

SNCC 60TH ANNIVERSARY CONFERENCE, 2021

Telling and Teaching The SNCC Story

Speaker 1 (00:00:07):

You're good. Now I can.

Speaker 2 (00:06:59):

You're good.

Speaker 3 (00:07:00):

Okay. Should I start from the beginning or just proceed now?

Speaker 2 (00:07:09):

Just keep going.

Speaker 3 (00:07:10):

Okay. There are thousands of stories like the one of Harriet Moore, uh, freedom schools are one example that, uh, education forum that introduced a curriculum of liberation. And you can learn more about the freedom schools at the SNCC digital gateway and the civil rights movement archives. And more recently, more than a hundred thousand teachers have registered at the Zen education project to download lessons, to teach outside the textbook of, of course, in response to truth, telling over the generations, there have always been a tax currently G O P bills in about 27 states are trying to ban teaching about institutionalized racism and teachers are responding to saying that they are committed to truth telling by those bills. Therefore, what we're going to talk about today requires not only learning and teaching the history, that's not in the textbook. It also requires applying those lessons to defend the right, to teach that history.

Speaker 3 (00:08:11):

There are many themes about the civil rights movement that are missing or misrepresented in textbooks. We'll share this list that I've got here on the screen in the chat box, uh, which includes those title or those themes and many more. But for our session today, Judy Richardson and Jessica Rucker will focus on three from that list, the roles of women, young people and music in the movement. Judy will talk about her personal connection to this history. And Jessica will share teaching stories. If you have questions, please place them in the chat in all caps, we'll try to get to them. Uh, we will begin with Judy, uh, talking about how the role of women is in the civil rights movement, history, and in particular, the role of women in SNCC, including herself. And, uh, it looks like we might need to start over. Uh, I'm gonna wait for instructions here as taught in represented in textbooks. We'll share the long list in the chat box for our session today. Judy Richardson and Jessica Rucker will focus on three from that list, the roles of women, young people and music in the movement. Judy will talk about her personal connection to this history. And Jessica will share teaching stories. If you have questions, please place them in the chat. In all caps, we will begin with Judy Richardson talking about how the role of women is portrayed in the civil rights movement, history, and in particular, the role of women in SNCC, including herself.

Speaker 4 (00:09:52):

Oh, thank you, Deborah. Um, you know, being here with you and Jessica makes me feel like I'm, uh, in one of your wonderful teaching for change in education, uh, teacher sessions. In fact, I, I think it was just last week. I enjoyed, um, learning from, uh, Kate Messer's session with Jessica's moderator. Uh, but the themes that you've gone through represent the characterizations most

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often misrepresented and sometimes very deliberately about the 1960s movement that SNCC played such an integral role in helping to organize. Uh, but I wanna, uh, start with how I first understood how this movement was being framed and it was 1979 and I was the first and for a while, the only production staffer at Blackside productions in Boston for what became eyes on the prize, you know, that seminal 14 hour series on the civil rights movement. So in 1979, I'm sitting in the Blackside production office, reading stride toward freedom, Dr. King's account of the Montgomery bus boycott. And I see the name of Joanne Robinson. Um, and I think she's gonna come up on screen.

Speaker 4 (00:10:59):

I'm finally seeing the name of about five minutes, be about five minutes before I can hear you, uh, talking Monique. Okay. Um, and I see the name of Joanne Robinson, and I think, whoa, you know, I'm finally saying the name of a woman besides Mrs. Parks. And most importantly, Joanne is described as a leader in the women's political council in Montgomery. So I do some digging and I finally find her cuz we wanna do an interview with her. Um, and she's a teacher in LA in Los Angeles and I call her and she proceeds to tell me on the phone about the night that Rosa parks is arrested and how she goes undercover of night to her college, the H B C U the black college, Alabama state college in Montgomery to run off, um, 30 th 35,000. Are you talking mimeograph machine, right? 35,000 leaflets.

Speaker 4 (00:11:52):

And about how her organization, the women's political council used their network. So these people had a network of black teachers and black business women in Montgomery to spread the word of Mrs. Parks' arrest throughout the black community the next morning. Now this made sense to me because it was women together with the men of SNCC who led our organization. Um, you know, you, you guys all probably know that, um, SNCC was the only organization led by young people in the Southern movement. And we were also primarily black led. And so that, that the, and you probably also know that the leadership of SNCC came out of the sit-ins that in 1960 sprang from the black colleges throughout the south, you know, that leadership included people like Diane Nash and Julian bond and Marion Barry and John Lewis. So now in 1963, I decide I'm going to leave school after my first year at Swarthmore college in Pennsylvania.

Speaker 4 (00:12:53):

And I decide I'm just gonna take off one semester to, to work with SNCC in Cambridge, Maryland on the Eastern shore of Maryland, where I've been getting arrested in demonstrations and listening classes, you know, on Mondays at Swarthmore. So I think about this, uh, you know, well maybe I should take off, you know, the next semester because penny patch, uh, returning sophomore now to Swarthmore, she had been working in SNCC, Southwest Georgia project, and she returns to Swarthmore and suggests to that. I just take off, you know, a semester, first semester of my sophomore year, but she says, if you want to get on staff while working there, and she says this, you got to go by Ruby Doris. And this is if I wanted to get paid as staff people. So these are some of the, okay, there's Ruby, Doris. Um, and the one that we just flipped by was this wonderful prey hall.

Speaker 4 (00:13:45):

Yeah. Oops. See there's so there's Prethe okay. She, she was a charge in fact of the Southwest Georgia movement, along with, uh, Charles shero. So, um, so Ruby Darris. Okay. So penny says to me, if you wanna get on staff while you're working there, you got to go by her. She says, just

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that you got to go by Ruby Doris. Now I had to get paid, um, because my money, my mother had no money. My father died on the assembly line when I was seven. So I needed some little bit of money. Now, Ruby Doris was a fierce administrator, the fierce administrator of SNS national office in Atlanta. And it was she who would decide whether I'd get that weekly pay while working in Cambridge, Maryland. And that big time pay was gonna be \$10 a week or \$9 and 65 cents after taxes. Okay. Ruby, Doris, she she's smiling here, but honey, she was fierce.

Speaker 4 (00:14:38):

She was a Spellman student who had come out of the Atlanta student movement. And in 1961 at the age of 18, 18 years old, she does 30 days jail, no bail refusing bail after demonstrations to desegregate, supposedly public facilities in rock hill, South Carolina. And then the photo that you're seeing here later that year, she was on the freedom rides and sent to the dreaded Parchman prison in Mississippi. There she does 45 days in parchment prison. And in 1966, um, for the new slide she replaces, um, Jim foreman as executive secretary. She's the one in the middle where she's elected on the slate. That includes Stokley Carmichael, who's elected chairman replacing, uh, John Lewis. And you'll see, uh, foreman to the left, Cleve sellers and Ruby Darris and Stokley. So Ruby Darris is one of the many women, young folks and older folks like Mrs. Um, Fannie Lou Hamer, Mrs.

Speaker 4 (00:15:39):

Yita Blackwell mama Dolly reigns in Southwest Georgia who guarded movement folks who guided guided, uh, movement folks, uh, who stayed with, um, oh, I should mention, I'm sorry. I was mentioning, uh, uh, mama Dolly reigns in south in Southwest Georgia cause uh, mama Dolly reigns would guard movement folks who stayed with her by staying out, sitting outside her house with a shotgun. And these were the women who guided and guarded us. These were the local people. And what's amazing is that you can find out about all of, well, so many of these women and men on our SNCC digital website, um, which Jess will now share how she brings, um, share, um, how she shares this Mo this history with her students. So over to you, Jessica.

Speaker 5 (00:16:28):

Yes, indeed. First, thank you. So, so much, I like to extend very, very deep gratitude to the SNCC legacy project for extending this invitation. But, but more than that, I'm really grateful that this S 60th, um, conference exists 60 years is a short long time. Um, but it's the right amount of time to be here, um, together and celebrating this, this history. So I wanna just say thank you to that. Um, and also to be in conversation with Deborah Mancar and Judy Richardson, um, is absolutely inspiring. And as I was listening to, to Judy, um, talking about, um, miss, uh, Ruby, Doris Smith, uh, how you had, you had to go by miss Ruby, do Smith. Um, I have to go by SNCC vets. If I wanna teach this history, I gotta learn this history directly from the folks who made this history. And so I'm grateful to be here.

Speaker 5 (00:17:24):

And, and as we were talking about miss Ruby, Doris Smith, it made me think about Ms. Doris Perry, Rucker, who is my late grandmother. Um, and in 2019, she transitioned, um, and became an ancestor. And I believe she's here with me right now, now. And I had the opportunity, uh, just a few weeks before she passed to take her on a V I P tour of the national museum of African American history and culture. And when we got into the history galleries, the sections that really look at, um, us history from the 1940s, fifties, and sixties, um, she asked me to pause, I was wheeling her in a wheelchair. And, um, one of the things that she said was, you know, Jessica for

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you, this is history, but for me, this is my story. And that stuck with me because just the summer before that, uh, the summer of 2018 for three weeks, I had the opportunity, um, to spend some time at duke and, and really, um, be in conversation with teachers who were learning from SNCC veterans, scholars, and other and other movement leaders about this history.

Speaker 5 (00:18:36):

And so I'm elated that, that now I get to be a steward in a custodian. So one of the things that I like to do, um, is really get the heads and hearts of the historical figures that we study. So one of the greatest gifts of the duke NEH Institute, in addition to being in conversation with Judy Richardson, Jennifer Lawson, Portland Cox, I even had the opportunity to have breakfast. One on one with Charles Cobb, was this repository called SNCC digital gateway. It absolutely blew my mind, see prior to, um, having access to SNCC digital gateway. Um, I had to pull from a variety of sources, um, websites, uh, university college archives, just a variety of places because I am fortunate to teach at a school that believes that we should already teach beyond textbooks, but it was hard often curating lesson plans, um, from credible and reliable sources.

Speaker 5 (00:19:32):

So when I was introduced to, to this repository, I was like, wow. So one of the first assignments I created for students using SNCC digital, um, because students commented on like the feel of it, like Ms. Robert, this kind of looks like we're engaging the social media. I was like, right, right. It's very approachable. There are lots of primary source source, um, documents like photographs, um, audio, um, just, just a variety of, of different resources that students found very attractive. So I said, all right, great. So, um, you are going to take on, um, the, the role of a historical figure, um, from the 1960s and each student was assigned a bio. And the first thing they had to do was create a social media, uh, profile page based on that particular historical figure. So I introduced them to the website from the landing page.

Speaker 5 (00:20:28):

You'll notice based on the image, there's a tab that says people. So I help students, um, navigate to the people tab. So students looked at their bio card, read a little brief excerpt. We engaged in something called, uh, a mixer stepping into Selma. So we watched the film Selma, um, students then reflected on like what, what they learned from their small bio. And then students did a deep dive and they immediately noticed that on the left hand side of the screen, um, there were lists of different states where SNCC was doing its work. And then on the right hand side of the screen, there was a full list of different SNCC, um, veterans and, and movement leaders. Um, particularly who are freedom, summer volunteers. And immediately students eyes went to Marion Barry. They were like, wait, is that our Marion Barry? And I was like, yes, DC's mayor for life.

Speaker 5 (00:21:19):

Marion Barry was a SNCC leader. And they were like, what? And so immediately they, they felt more connected to, to history. So history wasn't, his story history became our story. So then one students got an opportunity to, to click on the people tab. Their, their next assignment was to look at the timeline. So now you have your historical figure. The next piece of the website was to navigate to the timeline, to put your historical figure in a time particular context. And what they saw was that SNCC folks weren't taking actions in, in isolation. There were, there were many concurrent, um, tactics and strategies that were, that were intentionally being planned, um, to, to

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bring about this broader, um, sense of freedom rights as we like to call them. And then once students got a sense of their person, they put them into this specific particular timeframe.

Speaker 5 (00:22:19):

Then students got to see how action was taking place over time. So then we navigated over to map. And so for students seeing the map was a visual representation of just how vast the, the SNCC freedom movement diaspora was so to speak. And students found that very inspiring. And, um, one of the lessons that students also really enjoyed, cause we have a teacher from Mississippi and we often go back and forth. I'm from DC educated in DC, learned, um, about who I am as a person in DC. And then I have an African American colleague who, um, learned who he was as, as a, as a resident of this country, um, from, from, from the perspective of growing up in Mississippi. And so students were like, Hmm, these points of you are a little bit different, but, but, but anyways, um, so as we were talking about Mississippi, um, there's an episode of eyes on the prize and it's called, um, is this America.

Speaker 5 (00:23:20):

And that, that question really pulls students in because they're struck by Merly Everetts telling the story of, of stepping out of her front door and seeing her husband murdered in cold blood. He ju posed to C Gambino, but the time had a song called this is America where challenge Gambino uses not only very powerful lyrics, but the music video with significant visual imagery, particularly the way he uses the color red to talk about, right? The, the prevalence of racism and white supremacy. So our resistance doesn't come outta nowhere. Even our resistance was being resistant by people in positions of power. And so the, the color red tied to the blood that Merly ever so vividly kind of described back to the major conservative us political party. So students got to see how music, um, in concert with movements, pun intended really thrust the movement forward.

Speaker 5 (00:24:17):

And so then I said, I got more for you guess what, you know, freedom songs were a big part of the movement, you know, um, if, if, if, you know, every movement needs a soundtrack, so to speak. And so, um, so many of my students were fascinated by the role of young people, the role of women, and also the role of music. So Judy, I'd like to tag you back into here, um, and, and tell us a little bit, bit more about some of the personal history, uh, about the, the role of, of music in the movie. There you are, Judy.

Speaker 4 (00:24:50):

Yes, indeed. <laugh>, I'm the one in the middle staring vacantly into space and all these other SNCC folk around me. Um, you know, I loved what you just did with that because, you know, a lot of us worked a long time, SNCC, SNCC veterans, as well as some really wonderful, uh, local movement scholars. Um, and, and it took us, you know, three or four years and with some wonderful project managers outta duke university and, and that, you know, people actually are using it and, and, and liking it. And that mainly that students, you know, are finding these primary sources. So that was a great description. So, uh, and you can go down a rabbit hole as you well know, you know, you start with one thing and then, oh, let me go here. Let me go here. So, um, and it's all story told. I mean, that's the other thing, and with activists from today's movement and in conversation with SNCC vets, it's wonderful.

Speaker 4 (00:25:40):

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Anyway, I'm gonna talk a little bit about young people first, and then, um, about the role of music in the movement. Um, you know, when I get into SNCC, um, I am surrounded by young people my age, um, you know, and we're talking 1920, well, 17, 18, 19 years old who are absolutely passionate about organizing. Um, now it doesn't mean that we're doing it by ourselves though. We are organizing a lot along with, um, other older black folks. Um, and so those are some young people, and then these are, um, some older folks, uh, you know, you'll see Bob Moses to the left, uh, Julian bond, Curtis Hayes, and then, uh, hall Watkins. Who's still in Mississippi and sey Moore and John Stepto and sey Moore was key. Ms. Baker gives, sends us to, uh, sey Moore and older activists. And he helps to guide us through, um, you know, organizing in Mississippi, along with a number of other folks.

Speaker 4 (00:26:38):

So, um, it's miss, um, and it's miss, um, what we find when we get there is certainly Amey Moore, but it's also Mrs. Divine, John HLI. And of course, miss Ella baker was our guarding light whom you see there at the, um, uh, Atlantic city in, um, Mississippi freedom Democrat, um, the Mississippi freedom democratic party in 1964. And she's the one who calls the sit-in leaders together in, from all these black campuses in 1960. And out of that meeting, SNCC is born now, Ms. Baker grounded our organizing with both her incredible grassroots organizing philosophy and her long experience. And by sharing her network of grassroots leaders throughout the south, that's how we get to Amey Moore. Um, and because of miss Baker's, uh, Vigi vigilance, we were able to develop on our own. There she is, again, um, at, I think it's probably Highlander. Yeah, it is Highlander.

Speaker 4 (00:27:34):

Um, uh, uh, which was a major, um, labor organizing civil rights movement organizing, um, uh, site in Tennessee. It still exists. It is now run, uh, co-directed by the wonderful Ashley Woodard who, um, uh, Ashley that's. Right, right. Wooded, not Henderson, Ashley Henderson. Oh, anyway, Ashley, Ashley, she's on another panel, um, uh, this afternoon for us as a matter of fact, but in any event, Ashley, um, now heads this same Highlander. And, uh, you know, this is where this is, uh, parks was look, um, uh, uh, was in a session six weeks before she decides, uh, not to get off up off the seat. So Highlander is, and it's also with SNCC people gather, um, when we're about to split in, we don't, but we have a meeting there. Highlander was really key. I'm not going off on Highlander, but that is important. And, um, because of miss Baker's visualists, we were able to develop on our own with the very careful guidance of Ms. Baker.

Speaker 4 (00:28:33):

And without the controls that some of the older adult organizations might have imposed on us. And like, all of us, Ms. Baker also understood, uh, the importance of music to unify us and to fortify us. Um, music was the main one is the main pieces of glue globs or whatever, you know, that held us together. And you see her again, this isn't on the boardwalk in Atlantic city when we are trying to stop the all white Mississippi delegation, uh, from Mississippi at the democratic convention in 1964, um, from taking their seats at the democratic convention, uh, I was there as well, but I'm not in this picture, cause this is the main people here. Um, so music, um, Ms. Baker understood it. We understood it. And folks often see footage, you know, of sit-ins or other demonstrations. And it looks like, you know, white racist are beating us over the head.

Speaker 4 (00:29:30):

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And we just saying, we shall overcome no Uhuh. Many of us were just tactically nonviolent. We knew that we didn't have enough guns to win or again, uh, uh, win against all those from the federal government to the local county sheriff, who opposed us and didn't want us to vote or to gain equal power, but music kept us going. It helped keep us unified when lots of folks just wanted us dead. Uh, and the power of music operated both externally outside SNCC on demonstrations, and then inside internally within SNCC. So I'm gonna tell two short stories. One is the first one is external, and it's something, that's a story that I heard from, uh, Bernie, Dr. Bernie Johnson, Reagan, uh, who comes out of the south as a leader in the Southwest Georgia movement is a SNCC freedom singer. And then of course, many of you know, her as founder of sweet honey in the rock.

Speaker 4 (00:30:24):

And so she tells this story and she said, you know, it was the early 1960s in Southwest Georgia out in the rural, in the rural area. And it's a mass meeting. And, uh, it's being held in the small rural church in Southwest Georgia darkness. Uh, so, you know, cuz there are no streetlights around, it's rural nor Southwest Georgia. And in this small rural church, small amount of people, all black folks, of course. And they're talking about getting registered to vote. Uh, who's been able to run the gauntlet of getting registered. What movement churches have been burned or bombed who's been fired from their jobs for trying to register to vote all that stuff. And of course they're singing, they're singing, gospel, gospel songs and freedom songs. And in the middle of this small gathering, a sheriff walks in, you know, he STR he opens the doors.

Speaker 4 (00:31:12):

He strides in and suddenly there is a hush in this mass meeting and he comes to the front of the church and he looks at every one of them and he says, you know, flora does Mrs. Johnson know you're here telling flora that he knows that this black woman who works for Mrs. Johnson is about to get in real deep trouble for being in this mass meeting. He says, Clyde, you know, but does Mr. Thompson know you're here again, sending the Warner warning. You are in danger for being in here talking about voting, voting rights. So all this happens. Total hush people have stopped singing, but suddenly somebody starts singing. Ain't gonna let nobody turn me around. And it's one voice at first, right? Then another voice picks it up. And suddenly this small group of black people is singing at not with singing at the sheriff and singing.

Speaker 4 (00:32:12):

Ain't going to let nobody turn me around. Now, what Bernice said was when you looked at the faces of the people in that gathering, the black faces, you could see that they were, and he could see the sheriff could see, these are not the same folks that I came in on. They have been changed by the power and the unifying force of this music. Right. So that's how it worked outside, inside. Um, it also served to, to, to help us. And so you'll see a lot of us, I'm the one, you know, in the coat, cuz a lot of times we didn't have any heat in the national office and it kind of got cold. So we were wearing, okay, so this is an executive committee meeting and right in the middle with his head down is the famous, legendary James Foreman who was our executive secretary.

Speaker 4 (00:32:59):

You will see to his right, uh, Marion Barry. Um, you'll see other people around here you'll see way on, on, um, to my right above my head. You'll see John Lewis. And you would also see, um, Julian bond and he's sitting, uh, smoking as he usually did it that time. Anyway. So that's, we would do this, but I remember toward the end of 1965, when I wondered where we were going as

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an organization and I'm sitting in the middle of this big staff meeting, I'm talking about maybe a hundred, hundred 50, uh, SNCC folk who would come in from throughout the projects, Mississippi, Alabama, Southwest Georgia, Arkansas, and staff folk are arguing about SNS direction. Now not me cuz I never said anything, but others are arguing and they're arguing really hard about substantive issues, but harder and more fire filled than I had seen before. It got really intense. And I worried that we might disintegrate and not be able to come back from the brink and that somebody would say something that would just, and suddenly Jim foreman, our executive secretary begins to sing. And I gotta say, he didn't sing all that great didn't matter. But he starts singing will the circle unbroken. And I, I swear, I did not think anybody would join in. I thought we as an organization in SNCC had gone beyond the time when we would sing.

Speaker 4 (00:34:29):

I thought this is, you know, he's singing by himself. And at first he was singing alone and then somebody started picking it up. And then a few more people it's like in that church and soon everybody was singing strongly, will the circle be unbroken? And for what foreman did with the song, which is what songs always did was he reminded us what we meant to each other one to the other and how we, how much we needed and had always needed each other. And that song reminded us all that we really were still a band of brothers and sisters in a circle of trust and that trumped everything. So let me, let me stop there. But music was really important.

Speaker 5 (00:35:27):

Yeah. Thank you so much. So, so before I think we're supposed to jump in Q and a, but, but just so much richness came up. Deborah do, can, can I take a quick moment, please do so. So for us, so I started off by talking about how students use SNCC digital to create these, um, social media pages and I'm old school y'all so I still have hard copies of the document, right? So that's, that's a written example once students could really get in the heads and the hearts of SNCC, uh, veterans, like, I love what you said. Like he didn't sing all that great. But it was okay because yes, what students started to, to understand through their research is that we're talking about real people fighting for, for real changes because of real racist laws and, and real challenging circumstances. And so I had had students write poems, um, to, to be in conversation with freedom songs.

Speaker 5 (00:36:20):

So students were like, miss Rucker, look, I'm not a poet, but, but I'll, I'll give it a try, you know? And, and it means honoring and keeping the legacy alive of the people who came before us to, to, to make it possible for me to be here today. I'll try. And I was like, thank you. That's that's all I want. Because when you said earlier that, um, you were guided and guarded right students over time because we weren't limited to, to a secondary source, a textbook because students were, were actually hearing, um, learning about SNCC folks from the perspective of SNCC, they, they, they felt guided and guarded. And so we used, um, a book, um, called, uh, rhythm and resistance teaching for social justice. And we used a particular framework called the write that I poem. And so, um, we, we mentioned Diane Nash. I'm gonna bring Diane Nash into this space.

Speaker 5 (00:37:13):

And we also talked about James Foreman. Um, and so just for context, I teach primarily, uh, students of color, so black and, and students of the African diaspora, um, Asian American students, digital students, and then also Latinx students, um, who also identify as Afro Latinx, but, but across the, the, uh, the, the diaspora as well. So this particular student is, um, Asian American and she wanted to write about Diane Nash. She was very moved, um, by what she

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learned, right? That I was born in Chicago, Illinois, and attended Howard university in DC. I transferred to Fisk and Nashville and witnessed severe racial segregation between whites and blacks tell them that I helped found SNCC after witnessing this incident, tell them that, that I joined SEL C to fight for this injustice and better my community, right. That I risk my life from my community at different times for different reasons.

Speaker 5 (00:38:10):

Mm-hmm, <affirmative> tell them that I joined a sit-in at rock hill in January, on January 12th, 1960. I chose this with SNCC to provide more exposure for this movement to be arrested for 30 days, right. That I taught nonviolent tactics to youth in Jackson, Mississippi to be sent to jail for two years, tell them that I encourage others to fight to desegregate buses in Mississippi. When I went to court for attempting to desegregate buses, I was asked to move to the back of the room and refused to move to the back, to be charged for contempt of court. When you write my story, tell them about my advocating for women's rights and for fair housing. When you write my story, tell them that I am still here advocating for others. All right. And one last piece, um, and this, this is an African American young woman who wrote from the perspective of James Foreman.

Speaker 5 (00:39:04):

Um, so right that I never gave up, never stopped fighting for what I thought was right. Never stopped, right? That I, with many other people help SNCC help keep kids organized, help voice their minds through nonviolence, help raise money, working with people from Kings to Shuttlesworth, tell them that I also believed in self defense, along with Robert Williams, fought against the white terrorists. Even though I supported king, his tactics were slow. <laugh> I grew a right that I organized freedom summer in Mississippi, helping youth to vote campaigning for freedom schools, influencing African Americans to register and then vote tell them that I was a black man from Chicago, Illinois, born October 4th in 1928, tell them that I was a war veteran that I was arrested and brutally beaten for mistaken identity. Proving that even though I risked my life for this country, the color of my skin was the only thing that stood out, right.

Speaker 5 (00:40:00):

That I was a man, a man that witnessed tremendous injustices while covering the little walk crisis and chose to fight for what was right when you write my story, say that my most memorable quote is we are not foreign, revolutionary revolutionaries are forged through constant struggle in the study of revolutionary ideas and experiences. This for me is what happens when we teach on the textbook, when we teach the actual texts. Right? And, um, so, so that was students equivalent version of freedom songs. And, and I will tell you, this students retain more about this particular historical, the historical era from the forties to the eighties that we studied than any other time in my teaching career. Um, no hyperbole. And to this day, students can go back to these poems and say, oh yeah, I remember I remember studying James Foreman. I remember studying Diane Nash. I, I remember Andy Pearl, Avery, um, you know, I remember Marion Barry and Julia Richardson and Victoria Gray, you know, names that students weren't quite familiar with.

Speaker 5 (00:41:05):

And so, um, the way I was guided and guarded in 2018 really shaped this class that happened in 2019. So I, I just wanted to, to share that. And the last thing I wanna say too, is as a gift of participating in the Institute, I also had the opportunity to, to give this, this, this volume. Um, and so my LA Latinx students were also really moved by work of, of women like Maria, Val re,

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pardon of me, thank you. Who, who used also art and photography to really also help carry the message of the movement. And students were like, wow. Uh, so, so we were here too. I was like, yeah, we, we, we all were here. Yep. So thank you for that, that opportunity to bring them in.

Speaker 4 (00:41:50):

Thank you. And I, I, I just got to say, um, two things. One is on Jim, Jim foreman. Foreman's thing always was, and my friend Dotty Zelner always says this, um, you know what foreman always said was, write it down, write it down. This is history this now at, at 19 years old, you're not thinking that you were making history. Right. But he understood, we need to write down our stuff because otherwise other people will frame it for us. And so, um, uh, Emily Crosby, who's another good friend and colleague Dr. Emily Crosby. Um, she said, you know, SNCC is probably the most documented of the civil rights over groups, because one of the things Ruby do said was if I don't get your da, your weekly report from the field, Mississippi, Alabama, whatever, you're not getting your little \$9 and 64 cents. So all of those reports, and then we had the Watts line reports, cause we're calling the projects every, you know, twice a day, all the projects throughout the rural south.

Speaker 4 (00:42:41):

And we wrote everything down and then Julian bond would send it out in communications on the newsletter and stuff. Um, so, uh, we, we documented a lot of things and it's really important. And it's what now SNCC, uh, legacy project, because the Cortland Cox is really very involved in get talking to the young people who are anxious to do it about making sure that they document and archive their material. So people, if they, if they want to interpret this current movement, they have to, um, misinterpret it because otherwise, if they wanna interpret it correctly, they will have material to go by.

Speaker 3 (00:43:21):

And it's material that can help young people learn beyond the traditional narrative that we shared at the beginning, all those points that normally limit young people to thinking that the whole movement was Dr. King saying four words and Rosa parks all by herself, desegregating the buses. So both of their lives are much fuller and richer and more complicated than those narratives say. And then the story of SNCC is the one that young people need now to learn about how to take on all these efforts to suppress the brutal efforts to suppress voting rights today. So I wanna ask a few questions that have come from our audience. Uh, and one is speaking about not only are the attempt to suppress voting rights, but the attempt to suppress teaching about this history, because people know the power of teaching about it. When young people like ju Jessica's students learn the history, they then apply it to their lives today. So Judy, one person asked how would Ella baker or other organizers from that time, what might they have done in the face of these attempts to suppress the right to teach about this history that we're seeing, um, across the country today?

Speaker 4 (00:44:30):

Well, you know, one of the wonderful things about Ms. Baker, uh, was that she always posed questions. I mean, she really was very Socratic in terms of the way she taught mm-hmm <affirmative>. Um, and so when you were sitting in a, in a, um, SNCC meeting with her, she would usually be in the back. Um, she would have a, um, a mask over, which is very familiar to folks now, but, you know, she would have it cuz she had asthma and every, a lot of folks in young people and they were smoking. And so she would be with us till three, four o'clock in the

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morning, these meetings would go on and on. Cause we were you within our meetings, you always had to come to consensus because as, um, uh, folks often said, you know, since you're putting your lives on the line and you're risking your lives and the lives of the local community, where you're helping to organize, people need to agree to whatever you direction you're, you're suggesting we go in.

Speaker 4 (00:45:21):

And so sometimes to get to that direction, it took a long time, but throughout it, Ms. Baker, unless you were really going off the rails mm-hmm <affirmative> Ms. Baker would often say, well, okay, if you do this now, uh, what will happen five, five weeks from now, what will happen six months from now, which is a different, a different way of thinking for young people who, who are generally just in the now mm-hmm <affirmative>. And so it, part of it is her, her thinking about teaching through questions. So, um, but nothing was, um, was not allowed. No, I mean, that's the thing. I, I know that she was a teacher, she came out of teaching, um, and, and always, and even when she goes into Harlem, she's teaching with young people, you know, she's, you, she's working with young people at, in Thea. Um, all of that is about how do you teach in a way that makes, makes people think differently so that they are thinking not about what is, but what can be and what I can do with other people to make it, what can be.

Speaker 4 (00:46:20):

Um, so her thing always was about history. Um, and she understood the importance of people's history. I mean, when, when, um, ed, uh, when, when, um, Howard Zinn is, is doing a people's history, she, you know, she, and he worked together, they were there, they were advisors, uh, for SNCC, you know, and it's interesting that, um, uh, that this, this idea of education and open education, I mean, we do freedom schools now. We're not talking about making them think a certain way. We're just saying, wow, look at the Mississippi state constitution. Um, and you, and there are ways that you can read that with, you know, just regular, you know, middle school, high school students. What, what is there in this that actually works for you or even works for poor white people in Mississippi, that you, they examine those in the freedom schools in Mississippi.

Speaker 4 (00:47:08):

Um, back then in, in, in 63, 64, 65, and they're, they're looking through it and then, but you, then you make the other leap and okay, if you are writing a state constitution, what would you put in it? You know, what is gonna make it a, a, a more just Mississippi, not just for black people, not just for Asian American people, not just for poor white people. What is for everybody in this state, what's gonna make it more, just so that you're always thinking about somebody outside your group and I, and it certainly your primary thing is how do you get black people registered to vote without getting them killed? But the other part of that is how does this relate to the broader folks of allies and stuff? And you see that with Montgomery, just one quick question thing, when we're doing, um, eyes on the prize and we're showing the Montgomery bus boycott, what always struck me was that Reverend Abernathy, when he goes up and they've won and he said, this isn't just a, um, uh, a fight for, you know, uh, 15, 20,000 black people in Montgomery. It's not even just a fight for X number of people in, in, in Alabama together. This is a, uh, this is a fight for all freedom, loving people all over the world. There was always this sense that we were connected to the wider world, but no, um, I think she would absolutely be on it.

Speaker 3 (00:48:20):

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Mm-hmm <affirmative> right. And I think as Reverend Abernethy said, it was a fight for everyone, which is, I think is what the GOP sees as a threat. They don't want white people to see that really their lives would also, our lives would be improved by this freedom struggle and to be allies. And that express solidarity, the media says it's all about, or the GOP says, it's all about white people feeling guilty, but that's not their concern. Their concern is white people feeling solidarity <laugh> yes. And recognizing those divide and conquer politics for what they were, um, and particularly

Speaker 4 (00:48:50):

Young people that's right.

Speaker 3 (00:48:51):

Yes. Right. Because they saw what happened in, in June of 2020, the whole summer of 2020. Those are young people across the board, um, questioning, questioning America saying, is this America? Yes, this is the America. We want, um, a few more questions coming in. So I wanna ask Jessica to talk a little bit about, you've talked about your class and the writing students did, but you've also ran, uh, took that idea of freedom schools and, and brought that into your school. And I was wondering if you could tell us a little bit about that because that's something other teachers might wanna do as well and community groups.

Speaker 5 (00:49:24):

Yeah. Thank you so much for, for, uh, that, that reminder. So, um, on one of the last days of the, the Institute back at duke, um, I got the opportunity to have breakfast one on one, um, with Charlie Cobb and that in and of itself was incredible. And so one of the things that I, that I did is I had to, I got the chance to, to read, um, I guess the, the prospectus it might have been called. I can't remember the, the language of the document, but in 1963, when he was field secretary, he proposed this notion of a, of a freedom school. And, and the language was to fill an intellectual and creative vacuum in the lives of, of young Negro Mississippis. And that particular language really resonated with me, um, because of the, the, the specific context that I teach in. So at my school at the time, we've kind of paused this right now.

Speaker 5 (00:50:16):

We would have these periods called, um, intercession. And so intercession was, um, time dedicated specifically for academic remediation, but, but some teachers of leveraged that as an opportunity to just redo what had already been done, even though students had demonstrated that the way that content was delivered didn't meet their learning needs. But, but it was like, let's just give you a little extra time. So for me, I was like, what if we leverage this opportunity to kind of creatively combat some of the academic and social regression that can sometimes occur for students during these school breaks, um, that also helps to embed or reinforce ideals of participatory democracy. And so what, what I proposed was facilitating a week long series of academic, um, enrichment courses, social enrichment workshops, to really help students build and maintain strong, um, quantitative as well as qualitative. So numeracy and literacy reasoning skills.

Speaker 5 (00:51:16):

And so I, I put it in the context of movement leaders of the 1960s, right, that, that in order to challenge dominant culture and what already exists, um, and, and, and to borrow language from the perspective active community members and responsible citizens, students need to be able to

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effectively read, write, do math, acquire, and present information, um, orally, but it also needs to be relevant and rich. Um, and, and I was taught, right, the only reason why I know how to learn, I, I, I read and write is so I can teach somebody else to read and write, um, and to be free. And so in short, I partnered with, um, several local community based organizations, everybody from empower DC, um, which led a great workshop on the role of organizing around mass displacement and force relocation to M love that looked at the intersection of youth organizing and organizing around, um, home language access.

Speaker 5 (00:52:12):

And, and, and then one of the culminating activities was, um, teaching for change actually helped us get in contact with Mr. Tim Jenkins. And he had the opportunity to share his, his experiences, um, as, as a movement leader. So it, so essentially we had this week long freedom school with four half day, uh, four or five half day workshops, um, where in the morning students were really imbued in, in, in movement organizing youth organizing direct action tactics, and then towards mid-morning, they had opportunities to see how, what they learning in terms of reading, writing, and math connects to like the movement, like, how do we finance movements? You know, how do we, uh, write letters for movements or petitions for movements? So students got to see that the reading and writing and numeracy skills that we are asking them to learn for for eight hours a day, don't just exist in, in the halls of the classroom, but write that, that the movement needs our minds, like our minds and our bodies and our spirits. And so, um, that was a, a really like great opportunity, uh, for, for me, for students and, and to also partner with, um, local community organizations.

Speaker 3 (00:53:19):

Mm that's great. And if people who are listening, wanna learn more about freedom schools, you can go visit the SNCC digital gateway website, learn more about Mr. Tim, Jen, Tim Jenkins, that page that Jessica showed you about people. He's one of the people on that list. And also if you are thinking, I would love to bring a, a veteran to speak to my students, go to the civil rights movement, archive website. And there's a list of veterans who are, uh, willing to speak either in person, or now that we have zoom. I know, uh, Judy Richardson and Cortland Cox spoke with a group of students, uh, in California last year. I think it was, um, upper elementary school students. Who'd done a lesson, SNCC, digital, uh, lesson, a lesson based on the SNCC digital website, and then had them as guest speakers. So, uh, definitely check out those resources. And again, we'll share those afterwards. Um, there's another question. So we got a number of questions coming in. Uh, one question is about Judy, going back to you, stepping into history. And when you heard about the violence in Selma at the bridge, um, the Edmund Pettus bridge, what was your reaction when you heard about, um, John Lewis, the folks from the Dallas county voters league folks from SNCC who were beaten at the bridge that day?

Speaker 4 (00:54:34):

Well, it's interesting. Um, I was actually, we were all called to, um, the national office. I was in Atlanta working in the national office and the morning of B bloody Sunday, foreman calls us in and says, uh, John Lewis is, um, about to step off. You know, there were about 700 people. Bob mans from SNIC is, is next to him. Uh, Jose Williams is, is standing next to him from SCLC Dr. King's organization. And foreman says, you know, uh, John says that, you know, Dr. King was supposed to be there, but he, they don't seem to know where he is. And, and, and so John is calling foreman to say, do you think we should just start, um, and see what happens? And so, um,

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this is before bloody Sunday, it's that morning, but it ha you know, the, the assault hasn't happened yet. And so, um, they step off, you know, and they start marching.

Speaker 4 (00:55:22):

And of course, bloody Sunday happens now, just to know, in terms of the, of what, where, where we were as an organization, in terms of SNCC, uh, we had decided we didn't wanna do anymore big demonstrations, that it took away from the local grassroots organizing that we wanted to focus on. And so that was our position as an organization, but John, John Lewis said, you know, he wanted to go. And so, um, so we said, okay, you go, not as a representative OFN, but you go on your own because that's important that you be able to do that. You have to be able to, you know, do what the spirits they do. So, um, so he goes, so now he's called bloody Sunday has happened at that point. SNCC has no alternative. You do not let violence stop the movement. You never let violence stop the movement.

Speaker 4 (00:56:10):

So at that point, it is okay, all, all, all stuff on, whatever you call it on deck. I mean, everybody then has to organize. And, um, we get, um, we, we actually found a helicopter. We got a couple of SNCC people in. Yeah. Cuz you know, we we're gonna get a flight right away. So <laugh> so, uh, we, we got that in. People started, uh, getting the SNCC cars, Ruby, Doris, um, uh, ran what was called the Sojourner fleet of the Chryslers that we had bought, cuz it was a black, um, uh, cut caucus within the United auto workers local that had gotten us through. And, and uh, we had gotten some cheaper car at cheaper prices. We had gotten this fleet of, of Chrysler cars. And so we started moving them in. Um, I go in, but this is afterward, but the main thing was that, um, because it, it was John, it was all of these folks who had been beat bloody and uh, Mrs.

Speaker 4 (00:57:05):

Boynton, you know, when you see her in footage and eyes on the prize that she has pulled along, um, and young people, um, you know, I, I, all of these folks are beaten horribly on the ground after their tear gas. And then cuz I, I just, uh, recently worked with um, my old production company on, um, something for the national park service site in Selma. And in that film, that orientation film is focused on young people who started the movement in Selma, including um, Mrs. Boynton and how they talk, you know, how they relate to her. But in that you, you hear from these young people, um, about how, you know, it wasn't that the, the, uh, white, uh, cops on, on the, the troopers on the horses stopped at the bridge, they ran into the black community. Mm-hmm, <affirmative>, they're going, you see them going up onto the steps of brown chapel, which was a movement church.

Speaker 4 (00:57:53):

They start to try and go into the, to the churches. They are going up these steps, they are going into the black community. They're going into the projects mm-hmm <affirmative> so they follow the marchers back into the black community. Um, so part of it was just, okay, I wasn't necessarily in support of a big demonst at this point, nor were, were many of the folks in SNCC at that point, but once they do the violence, no, no, that will not stand. And so we go in and it's off of that, because again, we're not thinking just demonstration that, um, we had already been thinking about black bell projects and where our black people gathered, you know, um, uh, in big percentages. So, uh, Stokley Carmichael, you know, um, is, is part of that group as his Ivan, ho Donald, and a number of other people.

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Speaker 4 (00:58:40):

And, um, Mr. Hewlett had already started in Lowes county, the Lowes county Christian organization. And so he had wanted SCLC to come in, but, um, that hadn't happened. And so he contacts, uh, um, Stokley and Stokley says, yeah, we'll come on in. So I go in with Stokley and Ruth Howard and a lot of folks into LOEs county and we start what becomes the LOEs county freedom organization. Jennifer Lawson is part of that. Corland Cox becomes part of that and we start and, well, I won't go into all that, but in any event that we get, as our, as the logo local people say, well, get us, you know, a logo, the logo of the regular democratic party in Lowes county is, and it was their official logo, the democratic party of Alabama, a logo that said had a white rooster in the middle and it said, white, white supremacy for the right mm-hmm, <affirmative> white supremacy for the right official Alabama democratic party logo. So we got a black Panther and, um, and Johnny Johnson who is, uh, from, uh, from Blas county, he was teenager. Then he said, shoot, and, you know, Panther can beat up or rooster any day of the week. You know? So, um, there was, there was organized effort beyond the demonstration of, of, uh, you know, of that March.

Speaker 3 (00:59:57):

Woo. Thank you. And I think for people who this, if you're hearing this for the first time, again, go to SNCC, digital gateway, look up lounge county, L O W N D E S to learn a lot of that story. And also the book by Dr. Hassan Jeffries. And I think Judy also just surfaced more of the themes that we didn't, um, focus on at the beginning, but the theme of the level of violence, young people, if they learn about the civil rights movement, it's the horror of segregation, but very little about the, the daily reality of violence. And then the other theme that we have on that list is the incredible strategies used to resist the fact that SNCC had to figure out, okay, how do you get a fleet of cars, a helicopter <laugh>. Um, so I think there's a lot to learn how to make all the primary documents that you see the popular education materials. Um, so, and I'm sorry, go ahead. Yes, please.

Speaker 4 (01:00:51):

I said a helicopter was actually a private plane. We had to book a part of plane.

Speaker 3 (01:00:54):

Yeah, whatever it was. It, it flew <laugh>. That was, that was before the age of cell phones before a lot of the resources that we have now to coordinate all that. Um, I'm gonna try to squeeze in one more question. And this is, um, Dan Berger asked about, and I apologize, we haven't named other folks, but asked about resources to teach about the conflicts within SNCC. And if you go to the Zin education project, there's a lesson by Adam Sanchez that he wrote in consultation with Judy Richardson and Betty Garman Robinson, who is sadly, uh, passed before this conference. Uh, the two of them provided a year's worth of conversations with Adam, as Jessica said, nothing can be done without consultation with, without the knowledge of the SNCC folks. Um, and if Jessica, if you could just say minute moment about using that lesson, and then I think we wanna go into closing comments.

Speaker 5 (01:01:42):

Yeah, man. There's so much

Speaker 3 (01:01:44):

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Mm-hmm <affirmative>

Speaker 5 (01:01:45):

Judy just said, but, but yeah, I'll I'll

Speaker 3 (01:01:47):

Yeah. And actually I realize we do have a few more minutes, if you wanna comment on what she said and, and the lesson. Yeah.

Speaker 5 (01:01:53):

Let me just say this, like hearing, um, the story about the, the, the rooster and the Panther again was really powerful because, um, Jennifer Lawson was also somebody that I got a chance to be in conversation with and just hearing about like her visual art skills, like again, right. The movement uses everything. Like I, there's not one skill that is not applicable and relevant to the movement and being able to take story directly from Jennifer Lawson's mouth, back to my students to say, we need our art, we need our math, we need our minds. Mm-hmm <affirmative>, you know, we get the Baltimore algebra project, right. Every, every resource is, is used for the movement. And so it's just really inspiring to hear that story again. So, so yeah, so, um, this, this, uh, this incredible lesson, right, um, curated by, by Adam Sanchez, um, became, uh, a culminating lesson.

Speaker 5 (01:02:46):

So essentially it starts with this, this member overview where students are reminded that they're members of the student non-violent coordinating committee, um, and to, to challenge racial segregation in the south, then Adam does this really great job at giving that timeline that we, we get to also see on SNCC digital. And then after students kind of walk through the timeline from brown B board to Montgomery bus boycott, um, to, uh, the little rock nine, we, we get to April and then it becomes clear that that students from across the south need to be organized. And, and this is language that students in my context really understand because they see themselves as students at our high school, but as members of a bigger community, right? So they, they get this notion that, that students across a geographic space need to come together to talk about how to strengthen a student movement.

Speaker 5 (01:03:39):

So students are really brought in, brought in by this. And so what, what the lesson does is, um, it, it first kind of situates, the freedom riders and students are encouraged to write a letter from the point of view of, of a freedom rider. And then it goes into these situations or like problem solving scenarios, and these became like debates. So we call these the SNCC debates. And so when, when we focus on Mississippi, um, students, again, they're, they're, they're, they're taking on the, the role of their historical figure. Um, we' in Cleveland, Mississippi earlier, Judy was talking about Amey Moore. And so Amey comes to ton to encourage one cohort of students to join this voter registration effort in Mississippi. But this group of students also knows that John Kennedy and his brother attorney general, um, Rob, uh, Robert Kennedy also have contacted SNCC to, to focus on voter registration.

Speaker 5 (01:04:32):

So, so there's this dynamic. The long story short is the debate focuses on this question. So should SNCC focus on voter registration or direct action? We're being invited by somebody from

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Mississippi, Mr. Sey Moore. Um, we get our start, however, um, by, by, um, direct action. Um, what should we do? And so we also complimented this particular lesson by watching freedom song, which gave students kind of a dramatized reenactment of what the debates look like. Students were like, wait. So it was daytime when they started the debate, it goes into nighttime and then it's daytime again when they finish. And I'm like, yeah, like these were real conversations because it's, again, it's real people. And so, um, the, the, the Mississippi situation as it's called in the lesson provided students an opportunity to, to, to kind of argue one side or, or the other, um, from the perspective of their historical figure.

Speaker 5 (01:05:28):

And so that was one of their, their kind of culminating summative, uh, Socratic seminars, or I might have called it philosophical chairs. And they had gone back and forth from the perspective of either somebody who advocated for voter registration or somebody who advocated for direct action. And then they had to have like historical evidence for why they were advocating that particular point of view. Um, and then we talked about right, like how Ms. Baker had to intervene and, and how that impacted, like, like the potential future of SNCC and spoiler or alert students know SNCC still exists, but, but it was really awesome to see students take like a real issue, like a real matter and, and, and argue from the perspective of a historical figure. So I hope that answered the question, but it's, it's an awesome lesson.

Speaker 4 (01:06:17):

And I know we got two more minutes, so yes, absolutely. No, no, that was perfect.

Speaker 3 (01:06:21):

Yeah. Thank you. Um, we had another question, which I'm just gonna give a quick response to, and that is that Dr. Davis asked about how do we make sure that there's a civic well in this country for more inclusive curriculum and Dr. Davis remembers their school trip in Mississippi was a field trip to Parchman prison. So I just wanna say that there are actually tens of thousands of teachers across the country who are dedicated to teaching this history. So everyone who is a teacher check out the resources that we've just been talking about. If you're not a teacher, we need you to go to school, board meetings and speak up and defend at this kind of teaching. We often focus on the presidential election and meanwhile, the right wing is taking over school boards and trying to ban exactly the work we're talking about here. You can play a major role in local elections, particularly in midterm elections, where not a lot of folks turn out. So we need you to step up and defend the teachers like Jessica wrecker and the hundred 30,000 other teachers are signed up at Zep. I'm gonna ask for a quick closing comment from Judy, and then we're going to move to our closing slide, closing reflections from Judy.

Speaker 4 (01:07:26):

Okay. Real quick thing. Two things. One is you can't do everything, but if you do nothing, nothing changes. That's number one, mm-hmm <affirmative>. And to number two, understand that it's people just like you and surround yourself, even if it's just three or four people with folks who really do think you can change things. Cause if you're around people mainly who say, can nothing be done, I'm not gonna do nothing. Nothing will ever change. That's my thing.

Speaker 3 (01:07:52):

Woo. And Jessica, any closing words for our, for our audience here,

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Speaker 5 (01:07:57):

Um, teach beyond the textbook, you know, teach using sources like hands on the freedom plow, NIC digital, um, so that you can teach primary sources that carry the primary message in the movement.

Speaker 3 (01:08:09):

Yes. Great. And we're gonna actually ask for the slide to come up that share some of those resources to do that. So if you can see there, the, uh, again, the resources that people have talked about here today, SNCC digital gateway, Zin education, project, civil rights, movement archive, and the book that Jessica held up, hands on the freedom plow. If you start with those, uh, there'll be a radical transformation, Judy. Yes. We can't hear you.

Speaker 4 (01:08:39):

Mic is all there. Um, just to say, that's hands on the freedom plow is 52 SNCC women in their own words, their own testimonies. It took us 15 years, six, six of us editors who were SNCC women, but it's 52 stories. And they're wonderful.

Speaker 3 (01:08:55):

Thank you mm-hmm and thank you to everybody who joined the session today for your comments, your reflections, and for carry on this work.

Speaker 4 (01:09:04):

And thank you, Deborah and Jessica, it was

Speaker 3 (01:09:06):

Wonderful. Thank was always a pleasure.