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House of Representatives

COUNCIL OF FEDERATED ORGANIZATIONS CIVIL RIGHTS ACTION PROGRAM IN THE STATE OF MISSISSIPPI

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House the gentleman from New York [Mr. RYAN] is recognized for 60 minutes.

(Mr. RYAN of New York asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. RYAN of New York. Mr. Speaker, this summer the Council of Federated Organizations is undertaking a civil rights action program in the State of Mississippi. COFO, a coalition comprised of the Congress on Racial Equality, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and Southern Christian Leadership Conference, plans to launch a massive education, community improvement and voter registration drive. The objectives of this program are to raise the social and economic standards of thousands of underprivileged white and Negro citizens of Mississippi and to enfranchise many of those who have been denied the right to vote. COFO is being joined in this effort by students, lawyers, teachers, clergymen, and others who are volunteering their time and talents this summer. These volunteers, who are expected to number over a thousand, are pledged to a peaceful and nonviolent course of action.

Instead of welcoming these dedicated men and women into the State, Mississippi plans to meet the volunteers with massive resistance. The local press has been stirring up public resentment against the volunteers, referring to them in headlines as "invaders and agitators." The State legislature has passed a series of restrictive laws which infringe upon the rights of peaceful assembly and free speech. There are new statutes intended to harass the schools and community centers which COFO plans to establish.

There has been much publicity given to the beefing up of already disproportionately large State and municipal police forces, and the purchase of weapons and elaborate equipment, including gas masks, shotguns, police dogs, and a vehicle closely resembling a military tank.

Mr. Speaker, the courage and dedication of the volunteers is reflected in the letters which I have received from a number of my constituents who are either going themselves, or whose children and relatives have volunteered.

In order to alert the Nation to the flagrant denial of constitutional rights and the overt terror and violence in Mississippi, COFO held on June 8, 1964, an all-day session of hearings before a panel of distinguished Americans: Dr. Harold Taylor, former president of Sarah Lawrence College and now with the Eleanor Roosevelt Foundation, who presided; Paul Goodman, author and educator; Joseph Heller, novelist; Murray Kempton, journalist; Justice Justice Wise Poller, New York City domestic relations court; Noel Day, Boston Freedom Workers; Gresham Sykes, president of the American Sociological Association; and Robert Coles, research psychiatrist, Harvard University Health Services.

The matter referred to follows:

HEARING BEFORE A SELECT PANEL ON MISSISSIPPI AND CIVIL RIGHTS AT THE NATIONAL THEATRE, 8 STREET, BY PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. MONDAY, JUNE 8, 1964

PROCEEDINGS

Mr. MOSES. My name is Robert Moses. I was with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. I am with the Council of Federated Organizations of Mississippi. I have been asked to say just a few words to you.

The purpose of the meeting is to try to open to the country and the world some of the facts which we who work in Mississippi know only too well. They deal with some of the things which have happened to Negroes across the years and why, for one reason or another, have not been publicly aired and it is very difficult to get across to the country.

Chairman TAYLOR. As chairman, I will ask, Mr. FREEDMAN, will you proceed to call the witnesses?

Mr. FREEDMAN. I think to keep the record straight, I should say I am Monroe Freedman from George Washington University Law School.

Is Mr. Lawrence Guyot here, please?

Mr. GUYOT. My name is Lawrence Thomas Guyot, Jr. I am a resident of Hattiesburg, Miss.

Mr. FREEDMAN. Mr. Guyot, what do you do professionally?

Mr. GUYOT. I work with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. I also work with the Council of Federated Organizations.

Mr. FREEDMAN. Mr. Guyot, do you have any particular statement you want to make in connection with that work?

Mr. GUYOT. I think I am quite concerned with the lack of involvement as far as local officials are concerned on not only the protection of people who attempt to organize around the focus of civil liberties and civil rights, but it is a question that any attempt at organization in Mississippi will be met with the same resistance.

Mr. FREEDMAN. Mr. Guyot, continue, please.

Mr. GUYOT. I am concerned specifically about one incident that occurred when four people who were organized around voter registration in Hattiesburg attempted to travel from Hattiesburg to Jackson. We were stopped in Magee, Miss., by the State highway patrol, at which time we were informed by the officer that a call had been given to them in regard to the passengers in the car. In the car was one organizer, Marie McGoobis who was from New York, working on voter registration in Mississippi. We were then taken to the jail. All of us were held for investigation. The only person who was retained in the jail was the driver on a traffic violation.

We then asked, in view of the fact that we were aware of the history of the activities of oppression in Magee, if we could remain in the police station until someone from Jackson came to pay the traffic fine, at which time we could all leave. We were informed in view of the fact that it was unnecessary for us to worry about our safety, that it was necessary for us to leave the jail immediately. We were then thrown out of the waiting room of the jail, at which time it was then a question, the police turned out the lights, left the jail. We were then approached by 8 or 10 people with chains and guns. Then it was up to us to make a decision whether or not we should drive illegally or whether we should remain in an attempt to in some way go along with this endeavor. We felt that it was necessary to leave, at which time we left.

We, I think, traveled one block. We were then stopped by two rows of policemen and another car of State highway patrolmen, the same people who had arrested us. We then informed them that we had called the FBI. At which time the entire reaction of the highway patrol was changed, and they reported us from Magee to Mendenhall and then gave us protection, only after we had informed them that someone in Jackson had called the FBI, and they knew about our presence.

We were approached by one of the local members of Governor Johnson's committee, who at that moment informed the police that there was a water hydrant that had been broken in the area and that the police should give their attention to this, and they could handle the rest of the problem.

This was one of the many instances that in and of itself was one of the many patterns that we have been constantly forced to address ourselves to.

I think Mrs. Hamer is here. I am sure she can testify to the June 8 beating of five people in the Winona jail by members of both the local police department and the State highway patrol. The Justice Department thought it necessary to file a suit which, in and of itself, I thought, gave an adequate attempt to bringing about the facts. However, Judge Clayton, a Federal district judge, felt that while the evidence was acceptable, he felt that it did not in and of itself establish the fact that these policemen had actually beaten us, that perhaps the prisoners had.

Mr. FREEDMAN. Mr. Guyot, you referred to voter registration. At the beginning of your statement, it appeared to relate to police brutality. Do you think you will be able to make substantial or adequate progress in voter registration if police brutality continues in Mississippi?

Mr. GUYOT. It is a question of in order to register to vote, an individual must apply in the local courthouse. There are 82 counties in Mississippi. There is one courthouse. This means you expect Negroes who all of their lives have been oppressed physically and psychologically by the police, who in fact represent the epitome of oppression, with this type of thing in mind and with—also, I think it is a question that the police have stated across the State that they are prepared for the summer. They have increased—Jackson has spent a million and a quarter dollars on enforcing, both in the form of shotgun and special tanks, et cetera. It is really a question, and I am not purposely evading your question—I think we have to take all of this into consideration. We also have to take into consideration the inactivity of the Federal Government and the rest of the United States in really addressing itself to the problem of Mississippi.

Mr. FREEDMAN. To your knowledge, Mr. Guyot, how many voter registration cases have been brought by the Justice Department in Mississippi?

Mr. GUYOT. To my knowledge, I am specifically concerned with two, the Pinola case and the Forrest County case.

Mr. FREEDMAN. Do you notice what progress has been made in those cases?

Mr. GUYOT. The Forrest County suit which was filed against Theron C. Lynd, who is the registrar of that county, was first filed in 1961. It was heard in September 1962, and it was finally ruled on in August of 1963, at which time, I would like to enter this picture as evidence. If you will note in the sign here, it says that applications for registration must be completely filled out without any assistance or suggestions of any person. The court order specifically stated that the registrar was in point out errors or omissions in order that the applicant would have an adequate attempt at completing the form.

The sign—this picture shows a sign stating to the contrary in the office of the registrar. That is but one of the many types of, shall we say, inadequacies of court orders that exist. I think it is really going to take a question of more court orders which are very positive and which in fact eliminate the need for the registration of the written application, which is composed of 22 questions, one of which demands that the applicant interpret to the satisfaction of the registrar any one of the 286 sections of the Mississippi State constitution.

Mr. FREEMAN. Mr. Guyot, referring to the picture which you have submitted, have you personally seen this sign depicted here?

Mr. GUYOT. I not only have seen that sign, I have attempted to register in that office. I have also been given a card which states "You are not registered; the registrar is not permitted to point out errors or omissions. You are to return in 33 days. Your name will be published in the paper 2 consecutive weeks."

Chairman TAYLOR. Excuse me, could you read the sign? Some of us don't see it.

Mr. FREEMAN. Yes, the sign is a large one. What are the dimensions of the sign?

Mr. GUYOT. I don't know.

Mr. FREEMAN. It would appear, in relation to the people standing next to it, Mr. Chairman, that the sign is approximately two and a half feet by three. It is hanging over the registration desk and states "Applications for registration must be completely filled out without any assistance or suggestions of any person or memorandum."

"After 10 days applicants names and addresses are published for 2 consecutive weeks in the newspaper. They cannot be ruled on until 14 days after the second publication. Therefore it can take as long as 33 days before we can give you an answer as to your application being accepted or rejected."

"Your indignance is appreciated. The Registrar."

"We will accept this and mark it exhibit A and I will pass it to the members of the panel."

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit A" for identification.)

Mr. FREEMAN. Mr. Guyot, as the result of the two voting cases that have been brought in Mississippi, do you know how many, if any, people have been successfully registered?

Mr. GUYOT. On January 22 of this year, with the assistance of the Presbyterian Commission on Religion and Race and other organizations of this city, we initiated demonstrations around voting in Forrest County. Since that time, a thousand people have attempted to—Negroes have attempted to register. Of this number, 150 have successfully completed the test. In some instances, we know of cases where people have applied, have attempted to fill out this test, for sometimes four to six times. All of this is really a thing—our immediate concern is how do we bring the gap between getting a suit filed and getting it actually implemented as far as this specific case is concerned? The court order in and of itself is fine. But there is no way—in fact, it has been more disregarded than it has been adhered to, both by registrar and by the police.

Mr. FREEMAN. Is there any relationship between police brutality and failure to register, or could a failure to register on a part of a substantial number of Negroes be attributed simply to apathy on their part?

Mr. GUYOT. Well, I think in view of the case that the name of the applicant will be published in the local newspaper for 2 weeks and it is then a question that there is no secrecy involved in registration—you must report to the circuit clerk—that apathy as such does not exist. It is an immediate and practical concern for physical safety. It is also a concern for economic reprisals in the form not only of losing a job, but if you are in business, making sure there is not a freemoot as far as your products are concerned.

Apathy, to my knowledge, in Mississippi as far as voting is concerned, does not exist. It is a question really of attempting to implement the so-called existing laws.

Mr. FREEMAN. Mr. Guyot, do you have any personal knowledge of any action brought by the U.S. Department of Justice with respect to official violence against Negroes because they are Negroes, or because of their activities in achieving civil rights? Do you know of any prosecutions by the Justice Department to protect people in such a position?

Mr. GUYOT. I know of one attempt—well, I know of two attempts. When a voter registration drive was initiated in Greenwood, Miss., which is in the Delta, eight people were arrested, at which time the Justice Department asked for a temporary restraining order to halt the arrest of people who were demonstrating around voter registration.

This was—I think what finally evolved out of this was a deal or an agreement between the Justice Department and the State officials in that the people would be released if the Justice Department did not ask for the temporary restraining order. The Justice Department did not ask for the temporary restraining order, the people were released.

The only other thing I can think of in relation to is in fact an attempt at prosecuting the members of the state highway patrol and the sheriff and deputy sheriff of Winona and the hearing of the five people. To my knowledge, that is all.

Mr. FREEMAN. What happened in this case? There was actually prosecution?

Mr. GUYOT. There was an attempt at prosecution. There was no conviction. There was no prosecution.

Mr. FREEMAN. Was the case tried?

Mr. GUYOT. Yes, it was tried by a circuit court, Judge Clayton—a Federal District judge, I am sorry.

Mr. FREEMAN. You have another picture here. Would you explain this to us, please?

Mr. GUYOT. This is a picture of the auxiliary force of the Police Department of Hattiesburg, Miss., as they marched to the courthouse. The Forrest County courthouse would be located to the left. This was on the morning of January 22, immediately after the picket line has established itself in front of the courthouse.

Mr. FREEMAN. Were you present when this picture was taken?

Mr. GUYOT. I was present at the time we were picketing.

Mr. FREEMAN. Mr. Chairman, I am going to mark this "B" and pass it to members of the panel.

(The document referred to was marked exhibit B for identification.)

Mr. GUYOT. I have here a picture of Oscar Chase, who is an SNCC worker, who is also very concerned about organizing voting. This picture was taken immediately after he arrived from the jail. There was a concern on the part of Howard Zinn and Jack Pratt, attorney from New York, to visit the FBI and prepare an argument or ask that an investigation be conducted about the violence that was perpetrated upon Oscar while he was in jail. He was in this condition when he walked into the room with blood over his shirt.

The other two gentlemen were neatly dressed. The FBI agent, who is a local—

Mr. FREEMAN. Who were the other two gentlemen?

Mr. GUYOT. Howard Zinn and Attorney Jack Pratt were neatly dressed when they walked into the room. The FBI agent, who was a local citizen of Hattiesburg, asked immediately, "Who has been beaten?" Oscar was in the condition he now is in. His shirt was bloody, and this is the type of question—this in and of itself might seem quite negligible to people who expect some type of assistance from the FBI, from the local police, or others. The only thing we can expect is legalized brutality or legalized indifference to the—what, you know?

I would like very much to enter this as evidence.

Mr. FREEMAN. Were you present when this picture was taken?

Mr. GUYOT. I was present. It was taken in the Forrest County registration office.

Mr. FREEMAN. To your knowledge, has any action been taken by any State or Federal officer with relation to this case?

Mr. GUYOT. None whatsoever, to my knowledge.

Mr. FREEMAN. I am going to mark this "C," Mr. Chairman, and pass it to the panel.

(The document referred to was marked exhibit C for identification.)

Mr. FREEMAN. Mr. Guyot, is there any other statement you would like to make in connection with the proceedings?

Mr. GUYOT. No.

Mr. FREEMAN. Thank you very much.

Chairman TAYLOR. Do members of the panel have any questions? Mr. Goodman?

Mr. GOODMAN. It seems to me there are two quite different issues that you brought up, Mr. Guyot. One is the voter laws of Mississippi. The second is what our panel I think is mostly interested in, the protection of the voter registration drive.

What I would like to know is, very briefly if possible, when you say that the Negroes are physically and psychologically repressed and do not or would not appear in the courthouse to register, what do you do specifically in the voter registration drive? That is, my interest is what action of yours is interfered with? What specifically?

Mr. GUYOT. It is a question first of all of our attempting to escort people to the courthouse. This we have always met with opposition on here. We people who are identified with voting in Forrest County are not allowed to stand around the area of the courthouse. Now, the police will not interfere with applicants, not immediately, not collectively, as they have in the past. But any attempt on our part to go or to investigate a person to actually go into the courthouse will be met with oppression by the police.

Mr. GOODMAN. Mr. Guyot, could you explain what you mean exactly by escort or any attempt to investigate? Just what is it? I mean it in the most simple terms?

Mr. GUYOT. First of all, it is a question that we attempt to work closely with a personal involvement of the individual within the institutionalized framework of the church,

which is the only meetingplace that we can rely on. Any attempt to meet in any other building owned by any other agency will be met with not only immediate police intervention but also perhaps the burning of the building. I do not mean the churches are safe from these burnings. I do not want to imply that. We also attempt not only to communicate with people who are very concerned about registration, but to provide as much information by giving them copies of the test, showing them how to fill out the test, how to interpret the constitution, and then explaining how it is quite necessary in order to get these laws changed to have as many applicants as possible in attempting to interpret and correlate as much activity on the part of the Justice Department to their involvement and to the inactivity on the part of the registrar as possible. This we do daily, and it is a question of we are hindered not only by the police in our ability to communicate to a large number of people by hampering our places to meet, but also, immediately, when a Negro's name is published in the newspaper, he then becomes a target. The police will then pick him up suddenly on either drunk charges, traffic violation, or simply hold him for investigation. This we have seen occur quite a number of times.

Chairman TAYLOR. Mr. Guyot, do you have evidence of these incidents here today?

Mr. GUYOT. I don't have evidence of that here today.

Chairman TAYLOR. Mr. Coles, did you want to inquire?

Dr. COLES. Yes. Sir, there has been a lot of talk about apathy in Mississippi. Do I understand you to say that if there were some assurance on the part of people in these towns that the police would not be able to do what you have described they are doing or are ready to do, that there would not be any need for a long period of teaching, education so far as getting people to vote, that there is a willingness on the part of people to vote, which is available to them, that they know this but they can't, out of fear, conscious fear, exercise this privilege? Or is it that they are indifferent to this and that even with some restriction of the power of the police, it would take time for this readiness or willingness to vote to arise in these people? I think this is an important national issue. A lot of people have various ideas about the readiness of people in Mississippi to take these responsibilities, given even some protection.

Mr. GUYOT. The 1961 Civil Rights Commission report on voting states quite correctly that at that time, there were 12 registered voters in Forrest County. And it stated before 1961 that there had been no applicants. In this same county, after demonstrations were brought about and after an attempt at communicating, with the fact—we don't mean to communicate with the basic interests of the people as it relates to voting. We attempt to communicate and if possible, and annihilate the fear that is prevalent and quite pervasive. Then it is a question if you get 1,000 applicants in a period of 4 to 5 months, why is it that these same people, who have lived in the same county, did not register before 1961?

Mr. GOODMAN. Is that figure 1,000 the figure?

Mr. GUYOT. Yes.

Mr. GOODMAN. Roughly?

Mr. GUYOT. Roughly.

Mr. FREEMAN. Are there questions from any other members of the panel?

Mr. KEMPTON?

Mr. KEMPTON. After the local police officials were brought to trial in the Winona case and the case failed, could you tell me whether there has been any particular change in the attitude of the Winona police toward you?

Mr. GUYOT. No, I couldn't tell you. I can only tell you that at the trial, some 43 people were brought in as witnesses who said they had either been beaten or other prisoners had been influenced to beat them while in jail. To my knowledge—I don't know of any discontinuance of this practice in the Winona jail.

Mr. KEMPTON. You don't know anything about the change in the circumstances brought by the mere fact of a Federal trial?

Mr. GUYOT. In Mississippi, as long as you have Federal district judges who are appointed by senatorial courtesy, a white man doesn't have to worry about the Federal Government. The Federal Government in Mississippi is the white man.

Mr. KEMPTON. However, in Magee, as I recall, earlier you said in Magee you had called the FBI.

Mr. GUYOT. That is right.

Mr. KEMPTON. Was that enough to get you released, the mere mention of the FBI?

Mr. GUYOT. That was enough in that particular incident, and that was enough because of the reaction of the fear of a policeman, a single individual.

Now, in the battle with the State of Mississippi, and we do that everytime there is a suit or injunction imposed, we lose.

Mr. FREEMAN. Other questions from the panel?

Judge POLK. I would like to ask whether when the case of Chase was published, it was known that the FBI had asked who was beaten up—it was perfectly clear who had been beaten up—whether the Department of Justice took any action with regard to that specific FBI man or it would deter others from acting this way?

Mr. OYER. To my knowledge, no action was taken on the part of the Justice Department. I think everyone should know that after Oscar's arrest, he immediately requested the Attorney General to act on his behalf in view of the fact that he was arrested for entering the Negro section of the bus station, which was contrary to the ICC rule. There was no answer to his request, to my knowledge.

Chairman TAYLOR. Thank you very much, Mr. Oyer.

Mr. FREEMAN. The next witness, Mr. Chairman, I would like to call is Mr. George Greene.

TESTIMONY OF GEORGE GREENE, GREENWOOD, MISS.

(Having been first duly sworn by Mr. Freeman.)

Mr. FREEMAN. Mr. Witness, would you state your name and address, please?

Mr. GREENE. My name is George Greene. My address is Greenwood, Miss.

Mr. FREEMAN. Mr. Greene, what testimony do you have for this committee?

Mr. GREENE. I would like to testify that in March of 1964, I was beaten in Ruleville by a Ruleville police officer.

I was stopped traveling to Ruleville. I was traveling with a companion, Mindy Samstein. We had just come through Ruleville, coming from Cleveland, Miss. We were told by a police officer that we have violated a curfew hour, that we were not allowed to pass through the city of Ruleville at such an hour, that people were to be off the street at 11 o'clock, we were passing through the city at 12 o'clock, and we were to go to jail. After a long argument, he said that the two of us were under arrest.

We were taken down to the station. He kept insisting that we had been talking to people in Ruleville and we were not passing through Ruleville, that we came to Ruleville with an attempt to stir up trouble, when we were just passing through the city en route to Jackson.

Going closer to the conversation, he kept asking me where I had been. I kept telling him the same thing, that I had just left Cleveland, Miss., and I was en route to Jackson, Miss. He said that I was a liar and punched me in the ribs with a pistol. He asked me again where I had been, and I said that I had just left Cleveland and I was en route to Jackson, Miss., and he again called me a liar and cocked the pistol and said "Nigger, I'll kill you. Tell me again where you have been." I told him where I had been. For another 15 minutes, he continued to punch me in the ribs with a pistol and tried to force me to say I had been in Ruleville, talking to people in Ruleville.

Finally he asked me what kind of work did I do, and I told him I worked for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and Council of Federated Organizations out of Jackson. He said we were a bunch of people from New York and all across the country who had deliberately come down to stir up trouble between the Negroes and whites and that we must go to jail.

Mr. FREEMAN. This picture you have, would you describe that, please?

Mr. GREENE. This picture is a picture of Herman Frantz, who was involved in the demonstration in Jackson, Miss. I believe the demonstration took place on February 3, 1964. On the picture, it shows several marks on the face of Herman Frantz where he was beaten by a police officer in Jackson, Miss. The demonstration had occurred on February 3, after a girl was hit, one of the students at Jackson was struck by a car. The students of Jackson stayed there and decided to have a demonstration asking the State for a stoplight. The police immediately rushed out and started beating people up. This was one of the people who was beaten up. There were several other people.

Going closer to the demonstration, few people were shot by the Jackson police. They came out with shotguns and billy clubs and started to beat and shoot into crowds of people.

Mr. FREEMAN. Mr. Greene, were you present when this picture was taken and when these events occurred?

Mr. GREENE. Yes.

Mr. FREEMAN. Mr. Chairman, I would like to mark this "B" and present it to the members of the panel.

(The document referred to was marked exhibit B for identification.)

Mr. FREEMAN. Mr. Chairman, do you or any of the members of the panel have any questions for Mr. Greene?

Chairman TAYLOR. Mr. Sykes?

Dr. SYKES. Mr. Greene, you said you were picked up at about midnight. How long were you questioned before you were taken to the station?

Mr. GREENE. Well, we were questioned, I guess, some 45 minutes to an hour—45 to 60 minutes out on the street and then taken to a station.

Dr. SYKES. How long were you kept in the station?

Mr. GREENE. We were held in jail about 11 or 12 hours. We were released after we paid a fine.

Dr. SYKES. What were you charged with at that time, violating the curfew?

Mr. GREENE. Well, there were two charges. I was charged with violation of the curfew, and after we paid the fine for violating the curfew, \$13, then I was charged with running a stoplight that didn't exist.

Dr. SYKES. When you say you were beaten, could you tell me a little more precisely what it was? He had a gun. Did he hit you with it?

Mr. GREENE. Yes, I was hit several times with the pistol, with the barrel of the pistol, in the ribs. At the same time, the pistol was cocked and the officer kept threatening to shoot me or kill me.

Dr. SYKES. Has this ever happened to you before?

Mr. GREENE. Yes.

Mr. FREEMAN. Mr. Heller?

Mr. HELLER. In the police station, were there just the three of you while he was questioning you or beating you or were there other police in there or prisoners?

Mr. GREENE. The beating occurred on the streets in Ruleville. There were only three of us out on the street.

Mr. HELLER. And in the station house, when you were taken to the police station, were you threatened there or abused?

Mr. GREENE. When we were taken to the station, we were thrown in the jail and left in the jail over night. We spent the night in jail on cold steel. I guess it must have been 30 some odd degrees that night and the jail house did not have a heater or any form of heat.

Mr. HELLER. Was there just one policeman or another one in the car?

Mr. GREENE. There was one policeman and a local white guy with him.

Mr. HELLER. In the police car?

Mr. GREENE. Right.

Mr. HELLER. And you don't know whether this other person had any official status or not, whether he was a member of the police force? You don't know who he was?

Mr. GREENE. No, I couldn't say.

Chairman TAYLOR. Dr. Coles?

Dr. COLES. Mr. Greene, was any report of this made in any newspaper of the State of Mississippi that you know of so they would have any access to this information?

Mr. GREENE. Not that I know of. The information was only given to the Department of Justice. At this point, I still haven't heard from anybody in the Department of Justice.

Mr. FREEMAN. When was that information given to the Department of Justice, Mr. Greene?

Mr. GREENE. It was given the day after we got into jail.

Judge POLK. When was that?

Mr. GREENE. I can't remember the exact date. It was in March of 1964.

Mr. FREEMAN. Mr. Greene, you mentioned that he used racial epithets in speaking to you. Did that start in the first place at the police station? Was there one instance or were there more? Tell us more about that.

Mr. GREENE. It started on the street. I guess it grew out of the fact that my companion was a Caucasian. In Mississippi, Negroes and whites don't usually ride around together.

Chairman TAYLOR. Mr. Heller?

Mr. HELLER. Is there in effect a curfew in Ruleville, and for the 20 to 30 minutes you were in the street, were you the only ones there or were there other cars passing?

Mr. GREENE. There were other cars passing down the street. The street is also the highway.

Mr. HELLER. And is there a curfew?

Mr. GREENE. There is a curfew, but the curfew only applies to Negroes.

Chairman TAYLOR. Thank you very much, Mr. Greene.

Mr. FREEMAN. Is Mrs. Hamer here, please?

TESTIMONY OF FANNIE LOU HAMER, RULEVILLE, MISS. (HAVING BEEN FIRST DULY SWORN BY MR. FREEMAN)

Mr. FREEMAN. Would you state your name and address, please?

Mrs. HAMER. My name is Fannie Lou Hamer, and I exist at 626 East Lafayette Street in Ruleville, Miss.

Mr. FREEMAN. How long have you lived in Mississippi?

Mrs. HAMER. Six years.

Mr. FREEMAN. Mrs. Hamer, what is it that brings you before the panel today?

Mrs. HAMER. To tell about some of the brutality in the State of Mississippi. I will begin from the first beginning, August 31, in 1962.

I traveled 26 miles to the county courthouse to try to register to become a first-class citizen. I was fired the 21st of August in 1962 from a plantation where I had worked as a timekeeper and a share-cropper for 18 years. My husband had worked there 30 years.

I was met by my children when I returned from the courthouse, and my girl and my husband's cousin told me that this man my husband worked for was raising a lot of Cain. I went on in the house, and it wasn't too long before my husband came and said this plantation owner said I would have to leave if I didn't go down and withdraw.

About that time, the man walked up, Mr. Marlow, and he said, "Is Fannie Lou back yet?"

My husband said, "She is."

I walked out of the house at this time. He said, "Fannie Lou, you have been to the courthouse to try to register," and he said, "We are not ready for this in Mississippi."

I said, "I didn't register for you, I tried to register for myself."

He said, "We are not going to have this in Mississippi, and you will have to withdraw. I am looking for your answer, yes or no."

I just looked. He said, "I will give you until tomorrow morning. And if you don't withdraw, you will have to leave. If you do go withdraw, it's only how I feel. You might still have to leave." So I left that same night.

On the 10th of September, they fired into the home of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Tucker 10 times for me. That same night, two girls were shot at Mr. Herman Susser's. Also, they shot Mr. Joe Magdon's house. I was fired that day and haven't had a job since.

In 1963, I attended a voter registration workshop and was returning back to Mississippi. At Wilson, Miss., I was arrested there. Some of the folk had got off the bus, Miss. Annette Ponder, June West Johnson, Everster Simpson, Rosemary Freeman, and James West got off the bus to go into the restaurant to get food. Two of the people decided to use the restroom. I saw them come right straight out of the restaurant. I got off the bus to see what had happened. Miss Ponder said, "They won't let us eat." She said, "There was a chief of police and a highway patrolman inside, and they ordered us out." I said, "Well, this is Mississippi."

I got back on the bus, and about the time I just got sat down good, I looked out the window, and they were getting Miss Ponder and the others into the highway patrolman's car.

I stepped off the bus to see what was happening, and one screamed, "Get that one there." I was picked up, the police, Earl Wane Patric, told me I was under arrest. He opened the door, and as I started to get in, he kicked me. They carried me to town to this county jail.

We were carried to the booking room. Soon as we walked inside, I was in the car with Earl Wane Patric and one plain clothesman. I don't know whether he was a policeman or not. He didn't have no police clothes, had a crew haircut. They would ask me questions going on to jail, and as I would go on to answer, they would curse me and tell me to hush.

I was carried on to the booking room and carried from the booking room to a cell. After I was locked up in a cell with Miss Everster Simpson, I began to hear the sounds of licks, and I could hear people screaming. I don't know how long it lasted before I saw Miss Ponder, the southeast supervisor for SCLC, pass the cell with both her hands up. Her eyes looked like blood, and her mouth was swollen. She passed my cell. Her clothes was torn. She barked and they carried her again out of my sight.

After then, the state highway patrolman, because it was on the insignia on his arm and another silver plate across his pocket, walked into my cell with two other white men. He asked me where was I from, and I told him. He said, "I am going to check." They left my cell, and it wasn't too long before they returned, and he said, "You damn right, you are from Ruleville," and he called me a bad name. He said they would make me wish I was dead.

I was carried out of the cell into another cell where there were two Negro prisoners. The State highway patrolman gave the first Negro a long blackjack that was heavy. It was loaded with something, and they had me to lay down on the bunk with my face down, and I was beat, I was beat by the first Negro until I was exhausted.

After I was beaten by the first Negro, the State highway patrolman ordered the other Negro to take the blackjack. The second Negro, he began to beat. The State highway patrolman ordered the first Negro that had beat me to sit on my feet. One of the white men that was in the room, my dress would work up because it had a large skirt, but I was trying to keep it down and trying to shield the licks from the left side, because I had polio when I was a child.

During the time that I was trying to work my dress down and keep the heels off my left side, one of the white men walked over and pulled my dress up.

At this time I had to hug around the mattress to keep the sound from coming out.

Mr. FREEDMAN. Mrs. Hamer, you referred to the woman from the SCLC. Is that a religious organization, as I understand it?

Mrs. HAMER. Yes. Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Mr. FREEDMAN. Is there anything that you would like to add to your statement before you are questioned?

Mrs. HAMER. We have a curfew in our town, Ruleville. Also, the night police there is a brother to J. V. Mian, that lynched Emmett Till in Sunflower County, the boy that was 14 years old and put in Tallahatchie River. We have a curfew only for Negroes. It was a little before Christmas. My husband got up at 8 o'clock to go to the washroom. As he walked out, we heard a knock at the door, and he opened the door. He said, "Come in." Two policemen walked in. Mr. Milan and Mr. Dave Fleming, and asked him, what was he doing up at this time of night?

Not only have I been harassed by the police. I had a call from the telephone operator after I qualified to run as congresswoman. She told me, "Fannie Lou, honey, you are having a lot of different callers on your telephone. I want to know do you have any outsiders in your house? You called somebody today in Texas. Who was you calling, and where are you going? You had a mighty big bill." I said the bill was paid. "Well, I wouldn't let no outsiders come into my house."

I said, "What do you mean outsiders?"

"Well, we are going to check on this, and we just don't want no people from outside your house coming in and making outside calls."

I would like to add right now, the people I was with in Boston had to call the doctor to get some relief for my back that I still suffer with.

Chairman TAYLOR. Mrs. Hamer, may I ask, what was the charge on which you were arrested on the bus incident?

Mrs. HAMER. Well, during the time I asked the jailer, "Would you leave the door open so I could catch air." During the time the door was open, I heard discussion: "Now, what is we going to charge them with?" Somebody said something. He said, "Well, you are going to have to get up something better than that. Man, that is the end of the wire."

So, I actually didn't know what we were charged with until they got ready to have our trial, and we were charged with resisting arrest and disorderly conduct.

Dr. SYKES. We are all concerned about what might possibly happen in Mississippi this summer. Can you tell us about some things that have happened, what is going on now? But what do you think might happen with people going to Mississippi this summer?

Mrs. HAMER. Well, I can say there will be a hot summer in Mississippi, and I don't mean the weather. Because the people are really getting prepared. They have been riding with the guns. But Ruleville is a very small town. There are about 2,000 people in there.

I see now they have a tank, and they are keeping the dog riding on the back of the truck so if the truck stops, the dog won't have anything to do but jump off.

And the mayor, he would ride around and tell folk don't let the outside people come into their homes, because after they stay while, they would just beat them up. But they say, "Don't say nothing to old Fannie Lou Hamer about it."

I am not even going on that street. My husband was fired the day after I qualified to run as Congresswoman in the Second Congressional District. Last week he had gotten a second job. The mayor went out on this job on which he was working, so he will probably be fired by the time I get back home.

Dr. COLES. First of all, this curfew, is this legally done, or is this done—how is this known that there is a curfew?

Mrs. HAMER. As long as there is a white man says that a Negro violated, it is legal with them.

Dr. COLES. There is no public statement?

Mrs. HAMER. No, you just get arrested, a Negro, if you are out after 12 o'clock.

Dr. COLES. What do they say?

Mrs. HAMER. They say you have broke the curfew hour. Violated the curfew hour.

Dr. COLES. Is it a local ordinance? That is what we want to know? Is there a local law that says that if you are on the streets after 12 o'clock, you are violating the law?

Mrs. HAMER. It must be, because I know you do get arrested.

Dr. COLES. Has anyone challenged this?

Mrs. HAMER. No.

Dr. COLES. The other thing I would like to find out is, who do you pay your telephone bills to? Is this the Southern Bell Telephone Co.?

Mrs. HAMER. That is right.

Dr. COLES. Now, this is the town telephone operator, is it?

Mrs. HAMER. The long distance operator—they operate out of Cleveland, Miss., because I asked her her name. She told me her name, and she said that it was just too much. And also, they take the telephone wire loose from the telephone post and got it right in front of the house and clipped on the main line.

Dr. COLES. All I can say is I lived in a town in Georgia, and no telephone operator ever talked to me like this.

Mrs. HAMER. Well, it was the first time for me, but it did happen. One of the other things that happened in Sunflower County, the North Sunflower County Hospital, I would say about 6 out of the 10 Negro women that go to the hospital are sterilized with the tubes tied. They are getting up a law said if a woman has an illegitimate baby and then a second one, they could draw time for 6 months or a \$500 fine. What they didn't tell is that they are already doing these things, not only to single women but to married women.

Chairman TAYLOR. Thank you very much.

Mr. FREEDMAN?

Mr. FREEDMAN. Is Mrs. Elizabeth Allen here?

TESTIMONY OF MRS. ELIZABETH ALLEN, LIBERTY, MISS. (HAVING FIRST BEEN SWORN BY MR. FREEDMAN)

Mr. FREEDMAN. Mrs. Allen, would you give your name and address, please?

Mrs. ALLEN. My name is Elizabeth Allen from Liberty, Miss. My husband was Lewis Allen, and was killed the 31st day of January by shots.

He had applied to get a job. He was leaving for Milwaukee on the a.m. train, the 9 o'clock train the next morning and he got out on the gap that leads to his home and he was shot down with buckshot. No one was in the home but Mrs. Elizabeth Allen and little Mary Allen, 3 years old, the mother and the daughter, when the shots were fired. He

wasn't a man that stays out late at night. So after he didn't come in and I looked at the time, I wondered what was wrong. My baby son was 18 years old. He was out with his girl friend. When he came in some hours later, he came in saying had his daddy come in. He found his daddy's body at the gap, shot down, which he had been dead ever since 8:30.

The reason I know it was 8:30, there is a special program that I watch on a Friday night, and I was watching this program, and when the shot was fired, I switched the TV off and listened.

Then I heard another shot and I heard another shot. Then I saw the truck lights at the gap, but I still didn't know that it was my husband, and I didn't know that it was the truck. I didn't know what was going on until about 1:30 or 2 o'clock, my baby son came in. I asked him, I said, "Son, where is your father?" I said, "He don't stay out late at night."

I have heart trouble and a bad stomach, and he said, "Sit down, let me tell you something now."

I sat down, and he said, "Daddy is dead."

The minute he said it, I said, "Well, I heard the shots."

I said, "He has been killed ever since 8:30."

He said, "Well, he has been killed awhile."

Then he went and got his oldest brother which is married and staying about 2 1/2 miles out of town with his mother-in-law, visiting his mother-in-law. He stays with me, but that night he was visiting his mother-in-law. Then they moved his body.

So the undertaker came in and said, "Mrs. Allen, you have to bury your husband tomorrow, because we can't hold him out until Sunday." I wanted to save his body until Sunday.

They had the inquest and the undertaker fixed up his body and came up to the funeral home. Then the high sheriff, which is Mr. Daniel Jones of Liberty, Miss., came in and questioned me and asked me did I hear anything at the road.

I said, "Sure, I heard three shots, but I didn't know it was someone killing Lewis Allen, Mr. Lewis Allen," my husband.

He said, "What time were they fired?"

I said, "At 8:30." I said, "I was watching my TV program when the shots were fired."

Then, during that time that I said I had heard them shoot, he asked me did I know it was my husband. I told him no, I didn't know it was my husband until my baby son came in and told me that my husband was dead. But I knew my husband wasn't a man to stay out at night. So I was worried, I was wondering what had happened, but I didn't know that he was down at the road, dead.

Mr. FREEDMAN. Mrs. Allen, do you have any reason to know why your husband was killed?

Mrs. ALLEN. Well, I wouldn't really know why he was killed, but they had been picking at him before they killed him. On the Herbert Lee case, as far as I know, it was a man that was killed as the gin, named Herbert Lee. When he testified that Herbert Lee did have an iron—they wanted him to testify that Mr. Herbert Lee had a piece of iron, which he said he was ready to kill him, he said Mr. Herbert Lee didn't have a piece of iron. He said Mr. Herbert Lee didn't have anything. He said he didn't want to tell them a story on his color they picked at him, and they continued to pick at him until they destroyed him.

Mr. FREEDMAN. Where was Mr. Herbert Lee killed?

Mrs. ALLEN. He was killed at Westbrook jail in Liberty, Miss., 1962.

Mr. FREEDMAN. You say they were picking at him before they killed him. Who was picking at him and in what way?

Mrs. ALLEN. Well, Mr. Daniel Jones and different other white people. In 1962 Mr. Daniel Jones came out there and told him that he was under arrest, at 10 o'clock on Saturday night—about 10:30 on Saturday night. He went out to see what he was arresting him about. So he told him that he was under arrest. He said he didn't know anything, and he said, "Can I go my bond?" He said, "No, not niggers, you can't go your bond."

So right there, watching TV, he was bound. Then he asked, "Can I get my hat?"

He said, "No, not you, nigger, you can't get your hat."

So his baby son, which is this child, was standing in the door. He looked around and said, "Well, let my baby son bring my hat."

He struck him with the flashlight and broke his jawbone and then carried him on and put him in jail.

I don't know whether they was carrying him off to Enish him off or what, and I told my baby son, "Let's get in the car and see what they're going to do with my husband and your father."

We got in the car and tried to follow him, but there was no way on earth to follow him, because they were driving too fast. When I got to town, Mr. Daniel Jones was coming from the courthouse. I asked him, "What did you do with my husband?"

He said, "I put him in jail and that is where the hell he's staying."

He cursed me and told me if I didn't get my son and so back across the river and mighty quick, I would be in jail, too.

Then he said, "Where are you going?"

I said, "I'm going down to my son's mother-in-law's to pick up my son and tell him that his father has been brutally arrested."

He said, "You go down there and get your son and get the hell back across that river."

So I went down there, picked up my son, and done just as he said and went back home, all three of us.

So the next morning, my son went up and asked his daddy, "What do they have you for?"

He said he really didn't know at the time. Then he said, "I'll tell you they hit me last night, son, and they broke my jaw bone."

He said, "Go out to the high sheriff," which was Mr. Caston; Mr. Daniel Jones wasn't sheriff at that time, "and ask him would he get a doctor for me?"

He run the children away and he wouldn't get a doctor for him. So he stayed in jail until Monday or Tuesday—I disremember what day, but it was the first of the week he got out. He still hadn't had a doctor, and he couldn't eat anything, because what they would carry to him, he couldn't eat because his jaw bone was broken. When they let him out of jail they charged him \$17.50, I think it was.

Then he came, later on, home. Then he went to Somerville, Miss., to the doctor, next day, and from there to Jackson, Miss., to the doctor, because he is a veteran, to the veterans' hospital and took treatment there. They told him that for him to stay there and they would treat him, he would have to stay a certain amount of days.

Well, he has a family, so he couldn't stay as many days as they wanted him to stay, so he come on back home the next day or two and there he stayed until the jaw got the least bit better, and then he went back to work.

Mr. DAY. You said that your husband, Lewis Allen, was a witness to the killing of Herbert Lee?

Mrs. ALLEN. That's right.

Mr. DAY. Who was Herbert Lee killed by?

Mr. ALLEN. G. H. Hurst—E. H. Hurst, of Liberty, Miss.

Mr. DAY. What kind of—

Mrs. ALLEN. A white man.

Mr. DAY. What kind of work did Mr. Lee do?

Mrs. ALLEN. He was a farmer.

Mr. DAY. What about Mr. Hurst?
Mrs. ALLEN. He run a big dairy. I don't really know what Mr. Hurst is. He—Mr. Hurst was a farmer, and there was lawyers, also.

Mr. DAY. Is this the same Mr. Hurst that was in the Mississippi State Legislature?

Mrs. ALLEN. That's right, the same Mr. Hurst.

Mr. DAY. And your husband saw the killing of Herbert Lee?

Mrs. ALLEN. That's right.

Mr. DAY. Was Mr. Hurst ever brought to trial for this?

Mrs. ALLEN. I don't understand you.

Mr. DAY. Did they ever arrest Mr. Hurst?

Mrs. ALLEN. I really don't know whether they have arrested Mr. Hurst or not, because they don't arrest white people in Mississippi. They arrest Negroes, but they don't do anything to white people.

Mr. DAY. Did your husband ever have to go to court to testify?

Mrs. ALLEN. That's right. I left that out. I also went. I went to court in Jackson. It was my husband and my baby son and his nephew and my nephew and my daughter, which is his daughter, my stepdaughter. He told them in Jackson about Mr. Daniel Jones breaking his jaw bone, and we went to Jackson on that account.

Mr. DAY. But did your husband ever have to go to court and say, "I saw Herbert Lee get killed?"

Mrs. ALLEN. Sure. He went to court twice on Mr. Herbert Lee's death.

Mr. DAY. Did anything happen?

Mrs. ALLEN. They called him and told him, the leaders, they call themselves the leaders in Liberty, Miss., which is Mr. Daniel Jones and the high sheriff, which was Mr. Canton at the time, they told him he would have to testify that Mr. Herbert Lee had a piece of iron if he expected to live in Liberty, Miss. They all knew he didn't have a piece.

Mr. DAY. The sheriff told your husband he would have to say he saw Mr. Herbert Lee with a piece of iron?

Mrs. ALLEN. That's right.

Mr. DAY. Did your husband say this in court?

Mrs. ALLEN. Yes.

Mr. DAY. Why did he say it?

Mrs. ALLEN. He said he tried to live because he had a family to live for, but he told the court Mr. Herbert Lee had a piece of iron and he told the FBI different, that Mr. Herbert Lee didn't have a piece of iron.

Somehow or other, it got back to Mr. Jones. He said everything that you tell the FBI has to go back to him. He said Lewis wouldn't be laying dead on the ground if he hadn't told the FBI that Mr. Herbert Lee didn't have a piece of iron, which he didn't have a piece.

Mr. DAY. Could I just check this over again? They told your husband to lie in court?

Mrs. ALLEN. That's right. They told him to lie, and he did lie, because he wanted to live.

Mr. DAY. But he told the FBI the truth?

Mrs. ALLEN. But he told the FBI the truth, but he was living there where he knew they would take his life in a minute if he told them he told the FBI the truth.

Mr. DAY. Did he ask the FBI for protection?

Mrs. ALLEN. Yes.

Mr. DAY. What did they say?

Mrs. ALLEN. That is why he went to Jackson when the police broke his jawbone. He asked the FBI for protection and they tell him different ones would help him, because he has a fear in himself. They took his credit from him. He had stood good in Mississippi. But after he tried to raise himself and he a man that wasn't just anything, they took his credit from him and which he got killed the 31st of January, but he was going to leave.

Mr. DAY. And the sheriff said to you that he was going to leave, and if he hadn't told the FBI he wouldn't be lying there?

Mrs. ALLEN. That's right.

Mr. DAY. And so your husband is dead?

Mrs. ALLEN. He was killed from the Herbert Lee case, I believe, as sure as I know.

Chairman TAYLOR. Are there any other questions?

(No response.)

TESTIMONY OF GEORGE RAYMOND (HAVING BEEN FIRST DULY SWORN)

Mr. FREEDMAN. Would you state your name and address, please?

Mr. RAYMOND. George Raymond. I am a resident of New Orleans, La.

Mr. FREEDMAN. Mr. Raymond, what connection have you had with the problems in Mississippi?

Mr. RAYMOND. Well, I am a fieldworker for the Congress of Racial Equality, and representing the Council of Federated Organizations in Mississippi.

Mr. FREEDMAN. What experiences did you have in Mississippi in that regard?

Mr. RAYMOND. Well, several of them. I can start by telling you about an incident that occurred in Yazoo City, Miss.

Last part of October and November of 1963, several civil rights workers, along with myself, went to Yazoo City, attempted to start a voter registration drive, along with—attempted to set up a freedom vote campaign over there.

Three times we were escorted out of Yazoo City by police officers, and everywhere we went around the city we were followed by three or four cars of local city police officers and State highway patrolmen.

I think about the first or second day of November 1963 one of the young ladies was arrested for distributing leaflets without a permit.

While I was going around the city to attempt to get a telephone, to call the Jackson office and let them know about it, three or four police officers was walking behind me, saying all sorts of dirt and filthy language, and they threatened to—if I didn't stop walking in front of them, that they would push me out in front of a car. You see, the street is also the highway. And, at this time, I sort of stepped aside and walked a little bit faster.

In the later part of the day, we managed to get the young lady out of jail and went back to a cafe, to call Jackson. And while I was walking through the door, Officer Otis of the Yazoo City Police Department, kicked me through the door, and told me, "Nigger, I have you where I want you now. You are in my town." And used some other filthy language which I do not care to repeat.

Later that night, while we were leaving town, going home, R. E. Moody, who is the highway patrolman in the State of Mississippi, stopped the car that I was driving on the highway, with five other passengers and held us on the highway for about 3 hours. And wrote "agitator" on my driver's license, and mispelled it.

In about 2 hours—and then he finally came out to the car and decided to talk with us. He asked us all to get out of the car and stand at the back of the car, where he took pictures of us. Then he finally let us go.

I returned back to Yazoo City a few days later. I don't know if my dates are right, but it was the early part of November 1963. And we were escorted around down again like all the previous times, by police, three and four cars of police officers, and some white people from the community, including the mayor of Yazoo.

And while leaving Yazoo City, I was arrested for reckless driving, and the people that were in the car with me had to walk back to Jackson, or find a way—I don't know exactly how—and the car was towed in. I was placed under arrest, and I was kicked into the car by R. E. Moody, State highway patrolman, of Mississippi. I was brought to the jailhouse. I was dragged out of the car—dragged out of the car, and I had handcuffs that he had put on. They were pretty tight, and cutting the circulation off.

Then he brought me into the jailhouse, and kicked me all the way up to the steps after he booked me, and things like that. That was R. E. Moody.

Mr. FREEDMAN. Did you make any formal complaint about these events?

Mr. RAYMOND. There was a formal complaint made to the Justice Department of the United States of America, but so far nothing has come of it.

Mr. FREEDMAN. How long ago was that complaint made?

Mr. RAYMOND. The complaint was made just about the next day—the next day.

Mr. FREEDMAN. Did you personally participate in sending this complaint to the Department of Justice?

Mr. RAYMOND. The FBI—let me see—I spoke with some FBI agents and some of the Justice Department agents, told them about it, and they drew up statements, and I signed it.

Mr. FREEDMAN. Have you ever gotten any formal acknowledgment of any kind?

Mr. RAYMOND. I have not.

Mr. FREEDMAN. Mr. Chairman?

Chairman TAYLOR. Any questions?

Mr. HELLER. When you make a complaint to the Justice Department, what procedure do you follow?

Mr. RAYMOND. Well, the procedure that was followed in this past incident—I was arrested, and I stayed overnight. The night that I was arrested, the Justice Department was called by the Jackson office.

Mr. HELLER. The Justice Department—do they have an office in Jackson?

Mr. RAYMOND. In Washington.

Mr. HELLER. Does the Justice Department have a representative in Mississippi?

Mr. RAYMOND. They have the FBI. Sometimes they send out representatives. At this time, some were in the State, I believe.

Mr. HELLER. But you had to make a long-distance call to Washington to report this?

Mr. RAYMOND. To Washington; yes.

Mr. HELLER. Did you know who to ask for?

Mr. RAYMOND. I didn't make it myself, but someone from the Jackson office did.

Mr. HELLER. Is anything ever put in writing? Do you ever have any record of a person who is supposed to process it and acknowledge it, or reply to it or act upon it?

Mr. RAYMOND. Well, this is what the FBI men tell me. They tell me they take our statements and they send them to Washington.

Mr. HELLER. You give a statement to the FBI in Mississippi?

Mr. RAYMOND. And they send them to Washington. And they say—this is for their records. Sometimes we ask them, "The only thing I can say is that these statements are for the records."

Mr. HELLER. But you have no way of knowing if the FBI ever passes them on to Washington, or if you did want to complain or follow up or add to your report, you would not know who to contact in Washington or in the Justice Department?

Mr. RAYMOND. I would not, because every guy that comes down asks the same questions, like they don't have any records.

Mr. HELLER. Was it you who made the report, or was it the SNCC?

Mr. RAYMOND. The COFO office made the report, but as far as my statement, I gave my statement to the FBI.

Mr. HELLER. And as far as you know, the COFO office never received any acknowledgment of this complaint, either?

Mr. RAYMOND. Not that I know of. They haven't told me of it.

Mr. HELLER. Thank you.

Mr. FREEDMAN. I believe there are other incidents you wanted to discuss.

Mr. RAYMOND. Yes. One night in the first part of January 1964 I loaned my car to a guy in the community to go get his wife some dinner, something like that. Anyway, I was sitting around the house—

Mr. FREEDMAN. Excuse me. Where did this take place?

Mr. RAYMOND. In Canton, Miss., Madison County.

And someone came in, I can't remember exactly who it was, and told me the police had this guy down the street with my car. Immediately I stepped down the street, Boyce Street, in Canton, Miss., to see what was going on. So I went up to the car and one of the police officers came over and told me that Herb has your car in charge and you have to see him about it. I went over and asked him what seems to be the trouble, Constable Evans. He said something smart—I cannot exactly remember what he said. I said, what are you holding my car for? This is when he hit me upside the gun with his left hand, and struck me across the face with his right hand—some kind of way he opened the door of the police car, and the next thing I knew I was in jail.

Chairman TAYLOR. What was the charge?

Mr. RAYMOND. The charge was intimidating an officer and resisting arrest. After I was in jail he also hit me while I was in jail.

Mr. FREEDMAN. When did this happen?

Mr. RAYMOND. This happened the early part of January 1964. I can't remember the date.

Mr. FREEDMAN. Has any report been made of that?

Mr. RAYMOND. A report was made for the Justice Department.

Mr. FREEDMAN. Has anything come of it, to your knowledge?

Mr. RAYMOND. Not that I know of. They also have pictures of my head, bruises.

Mr. FREEDMAN. Who has the pictures?

Mr. RAYMOND. The Justice Department.

Mr. RAYMOND. It was done through COFO. They took the pictures.

I talked with them and I gave them the statement personally.

Chairman TAYLOR. Did you speak to the FBI about this incident?

Mr. RAYMOND. I spoke to the FBI about every incident that happened to me, including if they have a picture of my driver's license that R. E. Moody wrote agitator on and mispelled it.

Mr. GOODMAN. Can you happen to remember what all what is called intimidating an officer by him? What had you said?

Mr. RAYMOND. I didn't say anything to him other than "What seems to be the trouble, Constable Evans?" Anything intimidates an officer in Mississippi when you are a Negro.

Dr. COLES. Are you treated with respect by the FBI people when you make these reports? How does their behavior toward you compare to the attitude of the police?

Mr. RAYMOND. Well, it depends—well, respect—we might be treated with respect to a certain extent. You are treated with respect like I would treat this young man with respect. But what happens when he turns his back, I don't know. And I don't think it is too good.

Mr. DAY. Do they call you Mister—the FBI agents?

Mr. RAYMOND. The ones that are not familiar with you.

Mr. FREEMAN: Did you have any other incidents you wanted to discuss?

Mr. RAYMOND: Yes, I do have a few more incidents.

Let me see. The 27th of January 1968, City Detective John Chance, in Canton, Miss., told me to leave town, and if I didn't leave town that there were forces in the community that would run me out, and if I didn't leave they would kill me. He said that I should leave town that night, and if I didn't leave town that I should be in his office the next morning at 8 o'clock.

Mr. FREEMAN: For what purpose were you to be in his office tomorrow morning at 8 o'clock?

Mr. RAYMOND: He didn't give any purpose at all. He said that I was leading the people in the wrong direction. He said—he stressed that the people were happy in Madison County, and it was going to be that way, and I was going to leave, he was going to run me out.

And the very next night, Claude Weaver, Matt Swears, and myself were leaving Canton, Miss., enroute to Jackson, on Highway 51, south. A highway patrolman pulled my car on to the side—at least there were about 15 or 20 cars behind me, while I was driving on this highway, because I looked on the rear view mirror, and it looked like Broadway behind me, with all the lights. And the highway patrolman pulled me to the side. He asked to see my license. Then he told me to get out of the car. Then he brought me behind my car and behind his car to Constable Herby Evans' car, who is one of the constables of Madison County, and he gave my license to him.

He asked me a few questions.

The highwayman went back to my car and left Constable Evans and myself in the back, in the dark.

So Constable Evans took his gun off, and

he took his badge off, and his watch off, and he said, "George, let's fight." Just like that. And I said, "I don't want to fight you." He kept insisting. And then he seen I wasn't going to fight him, and that is when he kicked me. He kicked me against his car. And he said, "Come on, let's fight." And then he continued to kick me several times. Then he saw I wasn't going to fight him. What I did, I began walking back toward the car. He walked behind me, saying a whole lot of words, which I can't remember.

And finally the highwayman stopped talking with my other two friends and came back and said, "George, do you think you are a bodyguard or something?" because what I was really doing, two of my friends were in a car ahead, Ed Holland and Maurine Murphy—they were in the car ahead, and I was trying to see that they could leave Canton safely. And so I said, "No," and he looked at my license. He gave it back to me and said, "You get on out of here."

Then Evans walked back to my car with me and told me, "George, you come by and see me any time, just any time."

Then they let me go. I was not arrested or charged with anything.

I went on to Jackson, and I made a formal report about it.

Now, on Saturday night, in Canton, Miss., I was in the voter registration office. A young man from Valley View community walked in the office and he was really hysterical. He used the term "Oh, Lord, I was out there on the highway." He told me, "George, I just seen Williams along with the police, and they were falling into the ditch on the highway." Then he told me—you know, he was riding behind, and he noticed something up ahead on Highway 51 north of Canton.

So what I did, I jumped in the car, along with Landon McNamara, and we rode out into the rural area to see what we could find.

After awhile, we did manage to find him. And he told us that the police officer, Herby Evans and Constable Hawkins, had stopped him on the highway. He was with his wife and two kids. And they told him his headlights were not burning. And he said, "Well, I better check it." He went out of his truck and went to the back and checked it. And after checking it seemed they were not burning. And Evans said "Nigger, I am not going to let you get away like that." But I guess it was more dramatic than that. "What I'm going to do, I'm going to blow a hole in your head."

And so he said, "You don't mean that." Williams told the police officer, "You don't mean that."

He said, "Yes, I do."

So they kept on talking.

And, meanwhile, Mr. Williams' sister-in-law drove up. So he stopped out in front of the car and said, if you are going to kill me, you might as well kill me where I can see it in the light.

So when he said this Constable Evans walked out behind him and put his arm around his neck and reached for his gun. Mr. Williams noticed he was reaching for his gun, so he grabbed his hand to prevent him from getting his gun. And Hawkins, the other police officer, he noticed that Mr. Williams was about to get the gun, so what he did, he grabbed the gun, and this gave him two guns. So he told Mr. Williams to come and get in the car.

He said no, he was going to stay right with his family.

So what Evans did, the constable, he swung his stick, still thinking he was going to kill Mr. Williams—he swung his stick at Mr. Williams hard, and put a dent about this deep in a young lady's car that drove up.

And so while all this excitement was going on, what Mr. William did—no, first, Hawkins, the other constable, he was getting kind of scared. And he said, "Come on, Williams," he started pleading with him. So what William did, he ducked around a car, and then to the woods. And he got away from him.

So I finally brought him in—I talked with the sheriff on Sunday—and the sheriff said he would be protected.

Prior to that, the FBI got a statement from him.

Sunday night, the sheriff said if I turned him in he would be protected. So I turned him in at 3:30 Sunday evening. He was charged with drunken driving at first, resisting arrest, and faulty equipment.

After they found out that he had ulcers and did not drink, they changed the drunken driving to reckless driving.

This is about it.

Mr. FREEMAN: Mr. Raymond, this last story that you told us, did you observe any of this personally?

Mr. RAYMOND: I did not observe it, but what I did, that very night, when this young man walked into the office and said this guy was out on the highway, I went directly to the area that it happened, and went a little bit farther into the woods around his home, and found Mr. Williams, and did stay with him all that night, until the next day.

Mr. FREEMAN: And the young man—

Mr. RAYMOND: This is what he told me.

Mr. FREEMAN: Do I understand there was a young man who did observe this or a substantial part of it and ran to the office in a state of excitement and told you this story?

Mr. RAYMOND: Yes, sir.

But the story I am telling now is the story I got from Mr. Otha Williams himself.

Mr. FREEMAN: Was this corroborated by the story you got from the young man who was still excited from having seen it?

Mr. RAYMOND: They didn't really fall into the bushes or anything like this guy said. They didn't really fall into the bushes.

Chairman TAYLOR: Thank you very much.

TESTIMONY OF HARTMAN TURNOW

(Having been duly sworn by Mr. Freeman.)

Mr. FREEMAN: Would you state your name, sir, and your residence?

Mr. TURNOW: My name is Hartman Turnow. I live at Tchula, Miss., Route 3, Box 25.

Mr. FREEMAN: Mr. Turnow, I understand you have been involved in attempts to register a vote.

Mr. TURNOW: Yes, sir, I have.

Mr. FREEMAN: And have you been successful in that attempt?

Mr. TURNOW: No, sir, I haven't.

Mr. FREEMAN: Why is that?

Mr. TURNOW: Well, the second time I went to take it over again, the circuit clerk told me no, I didn't pass. I wouldn't never pass. And he tried to cause a big fuss with me. So I walked out.

Mr. FREEMAN: You said the second time. How many times have you tried altogether?

Mr. TURNOW: Two times. I went and registered the first time, and then 30 days later I went back to see did I pass.

Mr. FREEMAN: Did you have any difficulty getting to the registration office?

Mr. TURNOW: The first time?

Mr. FREEMAN: Either time.

Mr. TURNOW: Oh, the first time we had lots of trouble. The first time we had heard a citizenship school being taught in Leflore County. So one of the fellows who was with participating in it in Leflore County. Some of the citizens in our area asked them to come down and tell us about it. So they come round and asked us would we meet at the church to hear them. So we all said yes, we agreed to come out and hear it.

So John Ball, he come, and he talked to us and told us that it was learning us how to register, since we were not familiar with registering in Mississippi—he thought we needed some help to prepare us to go register. So the story sounded reasonable to us, and we told them to come on, we would accept him for our citizenship teacher.

So he come down and started teaching us. So he taught us how to fill the registration forms out for about 2 weeks.

So in a 2-week period, 14 of us thought we knewed it well enough to go register. So 14 of us got in our cars. We went to Lexington. We didn't drive our cars up in town. We stopped them outside and we walked uptown.

We didn't walk in a big gang. We walked in two's about 10 or 12 feet apart, so they couldn't say we was demonstrating.

So we was met by the sheriff, Mr. Andrew P. Smith. He met us at the south door of the courthouse. And he stopped us.

So Sheriff Block was leading us. And Sheriff Block said "March forward." And Mr. Smith put one hand on his blackjack and the other one on his pistol and said, "None of that goddamned forward stuff here."

So I stepped out the line. I said, "Mr. Smith, we only come to register."

He said, "Well, Turnbow, go around in the north side of the courthouse and stop under that tree and don't go in no big crowd, go in two's."

So we did that, so when we got round under the tree, all 14 of us, and stopped, Mr. Smith, Mr. Andrew P. Smith, the sheriff, he come round there under the tree where we were standing and he looked at us, and he looked at us, he put one hand on his blackjack and the other on his pistol and raised his voice. He said, "All right, now, who will be first?" And the 14 of us got scared, looked one at the other one. So when the 14 commenced looking one at the other one, I just stepped out the 14. I said, "I will be first, Mr. Smith." Well, no sooner I said I will be first than Mr. Smith raised his voice. He said, "All right, Turnbow, go down the side. The edge of the curb and go in the courthouse in the first door on the left, and do what you got to do." I told him, "Yes, sir." I did that. I got in there. The lady—the Circuit Clerk, wasn't in—But the lady was in there. She said, "What do you want?" I said, "I want to register to vote." She said, "Well, you have to see Mr. McLennon about that, and he is not in here." I said, "May I wait until he comes?" She said, "Yes, you may."

So I had a seat in a chair in there. I sat down.

So I sat there until 12 o'clock. She said, "Well, I am going to dinner now. He ain't come yet." I said, "Yes, Ma'am, I will be back after dinner."

So after dinner, about 2 or 3 o'clock, I went back in and he was in. She had told him about it. He said, "What do you want?"

I said, "I want to register to vote." He just handed me the form and I filled it out and signed it and handed it back to him. So then after that I noticed the next day the Lexington Herald, a little local paper they write—they had a write up in the Lexington Herald that "Hartman Turnbow was an integration leader," so I noticed that about 2 weeks or a little after that my house was fire bombed and shot in all at the same time. And about 3 o'clock in the morning it took place. My wife and daughter, she is 16, they jumped out of bed screaming and hollering that the house is on fire, it has been bombed. So I woke up—I was kind of hard to wake up—I woke up and my room was full of smoke. So I didn't run out. But they done good. I raised the window and took my foot and kicked the screen out so the smoke could get out. Then I had a little old 32 automatic Remington sitting over in the corner. I picked it up and pushed the safety off and got it in shooting position and run out.

When I run out, I met my wife and 16-year-old daughter coming back to the burning house. And as I ran out, I noticed the living room was just full of flames and smoke. I noticed the back bedroom was in flames and smoke. And no sooner I got out in the open with my rifle in my hand, I saw two white men, and one of them no sooner he saw me he shot at me. He must have been shooting an automatic, because the next day we found three 45 bullet lying there where he was standing when he shot at me. So he shot at me the first time, I had my 32 already in position and I just commenced shooting at him right fast. So there was two of them.

The first one run—the first white man made the first shot, while the second one run. When I started shooting right fast at him, he broke and ran. But while me and this one was on the back were shooting at each other, somebody on the front was shooting all in the front of the house. We got four 45 bullets off the house there and one that hit and went another way we couldn't find. But they shot in front of the house in the house five times.

So about 3 or 4 minutes, they all was gone.

Then myself and wife and daughter went to pumping water and we put the fire out. And that is what I got for going to register.

Chairman TAYLOR: Did anything as exciting as that happen the second time? You went a second time.

Mr. TURNOW: The second time? Oh, the second time I went back to see did I pass. The circuit clerk raised such a fuss with me until I walked out. I didn't argue with him. I just walked out.

Mr. FREEMAN: Has anyone been arrested because of the firing and shooting and burning of your house?

Mr. TURNOW: I was. After the shooting was all over, myself, my wife and daughter huddled on the back porch, after we put the fire out. And we sat there until day.

After daylight broke, we got in the car and we went out to Mitchell's and we asked some of the boys would they call the Justice Department. They said yes, they would.

So I told them to call them and ask them to send an FBI to investigate the shooting and the burning. So then I called Mr. Andrew P. Smith, and I called the FBI, and told them about it, but he wasn't in his office. But after he wasn't in his office, I sent word to Mr. Mote, that in the Tchula police, and asked him—Mr. Judge Keller—could they get the sheriff and tell him about it. So they must have got him, because he comes after the FBI—they was there investigating when the sheriff got there. So when he came the first thing he said, after the FBI left, and I had never carried my rifle in the house—I left it setting out there in the yard, when I went in to talk with the FBI. So they left there when they got through asking me questions about it. So I went out and picked up my rifle, and just at that time, Mr. Smith, the sheriff, he drove up and got out of his car. And the first word he said, "Put that goddamned rifle up. Do you want to put it up or do you want me to put it up." I said, "No, sir, I will put it up. So I carried it in the house and set it aside the door. And he walked around the house and looked. So he went on in the back bedroom, where it had been burning, the mattress and everything burnt up, all the bedding burnt up. So he is talking.

He asked me, "How did it start?" I told him how it started and when I got to the point that two white men shot at me, and I shot back at them, and they bombed the house, he said, "You could have done it." Then when he said I could have done it, I said, "Mr. Smith, can I ask you a question?" He said, "Yes, you can ask me a question, one." I said, "Well, do you think I would set my house on fire and don't have no insurance on it?"

I had borrowed money from the FHA to make a crop year and the tractor is hard to crank, and it is sitting beside the house, and there is my pickup sitting there, and there is no insurance on anything and even myself—and then you think I would set my house on fire to burn up everything?" He didn't say anything. He got up and walked out.

So late that evening, about dark, Mr. Smith come back to my house and called me. I walked out there where he was. He said, "I got an arson charge against you, get them up." Well, he said that, I got them up. And they put me down. He said, "Get on in the car." I got on in the car. So they took me to Lexington and put me in jail.

So a fellow, colored fellow at Greenwood, he bonded me out. I stayed in jail 2 days. When he bonded me out and I got out, Mr. Smith, they carried me up there to his office, but he didn't carry me in the sheriff's office, it is another office right in front of the sheriff's office, where he keeps a big old collie police dog. So we went in there. And he had two more white men in there that he called fire marshals. And they asked me how it happened. I told them the story how it happened. So I got to the point where I said it was two white men bombed the house, and they shot at me and I shot back at them and somebody was shooting in the house in the front, they told me I was a goddamned liar, I done it myself, and all that kind of stuff. They just cursed me out, I didn't say anything.

So after all of that, Mr. Smith just went and got a bond—he didn't tell me what it was—he said, "They got your name Turnbow Hartman but I want it Hartman Turnbow. Put it right there." I put it right there. He said, "Now, you are free to go." So I went on home then—at least the man what bonded me out, they carried me home.

So the next day in the JP court in Tchula they tried—they had that hearing. So I failed to testify, but they convicted me anyhow, and I was already under the \$500 bond. Then they released me. So they started the trial again in Jackson, Miss., in the post office building. So that is when I knowed they had dropped the charges, when they brought it up that time—they told Mr. John Doar and Mr. Bob Owens that they had dropped the charges. But I didn't know it until then.

So that was the end of that.

Since that time, they are still doing everything against me they can, because they have a conference at Edward, Miss., and they wanted all the farmers to come to the conference. So myself and wife and daughter, we got in the truck and we started to it. And we got at a little place they call Bentonis—there was a highway patrol check, they were checking driver's licenses. So there has been lots of publicity about me. So when I give him my license, he knowed I was Turnbow that all the writup was about. So then he told me to pull over.

I pulled over and he checked folks as they come by until it got so there wasn't nobody coming by right then. And then he called the other highway patrol and told them to check my license to see was it clean. He checked it and said, "Yes, ain't nothing against Turnbow." So then he asked me was that the license plate for my truck. I told him I bought it at the sheriff's office and if it ain't the one for it I ain't responsible—Mr. Andrew P. Smith is responsible.

So he asked me a whole lot of other questions, just trying to intimidate me. He held me there for 30 minutes by my watch. And then he couldn't get anything. Then he said, "You can go." I got in my truck and I went on to the conference at Edward, Miss.

So in November, while I was combining my soybeans, two young white fellows—I had a load of soybeans on my pickup, I had hauled 2,500 and 2,100 pounds of soybeans on the truck to the elevator. So those two young white fellows caught up with me and ran into the back of my truck and knocked the bumpers off and crushed the end gate and wasted about 300 or 400 pounds of my soybeans in the road. And then no sooner I stopped my truck and got out and went back there to see what the damage was, they just got in their car and drove away and didn't say nothing to me, didn't give me no kind of satisfaction for knocking my back bumper off, crushing my end gate and wasting 300 or 400 pounds of soybeans in the road.

So I went and unloaded the rest of my beans at the elevator and I went to Lexington and reported it to the highway patrol. The highway patrol said, "Turnbow, you have got to file an affidavit with the sheriff so I can pick them up. I can't pick nobody up without an affidavit."

So I went to the sheriff's office and I told him I wanted to file an affidavit against two white fellows for running into the back of my truck, crushing the endgate and knocking the bumpers off and wasting some of my soybeans. So he told me, "Well, I can't do it. You have to go to Tchula and do it with Mr. Kelly. It happened there and that is why you have to file your affidavit there."

So I got in my truck and come on back to Tchula to Mr. Kelly, Judge Kelly, he is the one that convicted me in the justice of peace court. He already knew about it. So I told him I wanted to file an affidavit against two white fellows that run into the back of my truck and knocked the bumpers off and waste my beans. And he looked at me and said, "Why didn't you catch them and hold them there?" So I replied to Mr. Kelly, I said, "It is not the custom in Mississippi for colored people to catch a white man and hold him until the highway patrol comes. Have you ever heard of that?" And he says, "Well, it ain't no need making no affidavit. When they find them, then you come and make one." And the highway patrol already told me he couldn't pick them up unless an affidavit was made. He said he would have to have it. So he couldn't go out and pick folks up and no charges against them. So Mr. Kelly, the judge at Tchula, he failed to make the charges. He didn't do it. That is because I had been in the registration. I attempted to register, and they bombed my house and shot in it, so he would not do it.

So every little thing they can get on me, they still do.

Chairman TAYLOR. There is just one question that I have. Did the other 13 original registrants continue?

Mr. TURNBOW. They continued, but didn't but about three get registered that day. It took them about a week for 14 folks to get registered.

Chairman TAYLOR. Have they been all right, or have they had trouble, too?

Mr. TURNBOW. Well, every one—they had different kinds of trouble. Lots of them had been buying gas for their farm tractors on credit, and that was cut out. Also me. But we didn't care about that too much. But everything they could do to us, they did it. They cut the credit off and all that kind of stuff. Some said if we niggers didn't quit that mess they was going to bomb the church and all that kind of stuff.

Chairman TAYLOR. Are there any other questions?

Thank you very much, Mr. Turnbow.

TESTIMONY OF JAMES TRAVIS (HAVING BEEN FIRST DULY SWORN BY MR. FREEDMAN)

Mr. FREEDMAN. Would you please state your name and your residence and your occupation?

Mr. TRAVIS. My name is James Travis. I live at 2147 Powers Avenue, Jackson, Miss.

Mr. FREEDMAN. How long have you lived in Jackson, Miss.?

Mr. TRAVIS. I have lived in Jackson, Miss., 21 years. All of my life.

Mr. FREEDMAN. And what do you do now?

Mr. TRAVIS. Well, I have worked for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee as a field secretary.

Mr. FREEDMAN. How long have you been in that work?

Mr. TRAVIS. Well, I began in the summer of 1961, working on voter registration.

Mr. FREEDMAN. Why did you go into that kind of work?

Mr. TRAVIS. Well, it was during the time of the freedom ride, and I said if people from America, people from all over are willing to come to Mississippi to do something to help the people in Mississippi, the least we can do is get up and do something for ourselves.

Mr. FREEDMAN. Does that mean that you did not care to do anything about the situation before people came down from the North?

Mr. TRAVIS. Well, the leadership was not what it is now.

Mr. FREEDMAN. Were the people waiting for this kind of leadership, or did the leadership

create the resentment among the people that they had never felt before?

Mr. TRAVIS. Well, leadership has come from within, through the help of people from outside.

Mr. FREEDMAN. Did you have any specific incident that you wanted to tell the panel about?

Mr. TRAVIS. Yes, I do. February 28, 1963, I attended a voter registration meeting in Greenwood, Miss., along with Robert Moses and Randolph Blackwell. After the meeting was over, we left the SNCC office en route to Greenville, Miss. A white Buick 1962 began following us. There were three white men in it.

About 7 miles from Greenwood, Miss., when no other cars were in sight, this white 1962 Buick pulled up alongside and opened fire with a submachinegun. I was hit in the back of the head and in the shoulder.

I was taken to the campus of Mississippi Vocational College, which was the closest point from where the shooting took place. There was no doctor on the campus. So a doctor was called from Greenwood, Miss., and he came in and took one look and said that they should rush me to the hospital in Greenwood. So they took me to the hospital in Greenwood.

The doctor took some X-rays and he wanted to remove the bullet. But I did not want him to remove the bullet, because I was afraid. So I remained in the hospital overnight, and the following day I was transferred to a hospital in Jackson, Miss., a university hospital. The bullet was removed that afternoon, without any anesthesia, because they said they were afraid that they might hit a nerve, and I would not be able to react if they did.

So I stayed in the hospital 3 days after they took the bullet out and on the second day, which was a Sunday, the doctor came in after breakfast and said: "You are discharged. You can leave now." So I told him I did not feel up to it. So he left. He came back after lunch and he said: "You are discharged. You can leave."

Again I told him I did not feel up to it. So he came in after supper, and he said, "You are discharged, and you got to leave." So I left.

That's about it.

Mr. FREEDMAN. Do you have any idea who the people were who shot at you?

Mr. TRAVIS. The people who did the shooting were arrested a few days after the shooting—well, they were arrested, and they were released on bond. And in November the trial was to come up, but after the death of President Kennedy they postponed it. They said that the people would have resentment because of the assassination of President Kennedy. And nothing more has come of it.

Mr. FREEDMAN. Is there anything else that you have to tell us?

Mr. TRAVIS. I now have an ulcer from working in the movement.

Chairman TAYLOR. May I ask about the police action to find the people in the white Buick? You reported the incident to the police from the hospital, or did Bob report when he took you or what?

Mr. TRAVIS. Bob reported the incident. Then later, while in the hospital in Jackson, I talked with the FBI. I gave him a description of the car. They found the car, and they traced the owners of the car. And they were arrested.

Chairman TAYLOR. Was that the local police in Jackson, or was that the FBI who took over the case?

Mr. TRAVIS. The FBI was instrumental in getting the local officials to do something. But only after quite a bit of pressure.

Mr. FREEDMAN. What do you mean by pressure?

Mr. TRAVIS. Well, Wiley Branton, who is the director of voter education project, called upon the Federal Government for intervention in this case, because the shooting took place on a U.S. highway, Highway 82, and for that reason I believe the FBI moved and thereby causing the local officials to move. Chairman TAYLOR. Would it not be possible for the FBI to have acted as promptly were it not on a State highway, or rather on Highway 82?

Mr. TRAVIS. Well, I don't think that they would have acted as fast otherwise.

Chairman TAYLOR. Mr. Sykes.

Mr. SYKES. In seeking legal help, or police help in matters of this sort are there any Negro judges, any Negro lawyers, any Negro policemen, any Negro FBI agents in Mississippi that you can turn to?

Mr. TRAVIS. There are no Negro FBI agents in Mississippi. There are no Negro judges in Mississippi. They have a few Negro policemen in Jackson now. But other than that, not that I know of.

Mr. SYKES. Could I ask you a second question? Are there any white FBI agents, any white judges or any white lawyers or any white policemen that you think would help you in Mississippi?

Mr. TRAVIS. Well, there is the possibility that they would help if they were not afraid of what the white community would say.

Mr. STAKES. Could you suggest anything, then, that might help in this situation, and which you could have made available to you—legal and police aid through some kind of a Federal agency or in some other form?

Mr. TRAVIS. Well, with the appointment of Federal judges and this summer Federal marshals from Mississippi—because this is going to be it in Mississippi.

Mr. STAKES. Thank you.

Mr. COLEN. Where did the bullet go?

Mr. TRAVIS. It went into the back of the head.

Mr. COLEN. Where you are pointing now?

Mr. TRAVIS. Yes.

Mr. COLEN. And you went to a local hospital in what town?

Mr. TRAVIS. Greenwood.

Mr. COLEN. Was this the city hospital, and county hospital?

Mr. TRAVIS. County.

Mr. COLEN. And why didn't you want to have it removed there?

Mr. TRAVIS. I was afraid that they might not do the best they could.

Mr. COLEN. You felt that they were not friendly to you, even though they were doctors in a hospital?

Mr. TRAVIS. True.

Mr. COLEN. Did they do anything or say anything that gave you that feeling, or was it based on your past experience?

Mr. TRAVIS. Well, seeing that I had worked with civil rights, I did not think they would take too kindly to it.

Mr. COLEN. Now, when you went into Jackson, what hospital did you go to?

Mr. TRAVIS. The university medical center.

Mr. COLEN. This is a State medical school center?

Mr. TRAVIS. Yes.

Mr. COLEN. And a surgeon operated on you. And what is it he said to you—that he would not give you anesthesia because he was afraid of damaging a nerve?

Mr. TRAVIS. Yes. He said that if I were given anesthesia, then I would not be able to react if he hit a nerve. Evidently a nerve was hit, because for over 6 months I had no feeling after the operation behind my ear at all.

Mr. COLEN. Do you know the name of the surgeon? Did he ever make his name known to you?

Mr. TRAVIS. No, I do not.

Mr. COLEN. He never introduced himself to you?

Mr. TRAVIS. I met him again, but I was in a hurry.

Mr. FREDMAN. I would like the record to show that when the witness said "right here" he indicated a point behind his left ear and near the base of his skull.

Mr. DAY. Do you know what the bell bond was on the men who shot you?

Mr. TRAVIS. I think it was—I am not sure.

Mr. DAY. Thank you.

Chairman TAYLOR. Thank you very much.

Mr. FREDMAN. We have just been informed about 1:30 Sunday night a bomb was thrown into the window of the Freedom House in Canton, Miss. Two COFO workers sleeping inside were not injured, although the window was destroyed. Complaints were filed with the Justice Department. United Press International says the FBI had no comment.