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This is a report submitted to the Mississippi Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights at a meeting held March 18, 1964. It is filed on behalf of the state's 950,000 Negroes. It is written from the view point of those who are workers for the end of racial discrimination and segregation in Mississippi, for the encouragement of the exercise by Negroes in Mississippi, of their right to vote and to register to vote, and for the exercise and preservation of civil rights generally in Mississippi, whether such persons are paid or not paid to act as such workers.

The purpose of this report is:

- 1) To indicate to the Advisory Committee, (a) that there is a need for greater public awareness in regard to denial of civil rights and civil liberties for Negroes and for persons who are working to end racial discrimination in Mississippi, and (b) that the Advisory Committee could fulfil a vital need by issuing frequently reports, for nationwide distribution, informing the nation at large of these denials.
2. To submit to the Advisory Committee material which will give it a substantial basis for petitioning the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights to hold hearings in Mississippi, and
3. To indicate to the Advisory Committee the overwhelming need for greater federal government activity in Mississippi, if the rights and lives of Negroes are to be insured.

This report has been prepared by:

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## THE MANIA FOR INTIMIDATING

### Southwestern Mississippi:

Acts of intimidation take many forms: For example, the coming of the New Year marked the reorganization of the Klu Klux Klan in Southwestern Mississippi; in addition, Negroes have been beaten, shot, and murdered and no assailants have as yet been discovered or brought to justice.

#### McComb

On the evening of January 9, 1964 there were several instances of shooting in the McComb area. The places shot into included:

H.C. Wells' Grocery (hole in window)

Carter's Shoe Shop (hole in window)

Mrs. Alyene Quinn's home in Summit,

Also: Mr. Isadore Carter's home was shot into on Wednesday evening (January 8, 1964) (two large holes in a picture window.)

Speculations about the cause, or the occasion, of the shootings conclude that the general program of voter registration had disturbed the unruly white population. The immediate occasion was apparently the televised addresses of President Johnson (State of the Union Speech) and Charles Evers, Mississippi Field Secretary for the NAACP which were televised into the area on Wednesday evening. Mr. Evers was speaking in rebuttal of Jackson Mayor Allen Thompson's earlier speech about consumer's boycott in Jackson. The purpose of the shooting was apparently to discourage Negro people from paying poll taxes and registering. About fifty or sixty have tried since November.

Mr. Carter, whose home and shoe shop were fired into, reported that the sheriff (Pike County sheriff Warren) came into his business Friday morning (January 10) and said that he had caught four white men; but would not give their names. Mr. H.C. Wells, whose grocery store was shot into said, that he saw a white Corvair go by at the time of the shooting, and it was going so fast that he was unable to tell anything more.

#### Notes on conversation with H.C. Wells:

"Shooting happened about 5:15 P.M.---heard no sound from the car, a white Corvair--it was travelling fast...my store front, glass window, fell in, sending glass fragments as far as five feet. The shot came from the back of the car going uphill." When asked as to why one would want to shoot up his place of business, Mr. Wells said that he believed that "someone just wanted something to do and shooting up a colored neighborhood was something to do."

## Natchez

On February 18, 1964 Archie Curtis of Natchez received a phone call at 12:45 A.M. He was told to go out to Palestine Road and go "two miles past the black top" where "a man with a lantern will be waiting to show you the way to Henry Goodman's house." (He was told that Mrs. Goodman had had a heart attack and needed an ambulance)

Curtis went out to Palestine Road as requested, accompanied by Willie Jackson. After going two miles past the black top, they did not see anyone with a light. Curtis blew his horn. A car pulled up behind the ambulance. Two white men got out of the left side and two white men got out of the right side. All four had white hoods over their heads. One had a gun in his hand. Curtis and Jackson were told to get out of the ambulance. Curtis told them to go away because he had no time for foolishness. Curtis told them he was looking for a Mr. Goodman. One of the four white men said, "I'm Henry Goodman. I am the one who called you for an ambulance--and damn it, I want you to get out." Another of the four men walked over to the driver's side of the vehicle and asked Curtis, while pointing a gun at him, "didn't you hear him say get out?" Curtis turned to get out --they caught his hand and hit his hand pit. Curtis got out of the ambulance, he was told to take off his glasses. Curtis was slow getting them off; one of the men grabbed them and threw them away. Next Curtis and Jackson were blindfolded and carried to the white men's car, pushed in the car. Both Curtis and Jackson were put in the front of the car and driven down to a field called Duck Pond. They were told to get out of the car in Duck Pond, which they did; they were told to remove their clothes. They refused. After being hit "two or three times," they dropped their pants. Curtis was told to hand over his NAACP card. Curtis replied by saying he didn't have a NAACP card. He was told "yes, you have and that damn West has a NAACP card too." Curtis said "I don't think West has one" Curtis and Jackson were told to lie on their stomachs and then they were beaten. One of the four men suggested killing them--but another said no "lets just leave them here." Curtis and Jackson went to a friends' house and got a ride into town.

## In General

There have been at least five Negroes murdered in Southwestern Mississippi since the year's (1964) beginning. None of them have been solved and all seem to have racial overtones:

Lewis Allen was killed on February 1, 1964. He was shot in the face with a shot gun at night as he departed from his motor vehicle.

Three people were found dead in their automobile. Carbon Monoxided to death, however, they also had bullet holes in them.



A Mr. Walker was also found dead in Southwestern Mississippi, an obvious murder, the case still remains "unsolved."

There have been a countless number of cross burnings in Amite, Walthall and Pike counties. Many feel this is the result of the re-emergence of the KLU KLUX KLAN in Southwestern Mississippi.

In Franklin County barricades have been put in the middle of the street and Negroes have not been permitted to pass.

### JACKSON MISSISSIPPI:

Intimidation takes a different form in sophisticated metropolitan Jackson. In Jackson the city's mayor is largely the intimidating force and he does it under the pretext of waging a war against those who he prefers to refer to as "agitators from outside."

What is causing apprehension in the minds of civil rights workers presently in the state is that during the summer of 1964 hundreds of college students are planning to come to Mississippi and most will probably pass through Jackson. The mayor seems to manifest the attitude of a mayor whose city is about to be invaded by an alien armored division whose purpose is total destruction rather than college students who have a desire to work on voter registration, educational, and re-training programs. His words as follows:

"We're ready for them...We've got the stuff...I'm going to use every force necessary to keep them from getting out of hand. I don't want to do it. My purpose is to maintain law and order in this city. Anything they bring in we can handle."

The mayor will no doubt be able to handle everything that is brought in, seeing as he has prepared for a small war and the only thing those students who do come to Mississippi will be bringing with them are knowledge and skills, that they desire to impart to unskilled, uneducated, poverty stricken Negroes.

Mayor Thompson can rely on a strong police force-city policemen, city employees who can be pressed into duty as officers, sheriff's deputies and a cordon of state highway patrolmen.

The pride of his force is a special riot control car known locally as "Thompson's Tank". It can carry 10 policemen and two drivers into a crowd--shot guns bristling out of gun ports, tear gas and other weapons inside.

Jackson has 400 policemen mostly tough young recruits who have joined the force in the last year or so, and is adding 35 more!



Last year Mayor Thompson bought 200 shot guns. Fifty more are ordered. Shotguns loaded with buckshot are mounted on motorcycle officers' vehicles and carried in patrol cars. Riot helmets and gas masks have been acquired for every officer.

Two city trucks have been equipped with searchlights and converted into troop carriers. Three flat-bed trailer trucks are now wire-enclosed paddy wagons for hauling away demonstrators in wholesale lots.

And the Mayor delightedly declares, "there's no way for them to win"---he has reference to the summer "invaders."

### THE FREEDOM VOTE

From the "freedom vote" campaign which was held during October and November of 1963 ample evidence is offered to substantiate the assertion that any person who is engaged in any activity, regardless of how harmless it seems on the surface, that attempts to organize Negroes politically, runs the risk of being imprisoned or even killed.

Anti-Negro laws which are undeniably unconstitutional have been passed this year. Some instances of the legislatures activities this year are:

JANUARY 15, 1964...

House adopted and sent to the Senate a resolution memorializing Congress to defeat the pending civil rights bill.

Rep. C.C. Bullock of Harrison County offered the resolution and said members of the Congress were "bombarded by the insistent voice of the minority" and the state should make its feelings known.

The resolution was requested by Ross Barnett in his farewell address. The resolution said: "The passage of this bill further invading the rights of the states to govern themselves and solve their own problems would do irreparable damage to the already critical race relations, would widen the breach already brought about by efforts to force a social merger of incompatible elements of society, and would give untold impetus to the strife and turmoil that has torn our nation asunder..." The resolution was passed unanimously.

JANUARY 22, 1964....

Senators approved a bill by Senator Ed Henry of Canton which would allow Madison County to increase its county patrolmen from one to three in the face of expected racial troubles there.

The Senate went into a committee of the whole gave a swift approval to the bill presented by Senator Henry which would permit Madison County to increase its county patrol force from one to three men.

Henry said that the new patrolmen would be deputized and used to help control expected racial demonstrations in Canton, Mississippi, where Negro intergration leaders recently called for a boycott of white merchants.

JANUARY 23, 1964....

Senate gave final approval to House resolution memorializing Congress to defeat the pending civil rights legislation.

FEBRUARY 6, 1964

Senators argued over whether cities should be allowed to impose stiffer penalties on persons who violate their ordinances. Senator Bill Caraway of Leland, had the measure tabled when controversy arose in order to give senators time to prepare amendments.

The bill would allow increasing maximum fines from \$100.00 to \$300 and jail sentences from 30 to 90 days. Caraway said the present limits have "proven inadequate in the difficulties we have had over the state," An apparent reference to racial demonstrations. He said the present system is especially in effective when judges are dealing with repeat offenders.

Several senators questioned him about the right to a trial by jury with the stiffer penalties. Caraway said the cities would object to jury trials in city court because of increased expenses. "They could get a jury trial by appealing to county court," he said.

As more amendments were suggested, Caraway moved to lay the bill on the table subject to call.

FEBRUARY 12, 1964....

The Mississippi Senate rammed through a bill Wednesday, 4-44 making it unlawful for any persons to willfully or maliciously distribute literature calling for trade boycotts.

Senator Ed. Henry of Canton and others offered the measure with Henry terming it the offspring of meeting with four attorney generals and the judiciary committee.

Henry's area of Canton has been hit by civil rights groups calling on Negroes to boycott merchants and businessmen that do not afford Negroes equal opportunity of service and employment.

Senator W.V. Jones of Waynesboro said he felt the bill was unconstitutional on its face and termed it a "with burning bill." Jones said the bill was an infringement on a person's right to freedom of speech. He said, "we can't be putting a bill on the books which will be knocked out on constitutional grounds."

Jones said he was a segregationist, but the boycott bill was, "ambiguous and should not be passed." It was sent to the senate.

FEBRUARY 25, 1964...

Senator Edwin Pittman of Hattiesburg told his upper house colleagues Tuesday they should demand investigation of the presence of five Negroes last week at a University of Mississippi program.

"I hope to find out why the five people were admitted," Pittman said.

He later said he might introduce a resolution calling an investigation or question University officials when they appear with money requests for the next biennium before the Appropriations Committee.



The senate adjourned until after hearing a report from the Municipalities Committee recommending passage of a bill to give cities the right to enforce any needed police regulations "to restrain movements of individuals under certain circumstances."

Backers of the proposal said it would permit enforcement of curfews in racilly troubled times.

FEBRUARY 27, 1964....

The Mississippi House of Representatives approved a Senate bill fixing heavy penalties against persons who print or circulate, willfully or maliciously literature designed to interfere with free trade. It passed 74-32 but not before it became involved in a heated debate over proposed amendments to excuse labor activities from the measure. The bill calls for punishment in prison for not more than six months in the county jail or fining not more than \$500.00 Or both.

Rep. Joe Moss of Hinds County introduced bills Thursday to permit state Penitentiary facilities to be used for municipal prisoners. The two-package bill by Moss and other members of the Hinds County delegation came amid reports that civil rights groups would step up activities in Mississippi.

MARCH 4, 1964....

Rep. Thompson of Clay, had SB1545, a measure making it unlawful to print literature for boycotts, called up and a motion to reconsider it tabled. The act now goes to the governor for his signature.

MARCH 11, 1964....

A bill authored by Rep. Buck Meek of Webster County was approved by the House 72 to 37. Under the bill parents of illegitimate children on second offense may be sterilized in lieu of prison. In calling up this bill Meek cited that there were 8,647 illegitimate non-white births. The bill was held for reconsideration.

A resolution introduced Wednesday in the senate commended Dr. William D. McCain president of the University of Southern Mississippi for upholding the established regulations of the University.

McCain Monday, for the fifth time, refused to allow John Frazier a Negro, to enroll at the Hattisburg institution on the grounds that he had failed to submit his application on time.

## POLICE BRUTALITY

Negroes who are arrested whether civil rights workers or not are vulnerable to acts of police brutality. At times however, it becomes naked and open as incidents last summer (1963) indicated.

The following was reported in Newsweek Magazine, June 24, 1963. It is in reference to Jackson city policemen during a demonstration by Negroes:

"Once more, police started making arrests. From porches along Rose street, spectators took up the chant: Freedom! Freedom! Freedom! Police ordered them to keep quiet, then charged the porches, kicking up swirls of dust in the yards, dragging Negroes to the ground, choking and clubbing them with billies. This is my house! one woman screamed from her doorway, but police dragged her out and beat her. Two cops seized John Salter, a white Tougaloo Christian College sociologist who had been slugged during a sit-in three weeks earlier. "Here he is, here he is," one shouted. A third cop clubbed Salter on the head and knocked him sprawling, blood running into the dust."

The New York Times carried a front page article on June 14, 1963 whose lead read: JACKSON NEGROES CLUBBED AS POLICE QUELL MARCHES.

From the June 14, 1963 edition of the New Orleans Times-Picayune: "A fifteen year old Negro girl was hit with a police club when she started to cry "they got my brother."

"An officer surged into the house when the girl went down and a relative of hers, Mrs. Margaret Ann Porter, pulled her inside the front door."

".....One of those on the porch was Rev. Edwin King, white Methodist Chaplain at Tougaloo College. One officer cursed him when he asked police if they would call an ambulance for the Negro woman owner of the house who had fainted because of hysteria."

## ACTS OF INTIMIDATION

The instances of police brutality and acts of intimidation occur in an atmosphere of official condonance. An examination of a few acts passed this year (1964) by the state Legislature will attest to the fact that the Negro can obtain no redress from state officials.

## SUMMARY OF EVENTS, October 22 through October 28

Between October 22 and October 25, 22 election workers were arrested in Indianola for distributing leaflets without a permit. (Four SNCC workers were arrested, convicted, and appealed on the same charge in September of 1962. The charges were dropped and the bond returned when the Justice Department intervened; there was a consent agreement that no more arrests would be made under the ordinance.) The 22 were sentenced to \$25 fines and 30 days in jail (suspendable upon payment of fines).

- I. In Clarksdale on October 24, after attending a meeting in the home of the candidate for governor, the chairman of the Campaign Advisory Committee and 2 Yale students were arrested while crossing the street from their parked car to enter the hotel where they had planned to spend the night. They were charged with violating a curfew and put in jail.

The next day another Yale student was arrested and charged with distributing leaflets without a permit. He has been fined \$50. Yesterday, four Yale students were stopped by police and told they could not stay in the Negro section of town. "Either you stay in the white section or get out," they were told. The students spent the night in two Negro homes, and today one was arrested. The other was taken by police from Henry Headquarters and told the police would no longer "protect" him from the wrath of the Negro community. The Chief of Police predicted that the student would be "stabbed in the back". This conversation occurred while the student was in the back seat of a police car and with guns displayed conspicuously.

- II. A Yale student and 2 SNCC workers arrived in Yazoo City at 4:00 PM, October 23. At 4:30 PM the police phoned the office where they were meeting with local Negro leaders. Presently it was "suggested" that they let the police escort them out of the city to "protect them from injury. Otherwise, the Negro leaders warned, there was no telling what might happen to them. A rally scheduled for Yazoo City for the following evening was subsequently cancelled after similar warnings.

- IV. The mayor of Columbus refused requests for permits to distribute leaflets for Aaron Henry because it would "cause racial disturbance." Requests for permission to use a sound truck in Columbus were also denied. Distribution of Mississippi Free Press has been prohibited. Similar refusals of permits for the distribution of pro-Henry material have been reported from many places throughout Mississippi.

- J. Two white Methodist ministers were arrested in Jackson on Sunday, October 27, after they had attempted to enter the Capitol Street Methodist Church with a Negro student. There have been approximately 15 convictions in Jackson in the last 2 weeks for similar activity. The standard punishment for attempting to attend church services in an integrated group is 1 year in jail and \$1,000 fine.

- I. It is commonplace for campaign workers throughout Mississippi, with the exception of the city of Greenville, to be taken into custody on a variety of traffic charges. (On one occasion the candidate for Lt. Gov. was fined for four separate traffic "violations" while in Jackson for an afternoon.) Perhaps the most difficult of these to cope with



is "suspicion of auto theft," a charge which has been levelled even at people driving their own cars and carrying the registration papers on their person. Persons driving cars owned by relatives or borrowed from friends have found themselves detained for long periods, and have had their cars impounded for long periods by the police.

- I. In Jackson it is the habit of the police to apprehend campaign workers especially en route to and from campaign offices during the evening hours. The custom to date seems to be to trail cars, quiz drivers and passengers and search interiors. Every third or fourth such incident ends with driver and passengers being taken to the police station for "questioning". These procedures produce a substantial number of traffic fines.
- II. In Hattiesburg, the chief of police has announced that any white "agitators" found in the city limits will be sentenced to 6 months in jail and a \$500 fine. Four Yale students who had arrived there at 1:00 A.M. on October 28 were taken from their beds to the police station for "questioning" at 8:00 A.M. They were released after 3 hours, and after the intervention of an FBI agent had obtained the release of one of the four who did not have his draft with him. Subsequently, however, a Yale divinity student was picked up on "suspicion of auto theft" and convicted of "interfering with a police officer" after he had asked if the police, who were searching his car, had a warrant to do so. There were 3 other arrests in Hattiesburg yesterday, including that of a cafe owner who had served a meal to two Yale students. She is out on \$100 bond on charges of "illegal possession of alcohol," but before "finding" the half-pint of whiskey which formed the basis of the arrest, the police had "searched" the premises in such a fashion that the garbage had been dumped all over the floor, along with a considerable part of the food in stock.
- III. The daughter of SCLC field secretary in Ruleville was arrested for "shoplifting" while shopping yesterday. In Greenwood today a white lady who has been working in the campaign was arrested on a number of traffic charges and is now in jail on \$1000 bond.

During the last two days we have received a succession of calls rescinding permission to use church and store facilities for meetings or balloting. Many of these calls have included bitter or pathetic descriptions of threats.

- IV. Last week a white worker in the Literacy Project at Tougaloo College was arrested while driving back to the college, charged with "obstructing the flow of traffic," grilled by detectives for half an hour ("What are you doing here?" "Who are you sleeping with?" etc.) and fined. Such interrogations by officials occurs constantly, often without any charges being lodged either before or after interrogation.
- V. Responsible persons, including some senior members of the journalistic corps and the Chaplain of a Negro college near Jackson, have what they consider incontrovertible evidence that their phones are tapped. There is also some evidence of tampering with mail addressed to people active in the civil rights movement.
- VI. Threats and violence by non-official persons have added to the atmosphere and required such measures as the posting of guards near the homes of whites who have been active in desegregation efforts, etc.

Statement of Events in Natchez, Miss. -- November 1 and 2, 1963

November 1. Bruce Payne of Oakland, California, a 21-year-old University of California graduate now studying political science at Yale University, was forced out of a "Freedom Vote" Votemobile in Port Gibson, and beaten by four men. He and the two Freedom Vote workers accompanying him were followed by the four men all the way from Natchez, 42 miles away. They had been organizing polling places for the Freedom Vote election which takes place November 2, 3, and 4. Payne and the two other workers were warned to stay out of Natchez.

November 2. (Event occurred app. 11:45 a.m.)

George Greene, a 20-year-old SNCC worker from Greenwood, Miss. was driving a Votemobile with Bruce Payne on the way from Natchez to Fayette, a distance of 23 miles, to work with balloting for the Freedom Vote campaign. The balloting takes place on November 2, 3, and 4.

Three miles out of Natchez, Greene realized that they were being followed by two of the four men who had beaten Payne the day before. During the 25 ensuing minutes, Greene tried to evade or lose the pursuing car by turning around, and out-racing it, but the top speed of 105 m.p.h. on the 1963 Chevrolet was no match for the 1964 Impala driven by the pursuers. Finally the workers were forced off the road against a bridge and one of the men walked up to Greene, pulled out a pistol and told him to get out. Greene, whose door was locked and window rolled up, shifted into low, swerved sharply, and escaped back on to the highway. As the car

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left, the assailant shot three times at the left rear tire, hoping, it is believed, to disable the vehicle in order that the two workers could be forced into the Impala and taken somewhere more isolated than the highway.

With a slow leak in the tire, Greene once again tried to lose his pursuers, going through three red lights, crossing double lines and driving in oncoming traffic lanes. Finally he managed to get three cars ahead of the Impala and turned out of sight on to a backwoods road where the tire was changed. Payne and Greene then proceeded to Jackson to report the incident to the highway patrol, Department of Justice, Henry headquarters and the press.

Payne stated that about all that saved the two workers was Greene's excellent driving. (Greene had raced in high school.)

Freedom Vote for Governor Headquarters

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SUMMARY OF EVENTS IN YAZOO CITY, OCTOBER 24-PRESENT (NOVEMBER 10), 1963

OCTOBER 24. Three campaign workers, accompanied by local ministers, visited the office of a local Negro citizen. While they visited him, he was telephoned by the police and intimidated. A scheduled campaign rally was thereupon cancelled. (See Nelson Soltman statement of Oct.24)

OCTOBER 30, NOVEMBER 1, 2, 3. George Raymond, campaign worker and CORE Task Force worker, returned to work in Yazoo City. Each day he was followed by police everywhere he went. His campaigning was generally unsuccessful. On Sunday, Nov. 3, he was followed into a Negro church, where the police spoke against him to the congregation.

NOVEMBER 4. Several campaign workers (George Raymond, Lenore Thurman, Bob Gore, Claude Weaver, Jesse Morris and Doris Erskine) accompanied by an NBC camera crew came to Yazoo City to solicit votes. There were several incidents of minor harassment, e.g. the police would not allow a sign to be posted on the trunk of the campaign car; forcing the campaign workers to stand on the sidewalk holding the sign; Police Officer Moody, according to George Raymond, wrote "aggitators" (sic) indelibly across Raymond's driver's license. Lenore Thurman was arrested when, police alleged, she handed a ballot to a man in public. George Raymond later, at the trial, testified that he had given the man the ballot, but the judge did not believe him.

NOVEMBER 7. Lenore Thurman, George Raymond, George Greene, Jesse Morris and Claude Weaver came back to Yazoo City for Miss Thurman's trial. She was convicted of distributing literature without a permit; the case is being appealed. After the trial, George Raymond went to a Negro restaurant to make a phone call; as he entered, he was kicked and curse

by a police officer he believes to be Assistant Captain Otis. When the others in the group joined Raymond at the restaurant, they left to return to Jackson, followed by the police escort. Just inside the city limits of Flora, Miss. (in Madison County), the car was stopped and Raymond was arrested by a highway patrolman and Yazoo City police. He was arrested for reckless driving (the charge was discovered the next day by Jesse Harris, who went up to bail him out), handcuffed so tightly that the circulation was cut off in his hands, kicked while entering and leaving the car, and cuffed around in front of the police station as he was being led to his cell, in Yazoo City. Back on the highway, the others in the group were ordered out of the car. The police asked who in the group had a driver's license. When George Greer said that he had, they arrested him also, taking him into custody on an unspecified charge (later revealed as "disobeying an officer"). None of the others would volunteer the information that he or she had a driver's license, so the police sent them walking along the highway after dark. The police called a wrecker to take the car back to Yazoo City, where it is still impounded.

NOVEMBER 8. Jesse Harris, Claude Weaver, Carl Arnold, and Jesse Morris arrived in Yazoo City to pay fines or post bond for the two who had been arrested. George Raymond was released, on an appearance bond of \$250, but the police refused to release George Greene, claiming that he had been arrested in Madison County, not Yazoo County. As of Sunday, November 10, negotiations to secure his release have been fruitless.

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Events of November 1 and 2, general

November 2, 1960--Henry Headquarters in Jackson

Campaign workers in Belzoni, Leland, Tupelo and other communities  
reported incidents of arrest, detention and questioning all day.

November 1, 1960--Tate County

Hugh Smith, a senior philosophy student at Stanford University,  
resident of Menlo Park, California, was shot at three times while  
in his car in Tate County, Miss. Earlier in the day Smith had  
delivered a carload of Rust College (in Holly Springs), Negro  
Freedom Vote Campaign workers to Tate County, near Senatobia.  
When he returned, at about 1:00 p.m., to pick them up, he was  
recognized by a group of people at a market. Two shots were fired  
over his head, and one into the dirt as he drove away.



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EVENTS IN MISSISSIPPI NOVEMBER 1 and 2:

November 1--JACKSON--Nicolas Bosanquet, British subject and Yale University student, and Robert Honeysucker, Negro senior at Tougaloo College (Negro) here, were arrested while attempting to enter a London Royal Philharmonic Symphony concert at a Jackson public auditorium. While they had bought tickets on public sale, they were told that only Jackson Music Association members were being admitted. The next day they were released on \$500 bond each. They are to appear for trial Monday, November 4 on charges of disturbing the peace.

November 1--NATCHEZ--Bruce Payne, Oakland, Calif., Yale University undergraduate student, was forced out of a "Freedom Vote-mobile" and beaten by four white men here. The four followed Payne and two other "Freedom Vote" workers from Port Gibson where the beating occurred, for 42 miles to Natchez. They were warned to stay out of Natchez.

November 1--TATE COUNTY--Hugh Smith, Menlo Park, Calif., Stanford University student, was shot at three times in his car here. Recognized by onlookers after an earlier trip to deliver "Freedom Vote" workers, two shots were fired over his head and one into the ground as he drove away.

November 2--JACKSON--Four SNCC workers were stopped by three Rankin County patrol cars and told to leave the airport. They went there to pick up rented cars and see Bob Moses, Campaign Manager for the "Freedom Vote" drive, off to Memphis. Moses was questioned and released, the other four were told to leave or go to jail, despite their insistence that car rental papers were being delivered to them. The four included Charlie Cobb, Springfield, Mass.; Langston Mitchell, New Orleans, La.; Jesse Harris, Jackson, Miss., and Ivanhoe Donaldson of New York City.

November 2--JACKSON--David Dennis, CORE Field Secretary here and Michael Sayer, SNCC worker of Atlanta, were stopped by airport police and interrogated while bringing car rental papers to SNCC workers at the airport. Telling them "The Federal government doesn't have jurisdiction over this airport," the patrolmen threatened the two with jail and charges of trespass. Meanwhile, four SNCC workers were forced to keep their hands on their car for more than an hour during interrogation by police. One officer twice rapped Ivanhoe Donaldson on the knuckles. The officer also placed his pistol at Donaldson's head and threatened to kill him. All were finally released after threats.

November 2--NATCHEZ--George Greene, SNCC worker from Greenwood, Miss., and Bruce Payne were on the way from Natchez to Fayette to work with their "Freedom Votemobile." Near Natchez the four men who beat Payne the day before were observed following. Greene tried to out-race them unsuccessfully and was forced off the road where Greene was ordered out of the car at pistol point. Swiftly moving the car onto the highway, Greene escaped only after the car was shot at three times. One bullet entered the rear, one grazed the side, the other hit the left rear tire causing a slow leak. Skillfully manipulating through traffic, Greene managed to enter a side street unnoticed and fixed the tire.

November 2--JACKSON--Jesse Davis, SNCC worker from here was canvassing for "Freedom Votes" on a corner near a cafe when a policeman told him he was blocking traffic and subject to arrest and then left. Several minutes later he returned with an additional policeman who said Davis was under arrest, charged with snatching a purse. He was placed in the patrol car, told he was being taken to be identified by the woman whose purse was allegedly stolen. Instead, he was taken to a white residential district and put out of the car. After a 3-block walk, Davis noticed the policeman gathering a crowd of white men around him, apparently attempting to create a hostile mob. A Negro motorist came by and fortunately offered him a lift to town.

November 2--JACKSON--Fred Goff, white Stanford University (Calif.) student was ordered out of a Negro cafe by police. They told him "It's okay to buy a coke in a nigger cafe but not to sit in one. If you want to live with niggers, do it outside of Mississippi."

November 2--MORTON--Two female CORE workers, Lenora Thurmond and Doris Erskine, were canvassing for votes in the unofficial "Freedom Vote" campaign here when they were ordered out of town by local police.

November 2--YAZOO CITY--George Raymond, Tehodus Hewitt and John Lee Watt, CORE and SNCC workers planning to canvass for votes here were tailed by police officers each place they went. This made their work impossible and they left town with police following for some distance.

November 2--ROSEDALE--John Lewis, Chairman of SNCC, Bruce Gordon and Lawrence DiBivort were canvassing here when police stopped them and escorted them out of town. They left here for Cleveland, Miss. where they were stopped by police and told not to be in town after sundown. They were escorted by police to Mound Bayou, Miss. where they contacted a local vote worker and returned to Cleveland unmolested.

November 2--PRIZONE--Willie Shaw was arrested for "parking too close to a fire hydrant" during his canvassing for "Freedom Votes." His bond was set at \$100 and released.

November 2--JACKSON--A "Freedom Vote" worker here canvassing at a football game at the Jackson State College (Negro) was told by police to either stop his activities and sit down or be arrested.

November 2--GREENWOOD--Five "Freedom Vote" workers were arrested here today by local police. Jane Stembridge, Dorothy Higgins, Dick Fry, Willie Earl James and Frank Hirsch had set up a sidewalk voting booth to collect ballots. When they began singing Freedom Songs to attract attention to the booth, police ordered them to move on because they were on private property and disturbing the peace. Fry told the officer they were on public property, whereon the five were arrested for blocking the sidewalk and for refusing to obey an officer. Their bond was set at \$100 each and they are now in .

November 2--PICAYUNE-----Three Hattiesburg Negroes and two white Yale University students were canvassing for "Freedom Votes" at a federal housing project here. When they left the housing development, police were waiting for them. The five were taken to the police station for two hours of interrogation. When they returned to their car in the courthouse parking lot they found it difficult to start. It was discovered that there was water in the gas tank. The car was pushed to the nearest service station where work was done to rectify the damage.

November 2--GENERAL MISSISSIPPI--Campaign workers in the unofficial balloting listing Aaron Henry, Negro pharmacist as candidate for Governor of Mississippi and the Rev. Edwin King, a white Methodist minister as candidate for Lieutenant Governor, reported incidents of arrest, detention, harassment and questioning throughout the day and night. Communities reporting such incidents included Belzoni, Leland, Tupelo, Hattiesburg, and many others.



Freedom Vote for Governor  
1072 Lynch St.,  
Jackson Miss.  
tel: 948-0690

Statement on Events in Jackson, Miss. -- November 1 and 2, 1963

November 1. Nicolas Bosanquet, Claire Fellow at Yale University, graduate of Cambridge University in England, and a British subject, along with Robert Honeysucker, a Negro senior music major at Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Miss. were arrested when they attempted to enter a public auditorium in Jackson to hear a concert given by the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra of London, England. They were told that the concert performance was open only to members of the Jackson Music Association: The two had bought tickets on public sale.

The next day, November 2, the two were released on \$500 bond apiece. They are to appear<sup>f</sup> for trial on Monday, on charges of disturbing the peace.

November 2. (app. 12:30 a.m.) While driving to the airport to pick up some rented cars and to see Bob Moses, Campaign manager for the Freedom Vote Campaign, off to Memphis, Tenn., four SNCC workers were stopped by Rankin County police in three patrol cars. After questioning and releasing Moses, the police told the four Negro campaign workers to leave. The four were: Charlie Cobb of Springfield, Mass., Langston Mitchell of New Orleans, La., Jesse Harris of Jackson, Miss., and Ivanhoe Donaldson of New York. When the SNCC workers told the police that they were waiting for some rental papers that had been left in Jackson (necessary to rent the cars), the police told them they could either go to jail or leave.

Jackson Press Release, page 2

David Dennis, 23-year-old CORE Field Secretary in Jackson, and Michael Sayer, a 22-year-old SNCC worker were bringing the papers out to the airport. They were stopped by the airport police, interrogated for about 20 minutes and threatened with 72 hours in the Brandon jail with charges of trespassing. "The federal government doesn't have any jurisdiction over this airport," the police said. On the way back to Jackson, Dennis and Sayer spotted the other four SNCC workers in a Billups gas station. Cobb and Mitchell and Harris were being forced by police to stand outside the car with their hands on the car for 1 hour and 15 minutes while the police interrogated, harassed and threatened Ivanhoe Donaldson. Donaldson was asked if whites were better than Negroes, and when he replied "no", the interrogating officer took out his pistol and rapped him on the knuckles with the butt of the gun. On answering another question, he was again rapped. Finally the officer placed the muzzle of the pistol against Donaldson's temple, cocked it, and said, "Nigger, I think I'm going to kill you right now." At this point another officer interrupted and said "No, you can't kill that nigger now; it's not time." The four were finally released after threats and "warnings."

Returning from Memphis at 4:30 a.m. Bob Moses attempted to call campaign headquarters on four different pay telephones, hearing in the background all four times: "you'd better not call that number again." His return to town was otherwise without incident.

Vol

## CASE STUDIES OF INTIMIDATION

## MISSISSIPPI

COFO, 1017 Lynch Street  
Jackson, Mississippi

This report is a collection of personal statements concerning acts of intimidation in Mississippi between February and April, 1964. The purpose of presenting these statements is to provide documentary evidence of the continual intimidation of Mississippi's Negroes and of those who come to help them. Acts of intimidation are a fact of life for Mississippi's 950,000 Negroes and an important factor in the success or failure of civil rights activities. Nonetheless, almost no press reports of these incidents have appeared in Northern papers and no major Federal investigation has been run on any of the cases mentioned in this report.

The statements concern three different areas of the state, involving differing forms of physical, political, and economic intimidation. The first statement is from a man in Natchez in the Southwest. In this area of the state, intimidation tends to take the form of open violence. As a result, the Negro population is still generally cowed, and civil rights work has proceeded slowly. Around the beginning of the year, the Klu Klux Klan revived in the southwest. Since then, there have been countless cross burnings, at least two bombings, and at least five killings. Many Negroes have been forced to leave counties in the extreme southwest because they were suspected of involvement in voter registration or other civil rights activities.

Reasons for the high degree of open violence in the southwest are not certain. It has been suggested, however, that the lack of a clear economic distinction between the Negro and white communities has forced the whites to resort to open violence to keep the Negroes "in their place."

The second set of statements come from the city of Ruleville, in Sunflower County, and from Greenwood, in Leflore County, in the northwest. This is the Mississippi Delta, an area of large cotton plantations, and heavy Negro majorities in many counties. Though there has been a considerable amount of open violence in the Delta, it has not been sufficient to prevent effective voter registration activities. With the intensification of such activities, political and economic intimidation by the white community has increased. For instance, large numbers of Negro workers have been fired from jobs on the plantations and in the towns because of involvement with the civil rights movement.

Because the plantation economy has almost total economic power over the Negro, loss of a job often means immediate destitution. To add further pressure, some county authorities have on occasion ended Federal welfare programs, denying displaced Negroes unemployment relief. As a result, it has been necessary to ship tons of food and clothing from friends in the North to try to meet the basic needs of hundreds of families in the Greenwood and Ruleville areas.



In Jackson, the capital, intimidation comes mainly from the large, well-armed, extremely efficient police force. Acts of open violence are generally avoided; but beneath the surface, Jackson is a 'hard' town. Because of recent demonstrations by the large number of Negro college students in the area, city authorities seem wary of openly provoking the Negro population. Instead, police are focusing their efforts on intimidation of white workers in the civil rights movement.

In the past month, six white workers have been beaten in the Jackson jails. While no systematic attempt has yet been made to round up all the white workers from the North, the present policy seems to be to beat every such worker who comes into the Jackson jails. In this way, as the last two people beaten were told, an example is being made for those who are yet to come - - an apparent allusion to the coming COFO Summer Project.

It is difficult to understand why the incidents in this report have not been mentioned in the Northern press or investigated by the Federal Government. Few factors have as much influence on the life of Mississippi's Negroes and on efforts to organize for civil rights as the ever-present and brutal system of intimidation. Nevertheless, for some reason, these incidents have not been considered important enough to be brought to the attention of the nation.

#### Index of Statements

1. Mr. Archie C. Curtis. This statement describes violence by a vigilante group in the southwest against a Negro active in civil rights.
2. Mr. John Mathews. This statement describes arrest and harrassment by police of a Negro active in civil rights in Greenwood, Mississippi.
3. Mr. Willis Wright. This is an example of economic intimidation with police involvement in Greenwood.
4. Mr. George R. Davis, Mrs. Alice Hemingway, and Mr. Charles Hills. Mr. Davis' statement concerns another incident of economic intimidation. The statements of Mrs. Hemingway and Mr. Hills concern intimidation of those attempting to register to vote by county officials and police in Greenwood.
5. Mr. Mendy Samstein. This incident in Ruleville, Mississippi is representative of the continual harrassment and arrest suffered by civil rights workers --- in this case a white and a Negro SNCC worker helping in a Congressional campaign.
6. Lt. Emanuel D. Schrieber. This statement describes the insulting and slapping of a white officer in the US Army in the Jackson City Jail.
7. Mr. Richard Jewett. This statement concerns the arrest and beating of a white CORE worker in the Jackson City Jail.
8. Mr. Eli Hochstedler. This is the statement of a white student arrested while trying to integrate a showing of Holiday on Ice in Jackson. Mr. Hochstedler was beaten while in the Hinds County Jail in Jackson.

Beating of Negro  
Voter Registration worker  
In southwest Mississippi

State of Mississippi  
County of Adams

Related by Archie C. Curtis

My name is Archie C. Curtis. I am the owner of Curtis Funeral Home, Inc. of Natchez, Mississippi. I have been in this business for fifteen years. I am a law-abiding citizen and a registered voter. I have been active in voter registration and am interested in things beneficial to my people and country.

On February 16, 1964, at around 1:30 a.m., I got a call to go pick up the wife of a man called Joe Gooden. The caller said she (Mrs. Gooden) had a heart attack. He said he was the foreman of Joe Gooden. I said I did not know Joe Gooden and did not know where he lived. The caller said to come to the end of the pavement on Palestine Road and there would be a man there with a lantern to direct me. Not suspecting anything, I got dressed and drove to the designated spot in my ambulance. I took with me my helper, William Jackson, but we did not see a man with a lantern. Instead, a car came up and some persons got out with white hoods over their heads and shoulders. They had guns. They ordered me out of the ambulance. When I was getting out, one of them struck me on the back of the hand with a pistol, opening a wound. We were blindfolded and taken about two miles away, I don't know where.

They demanded that I give them an NAACP card and tell them who else had one. I said that I did not have one, and did not know anyone else who had one. They beat us and roughed us up severely. One of them said they ought to kill us, but another one said not to do that, but just to leave us there. They left us and we found our way back to the ambulance. The lights had been left on, so the battery was dead. Then we had to walk about 2½ miles to find friendly Negro residents to help us back to town. This was especially hard on me because I am recuperating from a stroke.

I reported the incident to both local and federal authorities. I believe we should have protection from lawless elements and I will continue to be active in anything that will better our people without harming anyone else.

Original signed by Archie C. Curtis

Statement taken on April 23, 1964, at Curtis Funeral home, Natchez, Mississippi, by C. Herbert Oliver.

Original signed by C. Herbert Oliver



STATE OF MISSISSIPPI  
COUNTY OF LEFLORE

Council of Federated Org.  
Affidavit of John Mathews

Mr. John Mathews, age 34, 725 Ave. E, Greenwood, Miss., GL 3-4698, being duly sworn, deposes and says, to-wit:

On Tuesday, March 31st, at about 12:30 p.m., I went up to the Leflore County Courthouse, went into the courthouse building. I am a citizenship teacher for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, working in Greenwood. As part of my job I was checking on whether or not people were being allowed to register or not. Evidently all people were out to lunch. Upon leaving the courthouse building, two policemen came across the street, yanked or pulled an NAACP button from my jacket, twisted my arm behind me, carried me across the street, and threw me into a patrol car. At this time a policeman got my wallet out of my back pocket, took an ink pen from my hand, broke it in half and threw it to the ground. They then took me to the city jail and locked me up. One policeman was heavy, about 185 lb., light hair, blue uniform, white shirt, police cap, a Greenwood city police uniform. The other weighed about 160 lb., dark hair, same dress, no blue coat like the other wore. At the courthouse they said that I was disturbing the peace and also was guilty of disorderly conduct. They felt that I was drunk. I had had only one beer (which I admitted to the judge the following day at 1 p.m.). In the jail that first night, it was impossible to sleep; every half hour or so three or four policemen would come and open the door and holler "You marching niggers wake up. You was marching today, why not get up and march now? Wake up, you are not supposed to be sleeping." One policeman would stick his head in the door and say sarcastically, "I want my Freedom Now." Around 1 p.m. the next day they took me into a room for the trial. The judge said that I was charged with drunk and disorderly conduct. I pleaded not guilty. We had asked to be allowed to make a phone call that previous night and morning, and we had not been allowed. I was given no opportunity to get a lawyer. The judge did not tell us that we had a right to have a lawyer. The arresting officer could not be found in my trial, so the judge said case continued until today, Thursday. They took me back to my cell. Another cop came into the cell, took me out into the identification room located in a shack in back of the jail. They fingerprinted and took my picture. While this was occurring, they called from the courtroom and I came back. My mother and arresting officer had arrived. I was sworn for the first time; the judge asked again, "guilty or not guilty". I said not guilty. He asked at least five policemen what condition I was in at the arrest. They said that I was "acting strange". At least three of the policemen were not at the arrest scene, however. So \$15 fine. Back at the desk to claim my belongings, they gave me my door keys and cigarettes, but not my wallet, which I asked for several times. They had taken the stuff off me themselves, and I did not put anything into an envelope nor signed any envelope. They maintained that they did not have my wallet. It had my drivers' license and social security card, voter registration card from when I lived there in Illinois. No money. They constantly connected me with the marches (picketing at the courthouse for voter registration) although I was not. After I paid the fine a policeman (the 160-lb one who arrested me) said, "You are out now. But I will bring you right back when I catch you in a march."

original signed by John Mathews.

I certify that a notary public is not available and that the above is true to the best of my ability, this 2nd day of April, 1964.

original signed by John Mathews



A F F I D A V I T

I, Mr. Willis Wright, 23, of 405 Broad Street, Greenwood, Mississippi, (no phone) being duly sworn depose and say: to wit:

On Wednesday and Thursday, March 25 and 26, 1964, I went up to the Leflore County Courthouse in order to register to vote. I have been trying to register to vote since June 1963 when I graduated from the Broad Street public high school, Greenwood, Mississippi. I had tried five times previously to register to vote, but was told that I had failed each time, but I was never given a reason why I had failed. The person who talked and dealt with me each time was Mrs. Martha Lamb, the Registrar. Both Wednesday the 25th and Thursday the 26th of March 1964, I came to the courthouse to register, but both times there were too many people already in the registrar's office for me to get in there at the same time. So both days I joined the picket line which was outside the courthouse to show Mrs. Martha Lamb and the public that I wanted to register to vote. I carried signs, changing them with others so that we all could carry different signs. I carried signs: "One Man - One Vote, Vote For Freedom, All Men Are Created Equal, Register To Vote Not Tomorrow But Today." Both days I noticed a policeman across the street watching us. This man was new, and had not been seen before the 25th nor after the 26th. He apparently had been hired specially, maybe from another town. He had a white helmet, a city policeman's uniform on, rode a motorcycle, had a full face, bluish-gray eyes, about 5'10" tall, brown hair, and was seemingly the youngest policeman there. He just observed while the local police were taking pictures of all participants both days. On Thursday, after picketing, at about five minutes after 12 noon, as I was walking to my job, this policeman yelled at me: "You think wouldn't anybody run over you, don't you. You black mother fucker." I work at Angelo's Cafe, 700 block of Carrollton Avenue. Jimmy Ballots is the manager. After reporting to work, Ballots sent me to get some canned goods at the Russel's Wholesale Company. As I was walking back with the goods, on Carrollton, about one block from the cafe, this same policeman spotted me from his motorcycle. He pulled over and said, "Hey where are you going?" I said, "I am going to Angelo's Cafe." He said, "That's where you work?" I said, "Yes." He said, "You mean to tell me that you picket in the morning and work up there in the afternoon?" I said, "Yes." He said, "Well then, we'll see what we can do about that." I said, "Alright, thank you." He left me and I saw him go into the cafe. He had left before I got back. Nothing was said that day. That was Thursday, the last day of the pay week. Friday, at 12 noon, when I appeared for work, Mr. Ballot met me on the outside with my check in his hand. He said: "Have your check cashed right in here at B&R's. I will have to lay you off right now. But I will let you know when I need you again." I had worked for him the two summers between my sophomore and junior years and between my junior and senior years. On March 7th, he asked me to start working with him again. We had gotten along real well. I believe that the sole reason that I was fired was this policeman telling my boss to fire me because of my voter registration activities.

Signed: Willis Wright

Sworn to and signed before me this 10th day of April, 1964

Signed James Carter, Notary Public

Denial of the Right to Vote in Greenwood, Miss.

Affidavit by George R. Davis: I George R. Davis, 23 years old, of 113 E. Scott St., Greenwood, Miss., swear the following is true. On March 25, I marched on the voter registration line around the Greenwood courthouse. When I came home, my father told me that Mr. Paul Campbell, my boss at the C & J Transportation Co., 509 MacArthur St., Greenwood, had told him that I was fired. On March 25, 1964, I tried to go to work at C & J Transportation, and was told that they could not use me because my picketing was bad for business. I have worked for C & J Transportation as a truck driver off and on since 1958, and steadily since January, 1964. My father works part-time for Short Tire and Oil Co., 1300 South Main St., Greenwood, Miss. I also work there sometimes when I am not driving a truck. My father was told by David Short of the Short Tire and Oil Co. that I could no longer work there and that I would not be able to get another job in Greenwood since my picture had been shown to the members of the Citizen's Council.

Affidavit of Mrs. Alice Hemingway, P.O. Box 686, Itta Bena, Miss.: Tuesday, March 31, 1964, at about 11:30 a.m., I went down to the Leflore County Courthouse, located in Greenwood, Mississippi, to picket in the registration drive with a sign saying "I Want to Vote". A tall, slim officer in a blue uniform with soft blue cap, apparently City Police Chief Curtis Lary came up and said, "You aren't goin' to picket today." Right after that he took the sign off my neck and tore it up, and said, "Get off these streets. Go on." And I said, "Yes, sir." And then I left the courthouse and went on home.

At about the time that I was at the courthouse I saw a policeman kick Miss Dorothy Higgins as she was joining the picket line.

Affidavit of Mr. Charlie Hills: Mr. Charlie Hills, P.O. Box 543, Greenwood, Miss., made his fifth attempt to register on April 1, and was turned down. Mrs. Martha Lamb told him that he was not going to pass, so why deep coming here. He then replied, "I should pass. This is my fifth time." She then told him, "This is a mess. We White folks have been good to you all, so why don't you go home before the cops arrest you."

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

original signed by Charlie Hills



CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGN WORKERS HARRASSED IN RULEVILLE, MISSISSIPPI.  
MARCH 20, 1964

Report by Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee Field Worker  
Mendy Samstein:

On Friday night, March 20, George Green and I left Jackson for the Delta to find Mrs. Hamer and Charles McLaurin in order to learn the outcome of Mrs. Hamer's opening campaign rally in Ruleville, Mississippi. (Mrs. Hamer is running for congress in the second congressional district) and to discuss future campaign strategy. We took with us hundreds of handout leaflets for campaign canvassing as well as other campaign materials which had just been worked up in Jackson and Atlanta. We arrived in Cleveland, Mississippi at approximately 11:30 in the hope of finding McLaurin at the home of Amzie Moore, a resident of Cleveland. Finding no one home at Moore's house we decided to proceed to Ruleville to see Mrs. Hamer and perhaps find McLaurin. We arrived in Ruleville at approximately 12:15 and were driving through the Negro community when we were stopped by Ruleville police. We stopped our car (George was driving at the time). Two men got out of the police car and approached us. One was a stout, round-faced man (who we later learned was name Milam and was known to Negro residents of Ruleville for his brutality. Milam is the brother of the man who was accused of killing Emmett Till). The other was a shorter man, wearing glasses (whose name we never learned). Milam was dressed in uniform, but the other man was dressed in plain chinos and a tan shirt. (We later learned he was merely an auxiliary policeman who frequently was put on night duty).

The shorter man approached me and asked me what I was doing in "niggertown." When I did not reply he told me to get out of the car. Meanwhile Milam had gone around to the other side of the car and had told George Green, "nigger, get out of the car." We were both then pushed and shoved to the back of the car where we were continuously and threateningly asked what we were doing in "niggertown". Then the shorter fellow began questioning me as to what I was doing "with that nigger". Milam then grabbed me and started shoving me around. The shorter fellow then went over to George and asked him if "he was a nigger." When George did not reply, the shorter man pulled his gun and shoved it repeatedly in George's stomach. I later learned he had the gun cocked and had jabbed it repeatedly in George's ribs, causing several lacerations. After a few moments, the shorter man came over to me and told Milam that he would take care of me. He then shoved me a few yards to a lamppost and began asking me who I worked for and what I was doing here with that nigger. When I explained that I worked for the Council of Federated Organizations and that we were concerned with voting and education, he repeated intermittently, "Why you yellow bastard, I ought to..." (cocking his fist back while saying this).

Meanwhile, Milam was back at the car with George, and I later learned from George that Milam also pulled his gun and jabbed it repeatedly into George's stomach. Before anything further transpired between me and the shorter man, Milam came and told us that we were both under arrest and that we should get in our car. We were to make a right and then proceed to the jailhouse -- which we did. When we got out, we were told to go into the jailhouse where we were told to



empty all our pockets. We were then frisked by the shorter man, who kept repeatedly calling George a "nigger." Milam, looking at me, then said, "I still don't know what you people do." When I said we were concerned with Negro participation in politics, he replied that "we don't have any nigger politics in Ruleville." At this point, we were placed in separate cells, without being fingerprinted or booked, without being able to make a phone call, and without any appraisal of what the charges against us were.

During the night, I awoke to the sharp voice of the shorter man who had arrested me earlier. He was talking to a man who was obviously being put into a cell. He kept calling the man a nigger and when the man did not reply "yes sir", he reminded him threateningly to say "yes sir" to him. After Milam and the shorter man left, I learned the man just arrested was a Negro school teacher from Hattiesburg. He was in Ruleville, trying to visit his wife who was in the hospital there, at the bedside of her mother.

The next morning around 9:00 the Negro school teacher was released. When the jailer came in, George asked him if he could make a phone call, but the jailkeeper replied, "when we get ready." Meanwhile George, from his cell, was able to see several officers go into our car and begin searching through it from hood to trunk. George saw them take several of the Mrs. Hamer leaflets from the car.

At about 10:30, George was taken out of his cell for about 15 minutes and when he returned I was taken out. I was ushered into the City Hall (Adjoining the jailhouse) and there seated next to a man at a typewriter who began asking me routine questions. (I later learned that this was the Mayor of Ruleville, Dourrough). When I asked what the charges were against me, Mayor Dourrough replied that they didn't know yet, that they were investigating me because there had been several burglaries in town recently. When he was finished questioning me, I asked to make a phone call, but the Mayor replied, "When we finish investigating." I was then returned to my cell. About a half hour later, George and I were again taken out. We were brought before Mayor Dourrough who was now acting, we assumed, as Justice of the Peace, and were told that I was charged with violating the curfew and that George was arrested for violating the curfew and going through a stop sign. We were told that the fine was \$10 for each count. When I told Mayor Dourrough that the Supreme Court of the United States had ruled that curfew laws for adults were unconstitutional, Dourrough replied that, "that law has not reached here yet." When I asked what the appeal bond would be, he said I would have to go to the county jail in Indianola and there await the setting of a bond. Since we had to do much work, we decided to pay the fines. This we did, whereupon we were released.

MEMBER OF ARMED SERVICES INSULTED AND SLAPPED IN JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI  
JAILED - 3/26/64

Events Leading Up to and Pertinent to My Being Assaulted by Three  
Members of the Jackson, Mississippi Police Force:

On 26 March 1964 my wife and I were in Jackson, Mississippi for the purpose of visiting with our long time friend, Julius Samstein. We were in route to my new Army assignment at Fort Dix, New Jersey, coming from Fort Sam Houston, Texas.

On the afternoon of 26 March, I was stopped by Patrolman Guess of the Jackson police, verbally charged with making an illegal U-Turn, taken to the police station and asked by a boy in casual civilian<sup>clothes</sup> to pay \$17. At no time was I formally charged, nor did I receive a ticket or citation. A Negro lady whom I knew only as Gwen but whose full name I believe is Miss Gwen Gillon, was in the car at the time of my arrest.

On the evening of 26 March, at about 9:30 I drove Mr. Samstein to the police station where he went about the business of depositing bond for David Walker who was charged with a traffic violation. While waiting in the main lobby of the police station, a man in civilian clothes who I assumed to be connected with the Jackson police as he approached from their office, started arrogantly questioning me about my identity and business; and then abusively questioning and accusing me as to my being married to a "wooly bugaboo Nigger girl." Toward the conclusion of our conversation he said something to the effect that "you're married to a Nigger, you ought to be booted out of the Army." I answered something to the effect that I was defending the constitution of our country, more than he was doing, and that while it was no business of his who my wife was, I was confident that she was a finer woman than his wife. Our conversation ended with this man hitting me across the face with a full-swinging, open-handed smack. I then turned to leave but had trouble doing so as I was met at the door by two uniformed policemen, one of whom I believe was Patrolman Guess. They detained me for about 30 seconds, pushing me and elbowing me in the upper body. When I left the police station in my car, a police car followed me, as they had done earlier in the day when I had been at the station to pay the \$17.

The following morning morning I went to the FBI office in Jackson where I reported the incident to Special Agent Charles Bond and submitted a sworn statement which went into greater detail than this present statement (including such things as witnesses, description of the assailant -- about 5'7", stocky, square face, wearing a hat, etc). He promised to conduct an investigation.

I swear to the best of my knowledge the statements contained on this page are true.  
Dated-- 1 April, 1964.

Signed

Signed

I/Lt Emanuel D. Schreiber, MSC, USA

signed:

Notary Public of New Jersey  
My commission expires Aug 17, 1965

Beating of CORE Worker,  
Richard A. Jewett, in  
Jackson, Mississippi, Jail  
March 30, 1964

My name is Richard A. Jewett. My home address is 124 West 81 Street, New York 24, New York. I have been in Mississippi working for CORE (the Congress of Racial Equality) since mid-January, 1964. During this space of time from mid-January to the end of March I have been working in Canton on voter registration.

On Monday, March 30, 1964, I left the COFO (Council of Federated Organizations) office at 1017 Lynch Street, Jackson, at about 6:30 p.m. and went out to eat dinner. I went with another worker, Miss Helen O'Neal. We went to a place up the street, called Smackover's, where we sat and had a leisurely dinner, including several cups of coffee. Neither of us had any sort of alcoholic beverage before, during, or after the meal.

After the meal was over we went across the street to a drug store where each of us bought one or two personal items such as a toothbrush, pencils, filling a prescription, and the like. We were in the drugstore for approximately fifteen minutes.

We left the drugstore and started to walk back to the COFO office. We were walking side by side on the sidewalk. We were on the north side of Lynch Street and were walking east. By this time it was dark outside, and the time was approximately 7:30 p.m. or 7:45 p.m. Just after walking by the Masonic Temple at 1072 Lynch Street we passed by a police prisoner van. Parked just behind the van was a police car with four policemen sitting inside. We walked by the car, glancing inside but not stopping or paying special attention to it.

After we had walked perhaps twenty steps beyond the police car we heard a call of "Hey!" behind us. We turned around and started back when one of the officers motioned to us. As we reached the officer who had called us (He was out of the car and standing on the sidewalk; all of the other officers remained in the car.), the officer asked me what I had been drinking. I replied, "Nothing." The officer said something like "nonsense" and then, "Come along with me." I gave a package I was carrying to Miss O'Neal, who then walked off towards the COFO office.

The officer opened up the back door of the police prisoner van, a sort of panel truck with wire mesh across the windows in back and benches on both sides and in the front of the back compartment. I climbed in and sat down on one of the side benches. The back door was then closed behind me and locked with a padlock on the outside. Two officers climbed in the front seat of the van; I could see them through a mesh-covered window that looked through from my compartment into the front



seat of the van. The van was then driven to the Jackson Police Station, the police car following close behind. Once or twice the van stopped short for no apparent reason, and I was thrown towards the front of the compartment. I learned to hold tight to the bench to prevent anything serious from happening.

When the two vehicles reached the basement of the city jail, the padlock was unlocked and I stepped down and started to walk with the officers towards the elevator. Inside the elevator the light was switched off by the officer pressing the buttons for the floors. The light was not turned on again until we reached the floor towards which we were headed.

When we reached the room where I was booked I was asked to stand in front of a desk on which there were two typewriters. A form was inserted into one of the typewriters, and a series of questions were asked me. These questions -- name, address, name of mother, name of father, date of birth, and the like -- were the same questions asked of me when I had previously entered the Jackson city jail, so I believe the questions were all part of the form.

After the form had been completed, the officers started asking other questions. They asked who I worked for, how much money I made, when I got paid -- all of which I answered. They then asked what my wife thought of my dating a Negro girl -- which I did not answer. They asked several other questions which I do not remember, then they asked if I would deny if I was a Communist. I said that my political beliefs were not pertinent to the charges being placed against me and that I would not answer any questions about my political beliefs. Right after this one of the officers started to hit me.

The officer was standing behind me. We had moved to a desk on another side of the room where my pockets had been emptied and several questions had been asked about the contents of my pockets. Comments were made about how much money I had (about \$20) and about a sheet of paper -- very old and crinkled -- with The Movement written across the top and a list of names on it. The officers at one point had asked how long I had been here and I had replied two months. One of the officers said he didn't believe me, that he had ridden up and down Lynch Street many times but had never seen me. After this business with the pockets we had moved back to the desk with the typewriters, and the officers were arranged with two behind me and two in front of me.

The officer who began to hit me was standing behind me. He raised his arm and came down with the side of his hand across my neck. He repeated this motion about half a dozen times, each time striking hard. I gave under each blow but straightened up for the succeeding one. As he hit me the first time he said something like "Nigger-lover" but said nothing for each of the other blows.

After these blows, the officer turned me slightly towards him and started to hit me in the body and stomach and face with his fists. As he did this he forced me back the six or eight feet across the room until I was against the wall. He then took my head in one of his hands and slammed my head against the wall two or three times. After this he pulled me forward and forced me to the ground. While I was on the ground he kicked me several times in the stomach and chest.

I then got up, and he started hitting me on the body again with his fists. He also kicked up with his leg several times and kicked me in the stomach. After this he walked into one of the other rooms off the booking room.

At one point another officer joined in the hitting, but he did very little. The two remaining officers simply looked on the whole time.

The officer who had administered most of the beating came back out of the side room very soon. He was breathing very hard. At this point the officers looked at me and mumbled something about resisting arrest and nodded to each other. I had resumed my position in front of the table with the typewriters. As the officer who had done the hitting typed out something I noticed his name-plate; it read EARL GUESS. I did not notice the names of any of the other officers.

I would estimate that the whole beating took from 30 to 45 seconds.

Shortly after this the jailer came into the room and led me off to my cell. I was kept by myself in one of the investigation cells overlooking the Hinds County Courthouse.

Several of the trustees (Negro) who serviced the cell spoke to me during the next two days that I was there. They asked if I were the fellow who was beaten in the booking room on Monday night. When I replied that I was, they asked why. I said that I was a civil rights worker. Several of the people told me in turn about how they had been beaten when they had come in.

At my trial my lawyer, Mr. Jess Brown, spoke with the prosecuting attorney. I pled nolo contendere, and fines against me of \$15 on one count, \$25 on another count, and 30 days suspended sentence on the third count were levied. The three counts were drunkenness, resisting arrest, and vagrancy. I believe the two fines were for drunkenness and resisting arrest, the suspended sentence for vagrancy; but there was a mixup at the trial and I do not know.

I served two days in the County Jail before money came to pay my fines and release me.



STATE OF MISSISSIPPI  
COUNTY OF HINDS

Council of Federated Organizations  
Affidavit of Eli Hochstedler

Jail Treatment of white student in Jackson, Mississippi

On Thursday, April 16, I, Eli Hochstedler, (white), along with Marion Gillon (Negro), was arrested for attempting to integrate the Jackson Municipal auditorium to attend the Holiday on Ice Show. We were charged with Breach of the Peace.

On Friday, the following day, we were each sentenced to six months imprisonment and \$500.00. We were taken to the Hinds County jail about 6:30 p.m. About 9:30 p.m. I was beaten and whipped by two prisoners in the cell in which I was staying.

The jailer did not place me behind bars at the same time as the rest of the white prisoners were put in. From the looks and stares I sensed that they had been told why I was in jail. One of the prisoners later told me that the jailer had told them before-hand who was coming and what I had been arrested for. After taking a shower, I was told by a prisoner (who later beat me) that I had better stay on my bunk in my cell if I knew what was good for me. The six common cells had eight bunks in each and were open 6:00 a.m. to 10:00 p.m.

At about 9:00 p.m., a dozen or more inmates gathered in the cell where I had been told to stay. I was told to get out of my bunk. After talking and trying to reason with them or some time I was told that they were going to show me and any other people from the North thinking about coming down to stir up trouble what would happen to them if they came. I had been sitting on the lower bunk. When I stood, a prisoner who weighed about 400 lb., hit me near the left eye. I fell to the floor. When I got up, he hit me and knocked me down again. After one or two repetitions, I fell into a lower bunk. My face was bleeding. He then stopped hitting me. One of the prisoners ordered me to get back on my bunk and to roll up my mattress. They threatened to kill me if I didn't follow orders. I did as I was told. After laying on the steel bunk for 10-15 minutes, I was ordered to get down and lean over with my head on a lower bunk. Another prisoner then began whipping me with a leather belt. I had on only my underwear. After about eight lashes I was ordered to lower my shorts. He then continued the whipping. All during the whipping I kept repeating, "Father, forgive them, because they really don't know what they are doing. Oh, Lord, help me to take it." After 16 or 18 lashings, I screamed and stood up. Somebody then hit me hard on the right jaw, and nearly knocked me out. I remained sprawled out on a lower bunk for several minutes, after which I crawled back into my bunk for the rest of the night. No one beat me any more that night.

Saturday morning the jailer asked me what had happened to my face. I didn't tell him because the other prisoners were within hearing range. I'm quite sure he knew what had happened, but he just laughed when I told him I ran into something.

During the next day one of the prisoners told me that last night was just a sample of what was coming tonight. Because of depression and fear, I made a statement Saturday evening with the pretense that I was changing my ways and would do nothing more in the area of civil rights for Negroes. They made no more attacks or threats on me while I was in jail.

On Monday, April 20, Pete Stoner, another white active in civil rights was placed in the jail. I was told to move into another cell so Pete could stay where I had been. I moved down one cell and across the hall. At about 9:30 p.m., one or more prisoners began beating him. I could not see the beating, but could very easily hear it. I heard the continuous beating last for about three minutes. Ten or fifteen minutes later they ordered him out of his bunk for a whipping. They ordered him to lower his pants. I heard about six or eight lashings. That is all the beating I heard that night. In my opinion, the life of any white civil rights person is in danger in a Mississippi jail.

original signed by Eli Hochstedler



Viol.

CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGN WORKERS HARRASSED IN RULEVILLE, MISSISSIPPI-  
MARCH 20, 1964

Report by Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee Field Worker  
Mendy Samstein:

On Friday night, March 20, George Green and I left Jackson for the Delta to find Mrs. Hamer and Charles McLaurin in order to learn the outcome of Mrs. Hamer's opening campaign rally in Ruleville, Mississippi. (Mrs. Hamer is running for congress in the second congressional district) and to discuss future campaign strategy. We took with us hundreds of handout leaflets for campaign canvassing as well as other campaign materials which had just been worked up in Jackson and Atlanta. We arrived in Cleveland, Mississippi at approximately 11:30 in the hope of finding McLaurin at the home of Anzie Moore, a resident of Cleveland. Finding no one home at Moore's house we decided to proceed to Ruleville to see Mrs. Hamer and perhaps find McLaurin. We arrived in Ruleville at approximately 12:15 and were driving through the Negro community when we were stopped by Ruleville police. We stopped our car (George was driving at the time). Two men got out of the police car and approached us. One was a stout, round-faced man (who we later learned was name Milam and was known to Negro residents of Ruleville for his brutality. Milam is the brother of the man who was accused of killing Emmett Till). The other was a shorter man, wearing glasses (whose name we never learned). Milam was dressed in uniform, but the other man was dressed in plain chinos and a tan shirt. (We later learned he was merely an auxiliary policeman who frequently was put on night duty).

The shorter man approached me and asked me what I was doing in "niggertown." When I did not reply he told me to get out of the car. Meanwhile Milam had gone around to the other side of the car and had told George Green, "nigger, get out of the car." We were both then pushed and shoved to the back of the car where we were continuously and threateningly asked what we were doing in "niggertown". Then the shorter fellow began questioning me as to what I was doing "with that nigger". Milam then grabbed me and started shoving me around. The shorter fellow then went over to George and asked him if "he was a nigger." When George did not reply, the shorter man pulled his gun and shoved it repeatedly in George's stomach. I later learned he had the gun cocked and had jabbed it repeatedly in George's ribs, causing several lacerations. After a few moments, the shorter man came over to me and told Milam that he would take care of me. He then shoved me a few yards to a lamppost and began asking me who I worked for and what I was doing here with that nigger. When I explained that I worked for the Council of Federated Organizations and that we were concerned with voting and education, he repeated intermittantly, "Why you yellow bastard, I ought to..." (cocking his fist back while saying this).

Meanwhile, Milam was back at the car with George, and I later learned from George that Milam also pulled his gun and jabbed it repeatedly into George's stomach. Before anything further transpired between me and the shorter man, Milam came and told us that we were both under arrest and that we should get in our car. We were to make a right and then proceed to the jailhouse -- which we did. When we got out, we were told to go into the jailhouse where we were told to

empty all our pockets. We were then frisked by the shorter man, who kept repeatedly calling George a "nigger." Milan, looking at me, then said, "I still don't know what you people do." When I said we were concerned with Negro participation in politics, he replied that "we don't have any nigger politics in Ruleville." At this point, we were placed in separate cells, without being fingerprinted or booked, without being able to make a phone call, and without any appraisal of what the charges against us were.

During the night, I awoke to the sharp voice of the shorter man who had arrested me earlier. He was talking to a man who was obviously being put into a cell. He kept calling the man a nigger and when the man did not reply "yes sir", he reminded him threateningly to say "yes sir" to him. After Milan and the shorter man left, I learned the man just arrested was a Negro school teacher from Hattiesburg. He was in Ruleville, trying to visit his wife who was in the hospital there, at the bedside of her mother.

The next morning around 9:00 the Negro school teacher was released. When the jailer came in, George asked him if he could make a phone call, but the jailkeeper replied, "when we get ready." Meanwhile George, from his cell, was able to see several officers go into our car and begin searching through it from hood to trunk. George saw them take several of the Mrs. Hamor leaflets from the car.

At about 10:30, George was taken out of his cell for about 15 minutes and when he returned I was taken out. I was ushered into the City Hall (Adjoining the jailhouse) and there seated next to a man at a typewriter who began asking me routine questions. (I later learned that this was the Mayor of Ruleville, Dourrough). When I asked what the charges were against me, Mayor Dourrough replied that they didn't know yet, that they were investigating me because there had been several burglaries in town recently. When he was finished questioning me, I asked to make a phone call, but the Mayor replied, "When we finish investigating." I was then returned to my cell. About a half hour later, George and I were again taken out. We were brought before Mayor Dourrough who was now acting, we assumed, as Justice of the Peace, and were told that I was charged with violating the curfew and that George was arrested for violating the curfew and going through a stop sign. We were told that the fine was \$10 for each count. When I told Mayor Dourrough that the Supreme Court of the United States had ruled that curfew laws for adults were unconstitutional, Dourrough replied that, "that law has not reached here yet." When I asked what the appeal bond would be, he said I would have to go to the county jail in Indianola and there await the setting of a bond. Since we had to do much work, we decided to pay the fines. This we did, whereupon we were released.



## Harassments in Jackson

Sunday, May 24

3 p.m. Emmy Schrader, a white summer volunteer, was walking on Lynch Street opposite the COFO office. The police came up to her and asked who she was and where she lived. They told her that she shouldn't live with niggers, that niggers would kill her. When the police found out that she was a volunteer worker they told her that she had better get a job soon or else they would arrest her for vagrancy. The police then followed her until she reached the book storage house towards which she had been headed.

Monday, May 25

1 a.m. Richard Jewett, a white CORE worker, was picked up while waiting for a taxi after going to a movie. He was in the company of Doris Derby, Euvester Simpson, and Dona Moses, all Negro SNCC workers. Jewett was taken to the city jail, beaten, and charged with drunkenness and vagrancy. At the trial the following day the vagrancy charge was dropped, but a \$15 bond for drunkenness was posted.

1 p.m. Hunter Morey, a white SNCC worker, Alan Lerner and Charles Woll, both white law students here for the summer, were stopped by police. When Woll and Lerner would not give their residence addresses the police threatened to arrest them on suspicion of being fugitives. Woll and Lerner still would not give their addresses, so they were taken to police headquarters. There another police officer spoke to them, apologized somewhat for what had happened, and had the officers take them back to where they had been picked up.

6:30 p.m. Andrew Barnes, a Negro SNCC worker, was driving a car containing Margaret Burnham, James Pittman, Negro SNCC workers; Bob Weil, a white SNCC worker; Nedra Winans, Nancy Jervis, and Emmy Schrader, all white summer volunteers. The car was stopped, and an officer had Barnes turn on the lights and step on the brakes. The officer said there was only one light back and front although there were actually two lights in the back. The officer then told the car to follow him to headquarters. At the police station the officer asked Barnes who all the people in the car were. When he heard that they were working for COFO he told them to get out of the car and come into the station. There the other people in the car were forced to stand in the waiting room while the police talked to Barnes. The police charged Barnes \$7 for improper lights and \$15 for an earlier suspended sentence. Several times while talking to Barnes the officers grabbed his chin whiskers and pulled on them. Subsequently the car was allowed to return to the office.

8:15 p.m. Pete Brett, a white summer volunteer, was driving a '58 Volkswagen containing Stephen Sokoloff and Bill Light, both white summer volunteers; and Herman Gates, a local Negro worker from Belzoni. The police stopped the car and asked for Brett's license. The license had expired several days earlier, so Brett was told to follow the police to the station. At the station speeding was added to the charges, the police claiming on the ticket that Brett had been doing between 115 and 130 miles per hour. The car had to be driven back to the COFO office to get the money; Brett was kept in jail until the money was found.

10 p.m. Charles Cobb, a Negro SNCC worker, was returning to the office from his residence. A police car pulled up next to him and without saying anything simply followed him the three or four blocks to the office.



From 11 p.m. to 1 a.m. police cars seemed to be cruising constantly in front of the COFO office. The cars would drive up and down, the officers looking out the car windows at the office or at the people in front of the office.

11:50 p.m. Bill Light and Emmy Schrader, white summer volunteers, entered the Limelight Cafe next door to the COFO office. Each ordered a hamburger; Emmy ordered beer to drink; Bill ordered soda. Almost immediately police officers came in and walked directly up to the table. They stood there, just watching. Emmy took a drink of beer. One of the police officers tapped her on the shoulder with a flashlight, told her to get up, and ordered her out to the police car. At the police station an officer told her she had no business coming to Jackson, that she should go on home where she came from. She was charged with public drunkenness though she had drunk less than one-half can of beer. She was released in the morning after posting a \$15 bond.

### Tuesday, May 26

1 a.m. A car driven by Charles Woll, a white law student, left the office. In the car were Alan Lerner, a white law student; Charles Cobb, a Negro SNCC worker; Hunter Morey and Bob Weil, white SNCC workers. The car was stopped almost immediately by the police. Woll was charged with having a faulty muffler. The muffler was not perfect; there was a question of judgement about the muffler. The car went down to the station; a \$12 fine was paid. The car left the station; again it was stopped. The car was said to have faulty lights--even though at the station they had been told that the lights were all right. They drove back to the station and paid a \$7 fine. The car drove away again. The car was stopped a third time--for faulty muffler once more. They drove back to the station. After talking to the officers the car was released without payment of a third fine. The car finally reached its destination near the COFO office at about 3:15 a.m.

1 a.m. Attorney Larry Warren, white, of Detroit was followed from the COFO office all the way across town to his hotel by police.

2 a.m. Ed Hamlett, a white SNCC worker, started to drive Jesse Morris and Don White, Negro SNCC workers; Mendy Samstein and Casey Hayden, white SNCC workers, to their respective homes. After Jesse had been dropped off the police started to follow the car. At Casey's residence the police came up to the car and asked to see Hamlett's license. The officers said he was guilty of the "tri-state" law (license in one state, car registration in a second state, and driving in a third). The officers then took Hamlett down to the police station. After some discussion at the police station it was decided that possibly there was no such law. Hamlett was driven back to his car, and he was able to drop off the rest of the passengers without incident.

10:15 a.m. Stephen Sokoloff and Pete Brett, both white summer volunteers, were walking with Herman Gates, a Negro worker from Belzoni, to the office. A light blue Plymouth, Mississippi plate HB1010, driven by a husky man pulled up along side of them and asked where they were going. When they replied that they were going to the COFO office the man demanded that they leave town at once. On finding out that Herman lived with the two others, the man demanded that Herman get in the car with him. The man then drove Herman out of town, told him to get out of the car, struck him several times on the arm with a leather strap, and left him standing by the railroad tracks. The

man told him to get out of town or else he'd be killed. The man then patted the gun he was wearing on his hip several times. The man then got into his car and drove off.

5 p.m. Pete Stoner, a white SNCC worker, was followed when his car left the COFO office. When Pete failed to stop at some railroad tracks, he was stopped by police and given a ticket. Customarily in Mississippi cars need only slow down at railroad crossings although there is a law that cars must stop completely. Stoner was taken to the police station and held until the \$17 fine was paid.

5 p.m. On the way to the station with Pete Stoner the police car stopped a car driven by Sanford Russell, a visiting Air Force Sergeant. Russell was charged with speeding and had to pay a \$17 fine. The police also told Russell that they were going to call his base and get his superiors to order him back to the base in Alabama from which he had come.

[Summer 1964]

## AFFIDAVITS

The following affidavits were selected to give eyewitness and first person accounts of specific incidents in more formal detail. In several cases the affidavits are excerpted due to length or because more than one affidavit has been used to describe a situation in a given location.

All affidavits included here refer to occurrences this past summer. They are not the most atrocious statements that could have been gathered from experiences of Mississippi Negroes in everyday life or in connection with the movement during the past few years. It is apparent from the Tallahatchie County and Philadelphia-Neshoba County statements that these conditions did not begin this summer.

In most cases affidavits have been selected because they are the best official statements describing a situation or pattern existing across the state.

Highly publicized events such as the beating of Rabbi Arthur Lelyveld and two volunteers in Hattiesburg, or the "reign of terror" created in Jackson by two men one night when two separate shootings and a beating took place, have been omitted. Statements from Silas McGhee have not been included since the -admittedly historic- FBI arrests of three of his attackers broke that story into the nation's press.

Affidavits from Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, Jimmy Travis or the widow of Louis Allen, for example, have not been included as it is assumed that most persons who worked in Mississippi this past summer would be familiar with their stories. And since this set of statements is restricted to the summer of 1964 we have not attempted to insert such affidavits as SNCC worker MacArthur Cotton's describing Parchman Penitentiary last year where he was hung by his hands for three hours, or SNCC worker George Greene's statements from Natchez.

It should be kept in mind that affidavits are not available for the bulk of incidents this past summer or, more importantly, from before.

\* \* \* \* \*

[The following analysis of violence in Mississippi is excerpted from an analysis of affidavits submitted by plaintiffs in COFO v. Rainey, an omnibus suit filed in the U.S. District Court at Meridian this past summer.]

The use of violence by white men to keep Negroes "in their place" in Mississippi did not begin, as is sometimes asserted, with the coming of the civil rights movement to that state. Violence was basic to the system of slavery, and it has never been abandoned as a means of "controlling" the Negro population. Only the forms have changed.

But there has been an amazing consistency in the forms of organization used by the white man to meet the challenge of civil rights since the freeing of the slaves. The authors of Reconstruction Legislation realized that they must meet two closely related forms of resistance: (1) One was open violence, the use of brute and indiscriminate force by private white citizens and clandestine organ-



izations against the Negro population to ensure that it was permanently terrorized and intimidated from asserting its rights; (2) An equally serious challenge coming from the leading officials of the white community- government officials, law enforcement officers, and members of the judiciary. By their refusal to indict and prosecute those who committed acts of violence, and by their refusal to enforce the newly passed civil rights acts of the Reconstruction Period, they became accomplices in a conspiracy to "keep the Negro in his place" -a conspiracy which constantly resorted to both private and highly organized forms of violence.

...One hundred years later, Negroes in Mississippi and those who have come to help them...face (a situation) fundamentally identical to that which the legislators of 1866 faced in attempting to bring change to the South. Negroes and the civil rights workers in Mississippi today face both open violence and official negligence and complicity, just as they did in 1866...

Note: All affidavits reprinted here were notarized at the time they were sworn out, or in the event no notary public was available, were witnessed by at least two persons.

AFFIDAVIT I.

TALLAHATCHIE COUNTY

In February, 1964, Green Brewer, 29, now a resident of New Jersey, was visiting his parents in Charleston, Tallahatchie County. During this visit, he and his brother Charles went to the Huntly Grocery Store. According to Green Brewer's affidavit:

"Charles went inside the store to get soft drinks. It seemed as if it was taking a long time for him to come out. David Baskin, a friend who was with us, walked to the door, then turned around and started to walk real fast to the road. I then began to hear the sound of some licks. I ran inside the store and saw my brother Charles lying on the floor. He was bleeding. He was unconscious. Mr. Huntly had backed up against the counter, holding an axe handle. Another white man, Mr. George Little, was also holding an axe handle.

"I bent down to Charles, called him twice, and asked him, 'What's the matter? What happened?' There was no response. I then pulled him up and was getting him to the door, and by that time he was beginning to help himself. I then walked back to get the sunglasses that belonged to my brother...Mr. Huntly started to cuss me, saying I better 'get him out before I kill him.'

"Mr. Huntly then got his gun--and started to shake--when I got a blow from behind. I received a fractured skull, broken jawbone, broken nose and a burst eyeball, with little use of my eye. However, I was able to help my brother to the car... A brother, Jesse, met us and drove us to Charleston.

"Later, about a week later, the sheriff, Alex Doghan, came and asked us what happened. Another white man came later and said he was sent by the sheriff, and he interviewed us. Since then nothing has happened on our behalf."

Their mother, Mrs. Janie Brewer, said in another affidavit:

"...A neighbor friend of mine tol me that my sons had just been beaten up by white folks, and I lost my presence of mind for a while. Another son of mine, Eugene, found that my son Charles was in the Charleston Hospital, and that Greene was in the Grenada Hospital. The next day I went to the Charleston Hospital and saw my son Charles. I tried to talk to him. He would cry, and then lose consciousness, in and out. He would only say: 'Where is my brother---and why?'"

In Tallahatchie County, County Registrar William Cox is currently under a court injunction to determine the qualifications of Negro registrants by the same standards as whites, not to limit Negro registrants to coming in one at a time, and to not use the constitutional interpretation section of the registration form.

This summer marked the first attempt by SNCC to "move into" Tallahatchie County.

On August 4, 1964, four members of the Brewer family attempted to register to vote. According to some SNCC spokesmen they were the first Negroes to try to register since Reconstruction; they were certainly the first in several decades.

The next night, according to an affidavit from Mrs. Melinda Brewer, a member of the Green Brewer family, a black pickup truck drove around past her house and the house of her brother-in-law, Jesse James Brewer. It stayed in the area 25 minutes.

On August 6, she stated, a green pickup truck drove by at about 1 or 2 a.m. and cruised around. She continued:

"As they were driving I could see them using a searchlight on the trees like they was hunting animals...One of the men, about 7 or 8 of them, got out of the truck and walked over towards my bedroom window. He asked me if I had seen Jesse Brewer or Earl Brewer. I said I hadn't and asked why he was looking for them. He said he just wanted to see them. He left and drove off. The man was white; I could not tell whether the rest were whites or not. I could see what I thought were guns sticking up in the back of the truck.

"Mr. Blunt is the field agent on the plantation on which I live. He said on August 6 that if anyone on Mr. Don's place went to register to vote, that person was going to get kicked off the plantation. He said no one in Tallahatchie wants any of those niggers who go to the courthouse. He said he had seen that God damned old Jesse and Earl go at the courthouse and said they didn't have no God damned business up thre.

"I live on Mr. Don Addison's plantation. On Saturday, August 8, I went to his office to pick up my check. He told me they didn't want any of those damn niggers going down to the courthouse.

"Mrs. John Brewer, a white woman, lives right down the road from me. On August 5, she came over to talk with me. She asked what was that brown car doing down there all the time. She said if they found out we was in any way involved in civil rights they was going to put us out, and she said she would feel sorry for

us losing a home. She also said that if civil rights workers lived in Jesse's house, they would get a Ku Klux Klan gang and get them out from there.

"On Saturday afternoon, August 8, several FBI agents came to see me. They asked about the incidents with the pickup trucks, I was frightened and didn't want to get my name used, so I told them I didn't see anything. I told them that the whites didn't ask for Jesse and Earl. I also said that there were no guns. I lied to them."

AFFIDAVIT II.

OFFICE HARASSMENT - CLARKSDALE

The following excerpted statement by Lafayette Surney, director of the Clarksdale COFO project, indicates the attitude of local law enforcement and authorities towards the existence of civil rights offices in the state of Mississippi. Surney, Negro, is a 22-year-old SNCC worker and a native of Ruleville.

"The first day that I arrived in Clarksdale to arrange for housing for the other workers the Chief of Police, Ben Collins, came up to me and said, 'We ain't goin to have this shit this year.' He then asked me if I wanted to fight right then and I said that I was nonviolent...The next day he and other policemen sat in front of the office and took our pictures with a movie camera. Collins (a day later) said, 'I'm going to kill you if it's the last thing I do'...This same day Collins assigned a policeman to follow me around wherever I went. When I would go into any place that policeman would stay outside. This same policeman would follow people from the project to try to find out what families we were living with and where we ate.

"After the Civil Rights Bill was signed, Collins went around to all the Negro restaurants and told them that if they served the project workers, either white or Negro, he would close them up...

"A while later an agent from the city Water and Light Department came to the office and tried to turn the lights off. He called Ben Collins who came over and cursed us us. We talked to him outside the office, he told us to get inside and instructed another policeman to 'get the damned billy clubs, we're going to have to move these niggers.' He grabbed the arm of a Negro volunteer named Doris Newman and twisted it. I called the FBI office. They asked for a statement, I said that the situation was too bad for us to go down and asked them to come over. But they wouldn't do this. The next day a Negro man came by the office...He told me that Ben Collins had hired some men to kill me...The next night...when I was on my way back to the Freedom House a group of white men stopped me and showed me a gun. They said, 'This has two buck shots in it and both of them have your name of them. I'm going to blow this up your ass and blow it off.' I walked off and called the chief of police, he told me to go to hell and hung up.

"About three days after the incident with the white men with the gun, I went up to the court house to help register some people and the sheriff and Ben Collins were there waiting for me. Collins said, 'There aren't too many white people in town who like you and I'm not one of them. If you don't want to come up



like your nigger-loving friends in Philadelphia you'd better get back to the nigger section of town.'...Two highway patrol men came up and said, 'let us show him where it is.' I was the only one standing outside so I decided to leave."

AFFIDAVIT III.

LOSS OF JOB DUE TO VOTER REGISTRATION ATTEMPT

WILLIAMS ADAMS, being duly sworn, deposes and says:

My address is Box 118, Rt. 2, Charleston, Mississippi, and I am a Negro citizen of the United States. I live on the Rabbit Ridge Plantation in Tallahatchie County. I and all my sons who are old enough work on this plantation.

On August 11, 1964, my son, William Ed Adams, went to the County Courthouse to register to vote. He was seen by the crowd of whites who assembled in the courthouse square. Later that afternoon, Mr. Nelson Douglas, the manager of Rabbit Ridge Plantation, told some people at the plantation store that he was going to have my son arrested because he tried to register to vote.

Mr. Riley McGee came around to my house and told me that Mr. Douglas had announced that my son would be arrested. I went over to the store and saw Mr. Douglas. I asked him, "What are you going to have him arrested for? He hasn't done anything."

Mr. Douglas replied, "He didn't have no business going down to the courthouse. He don't have no more work around here. We can't use a boy like that." I told him that I would go to Greenwood and try to talk to the SNCC people and try to get a lawyer.

I went to Greenwood. I went first to talk to Mr. J. Nolan Reed, the owner of Rabbit Ridge Plantation. He told me that nothing could be done unless my son went down to the courthouse and took his name off the rolls. He said that he would go from Greenwood to the plantation tomorrow and take my son down to the courthouse. He said that unless his name was removed, he could not work on his plantation any more...

(signed) Williams Adams

AFFIDAVIT IV.

INTIMIDATION TO STOP SUMMER PROJECT (Police Brutality)

Charles McLaurin, 23, Negro, native Mississippian and field secretary for SNCC told in an affidavit what happened to him and four other SNCC voter registration workers in June 8, 1964, in Columbus, Mississippi. McLaurin was later a Summer Project director in Ruleville.

On that date McLaurin and James Black, Sam Block, Willie Peacock and James Jones set out from Greenwood, Mississippi, to attend a SNCC conference in Atlanta, Ga.

He said they were followed by a car all the way from Greenwood to Starkville and that after several attempts to lose their "tail," they found the car still following them outside Columbus, Miss. McLaurin stated:

"At this point, the car turned off its headlights and pulled up right behind us. There was one white man in the car. We all ducked down and pulled over to the side of the road. He passed and we continued on. We passed his car again just outside the Columbus city limits, when he pulled off on a side road.

"About five blocks after he turned off, we were stopped by a highway patrolman. At the time we were stopped we were doing nothing to break the law. In the scout car was a patrolman named Roy Elders and another man in plain clothes. Elders came to our car and said, 'You're the niggers who are going to change our way of life.' He then asked us why we were trying to run a car off the road. At no time had we done this.

"He then told us to get out of the car and we did. The sheriff of Lowndes County then drove up and said to Elders, 'What have you got there?' Elders said, 'These are the niggers who are going to change our way of life.' The sheriff asked who was driving the car, 'That little short nigger there?' Elders replied, 'No, this big, fuzzy-lipped m\_\_\_\_ f\_\_\_\_,' referring to James Black."

McLaurin said all of them except James Black were handcuffed and driven to the Lowndes County jail. Black was left with patrolman Elders.

"At the jail about twenty minutes later, James Black came in with Elders. Black's head was dirty; one side of his face was swollen out of shape; one of his eyes was blackened and bloodshot, and blood was running from his swollen mouth. His clothes were also torn and disarranged. He walked up to me and said, 'He beat me,' pointing to Elders. Elders said, 'This boy fell getting out of the car.' Black's physical condition made it impossible for me to believe Elder's statement that he had merely fallen."

McLaurin stated that the five were put in a cell and that shortly thereafter a white turnkey came and told Sam Block to come with him for an 'interview.' He said Block was taken outside, and that he could hear sounds of a beating and groans. He said Block was brought back to the cell holding his sides, his mouth swollen.

"The turnkey then said, 'Next,' and Peacock went with him. He returned a few minutes later and said he had been hit in the mouth. His mouth was swollen...

"I went out next and was taken outside. Elders asked, 'Are you a Negro or a nigger?' I said, 'I am a Negro.' Jolly, another highway patrolman, hit me across the face with his forearm. Elders repeated the question, and my answer was the same. I was then punched hard in my left ear by Elders and knocked to the ground. The highway patrolmen helped me up and one of them said, 'Boy, can't you stand on your own two feet?' They stood me up against the wall and repeated the question. This time I answered 'I am a nigger.'

They then lectured me and told me nobody wanted me in town and I should leave. Elders said, 'If I ever catch you here again I'll kill you.'

"They took me upstairs to my cell. James Jones was taken out and came back with a swollen lip saying he had been hit in the mouth. The next day James Black was charged with reckless driving, and running a stop sign. He was not, to the best of my knowledge, guilty of either. He was fined \$28 and we were released."

James Jones said in an affidavit that when he was beaten, Elder "kept calling me a black nigger and said he would put me on the county farm for twenty years and that if he ever saw me after that he would kill me. Elder asked me if I had been born in Mississippi. I said yes. He asked me whether I'd ever been in a position where the niggers didn't help me but the whites did. I told him I'd been poor all my life..."

"I spent the night in jail with the rest of the fellows. We were all in pain. At no time was I informed of the charges against me or allowed to make phone calls. The next morning (June 9), we were all fingerprinted and photographed. I asked the sheriff what we were charged with, and he said reckless driving and possession of illegal literature."

Samuel Block, in his affidavit, quoted the jailor as saying, "The river is just right; let's carry them out and rifle them right now."

"Elder hit me on the cheek with his fist. I staggered and fell back to the window, and he grabbed me and hit me in the groin with his fist very hard. I fell down and he kicked me hard in the shin...He asked if any white person has mistreated me in Mississippi. I answered, 'Yes, you are mistreating me now.' He hit me again with his fist and knocked me back. When it was over, I could just barely make it back upstairs to the cell. I fell to the concrete floor and blacked out and lay there for about 20 minutes."

Block said Judge R. V. Whittaker questioned him about himself and James Black. Block said he did not answer any questions about Black, and that the judge replied, "You can sit there and act a damn m\_\_\_\_\_ f\_\_\_\_\_ fool if you want to, but we are trying to help this 17-year-old boy whom we have charges on."

Block said a man he believed to be the prosecuting attorney told him that if the traffic charges against James Black were not appealed, the other charges against the five would be dropped; and that if there was an appeal, the other charges would remain.

Willie Peacock described his beating in another affidavit:

"Elder hit me twice with his fist. He asked me how old I was and I told him. He said, 'Nigger, you just want to die young. I'd just as soon shoot you now as to look at you. Do you believe it?' I said yes. He said, 'Nigger, I'm gonna erase that bit of doubt out of your mind. And if you come back here again, I'm going to roll you out as thin as cigarette paper.'"



AFFIDAVIT V.POLICE COLLABORATION (with Arsonists in Community Center Burning)

The following statement describes the actions of local law enforcement officers in relation to the burning of a community center about six miles from Vicksburg. The building, which was constructed more than ten years ago, was last used for organized civil rights activity during the COFO mock Freedom Ballot gubernatorial campaign in November 1963. Many, perhaps most, of the twenty-one churches burned from the start of the Mississippi Summer Project through August 24, had no record of civil rights involvement. Arson has been used as a general form of intimidating the Negro community of Mississippi. In this case, however, it is rumored in the Negro section of Bovina that passersby may have observed a car with Ohio license tags at a July 6 meeting and thought that it belonged to a COFO summer volunteer. One member of the community center had come to that meeting in a relative's car which had the out-of-state plates.

DAVID RILEY, being duly sworn, deposes and says:

In my capacity as research man for the Vicksburg COFO project, I have talked with several (five) leaders of the Bovina community...about the burning of the Bovina Community Center on Tuesday night, July 7, 1964, between 10:30 and 11:30. The building was completely destroyed; no one was in the building at the time; no one was injured.

A small group of people gathered around the burning building between 10:45 and 11:45 on Tuesday night. Many were Negro leaders of the Bovina community; some were whites from Bovina; others were police officers, including Warren County Sheriff Vernon O. Luckett. At least three Negroes present--two of whom I spoke to--saw firemen pull a torch out from under the front part of the building. The torch, still blazing when the firemen pulled it out, was a three-foot long pole with rags wrapped around the end and wire wrapped around the rags, according to an eyewitness. Also, according to the eyewitnesses, policemen took several pictures of the burning building and the torch. One man who saw the torch on Tuesday night said it was not there when he stopped by on his way to work the next morning at 5:00 a.m. Another woman who also saw the torch said she did not see it when she returned to the burned building late Wednesday morning.

Wednesday's Vicksburg Evening Post carried a short article on the burning. There were no direct quotes but one paragraph read: "Sheriff Vernon O. Luckett said the preliminary investigation showed no indications that arson might be involved." The article went on to say that since there was "a mild wind" and since the "fire did start in the rear of the building," it was likely that burning rubbish in a trash can eight feet behind the building started the fire, according to Sheriff Luckett.

This is in complete contradiction to what the Sheriff later told one man... He said that he did not believe the fire was set by the burning rubbish, and "no doubt it was set" by someone deliberately,

It is also in contradiction to my personal examination of the ruins of the building. The floor beams at the front of the building were completely destroyed, while several charred ones remained at the rear; one beam, directly

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opposite the trash can from which the fire supposedly was started, even had a completely uncharred portion of wood on it. The trash can itself was about one-quarter full of rusted and somewhat charred cans; one can still had paper on it, and there was more unburnt paper only slightly below the surface trash which had been burnt. The trash barrel did not have holes in the bottom to allow a draft to build up a large fire. So it seems extremely unlikely that a fire in the trash can could have been or was large enough to set a whole building on fire, especially a building more completely destroyed on the front and one covered on the outside with inflammable asphalt shingles. I have photographs of all this evidence at the ruins of the building.

The Sheriff's account of the fire in the newspaper article of July 8 is further contradicted by the fact that no one from the Bovina Community Center had been burning trash in the barrel either on Tuesday, July 7, the day of the fire, or for several weeks before the fire. The last time trash had been burnt in the barrel was in the beginning of June, according to officials of the Bovina Community Center. Again, according to officials of the center, the last time a party had been held in the Center was in the third week of June. On Monday night, July 6, a routine meeting was held at the Center, but only cokes and cookies were served; so there was no trash that needed to be burned after the meeting.

What has Sheriff Luckett done to investigate the information recorded here? He had photographs taken of the torch, but there was no mention of either the torch or the photographs in the newspaper article. No official of the Bovina Center has seen the photographs. Sheriff Luckett never contacted the president of the Bovina Center; he did not speak with her the night of the fire although she was there at the burning; he has not spoken with her or contacted her in any way in the three weeks that have passed since the burning. Nor had any of his deputies contacted her. Two deputies did visit Bovina about two weeks after the fire and talked with some officials of the Center, but that is apparently the only effort county officials have made to find out who burned down the Bovina Community Center.

(signed) David Riley

#### AFFIDAVIT VI.

#### VIOLENCE BY POLICE (Canton)

Sections of three affidavits from people who met with the Canton, Mississippi, police force are given below. They could as well have come from any of the scores of Mississippi communities in which the legally constituted authorities are themselves the lawless.

The first event is told through the affidavits of Steven Smith of Marion, Iowa, and Eric Morton of New York City, both volunteers then working in voter registration, when four workers were driving a truck of voter registration materials from Jackson to Greenwood and Greenville on Wednesday, July 15. They decided to drive by way of Canton.

Morton's statement reads: "As we were entering highway 51 (in Jackson) we were stopped by two Jackson city policemen. They asked Steve where we were going and he told them Canton. They looked through the truck and saw the voter registration material we were carrying. They then gave Steve a ticket for



driving without a commercial license...We proceeded on toward Canton. Along the way we were worried that the Jackson police might call ahead to the highway patrol to have us stopped....About five miles out of Canton we saw one car that was definitely following us. The car was unmarked and there was no indication that it was a police car...It just remained behind us, blinking its lights. As we reached Gluckstadt, the car pulled up close to us and began blinking a red light. We then pulled over. It was about 10:30 p.m. at this time. The doors and windows of our truck were locked."

Smith's affidavit states: "I pulled over and stopped, even though I heard no siren and had no definite knowledge that the following car contained police... and waited until the man in the car arrived. He came up to the truck and told me to get out. I asked for identification. He didn't show me anything, but told me to get out of the truck. I got out...and he and I walked to his car. Eric also got out and we received a...lecture while he was writing a ticket for speeding...A highway patrol car arrived...A third car then pulled up which was unmarked and contained one man not in uniform. We could tell he had been drinking because of his actions and because we could smell the liquor...

"After a short interchange between him and the first man, the first man left and the third man took me back to the car of the highway patrolman. He opened the car and told me to get inside. I got inside and sat on the back seat. He told me to move over and got in. All the doors and windows were shut. He said, 'I can't kill you, but you know what I'm going to do to you.' I answered, 'No sir.' At this time he pulled his gun out of his holster and started to hit me on the head with the gun butt. I put my hands up to protect my head and rolled into a ball on the seat. Over a period of about a minute he hit me about four times on the head and about eight to ten times on the left hand. He also hit me about three times on the left leg, twice on my right hand, and once on my left shoulder. All of this was with the gun butt...Three of them then went up to Eric. They had a conversation with Eric which I could not hear and one of the men raised a gun and struck Eric, knocking him down. He got up and was knocked down again. I had been sitting in the car through all of this. I felt the blood on my face and on my arm. The man who had beaten me then came back to the car and sat down in the back seat. He picked up a flashlight and hit me across the mouth with it. I then rolled into a ball again and he put the gun to my temple and cocked it. He said, 'If you move, I'll blow your brains out.'"

They went to the Canton police station and then to the jail. According to Morton's affidavit, the other two workers in the truck were let out on the road and told to "run back to Jackson." They were told, Morton says, to "quit working for COFO or COFO would get them killed." The two of them started down the highway on foot.

During this time Morton was told that they had no charges against him and that he was free to go. "I was afraid they would come after me if I tried to go," Morton reported, "so I refused." His affidavit reported that two of the men suggested that Morton should be driven to Philadelphia (Miss.) and made reference to the then-missing three COFO workers. "They continued to make comments until we arrived at the Madison County jail in Canton." (Morton and Smith were taken to Canton in separate cars.)

Morton's statement continues: "At the jail they locked me up until the next morning. The next morning, after four requests, I was allowed to make a phone call by the jailer's wife. I had also asked to make a phone call the night be-



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fore when I was first taken to the jail... I called COFO in Jackson and spoke to Bob Moses... I was taken to the home of a judge in Madison. Court was held in his garage and two lawyers from COFO were there... I heard the man who had beaten me referred to as Sheriff Holly... I was then charged with interfering with Steve's arrest and with resisting arrest. Bail was set at \$150..."

Smith reported that he was placed in a cell with three white men, and was questioned the following morning in the jailer's office by the three men who had stopped him the night before. They threatened to shoot him if he ever returned to Madison County, he stated. During questioning a college newspaper in Iowa City called and he was allowed to speak over the phone. However, "Before I got on the phone they asked me if I was willing to accept it as my one phone call without telling me where it was from. I thought the call was coming from the COFO office in Jackson and said yes. I was not allowed to make a phone call of my own either before or after that... In the evening I was released on bond and given back my wallet. When my wallet was returned, the ticket I had been given the night before was missing and so was my driver's license."

In the same city of Canton the events sworn to in the following affidavit excerpts took place when a local Negro called upon city police to investigate a bombing at the COFO Freedom House.

Mr. George Washington, Sr., a well-known Negro store proprietor and adamant supporter of the movement, who is in his late fifties, rented a house to COFO for use as a Freedom House. Early in the morning of June 8, 1964, about 1:30 a.m., a bomb was thrown at the Freedom House. As little damage resulted, the Police were not immediately notified, although the FBI was called. After arising in the morning, Mr. Washington's wife called the police. Mr. Washington described his treatment:

"When the police came, they used abusive language in talking to me. Mr. Cooks and Mr. John Chance told me to get in the car, they were going to send me to the penitentiary for failing to report the bombing incident the preceding night. I asked if they could take me in without a warrant. They said they didn't need one, and they shoved me into the car..."

"When we got to the jailhouse, Mr. Cooks was opening the door. While he was doing so, as I began to go in the door, Mr. Chance struck me over the eye (the blow struck me over the eye because I attempted to duck the blow when I saw it coming) - otherwise he would have hit me right in the eye... They began to question me, if I had any idea about who thrown the bomb at the Freedom House. I told them I didn't know who throw the bomb. Then Mr. Chance said I was lying again and came up and hit me on top of the head... Then he said, 'he'd just hates me and despises me and hit makes him sick just to look at me... I feel like taking my pistol and beating your face flat so your wife won't even recognize you.' He said he thought that I was all right, but now that I wouldn't cooperate and put those out of the house so they have to get out of the town, he didn't think so any more."

"About 8:00 Chief Dan Thompson came in and asked me what had they held me for and Mayor Stanley Matthew and City Atty. Bob Goza also came in and they talked very nicely to me than Chance didn't use nny more abusive language and asked me many questions about selective buying campaigns and the boycott. He told me I'd lose my reputation with my white friends in town. The question went on until about 11:00 when they let me go."

"My right eye didn't swell up right away [but] the next dyy, Tuesday, it began to hurt and swell up very badly...I've had to see the specialist about three times a week, and he said I have to have an operation on my right eye..."

AFFIDAVIT VII.

HARRASSMENT UNPROVOKED BY POLITICAL ACTIVITY (Jackson)

Of the many affidavits available on general treatment of Negroes in Mississippi, the following is one example of both unprovoked police hostility and what may be called the "semantics of race." It is worth noting that the event described took place in the largest and most cosmopolitan city in the state.

WILLIE FUNCHES, being duly sworn, deposes and says:

On July 5, 1964, at about midnight, I was walking from Farish Street to the COFO office on Lynch Street with Harry Lowe and Jimmy Lee Wilcox. At the corner of Poindexter and Lynch we were passing a police car which was parked there. This police car had a cross on the side and a red light on the top, an "accident car." As we passed by, one of the two policemen in the car said, "Hey, nigger, were you throwing stones?" I said, "No sir." Jimmy Lee Wilcox said, "No, we weren't." The policeman said, "Can't you say 'yes sir' to me, nigger? That's one of them smart niggers standing in the middle there (referring to Jimmy)." He then said, "Don't you lie to me, nigger, or I'll make your face blacker than his (referring to Jimmy)."

They called in and told headquarters that they had the black s.o.b.s who had thrown the bricks--they had the little nigger in the red shirt. My shirt was red. Two other police cars came up. The policeman in the first car said that he would take off his belt and beat my rump if I was identified. Another car came up and one of the two policemen in that car said, "Yeah, I want that little nigger with the red shirt especially." The policeman who had said this snatched me out of the car and put me in the other car. Then he hit me in the stomach four times. Then he asked me where I lived. He asked me if I had been throwing rocks and when I said no he called me a "goddamned liar." Then he told me to get "your goddamned ass on the ground out there with the rest of the niggers." The other cop had brought Jimmy back and we were all sitting on the ground next to the car. The policeman who had been talking to Jimmy then said, "I ought to kick all three of your teeth in ." He said, "Get up, nigger, and if I catch any of you three in any of the demonstrations I'll shoot all of you niggers and smoke my cigar on top of you and think nothing about it." Then he said, "You niggers go home and let's run." We ran and I met my boss who told me to come to the COFO office and tell you about it.

(signed) Willie Funches

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AFFIDAVIT VIII.

PHILADELPHIA - NESHOMA COUNTY

Junior Roosevelt Cole, 58, lay leader of Mt. Zion Methodist Church in rural Neshoma County, Mississippi, told in a statement signed in the presence of two witnesses, of his beating near the church on June 16, 1964. Later that night the church, site of a mass meeting on May 31 at which Michael Schwerner and James Chaney had spoken, was burned to the ground. Cole said a leaders and stewards meeting at the church had broken up about 10 p.m. that night and they got into their cars and pickup trucks to drive home. His statement said:

"We saw two cars and a truck driving up, and the people in them wasn't our color, but we didn't bother about it. Me and my wife got in our car and drove off. About 50 yards from the churchyard we were forced to stop. The lights in those cars was out. A man said to me, 'What are you doing? What you got those guards out there for?' I said we didn't have any guards. He said, 'You're a liar.' They jerked me out of the car and let me have it with a heavy instrument, on the jaw, the head, the neck, the back, and when I was lying there, they kicked me. Then I was unconscious.

"None of them where I was had any masks on, but Mrs. Georgia Rush and her son, John T., who were stopped down the road, said there were men with hoods on where she was. As far as I know there was only three of us beaten: myself, Mrs. Rush and her son. The men had many, many guns.

"I was treated at Dr. Charles Moore's clinic in Philadelphia. I don't think my jaw is broken, but it's out of line a bit.

"About 12:30 or 1 a.m. that night I saw a big light in the sky over where the church was, but I didn't think anything of it. Later, in the morning, I saw it was the church burned. The FHBs came by the following Friday."

His wife, Beatrice, said in her statement:

"There was at least 20 of them there. One of them pulled my husband out of the car and beat him, I couldn't see what with, but it looked like an iron object. Then they kicked him while he was lying on the ground. Then they said to him, 'Better say something or we'll kill you.' I said, 'he can't say nothing; he's unconscious.'

"Then I began to pray, a little prayer. They told me to shut my mouth. But I said, 'let me pray.' I stretched out my hands and said, 'Father I stretch out my hand to thee; no other help I know; if thou withdrew thyself from me; Oh Lord, whither shall I go?'

"That struck the hearts of those men. The Lord was there, because then the man said, 'Let her alone,' and he looked kind of sick about it.

"I think my husband's jaw is broken, because his teeth don't sit right in his mouth. But he doesn't think it is, and I can't get him to go down to the clinic again."



Mrs. Dona Richards Moses told in an affidavit of harassment by three highway patrolmen while returning from an attempted private investigation of the disappearance of the three civil rights workers in Neshoba County. She said she was riding in a car driven by Matteo Suarez, in the company of Preston Ponder, Gwen Gillon and David Welsh when they were stopped.

"The patrolman asked us why we had been in Neshoba. Mr. Suarez answered that we had wanted to investigate the situation of the missing men. The policeman then answered, 'There is nothing to investigate.' He began asking us questions about our work. He looked through all of our belongings and the literature we had in the car, pulling them out in the rain to read them. He read a personal letter that Gwen Gillon had, which mentioned a SNCC worker in Batesville. He made mention of the SNCC worker and asked who he was.

"When I answered, 'uh huh' to the question, 'Are you from New York?' this policeman said, 'You'd better say, 'yes sir' to me, little nigger.'...

"We were allowed to leave. It was then that we realized that during the whole interrogation there had never been mention of our violating the law in any way. We were surprised to find this attitude in the police since we had been led to understand by the Justice Department that there was federal presence in the area and local police were cooperating in the search for the missing men. Otherwise such treatment is the rule in Mississippi by the police, particularly of civil rights workers, and we are always afraid when we are stopped by the police."

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Daniel Pearlman, a law student, and David Welsh, a free-lance reporter, told in affidavits of their beating by civilians in the middle of a summer afternoon in downtown Philadelphia, Miss., on July 17, 1964. The pair were investigating the disappearance of the 3 civil rights workers and preparing a newspaper article.

Pearlman stated they had just left the office of a local attorney when they were stopped near the street corner by a man who asked what business they had in town.

"When Dave identified himself as a reporter, two men came out of the shadows and stood along side of me. Another man approached from the opposite end of the street...The man who first stopped us threw a hard punch to Dave's eye. I was hit over the head by the man standing next to me. I ran and turned to face him. He was chasing me with a link chain hanging from his raised right hand. The doctor said that my wound cannot have been inflicted from a fist alone. I therefore assume that I was hit with the link chain I saw hanging from his hand...

"I was then chased by two men and ran to the sheriff's office...The sheriff sent Deputy Cecil Price to the scene. Price leisurely strolled to the corner. When we got there he said that he didn't see my friend. I pointed to a crowd on the street corner and said, 'They know.'...He strolled toward the crowd."

Welsh said in his affidavit: "The first man struck me in the jaw hard with his fist. The other man then hit me several times, and additional men appeared to be closing in at the scene. I could not see Pearlman. I ran toward the courthouse, where two more men intercepted and struck me. So I turned around again and ran back to retrieve my sunglasses. As I did so, I was kicked in the ribs - one rib was cracked, according to X-rays taken in Jackson at the office of Dr. McIlwain - and absorbed a few more blows in the face. One of them gave me a symbolic kick in the pants and advised me to leave town. I ran to my car and drove back to the site of the initial attack. A crowd was gathering; in the center were Price and Pearlman, his head and shirt very bloody. The mood of the crowd was less than friendly. After explaining what happened to Price, we left town."

[1964] Vol

Report Concerning the Louis Allen Case  
by Robert Moses: Mississippi Project  
Director for the Student Nonviolent  
Coordinating Committee

Daniel Jones is the sheriff of Amite County -- symbol of the law in Mississippi according to the white people, symbol of terror and injustice according to the Negroes.

Lewis Allen was born and raised in "Liberty", the county seat, married, raised his family, farmed and worked the timber in the sloping pine forests for a living.

He had no trouble with the white people in Liberty until Herbert Lee was murdered on September 30, 1961. He saw Hurst shoot Lee at the cotton gin in Liberty early in the morning on September 30th. Daniel Jones was a deputy sheriff then and when he and the others told Allen to testify that Hurst whot Lee in self defense, Allen rebelled. It was a small rebellion -- he told the lie they coerced him for at the "coronor's jury" and later at the "grand jury", but he never accepted in his mind and spirit that he could tell a lie against Lee, once he was dead. He wasn't deep in civil rights at that time; he hadn't attended the voting meetings, or tried to register. It just went against his grain. So he told what he saw that morning to the civil rights workers, the Department of Justice and the F.B.I.

Account Concerning Arrest and Beating  
of Louis Allen in July 1962 -- Taken  
Down from Mrs. Louis Allen by Bob Moses

Daniel Jones came up into the yard and Henry (Allen's son) went to the door. He told Henry he wanted to see Louis. He told Louis he was going to arrest him -- for "interfering" with the law. Louis asked him could he get out on bond. Daniel Jones told him he couldn't. The head sheriff called over the radio hook-up and asked where was Jones. He told him he was at Louis' house. The sheriff asked if he had arrested Louis. He told him yes. Louis asked Daniel Jones could he get his hat. Daniel Jones didn't give an answer. Henry was standing by the door. Louis looked around and told Henry to bring him his hat and Daniel Jones hit Louis with his flashlight while the side of his face was turned to him and he broke his jaw -- then they carried him on to jail. I (Mrs. Allen) ran out behind them. Henry was driving. I was going after Tommy (another son). Daniel Jones was coming from the jailhouse and I saw him and stopped and asked him if Louis was in jail. He cursed us and told us yes, that's where he was going to stay and asked us where were we going. We told him we were goint to Tommy's. He cursed and told us to get Tommy and get on across the damn river - if we didn't

some of the rest of us would be up there (in jail) too. We got Tommy and came back to the house.

Account Related to Bob Moses  
by Tommy Louis Allen

I went to see E.L. Caston the next morning. I asked him what did they have daddy in jail about. He told me and Henry to get on away from there - if we don't we'll be up there too. I went down to Lawyer Joe Garden and asked him to call the sheriff and find out the charges. He called out. They still didn't tell him but told him they would have his trial next day at 11:00. I went to town about time for the trial and they turned him out. Louis told us that they had broken his jaw bone. He had asked them for a doctor, but they wouldn't get him one. Went to see Dr. Jennie Field in Centerville -- white doctor.

Account Concerning Arrest of Louis  
Allen on Charges of Having a Concealed  
Weapon and Passing a Bad Check --  
Related to Bob Moses by Tommy Allen

We were coming up from work about 7:00. The sheriff was at the Hawkins Service Station and Daddy called into the station and told them to put 10 gallons of gas into the truck. After that the sheriff told Daddy to get out, he had a warrant for his arrest. Daddy got out. Daniel Jones searched Daddy and the truck. Found a weapon in the glove compartment -- that's where he kept it all the time for protection, so he wasn't trying to conceal it. Daneil Jones told Daddy to come on and go with him. They took him to jail and told me to bring the truck on to the house. I brought the truck on to the house. I thought they were going to charge him a little fine for not having a tail light on the trailer and then maybe he'd come on back to the house. The next morning I went up there and talked to Daddy from outside the jail. He told me they hadn't thold him what they had him in jail for. I went back to see the sheriff. The sheriff said they were going to have a preliminary hearing that morning about 10:00 and we would find out then what he was in jail for. I waited around town for the hearing. They wouldn't let me or my brothers: Henry or Jerry Norwood into the hearing. They didn't say anything but to get on back -- and they shut the door. (E.O. Caston was the sheriff then) They were taking him back to jail and he told me they had him for "concealed weapon."



Account Related to  
Bob Moses by Mrs. Allen

Concerning incident August, 1963

In August the baby and I were playing and I hit my head. I went to the doctor.

When the sheriff saw me he said, "Get yourself together. I want to ask you some questions. The doctor was telling me that Louis did that." (struck Mrs. Allen) The sheriff then asked to talk to Henry in private.

(This was one of the "domestic problems, including reported violence" which the sheriff told the press might be a factor in the case after Allen's murder.)

Account Related to  
Bob Moses by Mrs. Allen

Concerning Allen's murder,  
January 31, 1964

Louis had been crying all day Friday (the day of the murder). He had worked for Mr. Jerry Spillman for seven years and went to him to get a recommendation for a job. Mr. Spillman said he might be helping a communist or anything so wouldn't recommend him. That worried Louis a lot.

Account Related to  
Bob Moses by Tommy Allen

Concerning Allen's murder,  
January 31, 1964

I helped Louis get out some logs Friday (the day of the murder). He was supposed to have left Saturday for Milwaukee. He had talked to one of the white lawyers, Floyd Wayne Stratton, who said he didn't think he could help him -- they were going to give him from three to five years (on a bad check charge). He was coming from Mr. Loyd King's before he got shot. He went up there to get a recommendation for driving a bulldozer for use in Milwaukee construction work. That night he was shot.

Information Concerning the Killing  
of Louis Allen in Liberty, Miss.,  
Amite County, on January 31, 1964

This report is based on information given by a Negro man who lives in Liberty, Mississippi.

Right after Hubert Lee was killed, Mr. B. said that Louis Allen came to his home in Liberty and told him that Sam Lester Robert carried him to the courthouse in Liberty. When he got there, there was a room full of white men with guns, and they told him when the trial came up they wanted him to say: "Negro Hubert Lee had a tire tube and was going to hit Mr. Hurse and Mr. Hurse had to shoot him to defend himself."

Then he left Amite county and went to Baton Rouge. He came back for trial that Monday. After trial he went to Mr. B.'s house and told him that he was in trouble and wanted to know something to do. Mr. B. said that "he told him to go to McComb and talk with the F.B.I. about what had happened."

One month later a white man came to Allen's house and said that he was going to kill him. His daughter ran in the woods where he was working and told him that a man had come to kill him.

In July, 1962, Deputy Jones and Marshall Laten Bates arrested Louis Allen. As they arrested him they hit him with a flashlight and broke his jaw. He went back to Mr. B. and asked for help again. This time Mr. B. told him to go to Jackson to the hospital and from there to call the F.B.I. and tell them his troubles.

A month later, he was arrested for a bad check. His trial was supposed to have been on March 1st, 1964, in Jackson. However, Allen had already been warned by the jailer at the time of his arrest on the bad check charge to get out of Liberty by the first of January 1964.

Saturday night, January 25, 1964, a week before Louis Allen was killed, Mr. C. noticed Daniel Jones looking closely at Mr. Allen's son's car as it was coming in to Highway 24 in town by the jail. Daniel Jones and a Deputy and one more white man were in their car and they watched the Allen car closely.

January 28, 1964, Mr. C. saw two white men in the court house. They came from upstairs and went into the sheriff's office with a box no larger than a shoe box. They could have been carrying a pistol and they asked if they could deliver it to someone in the back of the office. The man in the office smiled and said, "Yes." There were some more women and men in

the office. One of the women I saw was Mrs. Straden, the editor of the "News Press" in Liberty.

Later that week before he was killed Allen heard a noise on the outside of his house and his dogs were barking and the mules were snorting. He went out to see what was wrong. He had a way of getting out of the house without anyone seeing him. He said later that he saw nothing outside the house.

Thursday before Louis was killed he was talking with Mr. D. (A Negro). Mr. Cocham (a white man) drove up while they were talking and Mr. D. jumped into a ditch to keep Mr. Cocham from seeing him talking to Louis Allen.

On Saturday before Louis Allen was killed Mr. E. saw two cars park in the road to Louis Allen's house about 10:00 a.m. Friday morning just off the Highway. From their actions they could have been mapping out a way to kill Mr. Allen.

On the Saturday night that Louis was killed, there were two cars seen following him from Mr. Lloyd King's to his road to go to his house. One was a cream tan Ford 1961 and two men were in it. The other was a black Ford 1960 with one man in it. After 9:30 that same night the two cars came from the road up above Mr. Allen's home and went to Liberty and parked in front of the Court House.

On February 1, 1964, we received a call from Dr. Aaren Henry saying that Louis Allen had been killed in Liberty. We began calling people in Amite and Pike counties trying to find out if this was true or not. We called Mr. F. in Liberty. He said, "when she was coming from some kind of meeting last night she saw Mr. Allen's truck in front of his house, and they didn't know if he had been killed then or not. But he is dead."

She also said that he had been shot in the head three times and was found under his truck.

Mrs. Allen reported that "she was home with her three-year-old when she heard three shots, but she didn't leave the house. She said she really didn't think anything about it. Later, after about 15 to 30 minutes, cars began to stop along the Highway and around 1:00 o'clock her son came home and that is when she found out about her husband." The police and the sheriff asked her if she knew who killed her husband. "She told them that she didn't know who did the shooting and didn't know anything about it except that she heard three shots and looked out the window and really didn't think anything about it."

Louis Allen had decided to leave Amite County and go where his brother was. He was planning to leave town the morning of February 1, 1964.



## AMBUSH KILLING OF NEGRO, 44, PUZZLES AMITE OFFICERS

By Charles B. Gordon  
Enterprise-Journal Staff Writer

Liberty --- Whoever gunned Louis Allen to death Friday night mortally frightened him first.

The powerful 44-year-old Negro logger was lifting the top loop of a barbed wire fence gap so he could drive his bobtailed log truck into the gravel driveway to his house when he saw or heard his assassin make ready to kill him.

Allen hurled his 200 pound frame headlong under the front end of the truck and scrambled as fast as he could. His head was under the driver's seat, headed southward, and his feet were under the front bumper when the first load of buckshot hit him.

### ---TWICE SHOT

It hit him at the hairline at the left top corner of the forehead and tore a widening hole to come out through his right cheekbone.

The second load of deer shot struck slightly lower on the left side of his face and emerged through the right side of the neck, some of the shot entering his chest.

One or the other of the strong shotgun loads ripped through and blew out the left front tire of the log truck.

### MYSTERY CASE

Sheriff Daniel Jones of Amite County continued his almost uninterrupted investigation into the case Sunday. The tall young sheriff, but a month in office was confronted with one of the hardest to crack of all Amite County cases of many past years.

Meanwhile, active and concentrated integration organizations all over the United States were apparently working relentlessly to make a "civil rights" case out of the killing of Allen.

As a reporter stood in Highway 24 Sunday and studied the scene of the ambush slaying of the independent Negro logger. Robert Moses drove a late model car from in front of the Allen home, some 125 yards north of the highway, and headed eastward toward Liberty.

### MOSES ON HAND

(Moses was the mainspring in the McComb racial turmoil of 1961. The New York City Negro, a former teacher in schools of that city, was also involved in racial events of that time in Liberty.

(He has since become perhaps the most widely known of the intergration workers in the state, through activities in Delta localities and only last week in Hattiesburg.)

Several other persons, not recognizable in the fast flash of sight, were in the car with Moses.

### FBI PROBE

Meanwhile, C. G. Prospere of Natchez, special agent in charge of the Federal Bureau of Investigation's South Mississippi division, and three or four more G-men were in Amite County probing the case for possible civil rights implications.

The FBI agents had come in Saturday night in response to

complaints to the Justice Department from Mississippi, Milwaukee, Wisc., New York City and probably other places, that Allen's killing came because he had been active in Negro voter registration and similar efforts in the locality. But Sheriff Jones and other competent insiders in Amite County are inclined to doubt that the cause of the Negro's death. They are not overlooking the possibility, but seem to hold troubled Allen may had other problems - such as domestic - that brought about his death.

#### SHERIFF'S STORY

Jones told a reporter he was asleep at his house, also on Highway 24 and about halfway from Liberty to Allen's driveway, when Allen's son, Henry, 18, and a nephew, John Westley Horton, 18, awakened him at 12:30 a.m. Saturday to tell him that "something bad was wrong with Louis Allen, at his house.

The sheriff found that "something" indeed was wrong. Allen was dead in a three foot smear of blood. The sheriff and Coroner E. D. (Genie) Bellue empaneled an inquest jury at the scene.

Members were Jones, Bellue, Liberty Town Marshal C. L. Bates, recent sheriff E. L. (Brother) Caston, K. L. Gordon, Charles Purvis, Flynn Dixon Jr., B. A. (Sonny) Harvey and Quin Toney. Dr. W. D. Bridges also accompanied the party to the scene.

#### LEFT HOME

The coroner's jury found evidence to indicate that Allen had left his house in his truck between 6 and 7 p.m. to go to the house of a white man, Lloyd King north of Liberty on business.

Shortly after Allen left home, his son Henry and nephew John Wesley had also departed the tar-papered house to go to Gloster, about eight miles further west on Highway 24.

The youths had returned at midnight to find the father's truck in the 30 foot driveway from Highway 24 to the gap in the fence. They moved it so they could drive into the road to the house - and found Louis Allen's shot-torn body underneath.

That is when they drove eastward two miles to Sheriff Jones' house.

It appeared to the officers that Allen had returned home, halted his fairly new Ford truck, pulled up its emergency brake, left the engine running and the light on and dismounted to undo the two barbed wire loops that closed the fence.

#### DEATH APPROACHES

He had lifted the top loop of the gap when, apparently, he became suddenly, terrifyingly aware of the approach of doom. He dived under the truck and died there in a crescendo of gunfire.

His wife told Sheriff Jones that she heard three shots in front of the house about 8:35 p.m. Friday. She fixed the time by the fact that what she said was her favorite television program, featuring somebody named Jimmy Newman, had just come on at 8:30, and she was listening to it, or watching it, when she heard the shots.

#### WIFE SAW LIGHTS

She went to a front window and could headlights shining near the highway 125 yards away, but did nothing about it. She said she returned to the window several more times before she went to bed and saw the lights each time, but growing dimmer.

The lights had gone out with the truck's battery and the engine when her son and the other youth reached the scene.

Dr. Bridges' examination at the scene also fixed the time of death at about 8:30 to 9 p.m. Friday, or somewhat more than three hours before the body was found.

#### TIME PINPOINTED

King confirmed that Allen was at his house on business Friday night, leaving about 8:10. Some 20 or 25 minutes would be required to travel the distance between the two places, Jones said.

It is the sheriff's opinion that the Negro's assassin either rose up suddenly from the deep ditch south of the highway or came swiftly over the crest of a hill a few yards east in a vehicle and fired from the highway.

In either case, it appeared that Allen knew what he was in for, did not have time to run, and dived under the truck in frantic desperation.

Sheriff Jones said that several persons had appeared to tell him that, at one time or another from 9 to midnight Friday, they had passed and had seen the truck with the lights on.

#### NEWS SPREADS

By Saturday noon the word of the Negro's death had spread to many areas of the U. S., particularly Jackson -- where Moses' group and other integration organizations are centered for Mississippi; Milwaukee, where a brother of Allen's lives, and New York, where Carl Rachlin an integrationist lawyer, has headquarters.

Allen's brother, Morris, told the Milwaukee Journal that his brother had once testified against a white man charged with killing another Negro. The brother added that Louis had been subjected to "harassment by the law" since then.

Sheriff Jones said Sunday that he believed he was in better position, through having been chief deputy sheriff for the past four years during most of Amite County's civil rights agitation, to know the leaders among the Negro integrationists than almost anybody else.

#### NO 'RIGHTS' TROUBLE

He added that, to his knowledge, Allen had not been in any position in integration efforts. The sheriff said, however, that Allen had been in trouble with the law many times, mostly on bad checks and concealed weapons.

The Negro also recently seemed to have been having domestic problems, including reported violence, the sheriff indicated.

Edward Smyth, president of the Milwaukee chapter of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, told the Associated Press Saturday he had asked the NAACP's field representative in Jackson to investigate.

#### WHITE LAWYER HEARD

Rachlin, who was chief counsel for the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) when the recent city administration of McComb defeated the organization and secured a federal court injunction against "test rides" to the McComb bus station in 1961, was next heard from.



"Louis Allen has just been killed Liberty, Miss.," the white lawyer said in a telegram to U. S. Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy. "Ten others have been wounded since the Herbert Lee killing. Other abuses in Hattiesburg and Canton require immediate presence of federal marshal."

Rachlin's telegram did not identify others allegedly wounded.

#### FBI SENT IN

In Washinton, the Justice Department said it had asked the FBI to start immediately upon an investigation to determine whether there was basis for federal action.

Jones said Sunday he believed the G-men were concentrating upon the question of whether there was a civil rights violation involved in Allen's killing.

He emphasized that he did not think the agents were probing the killing, as such, and that he likewise did not believe they would find the Negro-white question a ruling factor.

#### WIFE HURT

The sheriff said that Allen's wife was injured on the head several weeks ago to an extent that stitches were required. At the time, he continued she told a physician treating her that she had be struck by her husband.

"She says now that she fell and struck her head on a bedpost," Jones added. He said that he had also been told that Friday afternoon, the victim and his wife had a "bitter word battle" on the streets of Liberty.

The sheriff said he was told during the inquest Saturday morning by Henry Crawford Allen, son of the dead man, that "mamma has been expecting this."

But, later, when he took a statement from the youth, the latter said the sheriff had misunderstood him.

#### LEE DEATH WITNESS

On Sept. 25, 1961, Louis Allen was one of three Negro and two white witnesses to the fatal shooting of Herbert Lee, 52, a Negro farmer of the Fifth District of Amite County, by his neighbor, State Rep. E. H. Hurst, at a liberty cotton gin.

A member of a coroner's jury that cleared Hurst the next day says that Allen told the jurors that, following an argument over an old debt owed by Lee to Hurst, the Negro came on the legislator with a tire tool in his hand; was warned by Hurst not to come closer, then was shot by the white man when he continued approaching.

But later, when the now familiar civil rights violation hue and cry had been raised in connection with Lee's killing, Allen changed his story and related a different version to FBI agents, Liberty sources say.

Strictly non-documented rumors have been current in and around Liberty since the Lee case of 1961 that Allen may have become a "tip-off man" for the integration-minded Justice Department.

Similarly, there was at one time a belief that the logger was one of the spearheads of a reported complaint that "economic pressure" was being applied against some Amite County Negroes.

#### OTHER TROUBLES

Then, in 1962, Allen was arrested by Amite officers and charged with trespass and interference with officers when he interposed himself in the case of a number of Negro shoplifters held in jail in Liberty after their arrest with a large number of stolen suits and other items of clothing.

Last October he gave Sheriff E. L. Caston a bad check for his motor vehicle tags and was bound over to the grand jury that will meet this month in circuit court, Jones--a deputy at that time --said.

In addition, he has an appeal of his conviction and fine of \$100 and 10 days in jail on a charge of carrying a concealed weapon from a justice of the peace court coming up in the same term of court, the sheriff said.

Over the past several years the Negro had been held on other bad check and similar cases, the officer added.

But civil rights affair? Not to his knowledge, Jones said. The sheriff said even the rumor that Allen changed his Lee killing story in a FBI report was news to him -- he did not know if it happened.

#### WEST OF LIBERTY

The Allen home is exactly west of the Tanyard Creek bridge on Highway 24 leaving Liberty for Gloster. Allen, his wife, Elizabeth, and their baby Mary Elizabeth, 3, live there.

The two sons, Tommy Louis Allen, 22, and Henry Crawford Allen, 18, and a stepdaughter, Elaine Allen, have liberty addresses but live elsewhere.

The funeral was scheduled for 11 a. m. today at the Star Hill Methodist Church.

Further Incidents in Southwest  
Mississippi at Time of Louis  
Allen Killing and Shortly After

The reason for this rash of incidents is not clear. Some or all of them may be related to the Herbert Lee and Louis Allen killings.

Mr. Jack White, 40 years of age, was told by Mr. Daniel Jones and another man named Mr. Travis that he had to leave town also or something just might happen to him. He worked at a Texaco Service Station in Amite County. He had to leave town on the 7th of March.

Mr. Cleveland Walker, 65 years old, worked at the Fare Way Grocery Store in Liberty, Amite County. He was told by Daniel Jones that, "I guess it would be better if you leave Amite County." He had to leave the county on the 10th of March.

Rev. James Caston, 45 years of age, had to leave town on the 12th of March. He was told that he had to leave by Daniel Jones. He (Daniel Jones) said that there would be more people involved in activities having to leave the county of Amite and the city of Liberty, Mississippi.

At some point during this period they shot at Jack White when he was leaving town so he had to get out of his car and run on foot.

Mr. C. said that someone told him in Gloster that his life was threatened, but he hasn't heard anything definite about it yet. He also said that he wasn't going to leave town because he isn't afraid of what they might do to him. "They" wanted to know if he belongs to the NAACP and "all that other stuff that people are getting involved in."

Sheriff Daniel Jones went to Parish Hill Baptist church and told them "that they better not have anymore church or any kind of meeting there at night unless they wanted to die." Now they are not having any kind of meeting anywhere in Amite County at night.

Mr. F. said "that he saw a white man looking in the church one night when they were having church meeting."

M. G. got a letter in the mail saying "So many days for you to leave Liberty." This man had something to do with the beating of Robert P. Moses in Liberty in August, 1961.

Rev. Johnson also had to leave Meadville, Mississippi (Franklin County) and they told him that he had better not be caught in Liberty if he wanted to live.



Early in 1964 a number of cross burnings were reported in southern Mississippi. Following is a list indicating where some of these burnings occurred.

#### PIKE COUNTY

1. McComb ... Earl Moses' Shoe Shop, Burglund Super Market, Willy Martin's house, Hill Baptist Church, Enterprise-Journal Office, the Emerich home (editor of the McComb Enterprise-Journal).
2. Magnolia ... Cherry Street (at a place where a cafe used to be), Pleasant Spring Church (People were having a prayer meeting and looked out the window to see a burning cross), the Court House in Magnolia, Rose Hill Community Center (owned by Mr. Coney).
3. Summit ... Lucile's Place (a cafe), Annie Mae Hughes' home.
4. Beartown ... C.C. Bryant's home (on the northern side), Joe White's home.

#### AMITE COUNTY

1. Liberty ... James Caston's home (a Negro about 45 years old -- not a registered voter. His address is P.O. Box 24, Liberty); Mrs. Alma Rogers' home (a Negro about 36 or 37 years old, not a registered voter. She gets her mail at General Delivery, Liberty).
2. Gloster ... Cleveland Walker home (a Negro about 65 years old. He receives his mail at General Delivery, Gloster); Arthur Powell's home (a Negro, he receives his mail at General Delivery, Gloster).

#### Report by a White SNCC Worker Concerning Louis Allen Case

At the time of Allen's arrest in Liberty in November, 1963, on the charge of passing a bad check and having a concealed weapon, I called Negro residents in Amite County in an attempt to get details concerning the case. It was impossible to get information. The local Negroes recognized from my voice that I was white, and would not even acknowledge that they knew Allen.

Between March 15 and 20 of this year (1964) I talked with a Negro in Liberty who has been in touch with the movement. I asked him to bring some people to Jackson for a film to be made by National Education Television. I wanted him to bring any local people who would be willing to discuss the situation in Amite County. He said that Negroes are afraid to leave the county, because white people become suspicious of anyone who leaves the county, even for an afternoon.

OCTOBER 18 --- NOVEMBER 2, 1964

OCT. 18

JACKSON:

Thirty-five students from Northern schools who volunteered to help in the Freedom Democratic Party's "Freedom Vote" campaign participated in an intensive orientation program today. About 100 more volunteers are expected to join them on Oct. 26. The volunteers will be assigned to the 1st and 2nd Congressional Districts to help organize FDP rallies and conduct the "Freedom Vote" to be held from Oct. 30 to Nov. 2.

OCT. 19

MERIDIAN:

Mrs. Payne, a local Negro from whom COFO rents its Freedom House, notified police about a threatening phone call she had received. A man who "sounded white" called and asked her if she still rented the house to "those guys." When she replied that she did, he told her, "You'd better get them out or it'll be bombed." The FBI was notified.

McCOMB:

About 200 people attended a meeting of the bombed Society Hill Baptist Church. The meeting was planned to formally hand over a \$1,000 check, raised by nationally-syndicated columnist Drew Pearson, to Rev. Ned Taylor to rebuild the church. Mrs. Alyene Quin spoke about her meeting with President Johnson in Washington where she informed him of the McComb bombings. She said that although state officials have accused her of "having a record a mile long, I haven't bombed anyone, I haven't robbed anyone, I haven't murdered anyone." She concluded: "But the record I do want to be a mile long is the record of registering voters in Pike County." The meeting ended with the singing of "We Shall Overcome." Rev. Taylor gave a benediction for the work of COFO. A Freedom Day, scheduled for tomorrow, was postponed until Oct. 26.

OCT. 20

McCOMB:

Mrs. Alyene Quin, McComb bombing victim, issued a joint statement with COFO about the current trial of the white men accused of the bombings: "We think these people are going to go home free. We think that the bombings in Southwestern Mississippi are going to start all over again and that somebody might be killed."

INDIANOLA:

Clifford Vaughs, 27-year-old Negro COFO worker and photographer from Santa Monica, Calif., was beaten in a Pure Oil Co. gas station just outside of Indianola. Vaughs said the gas station attendant motioned and spoke to another white man at the station when he arrived. The second white man (6 ft, 230 lbs) cursed at Vaughs and demanded: "Are you one of them ((civil rights workers)) or are you a nigger?" A Highway Patrolman at the scene drove away just as Vaughs' interrogator began punching him in the face. The FBI was notified.

BELZONI:

COFO workers William Ware, Robert Bass, Ellis Jackson, and Joe Louis Stigler were bound over to the county grand jury on criminal syndicalism charges. Bond set at \$1,000 a piece. The four have been in jail awaiting trial since Oct. 15.

While in court they were informed additional charges have been filed against them for "malicious mischief" and the "willful destruction of public property." They are accused of throwing food in the jail, singing Freedom songs, and writing slogans on the walls, and are fined \$100 a piece and sentenced to six months in jail. Four other COFO workers in jail with them on similar charges are given similar fines and sentences.

As Ware is escorted out of the courthouse by a highway patrolman, he waves as some COFO workers. The patrolman tears his shirt, pushes him, and strikes him across the nose, upper lip and head with a leather object.

Minneapolis Tribune reporter Nick Cunningham offers to post bond for the eight youths.



OCT. 20 continued

MARKS:

A man who identified himself as a constable threatened COFO workers in Lambert who were registering Negroes in the Freedom Vote campaign. The man asked Dave Harris, a COFO volunteer from Stanford University, what he is doing and then tell him and "them other Freedom Riders" to leave town in five minutes "or else." The alleged constable followed Harris and some fellow COFO volunteers out of town. Before they leave the area however, the constable stops Harris and accuses the COFO workers of planning to attack him in his truck.

TCHULA:

Bruce Gordon, NYC COFO worker who services the COFO radio operation in Mississippi, is fined \$14. for driving 75 mph in a 65 mph zone. Earlier in the evening he was given a ticket for a similar phony charge.

OCT. 21

GREENWOOD:

Greenwood Negroes have been receiving threats reading: "Watch out for Halloween."

MARKS:

Dave Harris and other COFO workers were told by the police to leave town when they tried to register Negroes.

Four white teenagers beat and urinated on Frank Morse, 20, a white volunteer from Stanford, California. He was stopped in his car by the youths who told him, "We want to talk to you about civil rights." The attack followed.

COLUMBUS:

A two-county search begins for four volunteers who were supposed to arrive here at 8:00 pm. At 9:30 they have not yet reported in. When they last spoke to the Columbus office at 8:00 the telephone connection was cut off. It's impossible to reach them again. Volunteers take to the highways in search of the four. Police, highway and local sheriff's offices are contacted. 10:30 p.m. still no answer. SNCC office in Atlanta and the Jackson FBI notified. 11:00 p.m. Search by COFO cars continues throughout back roads which the four sometimes take to avoid harassment by the highway patrol. 11:38 p.m. The four have been found and they are safe. They are in nearby Tupelo. They had asked the phone operator to relay the message that they would call back around midnight. The operator never sent the message.

OCT. 22

INDIANOLA:

The insurance was cancelled for the Baptist Grove church last night. A mass meeting was held there earlier in the week.

A small plane buzzes the Freedom School and drops a flare. On the next pass it drops something that explodes. Four more passes are made. No apparent damage. A car full of whites 100 yards away from the school drives off following the explosion. Police notified.

MERIDIAN:

A Freedom Day is scheduled to attempt to register large numbers of Negroes to vote. Mrs. Fannie Lee Chaney, mother of the slain civil rights worker, James Chaney, will lead a line of Negroes at the Meridian courthouse.

HATTIESBURG:

New York City Councilman Paul O'Dwyer is scheduled to speak at a FDP meeting at the Mt. Zion Church tonight.

MARKS:

Rumor heard that a body of a young Negro was fished out of the river near Ruleville earlier this week. A COFO worker learns that the body was cut up. Undertaker refuses to say anything except that the body was that of an old man, not a young man. Victim's last name learned: Bennet.

OCT. 23

MARKS:

COFO learns that embalmer's original report on body says it was cut.



McCOMB:

A sheriff confiscates film from girl volunteer who tried to take picture of a "Colored" sign above washroom in courthouse.

A repairman is stopped by white men from fixing a COFO car yesterday.

Three civil rights workers arrested today on charges of "operating a food handling establishment without a license." They are released on \$100. bond.

Nine more white volunteers and a Negro minister are arrested on a similar charge. The 13 learn that police and sanitation inspectors claim that the COFO Freedom House is subject to licensing regulations because it is a public establishment. COFO claims that the Freedom House is not used either for the public sale or distribution of food. A \$100 bond is set for each defendant and trial is scheduled for Oct. 26. Drew Pearson provides the bond money.

Rev. Paul Long, white Presbyterian minister from Rochester, N.Y. working with the McComb COFO office is arrested for "distributing leaflets without a permit." He is released on \$50. bond.

The thirteen arrested for food handling are transferred from the McComb city jail to the county jail in Magnolia.

McComb Circuit Court judge W.H. Watkins, Jr., suspends sentences for the nine men who pleaded guilty to racial bombings in the McComb area. He said the men were "provoked by outsiders who come into your community... who are unwelcome and they have been ...people of low morality and unhygienic..." In explaining the light sentence he says that he considered that the men "came from good families."

COFO sends press release protesting the sentence by Judge Watkins. It reads: "what provocation justifies the bombings of the homes of innocent people?...no one can doubt that had the homes belonged to white families the sentence would have been very different."

Throughout the country, including Mississippi, outraged citizens protest the light sentence. The "liberal" Greenville Delta Democrat-Times of Greenville, Miss. says editorially: "Such light punishment cannot serve as a deterrent to potential perpetrators of similar offenses in the future...Judge Watkins' judicial action in this instance is more astounding than any other sentences handed down from a Mississippi bench within our memory."

One encouraging note: many citizens, white as well as Negro, including the 'heroic' editor of the white McComb Enterprise-Journal, J.O. Emmerich, collected reward money to help apprehend the nine offenders.

Oct. 24

JACKSON:

Four Freedom Vote volunteers and a local teen-ager are arrested passing out leaflets urging people to vote for the Freedom Democratic Party. Later in the day two more volunteers are arrested on similar charges.

MCCOMB:

A Freedom Day is scheduled for Oct. 26.

TCHULA:

Shots are fired into the home of Hartman Turnbow at 2:45 am. He was a FDP delegate to Atlantic City. Luckily, no one is injured but bullets shatter glasses on a shelf and lodge in the walls.

RULEVILLE:

A rock shatters a window in James King's restaurant. He has been the only Negro merchant in town who would post FDP posters in his window. Five cars circle his home later that day.

INDIANOLA:

About 15 polling places will be set up for the Freedom Vote. COFO workers are encouraged.

A Negro woman tells COFO that a plane dropped a flare near her house and shortly afterwards a car hurled an explosive device nearby.

MCCOMB:

40,000 copies of a special STUDENT VOICE edition on the Freedom Vote is awaited eagerly. Literature is desperately needed.

ITTA BENA:

A cafe owned by Mrs. Willie Barnett is burned. She placed signs from the FDP in her window and promised the use of her cafe as a polling place. The fire station is across the street from her cafe but they don't respond to her call. Fifteen minutes later after almost the entire inside of the place has been gutted, the fireman arrive. The barber shop next door is also gutted. A COFO worker measures the distance from the station to the cafe: 83 walking paces. No evidence of arson is uncovered.

JACKSON:

Two carloads of new Freedom Vote volunteers are stopped by the police. No arrests are made but police copy down their names. Then the harassment begins. Police demand of Edward Ziff, 22, of Princeton University: "What are you doing here?" "Why didn't you stay where you came from?"

Volunteer Fred Heinze is arrested for allegedly going through a red light and is separated from Leon Phipps, another volunteer who is sitting in Heinze's car. Phipps returns the car to headquarters. The two youths explain that they were in for the

waiting for the light to change, when police asked Heinze for his driver's license and then arrested him. He was fined \$51.---

NATCHEZ: Two local volunteers went into city park and were told by policeman that "if you don't get out of here with all these white folks and children, I'll lock you up for trespassing." They left.

OCT.26

PASCAGOULA: Two NYC volunteers are arrested on charges of driving with improper licenses and plates. They tell police that they have not been in the state for 30 days yet and that they can prove it but the police answer: "tell it to the judge."

McCOMB: The first carload of people who went to the courthouse to register to vote are arrested, charged with contempt of court. They were met by police and plainclothesmen who read them a court order closing the registrar's office. Later in the day a total of 33 persons are arrested including seven ministers from the National Council of Churches, a NYC rabbi, COFO people and local Negro citizens. Bond is set at \$100 each. The Negro community raises bail for nine. Among those freed on bail are Rev. Daniel Ross, 94, and his wife, 78.

Eighteen people decide to remain in jail although bond money is available for them. They feel it is necessary to demonstrate to the nation once again that the Federal government is not involved as much as it must be to prevent local officials from harassing voter registration.

INDIANOLA: Bob Newell, 19, a student from the Calif. Polytech. Instit. is beaten by whites as he helps local Negroes to register. A six footer, weighing at least 200 pounds, pummelled Newell in front of the Sunflower County Courthouse.

COLUMBUS: A NYC volunteer, Howard Shulman, 29, is arrested while talking to Negroes in a grocery store. He is searched and carried into jail. Police refuse to disclose the charges but say he is being held for "investigation."

BATESVILLE: Fire-crackers are exploded in front of the COFO office by whites passing by in a car.

OCT.27

SUNFLOWER: A tear gas bomb is thrown into the home of Mrs. Anna Mae King. Robert Smith, 14 year old local Negro working with COFO, suffered a large gash in his leg caused by flying glass. House is used by COFO.

INDIANOLA: A former Baptist school now used by COFO as a Freedom School is burned. Firemen were at the scene watching the blaze. When COFO workers were trying to get into the building they were stopped and the firemen were heard to say: "Well, we might as well put it out." Mimeograph machine, short-wave radio, telephone, office supplies and some books in the school were destroyed. Fire damage confined to old office part of the building. Firemen have boarded up the building and will not allow COFO people to examine the area.

CANTON: Bob Williams, white Mississippian and COFO staff worker, is charged with improper license plates and overloading. His truck, carrying supplies to COFO projects, is impounded and he is fined \$54. Bob comments: "I wasn't doin' a damn thing wrong!"

NATCHEZ: Four white men are charged with assault and battery with intent to kill for beating two civil rights workers last year. The two victims, George Greene, Negro, and Bruce Payne, white, were attacked in a Port Gibson gas station on Nov. 30. They were later shot at three times in their car near Fayette by some other whites.



MILESTON:

The MFDP has decided to challenge the seating of four Mississippi legislators in the US Congress. The decision was made in a state-wide meeting of the MFDP in the newly dedicated Mileston Community Center. The move was triggered by the refusal of the state to except petitions by 1000 voters asking that MFDP candidates be placed on the official ballot for the November 3 election.

RULEVILLE:

A Negro restaurant owner who put LBJ-Hubert Humphrey campaign posters in his cafe window is harrassed by police and local whites. A police car and paddy wagon pull up in front of his cafe last night and a white man got out and took pictures of the posters. Two nights ago a rock was thrown through his window.

COLUMBUS:

Howard Shulman, arrested yesterday, is formally charged with "disorderly conduct" and "distributing leaflets without a permit". Bond set at \$200 on each count.

McCOMB:

Fourteen more arrests here bring the total of arrests to 36 in the last two days. Local Negroes, accompanied by COFO workers and Minister volunteers, were arrested in the Courthouse parking lot as they were about to enter the courthouse to attempt to register to vote. They were met in the lot by Highway Patrolmen, the Sheriff and several deputies, and a plainclothesman who read a court order ordering the registrar to close his office and appear in court in his capacity as County Clerk. They were arrested for "trespassing" and are being held on \$100 bond each.

The arrested have refused bail and intend to stay in jail. Jesse Harris, McComb project director, speaking in their behalf, said, "the peop in jail now are there as a protest against such a system and its laws. They will remain in jail in the hope that their being there will expose the kind of justice under which confessed bombers go free and Negro citizens, claiming their rights, are imprisoned."

John Beecher, correspondent for the San Francisco Chronicle, found a cigarette burning on a neatly arranged pile of crumpled papers. A small hole was burned through the vehicle.

Municipal Court Judge Charles Case today found COFO and the 13 difendents, arrested Oct 23, guilty of operating a food handling establishment without a license. A \$100 fine was levied against COFO. The judge ordered that no more food could be prepared in the Freedom House until the proper licenses were secured. COFO's motion for dismissal of the case because of the lack of definition of "food handling establishment" was denied by judge Case, who claimed the outcome of the trial would clear up the ambiguity.

Oct. 28

COLUMBUS:

Norman Chastain, white Freedom Vote volunteer from San Francisco, is arrested for driving with "improper license" and "improper tags." He is out of jail on \$32 bond.

Oct. 29

INDIANOLA:

Club swinging police broke up an FDP rally at the site of the fire damaged Freedom School. Prior to attacking the crowd of some 230 people police arrested Fred Winn and George Winter, white Freedom Vote volunteers from Sausalito and Ione, California, for failing to extinguish a coal oil lantern used to illuminate the outdoor meeting. Mrs Lovie Brown, loca Negro whose legs are amputated to the knee, was clubbed to the ground when she failed to disperse "in a hurry" as ordered. Mary Williams, 42 year old local Negro, was clubbed across the forehead and then arrested for assault and battery. Mrs Oscar Giles, local FDP delegate and a speaker at the rally, reports that police attacked the crowd without giving any previous order to disperse. Upon the attack the crowd proceeded to disperse in an orderly manner. A total of 13 people were arrested, including 11 local Negroes.

PHILADELPHIA:

John Finley, local Negro highschool student, was shot in the arm last night by two unidentified whites. Finley had testified at a Grand Jury investigation into the murder of the three civil rights workers this summer.



GLENDORA:

Two female Freedom Vote workers threatened by a gun waving policeman in a cafe. He told them he didn't want them in town. He went on to curse them and said "we still have grenades and we'll use them"

OCT. 30

MERIDIAN:

Four Freedom Vote volunteers from Oberlin College and a COFO staff member were arrested while distributing LBJ campaign leaflets. The five whites were charged with "distributing leaflets without a permit." Bond is \$50 each.

IUKA:

Negro Freedom Vote worker Clifford Trice, of Tupelo, arrested for "reckless driving" as he was delivering ballots and campaign materials to Freedom Vote polling places. Trice reports that police tried to break into the trunk of the car to examine the material but stopped in their effort when he told them the car was from a rental agency.

BELZONI:

White Freedom Vote volunteer Richard Simpson and Miss Lucile Lee, 11 year old local Negro, arrested while canvassing for votes door-to-door. Simpson charged with "contributing to the delinquency of a minor." Miss Lee released in the custody of her parents after being held for several hours.

CURTIS:

Benjamin Graham and Gordon Williamson, Freedom Vote volunteers, placed under "citizens arrest" by a local plantation owner and another armed white while canvassing for votes. They were taken to the Panola County Jail and charged with "trespassing." Bond for the two set at \$200 each.

GULFPORT:

Negro Freedom Vote worker Dick Flowers arrested for "reckless driving" while checking mechanics of various polling places in Gulfport. Flowers reports that at the time of the arrest he was traveling 17 mph through a school zone.

OCT. 31

RIPLEY:

The Antioch Baptist Church, 7 miles south of here, was burned to the ground early this morning. The church, site of an FDP rally last night attended by about 230 people, has long been used as for civil right activities. It was to be used as a polling place for the Freedom Vote.

BELZONI:

Police Chief Nicholson this morning tried to get 11 year old Lucille Lee to sign a complaint against Richard Simpson, arrested with Miss Lee yesterday. Miss Lee reports she refused to co-operate.

Local Negro youths report the police chief has threatened them with arrests and beatings if they continue to work for the Freedom Vote.

GREENWOOD:

Police entered the Blake's Cafe, Freedom Vote polling place, and tore down campaign posters. Police also enter the Town Club, in the Negro Baptisttown section of the city with a search warrant for liquor, and thoroughly search the cafe. They had previously entered the cafe and tore down campaign posters.

WEST POINT:

Two white volunteers and a local Negro arrested for "exhibiting printed matter without a permit." At the time of the arrest Robert Gilman, of Bethesda, Maryland, Eddie Brooks, of Chicago, Illinois, and John Bell, of West Point, were waiting in a car for another white volunteer, Edward Ziff, a Princeton University student, who was delivering Freedom Vote ballots and ballot boxes to a polling place. Ziff was also arrested and charged with driving with "improper tags" and an "improper drivers' license."

RIPLEY:

Francis Mitchell, SNCC staff photographer, was arrested by highway patrolmen and charged with driving with an "improper license." Mitchell, accompanied by Cleve Sellers, Holly Springs Freedom Vote campaign director, were stopped by a highway patrol roadblock as they were approaching the ruins of the Antioch Baptist Church to investigate last night's blaze. They were ordered to turn back and were stopped as they were leaving the area.

ABERDEEN:

James Dobson, local teen-aged Negro Freedom Vote worker, shot at by a white man from a passing car. He was not hit.

COLUMBUS:

Dick Phillips, white Freedom Vote volunteer from Southern Illinois University, arrested for "distributing leaflets without a permit." He was carrying one copy of the STUDENT VOICE at the time of his arrest. Bond set at \$200.

WEST POINT:

Car belonging to James Watts fire bombed early this morning. The interior is totally destroyed and all the windows shattered. Watts, a local Negro, is not connected with the civil rights movement.

SUNFLOWER:

A cross was burned on the farm of Mr. R. Giles early this morning. Mr. Giles, one of the few registered Negroes in Sunflower, is very active in the Freedom Vote campaign.

BELZONI:

Police Chief Nicholson orders Freedom Vote workers to remove campaign posters from the wall of the COFO headquarters. He threatens arrest when told "if you want them down, take them down yourself." Later a compromise is arranged, Nicholson takes down half the posters. "It was a 50-50 deal," one Freedom Vote worker commented.

NOV. 1

CANTON:

Martha Wright, white Freedom Vote worker from San Jose State College, arrested while canvassing for votes outside the South Liberty Methodist Church. She is charged with "distributing leaflets without a permit." Bond set at \$500.

Over 200 people hear James Farmer, National Director of the Congress Of Racial Equality speak in support of the Freedom Vote campaign.

WEST POINT:

Joel Bernard, white Freedom Vote worker from Ithaca New York and Gavin Lewis, white volunteer from London, England and student at Princeton University, arrested while distributing Johnson Humphrey posters in the Negro section of the town. The two are charged with "distributing leaflets without a permit." Bond for the two is \$300 each.

Carl Rice, local Negro highschool student, expelled for distributing identification tags to other student Freedom Vote workers.

BOONEVILLE:

White Freedom Vote worker Emma Shrader arrested while driving three white female workers and a local Negro male to Columbus. She was charged with "running a red light" driving with "improper tags" and having an "improper signature" on her drivers' license. She was released on \$50 cash bond.

Miss Shrader requested an escort to the county line, fearing the car would be followed, and an officer tailed them to a point just north of Baldwin. As the police car left, several other cars fell in behind them. The four took refuge in the City Hall, in the company of the Constable, Mayor, a local FBI agent, several police and highway patrolmen. A crowd of about 30 whites had gathered outside the City Hall, congregating around the Freedom Vote workers' car. All refused to cooperate in arranging a safe exit for the four. The FBI agent, minimizing the situation, said the three ladies needn't fear harm but could give no assurances for the safety of Ike Coleman, Negro male with the four, since he was "just a nigger."



BOONVILLE, cont.

The Jackson office, when notified of the situation, informed the FBI and called the state office of the Highway Patrol demanding an escort for the four. About an hour later the Mayor dispersed the crowd, telling them "I don't want anybody to harm anyone as low as these people." A highway patrolman provided escort to Tupelo, followed by about 20 cars. The patrolman escorted them to Ruppert's Motel and left the four there for the night. The other cars circled the motel several times, honking their horns, before dispersing.

COLUMBUS:

Gordon Williamson, white volunteer from New York City, and Roy Robinson, Negro volunteer from Berkeley, California, arrested as they left Pratt's Cafe, a Freedom Vote polling place in near-by Crawford. The two were arrested as they were driving back to Columbus, after checking the balloting at the cafe. Williamson, the driver, was charged with having no inspection sticker and "improper tags." Robinson was charged with "interfering with an officer."

RIPLEY:

A Freedom Vote ballot box remains amid the ruins of the Antioch Baptist Church, destroyed by fire early yesterday morning. Negro participants in the Freedom Vote refuse to be intimidated by the action and many ballots are being cast at the site. Plans are being made to conduct regular services at the location next Sunday.

NOV. 2

JACKSON:

Madeline McHugh, white Freedom Vote worker, arrested while distributing campaign literature near the COFO office. She is charged with "distributing leaflets without a permit."

MOSS POINT:

Tillmon McKeller, Negro Freedom Vote worker from Hattiesburg, arrested while driving to Pascagoula to deliver Freedom Vote ballots. Charged with "reckless driving."

JACKSON:

Freedom Vote returns tallied all day and night. Final returns show 68,043 people participated in the Freedom Vote. Johnson and Humphreys lead the ticket with 68,029; Sen. Goldwater received 14 votes. Aaron Henry, FDP Senate candidate beat incumbent Senator John Stennis 61,044 votes to 139. The three FDP candidates for Congress also won in their contests: 2nd dist., Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, 33,009; Rep. Jamie Whitten, 59,444; 4th dist., Mrs. Annie Devine, 9,067; Rep. Arthur Winstead, 4; 5th dist., Mrs. Victoria Gray, 10,876; Rep. William Colmer, 16.

FDP ballots were cast in 56 of the state's 82 counties and "underground" ballots were mailed in from almost every other county in the state. The underground votes were sent in from areas where it was considered dangerous to set up polling places. Some Negro citizens enclosed notes with their ballots explaining that they didn't leave a return address on their envelopes because they feared reprisals by whites.

Over 119 arrests and 63 other incidents of voting harassment (not counting strictly racial incidents) are reported to COFO headquarters in the last three weeks of the FDP campaign.

Lawrence Guyot, chairman of the FDP says that despite the increase in terror during this election, "this election has accomplished the purposes we have set out to achieve. We now have a local grass roots political organization throughout the state of Mississippi." Guyot thanked the 75 out of state volunteers who came to Mississippi specifically for the "Freedom Vote" but singled out the local Negro citizens as the real heroes. "They are the ones," he said, "who have most to gain but also the most to lose." He added: "We are not slowing down after the polls have been closed. We will continue to conduct political workshops, hold meetings and rallies, and disseminate materials, until we register every Negro citizen who wants to be registered in the state of Mississippi."

COUNCIL OF RELATED ORGANIZATIONS  
1617 LYNCH ST.  
JACKSON, MISS.



MEMO TO: CORE CHAPTERS AND ADVISORY COMMITTEE MEMBERS  
FROM: CORE SOUTHERN REGIONAL OFFICE  
2209 Dryades Street, New Orleans, Louisiana  
RE: SOUTHERN RACIAL MURDERS

April, 1965

Attached you will find a partial list of racial murders that have occurred in the South in the last two years. Though they are only a small sample of the violence that is traditional in the South towards Negroes and their white supporters, they are a shocking example of the lack of justice in the region. In not a single case has a defendant received punishment for one of these crimes, and in all but one case there has been no conviction. In all of these cases the identity of the killer was known, at least unofficially.

Some of these murders received little or no publicity on a national level. Most fade out of the minds of the public just as quickly as they fade from the front page of the papers and from the television screens.

We feel that very little has been done to attack the Southern system of leniency towards those who commit violent acts against Negroes and civil rights workers. Perhaps one of the causes is a lack of awareness the public has of the reality of the situation. The murders are too short-lived in the minds and hearts of the American people.

Therefore, CORE in the South is beginning a program to remind Americans of the deplorable state of Southern justice and to stir their consciences so that they will demand legislation to correct the situation. In view of recent developments in Alabama and Louisiana, we are demanding the following additions be made to the voting bill now pending in Congress to deal with violence in connection with racial and civil rights matters:

1. Legislation requiring enforcement of and protection for the exercise of all Constitutionally guaranteed rights by federal marshalls, FBI agents or other appropriate federal agents;
2. Legislation requiring the Justice Department to make on-the-spot arrests of violators of Title 18, Section 241-242 of the U.S. Code;
3. Legislation making crimes of violence, especially murders, in connection with civil rights and race, a major federal offense;

Because of the intimidation in many areas of the South of Negroes who attempt to register to vote, use certain public accommodations, and exercise their Constitutional rights, we believe the 1965 Civil Rights Act and the proposed voting bill, as presented, will have little effect without the above provisions.

To begin this program, we hope you will circulate the attached list as widely as possible in your area. We hope you will make copies of the list and submit it, along with your own demands for improved legislation, to all of your local newspapers, radio and TV stations, local officials, Senators and Congressmen. Demand that your Senators and Congressmen work for the inclusion of the above in new legislation.

4/65

CORE Southern Regional Office/2209 Dryades Street/New Orleans, La. 70113

PARTIAL LIST OF RACIAL MURDERS  
IN THE SOUTH IN THE LAST 2 YEARS - - - -

April, 1963 - William Moore, White, 30's  
Gadston, Alabama  
CORE worker, shot to death on Freedom  
Walk  
Assailant arrested, NO CONVICTION

June, 1963 - Medgar Evers, Negro, 30's  
Jackson, Mississippi  
NAACP Field Secretary, shot to death  
at his home for civil rights  
activities  
Assailant, Byron De La Beckwith, member  
of White Citizens Council, arrested,  
2 trials, hung juries, NO CONVICTION

September, 1963 - Carol Robertson, Negro, 14  
Cynthia Wesley, Negro, 14  
Addie Mae Collins, Negro, 14  
Denise McNail, Negro, 11  
Killed in church bombing  
NO arrests, NO CONVICTION

September, 1963 - Virgil Ware, Negro, 13  
Birmingham, Alabama  
Shot to death by two teenage boys,  
white, while riding his bicycle  
Assailants arrested, Suspended sentence

September, 1963 - James Robinson, Negro, 16  
Birmingham, Alabama  
Shot to death in the back by police  
officer in "self-defense"  
No arrest, NO CONVICTION

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

September, 1963 - young man, Negro  
New Orleans, Louisiana  
Shot to death by police officer  
No arrest, NO CONVICTION

January, 1964 - Lewis Allen, Negro, 40's  
Liberty, ~~Missouri~~ Mississippi  
Shot to death at his home; had wit-  
nessed a white state representative  
kill a Negro in 1961; murder followed  
2 years of constant harrassment; vic-  
tim had asked for federal protection,  
but was refused.  
No arrests, NO CONVICTIONS

February, 1964 - 1 woman, 2 men, Negro  
20's or 30's  
Woodville, Mississippi  
Shot to death in parked car  
No arrest, NO CONVICTION

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

June, 1964 - Michael Schwerner, white, 24  
James Chaney, Negro, 21  
Andrew Goodman, white, 20  
Philadelphia, Mississippi  
Beaten and shot to death for civil  
rights activities;  
Several arrests, including law-enforcement  
officials; NO CONVICTIONS

July, 1964 - 2 men, Negroes, 19, 20  
Southwest Mississippi  
Half-bodies found in river during  
search for missing three (above)  
Arrests, NO CONVICTIONS

July, 1964 - Lemuel Penn, Negro, 33  
Athens, Georgia  
Official in school system of Washington,  
D.C. Shot to death in his car from  
passing car when returning to Washington  
from training for army reserve in Georgia.  
Klansmen arrested, NO CONVICTIONS

( C O N ' T )

Summer, 1964 - man, Negro  
New Orleans, Louisiana  
Shot to death at bus stop from passing  
car  
No arrest, NO CONVICTION

September, 1964 - Herbert Orsby, Negro, 14  
Canton, Mississippi  
Found drowned wearing CORE tee-shirt;  
last seen in pick-up truck with white  
men.  
No arrest, NO CONVICTION

December, 1964 - Frank Morris, Negro, 52  
Ferriday, Louisiana  
Burned to death in his shop--covered  
with gasoline by white men, set afire,  
and forced to remain inside.  
No arrest, NO CONVICTIONS

December, 1964 - Man and woman, Negro  
New Orleans, Louisiana  
Shot to death in motel  
No arrest, NO CONVICTION

January, 1965 - Ollie B. Shelby, Negro, 18  
Jackson, Mississippi  
Badly beaten and shot to death by police  
officers in Hinds County Jail.  
No arrests, NO CONVICTION

January, 1965 - Marshall Scott, Jr., Negro, 43  
New Orleans, Louisiana  
Put into solitary confinement in New  
Orleans jail with pneumonia; died without  
medical attention.  
No arrests, NO CONVICTIONS

February, 1965 - Jimmy Lee Jackson, Negro  
Marion, Alabama  
Shot to death by state troopers during  
demonstration for voting rights.  
No arrests, NO CONVICTIONS

February, 1965 - John Lee, Negro, 31  
Goshen Springs, Mississippi  
Found dead on country road with signs of  
beating--had attended civil rights

meetings  
NO arrests, NO CONVICTIONS

February, 1965 - Donald Rasberry, Negro, 19  
Okolona, Mississippi  
Shot to death by his plantation boss.  
NO CONVICTION

March, 1965 - Rev. James Reeb, white, 37  
Selma, Alabama  
Beaten to death after participating in  
in March for voting rights  
Four arrests, PENDING

March, 1965 - Viola Gregg Liuzzo, white, 38  
Lowndesboro, Alabama  
Shot to death from passing car while  
transporting demonstrators from march  
for voting rights.  
Four whites arrested, PENDING



[Oct. 9, 1965] Viol. & Harass

FREEDOM INFORMATION CENTER, P.O. BOX 366, EDWARDS, MISS. 39066

## NATCHEZ, MISSISSIPPI - SIX WEEKS OF CRISIS

It's been six weeks since NAACP president in Natchez, George Metcalfe, 55, turned the key in the ignition switch of his car and set off a bomb hidden beneath the hood. His leg and arm were broken and his face and legs were cut and burned.

Hours after the bombing Negro leaders filed a petition to Mayor John Nosser, 64, demanding that the city government publicly denounced the Ku Klux Klan, the Americans for the Preservation of the White Race, and the Citizens Council. In addition, they demanded that the city council order an end to police brutality and require police to stop Klan harassment, desegregate public schools, hire more Negroes on the police force, and have officials address Negroes with courtesy titles. These were only a few of the 12 detailed demands which, in effect, specified the major complaints of black people in Natchez.

So far not one of the demands has been met. Mayor Nosser, who was elected in a close contest with the help of Negro votes, is a frightened man, especially since his home was bombed last September. The town's leading newspaper, the police force, the sheriff's deputies, and every one of the leading industries in the county are infiltrated with Klan members. The only white voice of moderation is Forrest Johnson, an attorney, who edits a weekly tabloid circulated almost exclusively in the Negro neighborhoods. Johnson has lost half of his law practice and most of his friends. How long he will stay around is anybody's guess.

The night of the Metcalfe bombing, Negroes held a mass meeting and leaders announced a boycott of all the stores in the downtown area. A Catholic priest who is vice president of the local NAACP, Father W.J. Morrissey, and Charles Evers, field secretary for the state NAACP, warned that unless the city agreed to some of the people's demands their frustration might lead to violence.

A few days later Governor Paul B. Johnson ordered the National Guard to Natchez, imposed a 10 P.M. to 5 A.M. curfew, and forbade the sale of beer. (State law forbids the sale of other alcoholic beverages.) The Guardsmen, all white, left Natchez Labor Day weekend.

On September 9, Negroes held their first mass demonstration - a night march through the downtown area to City Hall. Over 200 people knelt and prayed on the steps then broke up and went home on foot. Although at first Police Chief J.T. Robinson stopped them at a busy intersection and told them they were violating a city ordinance and asked them to turn around, he let them proceed.

Nightly meetings continued and hot arguments erupted between those people who wanted to march and those who were against it. Relations between the NAACP and the FDP reached a low point. Charles Evers invited S.C.L.C. and Delta Ministry leaders and volunteers to come to the city.

On September 27, Rev. Albert Sampson, 27, of Boston, Massachusetts, a student of Saul Alinsky in Chicago and a worker for SCLC, announced plans to break the curfew. He said he would lead thousands of Negroes in a march if the curfew was not lifted.

On September 28 Evers said that the NAACP would not march and added that people who were arrested would have to find their own bond contacts. Rev. Sampson said he would go along with the decision but privately complained about the NAACP's position. For the next few days Sampson boycotted the mass meetings. During all this time several sources reported that Evers had been fired from his job as field secretary. Two weeks before, Hosea Williams of SCLC, appealed to people at a mass meeting in Natchez to support Evers "because some persons on the NAACP Executive Committee want to get rid of him for personal reasons."

The KKK's newspaper, the Fiery Cross, was passed out through the streets of Natchez on the 28th. The same day Evers led 300 people to City Hall. Before the marchers arrived 400 more people joined them, according to a UPI report. Other observers estimated that over 1,000 people were there.

Meanwhile the economic boycott was taking its effect. Despite an AP report (September 4) that Negroes appeared not to be observing the boycott, by September 29 the boycott was well under way. Official observers for the NAACP announced the names of Negroes seen shopping at downtown stores. The embarrassment of having one's name announced at a mass meeting persuaded many people to stay away. One wealthy funeral director humbly apologized for disobeying the boycott, after his actions were mentioned at a meeting. He



promised he wouldn't repeat his error. On September 30, downtown merchants announced a \$1,000 annual contest drawing. The Miss-Lou Observer, Forrest Johnson's paper, said that the drawing was "a means to break the Negro Boycott." The paper emphasized that the boycott had caused "considerable damage to the financial position of many downtown merchants."

The curfew was being unfairly applied to Negroes. No whites were held in the city jail on curfew charges but many Negroes and two white civil rights workers were kept in jail pending bond for up to five days. In at least one case, arrests were made of FDP workers who were just a dozen paces from home.

The state law permitting the curfew order for adults was passed in the summer of 1964. It was criticized at the time for allowing police to restrict freedom of movement without formally declaring martial law. Federal as well as state courts have held similar curfews unconstitutional. An admitted White Citizens Council member from Humphreys County, Iroy Turner, introduced the bill in the Mississippi legislature.

On September 15, six days after the curfew was ordered, it was modified so that adults could stay on the streets until midnight, instead of 10 P.M. At the trial of several FDP volunteers on September 22 Judge James Keyer dropped charges against the defendants on the grounds that the curfew ordinance failed to meet some technical requirements of the state law. Finally, October first the city council voted to lift the curfew altogether.

On September 30 the city attorney successfully petitioned a local judge to enjoin the NAACP, FDP, JCLC, and KKK leaders from marching, picketing, and a whole series of acts which severely restricted both freedom of speech and assembly. One injunction named Evers, Aaron Henry (who hadn't been in Natchez during all this time), James Jackson, Rev. Shead Baldwin, Rev. Robert Howard, James Parker, William Ware, Rev. W.J. Morrissey, James Roddy, Otis Flemings, Archie Jones, Miss Posy Lombard, Louis Easton, Eddie Williams, Ervin Martin, Rudolph Shields, and Rev. Sampson. Curiously, the names of FDP leaders, Miss Dorie Ladner and Miss Alberta Watkins, who had been working in Natchez for over a year, were omitted.



The next day, 19 people, mainly teenagers, were arrested for picketing white stores and charged with blocking the sidewalks. The group timed their arrests so that only one or two people were picked up at a time. A large crowd of people watched the picketers as they left from a cafe in the Negro side of Franklin Street for the white stores farther down the street. Several other Negroes were arrested when they watched the pickets. They complained that they weren't given a warning to move. One man said, "The cops told me, 'We're arresting you and every damn nigger in sight and if you don't like it I'll blow your god damn brains out.'"

The next day, October 2, 271 people marched in protest against the previous day's arrests and in support of the 12 demands. Police Chief Robinson stopped them as they approached the first corner and loaded them into police buses. A handful of people were taken to the city jail, but almost all were transferred to the state penitentiary at Parchman, 250 miles away.

The reason given for taking persons not yet convicted of any crime to a state prison was that there was not enough room to hold them at the county and city jails. At Parchman, the ugly face of Mississippi's vicious sadism erupted. What happened can only be described by the people who suffered through it. The following statements are excerpted from affidavits filed with the Justice Department:

Samuel Carter, 33, a high school physical education teacher:

We got out of the buses and they lined us up in groups of 12. I was in front of the second line. One highway patrolman looked at me and said, 'I wish one of those s.o.b.'s would look at me (so I could beat him up).' A few moments later he slapped me as hard as he could on the right side of my face and cursed me out. I didn't say a word to him.

They ordered us to strip and spread our checks. One of them pulled on the hair below my lower lip. I saw him pull hair out of one boy's beard. They wouldn't let us wear anything. When they put us in the cells (in the maximum security section) there was six of us with cots for only two. There was no mattresses or covers, just an iron cot. (The weather bureau recorded temperatures in the 40's that night.)

They opened all the windows and turned on the air conditioning. We sat kneeling; it was too cold to sit on the cot. We exercised, did knee bends to keep warm.

My jaw was so cold I couldn't eat hard food. On Sunday night (October 3) some fellows hollered for the guards because they was so sick. The guards didn't bring the doctor till the next day.

Miss Helen Louise Session, 24, Natchez Junior College student:

He (a prison official) turned the air conditioner on us (women were not forced to disrobe except for their sweaters, shoes, and outer garments) and we asked him to turn it off but he wouldn't.

They made us drink something that was a laxative.... One lady in our cell had to tear her panties up to use for sanitary napkin and toilet tissue.

Miss Posy Lombard of Weston, Massachusetts:

We had eight or nine people in our cell. They continually threatened us all the time. They forced some of the women to take more than one cup of that medicine. Later on, they came down to the cells - about five o'clock in the morning - and picked out girls and made them drink more, another cup or two of (the laxative). And they they scarcely gave us any toilet paper, so we were using bread and biscuits to wipe ourselves with. One girl in my cell got very sick and when the doctor came by he ordered her to come up to the front of the cell. When she didn't say 'yes, sir,' 'no, sir' to all his questions, he got very angry. She had very bad cramps and couldn't stand up straight. He left her there for six hours before they took her to the hospital.

The doctor came by and took blood tests of all the women and they told one person it was for a syphilis test. They didn't tell most people, so they didn't know why they were taking the blood. And they were very hasty and careless about shooting the needle into the person's arm, so they stuck an average, each person, maybe two or three times. I know one girl they stuck five times.

Sander Parkman - he said he was head of the prisons - asked me a lot of questions. He told be the Negroes on his plantation were his best friends and as proof of it he told me that if I was ever on his plantation and he told his Negroes to kill me, they would do it.

The Natchez Democrat responded to the demonstrations and mass arrests with the editorial suggestion to build larger jail facilities and hire more police.

The marches continued. A hundred six people were arrested October 4 and 22 more the following day. Violence almost broke out on the fourth when E.L. McDaniel, grand dragon of the United Klans

of America (one of the three KKK organizations in the state) and about 150 whites heckled demonstrators a half block from the Negro church where the march started. NAACP leaders made sure that Negroes avoided the challenge to fight the white toughs.

On October 6 Federal Judge Harold Cox modified the county court injunction prohibiting marching. He allowed marchers to move two abreast down city streets as long as they did not interfere with traffic. Over 1250 people (1,000 according to the AP count) marched that night to the county building. Groups of whites lingered on the corners staring and mildly provoking the demonstrators. During civil rights marches police in other towns shoo away potential trouble makers, but in Natchez they didn't dare. On the other hand, members of the Natchez Deacons for Defense and Justice, a Negro group, were not bothered either as they coolly eyed the proceedings to and from the courthouse. One tall, husky Deacon in overalls and white shirt, the unofficial uniform of his organization, leaned up against a building across from the courthouse. Police were nearby. It looked for sure that he might get arrested because he wasn't in line. But nothing happened.

People sang Freedom Songs and one old man cried out: "God, you brought us this far. Please don't leave us." A woman repeated the same words, then the leaders spoke and people marched back to the church where they started.

On October 9 police told NAACP leaders that city officials wanted to negotiate.

A short meeting was held and an attorney for the city indicated that some action might be taken on the 12 demands. Some of the demands were rephrased, a television report from Jackson announced, to make it possible for the white officials to negotiate. For example, the report noted that the denunciation of the KKK was changed to a request that the city take action against "groups which advocated racial or religious hatred and bigotry." A moratorium on further marches was agreed to until Tuesday, October 12.

Nothing much can be expected from the city right now. Time, though, is on the Negroes' side. There are about 3,200 Negroes registered to vote in the county out of an eligible 9,340. (In 1961 only 1,050 Negroes were registered, according to the U.S. Com-



mission on Civil Rights.) There are only about 5,500 white voters. When the next elections come around this spring, the gap between the two races will be much narrower.

There are more people working on voter registration in Adams County now than ever before. The FDP has two full-time paid workers and about four almost-full-time volunteers. SCLC, headed by Rev. Sampson and Mrs. Septima Clark, has five full-time paid workers and about 20 or 30 local people who will be receiving \$30. a month subsistence. The NAACP has several people who may work full-time on voter registration, and Evers has promised 29 women who went on strike recently that he will pay them subsistence to work on voter registration until they get their jobs back. (They left their jobs at a laundry when one woman was fired when she returned from Parchman on October 5.) The Delta Ministry has sent down eight volunteers, mainly clergymen, for an indefinite period.

Voter registration may be slowed down because of the friction between the NAACP and the other organizations (SCLC, FDP, DM). There exists now a fragile working coalition. The natural conservatism and more elitist organization of Evers group makes affiliation with the more radical, poor-oriented FDP almost impossible. Evers' personal prestige and influence in Natchez permits him to run the show. He enjoys the support of influential Negro ministers in town. So far the mass meetings have turned down requests by FDP members like William Ware to speak. Rev. Sampson has been given secondary status by Evers in planning and strategy sessions so far. Mrs. Clark has not tried to play a major role in the direct action phase of the Movement in Natchez. The Delta Ministry, led by Rev. Harry Bowie, has worked hard toward keeping the shaky coalition together.

It wouldn't be surprising, though, if Natchez became the first fairly large-sized city in the state to see more Negroes than whites registered. If the momentum can continue for the next few weeks the spring elections will undoubtedly be different than at any time since Reconstruction. White politicians have traditionally, in the words of a September 29 Miss-Lou Observer editorial, sneaked "into St. Catherine and Franklin Streets with wild promises of great things for the Negro population. The Negro didn't believe all these

wild visions of the great hereafter but they were effective." Next time undoubtedly there will be Negroes on the ballot.

Hopefully, some kind of consensus can be reached between the NAACP and the FDP to support one candidate. In Greenville, an NAACP treasurer recently filed and got his name on the ballot for mayor before an FDP candidate was announced. The FDP has declined to run another Negro candidate against him. In most parts of the state, however, FDP candidates will probably not have to face the threat of splitting the black vote. The NAACP is not a political organization and has not shown signs so far of becoming one in the state. This is true despite Evers' role in forming a group called the Mississippi Democratic Conference. The head of the state AFL-CIO, Claude Ramsey, is "co-partners" with Evers in this venture to forge a Democratic party in the state which can attract moderate white and conservative Negro votes. FDP has taken no official position on the MDC, but important FDP officials have criticized Negro members of the organization because of their "Uncle Tom" conservative reputations. No FDP members, or for that matter, any active civil rights leaders in the state besides Evers, were invited to the MDC's founding meeting last July.

Meanwhile, George Metcalfe is still in the hospital. He may be paralyzed for life.

The hoodlum who planted the bomb in Metcalfe's car set off an explosion whose tremors are still being felt. It has mobilized the Negro community more than any of the other 17 or more terroristic acts against Negroes in Adams County (recorded by the U.S. Civil Rights Commission) in recent months. It has brought Charles Evers to a position of greater influence than at any time in his career, despite rumors that he has already been fired by the national office of the NAACP. Most important, it has put the KKK and the white power structure on the defensive and has served warning on them that Black people want their Freedom Now. And that Now better not be delayed for too many tomorrows.

Charles Horwitz  
October 9, 1965