



insure domestic

and wir Posterily,

"Mississippi is the stronghold of the whole vicious system of segregation. If we can crack Mississippi, we will likely be able to crack the system in the rest of the country."

- SNCC chairman John Lewis, July 1964

vide for the common defence, promote the general Here I establish this Constitution for the United States of A

MARKER.I.







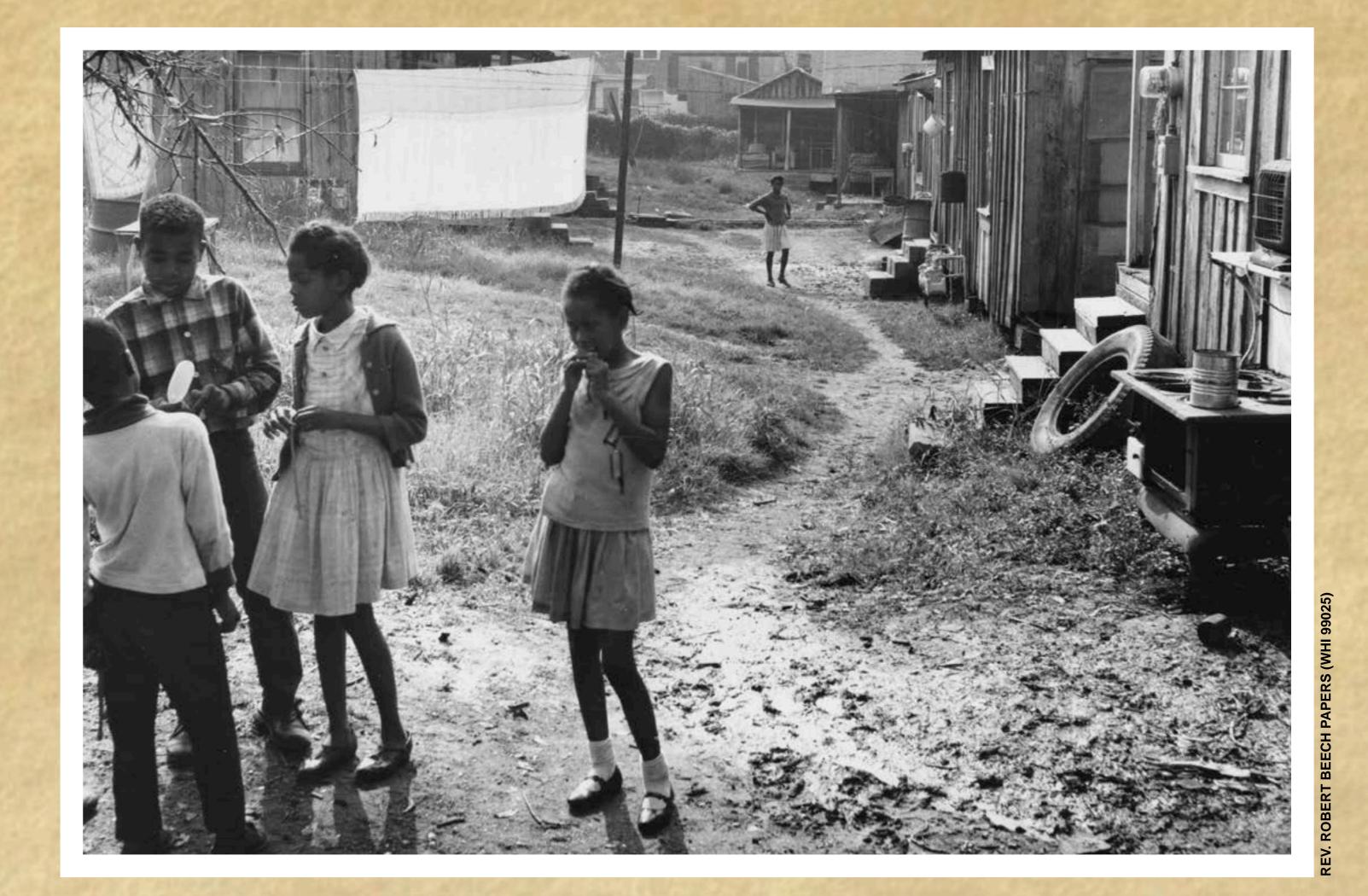
Sharecroppers picking cotton

It Wasn't About Bus Seats

"When you talk about violence, you're just talking about what goes on in Mississippi regularly. That's a part of its history, its culture."

Sometimes people think the civil

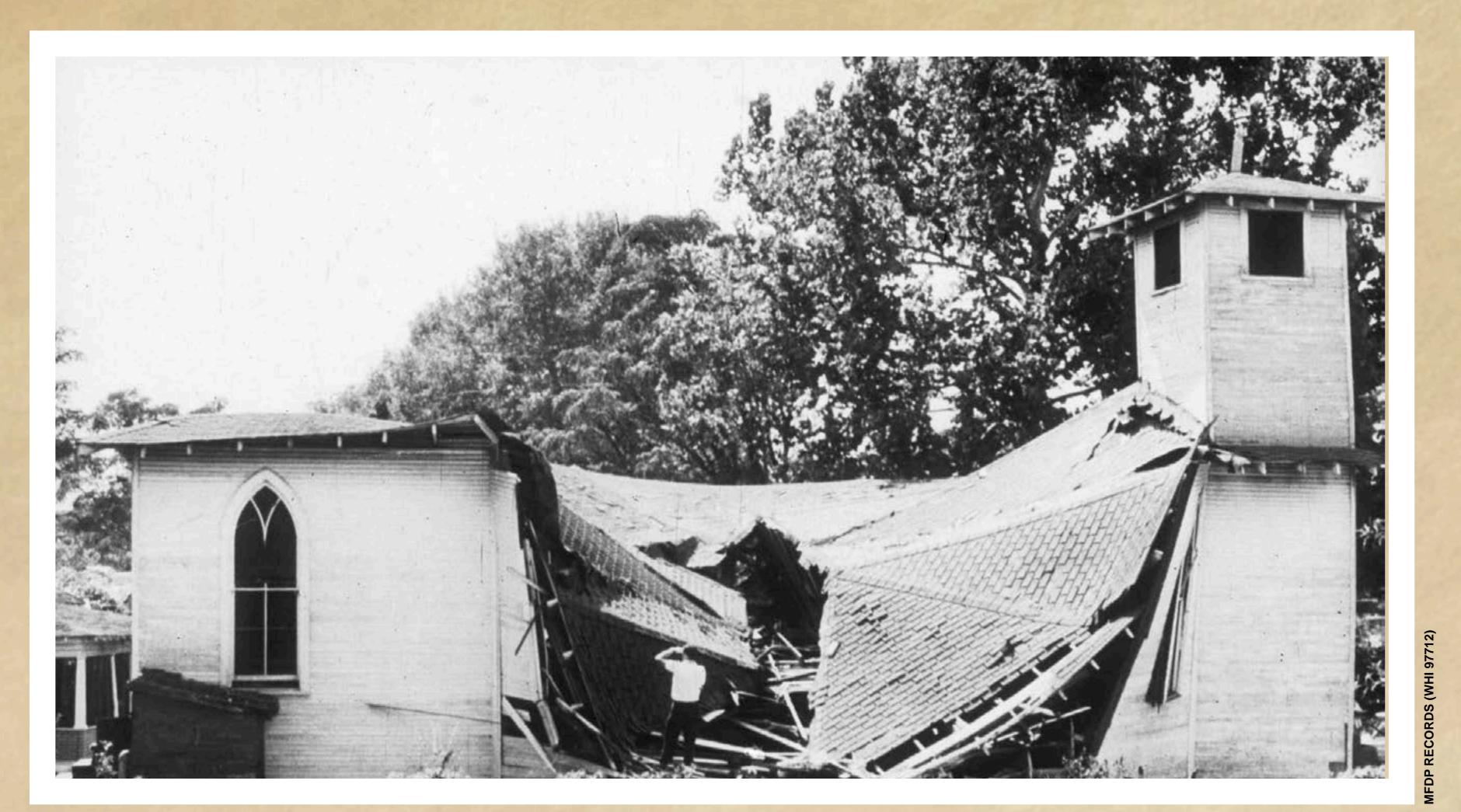
rights movement was about who got to sit at the front of the bus. Actually, in Mississippi it was about the brutal exploitation of one half of society by the other half.



— Annie Devine, Canton, Miss.

A black neighborhood in Natchez

In 1960, almost half of Mississippi's residents were African American. State law kept them apart from whites in neighborhoods, schools, and jobs.





Society Hill Missionary Baptist Church in McComb, bombed by the Ku Klux Klan

Police enforcing segregation

Black people who fought back were fired from their jobs, thrown out of their homes, beaten, jailed, tortured, and even killed. Their homes and churches were fire-bombed. Leaders made sure that black people had the lowest wages, poorest houses, and harshest lives. Most white Mississippians thought this was normal. Racism was state law.

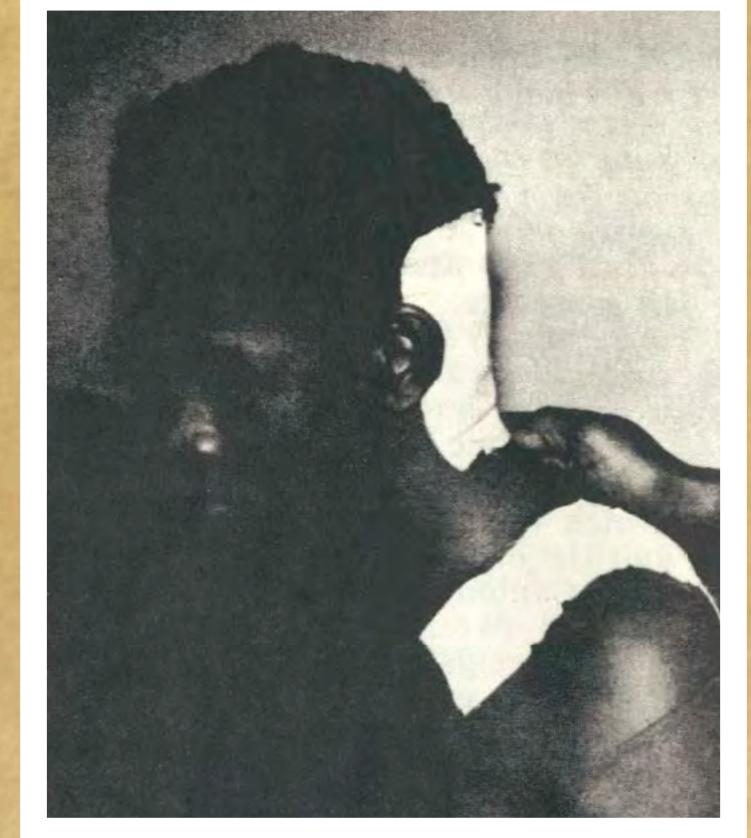






Rice and Din

Bob Moses, Julian Bond, Curtis (Hayes) Muhammad, Willie Peacock, Hollis Watkins, Amzie Moore and E.W. Steptoe, 1963



For decades, many African Americans had fought segregation in Mississippi.

Jimmie Travis, shot outside Greenwood, Feb. 28, 1963

"When you speak out, somebody's there to crush you ... There's too many things happened to me. This country

ought to wake up."

- Fannie Lou Hamer, Ruleville, Miss.

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

I. Cronology for the past two years:

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

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

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

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

> Bob Moses' review of work in Mississippi 1961-63

I, Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, 4 Neuro, Being Duly swon and dependent: to-wit:

I am 46 years of age, and reside in Ruleville, Junflower County. My mailing address is 626 East Jafayette St., and I amarri- to Mr. Perry Hamper.

On the 9th of June, 963 Mrs. Malle Ponder, and eight other to an were returning from a voter registration workshop which had been in South Carolina, We were on a a Continental Trailway bus- mich a set at Winona, Montgomery County, at the bus station. Annella Ponder, and others of our party, including, James West, from its 1998, Rosemary Freeman, from near Greenwood, June Johnson, a 15 old girl, when got off the bus to go to the rest room. Ino, the rest room. Simpson and Ruth Day , also of our party , ot off the bus to se the rest room. I remained on the bus.

The four that got off the bus to go the the restaurant - and had mone to the "white side" of the restaurant were comine pro: to to bus. I got off the bus and asked them "what beppened". They wid th t there were some policemen and high-patrolmen in there. And the said policemen with billy-clubs told frem to get out of there. I said that this can be reported and Annelle said, "Yes/I am hint to get the tag number". The four of them were standing outside to get the tag number -and svester Simpson was standing with them calling when all five of them were put in the patrol-car, bick I thick as the high-way patrolman ber, he also was the one giving orders.

I got off the bus when all at once, an officer from the patrol car - mid"get that one too". A county-deputy, Earl Wane Patric and one more got of the car and opened the door to his car and said "you are under arrest". I was going into the car when this Patric "kicked me" me into the car. While driving me to the jail, they were questioning and calling me "bitch".

"e got to the jail, I saw ell five of the shove in the booking room. As soon as I got to the booking room, a tall policeman welked over to James West and jumped hand on Jamas est Peet.

I was led into a room - a cell- with Evester Simpson. While I was in the cellin, I could hear screaming and the passing of licks. Pretty soon, I several whitemen bringing Annelle Ponder past my cell-she was holding onto the joil walls-ber clothers all torn-her mouth all swelled up and her eyes were all bloody- one eye looking like itself.

After a while they came for me. John L. Bassinger, a high-way patrol man(his name on a metal plate on his pocket), The police an who had jumped on James West feet, and another policeman. with a crew-cut beircut.

> Winona police torture Fannie Lou Hamer, June 9, 1963

ARTIAL LIST OF RACIAL M 963 - William Moore, Gadston, Alabama New Orleans, Louisiana CORE worker, shot to death Shot to death by police on Freedom Walk officer Assailant arrested, NO No arrest, NO CONVICTION CONVICTION January, 1964 - Lewis Al-June, 1963 - Medgar Evers, len, Negro, 40's Negro, 30's Liberty, Mississippi Shot to death at his home; Jackson, Mississippi had witnessed a white NAACP Field Secretary, shot to death at his home for state representative kill a Negro in 1961; murder civil rights activities Assailant, Byron De La Beckfollowed 2 years of cons-. with, member of White Cistant harrassment; victim had asked for federal protizens Council, arrested, tection, but was refused. 2 trials, hung juries, No arrests, NO CONVICTIONS NO CONVICTION September, 1963 - Carol Ro-February, 1964 - 1 woman, 2 men, Negro, 20's or bertson, Negro, 14; Cynthia Wesley, Negro, 14; Addie Mae Collins, Negro, 30°s

14: Denise McNair, Negro, Birmingham, Alabama Killed in church bombing

No arrests, NO CONVICTION September, 1963 - Virgil

Ware, Negro, 13 Birmingham, Alabama Shot to death by two teenage boys, white, while riding his bicycle

11.

Assailants arrested, Suspended sentence

binson, Negro, 16 Birmingham, Alabama Shot to death in the back by police officer in "selfdefense" No arrest, NO CONVICTION

September, 1963 - John Coley, Negro, 20 Birmingham, Alabama Veteran, shot to death by police No arrest, NO CONVICTION

Woodville, Mississippi Shot to death in a parked No arrest, NO CONVICTION March, 1964 - Man, Negro, 40's Natchez, Mississippi Shot to death at night in

No arrest, NO CONVICTION June, 1964 - Michael Schwerner, white, 24 James Chaney, Negro, 21 Andrew Goodman, white,

.12

September, 1963 - James Ro-Philadelphia, Miss. Beaten and shot to death for civil rights activities Several arrests, including law-enforcement

officials; NO CONVICTIONS July, 1964 - 2 men, Neg-

roes, 19, 20 Southwest Mississippi Half-bodies found in river * * * *

A partial list of racist murders, 1963-65

Some, like Clyde Kennard, Lamar Smith, Herbert Lee, and Medgar Evers, had paid for it with their lives.

But the U.S. government refused to get involved.

Then, in the early 1960s, young people decided to try to change everything.









"The only attack worth making is an attack aimed at the overthrow of the existing political structures of the state. They must be torn down completely – to make way

Leaders of SNCC and CORE* decided that the ballot box was the only

way to end injustice in Mississippi. They invited northern volunteers

Freedom Summer offices, 1964

for new ones."

- Bob Moses, Sept. 1963

NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE FOR IMMEDIATE RELEAS RAYMOND STREET, N. W. March 20, 1964 ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30314

MISSISSIPPI SUMMER PROJECT LAUNCHED

JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI - "At least 2,000" full time civil rights workers

will conduct voter registration and political education programs in

Mississippi this summer, according to civil rights worker Robert Moses.

The announcement of the "Mississippi Summer Project" came from a

day-long conference of the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO)

here March 15. COFO is a coalition of national and local civil rights

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

COFO plans call for Freedom Summer operation in twenty-nine locations scattered throughout the state's five congressional districts. -30-

"Mississippi Summer Project Launched" (SNCC press release), March 10, 1964

to help try to register black voters during the summer of 1964.

Project:	Project:		
	Helly Enminge (Marchell		
Columbus	Holly Springs (Marshall, Panola,		
Staff:	Lafayette) Staff:		
Emma Bell (SNCC)			
Frank Smith (SNCC)	Cleveland Sellers (SNCC		
Donald White (SNCC)	Larry Rubin (SNCO		
Jerry Austin (SNCC)	Ivanhoe Donaldson (SNCC Pamela Jones (SNCC		
Willie Blue (SNCC) Melvin Carter (SNCC)	Pamela Jones (SNC) Gwen Gillon (SNC)		
Melvin Carter (SNCC)	and the second se		
<u>Volunteers</u> :	<u>Volunteers</u> :		
Ron Bridgeforth	Andrea Barker		
Isaac Coleman	Jim Morrison		
Bruce Glushakow	Jon Davies		
Warren Galloway	to arrestates		
Robert Lavelle	Emily Gordon		
	David Trimble		
	Karin Kunstler		
and the second se	John Shettlesby		
	Steven Fraser Carl Pomerance		
	Frank Cieciorka		
	Joseph Murphy		
	John Strand		
	Christopher Williams		
	Elwood Berry Geoffrey L. Cowan		
Project:	Greenwood Project Cont.		
Greenwood (Tallahatchie,	James Forman (SNCC)		
Carrol, Montgomery, Holmes)	Cortland Cox (SNCC)		
Staff:	John Lewis (SNCC)		
The second se	Ruth Howard (SNCC)		
Hollis Watkins (SNCC)	Willie Shaw (SNC6)		
Freddy Green (SNCC) Eli Zeretsky (SNCC)	Volunteers:		
Eli Zeretsky (SNCC) Carol Mathews (SNCC)	Voluntoorb.		
Albert Garner (SNCC)	Bambi Brown		
Doris Wilson (SNCC)	William Hodes		
Stokeley Carmichael (SNCC)	Paul Klein		
Dick Frey (SNCC)	Robert Masters		
Beb Zellner (SNCC) Betty Garman (SNCC)	Philip Moore John Paul		
Betty Garman (SNCC) Mathew Hughes (SNCC)	Carol Kornfield		
Mary Lane (SNCC)	Ray Torkington		
Dorothy Zellner (SNCC)	Daniel Klein		
Willie McGhee (SNCC)			
Judy Richardson (SNCC)			

Tentative project assignments, June 1964

S.N.C.C. Mississippi Project cont. page 3

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

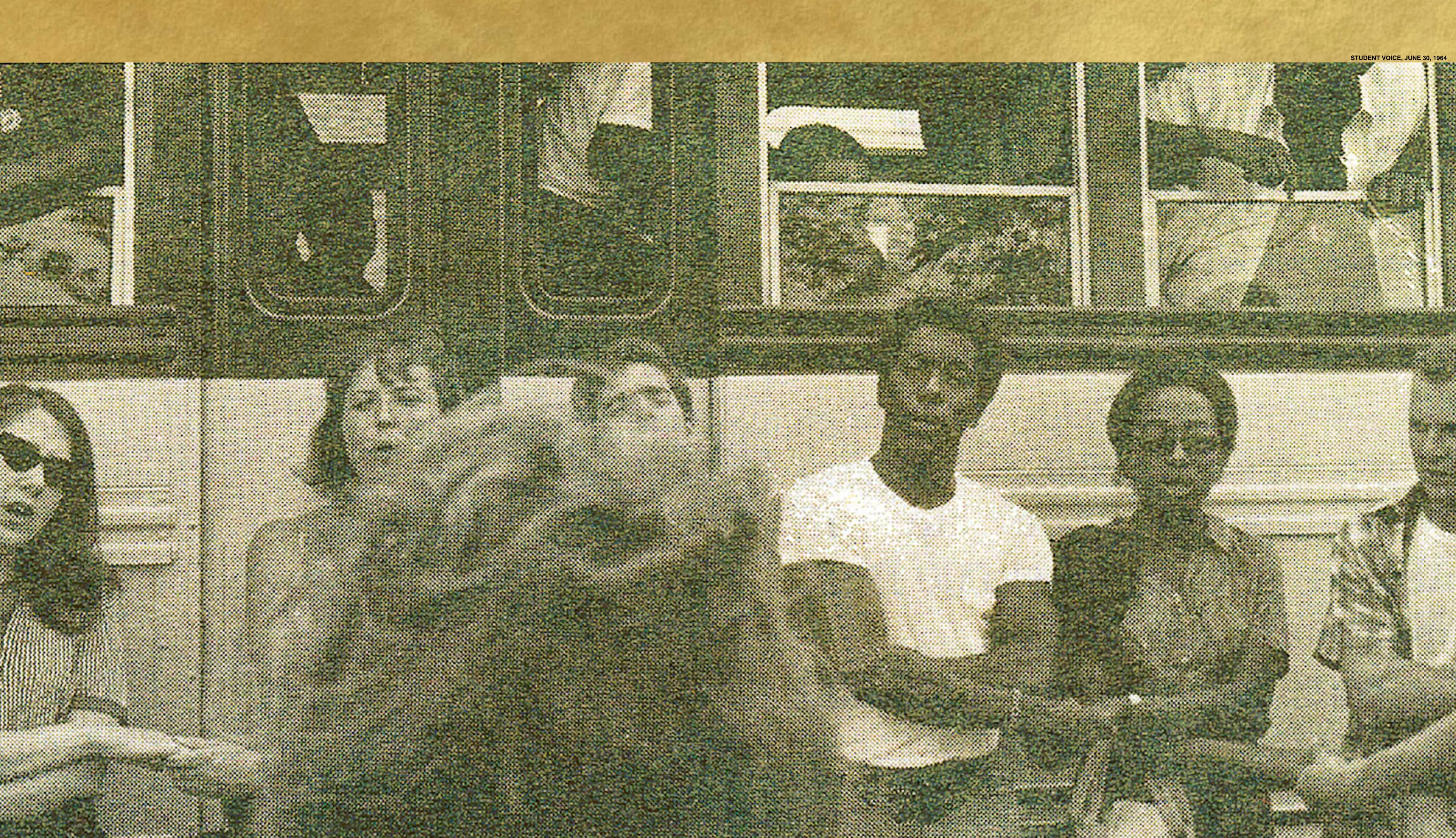
Bob Moses proposes a summer project, Sept. 1963

They also planned to start Freedom Schools for kids, community centers for poor families, and a new political party to oppose the racist system. Bob Moses and Dave Dennis led the project.

* SNCC = Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee. CORE = Congress of Racial Equality.







Volunteers leave for Mississippi, June 22, 1964

SECURITY HANDBOOK

1. Communications personnel will act as security officers.

2. Travel

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Living at Home or in Freedom Houses

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

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

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

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

Security advice provided to volunteers, June 1964

"They had to be prepared to go to jail, they had to be prepared to be beaten, and they had to be prepared to be killed."

— Hollis Watkins, SNCC staff

NONVIOLENCE

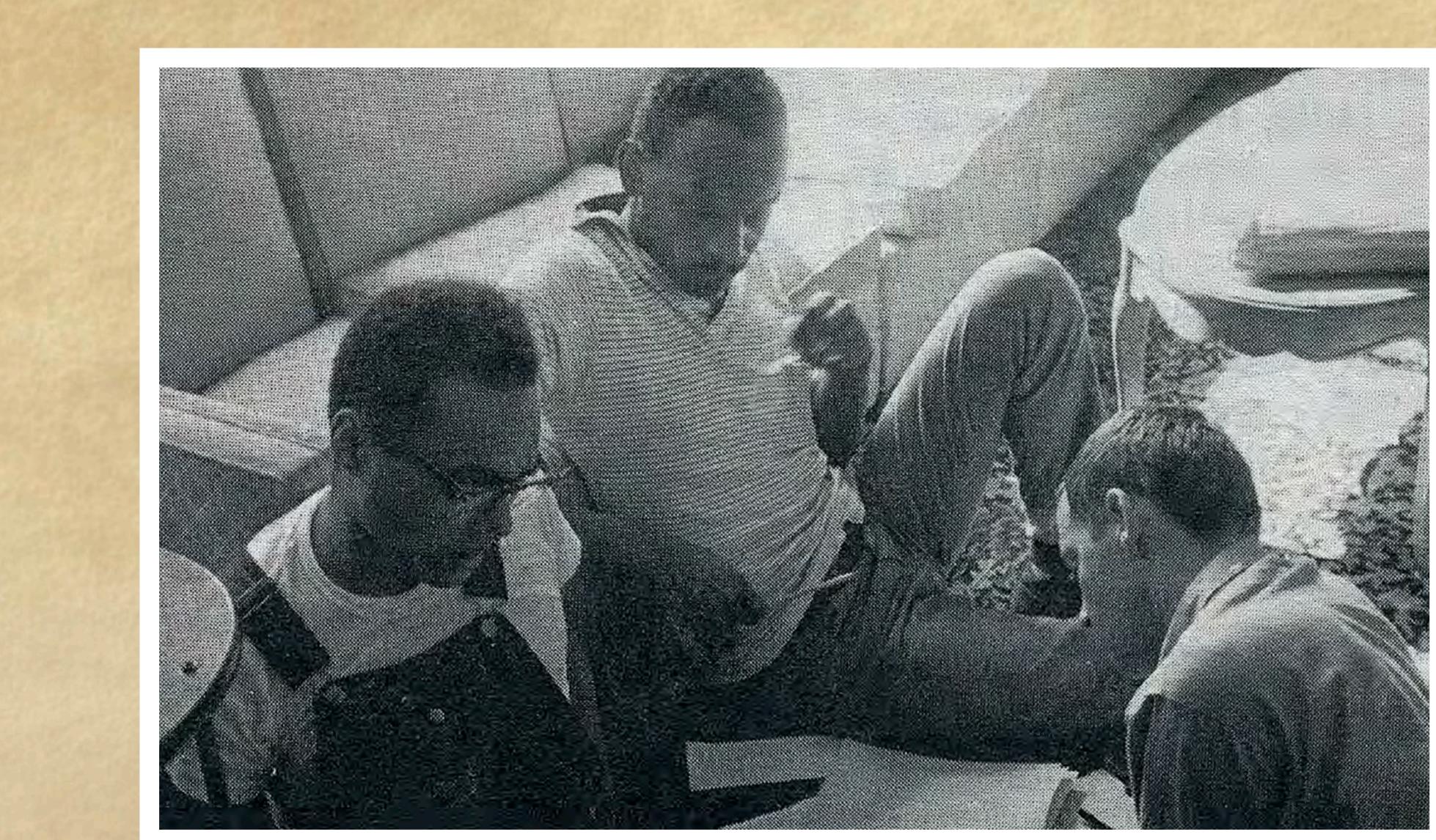
Non-viclence is a deliberate way of securing social change and of reaching others. It is active, not passive. It sometimes looks passive, when those who receive violence refuse to retaliate. Their refusal is a positive act of communication. They are saying to the other person that regardless of what he does, they believe that he is the temporary victim of an evil or negative force, but that but that if he wants to, he can, overcome that force. Their own refusal to retaliate encourages him to try, and shows him that it is possible.

Practicing non-violence requires discipline in order to keep control in the face of provocation. If we retaliate with violence, we convert our struggle into a test of physical strength. But our whole purpose is to make society behave in a more responsible - which means a more moral - way. Thus we exert moral force in order to bring about a moral response in others, and thus a more moral society. If we act irresponsible, we confirm the prejudices of those who want to deny our rights because they claim we are incaple of exercising them morally and responsibly. If we act responsibly, we do more than to repudiate that argument, and to persuade others that we do have the capacity to act justly and correctly. We also strengthen ourselves - we confirm by our actions, our belief in ourselves and our values, and our readiness to put our legitimate rights and privileges to proper use.

Non-violence is a way of speaking to others and to ourselves. We must continue to speak while we act, and never close the door to a dialogue with the rest of the community. Non-violence testifies to our readiness always to speak in a spirit of constructive conciliation and cooperation. There are six maxims of non-violent behavior.

- 1. Our attitude toward officials and others who may oppose us will be one of sympathetic understanding of the burdens and responsibilities they
- No matter what the circumstances or provocation, we will not respond with physical violence to acts directed against us.
- 3. We will not call names or make hostile remarks 4. We will adhere as closely as we are able to the letter and spirit of
- truth in our spoken and written statements.
- 5. We will always try to speak to the best in all men, rather than seeking to exploit their weaknesses to what we may believe is our advantage.
- 6. We will always attempt to interpret as clearly as possible to anyone with whom we are in contact --- and especially to those who may oppose us -- the purpose and meaning of our actions.

Nonviolence explained to volunteers, June 1964



Bob Moses, Jesse Morris, and Mendy Samstein discuss orientation, June 1964

More than 900 Northern college students came to Mississippi for the summer of 1964. They worked under 120 SNCC and CORE staff.

More than 60,000 black residents went to meetings,

In June 1964, the northern volunteers learned how to fight racism at week-long training workshops in Ohio. SNCC and CORE veterans taught them about life in Mississippi and nonviolence. They learned how to protect themselves, how to sign up new voters, and how to teach in Freedom Schools.

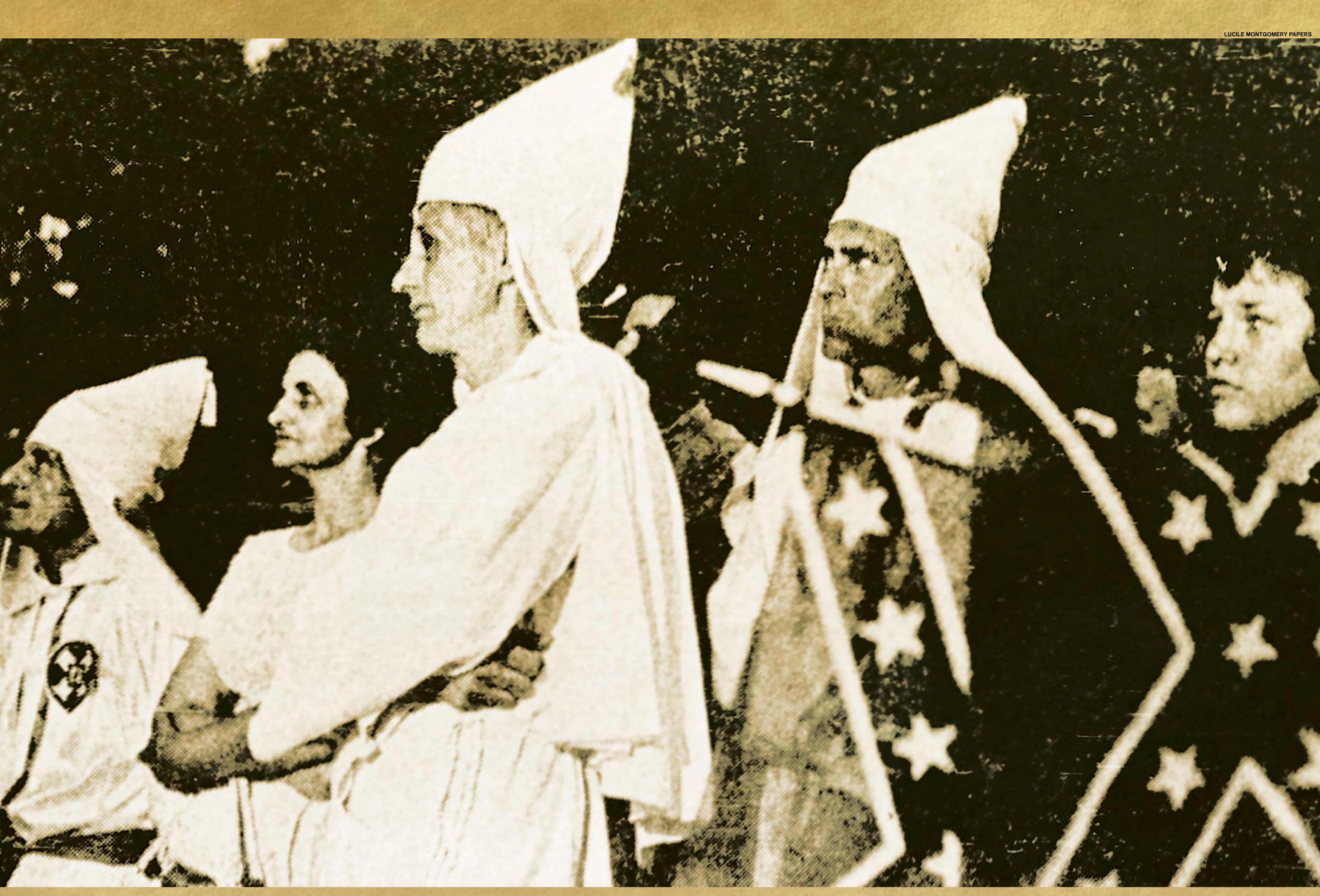
marched in demonstrations, and voted in an unofficial election. Hundreds of them risked their lives by letting volunteers stay in their homes.

The campaign became known later as "Freedom Summer."

Then they packed into cars and buses, drove all night, and spread out across Mississippi.







Unidentified gathering of the Ku Klux Klan

"We're going to be ready for them. They won't have a chance."

Facing Offi

- Mayor Allen Thompson, Jackson, Miss.

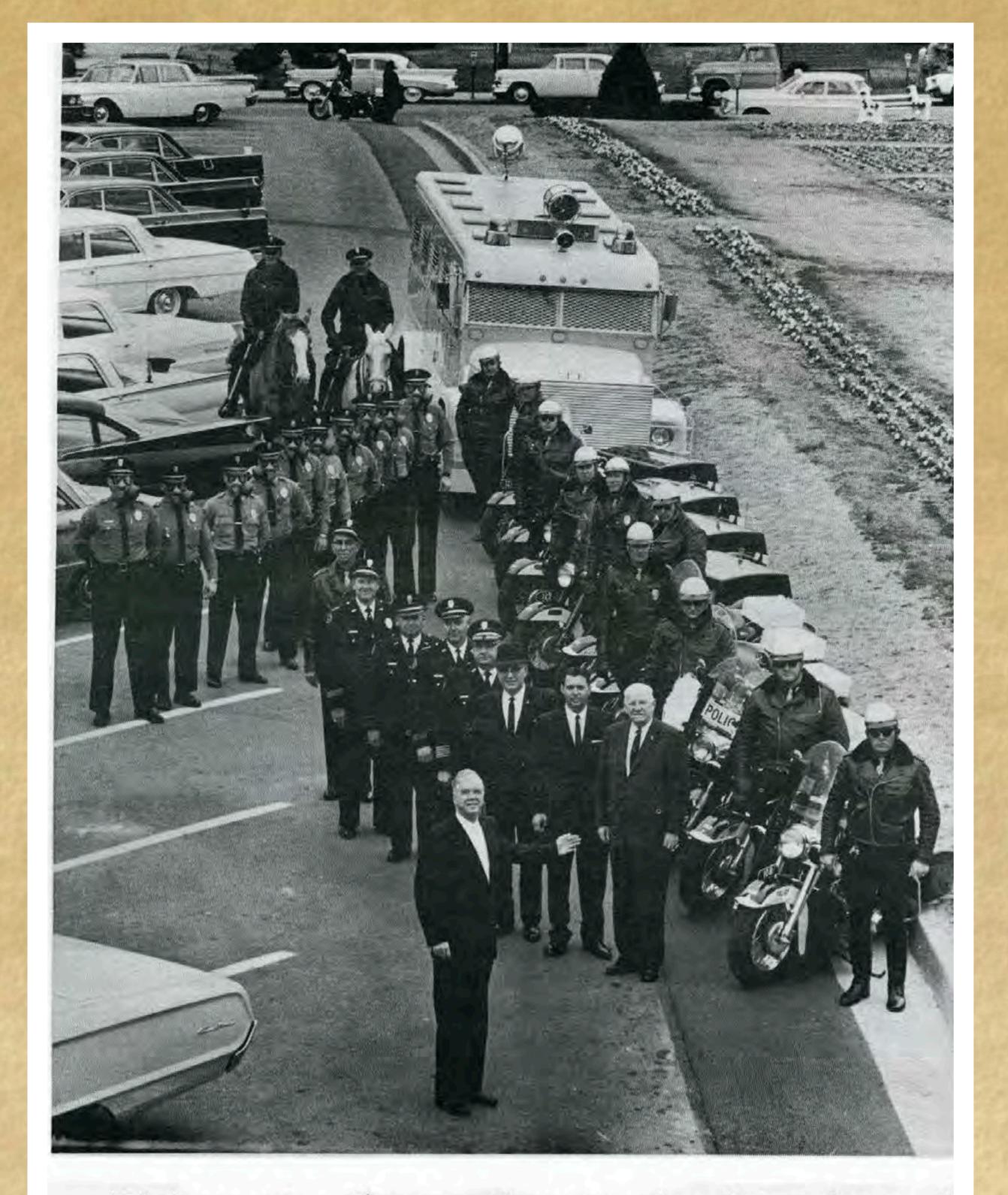
NUNTING "U ARY--PAGE 20

INCIDENT SUMMARY-JULY 31, 1964

<u>Findon</u> The Pleasant Grove Missionary Baptist Church, located on old Highway 80, approximately 3 miles from Brandon, burned to the ground last night. The fire department came to the scene and left before the fire was put out, stating they had "been called too late." A butane tank was buried next to the church. The wooden frame building burnt to the ground. FBI began investigating the burning as soon as notified.

<u>Carthage</u>: The Reverend Maward K. Heininger, a National Council of Churches volunteer from De Noines, Iowa, and John Polacheck, a summer volunteer from Vilwaukee and a Harvard student, were brutally beaten in the office of a Dr. Thaggard, Sr. in Madden (small town near Carthage) today. Polacheck had gone to the clinic yesterday (July 30) for medical treatment, but left when he was told to go to the Negro waiting room (he is white). He came back today with the minister, and both were met in the waiting foor by the doctor who began berating Heininger for his civil rights work. Thile they were talking, Heininger was hit from behind. Polacheck estimates that between 5 and 10 men beat them for approximately 5 minutes. Heininger reported that the doctor pushed him from the front into the punches of his assilants. Heininger was knocked unconscious, suffered severe injury to the left eye with possible internal injury to the eye, severe lacerations of the scalp and face, contusions on the back of the neck, a bad cut on the left ear, and a swelling of the mouth and lips with possible injury to the guas. Polacheck got to their car parked outside the clinic, and pulled in the minister who was on his back outside the car. One of several whites standing around the car grabbed the car keys. A deputy sheriff arrived, handcuffed Heininger and Polacheck and jailed them for disturbing the peace: the doctor had reported they had used profanity. They were released on cash bond of 3100 each after being brought to the station in a non-officially marked pick-up truck and car. Trial is scheduled for lagust 27.





Meridian: A 22-year old white summer volunteer, Richard Swanson, was arrested for reckless driving and speeding. A Seattle resident and University of ashington student, Swanson was not informed of the charges until after being held at the police station under arrest. At the station he was question as to whether he was "sure" what his race is, and was hit on the hand when reached for the ticket to see what charges were being placed against him.

<u>Greenwood:</u> Twenty-one year old Silas McGhee, Greenwood resident, and summer volunteer John L. Paul, 21, of Ossing, New York, were arrested for driving with an improper vehicle license although both cars had temporary 7-day Tennessee license tags. Negro SNCC worker Monroe Sharp reported the arrests to the Greenwood SNCC office over the car radio and was then hiuself arrested for resisting arrest. The two drivers were held for 350 bail and Sharp for 3100.

Batesville: Three shots were fired late at night past the home of Batesville Negro citizen Robert Miles, who houses five summer project Wolunteers. On July 26 the Files home was tear gas bombed at la.m. A local white has reportedly threatened to kill Files if he does not oust the voter registration workers.

Shaw: Three white summer volunteers were made to leave the McEvens High School Cafeteria, where they had been invited to a fund-raising supper at the Negro high school. They were warmly received by the students and the supervising teacher, but were told by Principal Earl Altheimer they must first secure permission of the superintendent in order to enter the school. One volunteer commented that the incidents are "excellent demonstrations of the fact that not only Negroes but whites also are not free in Mississippi.

Ruleville: Precinct meetings

One day's violence, July 31, 1964

White Citizens' Council sign outside Selma, Ala., 1964 "We've got a larger than usual police force," Mayor Allen Thompson of Jackson explains. "It's twice as big as any city our size." The force was built up to control voter registration and other civil rights workers. "We're going to be ready for them," he explains. "They won't have a chance."

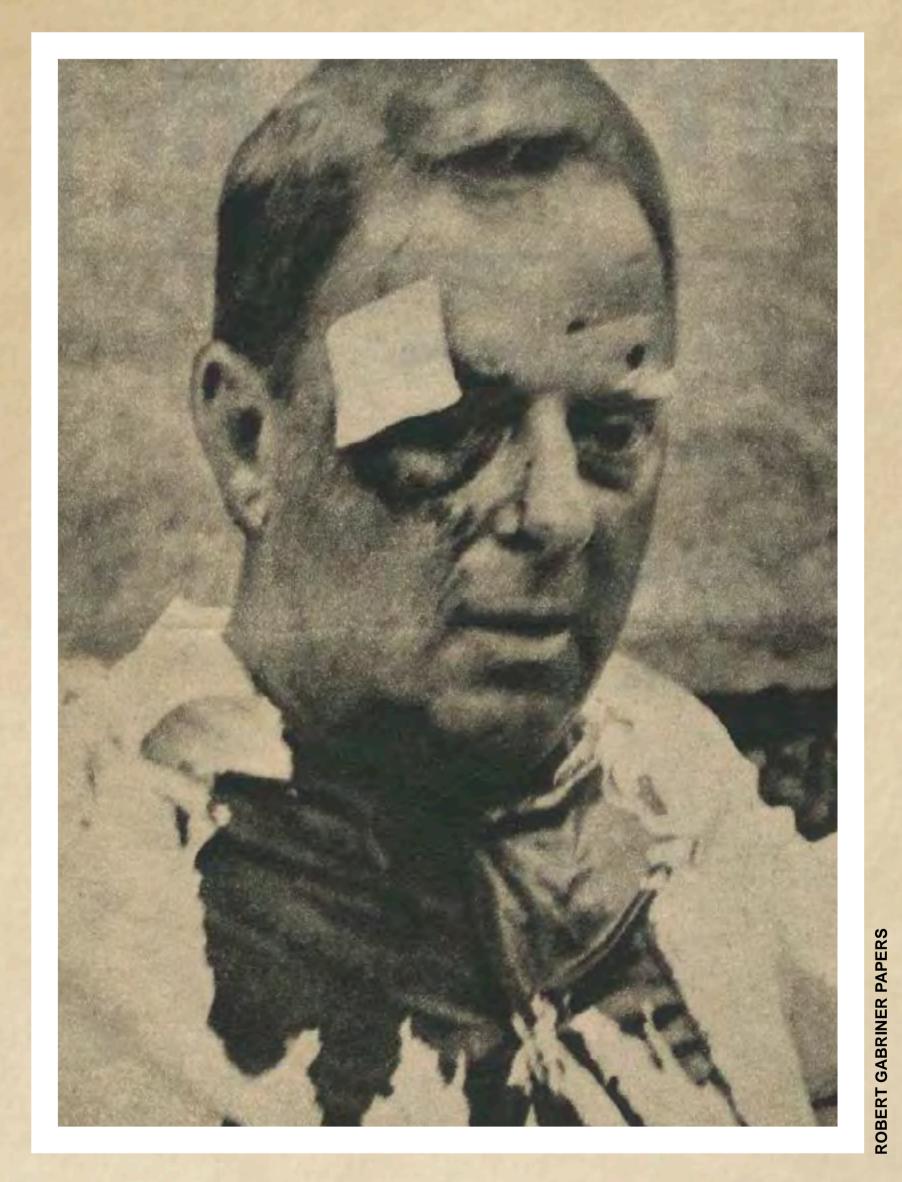
Jackson's mayor shows off his arsenal, June 1964

Mississippi authorities wanted to stop Freedom Summer.

The state patrol nearly doubled its size. Legislators passed new laws banning demonstrations. Local police got new weapons. The city of Jackson even bought a tank.

Businessmen formed white Citizens' Councils to fire local residents from their jobs if they helped the civil rights workers.

> Civil rights workers survived more than 400 acts of violence during the 10 weeks of Freedom Summer.



Thousands of white people joined the Ku Klux Klan so they could wage war on the "uppity" blacks and "outside agitators."

> Volunteer clergyman beaten with an iron pipe in Hattiesburg





THE CIVIL RIGHTS WORKERS WHO WERE SLAIN

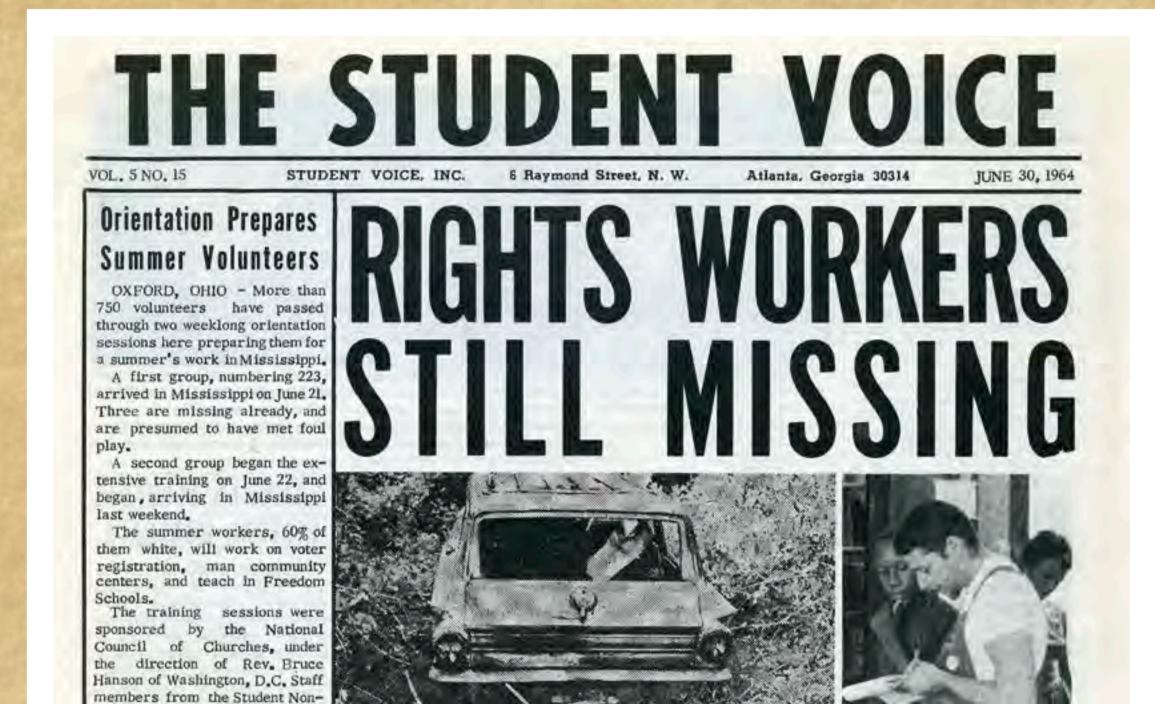


MICHAEL SCHWERNER

JAMES CHANEY

SOCIAL ACTION VERTICAL FIL

Murder om the First Day



ANDREW GOODMAN

"I want to know and work with the people, not just read about situations or take someone else's subjective view. I want to be there firsthand."

> — Mickey Schwerner, application to CORE, Oct. 1963

reas of the South, helped orien ect the summer's work in Miss CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

FORMAN AND **DULLES MEET**

IACKSON, MISS, - Former CIA head Allen Dulles was told here June 25 the Federal government must honor requests made by civil rights groups for Federal protection of civil rights workers and must stop saying they cannot offer protection for rights workers. James Forman, SNCC Executive Secretary, who met with the ex-CIA chief and other Negro leaders here, told Dulles that nade by civil for a meeting les, SNCC Mississippi Project director Robert Moses, SNCC ing. worker Lawrence Guyot, Dr. Aa-

CHARRED STATION WAGON (left) driven by three civil rights workers last seen near Philadelphia, Miss. on last Sunday night. The tires, windows, interior and exterior were completely burned out. MISSING CORE WORKER Mickey Schwerner (right) in the Meridian community center he and

his wife Rita helped establish. PHILADELPHIA, MISS. - Civil rights workers are helping bolster a force of Federal officers in a search for three missing men, a search some rights workers say is not as concentrated as newspapers report. The three men - Mickey Schwerner, 24, a CORE worker, and Andrew Goodman, 20, a summer volunteer, both white, from New York City, and James Cheney, 21, Negro, from Meridian - left Meridian, 35 miles away, at 9:00 Sunday morning. They were stopped in Philadelphia at 4:00 given a speeding ticket, spent six hours in jail, and released at 10:00 that evening. They have not been seen or heard from since. Civil rights workers complain- named Schwelb was called in ity to intervene in civil rights ed that agents from the Federal Meridian by COFO workers, cases. He insisted he did not Bureau of Investigation did not Jackson called Schwelb again at have any authority. The office 11:00, but he had not left his room, called FBI agent Helgesen again, arrive on the scene until at least with him. Forman met with Dul- 20 hours after they were first At 12:00 that evening, the Jack- and the Mississippi Highway Panotified the three men were miss- son office called Schwelb again trol, and gave him the license number At 1:00 a.m. Monday morning

H. F. Helgesen, a Jackson FBI of the missing car a ron Henry, president of COFO. agent, was notified at 10:00 p.m. an investigation. Schwelb said time) June 22, the Atlanta SNCC NAACP field worker Charles E- Sunday evening the three were the FBI was not a police force office called John Doar of the Jusvers, and other rights workers missing. He told the Jackson and that he was not sure a Fed- tice Department in Washington, in the Mississippi office of the office to keep him informed of eral offense had occurred. He D.C. He said they were concerned

On June 21st, three young workers — James Chaney, Mickey Schwerner, and Andrew Goodman — disappeared near Philadelphia, Miss.

... and the search continues

still continuing for three civil rights people in the nation. There is workers missing in Neshoba County since June 21. The Messenger says: "The search by the Navy for the last "Freedom Riders' is ridiculous to the extreme. It is not a search, just an aimless random ride up and down country roads. Occasionally a few will walk 10 or 15 yards off the road and kick over a leaf and say 'Well, they aren't here.' "

They (the sailors) write homefolks in all 50 states telling them

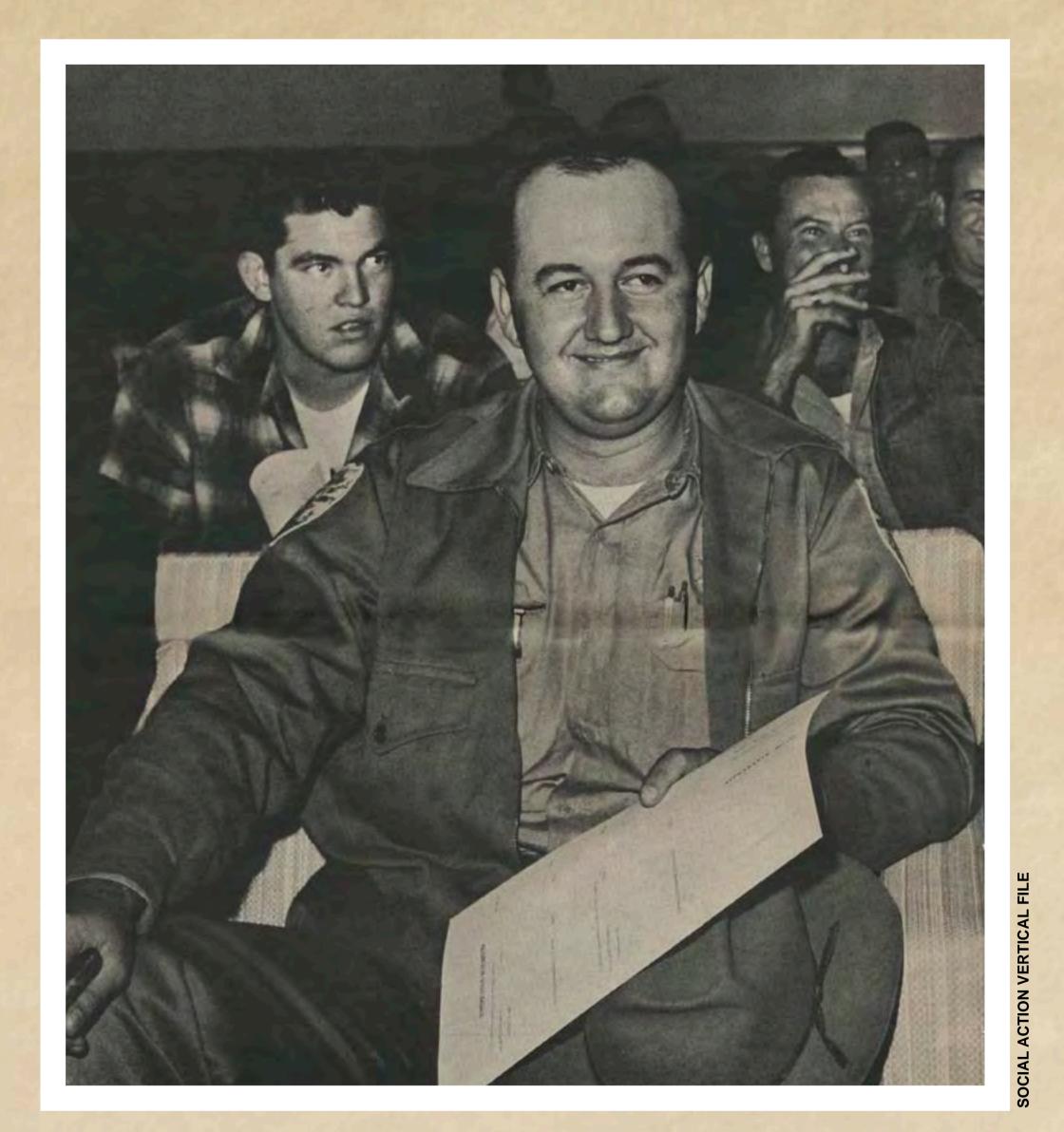
(Miss.) not to believe what they read about Mississippi. "We have found them to be among the best no unrest here. People, both black and white, go where they please, when they please, in complete safety and without danger."

> "Annoyance on the base has resulted in the wearing of a new service ribbon, similar to those given out for battle participation. "White bar, black bar, white bar, with 'Mississippi Search' underneath. We understand even

> some of the officers are wearing

Breaking news is overprinted in red, Aug. 5, 1964

them."



They were stopped by the county sheriff's office, who handed them over to the Klan. After they were killed, their bodies were buried on a remote farm.

While the entire nation watched on TV, the FBI and U.S. military searched for six weeks before finding their remains on August 4th.

The murderers appear in court, Dec. 10, 1964

The FBI arrested 18 men for the murders, including a deputy sheriff. When local officials dismissed the charges, U.S. officials charged the killers in federal court with violating the victims' civil rights. Most of the murderers were convicted in 1967.









SNCC explains how African Americans are kept from voting, 1964



Police arrest 111 people at Greenwood Freedom Day, July 16, 1964.

Searching for Voters

"As Mr. Hills was leaving the courthouse, a policeman pulled beside him and said, 'If I catch you in that line, I will shoot your damn head off."

Canvassing door-to-door, 1964

— Testimony, LeFlore Co., Miss., March-April 1964

More than 90%
of black adults

could not vote in Mississippi in 1964. Even in counties where blacks were a majority, just a handful were registered to vote. In some counties, no African Americans were registered at all.

The root of or	District and County		
		w the Congregations]	Quanton In Mook
(The follow	ing statistics are fro	m the Congressional	. What her the week
	1963, p. 1091 -3.)		1.4.S.
rst District		and the second second	
ounty	Negro Pop. Over 21	Negro Regis.Voter	s Percent
corn	1,750	61	3.5 %
tila	4,262	61	1.4 %
lhoun	1,767	0	0.0 %
rickasaw	3,054	0	0.0%
loctaw	1,105	10	.9 %
lay	4,444	10	.2 %
cawamba	463 5,130	47	10.2 %
ee owndes	8,362	231 70	4.5%
onroe	5,610	9	.8 % 2 % 0.0 %
oxubee	5.172	0	0.0 %
ctibbeha	5,172 4,592	107	2.2 %
ontotoc	1,519	6	.4 %
rentiss	1,070	18	1.7 %
ishomingo	359	6	1.7 %
ebster	1,174	2 57	.2 %
inston	3,611	57	1.6 %
econd Distric	t (Northwest):		
econd Distric		150	10.5 \$
lenton Iolivar	1,419	150 612	10.5 % 3.8 %
enton olivar arroll	1,419 15,939 2,704	150 612 3	3.8 %
enton olivar arroll oahoma	1,419 15,939 2,704 14,404	612 3	3.8 %
enton olivar arroll oahoma eSoto	1,419 15,939 2,704 14,404 6,246	612 3 1,800 4	3.8 % .1 % 12.3 % .06%
enton olivar arroll oahoma eSoto renada	1,419 15,939 2,704 14,404 6,246 4,323	612 3 1,800 4 61	3.8 % .1 % 12.3 % .06% 1.4 %
enton olivar arroll oahoma eSoto renada olmes	1,419 15,939 2,704 14,404 6,246 4,323 8,757	612 3 1,800 4 61	3.8 % .1 % 12.3 % .06% 1.4 % .5 %
enton olivar arroll oahoma eSoto renada olmes iumphreys	1,419 15,939 2,704 14,404 6,246 4,323 8,757 5,561	612 3 1,800 4 61	3.8 % .1 % 12.3 % .06% 1.4 % .5 % .04%
enton olivar arroll oahoma eSoto renada olmes tumphreys ssaquena	1,419 15,939 2,704 14,404 6,246 4,323 8,757 5,561 1,081	612 3 1,800 4 61 41 2 0	3.8 % .1 % 12.3 % .06% 1.4 % .5.% .04% 0.0 %
enton olivar arroll oahoma eSoto renada olmes umphreys ssaquena afayette	1,419 15,939 2,704 14,404 6,246 4,323 8,757 5,561 1,081 3,239	612 3 1,800 4 61 41 2 0 134	3.8 % .1 % 12.3 % .06% 1.4 % .5.% .04% 0.0 % 4.1 %
enton olivar arroll oahoma eSoto renada olmes tumphreys ssaquena afayette eflore	1,419 15,939 2,704 14,404 6,246 4,323 8,757 5,561 1,081 3,239 13,567	612 3 1,800 4 61 41 2 0 134 268	3.8 % .1 % 12.3 % .06% 1.4 % .5 % .04% 0.0 % 4.1 % 1.9 %
enton olivar arroll oahoma eSoto renada olmes tumphreys ssaquena afayette eflore arshall	1,419 15,939 2,704 14,404 6,246 4,323 8,757 5,561 1,081 3,239 13,567 7,163 2,627	612 3 1,800 4 61 41 2 0 134 268 90	3.8 % .1 % 12.3 % .06% 1.4 % .5.% .04% 0.0 % 4.1 % 1.9 % 1.2 %
enton olivar arroll oahoma eSoto renada olmes tumphreys ssaquena afayette eflore arshall iontgomery anola	1,419 15,939 2,704 14,404 6,246 4,323 8,757 5,561 1,081 3,239 13,567 7,163 2,627 7,250	612 3 1,800 4 61 41 2 0 134 268 90 11 2	3.8 % .1 % 12.3 % .06% 1.4 % .5 % .01% 0.0 % 4.1 % 1.9 % 1.2 % .4 % .03%
enton olivar arroll oahoma eSoto renada olmes umphreys ssaquena afayette eflore arshall ontgomery anola uitman	1,419 15,939 2,704 14,404 6,246 4,323 8,757 5,561 1,081 3,239 13,567 7,163 2,627 7,250 5,673	612 3 1,800 4 61 41 2 0 134 268 90 11	3.8 % .1 % 12.3 % .06% 1.4 % .5 % .04% 0.0 % 4.1 % 1.9 % 1.2 % .4 % .03% 7.6 %
enton olivar arroll oahoma eSoto renada olmes tumphreys ssaquena afayette eflore arshall ontgomery anola uitman harkey	1,419 15,939 2,704 14,404 6,246 4,323 8,757 5,561 1,081 3,239 13,567 7,163 2,627 7,250 5,673 3,125	612 3 1,800 4 61 41 2 0 134 268 90 11 2 435 3	3.8 % .1 % 12.3 % .06% 1.4 % .5.% .04% 0.0 % 4.1 % 1.9 % 1.2 % .4 % .03% 7.6 % .1 %
enton olivar arroll oahoma eSoto renada olmes umphreys ssaquena afayette eflore arshall ontgomery anola uitman harkey unflower	1,419 15,939 2,704 14,404 6,246 4,323 8,757 5,561 1,081 3,239 13,567 7,163 2,627 7,250 5,673 3,125 13,524	612 3 1,800 4 61 41 2 0 134 268 90 11 2 435 3 164	3.8 % .1 % 12.3 % .06% 1.4 % .5.% .04% 0.0 % 4.1 % 1.9 % 1.2 % .4 % .03% 7.6 % .1 % 1.2 %
enton olivar arroll oahoma eSoto renada olmes umphreys ssaquena afayette eflore arshall ontgomery anola uitman harkey unflower allahatchie	1,419 15,939 2,704 14,404 6,246 4,323 8,757 5,561 1,081 3,239 13,567 7,163 2,627 7,250 5,673 3,125 13,524 6,483	612 3 1,800 4 61 41 2 0 134 268 90 11 2 435 3 164 5	3.8 % .1 % 12.3 % .06% 1.4 % .5.% .01% 0.0 % 4.1 % 1.9 % 1.2 % .03% 7.6 % .1 % 1.2 % .07%
enton olivar arroll oahoma eSoto renada olmes umphreys ssaquena afayette eflore arshall ontgomery anola uitman harkey unflower allahatchie ate	1,419 15,939 2,704 14,404 6,246 4,323 8,757 5,561 1,081 3,239 13,567 7,163 2,627 7,250 5,673 3,125 13,524 6,483 4,326	612 3 1,800 4 61 41 2 0 134 268 90 11 2 435 3 164 5 0	3.8 % .1 % 12.3 % .06% 1.4 % .5.% .04% 0.0 % 4.1 % 1.9 % 1.2 % .4 % .03% 7.6 % .1 % 1.2 % .1 % 1.2 % .07% 0.0 %
enton olivar arroll oahoma eSoto renada olmes tumphreys ssaquena afayette eflore arshall ontgomery anola uitman harkey unflower allahatchie ate ppah	1,419 15,939 2,704 14,404 6,246 4,323 8,757 5,561 1,081 3,239 13,567 7,163 2,627 7,250 5,673 3,125 13,524 6,483 4,326 1,281	612 3 1,800 4 61 41 2 0 134 268 90 11 2 435 3 164 5 0	$\begin{array}{c} 3.8 \ \% \\ .1 \ \% \\ 12.3 \ \% \\ .06\% \\ 1.4 \ \% \\ .5 \ \% \\ .04\% \\ 0.0 \ \% \\ 4.1 \ \% \\ 1.9 \ \% \\ 1.9 \ \% \\ 1.2 \ \% \\ .4 \ \% \\ .03\% \\ 7.6 \ \% \\ .1 \ \% \\ 1.2 \ \% \\ .1 \ \% \\ 1.2 \ \% \\ .07\% \\ 0.0 \ \% \\ 13.7 \ \% \end{array}$
enton olivar arroll oahoma eSoto renada olmes humphreys ssaquena afayette eflore arshall iontgomery anola huitman harkey unflower allahatchie ate ppah cunica	1,419 15,939 2,704 14,404 6,246 4,323 8,757 5,561 1,081 3,239 13,567 7,163 2,627 7,250 5,673 3,125 13,524 6,483 4,326 1,281 5,822	612 3 1,800 4 61 41 2 0 134 268 90 11 2 435 3 164 5 0	$\begin{array}{c} 3.8 \ \text{\%} \\ .1 \ \text{\%} \\ 12.3 \ \text{\%} \\ .06\% \\ 1.4 \ \text{\%} \\ .5 \ \text{\%} \\ .04\% \\ 0.0 \ \text{\%} \\ 4.1 \ \text{\%} \\ 1.9 \ \text{\%} \\ 1.9 \ \text{\%} \\ 1.2 \ \text{\%} \\ .4 \ \text{\%} \\ .03\% \\ 7.6 \ \text{\%} \\ .1 \ \text{\%} \\ 1.2 \ \text{\%} \\ .03\% \\ 7.6 \ \text{\%} \\ .1 \ \text{\%} \\ 1.2 \ \text{\%} \\ .07\% \\ 0.0 \ \text{\%} \\ 13.7 \ \text{\%} \\ .4 \ \text{\%} \end{array}$
enton olivar arroll oahoma eSoto renada olmes tumphreys ssaquena afayette eflore arshall ontgomery anola uitman harkey unflower allahatchie ate hppah	1,419 15,939 2,704 14,404 6,246 4,323 8,757 5,561 1,081 3,239 13,567 7,163 2,627 7,250 5,673 3,125 13,524 6,483 4,326 1,281	612 3 1,800 4 61 41 2 0 134 268 90 11 2 435 3 164 5	$\begin{array}{c} 3.8 \ \% \\ .1 \ \% \\ 12.3 \ \% \\ .06\% \\ 1.4 \ \% \\ .5 \ \% \\ .04\% \\ 0.0 \ \% \\ 4.1 \ \% \\ 1.9 \ \% \\ 1.9 \ \% \\ 1.2 \ \% \\ .4 \ \% \\ .03\% \\ 7.6 \ \% \\ .1 \ \% \\ 1.2 \ \% \\ .1 \ \% \\ 1.2 \ \% \\ .07\% \\ 0.0 \ \% \\ 13.7 \ \% \end{array}$

Voting statistics from an MFDP report, late July 1964

TECHNI	QUES FOR FIELD WORK Voter Registration
Safety	
1.	Know all roads in and out of town.
2.	Know location of sanctuaries and safe homes in the county.
	Make arrangements for regular checks with the Jackson office the county office.
4.	Decide whether night or day work is preferable.
Canvas	sing
l. pertin	Take pencil and paper to record any information that seems ent.
lister	Remember that you are asking people to take their time to to you. You should try to present yourself in a way that will hem want to talk with you.
you, t	If a person closes the door in your face or will not talk with ry to find out selsewhere why he did it. Everybody can be ched, but it may take much time and patience to reach some
long e Saften	If a person talks but show obvious reluctance, don't force a xplanation on them. Come back another day to explain more. them up through repeated exposure. This builds confidence ilds a relationship.
try as	If a person invites you in but then doesn't listen to you, king questions to get their attention. Try talking about other and eventually working back to your program.
someth	If a person listens and seems interested, try to give them ing to do to keep their interest up. Use them to help you con- ther people. Use them to talk with the rest of their family.
how he nothin	If a person already knows what you are telling him, find out knows it. Perhpas there is already a group in existence that g is known about. Ferhps there are channels of communication ould be valuable in the future.
people	When canvassing try to have a single idea in mind, e.g. getting out to a mass meeting that evening or setting up a workshop. overwhelm a person with too much at any one time.
Wońksh	ops

Black residents were kept from voting by unfair tests, threats of punishment, and violence.

Freedom Summer's leaders knew they couldn't sign up many new voters. Most black Mississippians would be too afraid to try. And most of those who did would be rejected.

But documenting their illegal treatment would support federal lawsuits against the racists. And wherever large numbers of black residents tried to vote, fear might be replaced by hope.





JERRY TECKLIN PAPERS (COURTESY OF MATT HERRON)

Applications for Registration must be completely filled out without any assistance or suggestions of any person or memorandum. After 10 days applicants names and addresses are published for two consecutives weeks in the newspaper. They cannot be ruled on until 14days after the second ublication. Therefore it can take as long as a days before we can give you an answer as to your application being accepted or rejected. We registrated.



Two men try to register in Hattiesburg, probably January 1964. Note the sign behind them.

At the Courthouse

"I told him about going down to the courthouse and asking to register... He said, proudly, 'That's what I've always wanted to do - vote."

— Ellen Lake, Gulfport, Miss., July 4, 1964



An elderly woman approaches the LeFlore Co. courthouse in Greenwood.

Most black Mississippians only had a sixth grade education. They'd never had to write anything complicated.

But the test for new voters made them fill out a two-page form and explain part of the state constitution in writing.

ate of the Gener ote. If you are	er 21 years of age or will be 21 years by the ral Election, November 5, 1964, can register to over 60 years of age, you do not have to pay
poll tax to vot Write the di	the second s
. What is you:	17. If your answer to Question 16 is "yes" state the length of your residence in the election district:
3. State your ;	
. What is you:	18. Write and copy in the space below Section of the Constitu-
. Where is you . By whom are	tion of Mississippi: (Instruction to Registrar: You will designate the Section of the Constitution of Mississippi and point out same to applicant.)
. Are you a c Mississippi	19. Write in the space below a reasonable interpretation (the meaning) of the Constitution of Mississippi which you have just copie ?:
. For how lon	A
. Where is yo	20. Write in the space below a statement setting forth your under- standing of the duties and obligations of citizenship under a Constitutional form of government:
0. Specify the 1. State your	(FOR EXAMPLE: A good citizen pays all taxes, obeys all laws, and votes in every election.)
2. Check which	
(2) Ministe	A. Woows is rout blace of yestience to the Discription
(4) If unde of the	22. I,, have resided in the Election District ofCounty.
3. If there is	11. Spate your prior place of residence, 17 and.
precinct, b	32. Bheok which oath you desire to take. (1) General
4. Have you ev	The Applicant will sign his name here.
bribery, th	(k) If under 21 years at present but 21 years by the date
pretenses,	STATE OF MISSISSIPPI
5. If your ans	COUNTY OF
which you h	Sworn to and suscribed before me by the witness named
conviction	on thisday of, 19
6. Are you a m	County Registrar
church or t	to make a prover to Obserian 14 14 "X44", blow Mile of Three Three The
	Reproduced above is a facsimile of the form currently in use for Registration.
	16. Are you a minimute of him Goigent in adapt of an Organizate
	For further information please contact:
	COUNCIL OF FEDERATED ORGANIZWTIONS 507 Mobile street Hattiesburg, Mississippi, 39401 Telephone: 582-9993

Application used in Mississippi courthouse in 1964. Note questions 18-20.

A white court officer decided whether applicants did it right. They let uneducated white people pass on the first try but turned most black people away.

The name of everyone taking the test was printed in the newspaper. This helped the Citizens' Council and Klan punish black residents who tried to vote.







Freedom School class near Hattiesburg, July 1964

Young Minds

"To encourage questions is to encourage challenge, which is to encourage overthrow."

— Charlie Cobb, SNCC memo, Dec. 1963

by TOM EDWARDS

HATTIESBURG, MISS .-

DICLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE by the

Freedom School Debaters Discuss Problems of Negro

regular educations.

aining and

that way ... "

Public education in Miss i is windowless in more

and to find alternative

od ultimately new direction

Here are some other stat

-People "can all be reached

-"Just because the whites

or the Negroes to do it." -"Will I give my life to ree? Life is a precious thing.

-"Civil disobedience i the strongest weapons .. s not seek to humiliate

ome way."

ie architectural sense.

(Editor's Note; Tom Ed- children were.

Freedem School Students of St. John's Methodist Church, Palmer's Crossing, Hattiesburg, Miss.

In this course of human events, it has become necessary for the Negro people to break away from the customs which have made it very difficult for The Negro to get his God-given rights. We, as citizens of Mississippi, do hereby state that all people should have the right to petition, to assemble, and to use public places. We also have the right to life, liberty, and to seek happiness.

The government has no right to make or to change laws without the consent of the people. No government has the right to take the law into its own hands. All people as citizens have the right to impeach the government when their rights are being taken away.

All voters elect persons to the government. Everyone must vote to elect the person of his choice; so we hereby state that all persons of twenty-one years of age, whether black, white, or yellow, have the right to elect the persons of their choice; and if these persons do not carry out the will of the people, they have the right to alter or abolish the government.

The Negro does not have the right to petition the government for a redress of these grievances:

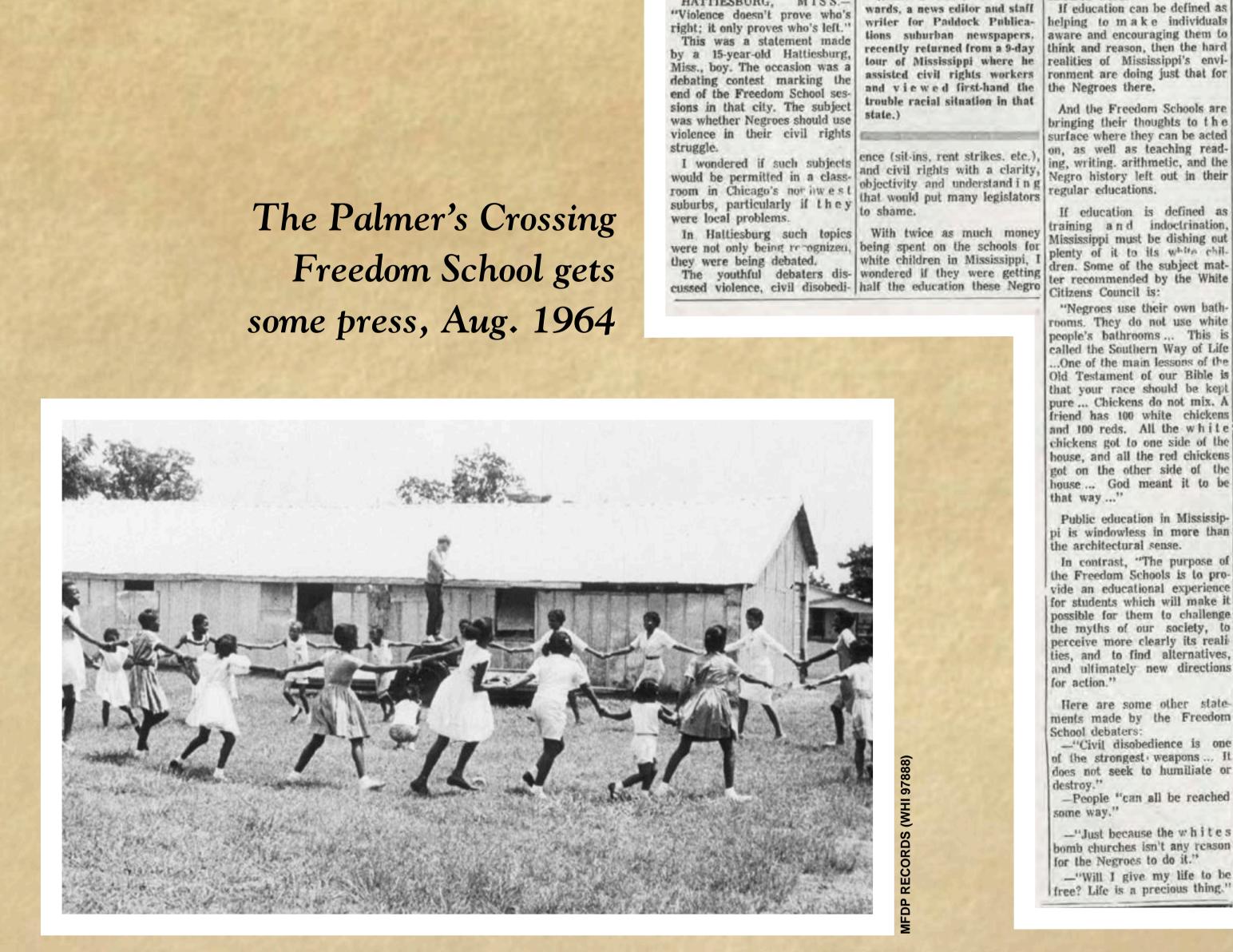
For equal opportunity. For better schools and equipment. For better recreation facilities. For more public libraries. For schools for the mentally ill. For more and better senior colleges. For better roads in Negro communities. For training schools in the State of Mississippi. For more Negro policemen. For more guarantee of a fair circuit clerk. For integration in colleges and schools.

The government has made it possible for the white man to have a mock trial in the case of a Negro's death.

- The government has refused to make laws for the public good.
- The government has used police brutelity.
- The government has imposed taxes upon us without representation. The government has refused to give Negroes the right to go into public places.
- The government has marked our registration forms unfairly.

We, therefore, the Negroes of Mississippi assembled, appeal to the government of the state, that no man is free until all men are free. We do hereby declare independence from the unjust laws of Mississippi which conflict with the United States Constitution.

Palmer's Crossing students rewrite the **Declaration of Independence**



Freedom School students play a game outdoors, July 1964.

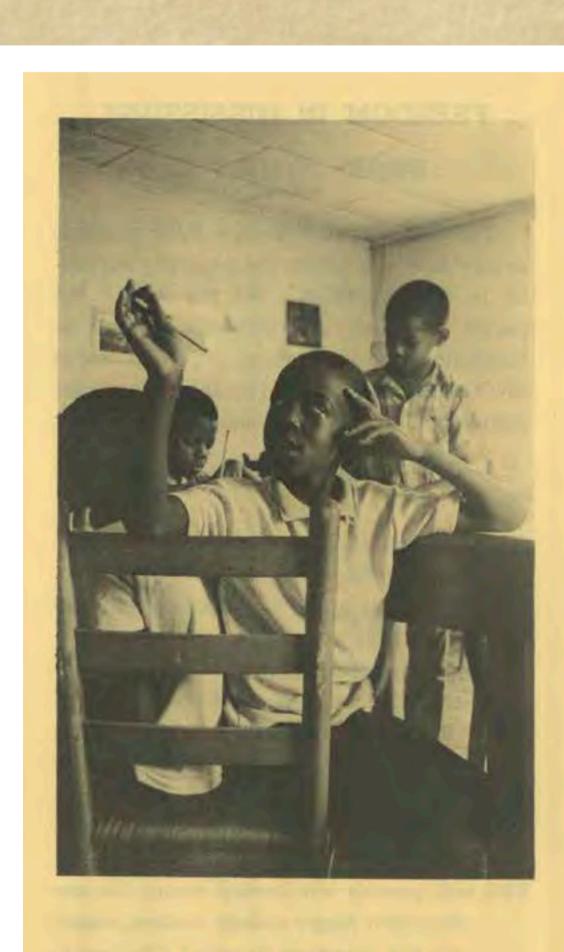
Poor, segregated schools helped keep African Americans uninformed and powerless. Their books were outdated and the buildings were run-down. Teachers were hired by racists who tried to make them smother the hopes and dreams of black children.



operation through next

least. About 300 volunteers are

planning to stay to continue working through



FREEDOM SCHOOLS

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

Freedom Schools made kids look at their own lives and challenge the racist ideas that held them down. Volunteer teachers encouraged questioning, insight, creativity, and commitment.

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

A SNCC brochure describes Freedom Schools, July 1964





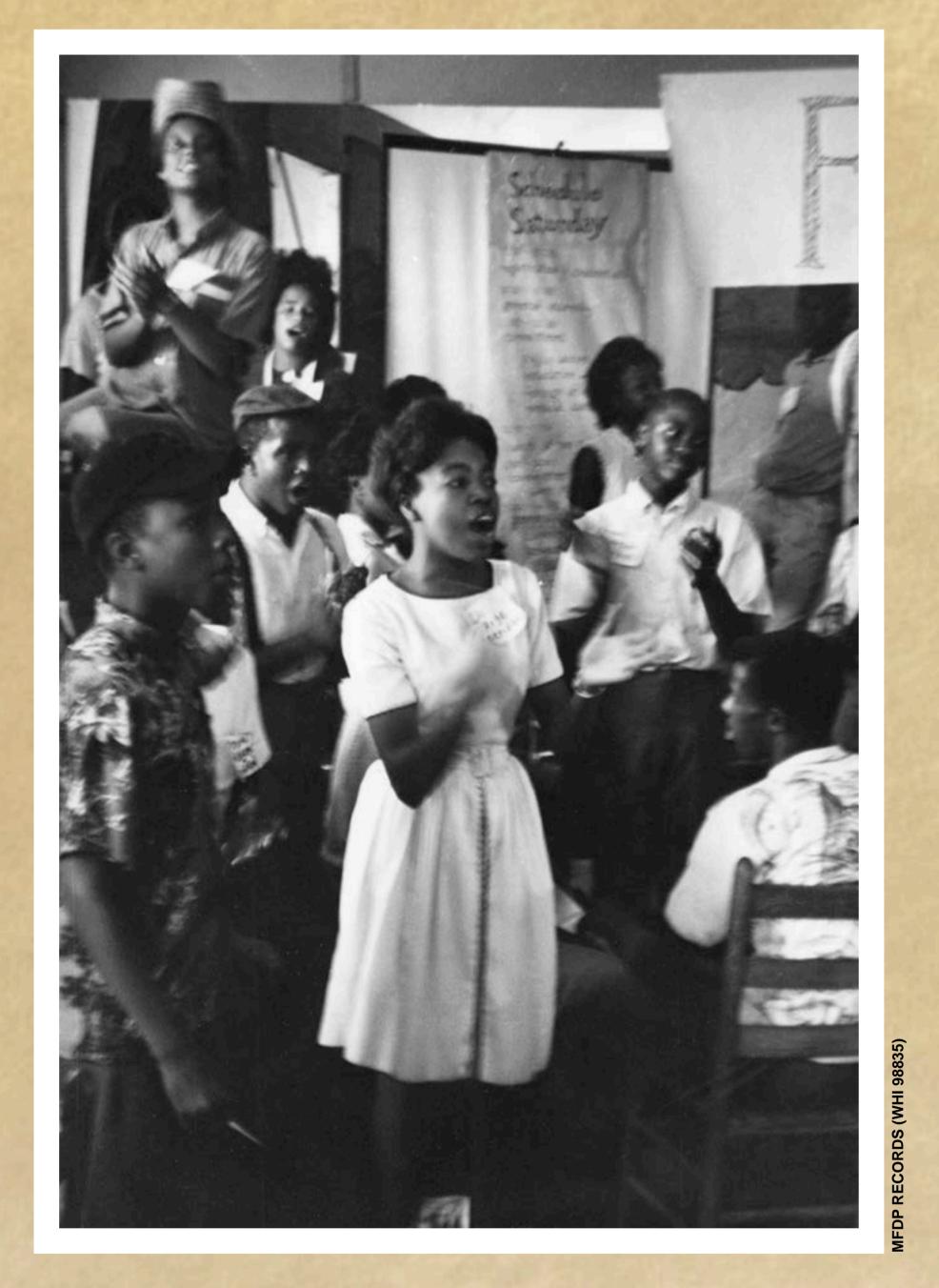


Liz (Fusco) Aaronsohn at the Freedom Schools convention, Aug. 8, 1964

Producing Reroes

"They began to discover that they themselves could take action against the injustices which kept them unhappy and impotent... They began to have a sense of themselves as a people who could produce heroes..."

— Liz (Fusco) Aaronsohn, Freedom School coordinator, Aug. 1964



Students sing at the Freedom Schools convention in Meridian, Aug. 8, 1964

create an awareness that there are alternatives.
Statistical data on education, housing, etc. "The South as an Underdeveloped Country"
Introduction: We are not here to teach you. We are here to help you learn and to learn together. We are going to talk about a lot of things: about Negro people and white people, about rich people and poor people, about the South and about the North, about you and what you think and feel and want, and about me.
And we're going to try to be honest with each other: and say what we believe.
We'll also ask some questions and try to find some answers. The first thing is to look around, right here, and see how we live in Mississippi.
SchoolsConditions in Negro Schools
1. What kind of a school is it? Sample questions: How many grades does it have? how many class rooms? What is it made of, wood or brick? Do you have textbooks, new or old? Do you have a library, movies, maps, charts, electric lights, a gymnasium? How many teachers, white or Negro? laboratory space and equipment, desks, blackboards, etc.? Do you have history, geography, science, etc.?
2. What do you learn there? Sample questions: How many go to college? are there trade or vocational schools? What kinds of jobs are you prepared for? What about current eventswho do you learn is good, who do you learn is bad, what do you learn about the South, about the North, about Negroes, about whites, about Kennedy, Johnson, Eastland, Castro, etc. What do you learn about voting and citizenship?
3. Where do you learn about these things? Radio, newspapers, TV, etc.
4. Is this bad or good? Can you think of anything that you would like to see changed? How could your school be made better?
SchoolsConditions in the white schools
Where do the white children go to school? What are their schools like? Compare Negro schools to white schools.

"Comparison of Students' Reality with Others" – a Freedom School lesson plan

Hattlesburg Mississippi August 26, 1964

Dear Family and Friends.

Many of you have asked for news of my experiences this summer; others, some of whom haven't heard of my summer plans, will, I think, be interested. To write each of you individually would tax my letter-writing capacity beyond its limit, so I write all of you at the same time.

Much of what you have read and heard of this summer's events has been grim. Tradic things have ppened but I should like to focus on a few of the less-publicized and more hopeful aspects of the summer.

On August 7, 8, and 9 a Freedom School convention was held in Meridian, the city of about 50,000 from which Michael Schwerner, James Chaney, and Andrew Goodman set out in June to investigate a church burning,

I wish I could convey to you the excitement of the convention, Imagine a thousand or so high-school students, most of whom have been raised in poverty and have gone to poor schools, few of whose relatives have ever voted, who know policemen in general as people to avoid in time of trouble and white men as people who may have fathered their great grandparents and cheated their grandparents and trents. Next, give these young people a month in a freedom school, discussing, arguing, debating, learning about the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution and about Negroes who have struggled for better conditions for their people, and discussing, arguing, and debating. Finally, transport seventy-five of the brightest of them from many parts of the state to one room in Meridian and step aside, You, as one of some hundreds of freedom school teachers, gave them an initial nudge and they have taken off. Their enthusiasm is contagious, their determination thrilling and almost frightening. Some of the more cautious people of good will have said that much needs changing in Mississippi--as in many other places -- but it should not be done by outsiders. Leadership should come from the Negro people themselves. From these young people it will come--if they will stay in Mississippi. Between 1950 and 1960 the number of Negroes in Mississippi between the ages of 20 and 44 decreased between a quarter and a third.

Along with several other teachers from Hattiesburg, I attended part of the convention. All teachers were observers; the meetings were run almost entirely by the students, Sometimes teachers disagreed with the stand taken by a student and occasionally a teacher would feel impelled to talk. On one such occasion the statewide director of the freedom schools asked that teachers not speak; he was thereupon squelched by a student, who said to the applause of other students, that the students welcomed comments by teachers as they didn't want to make fools of themselves, And so it went.

The schools in each community had sent resolutions to the convention, In committees the resolutions were discussed, argued, and combined (many similar ones naturally were brought in by several delegations). The resolutions adopted by the committees were presented to the convention and discussed again. Most were passed without change; some were altered and some discarded,

I watched at the meeting of the committee on voting. The delegates knew very well the rights denied to their relatives and friends. Their views can best be summarized by quoting the resolutions they passed, as adopted by the convention as a whole:

- "1, The poll tax must be eliminated,
- "2. Writing and interpreting of the Constitution is to be eliminated. "3, We demand further that registration procedures be administered without discrimination, and that all intimidation of prospective voters be ended through federal supervision and investigation by the FBI and Justice Depart-

"4, We want guards posted at ballot hoxes during counting of votes,

Hattiesburg teacher Connie Mack describes the Freedom Schools convention in Meridian

Children came to Freedom Schools for arts and crafts or reading. Teenagers questioned what they'd been taught about history and politics. Adults came for literacy classes and voter training.

Purpose:

Materia

Student

teacher

each tel about

themselves



Nearly 3,000 students took classes from 225 teachers in more than 40 schools during Freedom Summer.

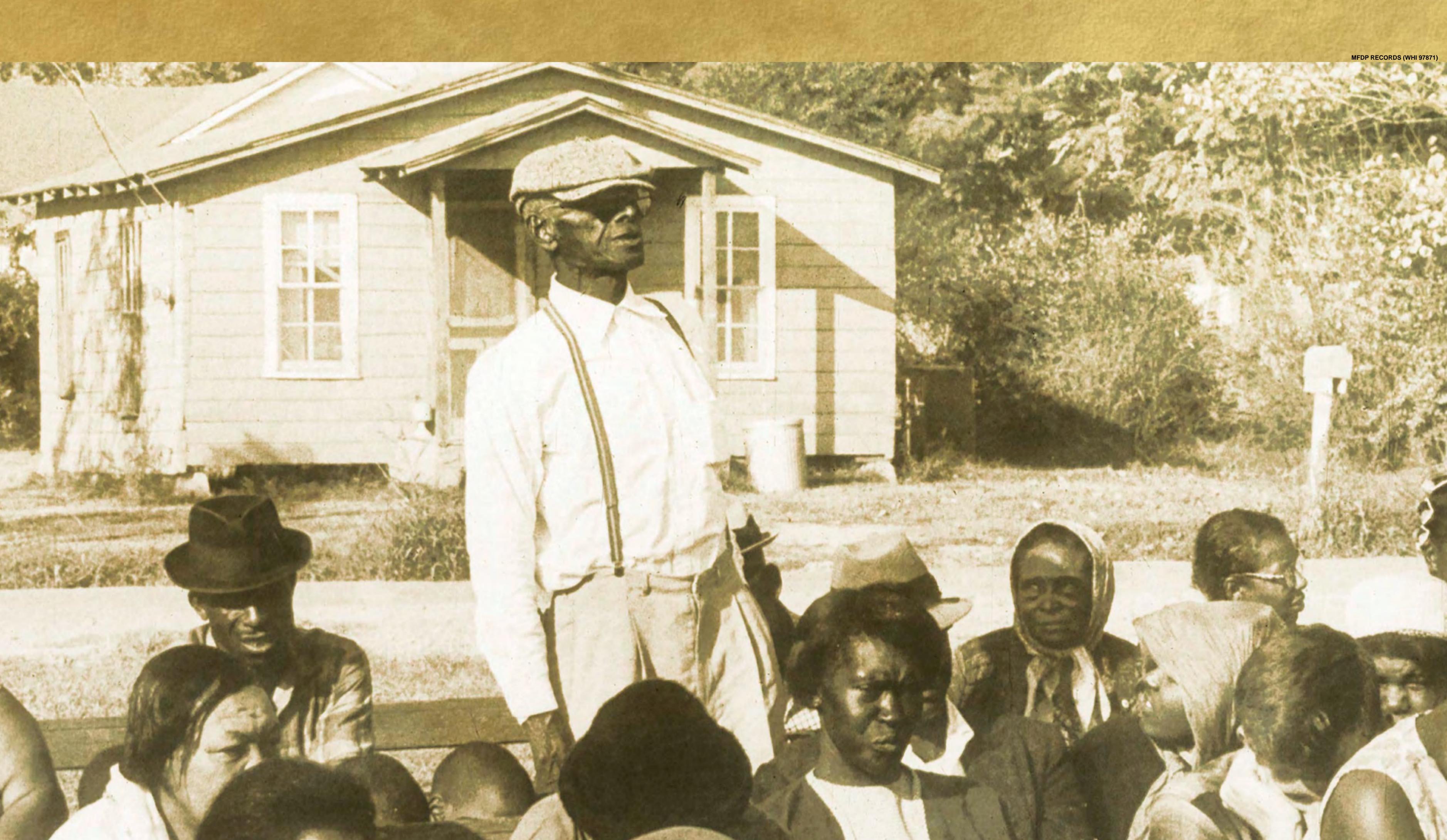
In August 1964, a Freedom School convention was held. Students from all around the state ran the meeting. They shared their successes and drafted resolutions about how their world needed to change.



An Indianola Freedom School class meets outdoors, July 1964







An elderly man stands up to speak at a community meeting

COFO

Memorandum

1017 Lynch St. Jackson, Mississippl TO: MISSISSIPPI COMMUNITY CENTER WORKERS FROM: Miss. Summer Project Staff SUBJECT: Overview of the Community Centers

The community centers are conceived as a permanent institution rather than a summer "crash" program. The centers will ultimately provide a structure for a wide range of educational and recreational programs. In doing this, they will not only serve basic needs of Negro communities now virtually ignored by the social services provided by the State, but they will form a dynamic focus for developing community organization.

For the summer project, we hope to start community centers in 17 loca-tions, spread over 16 counties. The arrangements are still not final in some of these locations, but most of them are assured (as of May 25). Community centers will start out in houses, old schoolhouses, and church basements, for the most part. One is in an old Day Care Center; another occupies the second story of a downtown business building. We hope that the community centers will eventually occupy permanent buildings, and two centers already have plans for such new buildings. Until the program is actually serving the community, however, we cannot attract the money for nice buildings.

The community centers are planned as a base for a battery of programs. Briefly, these programs are:

- 1. Library --- a small lending library, averaging 10,000 volumes for each center.
- Recreation -- films and discussion groups for adults, dancing and sports (ping-pong, etc. inside, and outdoor sports such as base-ball where there is a playing field) for teenagers.
 Day care -- singing, games and stories for small children. Ref
- freshments where we can afford them.
- 4. Literacy and basic education -- tutorial study for adults, and remedial study for students.
- 5. Citizenship -- in four areas: voting regulations, duties of cit-
- Negro history and American history.
 Health--informal classes in the general areas of prenatal care, infant care, sanitation and public health services.
 Drama, dancing, arts and crafts, music, etc.--depending upon the talents of the staff and interested local people.
- 8. Federal programs -- educational service to inform Mississippians
- of the help that is available to them if they apply for it. 9. Home improvement -- home repair, sewing, etc.
- 10. Vocational training -- probably will have to be deferred until the centers are well-established in the communities, and the employment situation is somewhat more open, but still a very large part of our conception of the community center programs.

The community centers positions should be regarded as jobs of initiating and training. Each center will start with a staff of 6-10 summer volunteers. During the summer, the staff will have the responsibility of organizing as many of these programs as there is need and resource for, so that there can be a good start. A second part of the job for community center personnel is to get out into the community and find local people who are interested and willing to carry on the program after the summer. In most cases, it will be necessary to teach these people for the job, since some specific knowledge and skill is required. If possible, these people should be recruited early and help all summer

Instructions to community center volunteers, June 1964

"Many of the women and young girls are unable to buy new clothing... I have spoken to a large number of girls who cannot remember ever having owned a new dress."

DOUNCIL OF FEDERATED ONGANIZATIONS Jackson Freedom Center, W. E. B. Du Bois Freedom Library 852 Short Street, Jackson 3, Mississippi See Cover, December 23, 1964 V Su Covering December 23, 1964

How happy we were to receive the package of books from International ! The fact that they were paid for did not detract in the least from their attractiveness. These were really the first Freedom Books we have received. We have plenty of novels for all ages, loads of textbooks, but we had no books about Negroes whatsoever in our Freedom Lib-rary, besides the ones which we had loaned to the library from our per-sonal collection. And now, this list of Aptheker, Allen, Du Bois, Foner, and Haywoods will for a long while form the core of our Freedom shelf.

We really had no other way of classifying the books than to set aside a separate section called the Freedom Shelf. It's simply unfair to bury Du Bois' John Brown in the history section between a lot of dis-carded textbooks from Chicago high schools. These books and pamphlets cry out for a separate shelf, to highlight their importance. Lately, we have been able to add other works to this section: poems by Hughes, by Cullen, by Dunbar; Freedom Road by Howard Fast, The Fire Next Time by Baldwin, Black Boy by Richard Wright, and others.

These books have had a nearly electric effect on the people who were These books have had a nearly electric effect on the people who were dropping into the library and helping with the work of getting it cleaned up. Actually we did not open the library "officially" until 2 days ago, but of course kids have been coming, staying, and going for a long time here. I can't describe to you the expression on the face of a local high-school student who first glanced at this shelf that had so many Negroes in its titles. Puzzlement and fascination chased each other. He finally picked up a modest pamphlet - Aptheker's <u>Slave</u> <u>Revolts</u> - and opened it in the middle, and read and read and read.You know it is a real step for some of these kids to approach a book about Negroes. Few people in Mississippi like to be reminded of the fact that they are Negroes! That's why these books play such an important func-tion; they clarify a painful reality, with hope.

But, interestingly enough, the books on Negro history are not the ones that have attracted the most fascination yet. Many of our kids are of draft age, and although for many of these the Army represents a long-awaited escape from Mississippi, they don't particularly like the idea of being sent to Vietnam. "If they can send the Army to Vietnam why can't they send them over here to Philadelphia to take care of the Ku Kluxes?" is a current theme, and I am surprised by how many times I hear it. Even the Congo massacre, despite a careful distortion of the facts in the papers here, appears to our young people in its true light. Do you have any books on the Congo comparable to Burchett's Vietnam book?

The little volumes on famous people (Douglass, Phillips, Tubman, etc.) are ideal both for class use and as presents.

COFO as a matter of policy gives a book to any freedom school student who writes an original story or poem and hands it in, if the subject is something connected with freedom. These little biographical sketches are the perfect rewards, and of course are great beginnings for our students' personal libraries.

Well, so far the Du Bois library here has 23 members, after three days of operation. Many of them are smaller kids, but the high-school kids are beginning to predominate and we are working on developing contacts with some of the college people. Also we have a problem with a lot of post-high school kids whose reading level is very, very poor. Do you suppose - I hope this suggestion doesn't shock you - that somebody could do some of these Negro history books in the form of comic books?

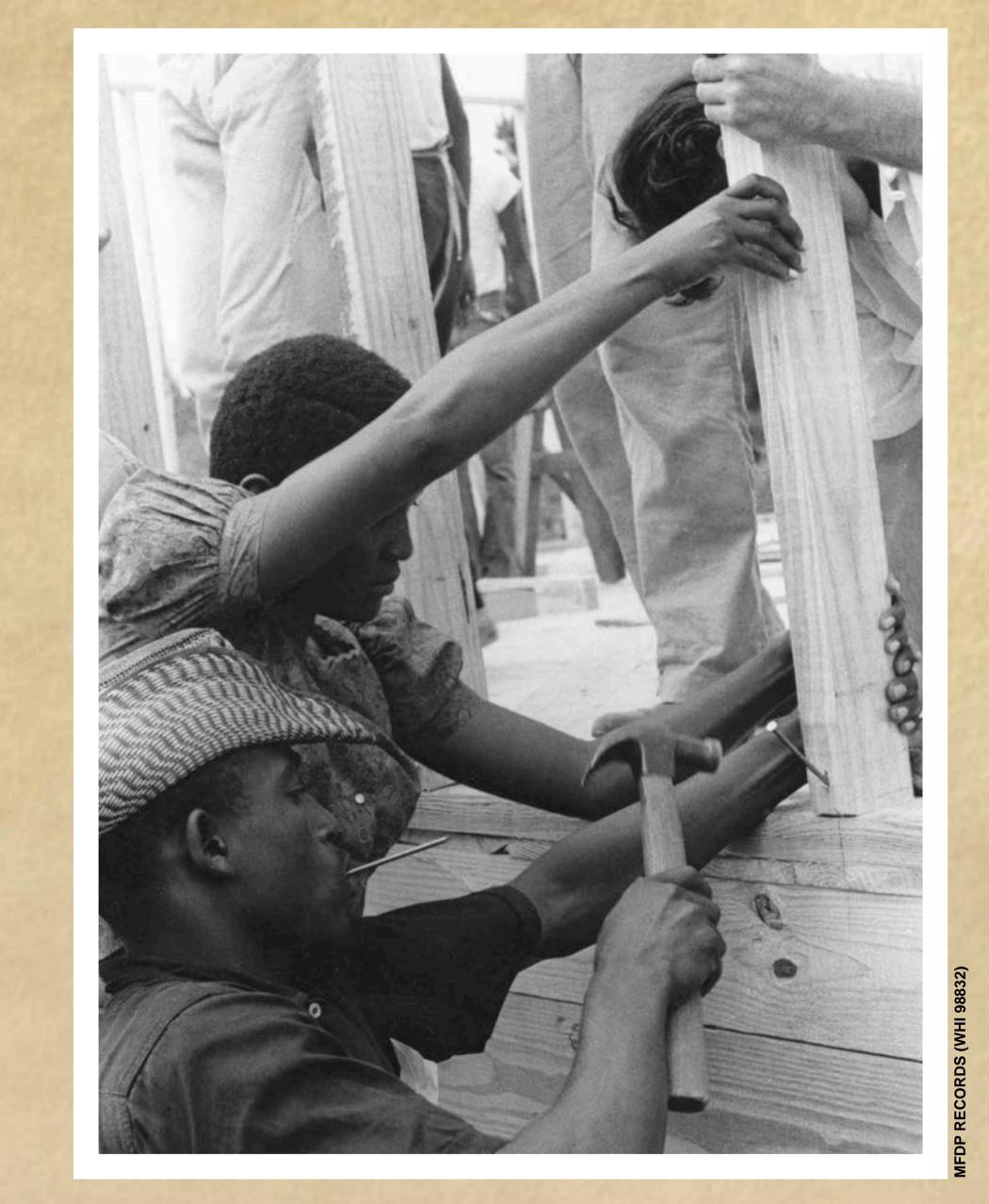
Please thank everyone at International for the books and please try to get some sort of display or pamphlet material on the life and writings of Du Bois. We'd like to hand out a little pamphlet about him to every new member to explain the name. Is there something like that?

Yours for Freedom,

Martin & Viki

Volunteers describe the "electric effect" of libraries on kids who'd been denied them

— Rita Schwerner (Bender), Meridian, Miss., March 5, 1964



Local residents erect a community center

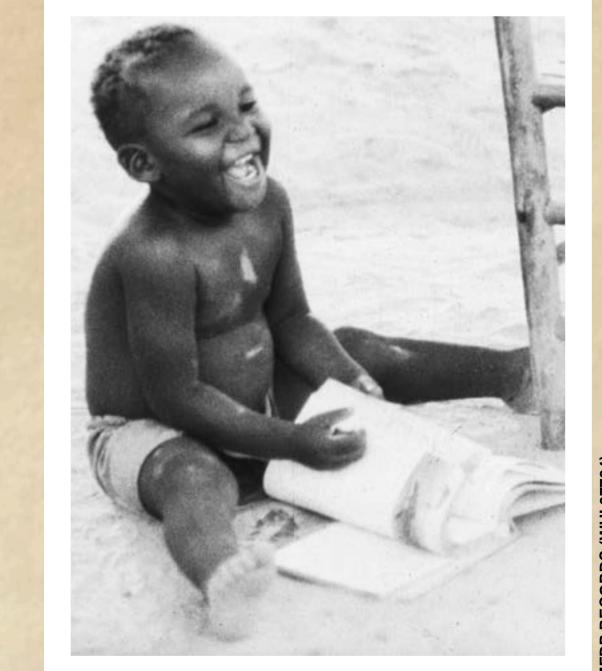


Rita Schwerner, wife of missing civil rights worker Michael (Mickey) Schwerner, is shown with children at a Saturday afternoon story hour in Meridian, Miss., Community Center. Her husband was director of the center and a CORE worker.

Rita Schwerner (Bender) reads to kids in the Meridian Community Center, spring 1964

White leaders didn't give basic services to black neighborhoods. So Freedom Summer workers created community centers where people could hold meetings

and get child care, medical advice, and library books.



Rita and Mickey Schwerner started one of the first centers. They opened a library, set up a sewing program, gave away clothing, led story hours, and taught classes for high school dropouts.

Community centers opened in 13 cities and towns, with 61 full-time staff working in art programs, day care, libraries, and health services.



A toddler with a book in a community center



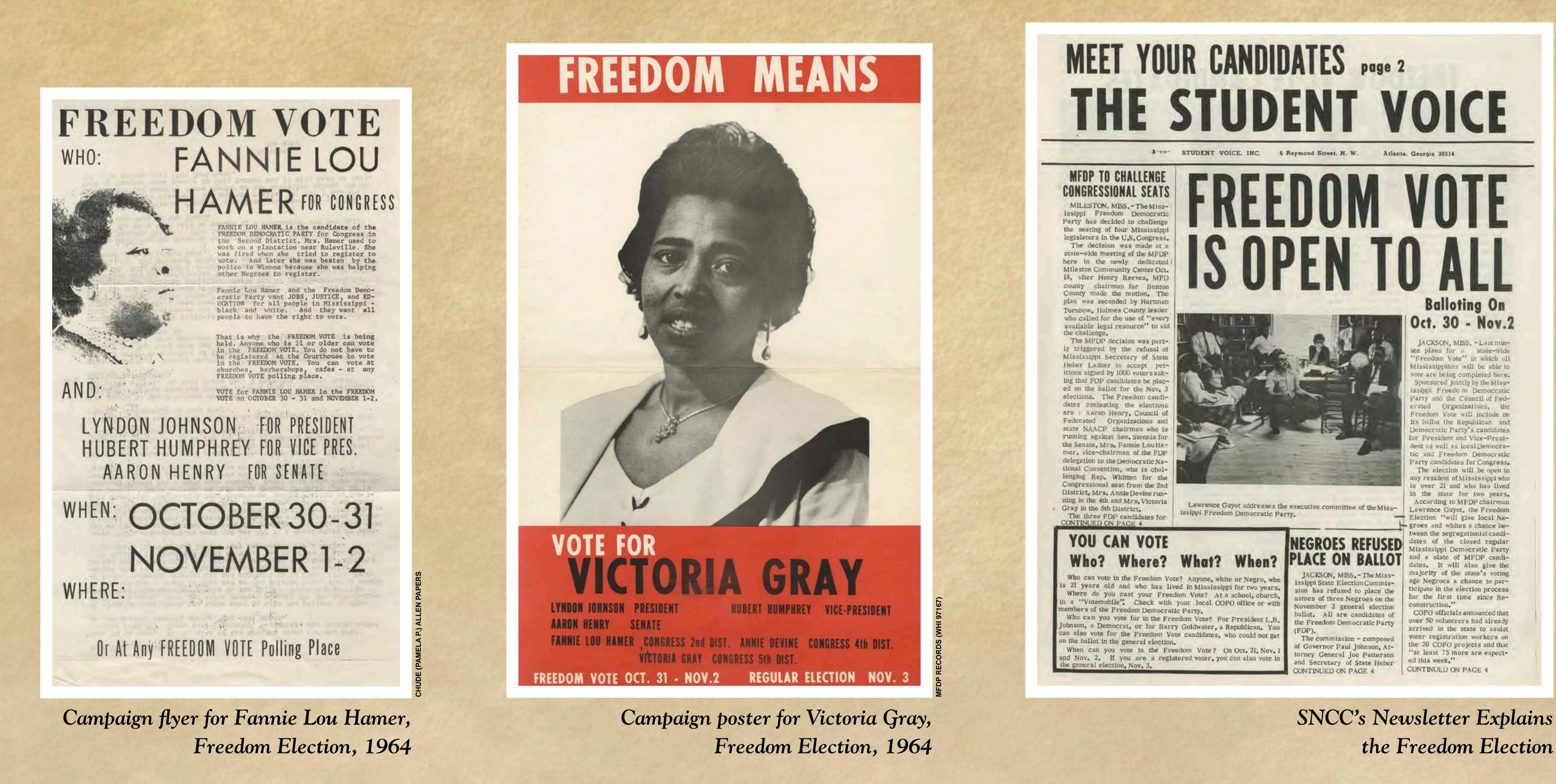


MFDP members meeting in Jackson, Aug. 6, 1964

A New Political Party

"It is time that the forces of justice and emancipation become as well organized as the forces of injustice and oppression."

— Annie Devine, Canton, Miss.



Because black people couldn't join

the main political parties, Freedom Summer workers helped them start a new one called the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. All across the state, black residents held meetings, signed up members, and ran campaigns. New leaders were born. More than 60,000 African Americans braved threats and violence to join in the unofficial voting.

In most places, MFDP candidates got more votes in the

The MFDP held an unofficial Freedom Election at the same time as the regular 1964 election. Freedom Election than regular Democrats did in the official one. Bob Moses said, "They had the mock election. We had the real election."





NE ARE NOT ALLOWED

MFDP supporters outside the U.S. Capitol, January 1965



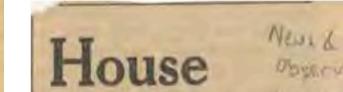
MFDP delegate Fannie Lou Hamer at the Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City, Aug. 1964



Challenging America

"Is this America? The land of the free and the home of the brave?"

— Fannie Lou Hamer, Atlantic City, N.J., Aug. 1964



Rejects Challenge

WASHINGTON (AP) — Misssippi Negroes lost their fight riday to unseat the state's five

The House rejected their chalenge 228-143. It first defeated, without a record vote, an effort by the challenge backers to cend the issue back to the comnittee that recommended its dismissal.

Three of the Negro women challengers invoked their right as election contestants to enter the House chamber during the debate. They held hands unobtrusively for a while as they sat side by side near the rear of the chamber.

Fill Galleries

Members of the Mississippi eedom Democratic part led the visitors' galleries. "The men and women who rneyed from that state to ear mute and respectful witess are watching us," said Rep. John Conyers Jr., D-Mich., Negro. Afterwards, on the Capitol teps, Fannie Lou Hamer, a big oman who said her grandother was a slave, wept "I'm not crying for myself today but I'm crying for America today," she said. "I cry that Constitution of the Unite ales, written down on paper plies only to white people. She was one of the Negroes es were excluded from the ests in Mississippi. She was e of the three who sat in the

Not Clearcut

pated their cause.

brown leather seats of the House while congressmen de-

Many House liberals did not regard the case as a clearcut rights issue. They said the allengers were on shaky legal ound and supported the Adnistration Committee's rechallenge, citing House preclents and calling for a close atch on future elections under ne 1965 Voting Rights Act. But another of the contestants, Victoria Gray, said later, til the time comes when cople and congressmen are illing to argue the issue inlead of technicalities, the Contution is not real to me." "The Constitution is some hing on paper," Mrs. Hamer aid. "I'm one of the black people of America. My grandmoth er was a slave. With God's help, nd without violence, I'll keep on fighting until the Constitution means what it says." She added, "We won't stop the fight. We will come back year

ter year until we are allowed r rights as citizens. Next time ey'll probably be trying to get y seat. Who knows, in 1966 aybe one of us will be a senar."

N.C. Vote

MFDP supporters outside the convention in Atlantic City, Aug. 1964

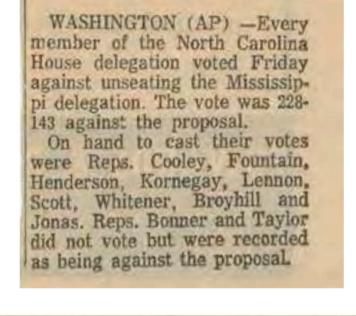
Democrats from across

the nation met in Atlantic City, N.J., to choose their presidential candidate in August. The MFDP argued that Mississippi's all-white official delegation had no right to speak for the state's Democrats. They sent their own delegates to Atlantic City instead.

The FBI infiltrated their meetings and politicians whom they thought were their friends betrayed them.

Millions of Americans watched on TV as Democratic Party leaders rejected the MFDP's challenge. SNCC's Joyce Ladner called Atlantic City, "the end of innocence."

Three months later, Mississippi segregationists easily won re-election to Congress. The MFDP filed a second challenge. That was rejected, too, and racists took the state's seats in Washington.



A reporter describes the rejection of the Congressional Challenge, Sept. 18, 1965

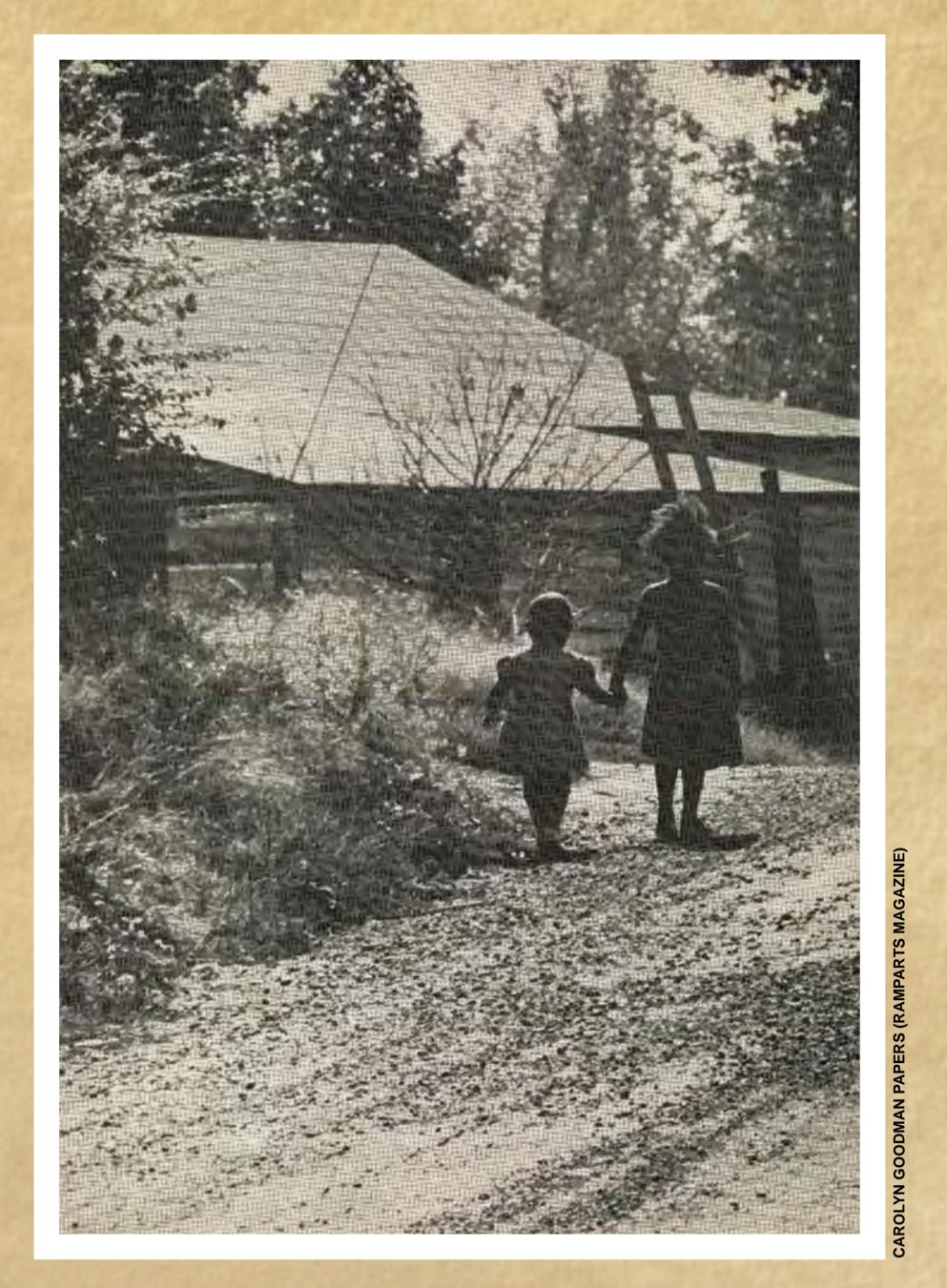


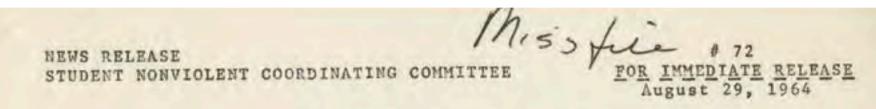




Two African-American men wait to vote.

Waking Up the Nation





MISSISSIPPI SUMMER PROJECT ENDS MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM DRIVE BEGINS

GREENWOOD, MISSISSIPPI - The Mississippi Summer Project has ended and the Mississippi Freedom Project has begun.

The summer-long drive - involving over 900 college students, doctors, nurses, lawyers and minister - began June 21 and ended this week. The Mississippi Freedom Project, a continuation of the summer's work, began immediately.

Over 200 of the summer workers will stay in Mississippi. They join the 83 permanent staff members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) who have been working in Mississippi for the last three years.

The SNCC national office, located here through the summer, will move back to Atlanta, Georgia.

The summer's four main thrusts - voter registration, Freedom Schools, Community Centers and political action - will continue. By the summer's end, there were 41 Freedom Schools in 20 communities throughout the state. Total enrollment was 2,165. There were 175 full-time Freedom School teachers. Summer workers established 13 Community Centers, staffed by 61 workers, offering literacy classes, art, music, drama, recreation, health and child care programs, and libraries. Two centers - in Harmony and Mileston - are being built from the ground up by local people and volunteers. Over 55,000 Negroes registered on "Freedom Registration" forms for the Freedom Democratic, the group that successfully challenged Mississippi's all-white regular Democratic Party at the National Democratic Convention in Atlantic City. Regular voter registration efforts were not as successful. For instance, only 2 of the 123 Leflore County Negroes who took Mississippi's tortous registration test between June and July became registered voters. In contrast, 3,384 Leflore County Negroes registered on Freedom Registration forms. SNCC workers hope to spread "Summer Project" activities throughout other deep South states also, especially in Eastern Arkansas, Central Alabama and Southwest Georgie were SNCC drives have been underway for several years. -30(c) Upon information and belief by virtue of the registration permitted in said 18 counties under the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the newly registered Negroes under that Act as of April 1, 1966, are approximately as follows:

County	Cong. Dist.	Number of Eli- gible Negroes	Number Regis- tered Before August 1965	Number Regis- tered Since August 1965	% of Eligible Negroes Registered
Leflore	1	13,547	281	5,884	46
Jones	5	7,427	800	1,935	37
Jefferson	3	3,540	1	2,331	66
Warren	3	10,726	2,433	2,588	46
Benton	2	1,419	337	548	62
Coshona	2	14,604	1,061	4,589	39
DeSoto	2	6,246	11	1,310	21
Clay	1	4,444	50	1,474	34
Humphreys	4	5,561	0	714	13
Holmes	4	8,757	20	3,856	44
Carroll	1	2,704	1	729	26
Jeff Davis	5	3,222	126	1,630	55
Hinds	3	36,138	5,156	6,184	31
Walthall	3	2,499	125	1,132	50
	-				

Mississippi children move into the future, 1964

"Mississippi Summer Project Ends" (SNCC press release, Aug. 29. 1964)

Walthal	1 3	2,499	125	1,15~	
Simpson		3,186		661	21
Neshoba		2,565	200	613	32
Madison		10,366	450	5,498	57
Newton	4	3,018	104	740	28
	OTAL	139,969	11,156	42,416	38 %
	(d) Said 18 coun	ties are scattere	d throughout	the State
1000			ore thereof are p		
c	Mississip	pi and one or m	ore energer are l		
1	ive congres	sional district	s.		
	10) In the 64 co	unties of the Sta	ate of Mississ	ippi in
0					
/ •	hich the At	torney General	of the United Sta	ates has faile	a or
1	neglected to	designate Fede	ral Voting Examin	ners, (prior t	o April
// \			crease of the nu		
		A STATE OF A	n substantially		
	and the second se			the second se	and a second
× 1	than that pr	esent in the 18	counties in whi	ch such Federa	1 Voting
	Sucurinana he	vo been designa	ted. The figure	s for represen	tative
1	sxaminers no		the second se		
	the second se		ut the state's f	ive congressio	

Thousands of new voters register after the Voting Rights Act passes.

By the fall of 1964, Freedom Summer workers were exhausted. They'd been jailed, beaten, bombed, and shot. Hundreds were hurt and several were dead. And segregation was as strong as ever in Mississippi. They thought they had failed. But they had woken up America.

Thousands of black Mississippians had joined together to confront their oppressors. They would never be silenced again. And white Americans across the country were shocked at savage attacks on kids like their own.

Freedom Summer helped change the country's racial climate so Congress could pass the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

President Lyndon Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act on August 6, 1965. Soon, tens of thousands of African Americans registered to vote in Mississippi. Over the next 18 months, more than half of eligible black voters in the South would register. Some ran for city council, school board, and sheriff.



Racism and brutality would continue and more people would die fighting them. But segregation had been cracked during Freedom Summer. America would never be the same.



Staff and volunteers outside the Holly Springs Freedom School







Wisconsin Historical Society

About the Exhibit

This exhibit was created for middle and high school students who are learning about Freedom Summer for the first time.

All photographs and manuscripts shown here are housed at the

Wisconsin Historical Society. To learn how they got there, see the book "Risking Everything: A Freedom Summer Reader" (Madison, WHS Press: 2014) or the Summer 2014 issue of the Wisconsin Magazine of History.

Visit www.wisconsinhistory.org/freedomsummer for a digital archive with thousands of other Civil Rights documents.

The uncaptioned images on the first banner show young men planning at a political meeting, a young woman resisting police non-violently (courtesy of Ted Polumbaum Collection, The Newseum), children reading in a community center, staff and volunteers in Holly Springs, and the U.S. Constitution. Many of the images used in the exhibit are from a filmstrip produced by the MFDP in the winter of 1964-65.

The Wisconsin Historical Society gratefully acknowledges the Jane Bradley Pettit Foundation for its generous support of this exhibit.



