

# The Primary Sources of Freedom Summer

**Objectives:** After analyzing primary source documents, students will demonstrate their creativity as they distill factual information and write original songs, raps, or poems and create a documentary about Freedom Summer in 1964.

The *Freedom Summer* lesson plan is adaptable for grades 8-12.

Curricular Connections		
Common Core Language Arts	Grade 8	RI 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9; W 3, 4, 5, 8, 9; SL 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6; L 1, 2, 3, 4, 5; RH 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8; WHST 4, 5, 8, 9
	Grades 9-10	RI 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8; W 3, 4, 5, 8, 9; SL 1, 2, 3, 4, 6; L 1, 2, 3, 4, 5; RH 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8; WHST 4, 5, 8, 9
	Grades 11-12	RI 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6; W 3, 4, 5, 8, 9; SL 1, 2, 3, 4, 6; L 1, 2, 3, 4, 5; RH 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8; WHST 4, 5, 8, 9
Social Studies	Mississippi Studies	4a; 4b; 6a
	U.S. History from Post-Reconstruction to the Present	2a; 2c; 4a-d; 7a; 7c
	Minority Studies	2a; 2c; 2e; 4a
	African American Studies	4b; 4d; 5a; 5b
	Problems in American Democracy	2b; 2d; 5a; 5d



“MDAH has history waiting for you! I’ve major respect for the work they do here.”

Rose Sanford Wright currently teaches eighth grade U.S. history at Bailey APAC Middle School in Jackson, Mississippi. This year marks her twenty-eighth year in education. She is the founder and president of The Savvy Book Club which was voted 2015 Book Club of the Year at the BRBW Literary Festival and the 2012 Book Club of the Year at The Bayou Soul Readers and Writers Conference. She was a participant in MDAH’s first annual Summer Teachers School in 2015.

**Materials:** Freedom Summer Resource Packet; *Primary Source Questionnaire*.

**Procedures:**

**Activity One: Working with and Understanding Primary Sources**

1. Place students in groups of 2-3 and distribute to each group a Freedom Summer Resource Packet.
2. Have students interpret their sources and answer the questions on the *Primary Source Questionnaire*.
3. Lead a class discussion where students are allowed to share their findings and discuss them as a class.

**Activity Two: Sing It!**

1. Working individually or in groups, have students identify a topic related to Freedom Summer that interests them (or assign topics).
2. Write a song based upon factual information about the chosen topic.
3. Remind students of the following:
  - Songs, raps, or poems must rhyme (Lines one and two rhyme with each other, lines three and four rhyme with each other. Or, lines one and three rhyme and lines two and four rhyme.)
  - If desired, put the words to music.
4. Allow students to share their songs, raps, or poems with the class.

**Activity Three: Roll Camera**

1. Place students in pairs and have them research Freedom Summer.
2. From the research they will create a 5-10 minute documentary about Freedom Summer that includes images, film footage, and original narration.

**Extension Activities:**

Access additional teacher and classroom resources related to civil rights at <http://www.mdah.ms.gov/new/learn/classroom-materials/lesson-plans-and-teaching-units/> including:

- *Civil Rights in Mississippi*, a six-lesson teaching unit that includes looks at Mississippi civil rights workers, the integration of higher education, Freedom Summer, and more.
- *The Foner Freedom Summer Papers*, a single-day lesson plan that allows students to integrate and evaluate multiple sources of information presented in the Foner collection (letters, newspaper clippings, etc.) to establish a coherent story of the events that transpired during Freedom Summer.
- *Foot Soldiers of the Civil Rights Movement*, a lesson that examines the role of everyday people such as Anne Moody and Joan Trumpauer in the Mississippi Civil Rights Movement through primary source documents.
- *Freedom Summer: Free to Vote, Free to Learn*, a single-day lesson plan in which students will analyze how education and voting are a basis for freedom and evaluate how Freedom Schools influenced the Civil Rights Movement.

NAME \_\_\_\_\_ DATE \_\_\_\_\_

**Primary Source Questionnaire**

**Directions:** Using the Freedom Summer Resource Packet, answer the following questions based on your primary sources.

Name of Source (if any) \_\_\_\_\_

Author (if known) \_\_\_\_\_ Date (if known) \_\_\_\_\_

In 3-5 sentences, summarize the contents of your Resource Packet. \_\_\_\_\_

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Would these sources be considered national or local news? Why? \_\_\_\_\_

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What questions do these sources raise in your mind? Give 1-2 examples. \_\_\_\_\_

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Name 1-2 things that is not stated within the sources but which you can infer. \_\_\_\_\_

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NAME \_\_\_\_\_ DATE \_\_\_\_\_

How do these sources relate to Mississippi history? \_\_\_\_\_

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How can the information in these sources affect us in the future? \_\_\_\_\_

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Do you think the information provided in these primary sources is important? Why or why not? \_\_\_\_\_

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What is one thing you would like to know about Freedom Summer that is not covered in your Resource Packet?

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# Freedom Summer Resource Packet

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**Primary Source Packet A**  
*(8 documents)*



**AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, INC.**

*Mississippi Program*

P. O. Box 4325, Fondren Station, Jackson, Mississippi 39216

(601) 366-8242

Some suggested names for membership on CDGM Board

(JOAN) Sydney Geiger	Delta Steel Company
Dr. Oscar E. Hubbard	University Medical School
Pres. George A. Owens	Tougaloo College
Dean Ralph E. Huffer	Tougaloo College
Chaplain R. Edwin King	Tougaloo College
Dr. Robert Smith	Physician
Dr. A. B. Britton	Physician
Dr. Robert E. Bergmark	Millsaps College
Dr. R. Edgar Moore	Millsaps College
Mrs. Lillian Burnstein	Research & Development
Rev. Henry M. McKay, Jr.	Ascension Lutheran Church
<del>Dr. S. Leon Whitney</del>	<del>Parish St. Baptist Church</del>

CDGM

CHILD DEVELOPMENT GROUP of MISSISSIPPI

210 SOUTH LAMAR STREET 290 MILNER BUILDING  
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI 39201

Telephone: (601) 948-6513

Rev. James F. McRee  
Chairman  
Board of Directors

13 July '66

John H. Mudd  
Director

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE BOARD:

Gentlemen: I am sorry to present to you a hastily written letter, but the topic and timing require immediate attention. The issue is General Electric (G.E.) and CDGM's various needs (including manpower and development).

I was shocked to hear of the possibility of GE having major involvement with CDGM because I knew of their history of:

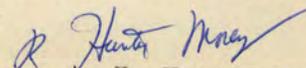
1. Price fixing - which has resulted in several convictions and even jail terms for top G.E. officials
2. International racism - G.E.'s involvement in the government of South Africa is extensive due to huge financial resources there.
3. Anti-Unionism. G.E. is notoriously opposed to the very right of working people to organize. Goon squads, etc., have typified their history. Right now the National Labor Relations Board has a ~~top~~ G.E. Board member, Stephens, in court over labor abuses. The GE people assigned to CDGM have also expressed their anti-unionism. For CDGM to join hands with anti-unionism in Mississippi is certainly not a step for progress.

4. GE has a history of heavy support and involvement with the right-wing. A ~~top~~ GE board member, Gilbert Humphrey, was the top money raiser for Goldwater.

~~xxx~~ I suggest that the Board of CDGM call before it the panel of GE people that John Mudd proposes you hire. I propose that you ask them what about the employment practices of the various GE plants in Mississippi, such as the Jackson Glass Plant and the Jackson Lamp Plant. I think that we have a right to request a presentation of the personnel records of those plants and of the plans the companies have to recruit, train, and up-grade Negroes. We also have a right to ask these men who are being placed into the very heart of our organization what they think of the rights of poor people, ~~xx~~ how they see the importance of training Mississippi Negroes for top management positions, etc.

In addition, I am sure that alternatives have not been adequately explored. We never have before this time initiated a large scale recruitment program for our organization, even though one of our most basic goals is the training and development of Mississippians, particularly Negroes, for management. I think that as a basic policy, CDGM should declare it more important to train Mississippi Negroes than to run an efficient something. After all, CDGM was started to fulfill Movement oriented goals. We are not here merely to serve the new insitution of CDGM.

Respectfully,

  
R. Hunter Morey

TO: ALL CENTRAL STAFF  
FROM: JOHN MUDD  
SUBJECT: TRAINING INSTITUTES IN MISSISSIPPI  
DATE: August 2, 1966

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In line with our new policy of discussing broad issues relevant to CDGM at our Wednesday morning staff meetings, here are some preliminary notes to prepare you for tomorrow's session.

The need for Training Institutes:

The vast majority of CDGM's employees are people who have previously had little or no training in the job areas in which they are working. It has been CDGM's belief that we have an obligation to provide every person with the training necessary to perform their work competently. This training must also insure that CDGM is not a dead-end street; people need the kinds of credentials with which they can demand employment in the more permanent private and governmental institutions - like school systems, other poverty programs, etc., - if CDGM is going to have a lasting impact.

At present there is no place in Mississippi where training can be provided for groups like CDGM teachers, community organizers, etc. In statewide meetings and mailings, people have been very vocal about their desire for in-state training institutes, particularly in the area of teacher training.

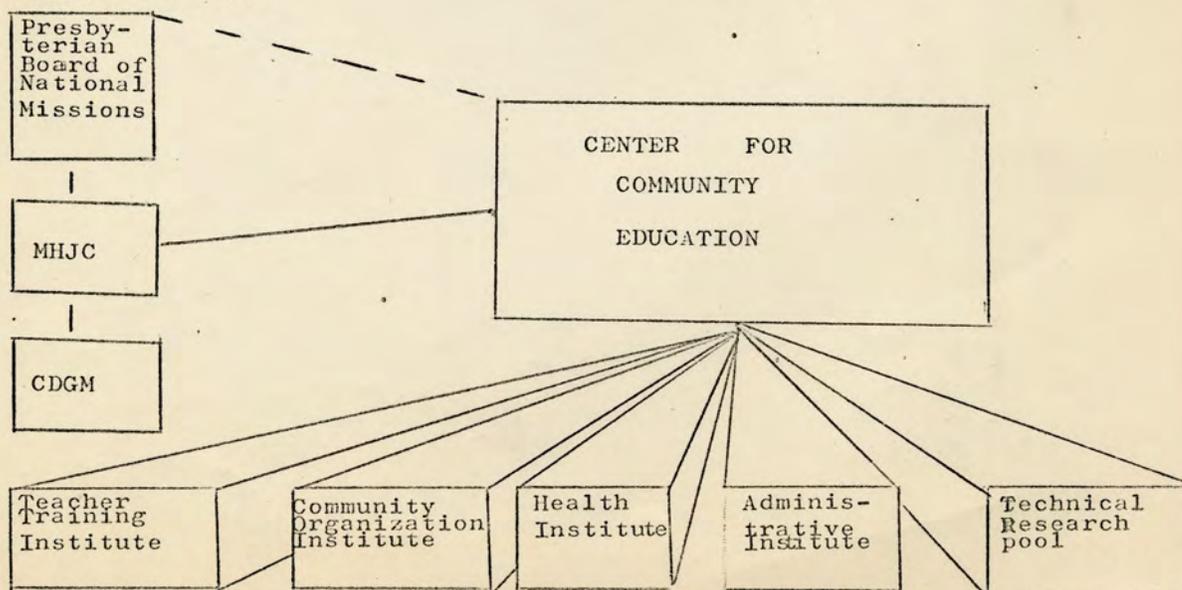
A Proposal For Meeting The Need:

Several staff members and consultants have been developing some ideas for the establishment of a independent group which we have been calling the Center For Community Education which would have two major components:

- a. It would comprise a number of training institutes in pre-school education, community organization, health education, administration, etc.
- b. It would also have a staff which could serve as a pool of technical resources available to community people for the long-range planning of co-ordinated projects in areas like housing, health, job training, economic development, etc.
- c. It would also have resource materials and physical facilities which would be made available to other groups for workshops etc.

Thought has moved in the direction of involving Mary Holmes Junior College and the United Presbyterian Church in this new structure. From its own point of view Mary Holmes can benefit as an institution from a more active involvement than it has had in the operation of CDGM. Moreover, since Mary Holmes Junior College is already chartered in the state, the Center For Community Education could operate as a part of Mary Holmes without need for a new charter.

In diagram form, here is what the new institute would look like in relation to CDGM.



Where will funds come from and what steps have already been taken.

The source of stable funding for C.C.E. will be private foundations.

Several of these have already expressed some degree of interest. They include:

Presbyterian - possible funds for planning and setting up the center, recruiting staff, and finding other fund sources.

Ford Foundation - teacher training.

Field Foundation

Community organization

Taconic Foundation

Merrill Foundation - technical resource personnel.

There is also money in the budget of our new proposal which if CDGM used these training programs could be used to pay tuition; but this would constitute only a small percentage of the total costs of operating these institutes. If the teacher training institute were successful, OEO might finance other Head Start staff to attend 8-week courses. There are also possibilities that other programs in OEO could provide money or that different agencies, like the office of Education could finance special projects.

Thusfar, only 2 concrete steps have been taken:

1. The presbyterian Board of National Missions is considering a request to establish a branch of Mary Holmes in Jackson.
2. The Merrill Foundation has received a proposal for \$20-30,000 for the establishment of a pool of technical resources.
3. Mrs. Greenberg has discussed the general ideas with Ford Foundation and the Carnegie Foundation.
4. Marian Wright, John Mudd and Marvin Hoffman spoke with Board members of the Field Foundation and she has sent a memo to the director of the foundation outlining the general approach.

What Has Not Been Done:

1. Although several staff members have been working on institute proposals, they have not been submitted to any foundation: Before this is done they will receive wide circulation within CDGM.
2. No final decision has been reached about how the C.C.E will be organized: who will sponsor it, how the Board will be chosen, etc. No staff at any level has been hired, nor has there been any discussion of procedures defining responsibility for hiring.
3. The content of what is to be taught in the institutes has not been spelled out.
4. The precise relationship between CDGM and C.C.E. has not been defined at all.

I open this issue for discussion now because we feel that the ideas are at just the right stage between vagueness and finality when they can most benefit from your comments, criticisms, new ideas, etc. If there are any questions please raise them at tomorrows meeting which begins at 8:45 AM. I request you present these ideas, preferably in writing, to Marv Hoffman as soon as possible. The list of institutes is not ment to be all-inclusive. If you have ideas for others which might be of service to the communities, please write them soon. We must finish the applications rapidly if the institute will have a chance to begin this fall.

# Eastland Joins Headstart Attack

By LEE BANDY  
News Washington  
Correspondent

WASHINGTON, D. C. (Special) — Opposition continued to mount here today against the award of a \$5.6 million grant to Mary Holmes Junior College for a Headstart Project Program.

Sen. James O. Eastland expressed "shock" over the announcement.

The Child Development Group of Mississippi is to direct the program for some 9,100 preschoolers. CDGM conducted a similar project last year with a \$1.4 million grant which was the subject of a heated controversy between Sen. John Stennis and the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Eastland, speaking on the Senate floor, said the matter "is particularly shocking to Mississippi because this is the

same organization, the same personnel that so thoroughly discredited the poverty program's over the nation in 1965."

He pointed out that one-third of the \$1.4 million grant awarded last year was seriously questioned by the General Accounting Office and still has not been accounted for.

The senior senator labeled the junior college "a shadow organization" being used "as a front to evade the necessity of consulting the governor of my state upon these programs."

He termed the procedure for awarding the grants "a device to funnel funds into the extreme leftist civil rights and beatnik groups in our state, some of which have definite connections with Communist organizations."

Eastland said "education of children is the furthestest thing from their minds."

Citing a Senate Appropriation Committee investigation of fraud in the CDGM program, the Mississippi senator commented "it is my understanding that he irregularities have not yet been resolved. It is my opinion that if this grant is not recalled it will discredit the entire program not only in Mississippi but over the nation."

*Date and paper unknown. MDAH Archives and Records Services.*

# Disputed Head Start Grant For Mississippi Okayed

The Office of Economic Opportunity authorized expansion of a controversial antipoverty program late yesterday to provide preschool training for more than 1,900 Mississippi children.

Approval of the \$5.6 million Project Head Start grant came less than two weeks after 75 Negroes, including 48 young children, made a protest trip from Mississippi to Washington to press for speedy OEO action.

Yesterday's action represents a calculated risk for OEO Director R. Sargent Shriver, who has been torn between demands made by Mississippi civil rights groups and by members of the state's congressional delegation.

The grant will go to Mary Holmes Junior College at West Point, Miss., but the program will be administered by the

Child Development Group of Mississippi.

CDGM received a \$1.4 million OEO grant to run a preschool program for 6,500 children last summer and has asked for \$6.7 million to finance a program for 10,000 this year.

Although yesterday's grant will finance only a six-month program in 28 counties, ODGM officials hope to receive additional funds to run a year-round program.

Because the program primarily benefits Negroes, civil rights advocates have been anxious to expand it, but Sen. John Stennis, D-Miss., and other politicians were critical of last summer's program.

Stennis alleged during congressional hearings that Head Start employes participated in civil rights demonstrations and that they used federal funds for bail and expense money during the demonstrations.

To meet these objections, OEO officials have written new financial and administrative restrictions into the Mississippi

program, which will employ 1,100 professional workers and 2,300 nonprofessionals.

The Mississippians who traveled here earlier this month to complain of alleged delays in processing of their application brought along a group of children to demonstrate their Head Start technique.

The youngsters paraded into a normally staid congressional hearing room, unloaded crayons, toys and paste pots, then proceeded with a round of songs and games as five House members and several antipoverty officials looked on in amazement.

## Engineering Dean At CU to Be Cited

*Date and paper unknown. MDAH Archives and Records Services.*

Gemueticlichkeit

Old Europe

National Award Winning  
RESTAURANT RATHSKELLER  
2434 WIS. AVE. N.W.

SALESMEN  
WANTED

# Head Start Program Gets \$5.6 Million

Associated Press

The Office of Economic Opportunity yesterday approved a new \$5.6 million grant for a Mississippi pre-school program that was criticized last summer by Mississippi officials.

OEO Director Sargent Shriver said the \$5,644,343 grant to Mary Holmes Junior College, West Point, Miss., would provide a six-month Project Head Start program for 9135 children from low income families.

(The size of the grant was a major victory for the Child Development Group of Mississippi, which had brought a group of pre-school children to Washington ten days ago to protest delays in new funds for Head Start.

(At that time they asked for \$6.7 million for 10,000 children and were told that they could soon expect a pared-down \$3 million grant.

(The Child Development group conducted last year's program financed by a \$1.5 million grant for 6000 children.

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Y Sen. John Stennis (D-Miss.)  
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dling funds of the program  
last year, including use of Fed-  
eral funds to bail out Head  
Start employes arrested dur-  
ing civil rights demonstrations.  
At the time, Shriver admitted  
there were irregularities, but  
said stricter supervision had  
corrected them.

of In commenting on the grant,  
san Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D-  
ng. N.Y.), chairman of the House  
re- Education and Labor Commit-  
ent- tee, said the accomplishments  
res- of the program in just a few  
nd months were sufficient justifi-  
ees cation for the new grant.

ela- "Programs of this sort are  
gn the heart of the war on pov-  
erty," Powell said.

an Head Start, a program for  
ally 5- and 6-year-old pre-school  
Re- children, has been one of the  
most successful programs in  
were President Johnson's antipov-  
and- erty efforts and has been  
can, funded on a year-round basis  
and after an eight-week trial last  
summer.

Date and paper unknown. MDAH Archives and Records Services.

# Stennis, Williams Probe Large Headstart Funds

By LEE BANDY

News Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON, D. C. (Special) — Sen. John Stennis and Rep. John Bell Williams are taking a dim view of the new \$5.6 million grant awarded late Tuesday for a Mississippi pre-school anti-poverty program.

It was learned Wednesday that Stennis is now studying the award to Mary Holmes Junior College at West Point and that he may take the matter to the Senate.

Stennis declined comment when queried about the Project Headstart grant. He said he would have to study the matter before saying anything about it.

The size of the grant was a major victory for the Child-Development Group of Mississippi which brought a group of pre-school children here 10 days ago to protest delays in new funds for Headstart.

At that time they asked for \$6.7 million for 10,000 children and were told they could soon expect a pared-down \$3 million grant.

## 28 COUNTIES

The \$5.6 million award will cover the cost for Headstart programs in 28 counties. It will involve training 9,135 children from low-income families. The staff will total 1,100 professionals and 2,300 non-professionals.

The CDGM last year conducted a similar program with a \$1.5 million grant for 6,000 children.

This year's award — as was last year's — was given to the college in order to escape the possibility of a veto by Gov. Paul Johnson. Poverty grants to educational institutions are not subject to veto.

Stennis charged last year that there were irregularities in the handling of money in the CDGM program. He produced evidence at hearings showing that federal funds were used to bail out Headstart employes arrested during civil rights demonstrations.

Sargent Shriver, war on poverty director, admitted there were irregularities but said stricter supervision had corrected them.

Last year's CDGM program was operated out of the Mt. Beulah Conference grounds which are maintained by the National Council of Churches. The grounds have been used in the past by the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party to train civil rights workers.

Shriver promised last year at committee hearings that Mt. Beulah would never be used again for an anti-poverty program.

It is understood that the CDGM Headstart Project this year will operate out of Jackson but that its board members will be the same.

Headstart, a program for five- and six-year-old pre-school children, has been one of the most successful programs in President Johnson's anti-poverty efforts and has been funded on a year-round basis after an eight-week trial last summer.

Rep. Williams branded the award as "inconceivable," and charged that the CDGM "has been guilty of wide-spread mis-handling of public funds."

Williams pointed out that federal auditors have not been able to account for almost one-third of the \$1.5 million grant which the group received last year for a similar program.

"There was substantial proof that the unaccounted-for funds were used to finance the work

of the militant civil rights leaders," he said. "These leaders attempted to undermine the laws of Mississippi and of the United States through civil disobedience by sit-ins, walk-ins and lie-ins."

## PRESSURE CLAIM

Referring to earlier reports that a \$3 million grant would be awarded for the new project, Williams pointed out that pressure was brought to bear here last week by a Mississippi group demanding more money.

He said "a mysterious source" financed the cost of two busloads of Negro children to Washington to dramatize the demands of the CDGM leaders.

The Mississippi solon estimated the cost as high as \$6,000 which he said could have been used to keep the present program going in the state while federal auditors were trying to decide what happened to last year's funds.

The congressman called the Johnson Administration's concern for the poor "laudable"; and he added, "there are no doubt many legitimate organizations interested in improving the lot of the impoverished."

However, he urged the government show concern for "the poor taxpayer" who "is now being forced to put up the cash

to finance the activities of a group which is solely interest-

ed in furthering selfish political aims."

*Date and paper unknown.  
MDAH Archives and Records  
Services.*

# Stennis Says CDGM Shouldn't Get Funds

By LEE BANDY

News Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Sen. John Stennis Wednesday asserted that leaders of the Child Development Group of Mississippi lack the ability and character to conduct classes for "pre-school children, or children or adults of any age."

Criticizing the award of a \$5.6 million grant to CDGM for a new Headstart program, the senator charged the group with mis-management and bungling of federal funds in the past and contended it should not be allowed to proceed under government sponsorship.

He pointed out the approval of the grant failed to comply with "strong insistence" of the Senate Appropriations Committee that recipients of poverty money should be "financially responsible and capable of administering the funds given to them."

The Dixie solon voiced the opinion that the new CDGM grant demonstrates "remarkably poor judgement or a complete disregard for the law passed by Congress."

He cited on the Senate floor a General Accounting Office report showing CDGM has failed to account "for tens of thousands and perhaps hundreds of thousands of dollars."

## 'NOT PREPARED'

The GAO audit, he added, also shows "this group is no better prepared now nor is it any better qualified to account properly for and administer the \$5.6 million new grant than it was to account for properly and administer the first grant of \$1.5 million."

Stennis pointed out that the management, leaders and board members of CDGM are the same who he said "mismanaged one-third of the first grant. It is the same group that op-

erated from Mt. Beulah at Edwards. They simply moved 12 miles into town."

It is reported that the new CDGM Headstart Project will operate out of Jackson.

Stennis charged that deficiencies and discrepancies which existed in the CDGM accounting system last year "still existed in February of this year less than two weeks ago, and I charge they still exist."

The Mississippian contended that the contract with the federal government "was so ignored and abused. . . that this solemn agreement was made a sham and a meaningless paper."

He said if the CDGM case is to be a precedent, no federal contract "has any meaning and provides no protection or assurance that government money will be properly spent and accounted for."

Stennis pointed out that poverty programs conducted in the state by responsible local officials have been "successful and worthwhile projects. There has been no trace of scandal is record."

## MANY APPLICANTS

Observing that many applications by "competent" state organizations are now pending in the Office of Economic Opportunity, Stennis declared:

"It is my opinion that some of these applications are being held up deliberately pending the approval of the Child Development Group and other grants that would supersede and overlap them, thus providing grounds for their disapproval."

To award half of the Headstart funds allotted to Mississippi to a "financially irresponsible" organizations would "undermine and destroy the accomplishments already made" by other groups, he warned.

The Magnolia state lawmaker also said playing favoritism with poverty funds will allow the "extremists" to move in and take over, and "give weight to the argument made by those who oppose the program on grounds that it has no regard for the poor."

Critics of President Johnson's war on poverty argue that funds are being channeled to special groups and individuals for their own selfish interests and that the poor are being neglected.

"If the poverty program fails in Mississippi, it will not be because responsible, honest and capable local leadership will not respond," Stennis said. "It will fail because responsible, honest and capable local leadership has been by-passed and rejected by the national and regional administrators of the program."

"The pain and anguish of the poor who will suffer because they fail to receive funds that were squandered or mismanaged, or mis-spent or mis-appropriated, will not be on the hands and conscience of concerned Mississippians. Sound, capable leaders stand ready to respond. If these leaders are spurned in favor of the incompetent, failure of the poverty program will rest squarely on the irresponsible bureaucrats who failed to recognize or ignore irrefutable facts such as I have presented here today."

*Date and paper unknown. MDAH Archives and Records Services.*

**Primary Source Packet B**  
*(5 documents)*

MADISON COUNTY MOVEMENT INFORMATION SHEET

NAME(husband) \_\_\_\_\_ AGE \_\_\_\_\_ REGISTERED \_\_\_\_\_  
NAME(wife) \_\_\_\_\_ AGE \_\_\_\_\_ REGISTERED \_\_\_\_\_  
ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_ PHONE NUMBER \_\_\_\_\_  
CHILDREN(number and ages) \_\_\_\_\_  
EMPLOYED: HUSBAND \_\_\_\_\_ Name of Co. \_\_\_\_\_ Wage per hr. \_\_\_\_\_  
WIFE \_\_\_\_\_ Name of Co. \_\_\_\_\_ Wage per hour \_\_\_\_\_  
IF YOU GET PAID ON A WEEKLY BASIS HOW MUCH DO YOU EARN \_\_\_\_\_  
DO YOU HAVE ANY OTHER SOURCE OF INCOME?(yes or no) \_\_\_\_\_ WELFARE \_\_\_\_\_  
SOCIAL SECURITY? \_\_\_\_\_ PENSION? \_\_\_\_\_ HOW MUCH DO YOU GET \_\_\_\_\_  
KINDS OF WELFARE: AID TO DEPENDENT CHILDREN \_\_\_\_\_  
BLIND \_\_\_\_\_ DISABILITY \_\_\_\_\_ OLD AGE ASSISTANCE \_\_\_\_\_  
HOUSING: DO YOU RENT \_\_\_\_\_ AMOUNT OF RENT \_\_\_\_\_ WEEK OR MONTH \_\_\_\_\_  
DO YOU OWN? \_\_\_\_\_ AMOUNT OF MORTGAGE \_\_\_\_\_  
UTILITY BILLS PER MONTH \_\_\_\_\_  
EDUCATION: HIGH SCHOOL \_\_\_\_\_ ELEMENTARY \_\_\_\_\_ COLLEGE \_\_\_\_\_  
HUSBAND \_\_\_\_\_ WIFE \_\_\_\_\_  
CHURCH? \_\_\_\_\_ OTHER ORGANIZATIONS \_\_\_\_\_  
IF YOU ARE EMPLOYED WHAT SKILLS DO YOU HAVE? \_\_\_\_\_  
WHAT KIND OF ADULT EDUCATION DO YOU THINK THAT YOU NEED \_\_\_\_\_  
WOULD YOU LIKE VOCATIONAL EDUCATION? \_\_\_\_\_ SEWING \_\_\_\_\_ TYPING \_\_\_\_\_  
COOKING \_\_\_\_\_ OTHER \_\_\_\_\_  
ARE CURRENT ADULT EDUCATION CLASSES HELPFUL? \_\_\_\_\_  
NAME OTHER THINGS THAT YOU WOULD LIKE TO DO \_\_\_\_\_  
HOW MUCH DOES CDGM HEADSTART HELP YOU? \_\_\_\_\_  
IS HEADSTART NEEDED \_\_\_\_\_  
SHOULD OTHER(PUBLIC OR CAP) OPERATE IT? \_\_\_\_\_  
HOW WOULD YOU LIKE TO SEE IT OPERATED \_\_\_\_\_

PLANS FOR COUNTY WIDE ORGANIZATION

- 1--- ONE PERSON FROM EACH BEAT FOR FULLTIME WORK AS ORGANIZER. (WITH SMALL STIPEND.)
- 2--- ORGANIZE EACH BEAT INTO FIVE (5) COMMUNITIES. (NORTH, SOUTH, EAST, WEST AND CENTRAL.)
- 3--- ELECT FIVE PERSONS FROM EACH BEAT TO SERVE ON A STEERING COMMITTEE. (ONE (1) FROM EACH COMMUNITY.)
- 4--- THE STEERING COMMITTEE WILL ELECT A CHAIRMAN TO SERVE FOR NOT LESS THAN ONE (1) YEAR.
- 5--- THE STEERING COMMITTEE WILL ELECT SUB-COMMITTEES TO PLAN IN EACH AREA OF WORK. THAT IS: A COMMITTEE ON VOTER REGISTRATION, VOTER EDUCATION, ETC. ETC.
- 6--- THERE WILL BE COMMITTEES IN EACH BEAT TO WORK WITH IT'S COUNTERPART ON THE COUNTY LEVEL.
- 7--- THERE SHALL BE AN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE COMPOSED OF THE CHAIRMAN OF EACH COMMITTEE.
- 8--- THERE SHALL BE PUBLIC MEETINGS IN EACH BEAT TO ELECT FIVE (5) PERSONS TO THE STEERING COMMITTEE FOR THE COUNTY.
- 9--- THE STEERING COMMITTEE ON NOMINATION OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MAY ELECT A DIRECTOR. (OPTIONAL)
- 10--- FINANCES: THERE SHALL BE ELECTED BY THE STEERING COMMITTEE A TREASURER WHO SHALL WHEN ORDERED GIVE A WRITTEN REPORT.
  - A- ALL MONIES SHALL BE DEPOSITED IN A BANK APPROVED BY THE MADISON COUNTY MOVEMENT.
  - B- THERE SHALL BE A COMMITTEE ON FINANCE.
  - C- THERE SHALL BE AN AUDITING COMMITTEE.
- 11--- THERE SHALL BE A COUNTY WIDE CONVENTION AT LEAST ONCE EACH YEAR. TWENTY (20) DELEGATES SHALL BE ELECTED FROM EACH BEAT. FIVE (5) FROM EACH COMMUNITY.
- 12--- THE STEERING COMMITTEE OR MEMBERS OF THE STEERING COMMITTEE SHALL BE REMOVED FROM OFFICE BY PETITIONING FOR AN ELECTION FOR THEIR REPLACEMENT.

PEOPLE IN SEARCH OF IDENTITY

THE BLACK GRASSROOT PEOPLE OF MADISON COUNTY ARE CONTINUING TO CRAVE THEIR IDENTITY IN A SOCIETY THAT HAS USED EVERY CONCEIVABLE OBSTACLE TO PREVENT THEIR DOING SO. WE ACCEPTED WITH GRATITUDE ASSISTANCE WHEN AND WHERE-EVER IT WAS OFFERED. WE ARE THE MADISON COUNTY MOVEMENT AND WE WILL NOT ACCEPT ANY ASSISTANCE THAT WILL COST US OUR IDENTITY OR OUR RIGHT TO DECIDE OUR OWN DESTINY.

NOW THAT WE ARE EMERGING, WE VOW TO NEVER AGAIN BE SWALLOWED UP IN A SOCIETY WHOSE MAIN GOAL IS TO MAKE SURE THE BLACK MAN'S IDENTITY BECOMES EXTINCT. A SOCIETY THAT, AS FAR AS THE BLACK MAN IS CONCERNED, CALLS ALL THE SHOTS AND DOES ALL THE SHOOTING.

NOW THAT FREEDOM IS CLOSER TO BEING A REALITY THAN BEING THE ILLUSION IT WAS IN THE PAST, THE SCENE IS BEING FLOODED WITH GLORY SEEKERS UNDER THE GUISE OF "QUALIFIED LEADERS" WANTING TO TAKE OVER. WHY ARE THEY COMING FORWARD NOW INSTEAD OF DOING SO IN THE PAST WHEN THEIR LEADERSHIP WAS SOLICITED? THERE ARE LOTS OF OTHER QUESTIONS THAT NEED NON-ELUSIVE ANSWERS. HERE ARE A FEW-- WHY ARE THEY SUDDENLY CONCERNED IN 1966? HAVE THE STRINGS THAT MADE THEM PUPPETS BEEN CUT OR SLACKENED JUST ENOUGH FOR THEM TO LEAD THE BLACK MASSES IN THE DIRECTION THE WHITE POWER STRUCTURE WANTS THEM TO GO? ARE THEY TRYING TO REPEAT HISTORY THAT FOLLOWED RECONSTRUCTION?

THE MADISON COUNTY MOVEMENT ALWAYS HAS AND WILL CONTINUE TO INSIST ON CHOOSING IT'S LEADERS. WE ARE FIRM BELIEVERS THAT LEADERSHIP MUST BE EARNED, NOT INHERITED. EARNED LEADERSHIP IS THE ONLY KIND THE MADISON COUNTY MOVEMENT WILL ACCEPT. WE, THE MADISON COUNTY MOVEMENT, HAVE LITTLE IF ANY RESPECT FOR PEOPLE THAT WANT TO TAKE OVER AFTER A PATH HAS BEEN BEATEN THROUGH THE JUNGLE OF DANGER. WE ARE STANDING ON THE TRESHOLD OF SAFETY.

THERE IS A CERTAIN ELEMENT OF BLACK PEOPLE MORE CONCERNED ABOUT THEIR STATUS IN A WHITE SOCIETY THAN THEY ARE THE PROGRESS OF THE BLACK RACE. NO MATTER WHAT THEIR STATUS IS, IN THE EYES OF THE WHITE SOCIETY THEY ARE STILL JUST ANOTHER "DAM NIGGER." SURELY THEY REALIZE THIS AND SOONER OR LATER MUST ADMIT IT.

SO, COME WHAT MAY, WE ARE THE MADISON COUNTY MOVEMENT. THAT IS OUR IDENTITY AND WE ARE GOING TO MAINTAIN IT AT ALL COST.

THE MADISON COUNTY MOVEMENT

## MISSISSIPPI-CHICAGO PROJECT

At the Citizen's Crusade Against Poverty Conference in April in Washington, D. C., a group of representatives from the 6 Community Centers in Holmes County (all of them FDP members) were looking for some outside help to get a poverty program started in and around Holmes County in which the poor people could control their own program and have the jobs AND WHICH WOULD REALLY HELP THE POOR PEOPLE.

At the Conference the 6 representatives met the Executive Secretary of the Chicago Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), Mr. John O. Root, and the Assistant Executive Secretary, Mr. Bruce Cole, who said that the Chicago YMCA had a lot of experience in getting poverty programs started and in having them run in such a way that the poor people control their own program.

The Holmes County representatives invited the Chicago YMCA to help write up a proposal and a whole day was spent by these two groups in a meeting with people in the Migrant Branch of the Office of Economic Opportunity trying to work out some ideas for a proposal.

As a result of that meeting a temporary proposal was written and submitted to the Office of Economic Opportunity. Then Mr. Cole and 4 other staff members from the Chicago YMCA flew down to Holmes and Madison counties for 3 days to discuss these ideas and get instructions about how the final proposal should be written. Many meetings were held in both Holmes and Madison counties in those 3 days and the proposal as it is now written (and it is still open to change if necessary) came out of those meetings.

The Proposal is being written to turn in to the Migrant Branch of O.E.O. because the Migrant Branch can grant money for a Poverty

Program without getting approval from the Governor. This is one way the program is designed to keep control in the hands of the poor people.

The Migrant Branch can only use its money for training programs for poor people who work for wages (day work) on somebody else's farm, or for people who own their own farm or work in town, but who make more than one hold of their money each year from day work on somebody else's farm.

This proposal, then, is for the very poor farm workers in Holmes and Madison counties where there will be 3 training centers in each county, and Humphries, Yazoo, Rankin, and Carroll counties where there will be one training center in each county. The idea is that the poorest people need the help the most and should get help first.

The Program calls for training in:

- (A) Reading, writing, and arithmetic for adults who did not get a chance to go very far in school;
- (B) Programs which would prepare people to get jobs or to get into other training courses to get jobs. This would be things like tractor repair, sewing, and so on.
- (C) Training in things like health, spending money wisely, starting co-ops and credit unions, typing and secretarial skills, citizenship, Negro history, house building, and repairing houses, and so on.

There are also plans for a farm training program to help train farmers how to grow and SELL new cash crops so they can make a living for their families from their farms instead of having to depend on

the little money they can get from growing just cotton.

The Proposal includes plans for 10 poor families to be trained in how to build their own houses, and then to build them in order to show the government that the government should be having many more programs like this one.

In all the parts of the program, students would be paid for attending the classes or participating in the program. The pay would be about \$30 a week. Each training center would train 100 people at a time and the program is expected to last 60 weeks so that each center could have about 100 people for 30 weeks and 100 new students for the other 30 weeks.

ALSO, as part of the program, the Chicago YMCA will act as a partner in Chicago and find places to market the vegetables and other new crops, and to find other help that may be needed by the Mississippi part of the program, including trying to get factories to move into the counties involved in this proposal so there can be jobs for more people.

#### HOW DO THE LOCAL PEOPLE CONTROL THE PROGRAM?

Each of the ten centers will have a committee of local people elected to supervise the running of that center. Besides that, this committee will hire most of the staff of that center from the local community. This committee will also elect 2 members to a Board of Directors for the whole six-county project. The Board of Directors will have 20 members from the communities in Mississippi and 3 from the Chicago YMCA. It will have general policy making authority for the whole project and will hire the Project Director and his staff. The Chicago YMCA will have strict responsibility to see that the money is spent correctly but will not run the project in Mississippi. The running of the project in Mississippi will be up to the Board of Directors and the Project Director and his staff.

PROJECT TITLE: THE MISSISSIPPI LEADERSHIP ACTION PROJECT

SUBMITTED BY: REV. JAMES McREE  
PRESIDENT, MADISON COUNTY MOVEMENT

ADDRESS: 341 CAMERON STREET, CANTON, MISSISSIPPI

TELEPHONE NUMBER: 859-1245

DATE: NOVEMBER 11, 1966

SUBMITTED TO: NAME \_\_\_\_\_  
ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
TELEPHONE \_\_\_\_\_

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## INTRODUCTION

This proposal was prepared in response to human need in Mississippi. It describes the concepts and programmatic implications of rural leadership training. It suggests some of the operating principles to be employed during the life of the project.

Rural leadership training is not totally different in principle from leadership training in other phases of our society. This type of training has not been segmented, however, there are more problems and concerns to be addressed when training for leadership in rural Mississippi. The rural sector has not shared proportionately in programs designed to alleviate the leadership vacuum.

We are far from the goal of closing the leadership gap in rural Mississippi. The dynamic forces of a changing society have created these serious gaps between the opportunities of rural and urban people and between rural and urban areas. The leadership, cultural, social, and economic gaps created as a by product of growth has marked rural Mississippi as the most deprived state in the United States.

I. History and Assumptions

The struggle for human rights marked the first concerted effort by Negroes in Mississippi to exhibit their grass root leadership potentials. This struggle has reversed the history of the unchanging South, where historically the Negro community was powerless to control their future. While White Mississippi America has become increasingly complex by political, social and cultural interlocking agreement. Negro Mississippi America has become more splintered by these same interlocking agreements. There was some small ray of hope with the Child Development Group of Mississippi Head Start Program to train the poor community for leadership. However, with the establishment of Mississippi Action for Progress, various Community Action Programs and the political candidates fear of grass root leadership of the Negro community throughout the state it is doubtful if any leadership development component will be funded through a federal source. Then it becomes the duty of private sources to pick up this mantle.

It is assumed that if Mississippi is to develop, its leadership will in turn influence this development. If this leadership is appointed by those forces which desire the status quo, then we are to assume that their choice will be less than adequate.

The Negro community in Mississippi is characterized by the following factors which clearly demonstrates a leadership vacuum:

- A. Fear of the unknown and undeveloped.
- B. The absence of a sense of community unity.
- C. The absence of loyalty to each other and in turn to the larger society.
- D. The breakdown of family.
- E. The basic distrust of leaders especially those who have been identified by the power structure.

II. Purpose:

- A. To identify, recruit, counsel and train community leaders.
- B. To identify, recruit and train those people to exhibit leadership characteristics.
- C. To conduct group officer's training sessions.
- D. To conduct work shops which will meet needs of freedom organizations and community groups which have a democratic bases of operation.
- F. To give on the spot consultant or advocate help to groups.

III. Plane of Operation:

- A. A staff of recruiter-trainers will be hired to recruit and train leaders in selected communities. These communities will be selected by the grantee in conciliation.
- B. The staff will seek out those persons who exhibited their desire for training.
- C. As these persons are trained they will join the staff as paid community leaders.
- D. The project will seek to cooperate with groups in the process of establishing a leadership institute.
- E. The project will invest the majority of its resources

into its personnel - training, transportation and housing.

F. The project will have a small administrative staff.

IV. Special Features:

- A. Poor People Cooperation and others are presently seeking funds to house a training institutes.
- B. The National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers Inc. have received funds from the Stern Family Foundation to conduct a leadership training project in Mississippi for the independent Community Centers in Hinds, Madison and Rankin counties.
- C. There are trained people available to accomplish the task. This is brought about by the unfunding of Child Development Group of Mississippi. This personnel has received special leadership from Transolve Inc.

V. Personnel:

- A. Director 1
- B. Bookkeeper - Secretary 1
- C. Leadership Training Director 1
- E. Group Leaders 20

VI. Budget: TOTAL \$168,100 -

§ A. Direct Cost

Director 9,500 -

Bookkeeper - Secretary 4,000 -

Leadership Training Director 9,000 -

Group Leaders @\$5,200 104,000 -

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TOTAL Personnel \$126,500 -

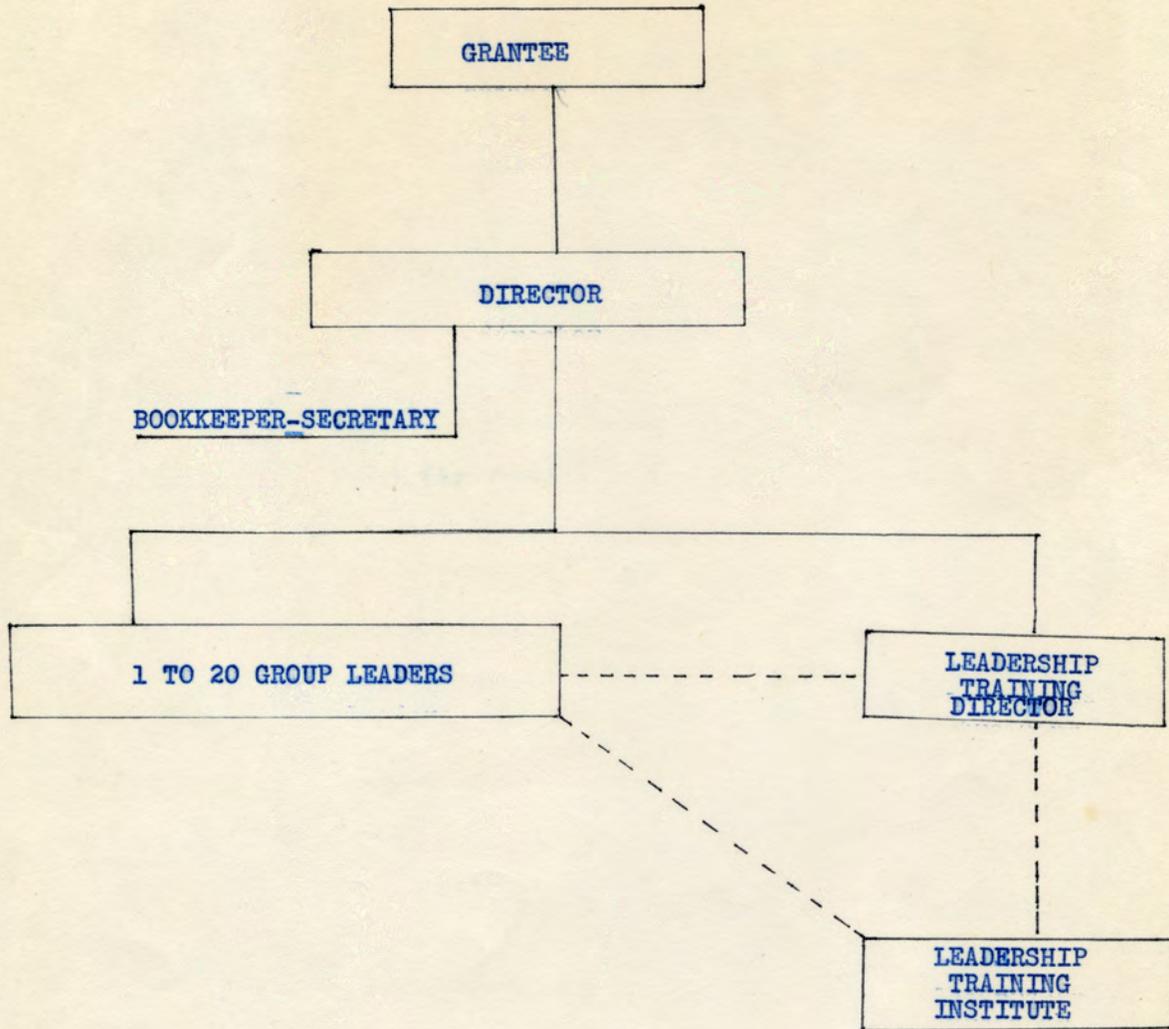
B. Indirect Transportation \$ 39,600 -

Car Rental 1 1961 Cars \$150.00 for 22 cars.

Housing Office Space and Lodging \$2,000 -

TOTAL Indirect Cost - \$41,600 -

VII. Organizational Chart:



VIII, Proposed Training Out Line:

- A. Offer Training
  - 1. Election
    - a. President
    - b. Vice-President
    - c. Secretary
    - d. Treasurer
    - e. Parliamentarian
  - 2. Duties
  - 3. Function of Committees
  - 4. Preparing reports
- B. Techniques - Group
  - 1. Sensitivity Training
  - 2. Role - Playing
  - 3. Brain Storming
- C. Field Work
  - 1. Canvassing
  - 2. Survey
  - 3. Techniques of mobilizing group
- D. Techniques in Conflicts
  - 1. Show for strength
  - 2. Bargaining
  - 3. Negotiation
- E. Action - Problem Solving
  - 1. Group interaction
  - 2. Dealing with apathy

3. Dealing with fear
- F. Use of Information for Community Action
  1. Government Agencies
    - a. State
    - b. Federal
    - c. County
  2. Sources of funds
  3. Sources of general information

EXHIBIT I

## Hinds Young Demo Club Hears League President

I. S. Sanders, president of the newly formed Urban League of Greater Jackson, Tuesday night told members of the Hinds County Young Democrats Club that the Urban League opened a Jackson office "not because someone came from outside and planted it here." "A good many Jackson citizens felt it was needed here, and that it could help solve some of our problems," he said.

Speaking at the regular November meeting of the Young Democrats Club in the King Edward Hotel, Prof. Sanders traced the history of the national Urban League and outlined immediate goals of the Jackson affiliate. "We want to demonstrate to our community that the problems in our area can best be solved by Negroes and whites working together," he said.

He said that improvements in housing and better job opportunity for Negroes would be the League's chief targets in Jack-

son. "Our overall goal," he said, "is to give guidance and help to disadvantaged groups so that they can share equally the responsibilities and rewards for building our society."

He said that the Jackson League, organized only a month ago, had already been contacted by several major firms in Jackson seeking Negroes for employment in positions above menial labor. "Some firms are willing to provide special training to qualify persons for these jobs," he said.

Mr. Sanders pointed to school dropouts and adult education as other problems with which the Jackson League is concerned. He said the League, which has a twenty-seven member biracial steering committee, is maintaining an office with three staff members.

In a brief business session preceding Mr. Sanders' talk, the Young Democrats Club unanimously adopted a resolution in support of the November

on bond issue, 60% of the Hinds county citizens voting in the general elections Tuesday, will be matched by \$360,000 in state funds to provide two new elementary schools in the county. In addition, expansion and improvement of buildings and grounds for several other elementary and high schools are provided in the bond issue.

Another resolution passed by the group changed the name of the YD organizations to "The Abron J. Wells Young Democrats Club" in memory of the late Mr. Wells who was killed recently in an auto crash. Mr. Wells was state treasurer of Mississippi Young Democrats and chairman of the public affairs committee of the Hinds County chapter at the time of his death.

The meeting was presided over by Walter Maberry of Jackson, president of the Hinds County club.

This is an example of established Negro - White, not considering the will of the poor community.

The Hinds County Community Council, a poor people organization, with a membership of over 2,000 in Hinds County voted in a meeting not to support the bond issue. The bond provided \$500,000 for predominantly Negro schools and \$1,000,000 for all White schools. This shows that the Young Democrats are not providing the leadership desired by the people.

EXHIBIT II

Airs His  
On So-Called

Dear Editor:

A couple weeks ago I witnessed how unfairly the rules of the football game can be applied. Our boys played as good a game, or better, than the other team, yet, because of the bias on the part of those who called the game (or so we felt), our boys were put to such a disadvantage that we lost the game.

On Thursday, October 27, I witnessed the progress we are making toward establishing and applying fair rules in the game of human relations. Several years ago I attended a "Minister's Day" program at Whitfield. Because of our policy then of "apart-hate" no ministers of minority groups were present to benefit from the lectures and the enlightenment of experts in the field of mental health.

But Thursday the story was different; a goodly number of Negro ministers from all over the state were present with notebooks and an open mind, receiving instruction and inspiration to be of greater help within their own communities of helping to restore their own people to mental equilibrium.

They were accepted as equals within the "fellowship of believers". This itself is a giant step toward relieving the most ancient and devastating of all mental health problems: prejudice!

Sincerely yours,  
C. E. Swain  
Raleigh, Miss.

Active leadership on the move, can make a change in the structure.

\*NOTE: Taken from the Jackson Clarion Ledger.

EXHIBIT III



FIRST NEGRO ELECTED — Robert Lee Williams, 33, a carpenter, is the first Negro elected to public office in Mississippi since Reconstruction. He won a spot on the school board in heavily Negro Jefferson County, Miss., in the election this week. — AP Wirephoto.

Mr. Robert Lee Williams, 33, a carpenter was elected to the Board of Education in heavily populated Jefferson County. Seven other Negro candidates for the Board of Education were defeated.

Williams background in Civil Rights protest is not a very lengthy one. He has participated in protest marches and bying boycotts in Jefferson County. More than 60% of the property in Jefferson County is owned by Negroes. They should get the benefits of the funds in that county.

# SENATE TABLE

By THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Jackson, Miss. (AP) — A county-by-county table of the Mississippi Senate race:

	PCTS	RPTG	Eastland	Warren	Whitley
Adams	17	17	4,229	3,719	8
Alcorn	32	30	3,013	1,114	6
Amite	17	16	1,534	592	298
Attala	26	25	2,917	713	440
Benton	12	9	634	143	183
Bolivar	21	21	4,084	1,077	1,370
Calhoun	26	26	2,517	563	19
Carroll	13	11	1,047	333	445
Chickasaw	19	17	1,754	230	112
Choctaw	15	15	1,406	443	42
Claiborne	8	4	476	768	58
Clarke	30	24	1,328	567	214
Clay	15	14	2,015	472	321
Coahoma	17	17	3,249	1,442	663
Copiah	36	35	3,250	933	190
Covington	18	18	1,549	1,395	75
Desoto	24	8	617	92	84
Forrest	26	26	6,360	3,473	436
Franklin	17	17	1,391	412	18
George	14	14	1,359	482	17
Greene	14	7	955	261	126
Grenada	25	20	2,050	582	1,037
Hancock	21	17	1,371	328	41
Harrison	49	18	1,496	443	38
Hinds	95	58	14,695	5,691	1,890
Holmes	15	7	1,036	199	931
Humphreys	9	9	1,717	299	349
Issaquena	7	7	344	129	216
Itawamba	26	26	1,885	563	24
Jackson	63	51	4,334	2,050	266
Jasper	23	21	1,228	1,122	3
Jefferson	17	17	1,013	1,663	69
Jeff Davis	18	18	1,556	781	214
Jones	58	49	5,165	3,721	730
Kemper	28	28	1,625	613	60
Lafayette	26	19	1,284	318	81
Lamar	14	14	1,694	1,203	26
Lauderdale	67	62	8,501	4,142	868
Lawrence	18	17	1,349	547	191
Leake	33	21	1,136	754	23
Lee	52	52	5,609	987	155
Leflore	16	12	2,497	835	1,308
Lincoln	29	27	2,946	1,527	159
Lowndes	14	9	1,362	421	85
Madison	13	10	2,394	743	557
Marion	20	18	1,704	1,103	236
Marshall	24	13	639	110	285
Monroe	44	44	4,141	875	165
Montgomery	19	13	1,847	708	155
Neshoba	38	36	2,761	1,239	230
Newton	28	17	962	767	0
Noxubee	13	10	589	106	66
Oktibbeha	20	12	2,124	388	56
Panola	25	24	2,523	709	849
Pearl River	43	14	996	395	5
Perry	9	9	1,068	623	51
Pike	29	26	3,134	1,717	174
Pontotoc	27	27	1,868	380	51
Prentiss	25	24	2,077	478	31
Quitman	17	17	1,453	292	222
Rankin	39	38	3,997	2,614	294
Scott	31	29	2,329	1,825	218
Sharkey	6	6	931	221	125
Simpson	26	24	1,874	1,898	269
Smith	25	23	1,222	2,510	27
Stone	10	5	192	113	4
Sunflower	19	19	3,758	881	475
Tallahatchie	19	19	2,225	610	328
Tate	16	5	497	85	36
Tippah	30	25	2,097	340	84
Tishomingo	20	19	1,883	714	45
Tunica	6	6	721	209	40
Union	33	32	3,213	612	108
Walthall	20	20	1,379	1,008	169
Warren	18	16	4,175	1,054	1,196
Washington	51	49	4,811	1,377	698
Wayne	25	15	779	516	97
Webster	23	20	2,275	507	20
Wilkinson	11	8	979	1,010	64
Winston	34	34	2,810	586	192
Yalobusha	16	16	1,743	336	29
Yazoo	29	28	2,820	680	131
TOTALS	2041	1677	176,104	72,693	20,355

These are counties with active citizen participation. Leadership training has been successful to a degree in changing the social order. There is still a lots to be achieved.

\*NOTE: Whitley is a Negro candidate.

BOLTON, MISSISSIPPI

The community center at Bolton burned to the ground June 12, 1966, Sunday before day by person or person unknown. No one knows what happened nor has any one been officially charged. There were many white people that didn't want the community center in the neighborhood because it represented a change.



The people of the communities that make up Bolton have not given up. They are meeting each week on Tuesday at 7:00 P.M. and talking about ways to raise money to rebuild, the center. They are discussing other programs that could effectively fight poverty conditions in their community. Adult Education and Neighborhood Youth Corp. Before the community center burned, it was the only active community center in Hinds county. It had a Head Start

(CDGM) Program for pre-school children and a teenager program and a volunteer bases. It is interesting that the average income of white people in Hinds county is \$6,000 and on the other side of the coin, the average income of non-white people is \$2,500. Bolton is located in the middle of the county.

The community leadership which was the st rkers  
in Bolton is giving leadership to a drive to r e community  
center. There are a number of smaller communities located around  
Bolton if the center is to be reconstructed there must be coopera-  
tion.

We recommend Mrs. Estella Herd be the contact and leader-  
ship person for this community.

Mrs. Estella Herd, Post Office Box 294, Bolton, Mississippi;  
Phone: 866-2258. Married (separated) has two children. Born  
April 17, 1939. Attended Hill of Zion Elementary School and  
Central High School of Newark, New Jersey, and Davis Beauty  
School, Jackson, Mississippi. Work experience: Resource Teacher  
for CDGM, Switch Board Operator at Mississippi College, File  
Clerk at Burts Clothing Store, Newark, New Jersey, Operated a  
Saturday and Sunday Nursery at Beth Sida Baptist Church in Newark,  
New Jersey. She has a small degree of training in leadership or  
organization, but she has sponsored many fund raising activities  
to keep the CDGM Head Start operation going when it was on vol-  
unteer bases. This was for (12) weeks. She is presently working  
with people to rebuild the center. At present Mrs. Herd is  
coordinating the fund reaising activity for the center, some of  
the events are: Queen's Drives, Raffles, Very small donations  
from churches have been gotten, and the old CDGM staff has given  
contribution for this purpose.

**Primary Source Packet C**  
*(3 documents)*

## BEHIND THE COTTON CURTAIN

by Reverend James F. Quimby  
Pastor, Durrell Memorial Methodist  
Church in Bethlehem, N. H.  
Director, White Mountains Parish

On a hot and dangerous road in Mississippi, in August of 1964, I met a student who asked me, "What is the news on the home front?" After visiting a moment I said, "It is the folks back home who are eager to hear what is happening on the racial front."

We walked under the shade of a tree and I asked my co-worker, "If you were not here giving your life to this cause, what would you be doing back home at this time? He said, "At this moment I would probably be sunning myself by the family swimming pool, enjoying cold drinks, and mother's home-cooked food."

Some of the young people rioting at Hampton Beach were in sharp contrast to the type of student seen in Mississippi.

What motivated the students, many people asked. Love of fellow man and indignation over gross injustice to human beings in Mississippi, I heard them say. While this was not so much cultivated by a traditional formal setting in their Hebraic-Christian background, nevertheless personal contact with the minister in discussion groups, in church and campus, was a significant factor. Moreover, many of the students came from homes which had a meaningful relationship with the church.

The most unselfish and dedicated young people found in America today are among those serving the cause of human freedom in Mississippi. It was a rare opportunity for Negro young people shut off from the normal cultural contacts, as they lived behind the Cotton Curtain, to rub elbows with Negro and white students from famous Universities and Colleges across this great land of America, and from Europe too, as we had some European students working with us.

Moreover, it is most significant to know that 40% of the students are staying on for the winter's work. The students laugh and say, "Mississippi is a good place to spend the winter."

Concerning my own motivation, I went to Mississippi because I had preached the principles of human freedom; this involved others and they were doing something about it. It was no longer feasible for me to enjoy the comfort of stained glass windows. Men were dying for freedom in Mississippi. We were called "first generation aliens." Remembering my long New England background, this amused me.

Page 2  
Behind the Cotton Curtain

It does not take long to travel, mostly by air, and drop down behind the Cotton Curtain in Mississippi, to see a state in the hate and heat of turmoil. Ministers from many denominations, sponsored by the National Council of Churches, responded to the emergency call of service. I traveled alone to Jackson, and there met other leaders from all parts of the United States. Professional groups went at their own expense or with contributions made by friends. In all, there were about 400 ministers, 300 lawyers, 60 doctors, many nurses, and agricultural leaders. All of these people were not in the state for the entire summer, but came and went as they could possibly spare the time. At all times many of these workers were present.

The basic local unit that offered a spring board for the activities were the Freedom Houses. This was the principal local office. In each Freedom House there were from 35 to 75 workers depending upon the project at hand.

My first day was spent learning the technique of surviving attack against my person, where I was at liberty to use only non-violent means of protection. I was not permitted to strike back when attacked.

At Freedom House, and in the home of our hostess, we checked in and out constantly, putting down on paper what time we were expected to return. If any one of us was not back to home base at the specified time, then a hunt went out for us immediately, and if in a reasonable time we were not located, the state headquarters of the FBI was immediately notified.

I went on many field trips with the students, giving them what protection I could, or were they protecting me? When a white girl student went to the police station to register, the police told her what dire things would happen to her living in a Negro home. This girl later said, as did others, "I was treated just as if I were a daughter in the home."

For my daily schedule, I tried not to be tied down to any one project. There was too much in the overall work to see. I assisted in voter registration, and observed people threatened with the loss of their homes, and jobs, and life itself, because they attempted to vote.

Some days I went to Freedom Schools and saw boys and girls in discussion classes in American history and interpreting current events. Freedom Rallies were a daily occurrence and always thrilling. Here, one heard the freedom songs in their native habitat and saw a people that reminded me of my revolutionary forbears in New England dumping tea into Boston Harbour because they were rebelling against taxation without representation.

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Behind the Cotton Curtain

When school sessions were held near the plantations there were, of course, no restaurants where one could drop in for lunch. To see the Negro people come to the church with a hot dinner on a platter was something that moved me deeply. The plantation owner growled, but the dinner tasted supremely good. The college kids were always hungry.

I never passed up an opportunity to go into Negro homes and talk with the people. Listening was two-thirds of the Chaplain's job, and it proved to be the most valuable use of my time.

One Negro lost his life, his widow told us, because after he remodeled his house, a white man with a much poorer house, wanted to trade. The proud Negro people told us about their young people aspiring to go to college, or how many of their youngsters had migrated north in search of better jobs. The pictures of their young people lined the mantles of their homes. The leaders of the Freedom Schools wanted the young people to stay in Mississippi, and build there a better society. The Negro is not acting the way he is supposed to act as a passive member of low caste.

By and large the students were mature, utterly fearless, and completely consecrated to the long task ahead.

Some of the young people jokingly asked me, "What does a movie house look like?" and, "Did you bring with you a picture of a dance hall?" For security reasons, the students could neither attend a movie or a dance. Once in awhile they had a little release from work by celebrating a student's birthday with ginger ale and a simple cake, prepared by the Negro hostess.

The students' dress was especially plain, with an emphasis on work shirts and slacks for both boys and girls. This was done because they were surrounded by watchful eyes that were super-critical, and ever hopeful that the students would make a mistake. In this way, the public could not say that the students were trying to make themselves attractive to the opposite sex, either white or Negro.

The youthful workers were both Negro and white and mostly from the northern states, though some were from the south, who had rebelled against their indoctrination in segregation and were working out their own problem in freedom. They worked together, rode in integrated automobiles, but never with evenly matched couples. This was not that they distrusted one another, but to discourage any matchmaking. The project was an exceedingly

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serious one involving life and death and the stakes were high, no less than a man's freedom.

At least three of the students gave up their lives, and many others willingly bore the brunt of personal insults, and assaults by the white racist who, in his ignorance and guilt, reacted in rage and violence. Charges of communism were, as always in pioneering work, hurled against the project. This goes with the trade. In Mississippi, communism means anything that the people of the state dislike or with which they disagree. This is a very convenient interpretation, and why the FBI refuses to take the charge seriously.

There were many local people who worked in the far flung project and of these people, most of them were Negro young people from the towns and cities of Mississippi. Every important unit in the project was manned by Negro youth. This is of utmost importance because, when the victory of equality and freedom comes, as come it will, it cannot be accurately said, " This is something we whites did for you." The Negro is gaining his own freedom and in the process, setting the white man free.

The Negro is gaining valuable experience in leadership, breaking down old caste lines of segregation, and integration, and the white man is showing that he can take orders from a Negro leader. This practice was jarring on the mentality of native whites all around us who were preaching the ungodly, non-biblical doctrine of white supremacy.

We observed that the basis of people's bigotry is a hangover from their childhood conception of the Negro. He is supposed to be a player in the inferior role of the racial caste system. In childhood we saw the Negro as a shoe shine boy, pancake maker, and in the old agricultural setting of the south, as a mule driver. Now he is shooting for the stars, and some are getting there, and more arrivals are on the way. This is throwing the white man off balance. One more childhood fantasy is shattered.

We had southern whites ask, "Did you run out of evil up north, and out of work to do?" To one who asked me this question I said, "According to your reasoning, Jesus would not have left Nazareth, and Paul would not have left Tarsus." The Negro people deeply appreciated our presence, and some of the whites who see the entrenched evil of segregation. My two weeks in Mississippi simply confirmed what anyone is privileged to read in Dr. James W. Silver's book, "Mississippi the Closed Society." Dr. Silver has been teaching history at the University of Mississippi for twenty-eight years and he says that it is not only a privilege, but the responsibility of fellow Americans to come to Mississippi

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and help to end the evils of a closed society. Our days behind the Cotton Curtain were more dangerous than one would find during the same summer behind the Iron Curtain.

The work was organized by COFO (Council of Federated Organizations) which was an amalgamation of the civil rights groups in cooperation with the National Council of Churches. The objective is to set both the white man and the Negro free.

One of the reasons the students came to Mississippi was to stop the indiscriminate killing of Negroes. If the murdered civil rights workers in Philadelphia, Mississippi, had all been Negroes, it is a shameful thing to say, it would not have caused as much furor as it did. Hundreds of white students, along with Negro youth arrived, and the killing lessened, even though the bombings and the beatings did not cease.

The white and Negro students are under constant pressure in a hostile world. We had white students who felt the need to worship in a church of their own Methodist conference in Canton on Sunday, and in various Mississippi communities. Both boys and girls were ordered out of the church and local townspeople met them in the streets afterward, knocked them down on the sidewalk, beat and kicked them.

When, in one Presbyterian Church in Canton, the minister was told during the service that students from the north had been turned away from the door, he stopped the service, indicated that the people were unworthy to receive God's grace, and stepped out of his pulpit. This was an exceedingly courageous act that could have cost him his life right there in the church. One Methodist minister in Jackson, after serving the church for 16 years, resigned for a similar reason, that Negro people came to worship and were denied.

To stand by the Negroes, the students came to the state. The ministers, Rabbis, and some Roman Catholic priests came to support and defend the students. Affectionately, the students called this "The coming of the Professions;" lawyers, social workers, some business men and agricultural advisors also found their way behind the Cotton Curtain.

It cannot be overemphasized that we lived in Negro homes. One purpose of this was to drive another nail in the coffin of the old caste system. The Negro homes in which we lived were a cross section of the area and the people that we worked with, were representative of Negro people in the state. Some were middle class homes, and some were humble. Because of the

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Behind the Cotton Curtain

deliberately depressed wages, and the dual system of wages, where the white man receives a better hourly rate even though in the heat his production is often less, few modern facilities were available in some homes. Some of the students had fruit juice for breakfast and some did not. I was one of the lucky ones and so I enjoyed my fruit juice the same as I would have back in the mountains of Bethlehem, New Hampshire.

Derogatory racial remarks about the quality of Negro homes are frequently heard from northern tourists, who do not bother to acquaint themselves with the background of conditions, as they drive through the southern countryside. These tourists frequently ask, "Why do the Negro people have TV aerials when the home lacks paint and other affluent appointments?" Remember that the Negro lives in a drab environment and the coming of TV was a miracle to him that it might not be to you, also it proved to be a godsend because it was here on TV that the Negro learned that his fellow Negro brethren were coming to the top to do battle for his freedom. The drama of it all was on his screen.

The Negro people lack opportunity to build and maintain a home as you and I conceive of opportunity. Running water is frequently not available, wages are too low to afford artesian wells, and most of the Negro people do not own or even possess a single piece of paper showing rental rights to the property. At the whim of the plantation owner the Negro people, overnight, can be dispossessed of everything. Moreover, over the years the Negroes have been psychologically crippled due to slavery, and to its step-child segregation. He has a real problem with his lack of incentive and motivation. Here is one of the reasons why the Negro is struggling to establish himself in the mainstream of American society, to build up his pride, and to discover his identity.

Nowhere is the injustice to the Negro more clearly seen than in this dual system of income. The average yearly income for the whites is \$2,023 and for the Negro \$606. Incredible as it may seem, the fact is the Negro furnishes 40% of the work force only 4½% of his numbers are allowed to work in factories.

It does not take much imagination to see how this evil shows up in many phases of the Negro life, as it would manifest itself in your life and mine. The evil is clearly seen in housing; 75% of Negro houses have no piped water and 70% of the houses have no flush toilets, no bathtubs and no showers. With this income, how could the amenities of life be purchased?

After a hot day how can a Christian enjoy his own fresh shower when he knows that his brother in Christ has no such comfort?

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Living in Negro homes gave the doctors an opportunity to mend the wounds of the civil rights workers, study family diets, and counsel about planned parenthood. The experience in integrated living, gave the lawyers an opportunity to counsel with the people in their long denied legal services, and it gave ministers first-hand experiences in pastoral counselling.

Likewise, living with Negro people forever put on ice the myth that Negro homes or people have a less appealing smell than among whites.

One could readily see in Mississippi the results of treating people as less than human beings. The judgment of God is upon us for comfortably living in a society where, as Dr. Silver says, "the white idiot is superior to the Negro genius." We debased the Negro, damaged the Negro psychologically, nearly crippled him spiritually, treated him in an inferior way so that we brought out of the Negro, sometimes at least, inferior behaviour-reactions, instead of bringing out his best. As Malcolm X says: "The worst crime the white man has committed has been to teach us to hate ourselves."

Let us not lose sight of what we are trying to do in working for freedom in Mississippi. Surely we are to assist the Negro to escape the tyranny of segregation, but also we are to assist the whites in opening up a closed society. For years, Mississippians have been living under the great lie that a white closed society is a good society, ordained by God and that any means, fair or foul, are justified in perpetuating this society.

To cut through this closed society, in order to communicate with the Negro people, the best way was to live in Negro homes. Our purpose was to come to know the Negro. The white southerner has often said that he knew the Negro. On the contrary, because the first law of life is survival, all the Negro let the white man know of his inner feelings was what the white man wanted to hear. I expect that we were about the first white people in the history of this country to live officially in southern Negro homes, and because the Negro people had nothing to fear from us, for the first time they really told white people what was on their minds. They took us immediately into their confidence and told, for example, how deeply they resent the white people for not calling them by their courtesy titles, "Mr.", "Mrs.," and "Miss", how bitterly they feel toward the white man because of their sexual aggressions against their women, their resentment over wages that are deliberately depressed for Negro people, and many decent jobs not being open to Negro people at all, even Post Office jobs that are supposed to be on the basis of competitive exams. In Canton the Negro people told about the Matrons Club," where the white women meet and all agree to pay the colored domestics the same discouragingly low wage.

The size of the struggle in Mississippi for Negro freedom impressed me. Voter registration is a very important aspect. This is not being as politically partisan as it sounds, because in Mississippi only one political party really exists. The Negro did not want to form a third party. Numbering 42% of the population and not being represented, the Negroes did the smart thing by challenging the existing party, in their Freedom Democratic Party. We shall hear much more about this movement in the future as the Negro becomes a first class citizen. It is my own opinion that two strong parties are needed in Mississippi such as the Republican and the Democratic organizations.

No wrongs are more outstanding than unjust voting laws in this state. When a person registers to vote his or her name is published for two weeks in the paper. This serves the purpose of alerting the White Citizens' Council, who in turn work on any person who has a leverage over the would-be voter. The voter is thus discouraged to vote by ways of having the rent raised, wages lowered, employment cut off or eviction from the land and house. These evictions will necessitate rows of tents to be set up. The World Council of Churches, as it begins its Delta Ministry this winter, will experience this distress and suffering.

Freedom Schools were also conducted by the students. Among other subjects taught was American History with a special emphasis upon Negro pride, indicating to him what he has never been told before. The Negro has made a very great contribution to American history. What this contribution is, is spelled out in detail; the Negro growth in the performing arts, for example, and prowess on the American Olympic teams, Negro scientists, theologians and philosophers, Negro music which dominates the field, poetry and drama. Also taught, were freedom songs which the students loved to teach and the Negro boys and girls and young people loved to sing. Deep in the South it was thrilling to hear an old favorite, "We Shall Overcome." Some Native white Mississippians loved to sing these Negro freedom songs, too. The Freedom Schools also make up for the unequal education offered by the Public Schools. As. Dr. Silver points out in his book, "Mississippi the Closed Society," local expenditures for school facilities are \$81.86 per capita for the white child and \$21.77 for the colored. Practically all the good libraries are also closed to the Negro people. Libraries were set up by the Freedom Schools.

Community centers are a very significant link in the freedom movement. Here the Medical Committee on Human Rights does its work, research is carried on, social workers plan their duties and they serve as a place for legal consultations. Farmers' leagues are organized.

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I asked a high United States government official why in the burning of all of these Negro churches and bombings, the guilty went unpunished. This official told me that it was alleged that members of the police structure were in many cases burning the Negro churches. When I told this to a group of local Negro people, I thought I had alarming news for them, but they said that they had known this all along. Fortunately, not all the police throughout the United States are of this caliber.

The Negro loves his church and when he sees arson in the house of God performed by supposedly law enforcement officers whose salaries he pays out of his rent and taxes, his soul resentment runs heavy.

But the Negro still carries on. We saw Negro parishes come to their smoldering ruins on a Sunday morning and hold a church service even in the ashes, and large well taught church schools with full classes, with nothing but charred rocks and bricks upon which to sit. The northern ministers said that they would trade the spirit which they saw manifested by the ruins, with the spirit which some of them have in their staid and comfortable, complacent parishes back home. One could not help but think of the words of Isaiah, "The bricks have fallen down, but we will build with hewn stones; the sycamores are cut down but we will change them into cedars." Isaiah 9:10.

Let us see how the White Citizens Council operates in an actual case. In Canton, Mississippi, directly across from our Freedom House, a man by the name of George Washington, Sr., Negro, operates a very successful grocery store. Mr. Washington owns the Freedom House and the land on which it stands. The students and staff needed a base from which to operate their work and so they rented the place from Mr. Washington.

The Citizens Council, not wanting Freedom House to exist, initiated in the business community all kinds of reprisals against Mr. Washington, including a severe billy club blow from the police over his eye. The reprisals took the form, among other things, of asking all his wholesale dealers to refrain from letting him have any produce. This made it necessary for Mr. Washington to drive all the way to Jackson on a dangerous road to secure supplies. However, a little ray of hope came into the situation later when a few wholesale dealers returned and some additional ones came to do business with an altogether very fine citizen, the owner and operator of the grocery store. Incidentally, the students loved Mr. Washington, he is sort of a father to them, and his store carries everything from apples to shoe laces and straw hats. It could also be noted that Mr. Washington has a very intelligent son, who this year is entering Tugaloo College, George Washington, Jr.

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Mississippi is boasting the most crime free state in the nation. If the state reported crimes committed against its citizens by the police and by white people against Negroes, the record would be vastly different.

Every day in Mississippi we saw the brutal results of denying personality to the Negro individual. Coming out of the days of slavery when the Negro was property, and hence regarded as a "thing," not as a person, it is always "open season" to kill Negroes. We hope to see the time when the people, both north and south, will live up to their Hebraic-Christian faith and regard the Negro as a person, the same as you and I like to be regarded as a person. Here the Bible speaks directly to the point, "God created man in His own image." Let us note that this does not say that God created the white man in His own image, but jut plain basic man. Or as Jesus asked the question in Matthew 12:12, "How much then is a man better than a sheep?"

The racist has first to build a theology to alibi, or rationalize, his way out of the unhuman treatment of the Negro. The racist has first to do this in order to live with himself, because guilt is too strong a medicine to absorb. Thus, in order to treat the Negro as an animal, he has first to establish that he is an animal, or at best an inferior breed. The racist perverts the Bible through weird interpretations, and thus tries to use the Bible to defend his position.

Hitler's approach was similar. Hitler knew that he wanted to annihilate the Jews so he told the lie often enough, he said, so everyone would believe it, that the Jews were swine. Thus, he inflamed passions across Germany and the logical outcome was slaughter.

Here in America the racist has long taught that a white idiot is superior to a Negro genius. The distress in this system is nowhere greater seen than in the large number of Negro people on relief and in anti-social situations.

First, the Mississippian denies the Negro education and this leaves him with no skills. We saw among Negro people, both men and women, what a very large number of them were shut off from decent jobs. This makes necessary a hand-to-mouth existence. The slightest set back in the family--an accident, an illness, makes the Negro family immediately a ward of the state, or as we say, on relief. Thus, the white Mississippian condemns the Negro for not being able to make the grade, dependent upon the relief system, that the white man has forced on the Negro through depressed Negro wages, menial jobs, denial to Negroes of many rehabilitation programs offered by our modern society, and a

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crude justice in the court room less merciful than that offered to whites.

Though the Negro must not hide behind excuses, one can readily see that rejection and non-acceptance, discouragement and frustration, lead to unhealthy outlets. Would we, living under similar circumstances, present a higher moral image?

Moreover, when will Mississippi people be wise enough to see that as they depress so large a proportion of their population (2.3 million people, 42% of whom are Negro) that they themselves are depressed, or as they would upgrade Negro jobs, education, housing, and public accommodations on an equal basis, that the whites would be upgraded, also, the intelligence level as a whole improved, ignorance rooted out, and a general level of prosperity achieved?

All of us found many reasons to admire the extraordinary courage and great bravery of the Negro people. We were amazed to see how many of them had risen above "the system" and had retained their pride and dignity, in spite of suffering for so many years under humiliation and insult. For hundreds of years the Negro people have lived under intimidation, beatings, violence and death.

As Mormons built a monument to the Seagulls who saved them from starvation on the western desert, so the people of Mississippi should build a monument to the students who are saving them from their self-inflicted internal destruction. The old white power structure which must disappear for the good of the country, thought that the students were leaving Mississippi at the end of the summer and then their state could go back into the old rut. The fact remains that 40% of the students are remaining, they are so dedicated to the cause that they are giving up a year of their schooling. However, I heard that some would be rewarded by scholarship funds when another year rolls around. Thus more and more institutions and people are becoming involved in the biggest struggle of our century.

Friends, what are you willing to do to assist your darker skinned brethren to achieve their complete freedom to work, live, travel, educate and worship on the same basis that you use these responsibilities and privileges?

You are familiar with the story, perhaps so familiar that it doesn't mean anything to you anymore. Let us revive its meaning. It is a story that Jesus told, after being asked, "Who is my neighbor?" You recall how Jesus said, a man was going to Jerusalem and fell among thieves. Our brethren, both white and colored in Mississippi are in great distress. We need to release them from their bondage, segregation, and fear. We are on this earth together and we must live and work together with mutual respect.

# 'Freedom Summer' of 1964 Revisited

By Gail Hall and Carolyn McNair  
 A host of civil rights activists returned to Mississippi for the 'Mississippi Freedom Summer: A Fifteen year perspective on Progress in Race Relations 1964-1979.' The symposium, which revisited that summer when Mississippi was catapulted into the national spotlight, as persons from inside and outside, demanded their God-given rights from this nation. The confer-

ence was coordinated by Robert McElvaine and presented at Tougaloo and Millsaps Colleges, October 30-November 2.  
 McElvaine said the conference had attempted to assess the progress made in race relations and to discover how the conferees viewed the changes in society since 1964. The program featured such people as Lawrence Guyot, former chairman of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP); Julian Bond, state Senator from Georgia;

Jess Brown, Jackson Civil Rights attorney; Joyce Ladner, Professor of Sociology at Hunter College; Charles Evers, mayor of Fayette; Annie Devine of the MFDP and John Doar, former assistant Attorney General of the United States for Civil Rights.

## ASSESSING PROGRESS AND GAINS SINCE 1964 IN WHAT?

According to many conference participants, the conference was good, because it afforded them the

opportunity to look back and assess the gains and short-comings of the 1960's Civil Rights Movement, which may be viewed as a continuum, before the 60's and beyond.

The conference was "designed to give younger people especially students, an opportunity to find out about what happened, and to hear about it from the people who actually participated in it," said Robert McElvaine. "The conference is also

continued on page 12A

# 'Freedom Summer' continued

a historical record, actually recording the responses about the summer from the history-makers themselves."

## FINDING A TRUE PERSPECTIVE

Lisa Lewis, a sophomore psychology major at Tougaloo College, said that the conference was very educational. "It was just like getting history firsthand," she said. "I feel that it is important to know what our people did to get us where we are today," she continued.

Lewis said, however, she thinks many Black people who were directly involved in the movement

were not involved in the coordination and participation of the program.

"I don't think that the students at Tougaloo were given an opportunity to participate in the planning of the program either," she said.

According to Mrs. Winson Hudson, a longtime freedom fighter, active in many issues of the day and an early member of the MFDP, programs like this are invaluable because they give the young people perspective, but true perspective is what is necessary.

"Young people need to hear about the Movement from the people involved, so they won't get it

secondhanded," she said.

Mrs. Hudson also expressed the concern that many persons involved in the fabric of the Movement in Mississippi weren't asked to attend.

"For example, there is Theodus Hewitt, who was project director for the '64 summer project. He was responsible for setting the groundwork for much that followed," Mrs. Hudson continued.

Many Black conference participants observed that James Meredith was not asked to attend, the man who opened the doors of desegregation in higher education when he gained admittance to the Univer-

The Jackson Advocate, November 8, 1979. MDAH Archives and Records Services. Used with the permission of The Jackson Advocate.

# 'Freedom

By L.C. Dorsey

We were back again to the past  
Remembering the "movement"  
and the summer of '61

Remembering the pain, the joy  
that didn't last

Remembering the revolution  
from a period that seems long ago.  
They didn't all answer the call  
for the veterans and soldiers of  
the battle to regroup

They didn't all agree that  
the time and place, this fall  
was the campuses at Millsaps  
or Tougaloo

or that the "caller" was not exe-  
cuting a coup.

But some came, strong and bold  
with stories locked up inside,  
waiting to be told

with the truth, where lies have  
held sway

with lies to confuse those who  
were not "there"

or with differing perceptions of  
"Freedom Summer"

or F.D.P., or Atlantic City, or  
even today.

The old soldiers who came still  
had the fire of old

They spoke of the "then" and now  
They remembered the pain, the  
death, the cold

fear in their hearts, sweat on their  
brow

They remembered the sell-outs  
the leaders who embraced  
compromise

Who through fear, or weakness,  
embraced lies.

Lies from whites whose goals  
were not ours and  
whose good intentions

vanished with the  
cries of Stokely's "Black  
power!"

The hustlers were there, every  
day  
looking to make a buck  
or for the almighty revolutionary

# Summer

"roll in the hay,"

Nor really ready to die for any-  
body's freedom, not even their own,  
but eager to hang around the  
edges.

of those who are strong.

As the people who struggled to  
control the movement fifteen years  
ago struggled now to say what it all  
meant,

the people who really knew, by  
choice or circumstances didn't  
even show.

Oh, the warriors were there with  
messages that rung loud and clear  
and emotion-packed speeches  
that brought a tear.

The main question for people  
were if the Summer of '61  
had made it better

had brought a change  
and as tempers flared and  
this or that one stalked out the  
door

The question is moot  
since Blacks are still not free  
selling out brothers and sisters as  
they strut around in their Brooks  
Brothers suit

or wear their radicalness for all to  
see  
and endorse repression of poor  
people, in our names

cause "freedom" (of freedom  
summer) means money and other  
stupid games

and lies and compromises that  
equal the same  
and the folk who died may have  
died in vain

when Blacks fight Blacks for  
material gain  
and when Blacks calling them-  
selves the "leadership"

endorse "the man"  
over a June Johnson  
whose head was beaten so we  
would choose

our leaders  
then freedom summer is null and  
void

# 1964' Revisited

and we all lose

Loss our vision, our hope for the  
young

So we hurry back to the memories  
of freedom summer

and what others have done  
and we intellectualize  
and we're so Black,

while others sell us out in two-bit  
compromises

We all were there to set the record  
straight

to get the message across,  
But like always, for Blacks  
we're so messed up,  
and we're always late.



The late Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, a Freedom Summer participant whose spirit was present at the conference and whose portrait was displayed during the conference.

The Jackson  
Advocate, November  
8, 1979. MDAH  
Archives and Records  
Services. Used with  
the permission of The  
Jackson Advocate.

**Primary Source Packet D**  
*(4 documents)*

1962

Student  
Nonviolent  
Coordinating  
Committee

NEWSLETTER

VOL. 1, # 3

December 14, 1962

ATLANTA, GEORGIA - The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee this week intensified its campaign to free Clyde Kennard. SNCC circulated petitions and fact sheets to student groups and human relations organization organizations across the country.

\*\*\*\*\*

GADSDEN, ALABAMA - SNCC Executive Committee member Frank Holloway was released from jail here after negotiations between adults and the white community resulted in a general amnesty and a temporary halt to anti-segregation demonstrations.

\*\*\*\*\*

NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE - The Nashville Student Nonviolent Movement continued its attack on segregation in downtown Nashville.

\*\*\*\*\*

DALLAS, TEXAS - SNCC staffers Bob Moses and Bob Zellner and seventy-five students from 22 schools in Texas and Arkansas attended a week-end conference called by the Southwest Student Action Coordinating Committee.

\*\*\*\*\*

JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI - Six people - four Negroes, two whites - were arrested here during picketing of discriminatory stores on Capitol Street. The demonstration was a SNCC-CORE-NAACP sponsored effort supporting a boycott of Jim Crow employers.

\*\*\*\*\*

ALBANY, GEORGIA - Albany Movement President Dr. W. G. Anderson told President Kennedy in a telegram that "our blood is on your hands" after Movement leaders expressed extreme dissatisfaction with a conference between Albany leaders and Justice Department officials. Movement participants have been critical about the lack of First Amendment rights in Southwest Georgia.

\*\*\*\*\*

TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA - Stillman College students here have secured a "no discrimination" pledge from bus company officials. Negroes still are not accorded elementary courtesies by drivers, however.

\*\*\*\*\*

ATLANTA, GEORGIA - SNCC staffer Bob Zellner announced that SNCC will coordinate mass demonstrations in Montgomery, Alabama to bring public attention and protest concerning Governor Wallace's attempted interposition to avoid integration of the University of Alabama.

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NEW YORK, N. Y. - SNCC staffer Bob Moses, head of the Mississippi VEP project, will speak here this weekend at a conference on nonviolence.

\*\*\*\*\*

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS (confidential) - SNCC staffer Bob Zellner has revealed that hotels, restuarants, movie theatres and chain stores may be integrated soon.

Miles College students may resort to direct action to bolster a boycott in Birmingham...U. of Arkansas students plan a demonstration against segregated housing...Atlanta COAHR reports more job breakthroughs in private and public employment.

(continued on page 2)

FROM A FIELD REPORT "...I was sitting reading, having finished a bowl of stew, and a silent hand reached over from behind, mumbling some words of apology and permission, and stumbled up with a neckbone from the plate under the bowl, which I had discarded, which had consequently some meat on it. The hand was back, five seconds later, groping for the potatoes I had left in the bowl. The hand was dark, dry and wind cracked, a man's hand, from cotton chopping and cotton picking. Lafayette and I got up and walked out. What are you going to do when a man has to pick up leftovers from a bowl of stew?"

from Bob Moses in Greenwood, Mississippi

FROM A FIELD REPORT "...he (a local white lawyer) told her that the charges were false and he really didn't want to tell her the real reason why Mrs. Brown was arrested, but he's heard that she had gone down and tried to register to vote and would she withdraw her application, ..if she would withdraw her application her bond would be lowered to \$500 (from \$1000) and if she would make her daughter withdraw her application he would set her free..."

from Willie Peacock and Sam Block in Greenwood, Mississippi

FROM A FIELD REPORT "...we have turned on the kerosene lamp because we have no electricity in the kitchen-office...it is so cold here that we have to wear overcoats in the house..."

from Jack Chatfield in Southwest Georgia

\* \* \* \* \*

TO ALL STAFF MEMBERS: We've received reports from some Mississippi and some Southwest Georgia staff members. Others are still lagging. The December issue of the Student Voice will be sent to you soon.

TO EVERYONE: You've probably read the enclosed material on Clyde Kennard. We're counting on each one of you to place your name first on the enclosed petition, to duplicate and circulate copies, and to send the completed petitions back here.

We will also be sending you a report on conditions in Ruleville, Mississippi.

The Greenville Voter Education Project office very badly needs: good typewriters, a good electric mimeograph machine and related office supplies; a 16 millimeter movie projector; cots, sleeping bags, college level paperback fiction, nonfiction, and economic and social texts. Send them c/o Bob Moses, 901½ Nelson Street, Greenville, Mississippi.

Both the Southwest Georgia and the Mississippi staff need warm winter clothing and need it now! Send sweaters, overcoats, etc (men's and women's) to the above address and to Charles Sherrod, 504 Madison St., Albany, Georgia.

In Atlanta, needs are ever present: operating funds, to pay rent, gas and light bills for our office at 6 Raymond Street; to purchase office supplies and equipment; to pay postage; to insure this news getting to you; to pay telephone bills; to repay loans; to keep us going.

We are depending on you.

# NEGRO SHOPPERS!

www

**The Boycott Goes Right On  
Until We Win EQUALITY!**

**DON'T BUY ON CAPITOL STREET  
(STATE STREET TO MILL STREET) OR**

At the following other businesses, wherever they  
may be located in JACKSON:

**Bagby Hall Motors, Jitney Jungle grocery  
stores, McRae's dept. stores, Wilkinsons  
555 tire and appliance stores, and  
STAR GROCERY STORES**

**ARRESTS & VIOLENCE Won't halt us!**

❖ **WE SHALL WIN!** ❖

**Buy Elsewhere Until Discrimination Against  
Negro Shoppers and Negro Workers Is Ended**

N. Jackson NAACP Youth Council :: Tougaloo College NAACP Chapt.  
West Jackson NAACP Youth Council :: Campbell College NAACP Chapt.  
CORE JACKSON NAACP BRANCH SNCC

**FREEDOM NOW!**

BOYCOTT!

BOYCOTT!

BOYCOTT!

BOYCOTT!

BOYCOTT

B O Y C O T T

The following whose officials are helping to finance  
OR  
encourage the Citizens Council

BAGBY HALL MOTORS  
(Mercury)

FOWLER BUICK  
(Buick)

JITNEY JUNGLE  
(all over the city)

MC RAE'S DEPARTMENT STORE  
(all over the city)

OFFICE SUPPLY COMPANY

ROBINSON BROTHERS  
(Plymouth)

WILKINSON'S 555

ALL SERVICE STATIONS WITH SIGNS MARKING

"WHITE MEN\*\*\*WHITE WOMEN"

AND

"COLORED"

REST ROOMS

ADD OTHERS THAT ARE NEEDED

JOIN IN THIS FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

JACKSON AREA N. A. A. C. P.

## How They Organize in Jackson

(When a boycott for justice sweeps Jackson, Miss., the headquarters of the White Citizens Council, it is national news. This "how-are-you-doing-it" article is written by one of the participants.)

By JOHN R. SALTER, JR.

JACKSON, Miss.—For the first time in its history, this city is experiencing a far-flung Negro action economic boycott which—despite arrests, threats, and other harassment—is showing considerable signs of ultimate success.

The boycott is aimed at ending discrimination against Negro workers and consumers in this unhappy citadel of the White Citizens Council, where nearly all of the business is owned by white people who adhere rigidly to the official mores of Mississippi.

Every business in the economic nerve center of Jackson—downtown Capitol Street—is under boycott, plus selected other businesses in outlying areas. In all, 127 business establishments have experienced a dramatic fall-off in Negro trade.

There are 70,000 Negro residents in the Jackson area, which has a total population of about 150,000. The boycott is currently estimated at being at least 60 to 65 per cent successful. It will continue—week after week and month after month—until its egalitarian demands have been met.

On December 12, my wife and myself and four students—all of us NAACP members and all from Tougaloo College—officially launched the boycott by picketing in front of the Woolworth store in the center of the downtown area.

We were immediately arrested by 50 or so policemen on a charge of "obstructing the sidewalk"—an offense punishable by six months in jail and a \$500 fine. After two days we were released on \$500 bonds.

Our arrests produced an immediate reaction. Mayor Allen Thompson of Jackson, quite sensitive indeed to the wishes of the Citizens Councils, went several times on radio and TV, and before meetings of city officials and businessmen, to threaten to line Capitol Street with "1,000 policemen" to prevent picketing. The pickets, said he, were "outside agitators who are trying to destroy our city."

While the mayor was ranting, the students at Tougaloo College mobilized and held a series of action-oriented mass meetings in which leaflet distributing teams were lined up, a chain telephone call system was set up, and delegations were organized to visit



PICKETS who faced a corps of 50 to 100 policemen and sure arrest to demonstrate in support of Jackson, Miss., boycott included (from left) Rupert Crawford, Charles Bracey, Ronald Mitchell, Walter Mitchell, and John R. Salter, with Mrs. Eldri Salter at front. Also arrested but not shown in picture were Dorie Ladner and Bettie Anne Poole. Boycott leaders say there will be more picketing.

the many Negro churches in the area.

When we got out of jail, our home—which is on the college campus—became converted to boycott headquarters, and my wife and other ladies began cooking a seemingly endless supply of food and coffee for the boycott workers who came and went.

About this time, the SNCC Freedom Singers arrived on campus—and from that time onward, everyone has been singing as they work.

Christmas drew near. All over Jackson, students from Tougaloo and other schools, as well as adults, worked on the boycott. On December 21, two more NAACP student members from Tougaloo picketed in front of Woolworth and were immediately arrested on the "obstructing" charge, jailed, and released on \$500 bonds.

By this time, the mayor had posted—not his threatened "1,000"—but at least 100 policemen on Capitol Street. Dozens of police began to travel through the Negro area.

(Continued on Page 3).

### See Special Supplement

With this issue, the Patriot publishes a special supplement on the expansion of Operation Freedom into Mississippi. This is a move to ease the suffering of thousands penalized for trying to vote and a development too important to cover adequately in our regular space. We call your attention to the supplement and urge you to act.



AFTER 35 YEARS on one of the poorest farms in the South, this woman was driven off the land for registering to vote. She is typical of thousands harassed in Mississippi and elsewhere and for whom Operation Freedom is seeking help.

(The author of this article is on the staff of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). For more recent news of him, see page 4.)

## Highlights of the Month

James Meredith enrolled at Ole Miss for the second semester, reversing earlier indications that he might not because of continuing persecution. But another Negro attempting to enter, Dewey Green, was refused. The Federal Government dropped charges against Gen. Edwin A. Walker, accused of helping incite Ole Miss riots last fall, after a Federal grand jury in Mississippi refused to indict him. The new governor of Alabama, George C. Wallace, shouted defiance to desegregation orders as he took office.

In contrast, however, Negroes entered peacefully for the first time at Tulane University in New Orleans and Clemson College in South Carolina (see page 3). And the governor of North Carolina, Terry Sanford, called on his state to insure equal employment to Negroes.

The U.S. Justice Department filed suits to desegregate public schools in six Deep South districts near defense installations. Included were Huntsville and Madison County, Ala., Mobile, Ala., Biloxi and Gulfport City, Miss., and Bossier Parish, La.

In Washington, the U.S. Supreme Court struck down the last of Virginia's massive resistance laws. This one has restricted the role of the NAACP in integration cases, by holding the promotion of desegregation suits constituted "improper solicitation of legal business." The Court said the statute violated the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

# The Southern PATRIOT

Vol. 21 No. 2

February, 1963

Published by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.

## Victory By Protest

The civil rights movement won two major victories in Mississippi during the past month. Each is important not only for itself but as an illustration of the power of organized protest against injustice.

One was the case of Clyde Kennard, young Negro who was sentenced to seven years in prison on a charge of chicken-feed theft after he tried to enroll at Mississippi Southern University. (See January Patriot.)

Kennard, who is critically ill with cancer, had been in prison over two years. In just about two months after publicity and protest over the case became nationwide, Gov. Ross Barnett suspended his sentence and freed him. (Immediately after his release, Kennard entered a Chicago hospital for treatment.)

The second case was that of Ivanhoe Donaldson and Ben Taylor, Michigan students who were arrested on narcotics charges when they took food and medicine to Negroes being harassed for trying to vote in the Mississippi Delta. Police claimed there were narcotics in the medicine. (Background also in January Patriot.)

Donaldson and Taylor faced the possibility of long prison terms. After protests flowed into both Mississippi and Washington from across the country, a grand jury in Clarksdale, Miss., refused to indict them.

Aaron Henry, Mississippi president of the NAACP, called it a "tremendous victory for all the people of this nation who raised their voices in protest against this injustice."

(People answered the arrests with more food shipments as well as protests, and ironically the jailing of Donaldson and Taylor helped turn what had started with a few students into a nationwide relief drive for Mississippi.)

What really happened? Pangs of conscience among segregationist officials? Embarrassment at being made to look like ogres before the world—or a desire to keep the Federal Government off their necks?

There is no real way to know, but the important thing is that the decent people of this country can make their voices heard, even in the Deep South. When they write a letter, send a telegram, or pick up a telephone, it does make a difference. If more people realized this, justice would win more often.

## U.S. Lawyers Show How Not To Win

(By Staff Correspondent)

AMERICUS, Ga. — While the civil-rights movement was winning the victories recounted at left, the U.S. Justice Department was providing a good illustration of how not to defeat Southern racists in a Federal court case here.

The case was that of Denver Edgar Short, deputy town marshal of Sasser, Ga., in nearby Terrell County, charged by the Justice Department with running three student voter-registration workers out of town at gunpoint.

This Southwest Georgia area is where interracial teams are where inter-racial teams are the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) have been braving violence and terror to register voters. (See December Patriot.) The incident with Deputy Short occurred at the end of last summer. The Justice Department filed charges in January—after widespread criticism that it was doing nothing to protect the registration campaign.

The case was crucial. Charles Sherrod, director of the SNCC (Continued on Page 4).

## Deep South Action Spurs the Southwest

By BOB ZEILNER  
(Special Correspondent)

The heroism, dedication and pure bravery exhibited by students and other militant freedom fighters in the Deep South has inspired students in the Southwest to organize and start action of their own to eliminate discrimination.

During a recent field trip through the Southwest I had a unique opportunity to gauge this effect. On a 2,000-mile trip, I visited some 15 colleges and spoke to about 330 students.

(The author of this article is on the staff of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). For more recent news of him, see page 4.)

I also spoke at two student conferences: the state conference of the Arkansas Methodist Student Movement (MSM) and the organizational conference of the new Southwest Student Action Coordinating Committee (SSACC).

One of the purposes of this tour was to promote the SSACC conference held in Dallas, Tex. I also sought to inform students of the work of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and to interest them in doing effective work in their own areas.

When I arrived at the University of Arkansas, I went to the Wesley Foundation House. As I entered the living room, I saw a

young Negro and a young white man sitting deep in conversation.

Soon I became aware that the two earnest conversationalists were discussing world peace. Reconditioned Southerner that I am, I was thrilled to see these young Americans, both from the South, discussing peace as plain, everyday human beings.

The assistant director of the Wesley House arranged a meeting for me with several students. We discussed possible projects for the University students, and I asked them what some of their problems were.

I learned that even though the school has been desegregated for several years, sports are still for white students only, some social

events are segregated and campus housing is totally segregated. The Wesley House is the only place where Negro and white students can live together.

As I am writing this several weeks later, I learn that students at the University of Arkansas are demonstrating for the removal of segregated housing. This, I think, is largely the result of the inspiration they have received from students in the Deep South who have stood up to be counted.

The Arkansas students are also negotiating for integration of theaters in Fayetteville, where the University is located. In past weeks, they have conducted sit-ins (Continued on Page 4).

**Primary Source Packet E**  
*(6 documents)*

SUBJECT FILE

Voter Registration

Reproduced below is a facsimile  
of the form currently in use for  
registration:

4/18/55  
GNB:gnb

SWORN WRITTEN APPLICATION FOR REGISTRATION

(By reason of the provisions of Section 244 of the Constitution of Mississippi and House Bill No. 95, approved March 24, 1955, the applicant for registration, if not physically disabled, is required to fill in this form in his own handwriting in the presence of the registrar and without assistance or suggestion of any other person or memorandum.)

1. Write the date of this application: \_\_\_\_\_
2. What is your full name? \_\_\_\_\_
3. State your age and date of birth: \_\_\_\_\_
4. What is your occupation? \_\_\_\_\_
5. Where is your business carried on? \_\_\_\_\_
6. By whom are you employed? \_\_\_\_\_
7. Are you a citizen of the United States and an inhabitant of Mississippi? \_\_\_\_\_
8. For how long have you resided in Mississippi? \_\_\_\_\_
9. Where is your place of residence in the district? \_\_\_\_\_
10. Specify the date when such residence began: \_\_\_\_\_
11. State your prior place of residence, if any: \_\_\_\_\_
12. Check which oath you desire to take: (1) General \_\_\_\_\_ (2) Minister's \_\_\_\_\_ (3) Minister's Wife \_\_\_\_\_ (4) If under 21 years at present, but 21 years by date of general election \_\_\_\_\_
13. If there is more than one person of your same name in the precinct, by what name do you wish to be called? \_\_\_\_\_
14. Have you ever been convicted of any of the following crimes: bribery, theft, arson, obtaining money or goods under false pretenses, perjury, forgery, embezzlement, or bigamy? \_\_\_\_\_
15. If your answer to Question 14 is "Yes", name the crime or crimes of which you have been convicted, and the date and place of such conviction or convictions: \_\_\_\_\_
16. Are you a minister of the gospel in charge of an organized church, or the wife of such a minister? \_\_\_\_\_
17. If your answer to Question 16 is "Yes", state the length of your residence in the election district: \_\_\_\_\_

18. Write and copy in the space below, Section \_\_\_\_\_ of the Constitution of Mississippi:  
(Instruction to Registrar: You will designate the section of the Constitution and point out same to applicant.)
  
19. Write in the space below a reasonable interpretation (the meaning) of the section of the Constitution of Mississippi which you have just copied:
  
20. Write in the space below a statement setting forth your understanding of the duties and obligations of citizenship under a constitutional form of government.
  
21. Sign and attach hereto the oath or affirmation named in Question 12.

\_\_\_\_\_

The applicant will sign his name here.

STATE OF MISSISSIPPI

COUNTY OF \_\_\_\_\_

Sworn to and subscribed before me by the within named \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ on this the \_\_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_

19\_\_\_\_.

\_\_\_\_\_

COUNTY REGISTRAR

# MISSISSIPPI FREE PRESS

"The Truth Shall Make You Free"

Volume One — Number Eight

Jackson, Mississippi — Saturday, February 3, 1962

10 Cents Per Copy

## Mississippi Negroes Pay Poll Tax



### Received Trophies And Certificates For Outstanding Service.

The Farish Street Branch Y.M.C.A. gave recognition to many local citizens recently, who have contributed much to the association in the form of services.

Pictured above left to right are: Mrs. Helen Williams, Mrs. James Johnson (for her husband), Mrs. Ressie Bolden, (outstanding actress), Mrs. Doristeen Levy, and Miss Rosa McClain. These individuals received in addition to the trophies, certificates for outstanding service.

Others receiving certificates for outstanding services were, Mrs. Gloria C. Brown, Miss Mary A. Cox, Mrs. Maggie Ellis, Mr. Jasper D. Frazier, Mrs. Mary C. Frazier, Mrs. Beulah Gross, Mrs. Angie Hunter, Mrs. Vera Johnson, Mrs. Jessie Mae Jones, Mrs. Wilma King, Mrs. M. O. Knox, Miss Bertha D. Willis, Mrs. Signa Dell Hayes, Mrs. Alberta Lockett, Mrs. A. M. E. Logan, Mrs. Ora Mae Marshall, Mrs. Thea Powell, Miss Essie Handle, Mrs. Ora Robinson, Mrs. Senora Robinson, Mrs. Catharine Smith, Mrs. Daisy Taylor, Mrs. Elizabeth Taylor, Mrs. Amanda Turner, Mr. Thon as L. Tillis, Mrs. Bertha Williams, Mrs. Ceolur Dixon, Mr. Lawrence C. Jones, Mrs. Sallie Anna Johnson, Mr. Charlie Borhn, Mr. A. P. Johnson, Mr. Howard Nash, Mrs. Christine McCoy, Mrs. Rosie McClain, Mr. Henry O. Rancier and Mr. Leedell Younger.

### National YMCA Week Observed With Banquet

Last week during the National Y.M.C.A. week, the Hunting and Fishing Club of the Farish Street Branch Y.M.C.A. held a banquet serving wild game.

Dr. C. C. Moseley, a member of the faculty at Jackson State College, spoke on Hunting and Fishing History and Techniques.

Mr. John B. Powell's father's home is one of the resorts in which many outings are held, as to camp life, Mr. Powell is a member of the Hunting and Fishing Club, and is also one of the officers.

The members of the Hunting and Fishing Club endorsed Mr. Briggs, candidate for Mayor of Bronzeville, with a sizable sum of money (\$18.50) and 39 votes. There were approximately seventy-five persons, that attended the banquet given by the Hunting and Fishing Club.

### Number Of Persons Paying Shows Increase

JACKSON, MISS. — Reports from the Sheriff's offices from across the state of Mississippi, indicate a sizable increase in the number of Negroes who paid their poll tax.

Hinds County reported many Negroes paying poll tax for the first time.

Some of the contributing factors to this apparent increase in the payment of poll taxes and registration, in Jackson, are the establishment of Voter Registration office at 533 1/2 N. Farish Street, the telephone calling of citizens, the urging of poll tax payment by the Free Press and the appearance of Rev. R. L. T. Smith on T. V., along with churches, individuals and organizations doing their part.

The candidacy of Rev. Theodore Trammell with his appearance on T. V. accounted for our increase in the Delta area.

The payment of poll taxes in Coahoma County became so

by another than the tax payer. It appears to be a matter that such poll taxes have been paid, and not who paid them."

### Academy Awards Program Held At Farish St. YMCA

The first Academy Awards Program was held at the Farish Street Branch Y.M.C.A. on Wednesday night of last week, at which a banquet was given honoring members of the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A.

The top honor, and first award was given to Mrs. Ressie Mae Bolden, the performance of "The Slabtown District Convention" of '61. She was awarded a beautiful sixteen-inch trophy, adorned with age old symbol of the theatre, the Masque.

Personal achievement awards were given to Mrs. Doristeen Levy, Mrs. Helen Williams, Miss Rosie McClain, and Mr. James R. Johnson.

Approximately sixty people attended the formal affair.

to take poll tax from individuals

or for someone else.

According to the election laws of Mississippi, page 4, paragraph 6 the law states: "Poll taxes may be paid so as to preserve one's qualifications as a voter.

media Walker, member of the

faculty of Jackson State College.

Mrs. Walker presented the affair with a very beautiful and educational summary of the "History of Theatre and Practical Suggestions."

### Negroes In Albany, Georgia Asked To Boycott City Busses And Downtown Stores

Albany, Georgia, — January 23 — Negroes in this South Georgia city were asked tonight to boycott the city's busses and downtown stores. The call for a boycott came after leaders of the Albany Movement — the group that initiated pre-Christmas anti-segregation demonstrations — had heard its requests rejected by the Albany City Commission.

Dr. W. G. Anderson, Albany Movement President, told a standing-room-only mass meeting that they favored two churches that local Negroes will wait for an answer from the city, "in our homes, in our churches, and in Negro businesses."

Negro leaders had asked the city to end discrimination in public facilities to honor the SC ruling, and to return money paid by Albanians for bail during the mass arrests in December. The city had earlier refused the last two requests, but had arrested Negroes who tried to use the bus station lunch room.

Charles Jones, a Field Secretary for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, told the mass meeting crowds that they would "lose all respect if they ride the buses and pay to be insulted, segregated, and disgraced."

Another SNCC Field Secretary, Charles Sherrod, asked the Negroes to "remember Miss Ola Mae Quarterman" when they think about riding a bus. Miss Quarterman was arrested three weeks ago when she took a front seat on a city bus.

The Negro community's request was presented to the city by Dr. Anderson, Marion

S. Page, Executive Secretary of the Albany Movement, Slaton King, an Albany real estate man, and Attorney C. B. King, SNCC Executive Secretary James Forman was also present at the meeting.

Anderson and Page asked the City Commission to "refrain in writing your oral agreement of December 18, 1961, that the bus and train stations will be refunded for security (signature) bonds." Page said that Negroes had been trying to meet with city officials since 1957.

### Army Official Aids Segregation

On January 30, 1962, Private Earnest McBride of Vicksburg, Mississippi, of the United States Army was arrested in Jackson's Greyhound Bus Station, on the usual charge for Negroes who use so-called "white waiting rooms in Mississippi terminal facilities, the new covered "breach of the Peace."

In a conference attended by a local Commander in charge of Army recruiting, Major Wilbur C. Marks told Private McBride, "If you can't use facilities here in Jackson without getting arrested, then I will personally show you which ones to use"—also present at the conference was a S/Sgt. Anderson also of Jackson, and Attorney R. Jess Brown of Vicksburg. In securing Private McBride's release without his consent the Army officials further warned Private McBride to not violate any more (Continued on Page Three)



REV. AND MRS. S. L. WHITNEY

### Honored With "Appreciation Program"

Members and friends of the Farish Street Baptist Church, honored the Rev. S. L. Whitney, pastor of the church, and his wife, Mrs. Hazel Whitney, Sunday, January 28, 1962 in an "Appreciation Program."

The speaker for the occasion was the pastor of the First Union Baptist Church of Meridian, Miss., the Rev. R. S. Porter.

Rev. Whitney is vice president of the Mississippi Baptist Seminary.

Jackson, Miss - Summer 1963

Remember MEDGAR EVERS



# DID HE DIE IN VAIN?

Our Struggle Will Continue For.....

- Equal Jobs
- Complete Desegregation of All Store Facilities
- Service on A First Come First Serve Basis
- Courtesy Titles (*Mr. Mrs. Miss*)

## FREEDOM MUST COME NOW!

*Register to Vote* ✦ *Stop Police Brutality*

*Medgar Evers Gave His Life to Make*

**YOU** *Free*  
*Must Not Let Him Down*

■ ■ *Don't Buy Segregation* ■ ■

SUPPORT THE *freedom* MOVEMENT

MINISTERS QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Name: \_\_\_\_\_
2. Church: \_\_\_\_\_
3. Denomination: \_\_\_\_\_
4. Address: \_\_\_\_\_
5. What area canvassed: \_\_\_\_\_
6. Number of people visited: \_\_\_\_\_
7. General Responso: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

8. Did you have any contact with white community? Explain. \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

9. Did you have any contact with police? Explain. \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

10. Give your impressions of community, evaluation of your work, what you think can be done.





# MISSISSIPPI DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY LESSON PLANS

## TEACHER EVALUATION

COMPLETE BOTH SIDES AND PLEASE MAIL OR FAX TO THE ADDRESS ON THE NEXT PAGE. THANK YOU!

TEACHER NAME \_\_\_\_\_

SCHOOL NAME & ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

EMAIL (OPTIONAL) \_\_\_\_\_

TOTAL NUMBER OF STUDENTS \_\_\_\_\_ GRADE LEVEL \_\_\_\_\_

LESSON TITLE *The Primary Sources of Freedom Summer*

1. In your opinion, did this unit elicit better than average student response; if so, how?
2. Which segments of the unit exceeded your students' attention span?
3. Will this unit be of assistance to you in developing future classroom activities; if so, how?
4. How did this unit add to your earlier teaching on the same subject?
5. Would this teaching unit be handier to use as a:  
\_\_\_ multi-day unit      \_\_\_ multi-week unit      \_\_\_ other
6. Were the activities and lessons appropriate for your students? How?

Please rate the following lesson materials and activities by circling the appropriate number.

4=excellent, 3=good, 2=average, 1=inadequate

<u>Directions and Notes</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
<u>Curricular Connections</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
<u>Student Worksheets</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
<u>Interactive Activities</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
<u>Historic Images</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
<u>References and Resources</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>

<u>Activity One: Working With and Understanding Primary Sources</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
<u>Activity Two: Sing It!</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
<u>Activity Three: Roll Camera</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
<u>Extension Activities</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
<u>Overall Unit</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>

We would appreciate any additional comments on this teaching unit and any suggestions for improvement. Comments may be entered in the space below.

**Museum Division**  
**Mississippi Department of Archives and History**  
P.O. Box 571, Jackson, MS 39205  
Phone: 601-576-6800 Fax: 601-576-6815  
[outreachprograms@mdah.ms.gov](mailto:outreachprograms@mdah.ms.gov)