, led by President Johnson, to prevent a floor fight on the issue at the convention. The compromise was not designed to deal with the issues raised by the FDP in challenging the regular delegation. The FDP delegation came to Atlantic City to raise the issue of racism, not simply to demand recognition. It could not accept a token decision which had as its goal the avoidance of the question of racism.

Finally it must be understood that the FDP delegation did not come to Atlantic City begging for crumbs. They came demanding full rights, for themselves and for 1,000,000 other human beings. They would have accepted any honorable compromise between reasonable men. The test was not whether the FDP could accept "political realism", but rather whether the Convention and the National Democratic Party could accept the challenge presented by the FDP. The Convention and the National Democratic Party failed that test.

PLANS OF THE MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Under the impetus of the Convention Challenge at Atlantic City, the Freedom Democratic Party has undergone great growth and solidification throughout Mississippi. Local leadership is taking over a larger and larger share of the organizational work of the party and the related efforts of voter registration and education. District, County, and Precinct meetings are being held all over the state to further these programs. The main task of the FDP in the next few months will be to see that focus is given to the political work and that materials are available to further the educational program. These efforts will center around the Freedom Vote and the new Freedom Primers.

THE FREEDOM VOTE

The main effort of the FDP in the next six weeks will be a Freedom Vote to be held October 31 and November 1 and 2. The Freedom Vote will be open to all people, Negro and white, registered or unregistered, who are at least 21 and residents of Mississippi. Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey will be placed against Barry Goldwater and William Miller in the Freedom Vote. The FDP will also run Dr. Aaron Henry for the Senate, Mr. Harold Roby for Congress in the 1st District, Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer in the 2nd District, Mrs. Annie Devine in the 4th District, and Mrs. Victoria Gray in the 5th District.

The FDP is also supporting the Johnson-Humphrey ticket in the regular election November 3. The FDP candidates (except Mr. Roby) will enter that election as independents. The FDP will be the only major group in Mississippi supporting Johnson-Humphrey in November.

4.
The Regular Democratic Party of Mississippi has openly endorsed the Barry Goldwater-William Miller ticket.

The FDP is supporting Johnson and Humphrey even though it was Johnson and Humphrey who blocked the seating of the FDP at Atlantic City. It is doing this because it recognizes the importance of a Johnson-Humphrey victory in November; and because it believes, despite Atlantic City, in the ultimate ability of the Democratic Party to meet the challenge of the FDP and eliminate racism from its ranks. It also knows that support for Johnson will help in its fight against the Regular Democratic Party because of the latter's opposition to the candidates and Platform of the National Party.

But since 94% of Mississippi's Negroes of voting age still are not registered, the FDP can offer only token support for candidates in the regular election. Instead, its efforts will focus on the Freedom Vote, where anyone can vote. The importance of the Freedom Vote is that it gives to Mississippi's disenfranchised Negroes the chance to participate in politics and indicate their political preferences.

The FDP hopes to have more votes cast for its candidates in the Freedom Vote than are cast for the opposition candidates in the regular election. In this way, the Freedom Vote will show, not only that Mississippi's Negroes would vote if they were allowed to do so, but that the outcome of the elections under such circumstance would be radically different. It would also show that Negroes would be elected to public offices in Mississippi if the Negro half of the state's population were allowed to vote.

The 1964 Freedom Vote will lead to further challenges on the national level. In January the FDP will attempt to have the Mississippi representatives to Congress unseated on the grounds that they were chosen through a discriminatory voting procedure. The FDP will show through the Freedom Vote that some at least of the regular candidates would not have been elected if Negroes had the right to vote. If this effort fails, the FDP will ask the Democratic caucus to strip all Mississippi representatives of their seniority in Congress. This will also be done on the grounds of voting discrimination, and on the grounds of regular party disloyalty. The FDP expects to emerge from the Freedom Vote with a much strengthened organization at the local level and with much broader awareness of its goals among the Negroes of the state.

THE FREEDOM PRIMERS - The FDP has launched a major new educational program in the state through the use of the Freedom Primers. The Freedom Primers are short, simple booklets on different phases of politics, economics, and civil rights as they effect Mississippians. The first primer concerned The Convention Challenge and The Freedom Vote.

The primers will be distributed to MFDP activists and to students in the Mississippi Project's Freedom Schools. As much as possible, MFDP distribution will be made through local officers of the party. In this way they will serve an organizational as well as an educational function.

The primers will be used as the basis of discussion at precinct and county meetings and at voter registration meetings. It is hoped that the primers can be published once every 10 days for a full year, each issue on a different topic. It is hoped the primers will provide a breadth of facts and concepts more vital to the growth of political understanding than a more rigid educational program.

X: Freedom Election, October 29-November 3, 1964



Since most black residents couldn't vote in the 1964 regular election, organizers conducted a parallel Freedom Election between October 31 and November 2. Despite shootings, beatings, intimidation, and arrests, more than 62,000 people cast ballots, disapproving the segregationists' claim that black Mississippians did not want to vote. In most counties, Freedom Voters actually outnumbered regular Democratic Party voters, showing that African-Americans would be a powerful voting bloc in the South.

42 Freedom Candidates, Mississippi, April 12, 1964

(4 pages) COFO instruction sheet on the plan to run a parallel election, who the candidates are, and what they stand for <http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/16515>

43 Freedom Primer No. 2: The Freedom Vote and the Right to Vote

(10 pages) Brochure describing how the Freedom Vote advanced the cause of ensuring the right to vote was extended to all people, regardless of race
<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/8601>

44 Freedom Vote Candidates, October 28, 1964

(1 page) SNCC newsletter article with photographs and biographies on the eve of the election
<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/21075>

45 Events in Mississippi November 1-2, 1964

(2 pages) List of violent incidents perpetrated during the Freedom Vote
<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/16505>

46 Freedom Democratic Party Vote Results, Fall 1964

(1 page) Table showing results county-by-county, and comparing MFDP candidates' totals to mainstream party candidates' totals <http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/8215>

FREEDOM CANDIDATES

MISSISSIPPI

For the first time in this century, four Negroes are candidates for national office from Mississippi. One is a candidate for the Senate and three for the House of Representatives.

The four campaigns are being coordinated under the auspices of the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), an umbrella civil rights organization in Mississippi comprising the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), CORE, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), and the NAACP.

All four candidates are entered in the regular Democratic primary in Mississippi to be held June 2. They are running on what is being called the FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY. If they are defeated in the Democratic party, they will be able to continue their campaigns as Independents in the General Election in November.

The candidacy of the Freedom Candidates is a direct challenge to the lily-white one-party political structure of the state. Only 28,000 or 6.6% of Mississippi's 422,000 Negroes of voting age have been registered to vote. 525,000 whites are registered voters.

All the Freedom Candidates will make Negro voting rights one of the basic issues of their campaigns. The campaigns themselves will serve as the focus for Voter Registration activities by COFO during the coming months.

For those not allowed to register on the official books, there will be a separate program: FREEDOM REGISTRATION. The Freedom Democratic Party has set up its own unofficial voter registration books for the purpose of registering as many as possible of Mississippi's 400,000 disenfranchised Negroes. These books, known as Freedom Registration Books, will be managed by Freedom Registrars appointed by COFO in every county. The Freedom Registrars will have the power to appoint deputy registrars to aid them in covering the county to provide every Negro with the opportunity to register to vote.

Freedom Registration has several purposes. First, it will serve as a mechanism through which Negroes can organize across the state. Secondly, it will be the focus of attempts to get Negroes registered on the official county books.

Thirdly, Freedom Registration will form the basis for FREEDOM ELECTIONS to be held at the same time as the official

elections in June and November. In the Freedom Elections, the only qualifications will be that voters are 21 or over, residents of the state, and registered on the Freedom Registration Books before the election. Whites as well as Negroes will be allowed to vote. Democratic and Republican candidates will be listed together with Freedom Democratic Candidates.

Through Freedom Registration and the Freedom Elections, it will be made clear that thousands of Negroes who are denied the right to vote in the official elections would do so if they could. On this basis, the seating of successful Republican and Democratic candidates will be challenged in Congress and in the Federal Courts on the grounds that a significant portion of the voting-age population has been denied the right to vote because of color or race.

Thus, the Freedom Candidates will serve not only to bring the issues to the people of Mississippi, dramatize voter discrimination, and the atmosphere of harassment and resistance by the official state apparatus, but will serve as a basis for challenging the rights of the incumbents to assume their seats in Congress.

As a further part of its political program, the Freedom Democratic Party will send a FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC DELEGATION to the National Democratic Convention at Atlantic City in August.

The Freedom Candidates will serve as the titular heads of the Freedom Democratic Delegation. Other delegates will be chosen through a series of meetings on the precinct, county, district, and state levels just as in the regular Mississippi Democratic Party. Unlike the regular party machinery, however, which is all-white, exclusive, and often dominated by White Citizens Council members, Freedom Delegates will be chosen in open meetings in which all registered voters (whether official or Freedom registered), Negroes and whites alike, will be allowed to participate.

At the National Convention, the Freedom Democratic Delegation will attempt to have the Regular Democratic Delegation unseated and the Freedom Delegation seated in its place. It will do this on the grounds that the Regular Democratic Delegation was chosen by undemocratic means and that the Democratic Party of Mississippi has been disloyal to the National Democratic Party.

The Regular Mississippi Democratic Party split with the National Democratic Party in 1960. It did not support the National Democratic Ticket selected by the National Convention: John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson. It also refused to support the platform adopted by the National

Convention. The Regular Mississippi Democratic Party candidates in the gubernatorial race of 1963 told the voters that the Mississippi Democratic Party stands for white supremacy and against Negro voting power. The principles of the National Democratic Party make it clear that a State party which behaves in the manner of the Mississippi Democratic Party stands in violation of National Party policy. This is sufficient grounds, according to National Democratic Party rules, to withdraw recognition of the State party.

The Freedom Democratic Delegation will be pledged to support the National Democratic Ticket and the National Democratic Platform chosen at the National Democratic Convention -- as well as being pledged to work for the full and equal rights of all Americans.

FREEDOM CANDIDATES: Below are brief biographical sketches and campaigning programs for the four Freedom Candidates.

MRS. FANNIE LOU HAMER --- running in the 2nd Congressional District against Rep. Jamie Whitten, Chairman of the House Appropriations Sub-Committee on Agriculture.

Mrs. Hamer, 47, comes from Sunflower County, the home of James Eastland, where Negroes are 69% of the population. She is the wife of Perry Hamer, a cotton gin worker in Ruleville. Until 1962, the Hamers had lived for 16 years on a plantation four miles from Ruleville. On August 31 of that year, the day Mrs. Hamer registered to vote, they were told they would have to leave the plantation immediately.

Mrs. Hamer began working with the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee in December 1962 and has been one of the most active workers in the state on Voter Registration. On June 9, 1963, while returning from a SNCC workshop, she was arrested in Winona, Miss., and brutally beaten with a blackjack while in jail. Mrs. Hamer opened her campaign in Ruleville on March 21. She hopes to use her campaign to articulate the grievances of Mississippi's Negroes, particularly in the cotton-rich Delta, the 2nd Congressional District, where Negroes are a clear majority (59%) of the population. Mrs. Hamer constantly tells her audiences that she is only saying "what you have been thinking all along."

But Mrs. Hamer plans to direct her campaign to whites as well as Negroes. It is her thesis that all Mississippians, white and Negro alike, are victims of the all-white, one-party power structure of the state. In her campaign, she explains how Jamie Whitten, from his position on the House Appropriations Sub-Committee on Agriculture, killed a bill to train 2400 tractor drivers. Six hundred of those to be trained were white.

Mrs. Hamer is presently ill in Ruleville (the nearest doctor is 10 miles away). Her condition is provoked and made more serious by after effects of the 1963 beating, from which she has never fully recovered.

JAMES MONROE HOUSTON --- candidate from the 3rd Congressional District against Robert Bell Williams, second in command on the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.

Mr. Houston, 74 years old, is a retired machinist from Vicksburg, member of the NAACP for over 20 years. He was arrested in 1934 for participation in a rural district meeting called to discuss the new Roosevelt programs. He was arrested again in Jackson in 1963 while attempting to march from a Methodist church to City Hall. In his opening campaign speech in Vicksburg on April 5, Mr. Houston told a crowd of 200-300 people that he would use his campaign to show what conditions for Negroes in Mississippi are really like. He claimed active support in all fourteen of the 3rd District's counties and said that he would represent all the people in the District if elected. For this reason, he said, his election would restore honor and dignity to the state of Mississippi.

REV. JOHN E. CAMERON --- candidate for the seat of William Meyers Colmer, second in command of the House Rules Committee, from the 5th Congressional District.

Rev. Cameron, 31, opened his campaign in Hattiesburg on March 26, addressing an audience of approximately 200 from the back of an open truck. His campaign will stress jobs, education, and citizenship rights for Negroes. In Biloxi, on April 4, Rev. Cameron called on both state and federal governments to provide training for unskilled laborers so that they may qualify for fulltime and rewarding employment. He stressed the importance of a candidate running in the 5th Congressional District who would represent the entire population of the district, rather than only one racial group.

Rev. Cameron is a former President of the National Baptist Student Union (1954-55), and holds a B.S. degree from Rust College and a Bachelor of Theology from American Baptist Theological Seminary. He is a member of the NAACP and a Friend of SNCC.

On April 4, Rev. Cameron was refused entrance to a public forum in Hattiesburg unless he agreed to sit in a section reserved for Negroes. A white minister with Rev. Cameron was threatened with arrest for attempting to discuss the matter with the Chairman of the forum. At present, Rev. Cameron is in jail, one of 66 people arrested in Hattiesburg April 9-10 under Mississippi's new anti-picketing law.

MRS. VICTORIA JACKSON GRAY --- candidate for Senate against John Stennis. Mrs. Gray, 37, of Hattiesburg, is the mother of three children. She was one of the first Negroes to register in Forrest County, where Registrar Theron C. Lynn is under Federal indictment for refusing to register Negroes on an equal basis with whites.

In an opening campaign statement given to the press April Mrs. Gray stressed that "Unemployment, Automation, Inadequate Housing, Health Care, Education, and Rural Development are the real issues in Mississippi, not 'States Rights' or 'Federal Encroachment'." Mrs. Gray's own emphasis during the campaign will be on the problems of education faced by Negroes in the state.

April 12, 1964

FREEDOM PRIMER

NO. 2



The Freedom Vote and The Right to Vote



What is The Freedom Vote?

The FREEDOM VOTE is a special election October 30 and 31 and November 1 and 2. Anyone who is 21 years or older and lives in Mississippi can vote in the Freedom Vote. In the Freedom Vote it does not matter whether you are Negro or white. You do not have to be Registered at the Courthouse to vote in the Freedom Vote. And you do not have to pay poll tax either. Everyone who wants to vote can vote in the Freedom Vote.

Why is The Freedom Vote Necessary?

The Freedom Vote is necessary because most Negroes in Mississippi cannot vote in the Regular Election on November 3. They cannot vote because they are not allowed to REGISTER TO VOTE at the Courthouse. Because only a few Negroes are allowed to vote, most Negroes cannot help choose the people who are in the government.

That is why the Freedom Vote is necessary. Because you do not have to be Registered at the Courthouse to vote in the Freedom Vote, everybody in Mississippi can vote in the Freedom Vote to say who they think should be in the government.

Who has the Right To Vote in The United States?

Before the Civil War, most Negroes could not vote because they were slaves. But the slaves were freed in 1863 during the Civil War. So, at the end of the Civil War in 1865, Negroes in Mississippi and



everywhere in the South began to vote. And in 1870 the CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES was changed to say that no one could be stopped from voting just because they were Negro.

Then why can so many white people vote in Mississippi when so few Negroes are allowed to vote?

Who Decides Who Can Vote in Mississippi?

The Constitution of the United States does not say that everybody has the right to vote. The Constitution says that each state can decide who should be allowed to vote in that state. That means that the Government of Mississippi decides who should be allowed to vote in Mississippi.

But in Mississippi the government is controlled by the Regular Democratic Party. So, the Regular Democratic Party really decides who can vote in Mississippi.

How Does the Regular Democratic Party Stop Negroes from Voting?

There are many ways that the Regular Democratic Party of Mississippi stops Negroes from voting. The Regular Democratic Party of Mississippi makes people do many things before they can vote.

The most important thing that people have to do before they can vote

is to register at the courthouse. Both Negroes and whites are supposed to

register before they can vote.

But most Negroes are not

allowed to register at the Court-
house. Many times the sheriff

or the police tells Negroes that

they should not register. And

sometimes the registrar or the

county clerk won't let Negroes

fill out the Registration Form.

The Regular Democratic Party put many questions on the Registration

Form. They made some of the questions very hard to answer. You need to

go to school many years to be able to know the answers to some of these

questions. The Regular Democratic Party knows that many Negroes cannot

go to school in Mississippi, and they know that the schools for Negroes

are bad. They know that if they put hard questions on the Registration

Form, it makes it hard for Negroes to pass the Registration Test.

Sometimes the registrar or county clerk just tells Negroes "You did

not pass," and does not even say what answers were wrong on the test.

Sometimes the registrar or county clerk even tells Negroes who have been

to school for many years that they did not pass the test. The Regular

Democratic Party does not want Negroes to vote, so the registrars tell

Negroes that they do not pass the test, even if Negroes answer all the

questions right.

And sometimes even if Negroes can register, they are not allowed to

vote. To vote for sheriff or mayor or governor you have to pay the



poll tax. But many Negroes do not have enough to pay the poll tax. And sometimes the sheriff will not let them pay the poll tax even if they have the money.

So it is difficult and often dangerous for Negroes to try to Register and Vote in Mississippi. Sometimes people who try to register and vote are beaten at the courthouse. And sometimes they are arrested. And sometimes they are fired from their jobs.

Does the Regular Democratic Party Stop Negroes from Being in the Government?

To be in the government in Mississippi you have to be able to vote. So by stopping most Negroes in Mississippi from voting, the Regular Democratic Party also keeps most Negroes from running for government office. That means that it keeps Negroes from being candidates for sheriff, mayor, judge, governor, state representative and state senator.

But there are other ways that the Regular Democratic Party keeps Negroes from running for office. The Freedom Democratic Party candidates -- Aaron Henry, Fannie Lou Hamer, Annie Devine, and Victoria Gray -- all tried to be in the REGULAR ELECTION on NOVEMBER 3. They got many



people who can vote to sign a paper called a PETITION saying that they should be on the ballot in November.

But the Regular Democratic Party leaders told the Freedom Democratic Party candidates that they had to have the county clerk or the registrar say that the names on the Petitions were all right. For a name to be all right, the person who signed had to be able to vote. Many registrars refused to say that the names on the Petitions were all right. So, no

Henry, Mrs. Hamer, Mrs. Devine and Mrs. Gray probably will not be on the ballot in the Regular Election on November 3.

What Would Happen if Negroes could Vote in Mississippi?

In Mississippi there are almost as many Negro people as there are white people. So if Negroes could vote there would be almost as many Negro voters as white voters. But because most Negroes cannot register, there are 522,000 white people in Mississippi who can vote and only 28,000 Negroes who are allowed to vote.

If Negroes could vote in Mississippi, they would have as much say about who could be in the government as the white people. And if Negroes could vote, they could run for government offices, too. Then there would be Negro sheriffs, mayors, judges, and congressmen, too.



Were Negroes Ever Allowed to Vote in Mississippi?

The leaders of the Regular Democratic Party of Mississippi are afraid to let Negroes vote. They know there was a time when Negroes were allowed to vote in Mississippi. At the end of the Civil War, in 1865, a great many Negroes began to vote in Mississippi and all over the South. Then Negroes and whites decided together who should be in the government.

When Negroes were allowed to vote, they also had the right to run for government office. And after the Civil War many Negroes did run for Government office. There were Negro sheriffs as well as white sheriffs, and there were Negro mayors and judges as well as white mayors and judges. Negro people and white people sat together in the Mississippi Government in Jackson. And Negroes and whites went together to Washington to

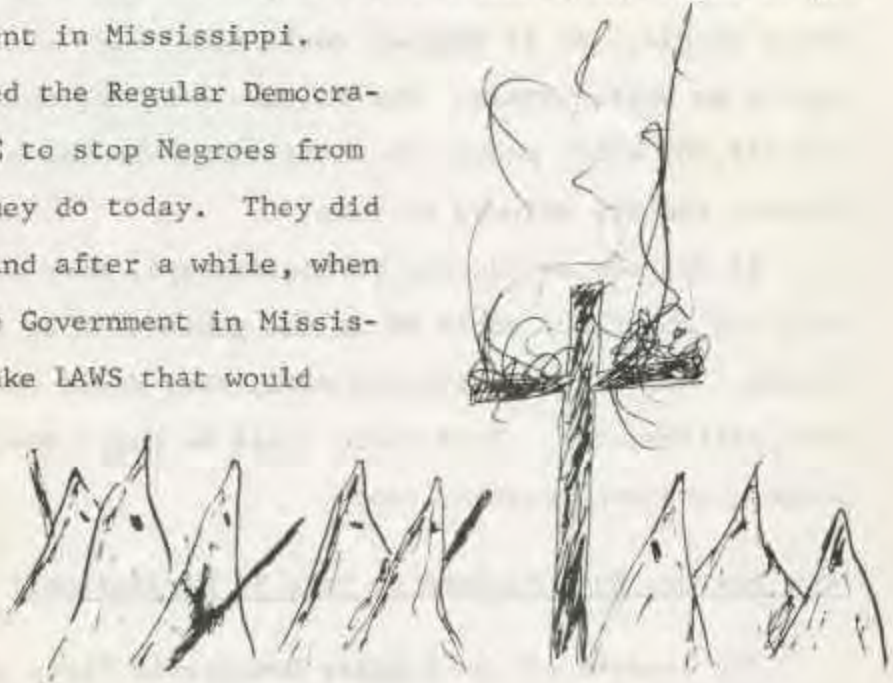
represent Mississippi in the House of Representatives and the Senate.

Why Did Negroes Stop Voting in Mississippi?

Negroes voted in Mississippi in all the elections for ten years -- from 1865 to 1875. But in 1875 the Regular Democratic Party began to get control of the Government in Mississippi.

The people who supported the Regular Democratic Party used VIOLENCE to stop Negroes from voting, just the way they do today. They did this for many years. And after a while, when they had control of the Government in Mississippi, they began to make LAWS that would

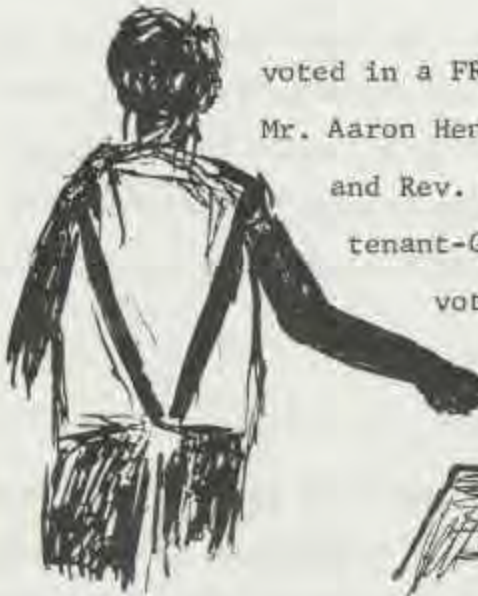
keep Negroes from voting. They made laws about registration and the poll tax so that Negroes and many poor white people would not be able to vote.



In 1890, the Regular Democratic Party changed the CONSTITUTION OF MISSISSIPPI so that most Negroes could not vote. And most Negroes have not been able to vote in the elections since then. For almost 75 years, Negroes have not been able to vote in Mississippi -- and the Regular Democratic Party has won all the elections.

What was the 1963 Freedom Vote?

But last year, in 1963, Negroes voted again in Mississippi. They



voted in a FREEDOM VOTE for Governor and Lieutenant-Governor. Mr. Aaron Henry of Clarksdale was the candidate for Governor, and Rev. Ed King of Jackson was the candidate for Lieutenant-Governor. Over 80,000 Negroes in Mississippi voted in the 1963 Freedom Vote to show that they were tired of not being able to vote.

They said they wanted Aaron Henry and Ed King to be in the Government in Jackson. And they said they did not

want Paul Johnson and the Regular Democratic Party.

The 1963 Freedom Vote was important in another way, too. Because after the Freedom Vote many people felt they wanted to keep on voting and running their own candidates. So they came together in Jackson in January of 1964 and they started the FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

Why Was the Freedom Democratic Party Started?

The Freedom Democratic Party was started so that Negroes could say what they want the government to do -- just the way they did after the Civil War. The Freedom Democratic Party is working so that Negroes will be able to vote again and run for government office again in Mississippi.

The Freedom Democratic Party is open to all people in Mississippi -- black or white. And the Freedom Democratic Party says that all people should be allowed to vote in Mississippi, no matter what their color.

The Freedom Democratic Party wants



to give everybody a voice in Mississippi again. It wants everybody to take part in politics. That is why if you work in the Freedom Democratic Party it does not matter if you have any money, or if your family is well known, or if you have been to school very much. In the Freedom Democratic Party the only important thing is that you want to vote and that you are willing to work so you, and everybody else, can vote.

Who are the Freedom Democratic Party Candidates?

In the Freedom Vote the Freedom Democratic Party is running candidates for the Senate and the House of Representatives in Washington. All of the Freedom Democratic Party candidates have worked for many years so that they and everybody else can vote. They have all registered to vote. And they have all had difficulties because they tried to vote.

Aaron Henry, who is running for the Senate, has worked for many years to get people to register to vote. Mr. Henry has a Drug Store in Clarksdale. And because he has tried to get Negroes to register to vote, people have broken the windows in his drug store and shot into his house. But Mr. Henry keeps on working to get people to vote because he knows that that is the only way that Negroes in Mississippi can have a voice again.

Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, in the Second Congressional plantation worker near Rule- to register to vote, the her she couldn't work there Winona beat Mrs. Hamer voter registration. But ing so people can vote -- the same way Aaron Henry does.



who is running for Congress District, used to be a ville. But when she tried plantation owner told any more. The police in because she works for Mrs. Hamer keeps on work-

Mrs. Annie Devine is a housewife in Canton. She knows how the police in Canton beat people who try to get Negroes to register to vote. And how people come at night to throw bombs and burn crosses at the homes of Negroes. But Mrs. Devine knows that she has to keep on working for the right to vote if Negroes are going to have a chance to help choose who is in the government -- the way they did after the Civil War.

Mrs. Victoria Gray knows about the problems of voter registration and bad bad education for Negroes in Mississippi. Mrs. Gray used to teach school in Hattiesburg. She knows that Mississippi has the worst schools of any state in the country. And she knows that that is why so many people cannot read, and why so many Negroes cannot pass the voter registration test. Mrs. Gray was one of the first people to allow civil rights workers to use her home in Hattiesburg. Mrs. Gray knows that Negroes will have to be able to vote again before they can get good education and good houses and good jobs in Mississippi.

Why is it Important to Vote in the Freedom Vote?

The Freedom Vote on October 30, 31 and November 1 and 2 gives Negroes in Mississippi a chance again to say who they believe should be in the government. The Freedom Vote is one of the first chances in almost 100 years for all the people in Mississippi -- black or white -- to say "No!" to the Regular Democratic Party. And to say "Yes!" to the right of everyone in Mississippi to register at the courthouse and to vote.

If you vote in the Freedom Vote, all the people in Mississippi and in the United States will know that you want to vote again -- just like Negroes did between 1865 and 1875. And if you vote in the Freedom Vote, then people everywhere will know that Negroes are working together again all over Mississippi -- just like after the Civil War.

And that is what the Regular Democratic Party of Mississippi is most afraid of. Because it knows that if Negroes start working together and voting in the Freedom Vote, they won't ever stop. They will keep on working until everyone in Mississippi -- black and white -- can Register at the Courthouse and Vote.



FREEDOM VOTE CANDIDATES



MRS. FANNIE LOU HAMER

The Freedom Democratic Party candidate for the 2nd District seat is Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer of Ruleville, Miss. Hamer is 46 years old and lives with her husband and adopted children in Sunflower County, site of Senator James O. Eastland's plantation.

Mrs. Hamer filed an application to register to vote on August 31, 1962 and was dismissed that same day from her job as timekeeper on a cotton plantation, a job she had held for 18 years. Ten days later 16 shots were fired into the house in which she was staying.

Mrs. Hamer has worked full-time in the citizenship-teaching programs of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. While returning from a SNCC workshop on June 13, 1963 Mrs. Hamer was arrested on a charge of disorderly conduct and severely beaten while in jail. She has identified the officers of the Mississippi Highway State Patrol who were responsible for her beating. The beating aggravated a childhood disorder leaving one leg partially paralyzed and she has never fully recovered from its effects.

Her opponent in the 2nd District is Rep. Jamie Whitten, chairman of the House Appropriations Subcommittee of the Committee on Agriculture. The district has a Negro population comprising 59% of the total but only a small fraction of voting age Negroes are registered.

In a recent campaign speech, Mrs. Hamer summed up the political needs of her district:

"Politically this district remains isolated from the mainstream of American life. Conditions currently prevailing in Mississippi are horrible. We



MRS. ANNIE DEVINE

Mrs. Annie Devine was born in Mobile, Ala., and moved to Canton, Miss., when she was two-years-old. She has two years of university credit from Tougaloo College. Mrs. Devine served as a teacher in Madison County for 8 years. She has also worked as debit manager for a life insurance company. In June 1964, Mrs. Devine, long a leader in her community, joined the staff of COFO in a full-time capacity. Mrs. Devine believes in the need for "vigorous local participation in politics if Negroes are to receive their rights in Mississippi."

"The real keys to freedom are organization and education. We have registered 500 Negroes in Madison County but there are more than 10,000 qualified to vote. The reason the White Citizens Councils are so powerful in this state is because they are so well organized. It is time that the forces of justice and emancipation become as well organized, as the forces of injustice and oppression."

"And just as important, we must become better educated. This means political education and citizenship training for adults, and it means long, hard hours of studying by our younger generation. We want freedom, not only for our children, but for ourselves, now."

"But if we are to participate in our society as equals, and even to advance as individuals, we must concentrate on education with all the effort and all the determination with which we seek out freedom."

have little industry and few towns. The dominant economic system is sharecropping and we have the lowest family income level in the nation. And we know, in our hearts, we want to change these conditions."



AARON HENRY

Aaron Henry, 46-year-old Clarksdale, Miss. druggist, is the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party candidate for the Senate against incumbent John Stennis, Chairman of the Council of Federated Organizations and the Mississippi NAACP. Mr. Henry is married and has a daughter in Clarksdale.

"Doc" Henry, as he is affectionately known to Negroes all over the state, has been actively engaged in the civil rights movement in Mississippi for many years. In December of 1961 he was arrested for organizing a boycott against Clarksdale stores which refused to use courtesy titles in dealing with Negro patrons. In June of 1963, along with 70 persons he picketed every segregated church in Clarksdale. On July 8 he was enjoined from participating in "all meetings and congregations." He was arrested three weeks later and served one week on a chain gang for "parading without a permit."

Because of his outspoken advocacy of Negro civil rights, "Doc" Henry is reputed to be high on the assassination lists of local hate organizations. His home in Clarksdale has had to be guarded by armed men because of repeated threats against his life and family.

In 1963 Henry ran for Governor of Mississippi on a Freedom ticket on which the Rev. Edwin King ran for Lt. Governor and Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer for the U.S. Senate. Mr. Henry was elected chairman of the delegation sent by the Freedom Democratic Party to the national convention in Atlantic City last August.

He received his degree in pharmacy at Xavier University,



MRS. VICTORIA GRAY

Mrs. Victoria Gray, the 37-year-old Freedom Democratic Party candidate for Representative of the 5th District in Mississippi, lives with her and three children in Hattiesburg.

Mrs. Gray, who opposes Democratic incumbent William Colmer for the 5th District seat was educated at Wilberforce University (now Central College) in Wilberforce, Ohio. She was a school teacher and business woman state supervisor of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's citizenship program and is a member of the SCLC board of directors. She also serves on the General Board of Education of the Methodist Church and is director of COFO's intensified voter registration program in Hattiesburg.

Mrs. Gray began attempts to register to vote in Forrest County in 1959. It required four years and the agency of a three judge panel of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals before she was finally registered in July of 1963.

National Committeewoman for the MFDP, Mrs. Gray was one of the first people to house workers from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) when they first set up projects in Hattiesburg in 1961. In the regular Democratic primary held June 2 of this year, Mrs. Gray opposed John Stennis for nomination to the seat once held by arch-racist Theodore Bilbo.

Anthony Gray, husband of the candidate is by profession a plumber who cannot work at his trade because Hattiesburg will not license Negro plumbers. Before last June he had worked for the Department of Water Works in the city of Hattiesburg but was dismissed from his job when it was learned that Mrs. Gray was entering the primary.

FREE FOR FREEDOM Headquarters
 AARON HENRY for Governor
 1072 Lynch Street, Room 10
 Jackson, Mississippi 39203

EVENTS IN MISSISSIPPI NOVEMBER 1 and 2:

November 1--JACKSON--Nicolas Bosanquet, British subject and Yale University student, and Robert Honeysucker, Negro senior at Tougaloo College (Negro) here, were arrested while attempting to enter a London Royal Philharmonic Symphony concert at a Jackson public auditorium. While they had bought tickets on public sale, they were told that only Jackson Music Association members were being admitted. The next day they were released on \$500 bond each. They are to appear for trial Monday, November 4 on charges of disturbing the peace.

November 1--NATCHEZ--Bruce Payne, Oakland, Calif., Yale University undergraduate student, was forced out of a "Freedom Vote-mobile" and beaten by four white men here. The four followed Payne and two other "Freedom Vote" workers from Port Gibson where the beating occurred, for 42 miles to Natchez. They were warned to stay out of Natchez.

November 1--TATE COUNTY--Hugh Smith, Menlo Park, Calif., Stanford University student, was shot at three times in his car here. Recognized by onlookers after an earlier trip to deliver "Freedom Vote" workers, two shots were fired over his head and one into the ground as he drove away.

November 2--JACKSON--Four SNCC workers were stopped by three Rankin County patrol cars and told to leave the airport. They went there to pick up rented cars and see Bob Moses, Campaign Manager for the "Freedom Vote" drive, off to Memphis. Moses was questioned and released, the other four were told to leave or go to jail, despite their insistence that car rental papers were being delivered to them. The four included Charlie Cobb, Springfield, Mass.; Langston Mitchell, New Orleans, La.; Jesse Harris, Jackson, Miss., and Ivanhoe Donaldson of New York City.

November 2--JACKSON--David Dennis, CORE Field Secretary here and Michael Sayer, SNCC worker of Atlanta, were stopped by airport police and interrogated while bringing car rental papers to SNCC workers at the airport. Telling them "The Federal government doesn't have jurisdiction over this airport," the patrolmen threatened the two with jail and charges of trespass. Meanwhile, four SNCC workers were forced to keep their hands on their car for more than an hour during interrogation by police. One officer twice rapped Ivanhoe Donaldson on the knuckles. The officer also placed his pistol at Donaldson's head and threatened to kill him. All were finally released after threats.

November 2--NATCHEZ--George Greene, SNCC worker from Greenwood, Miss., and Bruce Payne were on the way from Natchez to Fayette to work with their "Freedom Votemobile." Near Natchez the four men who beat Payne the day before were observed following. Greene tried to out-race them unsuccessfully and was forced off the road where Greene was ordered out of the car at pistol point. Swiftly moving the car onto the highway, Greene escaped only after the car was shot at three times. One bullet entered the rear, one grazed the side, the other hit the left rear tire causing a slow leak. Skillfully manipulating through traffic, Greene managed to enter a side street unnoticed and fixed the tire.

November 2--JACKSON--Jesse Davis, SNCC worker from here was canvassing for "Freedom Votes" on a corner near a cafe when a policeman told him he was blocking traffic and subject to arrest and then left. Several minutes later he returned with an additional policeman who said Davis was under arrest, charged with snatching a purse. He was placed in the patrol car, told he was being taken to be identified by the woman whose purse was allegedly stolen. Instead, he was taken to a white residential district and put out of the car. After a 3-block walk, Davis noticed the policeman gathering a crowd of white men around him, apparently attempting to create a hostile mob. A Negro motorist came by and fortunately offered him a lift to town.

November 2--JACKSON--Fred Goff, white Stanford University (Calif.) student was ordered out of a Negro cafe by police. They told him "It's okay to buy a coke in a nigger cafe but not to sit in one. If you want to live with niggers, do it outside of Mississippi."

November 2--MORRISON--Two female CORE workers, Lenora Thurmond and Doris Erskine, were canvassing for votes in the unofficial "Freedom Vote" campaign here when they were ordered out of town by local police.

November 2--YAZOO CITY--George Raymond, Tehodius Hewitt and John Lee Watt, CORE and SNCC workers planning to canvass for votes here were tailed by police officers each place they went. This made their work impossible and they left town with police following for some distance.

November 2--ROSEDALE--John Lewis, Chairman of SNCC, Bruce Gordon and Lawrence DiBivort were canvassing here when police stopped them and escorted them out of town. They left here for Cleveland, Miss. where they were stopped by police and told not to be in town after sundown. They were escorted by police to Mound Bayou, Miss. where they contacted a local vote worker and returned to Cleveland unmolested.

November 2--DELTONE--Willie Shaw was arrested for "parking too close to a fire hydrant" during his canvassing for "Freedom Votes." His bond was set at \$100 and released.

November 2--JACKSON--A "Freedom Vote" worker here canvassing at a football game at the Jackson State College (Negro) was told by police to either stop his activities and sit down or be arrested.

November 2--GREENWOOD--Five "Freedom Vote" workers were arrested here today by local police. Jane Stenbridge, Dorothy Higgins, Dick Fry, Willie Earl James and Frank Hirsch had set up a sidewalk voting booth to collect ballots. When they began singing Freedom Songs to attract attention to the booth, police ordered them to move on because they were on private property and disturbing the peace. Fry told the officer they were on public property, whereon the five were arrested for blocking the sidewalk and for refusing to obey an officer. Their bond was set at \$100 each and they are now in

November 2--PICAYUNE----Three Hattiesburg Negroes and two white Yale University students were canvassing for "Freedom Votes" at a federal housing project here. When they left the housing development, police were waiting for them. The five were taken to the police station for two hours of interrogation. When they returned to their car in the court house parking lot they found it difficult to start. It was discovered that there was water in the gas tank. The car was pushed to the nearest service station where work was done to rectify the damage.

November 2--GENERAL MISSISSIPPI--Campaign workers in the unofficial balloting listing Aaron Henry, Negro pharmacist as candidate for Governor of Mississippi and the Rev. Edwin King, a white Methodist minister as candidate for Lieutenant Governor, reported incidents of arrest, detention, harassment and questioning throughout the day and night. Communities reporting such incidents included Belzoni, Leland, Tupelo, Hattiesburg, and many others.

FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY VOTE RESULTS FALL, 1964

COUNTY	CONG. DIST.	LBJ H H	KENNY	HAMER	DEVINE	GRAY	1964 VOTE		F.D.P. EXCEEDS 5% OF TOTAL VOTES
							FRANK D. JACO	ROSE REPUBLIC	
ADAMS	3	1061	1057				1051	5732	x
ALCORN	1	85	85				1965	3260	-
AMITE	3	200	190				1133	2691	
BENTON	2	755	749	751			236	966	x
BOLIVAR	2	1216	1216	1201			740	4607	x
CARROLL	2	50	50	50			98	2042	
CHICKASAW	1	5	5				260	3138	
CLAY	1	948	948				207	2849	x
COAHAMA	2	2250	2250	2250			962	4158	x
DE SOTO	2	409	409	350			462	2990	
FORREST	5	2673	2545	606		2671	1119	9306	x
FRANKLIN	3	660	660				91	2211	x
HARRISON	5	2850	2850			2850	5390	16326	
HINDS	3	8100	8100				4955	36752	x
HOLMES	2	2598	2548	2549			110	2853	x
HUMPHREYS	2	551	551	581			82	1861	x
ISSAQUEMA	2	1001	1001	1001			34	456	x
ITAWAMBA	1	26	26				1393	2649	
JACKSON	2	2700	2661	2600			2269	11352	x
JASPER	4	206	206		206		137	1397	x
JEFFERSON	3	121	121				69	1258	x
JEFF DAVIS	5	5	5			5	235	2344	
JONES	5	2880	2709			2871	2063	13636	x
LAFAYETTE	2	660	660	650			630	3136	x
LAMAR	5	14	14			14	289	2830	
LAUDERDALE	4	1462	1372		1361		1604	13753	
LEE	1	1560	1560				2480	51111	x
LEFLORE	2	4847	4807		4457		380	5574	x
LOWNDES	1	2326	2326				526	6122	x
MADISON	4	1401	1319		1321		246	3314	x
MARION	5	90	90			80	531	5460	
LEAKE	4	500	500		500		320	4051	x
GRENADA	2	4	4	4			153	3650	
MARSHALL	2	1363	1363	1363			340	2253	x
MONROE	1	1128	1080				1069	6074	x
NESHOMA	4	458	433		433		256	5429	x
NOXUBEE	1	618	618				68	1903	x
OKTIBBEHA	1	736	736				390	3965	x
PANOLA	2	3431	2126	2124			403	3987	x
PEARL RIVER	4	70	70		70		722	4011	
PIKE	3	1200	1200				538	6427	x
PONTOTOC	1	5	5				707	2744	
QUITMAN	2	496	468	475			337	2066	x
RANKIN	4	700	700		700		332	7408	x
SHARKEY	2	47	47				127	1114	
STONE	5	40	40			40	276	2821	
SUNFLOWER	2	2795	2795	2795			255	3157	x
TATE	2	491	491	491			283	2393	x
TALLAHATCHIE	2	24	24	24			255	3157	
TIPPAH	2	382	382	322			970	2475	
TISHOMINGO	1	25	25				1007	2024	
TUNICA	2	1689	1689	1451			99	945	x
UNION	2	301	299	298			1264	2917	x
WARREN	3	2990	2942				1531	7369	x
WASHINGTON	2	2631	2621	2629			2120	6846	x
YALOBUSHA	2	279	279	279			256	2389	x
TOTALS		66977	60523	35478	8968	9747			
Plus "under-ground" ballots		526	521	201	99	391			27
TOTALS		68029	61044	35679	9067	10138 *			

N.B.

1. FDP votes were cast in open polling places in 56 of the 82 counties of Mississippi

2. "Underground" ballots were mailed in from almost all other 26 counties.

3. Counties where no FDP votes were cast: ATTALA, CALHOUN, CHOCTAW, CLAIBORNE, CLARKE, COPIAH, COVINGTON, GEORGE, GREENE, HANCOCK, KEMPER, LAWRENCE, LINCOLN, MONTGOMERY, NEWTON, PERRY, PRENTISS, SCOTT, SIMPSON, SMITH, WALTHALL, WAYNE, WEBSTER, WILKINSON, WINSTON, YAZOO

4. * corrected Total, Mrs. Victoria Gray

XI: Mississippi Congressional Challenge, January 1965



After the all-white winners of the November regular election were sent to Washington, D.C, the MFDP challenged their right to take seats in Congress. They argued that, because black residents had been systematically excluded from the electoral process, the five white men did not legitimately represent the state. The U.S. House of Representatives debated the question for months. In September 1965 it denied the MFDP challenge and let the segregationists occupy the Mississippi seats.

47 Congressional Challenge Fact Sheet

(1 page) Summary of MFDP's challenge to Congressmen elected in November, on the grounds that black residents had been denied their voting rights

<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/8649>

48 Freedom Primer No. 3: The Right to Vote and the Congressional Challenge

(12 pages) Printed brochure discusses the right to vote and the Congressional challenge.

<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/8612>

49 Reprisals against MFDP Members, January 13, 1965

(1 page) Summary listing reprisals against activists who protested the seating of the all-white Mississippi Congressional delegation

<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/6115>

50 The Congressional Challenge is Defeated, September 1965

(3 pages) Summary of the proceedings in which the House decided to seat the segregationist Mississippi representatives who won the November 1964 elections

<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/8732>

MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY
1353 U Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

CONGRESSIONAL CHALLENGE - FACT SHEET

The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party's decision to challenge the seating of five representatives-elect to the Congress came in the wake of the refusal by Herbert Ladner, Mississippi Secretary of State to have the names of four FDP candidates placed on the state ballot for the November 3rd elections. Petitions bearing the 1,000 signatures from registered voters required by Mississippi law were ignored by the Secretary of State. The MFDP will bring

The MFDP will bring evidence to show that the political processes of the State violate the 14th amendment in that Negro citizens comprising some 42% of the voting age population are systematically disenfranchised and deprived of their political rights and that the MFDP has been subject to official intimidation and suppression from private and public sources within the state. We shall also base our challenge on Mississippi's violation of a Federal Act passed in 1870 which stipulated that the State of Mississippi be admitted to representation in Congress on the condition that the then existing constitutional qualifications to vote would "never be amended or changed so as to deprive any citizen of the right to vote."

In accordance with the process set forth in Title 2, U.S.C. 210 et. Seq. a notice of challenge has been served on the members-elect whose seats were obtained by violation of statutes and with the sub-committee on elections and Privileges of the House Administration Committee. Lawrence Guyot, MFDP Chairman, calls the challenge "A challenge to the entire political system of the state, not just to the congressman-elect. The political structure of Mississippi is based in the words of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, "on a system of steel hard segregation" which deprives over 400,000 voting age Negroes of their basic right to a ballot. We are challenging the right of this system to seat members in the U.S. Congress." Of Mississippi's 456,620 Negro citizens of voting age, only 28,000 are currently registered. Voter registration attempts by Negroes have been met with violent opposition and economic intimidation.

In support of the Challenge, there will be an effort by members of congress introduce a Fairness Resolution on the opening day of Congress. Prior to the swearing in of all congressmen-elect a proposal will be made that in fairness no congressman from Mississippi will be seated until such time as the challenge is decided.

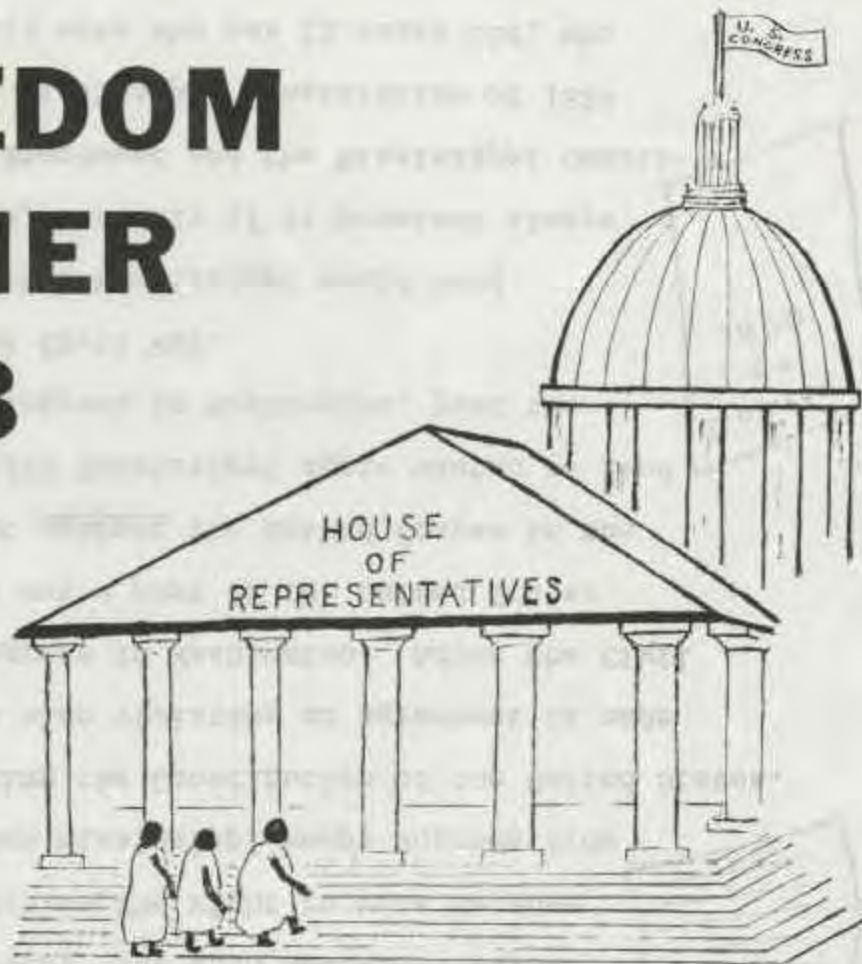
GENERAL BACKGROUND - THE FREEDOM ELECTIONS

Following the refusal of State officials to place the MFDP candidates on the ballot the Freedom Democrats decided to run a parallel election in which all citizens old enough and desirous of voting would have an opportunity to vote. The ballot included the Presidential candidates of both major parties as well as the FDP candidates and their opponents. Ballots were cast from polling places in 53 of the State's 82 counties, while "underground ballots" were mailed in from those counties too dangerous for FDP workers to enter openly. In each race the number of freedom votes cast were sufficient to have significantly influenced the election. President Johnson received 63,839 votes in the Freedom Election as opposed to 52,538 votes he received in the "official elections." Aaron Henry received 61,044 votes as against 139 for Senate incumbent John Stennis.

2nd District: Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer 33,009 -- Rep. Jamie Whitten 59
4th District: Mrs. Annie Devine -- 6,001 -- Rep. Winstead 4
5th District: Mrs. Victoria Gray 10,138

The figures for the candidates "winning" seats in the second and fifth districts and the senate race are not published since the candidates were "unopposed" on the ballot.

FREEDOM PRIMER NO. 3



The Right to Vote and the Congressional Challenge



WHO HAS THE RIGHT TO VOTE?

In Mississippi, as we all know, most Negroes are not allowed to vote. But they all have the RIGHT TO VOTE. They were given that right in 1870 when the 15th Amendment to the United States Constitution was passed. The 15th Amendment says that no one can be denied the right to vote because of his color. So when Mississippi keeps Negroes from voting, it is violating the Constitution of the United States.



Mississippi is also violating an agreement it made in 1870 with the Congress in Washington. After the Civil War, Mississippi was not a part of the United States because it had fought against the United States in the Civil War. But in 1870 Mississippi again wanted to send representatives to Congress in Washington, just the way it did before the Civil War.



Congress said that Mississippi could send representatives again, but only if it promised always to support the 15th Amendment and the Mississippi Constitution of 1869. The Mississippi Constitution of 1869 said that anyone could vote who was 21 years old, who

lived in the state six months and in the county one month, and who was not insane and had not committed certain crimes. Congress wanted to make sure that Negroes, who were a majority of the population in Mississippi, would be able to vote. If Mississippi did not let Negroes vote, it would not be allowed to send Representatives to Congress.

Mississippi agreed to support the 15th Amendment, but it did not keep its word. Once Mississippi was allowed to become part of the United States again, it started to find ways to keep Negroes from voting. That is why some people say that Mississippi should not be allowed to send representatives to Washington until Negroes are permitted to vote.

HOW DO NEGROES IN MISSISSIPPI SHOW THEY HAVE THE RIGHT TO VOTE?

Mississippi tries many ways to keep Negroes from voting. But Negroes vote anyway -- in FREEDOM VOTES. Freedom Votes are open to anyone who wants to vote. By voting in FREEDOM VOTES, people who cannot vote in the regular elections show that they have the RIGHT TO VOTE anyway.

The last FREEDOM VOTE was on October 30, 31 and November 1 and 2. In that election, almost 70,000 people voted.



They said they wanted Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer to go to Congress from the Second Congressional District, Mrs. Annie Devine to go from the Fourth District, and Mrs. Victoria Gray from the 5th District. They also said they wanted Aaron Henry to go to the Senate to represent the whole state. And they said they wanted Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey for President and Vice-President, rather than Barry Goldwater and William Miller.

So, in the FREEDOM VOTE people showed not just that they had the RIGHT TO VOTE. They also showed that they wanted to vote. And they showed that if they could vote they would choose candidates who are concerned with their problems and who would speak for them.

WHAT WILL THE FREEDOM VOTE CONGRESSWOMEN DO NOW?

The three Congresswomen are going to Washington. Mrs. Hamer, Mrs. Devine and Mrs. Gray are going to Washington to tell Congress that they are the real representatives from Mississippi. They are going to say that the men chosen in the regular election on November 3 should not be in Congress because so many people were not allowed to vote in the regular election. They are going to say that the FREEDOM VOTE was the only real election -- because everyone who has the RIGHT TO VOTE was allowed to vote in the FREEDOM VOTE.



Mrs. Hamer, Mrs. Devine and Mrs. Gray have an office in Washington, D. C. They are going to Washington to talk about your problems. They are going to go to many people in the government and talk about cotton allotments, commodities, tractors, schools and more jobs. They are going to talk about the FREEDOM VOTE and tell about how hard it is for everyone in Mississippi to vote. And they are going to ask Congress to let them sit in the seats for Mississippi and talk in Congress about the things you want.



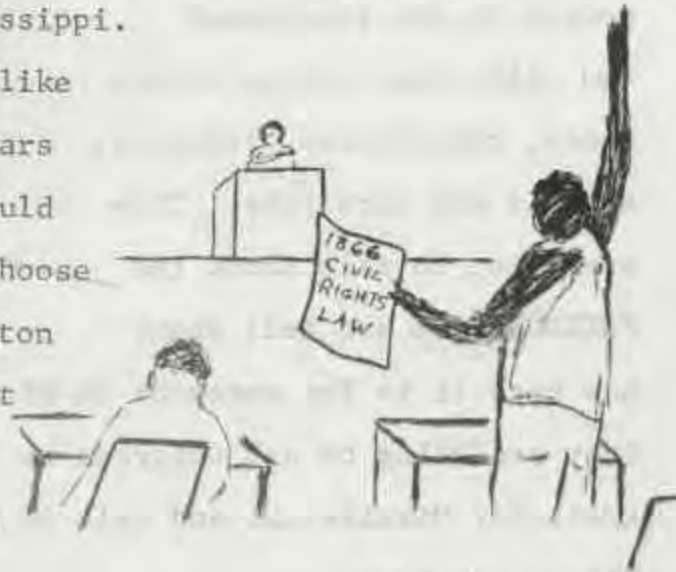
WHAT IS THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS?

The United States Congress is a meeting of people from each of the 50 states in the United States. Congress makes the laws of the United States. Congress is supposed to make laws that are good for all the people in the country. Sometimes Congress makes laws that are good for only a few of the people. That happens because not all the people are represented in Congress.

Congress is supposed to be a meeting of the representatives of all the people. Representatives are supposed to be chosen by voting. But in many states, like Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana and Georgia, only some of the people

are allowed to vote. Therefore, in many states like Mississippi, only some of the people can help choose the representatives who go to Washington. And these representatives from Mississippi talk only about the problems of some of the people of Mississippi.

Congress was not always like it is today. For about ten years after the Civil War Negroes could vote. So Negroes could help choose the people who went to Washington to represent them. During that time Negroes were among those who went to Washington to talk about the problems people had



in Mississippi. But after that ten-year period, Negroes in Mississippi, and states like Alabama, South Carolina, Georgia and Louisiana, were stopped from voting. No longer could Negroes help choose the people who went to Washington to represent these states. And no one in Washington talked anymore about the problems Negroes were facing in states like Mississippi.

Mrs. Hamer, Mrs. Devine and Mrs. Gray want to change this. They want to make Congress a place where all the people in the country have a voice. They want to represent all the people in Mississippi -- not just some of the people. And they want to represent the people who work on plantations and in kitchens, and the people who cannot get jobs at all -- not just some of the people who have

a lot of money.

Mrs. Hamer, Mrs. Devine and Mrs. Gray belong to the FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY. The FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY is open to all the people. The FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY is made up of people who want everyone to have a chance to vote in Mississippi -- so that everyone can help choose the representatives who go to Washington. And they want these representatives to talk in Washington about the problems all the people in Mississippi have -- so that Congress will make laws that are good for everybody.

WHO DECIDES WHO CAN SIT IN CONGRESS?

When two people say that they should have the same seat in Congress, Congress itself decides which person should get the seat. So Congress itself will decide if Mrs. Hamer, Mrs. Devine and Mrs. Gray can represent the people of Mississippi. But several things have to happen first before Congress makes this decision.

HOW WAS THE CHALLENGE MADE IN MISSISSIPPI?

The first thing Mrs. Hamer, Mrs. Devine and Mrs. Gray did was to challenge the seats of the men elected to Congress in the regular election November 3. Lawyers for the Freedom Democratic Party wrote a paper which told how most Negroes could not vote in Mississippi, and told how Mrs. Hamer, Mrs. Devine and Mrs. Gray had been elected in the FREEDOM VOTE.

On December 5, members of the Freedom Democratic Party took these papers to the five Congressmen



elected in the regular election. The papers told the five Congressmen that their right to sit in Congress was being challenged. And the papers told how the Freedom Democratic Party candidates would go to Washington and say that they were the representatives from Mississippi.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN WHEN CONGRESS OPENS?

On the first day of Congress, January 4, 1965, friends of the Freedom Democratic Party will stand up in Congress and say that the Congressmen elected November 3 should not represent Mississippi. They will support the challenge of Mrs. Hamer, Mrs. Devine and Mrs. Gray. And they will ask Congress to say that no one should represent Mississippi in Congress until Congress has time to listen to both sides and decides who should represent the people of Mississippi.

WHY WILL LAWYERS COME TO MISSISSIPPI?

After Congress opens, lawyers for the Freedom Democratic Party will come to Mississippi.

They will want people to tell about how Negroes are stopped from voting in Mississippi. And they will want people to tell about the



Freedom Vote and how Mrs. Hamer, Mrs. Devine and Mrs. Gray were elected. They will want to know whether the men elected in the

regular election November 3 really are your choice. And they will want to know whether these men make the kinds of laws which help you.

The lawyers will make records of what people tell them, and then they will go back to Congress and tell Congress what they have heard.

When the lawyers come to Mississippi, it will be a very good chance for everyone in the United States to learn what Mississippi is really like. The lawyers will be able to ask questions to people like Sheriff Rainey in Neshoba County. And they will be able to ask Registrars about voter registration procedures. They will ask them why Negroes cannot vote in Mississippi, and why so many Negroes are thrown off their jobs, and why their homes are shot into, and why they are beaten and killed.

The lawyers will also listen to us. They will let us tell our own stories. They will let us tell what kind of job we have, and what kind of sheriff we have, and what it is like to go to the courthouse. And everyone in Mississippi can hear what we say, because the meetings with the lawyers will be open to everyone. This is the first chance that most of us will have to talk about Mississippi in public.

When the lawyers go back to Congress, they will give their reports to the CLERK in Congress. The Clerk will publish large parts of the reports. Then everybody in the country will have a chance to read what the report says, and to learn what Mississippi is really like.

HOW WILL CONGRESS DECIDE WHO CAN REPRESENT MISSISSIPPI?

After the lawyers make their report, the Clerk will give the report to a Committee. The Committee will decide who they think should represent Mississippi in Congress.



Then Congress will vote on what the committee says. Congress can vote to seat the men elected on November 3. Or, Congress can vote to throw out the men elected in the regular election November 3. And then Congress can decide to have a new Regular Election in which everyone in Mississippi can have the chance to vote. And Congress can also decide that the FREEDOM VOTE was the real election in Mississippi, and that Mrs. Hamer, Mrs. Devine and Mrs. Gray can sit in Congress as the representatives from Mississippi.

HOW CAN THE FREEDOM VOTE CONGRESSWOMEN REPRESENT MISSISSIPPI?

No matter what Congress decides, Mrs. Hamer, Mrs. Devine and Mrs. Gray will represent Mississippi in Washington and all over the country. They will tell the people in the government and the people all over the country the things we want said. They will be the first representatives the Negroes and poor white people in Mississippi have had since right after the Civil War.

Some people feel that only people who have a lot of education and know all about laws should represent us in the government. But the men in Congress from Mississippi now are called "educated" and are supposed to know all about law and they do not represent us. To write laws that people want you do not have to know much about laws. But you do have to know what people want.

Mrs. Hamer, Mrs. Devine and Mrs. Gray do not know much about legal things. But they know what we want. They have lived the way we have all their lives. And so they can talk for us.



They can talk for us much better than the so-called "educated" men who are in Congress from Mississippi now.

WHAT MUST WE DO SO THAT THE CONGRESSWOMEN WILL REPRESENT US?

It is not enough that we helped choose Mrs. Hamer, Mrs. Devine and Mrs. Gray in the FREEDOM VOTE. They cannot really represent us unless we tell them what we want them to talk about in Washington.

There are many ways we can tell the Freedom Democratic Party Congresswomen what we want them to say for us. We can write to them, and we can visit them in Washington, and we can send them petitions and reports which tell them what is happening in Mississippi.

We can tell them what to say by trying to register and vote. Because if we try to register and vote, they will know that we want to vote, and they will know that is one of the things they must tell the government in Washington.



We can tell them what to say by talking with the lawyers when they come to Mississippi. Because when we talk to the lawyers everyone will be able to come and listen. For many of us this will be the first time we have talked in public. And if we talk in public Mrs. Hamer, Mrs. Devine and Mrs. Gray will hear what we say and they will be able to say the things we want.

We can tell the Congresswomen what we want them to say by working with the FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY. Because if we support the FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY, they will know that we want them to tell the government in Washington what the FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY wants. And the FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY wants Votes, Justice, Jobs

and Education for everybody in Mississippi and in the United States.

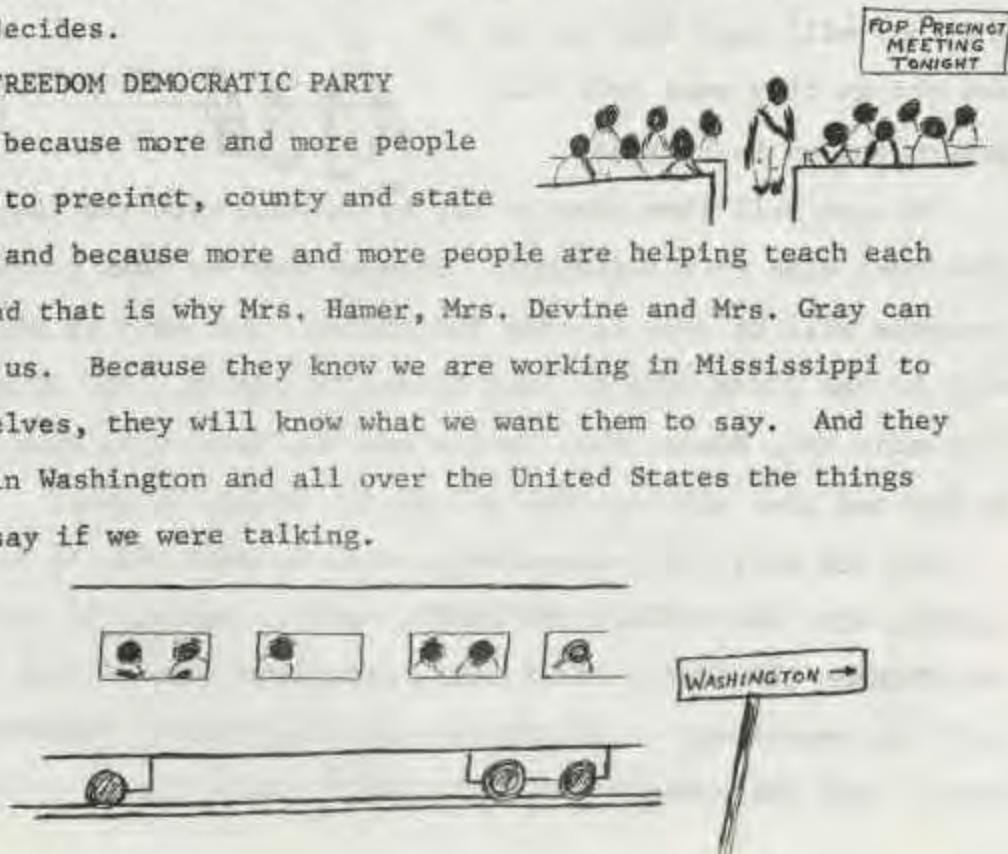
HOW HAS THE FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY GROWN?

The FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY grew very much during the summer. It grew in numbers, because thousands of people signed the FREEDOM REGISTRATION forms and now there are almost 80,000 people who are FREEDOM REGISTERED.

But the FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY has grown in other ways, too. Because the FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY is no longer just a few people who want to vote. It is no longer just a few people who go to Atlantic City while everybody else watches.

The people in the FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY are voting -- in FREEDOM VOTES -- and they are choosing their own representatives. And these representatives are not going to Washington to ask that they be allowed to represent us. They are going to represent us. And they will stay in Washington and represent us no matter what Congress decides.

The FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY has grown because more and more people are going to precinct, county and state meetings, and because more and more people are helping teach each other. And that is why Mrs. Hamer, Mrs. Devine and Mrs. Gray can represent us. Because they know we are working in Mississippi to help ourselves, they will know what we want them to say. And they will say in Washington and all over the United States the things we would say if we were talking.



FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY
1017 Bynon Street,
Jackson, Miss.
352-9605

Jan. 13, 1964

REPRISALS AGAINST FDP MEMBERS

Economic reprisals are not members of the Freedom Democratic Party since their return from the Congressional Challenge in Washington, D.C. nine days ago were reported to the Jackson, Miss. headquarters of the FDP today (wed).

At least three persons lost their jobs and one person her home, since returning from Washington, FDP chairman Lawrence Guyot said. "This proves vividly that Mississippi Negro citizens won't be allowed to organize politically without being subjected to intimidation and coercion in their own home state," he added, but insisted that "the FDP will not yield to this type of pressure but will continue to organize in every county so that people here can determine their own destiny."

A Jackson truck driver who worked for the same national company for 18 months, and other FDP members in Natchez and Hattiesburg found they had no jobs when they returned from the four day Washington trip. Threats were reported against other FDP members and a Holly Springs woman was told by her landlord to vacate her home.

Guyot also announced that at least seven FDP members were invited to the presidential inaugural party next week. Almost all the people who were invited said they planned to go. They are from Jackson, McComb, Hattiesburg, Tchula, Holly Springs and Clarksdale.

Guyot added:

"Those invitations to the inaugural party, no doubt, were based in large part as a result of our vigorous campaign for President Johnson and Vice President Humphrey throughout the state and that we supported the platform of the National Democratic Party in Atlantic City. We will continue to use every institution open to the people in this country to see that we are recognized as the Democratic Party of Mississippi."

THE CONGRESSIONAL CHALLENGE IS DEFEATED BY A MAJORITY VOTE OF THE DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN PARTY MEMBERS IN CONGRESS. HERE IS A REPORT ON THE FDP'S ATTEMPTS TO WIN THE CHALLENGE IN WASHINGTON DURING THE WEEK OF SEPTEMBER 13 TO 18, 1965.

SEPTEMBER 13, MONDAY

The House Subcommittee on Elections and Privileges (part of the House Administration Committee) holds closed hearing on the Challenge.

(From the Jackson Daily News, Sept. 14)

"The subcommittee, headed by chairman Rep. Robert Ashmore, D., S.C., is holding hearings on the Challenge filed by the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party which contends the state House members were elected illegally because Negroes were kept from voting.

After the morning hearing, Ashmore told the press some of the testimony was 'quite emotional.'

Each of the 5 contestants was given an opportunity to state his case. Mississippi House members then answered the contestants.

Several FDP delegates mingled on the front steps of the Capitol and inside the rotunda while the hearings were in progress. They later left for downtown Washington in the rain.

A tight ring of security surrounded the House Elections subcommittee room today as the panel began closed hearings on the Mississippi Challenge.

A cordon of policemen surrounded the Capitol Building and several are scattered throughout the edifice. A number of plainclothesmen have been seen roaming the building.

The hearing is being held in a small corner room of the Capitol which can only be reached by a four-man elevator not known to many persons.

The press is being barred from ascending to the third floor to await the hearing breakup. Only witnesses are being permitted to take the elevator to the third floor for the hearing. The Capitol Hill chief of police checks every person who approaches the elevator. If his name is not listed, he is asked to leave the area."

September 14, Tuesday

This morning FDP people lobbied in the House offices. In most cases the Congressmen were not in. And when they were in, most were too busy to speak to the groups of 15 or so people who asked to see them.

Many Congressmen said they thought the Challenge was morally and legally right. They had seen the 600 printed pages of depositions which the FDP had collected last January and February. But many Congressmen told the people that politics was against

us, although law and morality were on our side.

Farm belt Congressman said that Rep. Jimmie Whitten had great influence on the House Agriculture committee and that if they voted against Whitten then Whitten might retaliate against farmers in their states.

Other Congressmen told the FDP lobbyists that the Voting Bill would now solve the problems that the Challenge sought to solve. They said that Congress would make sure that terror, harassment, and intimidation would not be a vital factor in Mississippi elections. Other Congressmen said that they have done all they could for the Negro people. They said that they were for Home Rule in Washington and they voted for the Civil Rights Act of 1964. They said that Negroes didn't appreciate what was being done for them and they cited Watts as an example of this.

Mrs. Devino said at a meeting this evening at the Lincoln church that the Subcommittee meetings were a disgusting thing. She said that the Congressmen said that intimidation of voters was not widespread in the state. She said that they told "tales" and that it was some Republican Congressmen who asked some good questions of the Democratic members of the committee. She said that the Mississippi Congressmen's attitude was their slaves were taken away from them and they still can't forget it. Now, she said, the Northern Congressmen don't want to irritate them.

During the hearings the three FDP Congresswomen, Mrs. Mildred Cooney of Vicksburg, and Rev. Allen Johnson of Jackson testified for about three hours. The Mississippi Congressmen relied on political arguments and appealed to their fellow Congressmen to not let them down. "After all we're friends, and if you unseat us, then the same thing might happen to you," was how their attitude was described.

Congressman Thomas Abernathy defended himself by saying that if he and the other Miss. Congressmen were removed from their seats, no Congressman in the Deep South would be safe in the future. The precedent would be a dangerous one.

September 15, Wednesday

During the morning, FDP people continued their lobbying at Congress and at 20 various Federal agencies including the FBI, the Justice Department, the Veteran's Administration, the Labor, Agriculture, and Health, Education, and Welfare Departments.

The House Administration Committee voted 19-5 to reject the Challenge. The Committee, headed by Omar Burrellson, a Texas Democrat, approved the subcommittee's recommendation that the Challenge be turned down. Here is the NY Times report by John Herbers:

"The Committee...made no effort to deny that discrimination existed in the 1961 general election. Instead, it adopted the

main contention of the five representatives--that there was no contest because the challengers were not certified candidates for election.

House leaders, who have never supported the challenge, have been reluctant to authorize a seating contest brought by noncandidates for fear of setting a precedent that would bring a barrage of contests.

The challengers contended that there was both legal and moral precedent for their position. They said that their candidates for Congress were either denied a place on the Mississippi ballot because of the technicalities and abuse of the law or because it was simply not safe for a Negro to run for office in that state.

In the future, the committee said, contested election laws should be reviewed and clarified so that it can 'deal more expeditiously' with seating challenges involving racial discrimination.

Voting against the motion to dismiss the challenge were Jonathan Singham of the Bronx, Lucien N. Nedzi of Michigan, Samuel H. Friedel of Maryland, John Branchas of Indiana and Augustus Hawkins of California. All are Democrats.

They will seek to reconvene the matter to the committee for further hearings, which would carry the matter over until next year.

Mr. Hawkins, a Negro, said he would file a minority report contending that disenfranchisement of Negroes in Mississippi was 'clearly a matter of record,' that public hearings should be held, and that it was not a 'not a valid issue' that the challengers were not candidates."

The minority report stated: "The record in this case clearly indicates disenfranchisement of voters in the state of Mississippi due to inadequate official protection of their rights, as well as of their lives and limbs." The minority report criticized the majority report which rejected the FDP Challenge because they were not legally certified candidates. The report said: "It must be obvious to everyone that to require an individual to be a candidate before he can contest an election in a jurisdiction where it is impossible for him to register and vote, let alone get his or her name on the ballot makes a contest impossible and deprives the constitution, statutes and rules of all meaning in this regard."

Wednesday night civil rights, labor, and church groups united against the motion to dismiss the Challenge. The NY Times reported on the background of this meeting: "The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party was organized by civil rights workers to give Mississippi Negroes a voice in politics and instruction in voting. It has been supported largely by the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, which has been at odds with more conservative

civil rights organizations in the South. A number of Negro leaders in Mississippi have opposed the freedom party. They contend that its advisers are too far to the left and that Mississippi Negroes should form a new coalition with liberal whites within the state and affiliate with the national Democratic party.

For these reasons the challenge has not had the support of many civil rights leaders.

Last night, however, the broad base of civil rights, religious, and labor groups that have worked together for civil rights legislation united against the motion to dismiss the challenge.

About 40 of these organizations in the Washington-based Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, including the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, unanimously adopted a statement and forwarded it to members of the House. Their main contention was:

'Only two subcommittee hearings have been held, both geared to the dismissal and to no other aspect of the issue. No public hearings have been held. Copies of the evidence on which the challenge is based have not been made available to House members. Dismissal of the challenge at this time would close the door to full hearings and full House discussion.'

Dr. Robert Spike, executive director of the Commission on Race and Religion of the National Council of Churches played a key role in achieving this rather remarkable consensus by dissident groups."

September 16, Thursday

In the morning young people and a few adults marched from Lincoln church to the Congress, about 20 blocks away. Older people met them at the Capitol in buses. The marchers were told by police not to sing or carry picket signs. A few blocks from the Congress police told them to break into groups of 25. This way it would appear that the people were not demonstrating but were just ordinary tourists.

When the people reached the sidewalk in the rear of the Capitol building police passed out leaflets stating the District of Columbia law prohibiting the holding of flags or signs of any kind. Yet the people sat down on the stone benches and on the lawn behind and stayed throughout the afternoon, through to the next morning. The purpose was to hold a vigil that would somehow affect the members of Congress who were deciding the fate of the Challenge.

A special prayer meeting was held at the National Cathedral in support of the Challenge. Dozens of people, mainly adults, took part. The Washington FDP and SNCC offices supplied coffee and sandwiches to the vigilers throughout the night and early morning. Hundreds of people stayed awake all night long through continual light rain. Police warned people against lighting candles for the vigil in

the early pre-dawn hours. One policeman told the group that they might burn themselves or set the park on fire. People lit the candles a second time but backed down from the confrontation. Bill Ware of Natchez blew his candle out, because, he said, "I want to hear Mrs. Hamer, Mrs. Devine, and Mrs. Gray speak." Then he began to speak about the Challenge. Police told Ware to stop making a political speech. Ware answered, "I'm not making a political speech--I'm talking about Democracy." Carloads of CORE members joined the vigilers throughout the night. The Washington FDP and SNCC staffs helped get radio announcements and leaflets out to the people in the city to join the vigil.

September 17, Friday

Friday, after the all night vigil, hundreds of FDP members filled the House galleries to witness the final vote. Many people were turned away by ushers who said their passes were no good even though whites had been let in with similar passes. A complaint to the House floor by a Congressman friendly to the FDP persuaded the ushers to let the people in. Finally around three o' clock, Congressman William Fitz Ryan of New York introduced a motion to recommit the Challenge issue to the House Administration committee for a full and open hearing. Congressman Lindsay and Farbstein of New York spoke for Ryan's motion; so did Congressman Diggs of Detroit, Edwards of California, and Conyers of Michigan. The Republican leadership joined with the Democratic leadership to defeat Ryan's motion by a vote of 228 to 143.

The three FDP Congresswomen were invited by telegram from Speaker John McCormack of Massachusetts to sit on the House floor during the Friday session. But six Negro Congressmen urged the women to decline the invitation on the grounds that it might hurt the Challenge. The women decided to take the seats anyway; they sat in the Indiana section, just a few feet away from two of the Mississippi Congressmen.

After the vote dozens of press people surrounded the three women as they were walking down the long House stairway to join the rest of the Mississippi delegation. Mrs. Hamer spoke to the people before hundreds of spectators, Congressmen, their aides, and the police, but before she could finish she broke down in tears. She asked, "What kind of country is it that is afraid to let the people know the truth? Why is the white man so afraid to let the people know?" Mrs. Hamer added though, that she would continue to "run for office again if there was anything left to run for."

Although at first police prevented Mrs. Hamer from using a loudspeaker, under urging by Congressman Ryan, the police changed their mind. Some speakers urged that Negroes must now prepare to arm

themselves for self-defense. As one person put it, "The murderers in Mississippi have been supported by the Congress over there. They're both murderers. There ain't no real difference between them."

FDP Chairman Lawrence Guyot urged people to run for offices they never ran for before, and to organize in every precinct, city, and county in the state. He said, "We haven't begun to fight," and urged people not to quit politics. He said it is only by taking part in politics that this country can be changed. He said that people would have to attend precinct meetings as faithfully as they go to church.

September 18, Saturday

Dr. Spike of the National Council of Churches told the press that there will be more Congressional challenges to Southern Congressmen. He added: (according to an AP report in the Jackson Daily News) "Since the Democratic Convention at Atlantic City we've had a fairly serious split in the movement. The joining together with the MFDP was the most unified action since then. Everybody backed it. (the 100 union, church and civil rights groups belonging to the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights)"

Since Reconstruction the House has been sacrosanct. This Challenge brought the problem right into the heart of the national legislature and struck where the legislators are most vulnerable---their own seat in Congress.

It is very significant that on the final roll call we got 143 votes despite the fact that the liberal Democratic leadership in Congress fought us every way...Many Congressmen did not follow the Democratic leadership. This means Congress will be the scene of more struggles. There will be more challenges than we've ever had before."

People began to leave for home. They were sad but not defeated. One elderly woman from Sunflower County said, just as she boarded her bus to leave: "We're fixing to go, but you all can be sure of this ----- we're coming back."

XII: After Freedom Summer



The Freedom Summer Project failed to reach its most visible goals. Few new voters registered, the Democratic National Convention rejected the MDP, and white-supremacists took seats in the 1965 U.S. Congress. Some leaders concluded that nonviolence and traditional politics would never bring justice, and helped launch the Black Power Movement.

However, in the following months it became obvious that Freedom Summer had achieved its broad goals. Tens of thousands of black residents had created a new political party, learned leadership skills and organizing techniques, and attended Freedom Schools. People around the nation, shocked by the violence on their televisions, spurred elected officials to write new laws. Mainstream politicians realized that African-Americans were a powerful voting bloc.

In 1965, Congress passed the Voting Rights Act, which outlawed discriminatory voting practices and authorized the federal government to intervene. By the end of 1966, most African-Americans in the South who were eligible to vote had registered.

51 Rough Minutes of a Meeting - National Council of Churches, Sep 18, 1964

(8 pages) Reflections by leaders -- Farmer, Young, Samstein, Lowenstein, Rauh, and others -- on Freedom Summer, what it achieved, and what should be done next

<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/172>

52 COFO Program, Winter 1964 - Spring 1965

(2 pages) Memo detailing how COFO intended to carry forward the work of Freedom Summer

<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/15020>

53 Morey, R. Hunter: Cross Roads in COFO, December 3, 1964

(2 pages) Reflection on the future of co-operation among the main Civil Rights organizations

<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/8308>

54 The Mississippi Summer Project

(14 pages) Essay by a volunteer (unsigned, and apparently unfinished) with many stories, much specific detail about what was accomplished, and examples of how lives changed.

<http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/12152>

1. Rough minutes of a meeting called by the National Council of Churches to discuss the Mississippi Project.

September 18, 1964

People present: Gloster Current, Jack Ginsberg, Joe Rauh, Bruce Hansen, James Farmer, Anna Hedgeman, Al Lowenstein, Jack Pratt, Andy Young, Robert Spike, John Morsell, Courtland Cox, and Mendy Samstein.

Spike: Meeting called to discuss ways of cooperating in Mississippi in the future. If possible let us try to avoid raking the coals of the past.

Kerns: Questions about SNCC. Attacked by Ivanhoe Donaldson at a panel discussion in Cleveland last night. Accused of not cooperating in Summer PROJECT, OF OPPOSING DIRECT ACTION, I would like some evaluation of the Summer Project, for instance, the role of the Lawyers Guild. I object to Johnny-come-latelies. Questions about the FDP. All compromisers castigates as appeasers. Problem specifically in Jackson. And Noses. Refused to come up and see executive board in Jackson in July he finally came and mumbled. He left a very negative impression. NAACP nominally part of COFO, but original purpose seems to have been subverted. Many ministers are returning to the North with complaints of the NAACP for non-cooperation. If we are going to be partners, lets be partners. Lets settle around the table where we are going in 1965. Lets determine the extent of Cooperation. NAACP has 1/4 million tied up in Miss.

Young: At our last meeting we expressed our frustrations with FDP and generally. Meeting ended up that we, whether we like it or not, can't escape our responsibility to make our work as smooth as possible. We don't understand each other. Must develop structure of cooperation. FDP, or COFO, or some other ad hoc organization for funneling projects into Mississippi.

In evaluating the summer project we must recognize that it ushered us into new phase of civil rights struggle, from public accommodations to politics. We have become aware of the economic issue, but political change, as implied in the MSP, must proceed economic change. Our work in Alabama and Georgie will take cue from Miss -- develop mass political movement. Now we must work to reestablish coalition we had on Saturday and Sunday in Atlantic City. Our main concern must be to put this back together.

Spike: Mississippi is no longer a local problem. Tension is created between those who are moved by local considerations and those who must heed national considerations. Resources and attentions have been funneled into MISSISSIPPI. Question now is how to funnel them without on the one hand manipulating local people and on the other without abdicating responsibility to national picture. We must come to peace, eliminate the suspicion that exists among us. Mississippi has now become so large, it exerts leverage on national scene: this is the problem.

Young: At Convention we had combination of moral (Hamer) and political power (King, Farmer and Wilkins). If this had been maintained could have been used in election. Made vote for Mississippi an issue. Now lost for this election. But we must

2-meeting in New York

reestablish national pressure for the right to vote in Mississippi. That I see as the purpose of this meeting.

Kerns: Has the way now been smoothed for winning right to vote in Miss?

Rauh: The obstacles have not been cleared away.

Greenberg: Must assault county by county. Have people go to courthouse, follow with legal action. Abstacles will not cave in at once.

Rauh: Of course, we still have the resolution that regulars can not be seated if don't change by 1968. But what is needed is federal legislation that where less than 1/3 the Negro population is registered (meaning Miss. and Ala.) get federal registration. But such legislation depends on president and he not likely to do it, so difficulties remain.

Kerns: We should concentrate on urban areas like Atlanta. The
→ Freedom Democratic Party is a delusion. It causes confusion among local people. FDP units are developing in several places around the country-- and wherever they are there are suspicious characters. Can we set any goals? Can we develop a coordinated approach? In Jackson Charles Evers has rapport with downtown. So there and in Biloxi and Vicksburg will have little resistance to registration. Must develop campaigns there but cut out arrests and picketing because if people jailed others become frightened. What kind of structure can we have. I expect not one with director--I mean Bob
→ Moses--who dictates and we must take it or leave it. IT MUST BE DEMOCRATIC. Registration will be a slow arduous effort.

Farmer: Decision making in COFO is nub of problem. Confusion exists on how decisions are made. For instance, the setting up of this
→ legal advisory committee. There was no consultation with member
→ groups. I know not with us, CORE. We must agree on decision-making structure.

Morsell: Question of making the right decisions. MFDP challenge at Atlantic City was important, but it was weakened in the end. A variety of approaches is necessary. Job can not be done by any single line action, but problem is that Bob Moses and SNCC feel (perhaps because of their youth, frustration, indignation, bitterness) need for single-minded approach. They must have understanding
→ of strategic complexity. Not now in SNCC. Howa ree we to create this understanding because it is necessary before we can have a structure.

Cox: Accusations are being made against Bob. Nobody has asked people of COFO how decisions are made. People here must stop thinking in organization terms and stop dealing in recriminations. Need to be more worried about people of Miss. and not org. and its image. Our present structure is made up of people of Miss. and those who must face consequences of any action taken. Attempting that people in lowest economic situation be able to express need. Structure of MFDP and COFO is one in which decisions
→ made by people of Miss. I was willing to sit aand be quiet but this whole meeting has been aimed against sncc.

3 meeting in NY

Cox: It doesn't help to engage in a diatribe against Bob and SNCC.

Spike: We must try to get at feelings of all the participants here.

Young: Perhaps it would be helpful to review some of the history of this. COFO was originally formed as a structure to get VEP money. The participating organizations accepted it with varying degrees of interest--some only in name. Decisions have to be made by those on scene who have lives at stake. After VEP, appeals were made to the various organizations. They responded with varying degrees of support. SNCC gave the most, then Core. NAACP gave to its branches and SCLC to its citizenship program. Idea in COFO that those not paying for the piper, not call the tune. Whether it was wrong to invest in people of COFO and not organizing of COFO it is necessary to see present misunderstanding in this/ present context.

Lowenstein: The past is done. Now question on how to maximize cooperation and not drive anyone out.

→ Rauh: /~~1/2~~ But I would like to drive out the Lawyers Guild. I think it is immoral to take help from communists.

→ Lowenstein: I agree with you but we must maximize cooperation. We need some understanding on how decisions are made. We need some structure. I would suggest that every group in the broadly based coalition committing people and money to Miss. have consulting role. Whether after such organization formed, individual organizations will break up commitment by district or by different types of project (e.g. literacy) I don't know. But all must go together. Right now decision making is metaphysical. We must sit down and determine what kind of decisions are made and how, so that they do not continue to be made in limbo. We need a definite structure. We need to draw up a constitution. Have a structure with delegates from different groups and officers elected---and deselected if need be---by these delegates. This new structure and its officers would be responsible for handling money and making other decisions. It is true that SNCC was main source of funds and resources but this is no longer the case. Now students, labor, other groups, so these must have say. We must strike balance with people of Miss. in decision-making. We must include people if they are willing to take part in the project. To sum up, right now we need commitment by people here to the formation of a new central body that this body will be regularized and democratized and broadened in its base (from however decisions are presently made.) Then would be willing to submit decisions to this body, like question of lawyers guild and if they okay it then would have to accept it. Problem now that we have no appeal from decisions we disagree with. I was troubled at Atlantic City but different points of view were not welcomed. Seen as alien. We need structured democracy not amorphous democracy.

Farmer: Agree with Al, but wouldn't you agree that not all who contribute have role in decision making, but only those who are part of the action?

4-meeting in New York

Lowenstein: Yes, that's what I meant.

Spike: With Bob and Jim Forman not here, we can't make any decision. We obviously can't decide for COFO or SNCC (looking at Al L.).

I am worrying about not structuring things too firmly at this point.

Lowenstein: I deliberately didn't structure things, rather wait on meeting with those who can make decisions. Rather I was trying to see if there is a consensus here on my proposal. If not, let's not take time of Bob and others.

Morsell: We have commitment to Mississippi, whether it be COFO or not. Commitment to our branches as integral part of NAACP structure. We must consider our national responsibilities--and this is the problem. Decisions, no matter how democratic, if injurious to our national interests, we must have way out.

Owenstein: I think in practice, we are bound by the decisions as they are now made. We can't leave Miss, though we might talk about the possibility.

→ Moselle: Precisely the point, we're caught.

Lowenstein: Unless we write off Miss or engage in open clash, then we must take this action (which I proposed.) There are now lots of people coming out of Miss., -- lawyers, doctors, students, and others, who are committed. Under these considerations, it would be irresponsible if we were not to develop a structure. You can't put your finger in the dike. To avoid structure means to have decisions made which are not subject to general will, authoritarian decisions made by small groups, and others have no way of escaping (unless write off Miss. or open clash.)

Thomas: The National Council of Churches was invited to serve as part of COFO exec for the MSP. Does this willingness to include NCC representative still exist?

Samstein: I couldn't say specifically, we only that general commitment to cooperation, but there would have to be more discussion.

Hedgeman: Must get Bob and 6 or 7 others and have this over again. I understand feelings of those on the firing line. I even have a
→ good word for the Lawyers Guild.

Spike: Need clarification of what COFO is. Is COFO local groups plus local outlets of national organizations, or is COFO confederation of national organizations? This must be clear. If made up of local outlets, then we must also have confederation of national organization (Friends of Mississippi Freedom). Then we will have some basis for negotiation, for dealing with COFO. Need clarification though of what COFO is; is it indigenous? Need to know exact relation of FDP to COFO; are they separate? Need clarifying of entities. There should be two kinds of follow-up: 1. in Miss. need dilenation and review of what COFO is. This has to be done
→ because of its enormous success and 2. we continue on a national level with this kind of thing with Bob and Jim.

Moselle: Positions taken which commita contributing groups without their having any say.

5 meeting in NY

Spike: There is no need for new organization.

Lowenstein: I agree but pressing problem: resources are pouring in---well over a thousand people this summer and probably close to a million dollars. There must be consensus on how this is to be utilized.

Thomas: air of unreality about this all.

Lowenstein: Must have consensus on structure which we don't have.

Cox: We have begged and asked for help for COFO as Andy explained earlier. People on the scen make the decisions. It so happens that most of the people on the scen are SNCC people so SNCC plays major role in decisions. But at Atlantic City it was the people, the MFDP who rejected the compromise--Mrs. Hamer, Devine, and Miles. Jim and Bob spoke only after Pratt, Rustin, Thomas, King, etc. Democratic that we have right to present our position. Actual decision was amde at closed meeting of the delegation.

Pratt: I would disagree with your reading of history.

Cox: It was the Mississippi delegation that made the decision.

→ Pratt: Nominally made by delegation but actually railroaded by SNCC.

Lowenstein: Go back to what Art said. Is it unreal to say we want to find common structural consensus?

Cox: Asked for help but not given as Andy indicated. Question whether groups prepared to come in now.

Lowenstein: There was no cooperation before because there lacked a structure to cooperate through.

→ Thomas: Unreal as far as Miss. is concerned for ad hoc group to meet in NY and determine what should go on.

→ Kerns: I am not convinced by anything I've heard from those we have to do business with (meaning SNCC).

Spike: We need to have a high level meeting with Bob and Jim and other key people from COFO.

Moselle: There have been over 1000 volunteers and NCC involvement in preparing them. Probably next summer and more in between. Something needs to be done immediately for guiding and directing prospective invaders. This is national question and so national interests involved.

Thomas: Last summer we proposed to the NAACP a common training school but there was no interest.

Moselle: Who did you talk to?

Thomas: I amde the rounds last January and there were no takers but SNCC and core somewhat. SNCC is not naive or inexperienced as is often said.

6 Meeting in NY

- Kerns: We didn't know about MSP and Oxford training program until we read about it in the newspaper and we saw that we were not involved. The NAACP is a disciplined army. No decision is made on lower levels without authorization from on top. Henry has got to get in line. If a decision is to be made, it has to go to Wilkins, Moselle, or myself.
- Moselle: In our organization things take time to get done. We are bureaucratic. Many memos get to our desks., and have to wait our decisions.
- Spike: Not just bureaucratic delay. I talked to Roy and he had grave doubts about the whole thing. This is a learning experience for us. We are not going to resolve any deep ideological differences. Need to understand them.
- Young: MSP involve design to change whole political picture. Gradual voter registration doesn't work. Need more creative approach in Mississippi and Alabama.
- Rauh: Freedom Registration bridge to regular party. Basis for caucus in regular party and files are useful for organizational work.
- Lowenstein: Question about decision making. For instance, how was it determined that Henry should run for U.S. Senate? And how was it decided to substitute V. Gray for Dean Jones last spring? Seems that people are excluded who would like to partake in decisions and then they are stuck with those decisions. So whomakes
- decisions?
- Samstein: You should be careful to get correct information about what is happening. Henry chosen by FDP meeting.
- Lowenstein: But people excluded or not notified of meetings, like Rev. Smith.
- Ramstein: Rev. Smith not a member of executive committee. Exec. comm. chosen by the district caucuses about a week before the state convention. These caucuses were held in five different cities. Each elected three people to the exec comm. Records of meetings and names of exec comm on paper in Jackson. Every effort was made to get members to exec comm meeting last Sunday. I was in McComb when they called several times from Jackson to make certain that Weathersby from Amite jCo. got to the meeting.
- Lowenstein: I was called by two Negroes in Miss. and told that they couldn't understand what was going on. Rev. Smith considers himself a member of the exec comm. Feeling exists that local people are excluded.
- Samstein: What you are saying amounts to a very insidious indictment. It is essential that you be in Miss. and know what the facts are rather than make accusations without knowing what is really going on.
- Kerns: Next meeting should be this size with Bob Moses and Jim Forman.

7 meeting in NY

Young: Miss Baker should also be present.

Lowenstein: We should also bring up Aaron, Ed King, and Rev. Smith so what differences that exist can be aired.

Spike: We should confine ourselves to problems of national cooperation, and not indigenous problems.

Kerns: Whole program must be reviewed. Need summit meeting of different groups to evaluate whole situation. Wilkins, Kern, Henry and Evers can determine NAACP course.

Cox: Need for low level meeting. Get expression from people so can develop programs which speak to their needs. Henry and Evers cannot present totality of situation. Next meeting should be in Mississippi with people of Mississippi and based on interpretations from them.

Young: Suggest 5 people from each group working in Miss.

Spike: This might mean as many as 35 people.

Thomas: I disagree with the proposal. National Council has no problem in communication. Have program and open to anyone who wants to add resources.

→ Kerns: The more I listen to Cox the more I know we need a top level meeting. I have been listening to crying of people from Miss. for 17 years. I don't want to listen to Steptoe. We need high-level meeting so we can cut away underbrush.

Spike: Both essential. We see here represented some basic differences in ideological outlook. We need a high-level meeting but also psychological importance of low level meeting.

→ Kerns: At Jackson would have to meet with Tom, Dick, and Harry's. And once we have them in, can't invite them out. We have to decide what to do in 1965. Budget considerations. These top level decisions, not to be made by man in the field.

Moselle: We do have national budget, constituents across the country. A knowledge of local situation necessary but not alone sufficient. Can acquire vital knowledge without living in Miss. Some knowledge gained by not being too close to forest. I would like another high level meeting with Moses and Forman.

Lowenstein: At some point we need to think of volunteers who are not being represented.

Young: Let's meet with Bob, Jim, Hamer, Lewis when they return from Africa.

Farmer; We can bring up Jewett and Dennis from Miss.

→ Moselle: We have experience to know problems. We don't have to caucus with Negroes in Miss. You want us to listen to people in Miss.; we don't want to be attacked. We don't mind criticism but we don't like to be attacked.

8 meeting in NY

Kerns: 1. Mississippi projection must be continued in 1965 under a coordinated agency. 2. We must think organizationally, that is budget considerations. These realistic problems. Can;t listen to grass roots. 3. We can go alone or be involved in broader committment but we will have to decide at top level meeting. We must consider many factors in allocating resources. We are planning now to move back in Alabama. It will have to get some priority and maybe it would be mor important to work in Ala than pour resources down the drain in Miss. Need top level meeting if we are going to commit resources.

Spike: I will try to get in touch with Bob and Jim and try to set up a meeting for as soon as they get back into the country.

COFO Program (Winter 1964 - Spring 1965)

The Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) is extending its Mississippi Summer Project into a year round project. Both volunteers and paid staff will be used to implement the programs. The following programs are planned as part of the project:

1. Freedom Democratic Party and voter registration. Suits filed by the Justice Department have opened up several counties in the state to the possibility of registering large numbers of Negroes. Emphasis will be placed on these areas, but voter registration will continue to form the basis for much of the community organization throughout the state. The Freedom Democratic Party experience of the summer has provided a basis for extensive voter education. This work will be carried on by local voter groups in different parts of the state. The Freedom Democratic Party operations may be worked out of offices distinct from the COFO offices, but there will be close connections in both staff and planning between the offices.

2. Freedom Schools. The Freedom Schools will be continued in all areas where possible, but their scope will be somewhat limited as the majority of students will be in regular school full time. Freedom schools will concentrate on late afternoon and evening courses. Content will be Negro history, political education, modern languages--all not available in the regular schools--as well as remedial math and reading and writing. In some areas freedom schools will serve to intensify regular studies. In some areas freedom schools may serve in place of regular schools in the event of trouble in the regular school system.

3. Pre-school education. Plans are underway for pre-school day care centers in several areas of the state. This program will attempt to provide nursery school enrichment programs to better prepare children for school. The program will provide working mothers with a place to leave their children under supervision during the day.

4. White Community Project. Contacts in the upper middle class and power structure will be continued, but these will be on a limited basis. Emphasis will be placed on trying to organize in the lowest classes, attempting to bridge the gap between the white and Negro communities.

5. Federal Programs. The project will attempt to implement various federal programs that are available for the Mississippi rural poor. Emphasis is being placed on programs for farmers, cooperatives--both housing and consumer, public health programs, and implementing the anti-poverty bill.

6. Community Centers. During the summer community center programs began in many areas of the state. Lack of buildings and trained staff delayed implementation of a permanent program. During the year the National Council of Churches will take on increased responsibility for some of the community centers. Emphasis in program will be on day care, citizenship, library, literacy, health program, and specialized programs arising out of skills of a particular applicant.

7. Literacy Program. The state-wide literacy program will be continued. Several different systems (each one-teach one, classes, self-help, etc.) are being used.

8. Medical Programs. The Medical Committee on Human Rights, a cooperating group, will expand its work. The programs will be partly connected with the freedom schools and the community centers. The actual content of the programs will depend on local need and available personnel, but the minimum desired program will include public health, dietary guidance, first aid, pre-natal care, and instruction in available federal, state, and local aid.

9. Legal Programs. Legal assistance under the Lawyer's Constitutional Defense Committee and the Lawyer's Guild will be continued. Lawyers will be permanently stationed in the state and will work with visiting lawyers here on a short term basis.

10. Audio-visual Program. A variety of movies and slides will be shown in different parts of the state.

11. Food & Clothing Distribution. Food and clothing is being distributed to people who have suffered harassment for movement activities or who are economically destitute for other reasons. The food and clothing is collected in other parts of the country and sent here. This distribution is done in cooperation with other interested agencies.

12. Mississippi Student Union (High School Student Organization). Chapters of this state-wide movement organization are established in many areas. Other chapters will be added. The organization serves as a focus for all civil rights-connected activities on the high school level.

13. Libraries. Usually libraries will be a part of a community center program. In some areas there may be buildings only large enough to house a library. In other places mobile libraries may be used. The libraries are simple and are only sketchily catalogued. Emphasis is placed on training local people to run the libraries.

CROSS ROADS IN COFO

R. Hunter Morey 3 DEC 64

We are faced with both the greatest danger and the greatest opportunities of our short life. After finally making Mississippi a pressing national issue, COFO is torn with internal disorganization of almost fatal proportions if not quickly remedied.

Some of our fabulous opportunities are:

POLITICALLY: Huntley/Brinkley pointed out soon after Goldwater's defeat that the black-belt is now the political battleground - because, outside of Arizona, the Republican Party candidate's sole support came from precisely those deep South areas which deny Negroes the right to vote. SNCC-CORE voter registration activity and FDP development might force the Republican Party of Goldwater out of existence, paving the way for the possible growth of a truly liberal (liberal/labor/Negro) party leaving the Democratic party to be the moderate/conservative party it is.

NORTHERN SUPPORT: the swarm of volunteers has created a great base of support for the Mississippi Project upon which we can draw for volunteers, money, supplies, and political action.

CIVIL LIBERTIES: This summer we had people working together in an atmosphere of judging by actions, not by associations or reputation. The entire liberal community was educated by this.

EDUCATION: The Freedom Schools has made a substantial contribution to the nation's start at grappling with Negroes and education generally.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT LAW ENFORCEMENT: The FBI step-up represented the greatest commitment by the U.S. to enforce its laws that we have yet seen.

LEGAL WORK: Mississippi had never seen such vigorous attacks as our COFO v. Rainey suits and others which we have started.

BUT SOME OF OUR MOST DANGEROUS CONDITIONS ARE:

STRUCTURE AND DECISION MAKING: Absolutely no working state-wide structure for decision making exists. COFO has no elected administration, nor for the most part not even any self-appointed administration. The state headquarters in Jackson is almost completely dysfunctional. There is no working Director, Executive Committee, Personnel Committee, Financial Secretary, Communications Director, etc.

RACISM, VIOLENCE, STEALING, HOODLUMISM, AND IRRESPONSIBILITY: Staff and volunteer discipline has broken down so far that the state headquarters has had several race riots, white workers are often subject to severe racial abuse and even violence from Negro workers, staff and volunteers have assaulted fellow workers, cash checks, clothes, and supplies have been stolen totalling several thousands of dollars, Negro workers are frequently played-up-to and looked-down-on by white workers, juvenile delinquency sometimes appears to have taken over certain offices, Bob Moses has retained the position of Project Director while taking no part in key day to day decisions in areas such as personnel, distribution of resources, etc, and the staff has allowed all of this to develop, contributing to the problem by the relatively high number of drunks and goof-offs all over the state. For example, many workers drive cars as fast as they can, figuring that COFO will pay their fines and get them a lawyer no matter what they do. Former SNCC staff going to Tougaloo steal and act rowdy in the Jackson office, etc.

And I would add **SOCIAL WORK** instead of **MILITANT CIVIL RIGHTS WORK** or **DIFFUSION INSTEAD OF DEVELOPMENT**. COFO does not exist to duplicate welfare work our governments are responsible for, nor to be a do-gooders club to soften the blows of this feudal society - but rather to agitate, stimulate and induce basic social change to eliminate the causes from which the present abuses spring. Secondly, our purpose is not to build up the largest list of counties we are "working" but rather to organize well the few places we have resources for.

To deal with some of these problems I submit the following suggestions and outline of a COFO structure.

Legal Area COFO should drop the idea (which was never ratified or agreed to by the staff anyway) of a staff counsel and go back to a Legal Coordinator who would be one of the SNCC or CORE staff people. This is necessary first because we (nor the Legal Committee) can not afford supporting a separate legal office which has cost us \$9,500 in the less than three months operation. Also, Henry Aronson is not suitable to administrate our legal affairs.

State-Wide Strategy We need some group to regularly review our state operation, including the latest U.S. voting suit decision, population figures, etc. to plan our state-wide strategy. Staff shifts, program and resource emphasis should be planned instead of anarchistic as it is now. I suggest that within the broad outline set by the state staff meetings, that there be an Executive Committee to perform this function.

Structure The state CORE and SNCC staff and those this staff invites, make up the supreme governing body of COFO. The state staff meets three or four times a year, decides the program areas and policies, elects the President, Executive Committee, Program Director, Coordinators, Executive Director. The Executive Committee governs COFO between state staff meetings. The Executive Committee appoints the following standing committees:

Personnel: to hire and fire within the state, as sign and handle problems.

Finance: to handle obtaining and disbursing money, handle priorities, etc.

Legal: the existing COFO Legal Advisory Committee would continue as now but would be a standing committee of the COFO Executive Committee and its present membership would be reviewed and possibly changed.

The personnel and finance committees would have to be composed of people who would work in Jackson so that they will be available for decision making and serving the projects.

The COFO President will be the chief executive officer and national spokesman for COFO.

The COFO Program Director will oversee the field operations of COFO, helping implement the major programs of any particular time.

The COFO Executive Director will administrate the Jackson office. He is responsible for maintaining the WATS line, making sure that there is staff to run supplies, etc., and aids the working of the various program coordinators and is responsible for having reports for the monthly Executive Committee meetings.

Coordinators. These are to be elected by the state staff and are to work out of the Jackson office to be available to handle project questions and problems through the WATS line. These include Freedom Schools, Communications, Legal, Community Centers, Supplies, etc.

As completely personal suggestions, I nominate Bob Moses for COFO President, Jesse Morris for Program Director.

The Mississippi Summer Project

The Mississippi Summer Project is completed. Bridgeheads were established in the "closed society" of Mississippi, and this fall they will not be evacuated as some friends feared and opponents hoped; they will be held and extended. "The Negroes of that state are never again going to be abandoned," John Lewis, Chairman of SNCC, wrote in a letter to President Johnson. (The project was run by COFO, the Council of Federated Organizations, which is for all practical purposes SNCC, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, aided by CORE).

The Summer Project was not fighting people but inequality and injustice; many of its participants have commented on the mood of love permeating it. Yet the images of warfare are not unjustified. The casualty list of the project shows the death of three staff workers and of five Mississippians connected with it; many wounded; at least twenty churches burned to the ground and considerable other property damage; the losses sustained by local supporters fired from their jobs or otherwise damaged; and the vast sums of ransom paid to the local authorities (they called it "bail"). The thousand volunteers -- students, ministers, doctors, lawyers -- who came to work with the project staff have shown conspicuous bravery in the face of the enemy, simply by sticking it out on a job which started in June under a cloud of violence perpetrated by its opponents. In a popular movie of some years ago, "Bad Day at Black Rock," Spencer Tracy showed admirable courage on the screen by staying around in a little town after some local characters had told him, "get out by sunset or we'll kill you." These same words were spoken by real-life villains to quite a number of young men and women freshly arrived from shootered campuses in Iowa or California, and they too stayed, almost as a matter of course. Local Negro children of twelve or thirteen, raised in the philosophy

of yielding and lying low, went out to canvas for voter registration, were harrassed, beaten, kicked out of jobs and schools, and went back to canvas some more.

The ways of opening up a state whose men in power had operated under the banner of "Never," were several and they were interdependent.

The Freedom Schools, with classes for all ages, and students from 8 to 82, were a first attack on the state of semi-illiteracy in which the "seperate but equal" myth of public education had left the Negro youth of Mississippi. There were classes in reading and writing, typing, arts and crafts, sewing, nutrition, French, citizenship, and history. Starting at the beginning of summer, when are supposedly glad to be let out of school, their overwhelming popularity proved how sorely they had been needed. And they did more than teach skills: for the first time, these children had teachers not afraid to give them an undistorted view of American and world history, to tell them what "really happened" during the Civil War and the Reconstruction period. Public schools in the Deep South endanger a proper character development of Negro children who are officially taught that the whites are the Master race; the Freedom Schools began giving the antidote. They continued all through the summer, and are now kept going with evening and weekend classes.

The community centers provided social services and recreation for adult Negroes whose social needs until now had been virtually ignored by the state: libraries, children day care, health and citizenship courses, arts, music, ping-pong, dances, and whatever else was needed and could be provided for. More important than any of these separate activities, the centers could begin to give a sense of "community," of common fate and common power, to scattered individuals. From the beginning, the centers were meant as permanent institutions, but in these first hectic months they have been housed in church basements, old schoolhouses, or at times even in a back room in the COFO office; new and attractive buildings are planned for several of them.

The aim of the centers and schools is not to make the Negroes of Mississippi more acceptable to the white community, not to help a young man who is studying French and wearing an Ivy League suit get service at the segregated counter of a 5-and-10; they want to assist the local Negroes in the reform of society as a whole. They lead directly and unavoidably to political activity.

The political action of the Summer Project was twofold: voter registration, and registration for the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. VR, as voter registration was called, is a long and uphill struggle. A century after the Emancipation Proclamation, less than 7% of the adult Negroes of Mississippi are registered voters, against more than 60% of the whites. In some counties with a majority of the population Negro, there is not one registered non-white voter. The courthouse registrar has an unchecked veto over any registration attempt and has used this consistently to keep out the Negro, no matter how well educated. COFO workers have helped local Negroes study the registration tests, have arranged Freedom Days to encourage registration, and have accompanied prospective voters to the courthouses; local authorities have used every form of violence and intimidation to keep them away. There have been arrests under the flimsiest pretexts or without any pretexts. Private and municipal and state employers have told Negro employees, "If you register, you're fired," thus openly breaking the Federal Law. Negroes who dared register have had their houses bombed and fired into. In spite of all this, COFO has found a continuing stream of men and women this summer willing to climb those courthouse steps and risk their livelihoods and even their lives. The work has not produced a great new number of Negro voters, but it has produced a solid file of affidavits signed by people deprived of this basic democratic, constitutional right. It has produced a whole arsenal of testimony with which the Federal Department of Justice could end the feudalism of Mississippi.

Because so few Mississippi Negroes are registered voters

(and even those few are consistently barred from the primaries), the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party was founded. The party is open to all citizens, black and white, and it has pledged itself to the platform of the National Democratic Party -- unlike the Mississippi Democratic Party which went its own way as early as 1946, and which is not so much a political Party anymore as a power machine to fill certain offices with certain people. Using registration forms based on a northern model, the Mississippi F.D.P. launched a statewide "freedom registration campaign," and by mid-August the COFO head office in Jackson had counted 56,500 F.D.P. registered voters. Precinct, County, and State Conventions have been held, and one of the bright moments of this summer's work was the conditional recognition of the F.D.P. delegation at the Democratic Convention in Atlantic City, the retreat of the delegates of the Mississippi Democratic Party, and the definite commitment to truly representative delegations for 1968.

There was more. COFO brought folk singers, musicians, and the Free Southern Theater to tour the rural areas of Mississippi where few people had ever seen live entertainment. COFO distributed food and clothing to the unemployed, and took a special responsibility for all those who had lost their jobs or their land because of their stand for civil rights. COFO made the nation remember the Forgotten Man of Mississippi. Summing up, COFO started 24 community centers, founded at least 30 Freedom Schools with well over three thousand pupils, and conducted voter registration campaigns in forty towns and villages in the state. And this huge job was done, as a visiting minister from the National Council of Churches wrote home, "by young men and women in hot and crowded stores and homes turned civil rights offices, among the unpaved and battered roads of Negro Mississippi...amidst a climate of external savagery."

Traveling through the state, from north to south and from east to west, Holly Springs is the first project town, followed by the cluster of Clarksdale, Marks, Batesville, and Grenshaw. Coahoma and Panola counties have become familiar

names to everyone in the Summer Project. (Because of the power of the Mississippi county sheriff, and because there are very bad, bad, and not-so-bad sheriffs, county borderlines become as important to COFO workers as frontiers to the European Underground in World War II).

Clarksdale, which closed its two swimming pools right at the beginning of the summer rather than obey the law, put itself on the COFO map through its sheriff Ben Collins, a rather picturesque figure who used to spray civil rights workers with a room vaporizer. Reading about Mr. Collins in the field reports, one finds oneself thinking at first, "He's not such a bad guy, he has a sense of humor," but a more thorough study of the material shows how deadly wrong such an impression would be. There is nothing humorous about the intimidations, the firings from jobs, the beating of prisoners. Ben Collins is on the record as having said, "When those COFO boys are gone, I'll kill all the niggers here who worked with them." However, the COFO boys will not go. (It is certain that the three men murdered near Philadelphia at the start of the summer were martyrs to their cause in the most real sense; the national reaction to their disappearance saved the lives of many of their colleagues). Clarksdale had an extensive summer program, staffing four Freedom Schools plus a fifth one in nearby Marks; the community center was established in what was described as a "cleaned up former greasy spoon restaurant." COFO in Clarksdale had some completely dark hours after the city engineer pulled the light meter out of the wall; surprisingly, this man appeared one day at the end of the summer to tell the volunteers that he really liked them very much. Clarksdale also has the dubious honor of boasting a church, the First Christian Church of the Disciples of Christ, where a (white) northern minister of that same denomination was turned away because he was connected with the civil rights cause. One may assume that Christ's disciples themselves would have been unwelcome there too.

Coahoma and nearby Hancock county had an intensive VR and Freedom Registration drive, inspired by the presence of

Dr. Aaron E. Henry, a veteran civil rights man and now chairman of the Freedom Democratic Party. Panola County was especially important because a federal injunction had sharply curtailed the veto powers of the circuit clerk there, and every day twenty to thirty men and women were found at the courthouse waiting to register; the county sheriff demonstrated local respect for the law by enlivening the proceedings with the presence of his police dog right in the courthouse.

Going downstream along the Mississippi in the Delta, the next centers of civil rights work were Sunflower and Bolivar counties, with the towns Cleveland, Drew, Ruleville, Indianola, Shaw, and Mound Bayou. SNCC workers came to Ruleville in 1962 and inspired the formation of the Ruleville Citizenship Club, around which voter registration has centered ever since. Fannie Lou Hamer has been the great leader here. (After the first attempts at registration, the Negroes almost without exception lost their jobs. Unemployed women were taught quilting to raise some money, the scraps for their work coming the Ruleville Manufacturing Company. After a while, the company -- which has a head office and president in New York -- made it its policy to burn all cloth scraps). Ruleville now has its Freedom School, community center, and Freedom Registration drive going. The Freedom School was particularly important, for here, as in several other counties, Negro children in public schools constantly missed classes because they were sent out to do "fund-raising" for the schools. From the age of eight on, children have to put in one or more days of cotton picking, with no one knowing where the money from the cotton goes -- peonage in 1964 America. Midway through the summer, the sheriff of Sunflower County told the volunteers that from then on all bail, no matter what the charge, would be \$500 per person or more -- something new in American legal history. Civil rights workers, arriving with certain illusions, tried to have talks with the mayors of Ruleville and Drew, but, they report, these talks broke down because at some point or other the town fathers started to ask low questions about the interracial orgies they

shot through the jaw on August 15; in the hospital, a police officer was overheard to tell a white woman, "They finally got the nigger Silas." The woman said, "Really?" The policeman answered, "Yes, isn't it wonderful?" Nevertheless, Greenwood had a hundred pupils in the Freedom School and the Freedom Registration rained all through the summer.

From Greenwood, U.S. highway 92 East leads to Starkville, West Point, and Columbus near the Alabama border. Starkville was virgin territory; no one from any civil rights organization had gone there before the summer. Its exploration began on August 1, when two volunteers (ages 18 and 19) asked to be driven there from Columbus, dropped in the morning, and picked up in the evening. There they were, standing alone on a dirt road, as lost as paratroopers in a jungle; but the local police chief took care of their public relations problem. As they were having a coke in a (Negro) cafe, he came in with two aides to tell them that the Negroes of Starkville didn't need any outside agitators. By the time he had finished, the cafe was packed with young people who thus found out what the two volunteers had come for. And they told them, "We've been waiting for you." Ten days later, 450 people in Starkville had registered for the Freedom Democratic Party; and the police chief had taken the license away from the cafe where it all started. Starkville now has a Voters League; at one meeting at the end of the summer that same police chief stood near the door and told the arrivals that anyone who went in would be in serious trouble. There were 43 people at the meeting, only two had turned around at the door and gone home. Nearby Columbus had a Freedom School, and also some prime police harassment. One COFO-er was put in jail on a parking summons and each day he was given another day in jail and another fine of \$50 as he continued to refuse to be fingerprinted. Finally he was bailed out; the COFO report states quietly, "it does not seem constitutional to put someone in jail for life on a parking ticket."

of August, plus one hundred and eleven arrests on July 16, Freedom Day. Police officers were reported active in slashing of tires on project cars and there is even an affidavit on file of two policemen trying to run down some volunteers walking along the public highway. Here is the text of a sworn statement in the Greenwood file; not chosen because it is particularly dramatic but rather because of its everyday-ness; it could have happened anywhere this summer in Mississippi:

"On July 20, 1964 at about 11:30 PM I was driving down McLaurin Street in Greenwood, Mississippi accompanied by S-----. We were driving people home from the mass meeting which had been held that evening.

The police car had been following us since we left the mass meeting. We parked outside Lula's Cafe on McLaurin. I got I got out of the car, intending to go into the Cafe. The police car pulled alongside. They asked me for the registration papers on the car. I showed them. Then they asked for my driver's license. It was in the glove compartment of the car. I went to the car, searched in the glove compartment for the few seconds, and then the policeman said "You should have had them in your pocket. That's too long to wait." They arrested me. I gave the keys to my car to S-----, but the policeman said "Take the keys with you."

They took me down to the station, charged me with having a faulty driver's license and running a stop sign and threw me in jail. COFO workers arrived some time later and banded me out for \$25. When I got the envelope back containing my valuables (taken from me when I was arrested) all of the papers I had been carrying loose in my pocket were missing. These include gas receipts, repair receipts, etc. My wallet was in the envelope, but it had been stripped of all identification cards and papers.

I went back to Lula's Cafe where we had left my car. The car was gone. People in Lula's Cafe told me that after I left, other police came, searched the car, strewn papers around and towed the car away.

We went back down to the station to ask about the car. I was told they didn't have it. I told the desk sergeant that I had seen the car parked in the lot outside. He said: "Go get it then." I got it and drove back to the office.

The next day the car would hardly run at all. I took it to Gray's Service Station. The mechanic thought it was the float stick and fixed that. The car still wouldn't run at all. I took it to Leroy's Garage. The mechanic there told me it was sugar in the gas tank. The car is now a total loss."

Another report tells of an eighty-two year old gardener who told a project director, "I am too old to register," but who was finally convinced to sign the Freedom Democratic Party rolls "not for himself but to make a better world for his grandchildren." Shortly after, he was fired from all four gardening jobs he held in town. Greenwood is the town, also, of the McGhee brothers, young men who had the courage to go alone to a movie theater filled with hostile rednecks. One of them, Silas McGhee, was

visualize taking place in the COFO offices. (A good psychiatrist would have his work cut out for him in the places of Mississippi law enforcement). Drew has a community center too, now, and a Freedom School which had fifty pupils is possibly the first American community to try out the Gestapo gimmick called Schutzhaft, which means arresting people "for their own protection." Local COFO people who found themselves in the town after sunset, were simply put in jail till the following day.

Much more serious and far-reaching than this police harassment are the Sunflower and Bolivar County plans of various "white citizens" groups for "complete mechanization" and for "the removal of all dilapidated houses". In Bolivar County, a "Planters Club" seeks to do away with a thousands dilapidated houses a year. Since the Negro farm laborers have nowhere else to live, the real purpose of this plan to beautify the countryside is clear enough. Mechanization, that is to say mechanized farming in the Delta, would load the attack from the other end; one COFO man wrote, "The people we are reaching now, will have left in five years time." The point is that while mechanization of farming is in itself a natural development, which could bring greater welfare, the Delta has no plans for retraining the laborers, and Federal plans in this area are made unworkable. Here the urgency of COFO becomes very clear: while sheriffs keep themselves happy with roughing up prisoners, the more "visionary" segregationists foresee a forced mass exodus of unskilled Mississippians out of their own state.

Continuing farther south, Greenville is reached, and more inland, Greenwood, where SNCC had its national headquarters this summer and a command part of WATS lines (Wide Area Telephone Service) which played a vital part in the communications and security arrangements. The telephone triangle of Greenwood, Jackson, and Atlanta, Georgia, provided a nerve center for the battle of Mississippi, for keeping track of the whereabouts of every COFO man, woman, and car, and for calling on the F.B.I. and the Justice Department in Washington when danger loomed--and on a bad night the hectic Jackson office at 1017 Lynch Street, and the smaller office in Greenwood looked and sounded like one of those underground operational rooms of the U.A.F. during the Battle of Britain.

Greenwood was a tough town for the volunteers: there were forty arrests from the first week of July until the first week

Still farther down the Mississippi comes Vicksburg, a tourist town and a center for federal projects and thus a relatively peaceful place. At least, those early reports say; then comes the somewhat jarring note that the community center was burned down. (Warren County Sheriff Vernon Euckett, no Sherlock Holmes he, advanced the theory that the fire must have been caused by smoldering garbage, although a torch was found right on the spot). Vicksburg had 650 people attending its Freedom Party precinct meeting. A newsletter was started, a food bank, and a survey in depth of one precinct. Vicksburg also distinguished itself because some successful contacts were established with the white community.

Then, east of Vicksburg, comes the capital, Jackson. Jackson was a center of CORE administration for the Summer Project; it also had four hundred pupils in eight Freedom Schools, and a big voter registration campaign. A community center is being founded. There will be several Freedom Schools this fall, one of them a mobile unit. Jackson does not stand out in Mississippi the way New Orleans stands out in Louisiana; it is simply a somewhat larger town than the others. But the "Northern presence" of volunteers, newspapermen, and the F.B.I. had its effect on the mood of the town; before this summer, Mississippi was the only state in the union without its own F.B.I. office (a strange situation for a state which had more than its share of unsolved arson, murder, and defiance of federal law). There is a connection between this summer's work and the recent quiet integration of Jackson's first-graders.

East of Jackson lies the Fourth Congressional District which was the special responsibility of CORE (Districts One, Two, Three, and Five were run by SCLC), with Canton, Carthage, Harsany, Meridian, --and Philadelphia, where James Chaney, Andrew Goodman, and Michael Schwerner were murdered. The major and minor incidents in this district make a long list; a report of July 17 tells of a New York law student and a reporter for Jet Magazine beaten up by Philadelphia toughs in full sight of smiling Deputy Sheriff Cecil Price. All these places now have

Freedom Schools and Community Centers. Philadelphia, where Mrs. Rita Schwerner now works, is building its center as a memorial for its three dead, and even here volunteers had the stomach to set up a new Freedom School. In Carthage, COFO-ers scrubbed and hammered to fix up an empty school building, only to be told when the work was finished that they could not use it; they started afresh somewhere else. In Carthage, too, COFO had contracted with radio station WAG for a series of spot announcements of the Freedom Democratic Party county convention; a day later an embarrassed station manager came to ask out since he feared "for the safety of the station and his employees." In Harmony, after running up against the usual real estate problems, the project volunteers and local helpers built their own community center for less than fifteen hundred dollars. Meridian had a large Freedom School program, and also, surprisingly, a City Attorney with enough backbone to restrain some local agitators harassing the volunteers.

The most successful Freedom School program of the summer was that of Hattiesburg, eighty miles south of Meridian. Freedom School registration started on July 1st, and six days later 582 adults and children had signed up. Schools were set up in six churches; there were courses in music, in citizenship, Negro history, hygiene, prenatal care (given by a registered nurse). In the rural center called Myers Crossing, three miles out of town, a community center offered day care for small children, recreation, and classes in literacy, health care, and sewing. The Freedom School teachers talked about the Freedom Democratic Party, and afternoon "precinct teas" were held for those who didn't attend the schools. The library became so large that it could be distributed over several separate ones.

Hattiesburg had an average of sixty volunteers all through the summer, half of whom taught in the Freedom Schools. There had been apprehension about where to house all of these people, for several of the Negro families who had originally offered room had been in-

timidated into withdrawing. But once the volunteers showed up, the local people, seeing "how they had come all that way," quickly rallied. Many ministers - counselors from the National Council of Churches came to Hattiesburg, and here as elsewhere the new Mississippi Student Union, made up of local high school students, worked with COFO on voter registration. Nearby Laurel had its Freedom School too, a community center, and a strong voter registration program.

Mississippi's Southwest is a no man's land of violence, and it is a major triumph that voter registration was actually undertaken in Natchez and McComb, and that McComb had a small Freedom School. Natchez is the episcopal see for the Roman Catholic Church in Mississippi, but so far the bishop has not seen fit to welcome the northern priests who want to help in his state. Thus Catholic priests can come only as "tourists," in contrast to their Protestant and Jewish colleagues, who, under the National Council of Churches, helped the volunteers with moral support, visits in jail, with chauffeuring them around, and trying to get them to eat a regular meal when possible.

The Southeast of the state did better than the Southwest; perhaps the sea wind helps somewhat to blow the cobwebs out of people's heads. Moss Point, Pass Christian, Gulfport, Biloxi, and Ocean Springs, all saw COFO in action, and the creation of schools and centers. (Wiggins, 25 miles inland, had a sheriff who simply announced that white volunteers could not enter Stone County). In Biloxi, COFO undertook a White Community Project of contacts with the ministry, journalists, labor leaders, and personnel of the nearby Keesler Air Force Base. The W.C.P. had rough sailing, but enough was achieved to warrant a wider spreading of this project. An apartment had been leased in Biloxi to serve as headquarters, but at the last moment the landlord (white, and afraid) canceled it, and the project ended up on the third floor of a hotel "misleadingly named The Riviera." Biloxi had eighty Freedom School students, and Ocean Springs thirty. The M.S.U., Mississippi Student

Moss Point near Pascagoula is a town of bitter police harassment and strong civil rights enthusiasm. A quote from a report -- again, it could have been anywhere in Mississippi:

"The five of us plus one young lady from the community, who is very interested in working for Civil Rights, went to Hattiesburg for some much needed supplies. At this point, we had no materials, money, office or many people. After stopping at the Court House to see T----- from a distance of course -- we arrived at the Hattiesburg office where we were very impressed with the spirit of the Movement that is so apparent there. We really have something to work towards in organizing ourselves in Moss Point.

"We also learned that the 3 civil rights workers were arrested in Phil. Miss., released at night and are now missing. The car was found burned. The press and the FBI are everywhere. The 3 went there to investigate a church burning and beatings of Negroes. We returned to Moss Point about 6 P.M. and attended a lively (civil rights) meeting.

"When we left the meeting, R----- and I went to a cafe and were going to call Hattiesburg about the recent trouble. I was told by community people about whites throwing poisoned candy and gum around the community. Two small children were supposed to have been poisoned badly. I called and they were to call me back within the hour. R----- left the cafe to see C-----, I walked next door and sat on the lawn when I saw a constable coming. The constable put R----- in the car and came over to me. "Whatcha doing here boy?" A short dialogue followed, and I was put under arrest "for investigation."

"At the jail, we met Highway Patrol, Pascagoula and Moss Point city police, sheriff's deputies and others. The general conversation was one of harassment and intimidation. ('We treat our niggers well as long as they stay in their place...we don't want you commie outside agitators coming in...people get killed for less.') Then we went up the elevator, were made to face the elevator wall and a highway patrolman took out his billy club, snacked it on his own hand, and said, 'You boys are in for a good whooping.'

"Upon entering cell block we were taken to "nigger bull pen." They were shaved inside and officers said, 'Here they are, cotton boys.' This is very unusual practice for whites to be put into the Negro section. The Negroes expressed confusion and fear. They were moved to beat us. Five minutes later, two officers took us into a white cellblock. This was about 12:30 a.m. Wednesday. At the white cell, the officers tried to incite white prisoners to take out their aggressions on the volunteers. ('It's whooping time.') The officers left and white prisoners gathered about. R----- opened a conversation with one, and eased some of the tension. At this point, a Mexican spoke up and R----- spoke to him in Spanish to help develop a rapport. After several minutes, a Mississippian announced that he hated all niggers and nigger-lovers and that COFOers were there to be beaten by the whites. However he was going to let us go.

"We lay down and listened to the argument, that lasted about three hours, on whether or not to beat us up. Sporadically, police officers and trustees would enter argument, attempting to incite white prisoners to "do justice." Morning arrived without real incident.

"About 10 a.m. officers took us out of the cell into fingerprinting room. As they were fingerprinting and mugging me, the officers told R----- sordid stories about brutality that had been imposed upon fellow COFOers since the day before. An officer told

but R----- didn't know it) and that a fellow white girl worker had been brutally raped and was in her death bed. At this point R----- fainted. Upon awakening, the back of his head bleeding, we both were escorted to the lobby where attorneys from COFO in Jackson were waiting. Local police refused to return personal papers, mainly handwritten notes, and denied they had ever taken them. In a subsequent interview, FBI agents expressed no interest in the mental harassment which occurred during the 12 hours spent in jail. When taken to jail, R----- had been told he was being arrested on a vagrancy charge. The following morning the sheriff said there were no charges."

In Moss Point, as in other towns, there are a few Nopro policemen on the force. These get no salary, only a bonus of four dollars per arrest. They are not allowed to book whites, but early this summer they were informed that it was all right to bring in white civil rights workers. At least one of them said he might not care to, and was fired.

Moss Point had many mass meetings; shots were fired into one during the singing at the end, and three girls were hurt, one badly. Nevertheless, five-hundred people showed up for a meeting scheduled the very next evening. "There was a moment's hesitancy when the singing began, because everyone thought of what had happened the night before, but then they raised their voices and sang, 'We Shall Overcome.'"

On August 10, the Freedom School at Gluckstadt in Madison County near Canton, was burned to the ground. A thirteen year old Negro boy wrote about this later, "I think it's a shame how all the good books got burned, how the pencils and tables got burned, how the church piano and all the good church benches were burned to ashes." A girl wrote, "And to the one that burned down that building - you are not hurting us, you are building fire on your own back. Because don't you know God was looking at you? God is going to have your trial one day, and your aunts and uncles are not going to be on that jury seat to declare you innocent. It don't make any difference with God what color your face is. Brother, you will get what's coming to you."

And a boy of seventeen: "...when I returned from the play in White America, they told me that our school had been