



We who believe in freedom should not rest, until the killing of black men, a black mother, becomes as important to the rest of the country as the killing of a white mother's son. We who believe in freedom cannot rest until this happens.

Ella Baker 1903-

Portrait of Ella Baker on this page by Sharon Riley.

Dear Friends,

I was seven years old in the summer of 1964 and I have never been to Mississippi. While attending college at Kent State University, I became familiar with the names Ella Baker; Fannie Lou Hamer; Medgar Evers; and Goodman, Schwerner, and Chaney. I was enamored of their courage and conviction, and eventually, I became absorbed in creating a lasting tribute to them and to their timeless quest for justice.

The creation of the Mississippi Freedom Summer Project is, in every way, evolutionary and a labor of love. This musical collection and forthcoming anthology was born while I was in graduate school researching songs from the Civil Rights Movement. Digging through issues of *Broadside* magazine from the early 60's, I noticed that the most powerful and provocative pieces captured the brutality committed against those who dared to eradicate the segregation and racist status quo in Mississippi. There, in the summer of 1964, close to one thousand college students from the North joined civil rights workers in a dangerous operation to bring about social reforms for southern blacks, including voting rights, better schools, and adequate housing. Their passion and purpose filled the pages of this national song magazine, where the story of the Mississippi Freedom Summer unfolded, at once urgent and eloquent. Like an explorer who discovered a buried treasure, I had to share my riches with the rest of the world.

I began by weaving this information into an arts-empowerment program for at-risk, low-income youth and children in Washington, D.C. Not surprisingly, most of my students had been denied exposure to the events and individuals who made possible the Mississippi Freedom Summer, as American history texts typically make cursory, if any, reference to one of the country's most decisive initiatives for social change.

Realizing something more had to be done, I put all of my energies and limited resources into developing a national forum for Freedom Summer participants to document their legacies in a non-commercial format, unscarred by censorship and

media distortion. Literally hundreds of people have supported my efforts, in a generous offering of articles, testimonies, and the cherished lyrics and melodies included here. I'm careful to remind you, however, that this collection is not meant to be a historical account; rather, it is a retrospective reminiscent of the racial discrimination and economic disparity that continues today, dangerously ignored and inexcusably dismissed.

Nor is this project all inclusive. Hundreds of Freedom Summer volunteers were never located, and others have never forwarded their materials despite their initial enthusiasm and my repeated requests. Perhaps, they feel their recollection has been tempered by the passage of time; or, conversely, their memories have proven too difficult to record.

It is, nevertheless, a fine tribute, which I have dedicated to the memory of Ella Baker. Ella's name is not widely known among the general public, but to those inside the movement, her uncompromising mission and inspiring presence were a sustaining force. I am also proud to present this project in honor of Emmett Till, Medgar Evers, Michael Schwerner, Andrew Goodman, James Chaney . . . and all those who gave their lives to the ongoing struggle for racial equality and social justice.

Freedom Is a Constant Struggle has touched my life in many ways. The captivating power of the material and the wonderful people I met made this experience one of the most rewarding in my life. It is my hope that the songs assembled for this collection stir the emotions of the listener as they have mine, and that they are shared with generations to come.

In Peace,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Susie Erenrich". The signature is written in black ink on a white background.

Susie Erenrich
Executive Director
Cultural Center for Social Change

A Note About This Recorded Collection

This historical album contains analog as well as digital source material, some of which was recorded live more than 30 years ago. Every attempt has been made to obtain original master recordings and capture the best possible sound. Some of the original master recordings had inherent problems, but capturing the song in its historical context was more vital than attempting to obtain more contemporary material.

DISC 1

1. *Hey Nelly Nelly*, performed by **Judy Collins**. Silverstein-Freidman, Hollis Music, Inc., BMI. Used by permission of Elektra Records. From "Judy Collins #3."
2. *Here's To The State Of Mississippi*, arranged and performed by **Phil Ochs**. Words and music by Phil Ochs, Warner Brothers, ASCAP. Produced under license from Elektra Entertainment. Taken from "There But For Fortune."
3. *Ballad Of Medgar Evers*, led by **Matthew Jones**, performed by the **SNCC Freedom Singers**. Recorded in Atlanta, GA, included through courtesy of Phonogram, Inc. Used by permission of Matthew Jones and The Smithsonian Institution. Taken from "Voices of the Civil Rights Movement, Black American Freedom Songs, 1960-1966."
4. *Death Of Medgar Evers*, performed by **Donal Leace**. Words and music by Tom Paxton. **No previous recording.** © Deep Fork Music, Inc. **Recorded for this album.**
5. *Only A Pawn In Their Game*, performed by **Bob Dylan**. Words and music by Bob Dylan, Special Writer Music. Used by permission of Columbia Records. Taken from "The Times They Are A-Changin'."
6. *Too Many Martyrs*, performed by **Kim & Reggie Harris**. Words by Phil Ochs. Music by Phil Ochs and Bob Gibson, Appleseed Music, ASCAP. Used by permission of the Ochs Estate. **Newly recorded for this album.**
7. *Blowin' In The Wind*, performed by **Peter, Paul & Mary**. Words and music by Bob Dylan, Special Writer Music. Produced under license from Warner Brothers Records Inc. Taken from "Ten Years Together."
8. *It Isn't Nice*, performed by **Judy Collins**. Words and music by Malvina Reynolds, music by Malvina Reynolds and Barbara Dane, Schroder Music, ASCAP. Used by permission of Elektra Records. Taken from "Judy Collins' Fifth Album."
9. *Ain't Gonna Let Nobody Turn Me Round*, performed by **Julius Lester**. Adaptation of traditional song by members of the Albany Movement. **Newly recorded for this album.**
10. *Hammer Song*, performed and arranged by **Barbara Dane**. Words and music by Lee Hays and Pete Seeger, TRO © 1958 (renewed) & 1962 Ludlow Music Inc. Used by permission of Dreadnaught Music, BMI.
11. *Going Down To Mississippi*, performed by **Phil Ochs**. Words and music by Phil Ochs, controlled by the Estate of Phil Ochs. Used by permission of Rhino Records, Inc./Archives Alive Records. Taken from "A Toast To Those Who Are Gone."
12. *I'm On My Way*, performed and arranged by **Barbara Dane**. Adaptation of a traditional song. Used by permission of Dreadnaught Music, BMI.
13. *Thirsty Boots*, performed by **Eric Andersen**. Words and music by Eric Andersen, Deep Fork Music (SBK United Partnership Ltd.). Used by permission of Vanguard Records, a Welk Music Group Company. Taken from "The Best of Eric Andersen."
14. *Carry It On*, performed by **Carolyn Hester** (accompanied by David Blume). Words and music Gil Turner, © TRO (1964) & Melody Trails, Inc. (1965). Used by permission of Red River Productions, Inc. **Newly recorded for this album.**
15. *Wade In The Water*, performed by **Julius Lester**. Traditional spiritual. **Newly recorded for this album.**
16. *Move On Over*, performed by **Len Chandler**, produced by Tim Horrigan. Words by Len Chandler, tune traditional (John Brown's Body, Battle Hymn of the Republic), © DARHE Music, Inc. **Newly recorded for this album. No previous recording.**
17. *I'm Going To Get My Baby Out Of Jail*, performed by **Len Chandler**, produced by Tim Horrigan. Words and music by Len Chandler—©DARHE Music Inc. **Newly recorded for this album.**
18. *Waves Of Freedom*, performed by Eric Andersen. Words and music by Eric Andersen, Deep Fork Music. Used by permission of Vanguard Records, a Welk Music Group Company. Taken from "A Country Dream."
19. *This Little Light Of Mine*, performed by **Odette**. Traditional song. Used by permission of Pookie Tree Music, Rose Quartz Records, and Flying Fish Records, Inc. Taken from "Movin' It On."
20. *How Long*, performed by **Magpie (Terry Leonino & Greg Artzner)** and **Kim & Reggie Harris**. Words and music by Phil Ochs. **No previous recording.**

DISC 2

1. *Movin' It On*, performed by **Odetta**. Words and music by Odetta. Used by permission of Pookie Tree Music, Rose Quartz Records and Flying Fish Records, Inc. Taken from "Movin' It On."
2. *Ain't You Got A Right To The Tree Of Life*, performed by **Guy and Candie Carawan**. Words and music by Guy Carawan, © (1965, 1985) by Stormking Music, BMI. Title from an old John's Island, SC, chant as sung by Luci Murphy. Choral arrangement by Pete Seeger. Used by permission of Flying Fish Records, Inc. Taken from "Ain't You Got A Right To The Tree Of Life."
3. *Freedom School*, performed by **Jack Landron**. Words and music by Jack Landron. Used by permission of Vanguard Records, a Welk Music Group Company. Taken from "Jackie Washington at Club 47."
4. *Song For Ben Chaney*, performed by **Jack Landron**. Words and music by Jack Landron. Used by permission of Vanguard Records, a Welk Music Group Company. Taken from "Jackie Washington at Club 47."
5. *Goodman, Schwerner, and Chaney*, performed by **Tom Paxton**. Words and music by Tom Paxton. © 1965 by E.M.I. Music, ASCAP. Used by permission of Elektra Records. Taken from "Ain't That News."
6. *Those Three Are On My Mind*, performed by **Kim & Reggie Harris** and **Magpie (Terry Leonino & Greg Artzner)**. Words by Frances Taylor, music by Pete Seeger. © 1966 by Fall River Music Inc. All Rights Reserved, used by permission. **Newly recorded for this album.**
7. *Michael, Andrew and James*, performed by **Richard and Mimi Fariña**. Words and music by Richard Fariña. Used by permission of Vanguard Records, a Welk Music Group Company. Taken from "Celebrations For A Grey Day."
8. *I Have Seen Freedom*, performed by **Si Kahn**. Words and music by Si Kahn, Joe Hill Music, ASCAP. Si Kahn appears courtesy of Flying Fish Records, Inc. Taken from "I Have Seen Freedom."
9. *Three Young Men*, performed by **Carolyn Hester**, accompanied by David Blume. Words and music by Carolyn Hester, Red River Productions, Inc. **Newly recorded for this album.**
10. *In The Mississippi River*, led by **Marshall Jones**, performed by the **SNCC Freedom Singers**, words and music by Marshall Jones. Recorded in Schenectady, NY, in 1965, included through the courtesy of the Estate of Herbert Poller. Used by permission of Marshall Jones and The Smithsonian Institution. Taken from "Voices of the Civil Rights Movement, Black American Freedom Songs, 1960-1966."
11. *Freedom Is A Constant Struggle*, performed by **Julius Lester**. Words and music by Roberta Slavit. © 1964 by Stormking Music Inc., BMI. **Newly recorded for this album.**
12. *This May Be The Last Time*, performed by **Bernice Johnson Reagon**. Arrangement © by Bernice Johnson Reagon, 1993, Songtalk Publishing Company. **Newly recorded for this album.**
13. *We Will Not Bow Down To Genocide*, performed by **Len Chandler**, produced by Tim Horgan. Words and music by Len Chandler. © DARHE Music, Inc. **Newly recorded for this album.**
14. *You Should've Been Down In Mississippi*, performed by **Magpie (Terry Leonino & Greg Artzner)**. Words and music by Phil Ochs. **Never previously recorded. Recorded for this album.**
15. *Father's Grave*, performed by **Jack Landron**. Words and music by Len Chandler. Used by permission of Vanguard Records, a Welk Music Group Company. From "Jackie Washington at Club 47."
16. *Mississippi Summer*, performed by **Si Kahn**. Words and music by Si Kahn, Joe Hill Music, ASCAP. Si Kahn appears courtesy of Flying Fish Records, Inc. Taken from "Doing My Job."
17. *Fannie Lou Hamer*, performed by **Sweet Honey In The Rock** on "Believe I'll Run On . . . See What The End's Gonna Be." Written By Bernice Johnson Reagon, Songtalk Publishing Company. Used by permission

of Redwood Records, Oakland, CA.

18. *Summer 64/Oh Freedom*, performed by **Greg Traftido, Laura Pole, Neal Phillips, Robert Cardwell, and the Voices of Zion (Terry Dorsey, Jackie Hubbard, Ralph Dorsey, Rosezetta Hamlet)**. Written by Greg Traftido and Neal Phillips, Kirapole Music Co., © 1993. Recorded for this album.

19. *Shadows On The Light*, performed by **Matthew Jones**. Words by Robert Cohen, music by Matthew Jones and Robert Cohen, arranged by Matthew Jones. Recorded for this album.

20. *Ella's Song*, performed by **Sweet Honey In The Rock** from "Breaths." Composition by Bernice Johnson Reagon, Songtalk Publishing Co. Sweet Honey In The Rock appears courtesy of Flying Fish Records, Inc.

About The Artists

Eric Andersen is a song-poet and recording artist who has released 18 albums. He was discovered by Tom Paxton in San Francisco and got his start in Greenwich Village along with Phil Ochs and Bob Dylan. Eric divides his time between New York and Norway where he writes and lives with painter Unni Askeland and their four children.

Guy and Candie Carawan, based at the Highlander Center in Tennessee for more than 30 years, have worked as cultural organizers in the South, and have performed nationally and internationally. They have produced four books and a dozen documentary albums reflecting both traditional cultures of Deep South African American and Appalachian communities; and the adoption of these cultures into social movements. They have also produced 12 albums of their own music. Guy is best known for spreading We Shall Overcome throughout the South in the early 1960's. He plays guitar, banjo, and hammered dulcimer. In addition to singing, Candie is an artist and potter.

Len Chandler is the co-founder/director of the Los Angeles Songwriter's Showcase and Senior Editor of the Songwriter Mueseppaper. Chandler's freedom songs were recorded at the Smithsonian and stored in the National Archives. Two songs he wrote on the Selma to Montgomery March are in the documentary film "King." He recorded for Columbia, Folkways, Broadside, Blue Thumb, FM, and King Records and wrote 15 topical songs a week for a year on KRLA's "Credibility Gap." Chandler's songs were also featured on KLET-TV's "Musical Muse" and "Earth News Radio," syndicated to over 400 markets worldwide.

Judy Collins is well known on the political front. She was a participant in The Civil Rights Movement and in 1964 went to Mississippi with the Caravan of Music. She began studying classical piano at the age of five, but it was the music of Woody Guthrie and Pete Seeger and the traditional music of the folk revival that fired her love of lyrics, and by 16 made her move from playing the Steinway to playing the guitar. Judy has recorded 26 albums, written two books and co-directed the documentary film *Antonia: A Portrait Of The Woman*.

Barbara Dane is a blues and jazz singer who has lent her voice to the cause of racial and economic justice since 1945. She began singing union organizing songs which brought her to the shop gates of the 40's, freedom songs which carried her to Mississippi and anti-war songs which took her to storefronts and cellars on the outskirts of military posts. Barbara has toured extensively throughout the world, including Hanoi, Havana, and Japan.

Bob Dylan appeared alongside Pete Seeger and Theodore Bikel at a voter registration rally in Greenwood, Mississippi, on July 6, 1963. It was there that he first sang his song Only A Pawn In Their Game. Later that summer he performed the song during the great Civil Rights March On Washington. Bob Dylan arrived on the New York folk scene in early 1961 and signed with Columbia Records that same year.

Richard and Mimi Fariña captured national attention as folk duo in the early 1960's, becoming one of the first groups to fuse folk material with a rock rhythm theme. Richard was the author of *Been Down So Long It Looks Like Up To Me* (Random House), a poet, composer, and musician. Both Richard and Mimi's voices harmonized to create a unique sound accompanied by their dulcimer and guitar. They recorded three albums on Vanguard Records before Richard's death in a 1966 motorcycle accident.

Kim & Reggie Harris are Folk Era recording artists. They are versatile and gifted singers, composers, and instrumentalists whose commitment to the cause of freedom is reflected on their album *In The Heat Of The Summer* (Folk Era 1412). Kim and Reggie tour internationally with performances at theatres, festivals, clubs, colleges, and schools.

Carolyn Hester is a folksinger/songwriter. She came to attention through the unusual path of being presented by rock n' roll hero Buddy Holly. She, in turn, participated in the discovery of Bob Dylan and mentored Nanci Griffith. Peter Seeger has always been her biggest inspiration. Carolyn and her husband David Blume continue to tour the U.S.A. and England. They have two daughters, Karla and Amy.

Marshall Jones was involved in the Civil Rights Movement in Knoxville while studying at the University of Tennessee. His brother Matthew encouraged him to join the Freedom Singers in 1963 to work full-time against social injustice and inequality. Marshall composed *In The Mississippi River* to pay tribute to Goodman, Schwerner and Chaney and all of the others who were killed in the struggle.

Matthew Jones was one of the leaders of the Nashville student movement while a student at Tennessee State University in 1960. He wrote his first freedom song in 1961, and in 1963 developed the Danville Freedom Voices to go into the tobacco fields of Virginia and sing freedom songs. In Danville, he wrote many songs including the *Ballad Of Medgar Evers*. In the fall of 1963, Matthew went to Atlanta to organize the Freedom Singers. He remained with them until 1967. Matthew was arrested 29 times while in the movement.

Si Kahn is an organizer and songwriter who has worked in the South since the days of the Civil Rights Movement. Since 1980 he has been the director of Grassroots Leadership in Charlotte, NC, a team of African Americans, and whites who provide strategic organizing assistance to Southern poor and working communities. His 10 albums of original and traditional songs are available on Flying Fish and Rounder Records.

Jack Landron was a student at Emerson College in Boston, MA, in 1964. He was under contract to Vanguard Recording Society and enjoyed a reputation as one of the outstanding folksingers of that era. He was then known as Jackie Washington and performed across the United States and Canada as well as on national television with a featured role on the NBC series "The First Look." Today, he is an actor based in New York and in addition to radio and television commercials and voice-overs, he occasionally appears in concert.

Donal Leace is a singer/songwriter, educator, and theatre director. He has worked, demonstrated and sung for human tolerance and understanding since the early 1960's, and has been fortunate enough to practice his crafts around the world. Currently, he chairs the theatre department at the Duke Ellington School of the Arts.

Julius Lester was a photographer, writer, and folksinger for the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). He has published more than 20 books and teaches in the Judaic Studies Department at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst.

Maggie (Terry Leonino and Greg Artzner) began playing music together in Northeastern Ohio in 1973. Their interest in country, swing, jazz, blues, ragtime, traditional folk, and contemporary music has helped create an eclectic repertoire. Greg and Terry are best known for lending their voices to struggles for justice; whether it be for the rights of Native Peoples, the quest for peace, the homeless, human rights or healing the environment. Both were inspired at an early age by political events unfolding in the early 1960's, in particular Freedom Summer. They have toured extensively throughout the U.S., Canada, Mexico, England, and Scotland.

Phil Ochs was one of the musical spokesmen of the 1960's. His song, *I Ain't Marchin' Anymore* was one of the anthems of the anti-war movement. He was a committed activist who never compromised. Phil was a part of the Caravan of Music of Project Mississippi in 1964.

Odetta is a woman of wide-ranging political and musical interest. She began serious voice studies at 13, and in 1949 started her folk music odyssey. In 1987, the National Music Council presented her with the American Eagle Award for her distinguished contribution to American music and she was honored by the Federation of Protestant Charities for the contributions to numerous humanitarian organizations and causes. From Alabama to Zimbabwe, Odetta has captivated music lovers in many lands and from all facets of the world.

Tom Paxton has been a much admired songwriter since he helped define the folk movement in New York's musical community in the early 1960's. With the world as his prey and lavish gifts of expression at his command, Paxton continues to find much to question, laugh about, and celebrate through words and music. He has been performing continuously for the past three decades and has produced 32 albums, including award winning recordings for children.

Peter, Paul and Mary have exemplified the folk tradition in their grassroots approach to both music and political change ever since their 1961 premiere performance at the Bitter End in New York's Greenwich Village. These three distinctly different artists, each with their own separate interests and solo projects, have managed to successfully combine their varied talents into a creative and ever evolving whole. Today, with the release of their latest project, *Peter, Paul, and Mommy, Too*, the trio's inspiring message of idealism and hope is reaching a fourth generation of fans.

Bernice Johnson Reagon, composer, singer, mother, historian, author, founder and artistic director of Sweet Honey In The Rock, lives in Washington, DC, where she also works as a curator for the Smithsonian

Institution. Her latest book is *We'll Understand It Better By and By: Pioneering African American Gospel Composer*; she is working on *Wade In The Water*, a Smithsonian Institution and National Public Radio production on the history of African American sacred music.

Sharon Riley was born in Washington, DC, in 1950. She was trained at the Corcoran School of Art in her early years and was taught by numerous individuals outside of schools. Sharon has lived up and down the eastern seaboard from Bluefields, Nicaragua, to her present home in Bar Harbor, ME.

Faith Ringgold is a painter, mixed media sculptor, performance artist, writer and teacher. She is a professor of art at the University of California, San Diego. Faith's *The Sunflowers Quilting Bee At Arles* is part of *The French Collection Part 1* series which is a tribute to her mother, Madame Willi Posey, and other African American women for their life long dedication to work, family, culture, and community.

Sweet Honey In The Rock, for 20 years Washington, DC's internationally renowned African American women's capella quintet, has recorded 12 albums, won a Grammy award in the traditional folk category for their performance of "Sylvie" on the recording *Vision Shared*, and another Grammy nomination for "Emergency" on the recording *Live At Carnegie Hall*. The group's latest recording is *Still On The Journey* (Earthbeat! Records) with a second album for children, *I Got Shoes (Music For Little People)* released in 1994. *Sweet Honey In The Rock* celebrated its 20th Anniversary with the fall 1993 publication of *We Who Believe In Freedom: Sweet Honey In The Rock . . . Still On The Journey* (Anchor Books) by Bernice Johnson Reagon and Sweet Honey In The Rock.

Greg Traffido, Laura Pole, Neal Phillips, Robert Cardwell, and the Voices Of Zion wrote and recorded *Summer 64/Oh Freedom* specifically for this album. Greg, Laura, and Neal are multi-talented, award winning singer-songwriters based in Virginia's Blue Ridge Mountains. Robert Cardwell and the Voices of Zion are a Lynchburg, VA, gospel group whose musical ministry of praise has been well received across the U.S. and Europe.

Acknowledgements

Words can never adequately express my gratitude to all of the artists who have aligned in appreciating the value of this commemorative effort. This project would never have been possible without their memories, talent and devotion.

I would also like to thank my sound engineer, Gary Lee from Wild Cat Studio, Allan Shaw and Mike Fleischer of Folk Era Records, my assistant and best friend Brad McKelvey, my attorney Jay Rosenthal, Dr. Lydia Fish for introducing me to Gary and Mike, Sonny Ochs for going beyond the call of duty, my wonderful parents, and all of the other people who have contributed so much of themselves to make this happen. There are too many of you to list, but I love and am indebted to each and every one of you.

A Note From Folk Era Productions, Inc.

We are delighted to be a part of this project. The late Bruce Kaplan, founder of Flying Fish Records, issued many records based on their artistic merit and social significance and not their commercial potential. That they proved commercially viable surprised everyone except Bruce. It is his example that guided us to participate in the release of this album. It is also our belief that music is the universal language; that, among other things, it compels us to action, reminds us that much of what is achieved is accomplished only after hard struggle, and reminds us also that there is much left to do. The music of the Mississippi Freedom Summer at one time compelled action. Let it now remind us of the enormous struggles of the past and long struggle ahead to achieve justice, equality, and freedom.

About The Organization

*Cultural Center for Social Change is a non-profit, arts education organization located in the District of Columbia. It was established to educate the general public through the arts about historic, social and political movements in this country and abroad; to provide arts programming to underserved populations; and to collaborate with artists involved in projects for social change. For more information about the center's forthcoming book, *Freedom Is a Constant Struggle; An Anthology of the Mississippi Civil Rights Movement*, or other organizational activities write:*

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Produced by Susie Erenrich, Cultural Center for Social Change, Washington, DC.

Mastered by Gary Lee, Wild Cat Studio, Tonawanda, NY. Production by Mike Fleischer for Folk Era Productions, Inc., Naperville, IL.

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