

Monday, August 10:

1. Orientation at Farrish St. NCC office.
2. Through contacts of Father Boli, Chicago Episc. priest, we met with 3 Negro couples (relatives of his parishioners) One man was on Jackson State Teachers faculty, one was supt. of Jackson Negro public schools. The supt. has a 6 year old entering 1st grade this fall. He will not be entered in a ~~white/school~~ previously white school because it is not geographically convenient. The college prof. is not active in Civil Rights because of job insecurity. He is moving to ~~Ohio~~ Ohio permanently soon--running from the situation here because he "wants something better for my children."

Tuesday, August 11:

1. Morning spent at COFO & in finding housing. Much confusion.
2. Rev. Allen Johnson gave names for contacts.
3. King went to airport to pick up national NAACP official, the head of all branches, whose ~~mission~~ mission was to evaluate local situation and to help strengthen leadership. Very stimulating, engaging person.
4. Guinn joined in ball game with Freedom School students from Pratt Mem. Ch.
5. Freedom School staff meeting. Heated discussion among faculty over how to handle discipline problems, disturbed children, etc. Related was the criticism of local clergy & ch. members that church property was being damaged or destroyed. Although all teachers agreed that persons are more important than buildings, they felt that some children were mentally disturbed to the point that they were not qualified to help them & should not be allowed to destroy either property or the learning experience for those who are anxious to learn. Doctors to be consulted. Teachers instructed how to administer tests for national scholarships. New personnel introduced, including us. We made ~~brief~~ brief statements indicating our availability to help the schools in any capacity for which we are qualified.

Wednesday, August 12:

1. Jesse Brown, 125 $\frac{1}{2}$ Farrish: Only 8-10 Negro ministers in Jackson who actively work for Civil Rights. Only 4 Negro lawyers in active practice; 1 has never taken CR cases. The exception, Sidney R. Tharpe is a good fixer if client is guilty; takes brawls, etc., & cases tried in city hall; a "good nigger--a sing in the head scratherr"
An illiterate Negro is in a sense free because he aspires to so little. Without a desire for something unattainable, one is free. Education increases N. desires; therefore,
W. who would restrict will have increasing problems.
There is a great need for lawyers to deal with legal problems. A white lawyer, Higgs, grad. of Harvard, white, took CR cases but was disbarred on a trumped up morals charge.
A W. lawyer, Rosenthal, Jackson, has just started taking some C. R. cases.
The Federal Gov., he feels, could and must do much more. Too many cases are referred to the Justice Dept. & that is the last word of them.
There is a great

Dr. & Mrs.
Ben
McLenore

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Thursday, Aug. 18

We attempted to see the Governor of the State, but failed. Senator Barber (special Assist. to the governor) did spend almost an hour with us, however. He is a politician and a lawyer. He is also a segregationist, articulate, maybe "tricky," one who has met Dr. Robt. Spike, and a very pleasant (though crude also) kind of person.

Sen. Barber thinks the Negro has done pretty well in most ways in the state, but he admitted he wouldn't be happy himself as a Negro in the state.

We had a pleasant chat on the street with Marshall James, an assist. at St. Andrews. He, along with Cunningham of Galloway, thinks that the National Council has lost far too much ground in Miss. this summer. James, I would think, is very sympathetic to the cause of the NCC, but thinks it didn't relate well enough to the local pastors. He spoke negatively about a press conference of Gene Blake at the airport. One wonders whether the pastors could have responded at all if the contact had been made? McKenna told us, also, that no contact was possible because the NCC is not a super church and must work only through the denominational executives. Finally, even if the NCC made mistakes (which King doesn't accept necessarily), why haven't the local pastors taken the initiative?

James is a good contact. He is a liberal. He thinks his church is going as fast as it possibly can. (The former pastor got some of the people "told" before he left.) There are Negroes attending church there fairly regularly. At first, the police had a wagon waiting outside, but the ushers never called to have them remove the Negro attenders.

We tried to see Dr. Quarles of the South. Baptist office, but he--with his whole staff--were out of town. *We left a note.*

We chatted a few minutes with Mrs. Harvey of the Collins Funeral Home. ~~She~~ She's friendly and responsible, one would think. She gave us the name of Mrs. Scutt.

We talked 45 min. or so with Mr. Chas. Evers of the NAACP. He is rather attractive and not stupid. We did find him rather impulsive. We (King especially) think his view of the COFO staff is a little too negative: he wants them all to dress appropriately and so forth. He is disappointed that COFO didn't work on voter registration only--he thinks the ballot is "it." We liked him, but wondered how astute his thinking might be in the long haul. We saw him later at the restaurant where we greeted him warily (and mutually).

Rev. F.W. Duncan (R.C.) was in the NAACP office also, and we had a good chat with him. He wears a NAACP badge. We sometimes felt that he, along with others, is not as radical in his views as to what is needed from outside to bring the change in Mississippi which we all long for. He claims there is more leavening going on in the white community that we have found. Also, he is disenchanted with COFO (dread?).

Wednesday, Aug. 19

Mrs. Jean Fairfax helped us to understand what is (or was) going on in the matter of school desegregation. She's a very lovely and business-type person. Someth~~ing~~ like 43 children were enrolled in previously all-white schools because of the work done by Mrs. Fairfax and others.

Jim McKay is a specialist in public relations at Guaranty Trust Bank. He went to Miss. State and is a fine person. His brother went to Oberlin and has been liberal in race matters, but, he says, may be changing his mind because a Negro moved close to him in Baltimore (devaluation of house?).

McKay introduced us to Mr. Cecil Smith, a vice-pres. who seemed defensive about our coming to the bank at first. We had a direct confrontation with him on several matters (the dress of COFO people, socialism, how the 28 authors of Born of Conviction are deserving of being out of the state, etc.). We were there at least one hour. Both men walked us downstairs and to the door--it was a fine meeting

We attempted to see Mr. Mann, a realtor, but he was on vacation.

Rabbi Perry Nussbaum was kind enough to spend more than one hour with us (and then he drove us to COFO office). He has been in Jackson for 10 yrs, and from the beginning announced his liberal, humanitarian viewpoint on the race issue.

The Jewish community in Jackson is small, and has been hurt in this store boycott even though, he says, some of the Jewish merchants have been the most liberal. On the other hand, some of the Jewish people no doubt have their differences with the rabbi, would like to see him go (he has had three crucial meetings when this might have developed, one last May).

Nussbaum likened the mentality of the Mississippian to the people in Nazi Germany (we heard later that he criticized some young Jewish student who did similarly...we all change sides sometimes depending on what the other party is doing). How else can one explain these bright, well educated people having the silly position they have on race? Brainwashing of a culture, of the official policy, of THE BIG LIE.

Rabbi Nussbaum is extremely doubtful that Mississippi can be brought into the mainstream of American life except as the U.S. government becomes involved. He is --confidentially--not adverse to more U.S. marshalls and govt. influence from Washington.

we met,
One of the most liberal men who is also very high in civic circles, is a businessman whose name we can not give out. He is an active Christian layman who is attempting to keep the "rightists" from taking over his church. This man spoke beautifully about how necessary, in his judgement, it would be for the U.S. govt. to help Mississippi get out of the immoral bind it is ~~in~~ now in. The civil rights law, in his opinion, is a fine face-saving device so that reasonable men can support de-segregation without being crucified. If only a few of these men in the very top position could get together and stand (assuming they are on the very top), something

Aug. 19 (cont.)

might break. This is a big "if." James Silver suggests the same in his new book on Mississippi, namely that the closed society will be opened only if men really try// and that the industrialists are the key men.

Thursday, Aug. 20

One of the most outstanding experience we had was a visit in the paralled office of Mr. Tom Hederman of the newspaper industry. He was cordial to us, though strong and articulate in his convictions. We would like to think that we also were both gracious and forthright.

Hederman is the editor (his brother the publisher) and wields enormous influence. His "line" is straight Mississippi--Southern Baptist (the crudest form of theology)--"we've got to save the Union from the forces of socialism and internationalism." We liked him, and he was good to us (we talked for about 25 min. and then he walked nearly to the door with us)--but we think of him as the enemy.

Then we visited at length with Chief of Detective/ Pierce (who handles all inter racial matters...this in itself is incredible, we think). He is a very handsome, hospitable, and fine person. He's a Methodist. We were in his office at least an hour. He feels that there is no chance of a bi-racial committee (of the official sort) because this would mean the city govt. would be recognizing one group over another. The mayor, he said, wants to be fair to all the citizens. But, he went on, Negroes can come to see him anytime to settle grievances. (Interestingly enough, he identified all demonstrations with riots; we called him on this unfair generalization/ but it didn't sink in, probably.)

Chief Rayfield also came into the discussion. He is a Baptist and has concerns about the atheists teaching in our Freedom Schools (we wish he had been with us when we met all the fine personnel on one of our trips, people like Mrs. Fleener and Miss Howe). He, with most of the white people we have met in positions of public responsibility, is a segregationist. He brought up this matter of the tribes in the O.T.. We parted great friends who had "agreed to disagree."

We tried to see Dr. Hudgins of the First Baptist Church, but he was out calling. We tend to feel, along with Rev. McKenna, that the Baptists are also "the enemy" in Mississippi. They have all the power, money and influence. They are set in their wrong opinions about race, theology, what have you. We are not reaching them.

The pastor the First Christian Church is a very outstanding young man, we think. He is bright and handsome and charming. His training was taken at the College of the Bible, which is liberal. He has some misgivings about the conduct of the church (in the past) and also of the former minister. He's probably not a prophet, but he'll do, we hope, a leadership job at this church. His name is Eads.

We tried to visit with the pastor of the First Unitarian Church, but he is in Europe. His leading lay person, Mrs. Allen ^{"first"}. This church is small (35 members?), and then have lost both members and money because of their "Christian" stand on race. Gov. Barnett gave some money for the construction of their new building.

Friday, August 21, 1964

Early in the morning we made the rounds of the Freedom Schools. At Mt. Hebo we were greeted by a very lovely young lady from Washington who was teaching the children Negro hist.. Two New York lawyers arrived and both gave fine talks to the children. A young teacher from Boston was in charge--he was giving the Scholastic Aptitude Test to the older young people.

Institutional Church is delapidated. But the Freedom School staff is (or was) outstanding. Ed Dubinsky-- soon to teach at Tulane in Math--was lecturing on African culture (he taught in Africa last yr.). Two other students, one Negro and one white, one from Princeton and the other from Yale, were on the staff.

St. John's M.B. Church is equally inadequate in terms of facilities. Jackie Floener of the Univ. of Illinois (computer programmer) was in charge. She thinks highly of the pastor, but there are not large numbers of people coming. "Rev. Newsom is a son-of-a-bitch," she said, "because he tells the people not to worry about segregation." He is after people's money, also, we were told.

At New Bethel AME Church we found a play in progress. One older Negro girl seemed to be leading it; I didn't notice any other leadership. There was a fairly large group there. The theme of the play was related to the activities of the abolitionists in slavery days. The freedom songs were part of the program.

We also visited Blair St. Church Freedom School. Florence Howe, an English teacher at Goucher College in Baltimore, was in charge. She is outstanding in ability and rapport with the children. The other staff members seemed to be able and interested. The pastor, Rev. Rushing, was there when we were. He was cordial and also expressed concern about the lack of editorial leadership against the church bombings. (We later spoke to Mr. Hederman of the Clarion Ledger about this.)

We attempted to visit the School at St. Peter's Missionary Baptist Church but it was closed (at 11:45 p.m.)--perhaps they had a field trip.

Earlier we had been to Pratt Memorial's School. Jimmy Miller, a young lady from NYC, is a very creative person and is directing a play which will use the children. Ted, a leader from Vermont, is a public school teacher and quite enthusiastic. There is some concern about proper dress, good manners, and providing for the children and the community a good public image. I am strong for encouraging this insofar as it is possible, the people can be enlisted and the program can continue to move. I just don't know what would happen to the morale of the workers if more supervision and behavior controls were forthcoming. In any case, I feel the program must go.

Aug. 21 (cont.)

After lunch we attempted to visit the pastor of the Capitol St. Methodist Church. Because he was too busy, we began to leave only to realize that we had an opportunity to visit --at length-- with the pastor's secretary. Mrs. Ray Andrews is a very intelligent, gracious, Christian, Southern lady. She is moderate who, I would guess, would go along with much change in Mississippi. She isn't keen on either Gov. Barnett or Gov. Johnson. She isn't for Rev. El King either, but she was restrained in her comments. She, along with most people we met, is concerned about "outsiders" closing up their own backyards" before coming to Mississippi to help them--even though she knows Mississippi isn't perfect. It was a good visit.

We visited Goodwill Industries and found the two water fountains side by side. The alleged signs for white and colored are not present. This organization in Mississippi broke with the Methodist Church in the 1920's.

We visited for a few minutes with Mrs. James Scutt in her home. She is busy with racial affairs! While not feeling too well this summer, she's carrying on some. Two matters of interest: one, her husband's business and the summer workers as she has viewed them. First, it is clear that her husband's business associates have disapproved of her activities, but they haven't bothered her. The construction business probably has lost some business as a result, but she hasn't relented. Two, Mrs. Scutt feels real apprehension about some workers (she has had several workers living with her this summer) whose views are somewhat extreme and whose language is, at times, vulgar. Mrs. Scutt is--obviously--committed to the program. Her views are shared more by Winn than King, but both respect her greatly.

We tried to see Rev. Smith of the Jackson Movement, but he was out of the store. A note was left.

In the evening we had a wonderful session at Rev. Allen Johnson's house. He had about 6 ministers (Winn has names in his report?) there for us. We talked on several subjects and it was most helpful. These ministers appreciate NCC contact, and it is important to give them encouragement. The best, perhaps only, way to handle this contact is through meetings of this type. Otherwise, their residences and schedule make it impossible. Also, we were without a car for most of our 2 week stay which was a handicap.

Johnson is one of the keener and loudest supporters (in best sense) of the NCC and the program of COFO. We isn't in favor of everything which goes on, but he does have perspective. He doesn't let the minor things get in the way. He wants the support from people outside and thinks the majority of people in the Freedom Schools are OUTSTANDING. His children have been in the School.

Brown (Cont.): many cases are referred to the Justice Dept. and that is the last heard of them.

There is a great need for bonding money. Bonding Companies are refusing CR cases because of fear of business loss from large firms. This is a co spiracy difficult to prove.

Brown has a keen mind that cuts through the segregation logic (or absence of logic). He observes that "if it is human nature not to want to be told they have to integrate, it is also human nature that others do not want to be told they have to segregate. White Mississippians are not segregationists; they integrate on every level; they are only segr. when it is to their comfort, economic advantage, sexual pleasure, etc."

2. Unidentified cab driver. Q: "Do you want outside agitators down here?" A: "You bet! You are welcome. We are fighting and we couldn't do without you. Since you've been coming, it's been a lot better." Q: "In what way?" A: "The ~~folks~~ folks treat us nicer, speak to us kinder."
3. R. M. Stevens (Pres. of Campbell College): He was preoccupied, and understandably so, with the prospects of having the college moved by the 15th in compliance with an order to vacate the Lynch St. property. This is the story: Beyond the fact the Jackson State College could use this property for expansion, there is the fact that Campbell housed CR workers at McComb 2 yrs. ago. The College was immediately charged with disseminating ideas contrary to the mores and customs of the state. An injunction against Stevens kept him out of his office for several months. The State Leg. climaxed the harrassment by voting to condemn the property for purchase at \$375,000. The college had no funds with which to contest the action. The price of purchase was a fair cash value, but does not go very far for replacement. New bldg. going up on property at ~~Bayou~~ Bayou, now halted because money is depleted. Unable to get loan, even with 600 Acres of Delta land as collateral. We have learned since that the college is unable to account for some funds-- this may be fact, or rumor started to justify furth harrassment (The Hederman press delights to publicize this aspect) He cited three values of "outsiders": 1) Focus attention of nation on conditions in Miss.; 2) Give encouragement to resident Negroes; we need to know others are for us; 3) Inspire young people so that they have hope. There are so many disappointments and ~~discouragements~~ discouragements. He expressed a view which seems completely justified according to our varied experiences: The situation in Miss. is a stalemate; therefore, it is going to be the outside forces which throw the balance. The moral persuasion of the NCC may be determinative factor. More than likely Federal action will be increasingly required.
4. R. L. T. Smith (ch. of Jackson movement, unsuccessful cand. for the Senate, successful super market owner, a "preacher") Most needed area that we could serve in, he believes, is in bridging the gap between white and colored churches. This cannot ~~be~~ be left to resident ministers. Cited example of the 4 bishops (Meth., Episc., Cath.) who persuaded the Jackson Movement to delay a boycott until they had chance to talk with their business men. After a week-end postponement the Bishops came back admitting defeat. Felt our conscious effort to communicate in person with civic & church leaders might improve the NCC image--which could get no worse.

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get no worse.

He suggested a number of persons that we might see. State and especially city officials might be told that most of the Jackson Movement goals have been realized in principle, if not in fact. Therefore, they could make the greatest contribution by developing a climate for change. The Hederman Bros. (Jackson papers) as controllers of mass communication in Mississippi hold the key to creating the climate. Why does he not feel dutibound to do this considering the mayor's and Gov.'s hammering away on "keeping law and order." They do not need to endorse integration, but since change is inevitable & we are living under law (CR Bill) they could encourage compliance.

Suggested we have conference with Baptist Ministers' Union to get them off the fence. (This we did not accomplish--something for future NCC volunteers)

Smith seems quite pleased with recent progress, and with the relatively quiet summer so far as incidents in Jackson. Cited the mayor's remark: "Looks like we have some surplus armaments." (Referring to the \$15,000 armored riot car-tank which has not been needed)

5. Saw "In White America."

THURSDAY, August 13

1. Bishop Fendergrass. Newly appointed & has only been in Jackson one week. Many liberal young (and middle-aged) seminary trained ministers have looked forward to the retirement of Bishop Franklin; they are watching to see how strong the new Bishop will lead in social concerns as spelled out by the General Conference. If he proves to continue in the ~~path~~ path of Franklin, they will probably join their colleagues who have left the state in recent months. This is information which Guinn gleaned from extended interviews with Meth. minister in the North Miss. Conf. last March. It is confirmed in the opinion of Ed King, Tougaloo.

"Don't you have to keep you busy in Emmetsburg, Iowa?" was his opening volley. "If I were your Dist. Supt, you'd stay home to ~~pastor~~ pastor your flock & quit meddling elsewhere. How about the Indians--

what are you doing for them?" In the course of this ~~very~~ fruitless interview he told about his growing up with Negroes in S. Carolina, some of his friends....., know the new Iowa Bishop (Jim Thomas, a Negro) very well and count him as a brilliant person...etc." Guinn asked: "But my bishop ~~is~~ is not permitted to worship next door (Galloway Meth. Ch.)." His answer in brief was that he did not think that letting a Negro worship in Galloway would bring in the Kingdom of God." This conversation was a great disappointment, depressing.

Aug. 13 (Cont.)

2. Dr. & Mrs. Ashmore (Ed. of Miss. Meth. Christian Advocate)

This official Meth. paper (weekly) is under direct attack by MAMMAL (Miss. Assoc. of Meth. Min. and Laymen), a wing of the Citizens Council. Guinn is a subscriber to this paper & knows it to be most timid in dealing with any matter vaguely controversial. It has, however, refused to print the vicious articles submitted by MAMMAL, which now has its own widely circulated newsheet. Advocate subscriptions are now down from 25000 to 18,000--financial problem has now reached a crisis.

These are wonderful folks who in terms of years should be thinking of retirement (he is 70) but they are afraid to for fear an extremist would be appointed to succeed him. ~~///~~ Their lives have been threatened many times by telephone. She has been active in promoting the UN--which earned her a cross burning and coffin in front of an Insuramy Bldg. auditorium prior to a UN program which she organized.

3. Charles Wright (Partner in luxurious funeral home, leader in the Citizen's Council along with father & brother John) I (Guinn) did not identify myself with MCC & he did not ask any questions. Very cordial, but sickening. He phoned the Citizen Council office to tell them I would be up for further information.

4. Citizen's Council hqtrs., 3rd floor of ~~_____~~^{Brockway Tower, Plaza} bldg. ~~///~~^{Very} Confederate in decor--but with modern Danish furniture. A high price is put on their propaganda--at least, they do not believe in free distribution. Nothing accomplished except the purchase of \$3 worth (?) of documentary material.

Their influence in legislation evidenced by the fact that Myers Lowman (Circuit Riders of Cincinnati) was paid by state taxes to speak in the public schools and Jr. Colleges of Jackson. Billed as a great anti-Communist, he brought "documents" proving that the Meth. Ch. is communist infiltrated.

5. "Secret meeting" with 3 couples (laymen from Cath., Meth., Episcopal and Presbyterian) from 7:00 p.m. to 12:30 a.m. These native Mississippians are among the silent minority who would like to ~~///~~ speak out bravely on CR, but do not ~~///~~ have enough bravery to risk reprisal.

They illustrated the widespread suspicion in Miss. Told of underground spy system including student spies at Millsap College.

Afraid to speak out, they know that their silence and lack of enthusiasm for segregation has made them suspect. They feel it is only a matter of time until they will probably have to leave. Some have prepared themselves emotionally to leave and have established vocational contacts in north.

Some have quit civic clubs because they could not stomach the standing ovations for Citizen Council leaders. This is apparently a part of the ritual in Rotary & Lions. Rotary is credited with fathering the Citizen Council.

~~///~~ Life-long friends no longer speak--nothing in common. They feel closer to us (group included 4 ministers from Nebraska) who have been together only a few hours of one evening.

No one is really himself in Jackson--even affects health, especially of the "haters" who are having a large number of heart flare-ups.

Strong feeling that Galloway Church may be finished. It has steadily declined in spirit and support since Dr. Seloh (sp) left a year ago because of his strong stand on admitting all races to worship services.

FRIDAY, August 14

1. Much of day spent ~~AAA~~ under leadership of Pearl Draine in contacting the parents of 6 year olds who should be entering the 1st grade. Parents are obviously fearful of what might happen to their children in a predominantly white school. We discovered four parents who seem interested in registering their children.

2. Evening COFO Rally with Dr. Vivian of the Southern Christian Leadership Conf.

SATURDAY, August 15

1. King traveled with car to Indianola to assist in delivering supplies to COFO workers.

2. Guinn participated in the Jackson Freedom School Convention at Anderson Memorial Chapel. The youth considered their various problems (housing, CR, education, jobs, etc.) and made definite goals to be achieved. The climax was the organization of a permanent ~~AAA~~ group to carry out the objectives. Each of the 8 Freedom Schools had 14 representatives--the cream of the crop. They hold much promise as an arm of the Freedom Movement in Jackson.

3. Conversation with anonymous Negro veteran of WW II, now father of 4 young children. Fought in Pacific Theatre for 5 years. Spent several days in feshole with white from Hattiesburg. "We were like brothers then, now ~~AA~~ I cannot even talk with him." He is willing to fight for freedom here same as he did over there. Recalled Japanese psych. warfare aimed at the "chocolate" soldiers. The jist of leaflets dropped on them: Why do you Negroes fight over here when at home your people are being killed. This hurt; it moved him to tears; it was true. He was not fighting for himself so much as he was the white way of life in Miss. He resolved not to be an Uncle Tom when he got home. All his brothers have moved to the North. He stays because "this is my home as much as anybody's. My people built this state and I don't intend to be pushed out."

SUNDAY, August 16.

1. Attended Ross Barnett's Sunday School Class at 1st Baptist. All lecture, no opportunity to discuss or challenge. His strength lies in an abundance of folksy stories and rather warm manner. He ranged widely from the printed lesson to tell of the dangers of the mongrelization of the races. He also has figured out why the FBI is in Miss., namely, to get a little instruction in crime prevention. After all, recent statistics prove that Miss. has the lowest crime rate in nation. After an education here, the FBI will go to work on Harlem. He also appreciates the boost which FBI gives to economy of Miss., after all, they have to eat somewhere, etc. etc. ad nauseum.

2. Guinn worshipped at Galloway; King at 1st Baptist. The church ~~at least the Meth. & Baptist~~ (at least the Meth. & Baptist which court most Missisippians among their leadership) is providing either no leadership in CR or worse in the case of 1st Baptist where Hudgins gives religious respectability to white extremists. Hudgins with the largest congregation in Jackson and a weekly TV service is extremely important in the whole picture. There are apparently no threats to his security ~~such as~~ such as Meth. ministers are experiencing.

Sat., Aug. 15

King:

I spent the day on the road to Indianola and Greenville. Ted from Vermont and the other young man who ran (was running) the depot allowed me to go.

We had an interesting discussion on the way about the morals of people with COFO. I gathered that, ~~some~~^{some} of the young people are having sexual relations with each other, and that this happens across racial lines. I am not necessarily condemning this (here!), nor do I know for sure what the real facts are. Nor do I care to exaggerate it. This is an impression which I picked up from two riders. It certainly raises the question of standards (imposed from above), public image, control, etc.. I don't pretend to know.....

The people at Indianola certainly are on the frontier. The house they live in leaves something to be desired. They seem to be doing to a fine job/. A 1964 grad of Mt. Holyoke may be the person who has placed pictures of the great artists on the walls. We left the clothes for the poor, poor cotton workers whose terrible looking shacks we saw from the car.

At Greenville we had the privilege of hearing a few comments by Hodding Carter, Jr. His political insights were outstanding, I thought. The group was made up of people responsible for the libraries around the state. The depot man handled it.

Greenville seems to be a quiet place in part because of the fine work of the police chief. We visited the offices of ~~the~~^{the} COFO, including the library (on the second fl.). I am amazed at the ~~organization, the work, the thrust of COFO.~~ There may be few tangible changes in Miss. because of the summer work, as the Aug. 19 NY Times suggests, but, as it goes on to say, Mississippi will never be the same. Integrated living and working has been achieved! The nation's eye is on Miss.. The insulation has been punctured.

SUNDAY, Aug. 16

We attended church. Our first stop was the church school class of Gov. Barnett at the First Baptist Church. Very interesting. The man is a segregationist--and, evidently, so were the class members (about 14 handsome, educated, prosperous men). Barnett is kindly--but evil (in the effect of what he preaches).

Hudgins, the pastor is a glamour boy. Perhaps it was the apprehension of being before people, or of appearing on TV, but he sure is pre-occupied with his appearance and mannerisms.

It was equally disturbing to have him congratulate his congregation, being so spiritual, so Christian. He seem to "knock" both the race question (in favor of the whites) and also unions (in favor of management). I am afraid (King speaking) there wasn't much church for me that morning.

But So. Baptists are good on hospitality. The Gregorys, members there (he's a deacon and ch. sch. superintendent) took me (King) to lunch. We argued the whole way. He likes Paul Harvey, Goldwater, fundamentalism, and the rest of these apostates (as I think of them...which doesn't mean that ~~_____~~ I know the answers).

That evening I returned to First Baptist for the service. There was a fair crowd, perhaps 300 (?). The sermon was better.

Monday, Aug. 17

We attempted to see Mayor Allen Thompson. He was one of the few, and perhaps only person, who has been curt with us. He told us that there was no chance of "official" communication between the two so-called races. Then he raced back into his office.

His assistant in the room of the council was pleasant and helpful. He is a big promoter of garden clubs. We enjoyed him, but Thompson pulled him away from us after about 5 or so minutes.

We had a good chat with Mr. Van Zant of the Chamber of Commerce. He is a fairly bright, good-looking young man. He is not a member of the Citizens Council (he even remarked that it was a financial racket), but he is a segregationist. We would be interested in "separate but equal" schools if the respective school boards could or would provide adequately for them--but he knows this hasn't happened. We talked about the state's economic growth and other things. There was disagreement, but we parted friends.

Dr. Cunningham was very pleasant to us at his Galloway Meth. Ch. office. We talked about 30 minutes around 5 p.m.. He is from Mississippi and knows many, many important people from school days at Ole Miss and so forth. (The mayor attends his church.)

Cunningham is a liberal (in King's judgement) but a Mississippi liberal. We were told by a businessman who knows that the pastor of Galloways hates the color bar at the church--Cunningham told us he told the pulpit committee of this view when he was interviewed for the job.

He is a very fine person, but if he deals with the problem with force, or incisiveness, he's going to be "out," period. Some members of his church demanded that funds to World Service be ceased because a small amount (less than 200 dollars) was going to the National Council of Church. These "rightists" won. It is one of the toughest pastorates in the country.

"Doc Gus" is a restaurant owner near to the Guaranty Trust. We talked with him after noticing a sign in his window ~~which~~ which asked the public for patience and understanding in regard to the new civil rights law (and pub. accommodations).