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.

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“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 or 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.
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. ________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________________________

Would these sources be considered national or local news? Why? _________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________________________

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

_____________________________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________________________

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

_____________________________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________________________

NAME _______________________________________________________________ DATE _______________
NAME __________________________________________ DATE __________

How do these sources relate to Mississippi history? ____________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________________________

How can the information in these sources affect us in the future? ________________________________
________________________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________________________

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

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

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Primary Source Packet A
(8 documents)
Some suggested names for membership on CDGH Board

Sydney Geiger
Dr. Oscar H. Hubbard
Pres. George A. Owens
Dean Ralph E. Huffer
Chaplain R. Edwin King
Dr. Robert Smith
Dr. A. B. Britton
Dr. Robert E. Bergmark
Dr. R. Edgar Moore
Mrs. Lillian Burnstein
Rev. Henry W. McKay, Jr.
Dr. S. Leon Whitney

Delta Steel Company
University Medical School
Tougaloo College
Tougaloo College
Tougaloo College
Physician
Physician
Millsaps College
Millsaps College
Research & Development
Ascension Lutheran Church
Parish St.-Baptist Church
CHILD DEVELOPMENT GROUP of MISSISSIPPI

210 SOUTH LAMAR STREET  290 MILNER BUILDING
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI 39201

13 July '66

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 G.E. 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 case 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. G.E. 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.

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, or 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 institution of CDGM.

Respectfully,

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

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 preschool 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 coordinated 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.

[Diagram of institution relationships]

MDAH Archives and Records Services.
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 I 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 tomorrow’s 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 meant 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 furthest 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.

CDMG 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 employees 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 Mississippian 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.

Date and paper unknown. MDAH Archives and Records Services.
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 9,135 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.

(But that this...
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 study-
ing 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 mat-
ter before saying anything about it.

The size of the grant was a
major victory for the Child-De-
velopment 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
$8.7 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 profession-
als and 2,300 non-professionals.

The CDGM last year conduct-
ed 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

ball out Headstart employees
arrested during civil rights demo-

Date and paper unknown.
MDAH Archives and Records
Services.

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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 $6.5 million grant to CDGM for a new Headstart program, the senator charged the group with mismanagement 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 be “financially responsible and capable of administering the funds given to them.”

The Dixie solon voiced the opinion that the new CDGM grant demonstrates “remarkable” poor judgement on the part of the state by local officials and 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 $6.5 million new grant than it was to account for properly and administer the first grant of $1.5 million.”

Stennis pointed out that management, leaders and board members of CDGM are the same who he said “mislabeled” one-third of the first grant. It is the same group that operated from Mt. Rainier 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 discerned.”

MANY APPLICANTS

Observing that many applications by “competent” state organizations are now pending if 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” organization would “undermine and destroy the plishments 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 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 are squandered or mismanaged, or mis-spent or mis-appropriated, will not be on the hands and consciences of concerned Mississippians. Sound, capable leaders stand ready to respond. If these leaders are spurred 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 GET ______

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 CDSM HEADSTART HELP YOU? ______

IS HEADSTART NEEDED ______

SHOULD OTHER (PUBLIC OR GAP) 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 WHEREEVER 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 THRESHOLD 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 third 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 Humphreys, 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 through out 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:

- 2 -
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 workshops which will meet needs of freedom organizations and community groups which have a democratic bases of operation.
E. 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 consultation.
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

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:

- GRANTEE
  - DIRECTOR
    - BOOKKEEPER-SECRETARY
      - 1 TO 20 GROUP LEADERS
      - LEADERSHIP TRAINING DIRECTOR
      - LEADERSHIP TRAINING INSTITUTE
VIII. Proposed Training Outline:

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
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 necessary, 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 Jackson. “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 bi-racial 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 bond issue.

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.
NOTE: Taken from the Jackson Clarion Leader.

Active leadership on the move, can make a change in the structure.
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.
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<td>2,850</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*NOTE: Whitley is a Negro candidate.*

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.
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 (CBGM) 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 state workers in Bolton is giving leadership to a drive to rebuild the community center. There are a number of smaller communities located around Bolton if the center is to be reconstructed there must be cooperation.

We recommend Mrs. Estella Herd be the contact and leadership 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 volunteer bases. This was for (12) weeks. She is presently working with people to rebuild the center. At present Mrs. Herd is coordinating the fund raising 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 an 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.
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 Nego 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 thir 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.
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
Behind the Cotton Curtain

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.
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
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 4% 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?
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.
Behind the Cotton Curtain

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 Negroses 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.
I asked a high United States government official why in the burning of all 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.
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 just 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
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 from the “Summer of 1964” returned to Mississippi for the “Mississippi Freedom Summer: A Fifteen Year Perspective on Progress in Race Relations 1964-1979.” The symposium, which revisited the summer when Mississippi was catapulted into the national spotlight, as persons from inside and outside, demanded their God-given rights from this nation. The conference 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 conferences 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 Irown, Jackson Civil Rights attorney; Joyce Ladner, Professor of Sociology at Hunter College; Charles Evers, mayor of Fayette; and 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 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 was 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 second-handed,” she said.

Mrs. Hudson also expressed the concern that many persons interwoven into 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 Universi-


“Freedom Summer 1964” Revisited

By L.C. Dorsey

We were back again to the past
Remembering the “movement” and the summer of ’64
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 executing 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, everyday looking to make a buck
or for the almighty revolutionary
“roll in the hay,”
Nor really ready to die for anybody’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 ’64 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 radicals for all to see
and endorse repression of poor people, in our names
cause “freedom” (or 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 themselves 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
and we all lose
Lose 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)
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 organizations across the country.

GADSDEN, ALABAMA - SNCC Executive Committee member Frank Halloway 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 weekend 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 interference to avoid integration of the University of Alabama.

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, restaurants, 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 COANH 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 ane bone from the plate under the bowl, which I had discarded, which had consequently some meat on it. The hand was back, five seconds later, grogging 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, 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 act her free..."

from Willie Pleas 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; acts, 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, 501 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!
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, Wilkinson’s 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!

MDAH Archives and Records Services.
BOYCOTT! BOYCOTT! BOYCOTT! BOYCOTT!

BOYCOTT

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

BAGBY HALL MOTORS
(Mercury)

FOWLER BUICK
(Buick)

JITNEY JUNGLER
(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 headlines reverberate around the nation. The Mississippi boycott, one of the most significant events in the civil rights movement, is led by the Mississippi Organization of Negroes (MNO), a coalition of local civil rights organizations. The boycott targeted the disfranchisement of African Americans in Mississippi, particularly in the city of Jackson.

Every business in the pro-NAACP area of Jackson—downtown Capital City under boycott,—also exerted other businesses in neighboring areas. In all, 1,273 businesses established a boycott of Jackson businesses, with a total population of about 100,000. The boycott's significance was such that it brought national attention to the civil rights struggle in Mississippi.

The Southern Patriotic

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 its legal impact but as an illustration of the power of organized protest against injustice.

One was the case of Clyde Kennard, a young Negro who was sentenced to seven years in prison on a charge of chicken-fish theft after he tried to register at Mississippi Southern University (January 16).

Kennard, who is colorblind, was caught in a legal trap that denied him the right to vote. He was eventually released after a year as a result of a Supreme Court decision.

The other case concerned two members of the NAACP who were arrested at a political meeting in Jackson. The NAACP, through its Legal and Educational Fund, has been instrumental in securing the release of these individuals.

We invite you to read about these victories, and to see how they have been achieved.

See Special Supplement

With this issue, the Southern Patriotic publishes a special supplement on the operation of the Freedom Rides in Mississippi. This move is one of many designed to test the limits of the law and to draw attention to the issue.

Avery L. Hays, former of the NAACP, called it a "victory for all the people of this nation who have been denied their rights in the past.

People answered the arrest word to show solidarity with the demonstrators and the cause. They were encouraged to protest peacefully and non-violently.

What really happened? Papers of some of the participants have been released to the public. It is hoped that these papers will encourage others to join in the struggle for justice.

Deep South Action Spurs the Southwest

By ROY FEFFER (Southern Conference)

The heroism, dedication, and sheer tenacity of the Mississippi freedom fighters is in the Deep South. It has inspired students to action in the Southwest and to join forces in the construction of a mass movement.

After two years of organization, the students of the Southwest have organized to start the same organization in Mississippi. The Deep South Freedom riders were established to help the students organize in Mississippi.

I also spoke at the University of California at Los Angeles, where the students are organizing for the same end. The students at the University of California have also organized a freedom ride to Mississippi.

The students at the University of California have also organized a freedom ride to Mississippi. I was thrilled to see that young Americans, both from the South and from the North, are coming together to fight for justice.

My assistant director of the Washington Bureau, who were with me in Mississippi, were able to get into the student organizations and to work with them. We distributed books and pamphlets to the students, and we helped them with their problems.

I learned that even though the school has been desegregated for several years, some students are still white only, and some events are segregated and campus housing is totally segregated. The students in the Northwest are the only place where Negroes and white students can live together.

As I was writing this I was told that students at the University of Arkansas are demonstrating for the removal of segregated housing. I think this is largely the result of the inspiration they have received from the students in the Deep South who have stood up and been counted.

The Mississippi students are also organizing for integration of the University, and in the next few months the University will be located in a new campus.
Primary Source Packet E
(6 documents)
Reproduced below is a facsimile of the form currently in use for registration:

S.WORN WRITTEN APPLICATION FOR REGISTRATION

(By reason of the provisions of Section 264 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: ____________________________

MDAH Archives and Records Services.
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 Negroes Pay Poll Tax

Received Trophies and Certificates For Outstanding Service.

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

National YMCA Week Observed With Banquet

Army Official Aids Segregation

MDAH Archives and Records Services.
Remember MEDGAR EVERD

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 Response:

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.
DAILY V-R CANVASS REPORT

Date: ____________________

1. Name of Canvasser in Charge: ________________________________

2. Members of Team: ____________________________

3. No. of Homes Visited: ____  4. No. of Persons Contacted: ____

5. General Area Covered: ________________________________

6. No. of Persons who Promised to Register: _______________

7. No. of Persons who Refused to Register: ________________

8. Were you cordially received?: _______________

9. Did you have difficulty in getting people to fill out the Freedom Registration Forms? ________________

10. What are the basic fears of those contacted?: ________________________________

11. What, in your opinion, can be done to counteract these fears?: ________________________________

12. Your reaction to the attitude of those contacted:

13. Your suggestions, comments and recommendations:

(use back of sheet if necessary)
1. Fill out canvass sheets in detail.

2. When canvassing, explain:
   a. Freedom Registration and Freedom Democratic Party
   b. Freedom Schools
   c. Community Centers
   d. Registration at Court House
   e. Local Mass Meetings (tell them the times and places for a specific week)
   f. County-wide Mass Meetings
   g. Other things that come up from time to time
   A canvasser should be thoroughly briefed on all these items before he is allowed to begin canvassing. Be sure that he has adequate information on all aspects of the local situation.

3. A canvasser should note any incidents of harassment of which he is told. This information must be in detail to be of any value in court proceedings. Time, place, who, what, why, etc.

4. Make a list at the end of each day of those who have said they will go down to the Court House to attempt to register the following day. Go with them if necessary. Keep track of what happens to them.

5. Rural areas should take Freedom Registration Forms to Canton whenever there are enough to make it worthwhile. Whether in the Rural areas or in Canton, these forms should be kept in a secure place at all times and never at any time under any circumstances be allowed to just lie around. Before these forms are sent on from Canton, a card file should be made so we know who has signed the Freedom Registration Form after we no longer have the signed form in hand. These cards should also be kept in a secure place.

6. All information from the canvass sheets should be put on 3 x 5 cards. The name, street address and phone number should be on the front. Comments should be on the reverse side. Make a card for each individual. Do not use only one card per family.

   Categories for the card file:
   - To Register on Certain Date
   - To Register on Certain Date Alone
   - Talk to at a Special Time
   - Very Interested
   - Partly Interested
   - Not Interested
   - Have Registered
   - Registered—Not Checked
   - Interested in Citizenship Classes
   - other needed categories

7. The card files for Freedom Registration Forms and for Voter Registration are two entirely separate files.

8. Be sure to sign out and sign in whenever you leave the office to canvass and when you return.

9. other items as needed.
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

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

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

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