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Calhoun, Alabama; Lownder Sounty MASS MEETING April 11, 1965

Ricks: A thousand Negroes. You can get a thousand Negroes. All you got to do is go out and talk. Don't think that you're so different from everybody else because you in this meeting. Alot of people in Lowndes County didn't know about the meeting. Alot of people in Lowndes Country didn't have a way to get over here. It's up to you. Eratherz you go out and statr telling people about it. Whether you tell your preacher to start preaching about it. Whether the chior start singing about it. And in your schools you start talkin' about it. On the jobs, when you're working out there, the guys tell each other about registerin' to vote. It's time for Negroes in Lowndes County to come together. Come together. (APPLAUSE) Voice: This is Willie Ricks of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee Ricks: The white man asks what's wrong with the Negroes? There's nothing wrong with us. There's something wrong with the white folks. But we gotta move 'em. We know that Governor Wallace and a bunch of these other white folks/around here are sick. And we, as doctors, gotta grate 'em treatment. The first treatment we sould give 'em is to register to vote. Black vote. What did say? He said Wallace half crazy. But it's up to the Negroes of Lowndes County ______. (APPALUSE) If we get enough Negroes up there, he know we gonna put him out of office. And he's . So what we gotta do is get all the Negroes goin' stone crazy. in Lowndes County registered to vote, ____ a Negro gonna go up there and get that job (APPIAUSE). God knows we have people in here that would like to be sherrif; somebody want to be the mayor of this town. It's time to start dealin' with this. It's time to start dealin' with this. These little white boys go and run down and say: I wanna be a policeman. I wanna be a fireman. I wanna be mayor. They have chance to be a mayor. But the Negro never has a chance to be anything but somebody working out there in the field. I'ts time to change. It's time to

stop laughin'. You know, we always look in the white man's facelaughin'. And he tell us a funny joke. He always got a joke to tell. It's time for you to stop laughin'. And every time he tells you a joke, you don't laugh. You tell him axtake and let him laugh. APPLAUSE. So make up your mind that you're going to be a registered voter. Don't worry about the person next to you. Make up in your mind first, that you're goin' down to register. Alot of you got families at home. I don't know who is or which one of you may be, but somebody's mother or son or wife, somethin' (said): You shouldn't go 'round that church tonight. You shouldn't go 'round there, in that mess. Well, it's kimaxime you to go home and talk to your family. And tell 'em that they have got to register to vote. They said: Don't be in that mess. But, if you're black, you're in it. If you'r eblack, you're in it. And you know we talked about the lier. I'd like to talk about somebody else. Judas. You know, Judas lived in the time of Christ. But Judas lives today right here in Lownded County. That's right. Right here in Lowndes County. We got alot of Judas's right here in Lowndes County. So, what do we say? My advice: watch 'em. Watch 'em. Just watch 'em. See, some people think that they can get around and talk to the white man and come back here and get up in front and sit down and hear the people talkin' here about registerin' and go back to the white man. Well, we gonna know who you are. We know who you are. We're gonna know regardless of how you might dress, how much you get up here to talk about registering, how much money you got. But you tommin' to that white man and we're gonna know. We're gonna know exactly who you are. I bet somebody here knows a Tom right now sittin here. But we ain't gonna call his name tonight. We know who you are. APPLAUSE. There's one thing you have to do and that's to pick out the Uncle Tom's. I can pick an uncle Tom out. We know who they are.

[.] But we gonna give the Toms in Lowndes County a change to get straightened out. But next week, when you come to the massmeeting,

you're still tommin'. if thereignaxion. I'm gonna point at him. Let the people from Lowndes County deal with you. Let them Deal with you. I'm about to sit down now. You know, they say we live in the age of space. John Glenn going up to the moom. Goin' up into space and all this other stuff. They say the Negro has not contributed anything to the space age. But, I say that's a lie. I'm a Negro that was born without enough space. Without enough space. It's up to you and you and you to get enough space for the Negro. We were born in the space age. Not enough space. So let's make up in our minds that we're going to contribute something to the space age. We gonna let everybody know that we don't have enough space. We know that there are Negroes in Lowndes County struttin' 'round here, thinkin' that they're free. Cause the got a Cadillac like the white man and they got a fine home. They think that they're not in it. But that's a lie. They're still black. They're still black. Se, I'm not going to call their names. I think that everybody knows who they are. But you wait till the white man gets mad. When these Negroes get up there In Lowndes County and start registering. And the Uncle Toms That's when them Uncle Toms are gonna get into trouble. That's when the white man's gonna turn against them. And that's when he's comin' to you, He gonna come back to you and ask you to help him. He's gonna ask you to help him. Anytime the Negro have alot of land, even though the white man can't take f it from him, they're still thinkin' a way to get it. They tryin' to get it. And if you runnin' up there tellin' him all your business and everybody elses business, you gonna tell him the wrong thing. And they gonna know whow to get you. They gonna know whow to get you. I'm tellin' you it's time for us to come out of those kitchens, come out of that field, some out of that little two cent job. And let's meet at the polls down there where you register. Let's get registered. Where are the preachers? Where are the preachers? Where are they? So let's bring out our preachers. I know you have alot of difficulting

At the next mass meeting, tell your preacher to come on out. Come on out.
Preach to me. Preach to the people about registering to vote. Preacher
so-and-so is See, they have power over hundreds and hundreds of
people. And hundreds and hundreds make freedom. Let's start asking the
teachers to teach us about freedom. Teach us somethin'. We go to school,
we come back home, we haven't learned anything. But we get out there in the
street, and get out there and go across to your negro neighbor and
start talkin' about registering to vote. Learn 'em something. We got to
learn to put the person into office, a man who does to our satisfaction.
You know all about this white man. He's dumb. He's stupid and he's a
coward. He's dumb. He's stupid. And he's a coward. So tomorrow when
Chuck that's the sheriff when Chuck asks some of you Negroes what
happened in the mass meeting, tell him. Tell him you be up there to register
tongght. And you the last time you were up
there.
But whatever you do, whatever you do, get people to register to vote. Get
people talkin' about it in the church. It should start in the church.
Start in the church. If the preacher's not talkin' about it, then let the
people talk about it. Somebody should talk about voter registration. If
you're not talkin' about voter registration in Lowndes County right now,
or tomeorrow or next month or next two month, next year, you ain't & talkin'

<u>Voice</u>: Willie Ricks of the Stundet Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was the main speaker.

whatever we do. APPLAUSE

'bout nothin' noway. So let's start talkin' 'bout voter registration,

Male Voice: FIRST FEW SENTENCES UN-UNDERSTANDABLE. What he've said...it may sound to some of us a little difficult, to understand. But we don't talk about white peoples, you understand. It's walways yes sir. And we don't ever tell them what we want them to know if we want to tell #

some of them old sonofabitches about somebody else. But tonight we have a message to take back to our own family -- to our mothers and to our fathers to our sisters and to our brothers. Let us do something for ourselves. There's only one way to Freedom -- that you register and vote. we can draw all the _____ you want to. You can sit down and wait as long as you want to. But if you don't get pegistered, you right here to stay. I would like to say we appreciate the use of this church and for letting us come into this building. When this movement first started around in this county, especially in the community where we were working in. there wasn't a church whose doors were open to us. Our first meeting were held in a store. And after we got in with & some of the people, Trippin church opened to us. and now we are using it for a headquarters. And this is the second church we've been able to go into now. And we do appreciate you people who come out tonight to share with us in this mass meeting. And I hope we'll be back here again. So you can let all the Uncle Toms know that this meeting is for them And let the white people know in this community that if they want to come, come down here and be welcome with us. (BLANK ON YAPE) Let me say this: if there are sinners in the community, that this church must convert this person. And our white people are like sinners. They got to be converted. And they can't convert themselves. It gonna take you and I to convert them. You understand? Because most of them are in the same category. And we gonna have to convert them. And we gonna work on that job. We gonna thell them to their face. We gonna stop lying to them. Cause they _____ like us. We know how to like them. Do you wants to get registered? Do you wants to vote? We have to say: Yeah, we wants to wote. We wants to be free. We want to do the same thing that you're doin'. We want to be able to go to the polls and expercise our right to vote. We want good jobs. We want to lave in a good community. We want nice homes. You cannot own a nice home on \$455 and \$10 a week. It mean that you gonna have to make more. And let us try to

help one another. I happen to see a good firned of mine, Brother Smith, who's out here tonight and all of you who've come from far and near.

END VOICE I

Male Voice II: ...the amount of meney I have lost, thereby, just goin'.

And the main thing what I would like to tell you's you don't loose anything when you doin' something to help yourslef. Like registering to vote. You gain in the long run. And another thing (Tape Blank)...

your money in his pocket. And if it hadn't been for our forefathers, they would have had to do the work from the musche. They didn't have any bull-dozers in that time. They had to clear this land in order for this man to cultivate it. 'hey had to clear the land and cultivate it. From where all this wealth done spring. Everything they've got -- half of it should be ours. Half of it is ours. But, now, don't let anybody fool your'e nobody. You have the most wonderful heritage of any people on the face of the earth. You've come a long way. And you have come to grat days. Just bear this in mind: we are a peculiar people; we are a God-fearin' people; and we have worked, we have laid up bundles for this man. And it's time that we

know, until we realize how much we could get Back from the robber of the product of our labor. The years when we haven't gotten anything. We realize how much we could get back by just One Man, One Vote. Each person in here -- just any person here -- might be the one who will decide a crucial election. Something that will obligate this man, make this man: Brother, you put this man in, you're dead. Because he realizes when you have the vote you can help him to get his job or you can keep him out of it. And we have so much that we have to get back. They robbed us all our lives as Mr. Rciks say. We have been taxed. They make the Boston Tea Party seem like something tame. We've been taxed without being able to be represented in the government. They have taken our money. In fact one thing that I can give

right now that you will realize, those of you who drive. The license fee was \$2.25. That's the amount that it used to cost us. But now by adding on these 100 extra highway parolmen or so-called state troopers, they raised our drivers license fee to \$4.45. Each time you renew your license, you're paying 2 extra dollars to have some man stand up with those billy clubs and beat you on the head, throw tear gas on you. And you're paying them to do that. But, now, if you could put his boss under your thumb with the ballot, then it's just like when you got snake. You chop his head off, you control that tail part. He might wiggle 'rould little while. But that head man is the one that we could control with our votes. Because if he knos that we could keep him out of that job where he can sit on his little fat hips there, and maybe make 10 or 12...he can make from 7.000 to maybe \$15.000 a year just sitting on his seat. And wearin' a white shirt every day and all that kind of stuff. Now, we could control him. And if he knows we can put him out with that ballot, he gonna tell his men: now look here, theee colored folks vote now. Now, don't go 'round beatin' them on the head. And don't give 'em a ticket unless they're actually violatin' the law. See, I live in Lowndes County. And I've had these people stop me on the road. I have been stopped and they checked my lacense. And checked the other people's license. And the other man come and they wave him right on. And some of them are riding old dilapidated cars. Old jalopies. Probably So I think that the Negro...

End Male Voice II

Bob Mants: And, if we take into consideration that we're supposed to be liwing in a democracy, I'm wonderin' why the Negroes in Lowndes County couldn't have it's own voter registrars and regulate it's own voting laws.

Now, we live in a democracy where the majority is supposed to rule. Just something I want you to think about. The other day, we were down in Marcy, right around the school. And we ran across alot of people. Who were afraid

of us and started runnin'. And one lady told us: that you-all don't live here. And you-all ain't gonna be around when we get shot at, or something like that. And we told the lady like we did the sheriff. We met the sheriff over the school one day. And no use in us tellin' you who called the sheriff on us. We told the sheriff, we say: Sheriff, if you make us mad, we might get us a acre of land, a plow and a mule. So what we gonna do, you gonna see us around here all day, every day. We stayin' here in Lowndes County and ain't no Klans gonna run us out. Ain't no sheriffs gonna run us out. And ain't no Mr. Charlie gonna run us out. Ain't no Uncle Tom gonna run us out. And ain't no nervous Nellie gonna run us out. (APPIAUSE) I already got a mule, and all I need now is a acre of land. (LAUGHTER AND APPLAUSE) There are alot of people here with us tonight. Most of them are BNCC people who come from Atlanta and various places. First, of all, I want to introduce the people who are gonna be staying here workin' in the county. The fella you see back there is Stokley Carmichael. Stokley's from New York and is a graduate of Howard University in Washington, D.C. This is willie Vaughs of Mississippi, from Mc Comb Mississippi who's been workin' here with us ever since he came into this county. The fella you see standing in the door is Willie Squire from Selma Alabama who's a SNCC photographer. He'll be around here takin' pictures of what's goin' on. The lady sitting there is Tina Harris who works in the Atlanta office in the photography department. And her husband ... that's Doug Harris who also is a photographer and woks in our Atlanta office. The fella right here is from Alabama State. And the students up there up at Alabama State have been raising alot of sand lately. And they want to get some freedom too. The other fella is Cleophus Hobbs who had been working with us in Selma, Alabama. The guy in the overalls is Silas Norman, who heads all of ... he's our boss man. He's the project derector for the entire state of Alabama. And the guy who keeps millin' around back there, he's supposed to speak to us tonight for 2 or 3 minutes. That's james Forman

who's executive secretary of our organization, the student nonviolent CC.
And he had a few words he would like to say. Jim ...

Forman: I appreciate this opportunity EXEST I think you ought to hear from Silas for a few minutes -- what people are doing in Slema and all over the Black Belt. Brother Carmichael for a few minutes.

Silas Norman: ... I'll just try to take a couple of minutes. I guess there are alot of things that need to be said and I'll just say a couple of them. That Lowndes County is a part of the Black Belt. And its a part of a section of the country where our people have been more depressed and more opressed than any other part of the country. See, they brought us over here and they concentrated us in this section of the country because we could be profitable to the white people in this country and this part of the country. Cause they could use our labor to till the soil. This very rich soil in this area that I'm talking about. And now they want to tell us that they don't need us any more: that they got machines that can do the work that we used to do; that we aren't human anyway; that we're nothin' but animals; and now they want to tell us to go to Detroit and Chicago and back to Africa and all kinds of places like that. And see, the reason we're down here andthe reason we're talking to you about stickin' together and the reason we're talkin' about movement, because we know all of those things they've been sayin' for so long is not true. See, I'd like to just maybe emphasize one thing that Jim mentioned at the other meeting. That there was time in Alabama, that there was a time in the South, there was a time even in Lowndes County when black people represented black people. When people from this county -- who could not by any chance be mistaken for white -sat in the state legislature. When people from this state, Negroes from this state sat in the Congress of this country. See, we're here to say that even though they took all of our rights away from us. They intimidated us.

They killed us, in masses. They fire us from the little jobs that we're able to get. They harrass us in any way that they can see fit. We're here to say that even though they've done that, that we have an obligation and a responsibility to see to it that those rights are resortd to ourselves and to our brothers. And see, one of the principal things that we want to say is that if the people in Alabama, if the people in Dallas County and Selma, together with the people in Lowndes County and Wilcox County and the other 7 counties that we're working in get together, that we can achieve our rights. I don't know about our complete freedom. But, we'll be able to move on towards that freedom. We will perhaps be able -- if we stick together -there's no question about it, we'll be able to get the right to vote. And we'll be able to have an increased voice in saying who the people are who sit up there supposedly representing us. Cause we know that the people up there don't represent us. And I know that when you get a chance to make your voice felt in this saate and in this country that you're not gonna have people up there who don't speak for you and who don't say what you want them to say. And I know that you're not gonna have alot of the nonsense going on in this country. See, alot of people walkin' around saying that we can't read and write. And so we can't go down and register and vote. And see, it's very interesting, if you know see, you go through alot of things and you notice that, for instance Governor Wallace standing in the school door for one thing. But you notice that, for instance, since the Supreme Court decision even of 1954, which was, I amagine it was supposed to be an attempt to better the educational condition of the Negro. That for instance, in this state there has been precious little integration of the schools. You notice, that for instance, the voting test, that judges, lawyers and teachers have said they can't pass that test. In fact, I don't think I can pass that test myself. It's very interesting that you deny the right to an adequate education and that then they give you a test that takes a great deal of

education to pass. Seems to me that there's a calculated effort to keep Negroes from registering to vote. And we know about people who have gone down alone to try and register to vote. We know what's happned to 'em. We know that the white folks will go down there and watch them. And that they fire you from your jobs. We know that people get shot at. And that all other kinds of methods are used for intimidating. And that's one of the principal reasons we say you've got to stick together. And that's one reason ... I know that if the people in Lowndes County together go down and if you don't go down singly, you don't try to fight this thing alone, that we can be successful. And as I said, we're now in 9 counties. I don't know if I can name them all. I'll probably miss some .: Hale, Pickens, Greene, Wilson, Lowndes, Sumter, Perry, Dallas ... And before too long, we hope that we will at least be in the 21 Black Belt counties in this state. We hope that by increasing the communication between people in these counties and by your, for instance, seeing what they're doing. And they're seeing what you're doing, that we can make a successful movement. Not only that, but the people in Alabama , together with the people in the other states that we're working with now and the people that we hope to be working with in the future will get together. And I know that once we get together. that we will exert a tremendous influence on this country. Because we will change the power of the South. See, those Congressmen from the South and those senators have been up there for years. And they've been up there for years because we don't have anything to say about who goes up there. And they have seniority on all the important committees. And no matter what kind of bill president Johnson talks about, even if he's serious and I doubt it many times. But no matter what kind of bill he talks about, no matter what kind of bill they talk about, even if they pass it, those Southern senators who've been up there without our consent, have almost

ultimate power over how those bills are enforced. And so we gotta take a stand. And we gotta make sure that people in this country really represent us. See, I think we maybe gotta stop thinking in therterms that this society sets out for us. See, because they tell us that, for instance, I go back to a literacy test, Alot of us believe, I imagine most of us believe, and I believed for a long time, that you ourght to be able to read and write to vote. I mean, that's one of the things that they tell us. And we heard it so long till we believe it. But, see, you don't know how to reed and write to know how to vote. Cause you don't know how to read and write to know what's right and what's wrong. You don't know how to read and write to know what theing affect you every day. And you don't know how to read and write to know who's the best man to say to the country and maybe just say in a smaller form what your problems are and try to deal with them. And I think we ourselves have to get to the point where we insist that we have something to say about what goes on in our lives. that we have a right, and that we ought to make decisions for ourselves. And so I'm, along with the other people in this county and in theis state, will be here. We won't be goin' anywhere unless you send us away. Ind I don't think you'll be doin' that. Cause we gonna be working with you and we gonna be trying to do the things that you want us to do. We're not coming in here to tell you what to do. Or to try and force you to do anything. We are here to try to deal with the problem as you see them, or as we see them together. And we're here to try to provide you what tools and what resources we have. So that we're here to be of assistance to you. And you'll be seeing us around. Thank you very much.

Forman: I don't have much to say, because I think Silas has just about underscored everything that we said. Except that I would like to say that Silas is working over in Dallas County. You know Dallas is right next door to here. And that they've been working in Dallas county since the latter

part of '62. Got invited in by some of the local citizens there. And we've begun to fan out into all of the other counties. We'd like to have done this earlier, like to have been over here earlier, but it's a whole question of manpower. Now, fellas have been talking about the mules and the horses. Alot of people in the community have given. I think that's important. Because the workers are gonna be here. There's no question about it. You may not see 'em all on a given day, but they will be here. And because this Black Belt is important, not only in Alabama, but Mississippi as well and so forth. So that I think that where possible you should take them into your bosom and let them be like seeds. And sort of enfold them. Because they're also gonna suffer reprisal from the police. We have to recognize that. Three workers who came to Mississippi last summer were killed. And there've been other workers who've been shot at and some of them have been killed. So that when we talk about danger, it's not only the local people who face danger. Can you hear me over there, brother? Can you hear what I'm saying? It's not only just the people who live in the community who face danger, but also the workers who come in face danger. So, while they'r ehere, let me say this: I'm sayin' in a sense, that you have to be sort of an umbrella around them. And help to nurse them. And give them food. And give them housing. See? And let people know that they're here and that they're gonna heed their cooperation. And if you have a car then sometimes you might have to use your car. Do a little work at night. Go up and down a back road. And if we want to know the history of the county, we want to sit down and listen and get wisdom, from you. Casue we've come here to seekin' knowledge about what's been happening throughout the belt. And alot of you have experience. So if you know where some of us are stayin', willing to talk to you and to find out what's been goin' on. Because these are the things that will be important. Because I can go down the list. Even now, I betcha, if we took a survey of this county we could

find out Negroes who had their land stolen from them. I know it. It's just like all over the South. We could find that out. And there are no doubt stories of brutality that you could tell. The people up at Montgomery are all amazed that there's a big movement goin' on in Lowndes County. Cause everybody: Oh, that's the roughest county in the state. But every county is important and it has to be cracked. I mean, you have to start working. So, I guess I'm really making a plea for all of you people xixing here to take these workers into your homes. Take us there. In a sense, sort of give us the wisdom and the benefit of your experience. And let us know what's happening in the county. And tell us how we can help do our job better. And in return, you have to also, as you've been doing -- see, I think you've been struggling all along, just to stay alive in Lowndes County. Where the Klan runs. Just to stay alive in Sumter County and in Dallas County is a struggle in itself. But now the struggle is at a new stage. I mean, we who have been smoldering and having all of these feelings about segregation have now got to bring it out in the open. We gotta tell the man directly instead of talkin' about it over the table; over a cup of coffee: instead of talkin' about it as you go to the field and you till the soil. We gotta go to the courthouse and the city jail or to the jail _. And we got to change that. Cause you don't put people in jail at the jailhouse. That's not where you register voters. You don't do it that way. But that has to be changed. That's a form of how he's tryin' to still keep us in slavery. By sendin' us around the jail, tryin' to scare us. But we really got to change that. Government of the United States got to change that. And we have to help them. Now. I do want to ... at the last mass meeting I run across some papers which ... I want to call out some names to underscore what Silas said about the people we were elected. Cause some of you may know some of these people. To run down the whole list here from all the counties, that would take too long. I just want to talk about Lowndes County, cause we met a man up there who knew some of these people. Now, they've all been dead...they didn't just die. But these were names of people from Lowndes County that served in that capitol up in Montgomery. Now, some of you may recall some of their names or some relatives of theirs. And if you do, then I think its important that you give this information and introduce these people to some of the workers that are here. For instance:

N.A. Gruvington served in the house up in Montgomery from 1868-1870 -- 2 years
Mr. A.J. Carson was in the 1875 Constitutional Convention
Can you hear me over there, b rother cause some of you all might know some
of these names. Or you may know some of their relatives. You know him?
Then there was:

Mr. W.B. Carson -- he was elected to represent Negroes.

Mr. William B. Graskin -- he was in the house for 2 terms, 1872-'74-'\$6 Mr. J.W. Jones who served in the Senate from '72-'76

Sam Lee who served in the House from '74-'76

Well, we found one man up there who knew them. That was a long time ago.

See, they don't teach us that kind of history now. I betcha none of the kids ever heard of that kind of history. You ever heard of that? See, they keep that from us. Keep the books closed. The point is that the Negro was a force. He had some political power. And they brought in the Ku Klus Klan and they stabted killing us. You see? And they scared us as they would scare any man. Then they legalized it back in 1901. I don't want to go into too much detail cause we hope to have more meetings and we can talk about that more. But the point is that through this terror and intimidation that they've been able to take away the vote and exploit us economically. As you say, you put your nail on the head. All these fine houses that you see these white folks with -- they got 'em because some Negro é had been exploited. His labor has been taken away from him. Negro gets \$15 a week

The white man stuffs \$35 in his pocket. See, that's the way it is brother. You think I'm right over there? Think I'm right? Think I'm tellin' the truth? I know how it is, that's the way it is. I mean, and that's what's been goin' on. All along. And I understand that the next registration in the state is the 19th of April. Now, we got enough people in this room to make a witness. Now. that's what's gonna tell the story. You can come to the meeting. But then the question is what can you do after the meeting. All of us. everybody, has to get out and work. And try to get people to that courthouse on the 19th. That's what we could do. That's what you could do. You can talk to your neighbor. Everybody had to be a committee We got to start talkin' and say: child the Freedom Movement's in Lowndes County. We goin' to the courthouse on the 19th. Everybody's got to do that. Got to cross them fields and talk it up down the road. Everybody. Don't just depend on your neighbor. cause he might not do it. You've got to do it. Am I right? Now, it's the hard work, the hard work. You have to do that, The question -- I'm not goin' ask for a show of hands. Xux zazaza But that everybody in here, individually has to do that. As Silas said to you. that we're tryin' to link up people all across this Black Belt. Got one county that people are workin' in. Also, they're wokring up there in Montgomery which serves as a link - believe it or not - between the eastern side of the state and the western side. Because over in Macon County you gotta pass through Montgomery in order to get to Macon. There used to be a time when Montgomery had more Negro that it had white. Now they only have 39%. But that's still an important number. Andwyou have to link up the people all the way from Barbour County which is on the Georgia line all the way over to Sumter County which is on the Mississippi line. So, you're not alone. This sis just not an isolated county, I mean, it's a county by itself. You have to look at it all across the Delta here of Alabama, this Black Belt. Where we have these farms and so forth. Now, I'm happey to be here. And I just want to tell you that people outside of Lowndes County, up in New York

and Chicago are gonna try and be helpin' you too. Not as many as we would like, but that your struggle is theri struggle. And we gonna try to get alot of pressure put mane down here on Lowndes County. Do what we can do. People in Canada too. There's a man here from Canada. Been workin' with us up in Montgomery. So, that the world is watchin' in a sense, the South adn what the Negro does. And there's no point in talkin' about I'm too old. Cause I knew a man 75 years old over in Greenwood. Mississippi named Mr. Saunders. We went to him when our office burned down. We went to Mr. Saunders beggin' him for an office. And he said: well, you got to check with my wife. His wife was scared. And then we kept movin' around for a couple of weeks. And finally he decided, well, he would let us have it. And then he said: Well, you know I'm 75 years old. And I'm ready to die. But, I tell you, I have never begun to live as I'm liwin' now since I been in this Freedom Movement. 75 years old. So, nobody's too old. In fact, the older you are, the more that you oughta do for the Freedom Movement. Cause you ain't got that much more time. You have to face the facts. We all can't live tag forever. So that all of you all, you ought to be out there helpin' the young folk. Cause you brought 'em into this world. We ought to try to do something about them. Am I right brothers? We got a committee of 4 or 5 over there, young men, sittin' over there on the right. that's gonna be pushin' this thing and helpin' us and workin' with us. Gonna have to get all these people in this movement. And now I understand Mr. & Carmichael's come back into the room. so maybe he will say a few mrkex words to us. He's headin' the project up here in Lowndes County and tell us what happened up at the mass meeting. Mr. Carmichael ... (STOKELY SAYS SOMETHING FAR AWAY FROM THE RECORDER) OK, one last thing I want to say though. We have to build strong people, brother. See, that's what we talkin' about. Strong people. Everybody in this room could be a strong person in this county if they worked at Mt. Cause the more strong people you get, you can't kill the movement. You just got one or two people in

the community who are strong, then they say: well we get ridof him and they think the movement will die. So, you gotta have alot of strong people. Lot of strong women. Lot of strong men. Young people, old people so the movement can go on. And the movement can't stop just for one person. And that's why we got to get strong people. And when strong people get together, they can do strong things. Dontcha think? All right. It was good to be here. I know it's late. And we'll be around. Workers will be here. And I hope to be around more if I have the time. That'nk You.

Female Voice: She didn't have any laght bread. And why? She said the Palonia Bread Company was tryly boycotting Mrs. Steele and they didn't want to do it. But pressure had been put on their supervisor. The supervisor had to put pressure on him. Because they'd been servicing her all the time. So She is our sister. If you don't sell Palonia bread to her them I don't buy any. Don't bring me any. Cause the Negroes is not gonna buy from me and we're not gonna buy it form the white people. So, he thanked me and went on back. They were _____. Now she's getting Palonia bread. But mr. Hurley has informed me that the Wholsome Bread Compand is being boycotted in Montgomery, because they don't have any Negro drivers to service the Negro community. So, it looks like we gonna chnage companies with the bread. Now, we gonna have an executive meeting at my house on Wednesday night and anybody's free to come who will. And # bring your ideas. The sense of having this executive meeting is that we can iron out something that we don't have time to talk about in the mass meeting. And anybody's free to come and stay as long as you will. We will hear everything that is being help for the Lowndes County struggle. Because we are in what is called the Dark Age. There's lots we don't know and we need ideas from other places,

to help ourselves out. Information that I have over here, I'm gonna be distributing among people. If you have aybody in your territory you can count to have as a chairman, we be glad to have him. Now, this information was given to me yesterday at the Democratic Congress. And I want it in the hands of responsibel people who are goin' carry it other places. I want people to understand that there have been certain things that e've been afrais of. Now, we don't have to be afraid of them. You can see it in writing. You believe it. We don't have any pictures but a few works is gonna speak pretty loud for us. Right now we gonna turn you back to the chariman. (THE LADY'S NAME MAY HAVE BEEN JESSIE)