

## APPENDIX A

SURVEY: CURRENT FIELD WORK

SPRING, 1963

[As presented to Senate Judiciary Committee hearing on proposed Civil Rights Act, May 28, 1963.]

## FIELD WORK IN SOUTHWEST GEORGIA

This project--now operating in Terrell, Lee, Sumter, and Dougherty Counties--began in October, 1961, after Charles Sherrod and Charles Jones went to Albany to set up a voter registration program. Albany is the only significant urban area in a predominantly agricultural section of Georgia which traditionally was the slave trading center for the state; it is in the Georgia Black Belt, a traditionally violence ridden area. Albany was seen as the center for operation in the rural areas around it and early activity there led to the events of violence and protest of last year.

Now the project involves twelve full-time field secretaries who rotate from the central office in Albany to each county. The Albany office at 504 S. Madison, houses four of the field secretaries, functions as the main communication and coordination center, and acts as a secretariat for production of field reports, financial reports and recordings, and other secretarial work. The house has four very small rooms, no hot water, and a kerosene stove. The other field secretaries, with the exception of the two who live at the interracial Koinonia Farm in Americus, live with local people in the counties.

Sherrod supervises the entire project from Albany, conducts voter-registration work in Dougherty County, and maintains communication between the counties. In addition to Sherrod, the other field workers in this area are:

Prathia Hall, 22, Negro, from Philadelphia, divinity student at Temple U.  
 Jack Chatfield, 20, white, from Bradford, Vt., student at Trinity College  
 Carver Neblett, 19, Negro, student at Southern Illinois University  
 John Churchville, 21, Negro, from New York City, student at Temple U.  
 Joyce Barrett, 24, white, from Philadelphia, graduate of Temple U.  
 Don Harris, 21, Negro, from New York City, graduate of Rutgers U.  
 Ralph Allen, 22, white, from Melrose, Mass., student at Trinity College  
 Eddie Brown, 20, Negro, from Albany, Ga., student at Monroe H. S.  
 Faith Holseart, 20, white, from Brooklyn, N. Y., student at Barnard Coll.  
 Alphonzo Hubbard, 17, Negro, from Albany, Ga., student at Monroe H. S.  
 Joni Rabinowitz, 20, white, from New Rochelle, N. Y., student at Antioch

The techniques of operating in each county are much the same. All workers hold mass meetings at least once a week in local churches (and in tents, too, where the churches were burned last summer) for several reasons: to initiate people in voter registration work, to bring speakers, to sing, to share fellowship, and often to mitigate fear. They hold voter registration classes at least once a week to teach people to answer the various questions which will confront them on the registration form and to fill out forms. They canvass from door to door, a time-consuming process of encouraging people to register--often spending afternoons with one or two individuals getting to know them and creating the feelings of trust and confidence which are the necessary first steps for registrants. And then going back again and again until the person will finally come to a meeting or a citizenship class or go to the registrar. As in nearly all SNCC projects, efforts are made to meet and organize young people, a particularly important job in Georgia where the voting age is 18. They are then recruited to help canvass and help with other aspects of the project. Special efforts are being made to reach the teachers, a group with a tradition of hesitancy because their jobs are directly dependent on the state and local officials (white) but a group which could register and could assume leadership if they could be reached. And, of course, the local ministers and other leaders are involved as much as possible in the day to day work of the project. All

of these mean time and effort and more hope than the situation often seems to warrant.

Canvassing in rural areas was being done on foot; now cars are available in the counties. Workers often travel 200 miles a day, mostly on rural roads. A great deal of time is spent just getting people out of jail, documenting stories of threats and losses of jobs on the part of applicants, and dealing with the other problems of working in this part of the South on this kind of project. The staff hopes that harrassment will stay slow enough to allow expanding the staff and moving into Baker County in the summer.

Statistical Outline of Counties (1960)

	<u>Dougherty</u>	<u>Sumter</u>	<u>Terrell</u>	<u>Lee</u>
Population total	75, 680	24, 652	12, 742	6, 204
% Nonwhite	36%	52. 8%	64. 4%	62. 7%
Eligible Negroes who are registered	2, 858	501	51	29
Median family income				
All	\$4, 401	\$2, 950	\$2, 057	\$2, 434
Nonwhite	\$2, 430	\$1, 598	\$1, 313	\$1, 648
Median school years completed				
All	10. 5	8. 4	7. 6	6. 9
Nonwhite	5. 9	5. 0	4. 5	4. 0
% Nonwhite families earning under \$1, 000	20%	28%	40%	20%
\$2, 000	40%	64%	70%	50%
\$3, 000	60%	84%	87%	78%
% Farmed Land owned by				
Whites	74%	72%	52%	48%
Nonwhites	26%	28%	48%	52%
% of farmers who are tenants				
White	8. 7%	13. 5%	17. 4%	15. 4%
Nonwhite	44. 5%	62. 5%	77. 7%	63. 5%

Sources for Further Information

Albany, Georgia, by Howard Zinn. An account of activities in Albany up to the middle of last spring. Available from the Southern Regional Council 5 Forsyth St., Atlanta, Georgia.

Albany, Georgia, by Howard Zinn. An updating of events there through last summer and an analysis of the role of the federal government in Albany. Same source.

U. S. Civil Rights Commission Reports, especially, the volume on Voting. (\$1.00) Available from the U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

SNCC FIELD WORK IN SOUTH CAROLINA

In December, 1962, Reginald Robinson, a Baltimore, Maryland, native who has been working with SNCC for two years in Mississippi, Maryland, and Georgia, went to Orangeburg, S. C., to help with voter registration in that city and to make contacts for SNCC in the state.

Orangeburg was a center for the sit-in movement in 1960 and 1961. The two colleges in that city, Claflin College and South Carolina State College, produced many young leaders, including SNCC Chairman Charles McDew. However, the state soon began to crack down on S. C. State, even building a fence between it and the more liberal and privately owned Claflin. Students did remain somewhat active in voter registration, however. This year a statewide program has been developed by various civic groups and clubs as part of the emancipation centennial program of Negro groups in the state. Reggie went to work with this united effort at registering voters in Orangeburg.

Besides doing basic ward work and organization, Reggie has acted as campus contact in the state. Hopefully the students he has reached can come together later for a statewide SNCC conference. The hope is that they will return to campuses which will then provide leadership for voter registration work in the areas where they are located and perhaps develop direct action campaigns.

Negroes register with little difficulty in Orangeburg, but the county has received little attention as yet. Funds are needed for an additional worker for the county.

Statistical Survey of Orangeburg County

Population total	68, 559	
% Negro	60.1	
Negroes registered	2, 220)	1958 figures
% of Negroes registered	11.6)	
Median Family income	\$2, 603	
% of population with income under \$3, 000	56.0	
Urban	20.2	
Rural farm	30.5	

Two additional facts of interest: The county is one of the traditionally Republican counties in the state.

The only union we have been able to discover is at Hygrade Food Products, a United Packinghouse Workers local. It is an integrated local.

## SNCC WORK IN CENTRAL ALABAMA

In early fall of 1962, Bernard Lafayette went to Selma, Alabama, to investigate the possibility of a voter registration workshop in Selma, a center of an agricultural district in central Alabama, a black belt area much like Southwest Georgia. The local community proved receptive and in February, 1963, three field secretaries began work: Bernard Lafayette (an ordained minister, student at Fisk University, former Freedom Rider and leader of the Nashville Movement), his new wife, Colia Liddell Lafayette (former voter registration worker in Mississippi and student at Tougaloo College, a native Mississippian), and Frank Holloway (a former leader of the Atlanta University students.).

They set up shop and living arrangements in a small apartment and began bi-weekly voter registration classes. Thus far, about 150 local residents have attempted to register.

As with many SNCC projects, one of the most successful aspects of the project has been work with young people. Building on an already existing gang structure, the staff has developed a democratically controlled group of high school age students who have aided with registration and held their own weekly citizenship training meetings. With the help of these students and a group of interested adults, the entire town of Selma has almost been canvassed for the first time. Several of the students came to the SNCC conference for their first interracial group experience, an experience which in itself developed new leadership and new expectations.

Until recently, police harrassment was minimal. In fact, meetings were being held in a house directly opposite the police station. However, while the staff was at the SNCC conference, one local resident's house received a shotgun blast. A taxi driver was recently arrested for possessing a voter registration manuel, and rumors of intimidation against Negroes interested in the drive have begun. It is likely that open violence will begin soon in this Negro majority area.

The project was envisioned as serving the town of Selma and, later Dallas and Wilcox counties, rural areas of high Negro concentration. Word of the arrival and work of the three SNCC staff members spread rapidly and Negro farmers in Wilcox County have asked for help. Bernard and Frank took six applicants to the county courthouse in Camden in late March; this was the first time Negroes had tried to register in this county in fifty years. Work will begin in the rural areas on a regular basis when canvassing in Selma has been completed. Visits to Wilcox County have already introduced the staff to many small communities, including some which have remained so isolated that living conditions and technical knowledge remain approximately the same as before slavery was abolished. Rural area work has been hampered by the lack of a car, even though supporters in Selma have been generous in loaning theirs.

Selma houses several Negro schools (junior colleges and nursing schools) which will probably provide valuable leadership for the community when the heads of the schools can be convinced to risk some of their security for the benefit of the less fortunate Negroes in the area.

Statistical Survey of Counties

	<u>Dallas</u>	<u>Wilcox</u>
Population total	56, 667	18, 739
% Nonwhite	57.7	77.9
Eligible Negroes who are registered	130 .9%	0 0%
Median family income		
All	\$2, 846	\$1, 550
Nonwhite	\$1, 393	\$1, 081
Median school years completed		
All	8.7	6.7
Nonwhite	5.8	5.5
% Nonwhite families earning under \$1, 000	37	45
\$2, 000	69	76
\$3, 000	83	87
% Farmed land owned by		
White	78	86
Nonwhite	22	14
% Farmers who are tenants		
White	15	11.3
Nonwhite	72.7	61.5

Sources for Further Information

U. S. Civil Rights Commission Reports, especially Volume I, Voting.

Since 1958 the NAACP has been under injunction in Alabama, so there has been little ongoing action or information gathering. Other groups, also, have maintained little program there. We hope to make more information available as the project progresses.

## SNCC FIELD WORK IN ARKANSAS

In October, 1962, the Arkansas Council on Human Relations requested that SNCC send a field secretary to Little Rock. They felt there was a need for someone to organize the students there who had done nothing since their unsuccessful sit-ins in 1960. Bill Hansen, a student at Xavier and a veteran of the direct action campaigns in Albany and on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, was sent.

In November students from Philander Smith College and Shorter Junior College formed the Student Freedom Movement with Bill's help. They began sit-ins at Woolworth's, Walgreen's, and McClellan's lunch counters. The racial crisis surrounding the integration of Central High School in 1957 had led to a marked decline in the economic development of Little Rock. An active White Citizens Council was threatening violence. These factors led to the city being willing to talk with the students. However, the city was not willing to yield, and sit-ins began again in December. Worth Long (SNCC executive committee member and chairman of the Student Freedom Movement) and Hansen were arrested. They chose to stay in jail and the white powers finally agreed to work out a plan for the opening of lunch counters and other facilities and the increased employment of Negroes if the two would leave jail. On January 2, 1963, three lunch counters, one restaurant, a bowling alley, and several hotels desegregated. The Student Freedom Movement is continuing negotiations.

With Little Rock reactivated, Hansen moved to Pine Bluff, where he met with students at Arkansas A. M. & N. University, a Negro state school. Sit-ins began in Pine Bluff on February 1st at the local Woolworth's. Eight days later 15 students were expelled from AM&N.

Eight of these 15, with Hansen and Ben Grinnage (a SNCC staff member and former student at Philander Smith College), formed the Pine Bluff Student Movement. As adult and community support increased, the Pine Bluff Movement was formed. This community wide organization developed an all out attack on segregation. Their projects have included private restaurants as well as lunch counters, two movie theatres, and hotels. Over 50 people have been arrested during demonstrations there since February 1, 1963.

Hansen, Grinnage, and the eight expelled students live cooperatively in two houses in Pine Bluff. They hope funds will be available this summer to continue the direct action program and begin a voter registration drive in Pine Bluff. Poll taxes can be paid through August for the November elections. If the staff can be maintained, including the students who were expelled and would like to continue with the movement, and if a car can be found, work can begin in surrounding counties which will lay the groundwork for the development of Voters Leagues and voter registration programs in the winter. The abolition of the poll tax will pave the way for a strong program in registration in Arkansas.

### Jefferson County (Pine Bluff)

Population: 81,373

% of Negroes: 43.6%

Distribution: 57.4% urban, 10.8% rural farm

Eligible Negroes registered: 6,589 (37.6%)

## SNCC FIELD WORK IN MISSISSIPPI

Approximately twenty Negro students are working now as full-time field secretaries for SNCC in Mississippi. They are distributed unevenly in six counties: Holmes (Lexington), Leflore (Greenwood), Bolivar (Shaw), Marshall (Holly Springs), Sunflower (Ruleville), and Washington (Greenville). Unevenly because since the shooting of James Travis most of the workers have come to Greenwood to maintain a concentrated program in the city.

The program started in the summer of 1960 when Robert Moses, a Harvard educated teacher, left his work in New York and went to Mississippi. Moses was instrumental in initiating voter registration programs in Amite and Liberty counties. In June, 1961, under Moses' directorship, several organizations coalesced to form the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO). Moses is director, and most of COFO's staff are SNCC field secretaries.

The SNCC workers in Mississippi are:

Robert P. Moses, 27, graduate of Hamilton College, MA from Harvard  
 Samuel Block, 25, Cleveland, Miss., student at Miss. Vocational College  
 Willie Peacock, 25, Charleston, Miss., graduate of Rust College  
 Cleveland Banks, Greenwood, Miss.  
 Lawrence Guyot, Jackson, Miss.  
 Jesse Harris, 20, Jackson, Miss.  
 Curtis Hayes, 21, McComb, Miss., student at Tougaloo College  
 James Jones, 22, Jackson, Miss.  
 Curtis Hayes, 21, McComb, Miss., student at Tougaloo College  
 Landy McNair, Jackson, Miss.  
 Lafayette Surney, 19, Ruleville, Miss.  
 James Travis, 20, Jackson, Miss., student at Tougaloo College  
 David Vasser, Greenwood, Miss.  
 Hollis Watkins, 21, McComb, Miss., student at Tougaloo College  
 Diane Nash Bevel, 24, Chicago, Ill.  
 Frank Smith, 20, Atlanta, Ga., student at Rust College  
 Charles McLaurin, 22, Jackson, Miss.  
 Charles Cobb, 20, Springfield, Mass., student at Howard University  
 Emma Bell, 19, McComb, Miss., student at Campbell Jr. College  
 John Ball, Greenwood, Miss.

The number of native Mississippians on this list is one of the most encouraging aspects of our work thus far in the state, for it shows that indigenous leadership can be developed in even the most difficult areas.

Many of the registration work activities in Mississippi are the same as those in Southwest Georgia; especially similar is the need for tedious canvassing--a job which is not just leafletting, but spending hours with potential registrants convincing them that being a citizen is worth risking one's life for. Similar, too, is the need to deal with harassment calmly and patiently as part of the day's work. Certain differences, of course, pertain: At this point it is too dangerous for whites to participate in the project in Mississippi--too dangerous for them and too dangerous for the Negroes who would be working with them. Also, the terror here is at a much higher pitch. This means not only more outright violence, but more difficulty in obtaining a place to meet and more difficulty in convincing local leaders (ministers, teachers, doctors, and other professionals) to take an active stand.

SNCC's Greenwood headquarters are located at 708 Ave. N., Green-

wood. Individual staff members who are working in several smaller communities live in Greenwood and travel by car to adjoining counties. Other staff members live in the communities where they work, but are often forced to move from home to home. The Greenville workers have secured a small house where they hope to house summer workers. Each town where SNCC is working has some kind of office, often just part of the staff member's room. Each of these is currently in need of office equipment.

Statistical Outline of Counties (1960)

	<u>Leflore</u>	<u>Washington</u>	<u>Marshall</u>	<u>Holmes</u>	<u>Sunflower</u>
Population total	51,813	70,504	25,106	33,301	56,031
% Nonwhite	64.6	55.2	70.4	72.0	67.8
% Eligible Negroes who are registered	163 1.2%	2,563 12.4%	607 .2%	61 .5%	161 1.2%
Median family income					
All (Ave. W&NW)	\$2,285	\$3,112	\$1,784	\$1,453	\$1,790
Nonwhite	1,400	1,597	1,183	1,095	1,126
Median school years completed					
All	7.7	8.4	7.7	7.5	6.9
Nonwhite	5.1	5.2	6.3	5.8	4.7
% Nonwhite families earning under \$1,000	36	31	45	55	44
2,000	71	60	70	84	80
3,000	89	80	84	90	91
% of the farmed land owned by					
Whites	90	92	70	88	88
Nonwhites	10	8	30	12	12
% of farmers who are tenants					
White	30	19	29	17	19
Nonwhite	92	72	76	54	80

Sources for Further Information

Revolution in Mississippi by Tom Hayden, available from Students for a Democratic Society, 112 E. 19th St., New York, New York. An account of SNCC work in South Mississippi. (25¢)

Report on Leflore County by Constancia Romilly, available from the Northern Student Movement, Box 404A Yale Station, New Haven, Conn. An outline of the status of the Negro in Leflore prepared for distribution in support of food and clothes drives for that area.

Mississippi Violence and Human Rights, a reprint of a Southern Regional Council release documenting 64 acts of violence in Mississippi over the course of the last year. Available from Committee for the distribution of the Mississippi Story, Box 564, Atlanta, Ga. (7¢ per copy)

Reports of the United States Civil Rights Commission, 1961, especially Voting, Volume 1. Available from U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. (\$1.00)

#### SNCC FIELD WORK AT LARGE: THE FREEDOM SINGERS

Besides periodic mail appeals, SNCC has two main sources of support for its direct attacks against segregation. These are the "Friends of SNCC" groups in several Northern cities and on college campuses, and the Freedom Singers. The Freedom Singers are four young people who sing the Freedom songs that typify the Southern anti-segregation struggle. Because their work is as important and as difficult in many ways as that of the students working in the South and because we consider their work of educating the North so important to the movement, we consider them part of the field staff.

Each of the Freedom Singers played a vital role in the movement even before they began to sing together for SNCC.

Cordell Reagon, 19, of Nashville, Tennessee, was one of a group of Nashville students who took up the Freedom Rides after other groups had abandoned the trip in Montgomery as "too dangerous." He was one of the first two SNCC workers --with Charles Sherrod--to go to Albany in 1961, and he worked in Albany throughout the crises there.

Rutha Harris was jailed during the Albany Movement's demonstrations, as was Bernice Johnson. Both are natives of Albany.

Chuck Neblitt, a former leader of student protests in Carbondale, Illinois, worked in SNCC's Mississippi project before joining the group.

The Freedom Singer's fund raising efforts are indeed necessary. But just as important are the personal contacts they make during their tours of Northern college campuses. They communicate, through their songs, the urgency, immediacy, and sincerity of the student movement in the South.

They debuted February 1, 1963, at Carnegie Hall, and since then have appeared on television, radio, and in scores of concerts. They have recorded an album of their songs which will be ready for release in the fall.