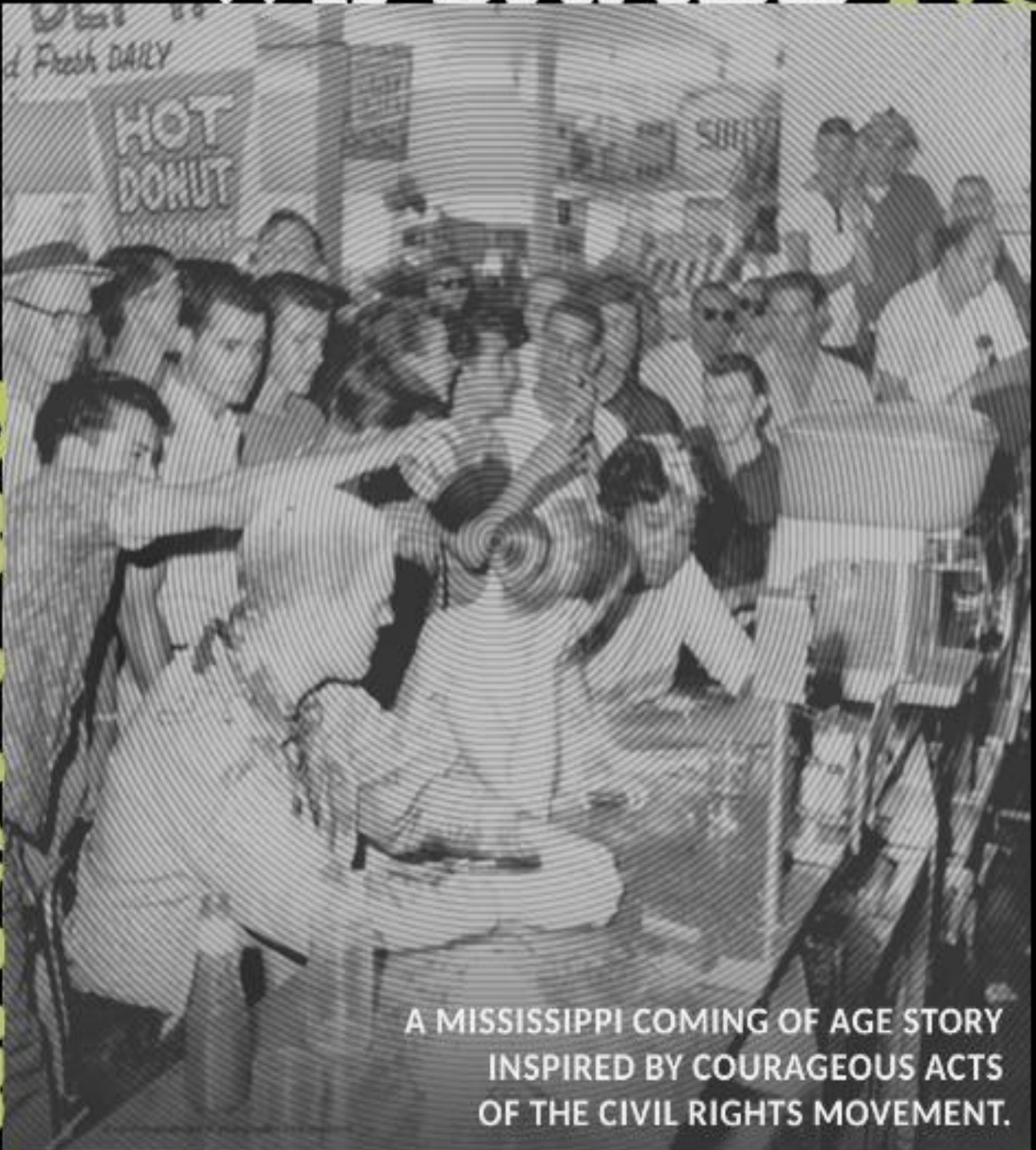


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NEW STAGE
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WE SHALL NOT



A MISSISSIPPI COMING OF AGE STORY
INSPIRED BY COURAGEOUS ACTS
OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT.

DIRECTED BY FRANCINE THOMAS REYNOLDS
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The Cast of *We Shall Not Be Moved: Courage in Mississippi*



KEITH ALLEN DAVIS, JR. (Memphis Norman, Raymond, Medgar Evers, Martin Luther King, Jr., Dave Dennis, Bob Moses) is an actor, writer, musician, and director from Meridian, MS. He recently received his Bachelor of Arts in theatre arts at Alabama State University. During his time at ASU, he has worked on productions such as *Dreamgirls*, *The Wiz*, *Tracks*, *Slammin II*, and *Blues for An Alabama Sky*. He has also written for and co-directed Montgomery, Alabama's performance for the worldwide festival of *The Walk* (Little Amal) in 2023. Since graduating, he was cast as Tim Allgood in *Noises Off* at New Stage Theatre. He hopes to continue to use all the tools he has acquired from Alabama State to propel him successfully into his professional career.



TATIANA GRACE (Anne Moody) is thrilled to be a part of the team at New Stage Theatre! Originating from Georgia, she received her Bachelor of Fine Arts in theatre performance at Columbus State University in Columbus, GA. Her favorite past productions include *Three Little Birds* (Cedella), *Into the Woods* (Jack's Mother), and *Lady Day at Emerson's Bar & Grill* (Billie Holiday). She would like to thank her friends, family, and professors who have helped and supported her along the way.



JACOB HEUER (John Salter, President Kennedy, Reverend Ed King) graduated from the University of Mississippi with a BFA in acting for the stage and screen. In college, he starred in several UM Theatre productions, including performing in *Little Shop of Horrors* (Mr. Mushnik), *Into the Woods* (The Baker), *Polaroid Stories* (G/Zeus), *Legally Blonde* (Mr. Callahan), *Boeing Boeing* (Robert), and *Little Women the Musical* (Mr. Laurence). In the summer seasons of 2023 and 2024, he performed professionally in *Oklahoma!* (Ali Hakim) and in *The Music Man* (Oliver Hix) at the Gertrude C. Ford Center for the Performing Arts. Jacob has spent the last year working as an acting intern at the Florida Repertory Theatre in Fort Myers, Florida, and is looking forward to working with a new group of artists at New Stage Theatre.



ASHLYN PINKERTON (Waitress, Mrs. Claiborne, Mrs. Burke, Mrs. Willis, Trotter, Mrs. King) is a 2024 Belhaven University graduate with a B.A. in theatre performance. She was born and raised in Brandon, Mississippi. Her previous performance roles include *A Lovely Sunday for Creve Coeur* (Dorothea) and *Suite Surrender* (Murphy) at Belhaven University. She made her directing debut at Belhaven with her spaghetti western adaptation of *The Marriage Proposal* by Anton Chekhov. Pinkerton is pursuing a career in film acting and directing. She is thrilled to be a part of New Stage's team.



CAMERON VIPPERMAN (Joan Trumpauer, Linda Jean, Mrs. Rice) is excited to continue her journey of lifelong learning, creativity, and empathy-building with New Stage Theatre. Originally from Columbia, S.C., she is a graduate of Winthrop University's honors program with a Bachelor of Arts in theatre, concentrating in musical theatre and minoring in education. Some of her favorite performances include *Pippin* (Catherine), *The Wizard of Oz* (Dorothy), *Sweeney Todd* (Johanna), and *Romeo and Juliet* (Montague). She has performed professionally as a Resident Chorus Member in three seasons with Opera Carolina. Some of her long-time passions are choral music, piano, musical theatre, history, songwriting, playwriting, summer camp, reading, and drinking coffee on porches. Some of her newer interests are Shakespeare, theatre for youth, vocal pedagogy, and weightlifting. She is so grateful to get to do what she loves as a profession. Micah 6:8

About the Play

We Shall Not Be Moved: Courage in Mississippi, is inspired by the 1968 memoir Coming of Age in Mississippi The Classic Autobiography of Growing Up Poor and Black in the Rural South by Anne Moody and the 2014 novel We Shall Not be Moved: The Jackson Woolworth's Sit-In and the Movement It Inspired by M.J. O'Brien.

Summary of Coming of Age in Mississippi by Anne Moody

First published in 1968, *Coming of Age in Mississippi* is an autobiography of Anne Moody, a black civil rights worker in the 1960s. The memoir starts with Moody (born Essie Mae Moody) as a young child, continues through her high school and college years, and finishes with Moody's work in "the Movement" (civil rights movement). Narrated in the first-person and in a straightforward manner, the book unflinchingly describes poverty, segregated education, violence against black people, systemic racism, and efforts, both successful and unsuccessful, toward voting rights for blacks. Born in rural Mississippi, Moody and her family live as sharecroppers on a white-owned plantation. After her parents separate, Moody's mother becomes a single parent and rears Moody and her siblings by herself for several years. Moody starts working at age 9 to help her family while also going to school. Mama then meets her second husband, Raymond, who builds a house on land owned by his family.

Moody often wonders what makes white people different from black people, but Mama does not want to talk about it. After Emmett Till's murder, Moody becomes very aware of the differences when Mrs. Burke, her employer, makes comments about keeping black people in their place. Moody also witnesses the death of an entire family when Klansmen set the house on fire. Moody begins working in Baton Rouge and New Orleans over the summers as a teenager.

After a fight with Raymond, Moody leaves home at age 17. She finishes high school with very good grades and attends Natchez College on a basketball scholarship. She later receives an academic scholarship to enter Tougaloo College. While at Tougaloo, Moody joins the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Also during college, she works with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Congress on Racial Equality (CORE), and the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) to promote voter registration among Negroes. She also participates in many civil rights actions and demonstrations, including a sit-in at a lunch counter in Jackson, Mississippi. She later renounces nonviolence as a tactic. Moody graduates from Tougaloo and continues work in the Movement. Her social awareness and personal growth parallel the unfolding of the civil rights movement. Working for voter rights and justice provides meaning and purpose in her life, even as Moody encounters hostility and deep losses.

Summary of We Shall Not Be Moved by M.J. O'Brien

We Shall Not Be Moved by M.J. O'Brien is a book about the 1963 Jackson Woolworth's sit-in and its impact on the Civil Rights Movement. The book includes interviews with participants, law enforcement, and reporters. It won the 2014 Lillian Smith Book Award.

Once in a great while, a photograph captures the essence of an era: Three people—one black and two white—demonstrate for equality at a lunch counter while a horde of cigarette-smoking hotshots pour catsup, sugar, and other condiments on the protesters' heads and down their backs. The image strikes a chord for all who lived through those turbulent times of a changing America.

The photograph, which plays a central role in the book's perspectives from frontline participants, caught a moment when the raw virulence of racism crashed against the defiance of visionaries. It now shows up regularly in books, magazines, videos, and museums that endeavor to explain America's largely nonviolent civil rights battles of the late 1950s and early 1960s. Yet for all of the photograph's celebrated qualities, the people in it and the events they inspired have only been sketched in civil rights histories. It is not well known, for instance, that it was this event that sparked to life the civil rights movement in Jackson, Mississippi, in 1963. Sadly, this same sit-in and the protest events it inspired led to the assassination of Medgar Evers, who was leading the charge in Jackson for the NAACP.

We Shall Not Be Moved puts the Jackson Woolworth's sit-in into historical context. Part multifaceted biography, part well-researched history, this gripping narrative explores the hearts and minds of those participating in this harrowing sit-in experience. It was a demonstration without precedent in Mississippi—one that set the stage for much that would follow in the changing dynamics of the state's racial politics, particularly in its capital city.

May 28, 1963: Woolworth Sit-in in Jackson, Mississippi

We Shall Not Be Moved: Courage in Mississippi begins with the Woolworth Sit-in in Jackson, Mississippi on May 28, 1963. The story then flashes back in time to Anne Moody's childhood and college years through her activity in the civil rights movement. The play covers 1950 through the signing of the Civil Rights Act in 1964. The Woolworth Sit-in is a pivotal part of the Mississippi movement and of our play.



On May 28, 1963, students and faculty from Tougaloo College staged a sit-in at the Woolworth's lunch counter in Jackson, Mississippi.

This was the most violently attacked sit-in during the 1960s. A huge mob gathered, with open police support while the three of us sat there for three hours. I was attacked with fists, brass knuckles and the broken portions of glass sugar containers, and was burned with cigarettes.

FBI agents were observing inside but took no action. — Tougaloo College professor John Salter (Hunter Bear), seated in photo on video below with Tougaloo College students Joan Trumpauer (now Mulholland), and Anne Moody (author of *Coming of Age in Mississippi*).

For three hours, the group endured insults and attacks by an increasingly violent white mob. Tougaloo student Memphis Norman was physically thrown from his seat and kicked

in the head as he lay on the floor. The rest of the white mob slapped the protesters, hit them with items from the lunch counter, and even burned cigarettes on their skin. Others dumped drinks on the protesters or laughed as others covered them in sugar, mustard, and ketchup. *Jackson Daily News* photographer Fred Blackwell took the now iconic photo of the sit-in that depicted the anger of the white mob. [Source.]

Learn more about the Jackson sit-in in the book *We Shall Not Be Moved: The Jackson Woolworth's Sit-In and the Movement It Inspired* and related [website](#).

The [Veterans of the Civil Rights Movement](#) also offers important information and resources, as does the book *Coming of Age in Mississippi*.



Characters in *We Shall Not Be Moved: Courage in Mississippi*

Anne Moody (Essie Mae Moody)

Anne Moody is the daughter of Diddly Moody and Toosweet. The eldest of many brothers and sisters, including Adline and Junior, Moody gets her first job at the age of 9 and supports her family while also getting good grades in school. Her sense of responsibility to support her immediate family grows into a sense of larger responsibility to demand better treatment for black people. The question of why society considers black people different from white people, something she ponders as a child, stays with Moody as she grows up. Working for change becomes a driving mission in her adult life. Moody does not accept as an unchangeable reality that black people need to be content as second-class citizens.

Moody is determined to be independent and to do something meaningful with her life. This may be why Moody often finds herself bored in school. She also has a great deal of underlying anger that manifests in her teen years, some of it brought on by the Emmett Till murder. She finds outlets for her anger by playing basketball, taking piano lessons, and leaving home during the summers to work in Baton Rouge and New Orleans.

Moody's anger gives her boldness in her early 20s for sit-ins, demonstrations, jail, and even slamming a window shut in the faces of white policemen. Yet Moody's boldness puts her and her loved ones in danger; she cannot go home to visit her family for fear of Klan retaliation.

Although her investment in the civil rights movement often leaves her feeling overwhelmed and nervous, she persists.

Mama

Also known as Toosweet or Elmira, Mama is the eldest child of a large family that includes her mother, Winnie, sisters Alberta and Celia, brothers Ed and George Lee, and white brothers

Sam and Walter. She is tall and thin with high cheekbones. She has children with two men, Diddly and Raymond. She works hard to meet the basic needs of her children, but because she completed school only to the sixth grade, she cannot help her children with their homework. She has trouble understanding her daughter Moody, and her intellectual and activist pursuits. Despite this, Mama puts pressure on Moody to succeed in ways that Mama cannot, such as when she tells Moody to get better grades than Darlene, Raymond's sister.

Mama also seeks an ally in Moody; she wants her daughter to join Mount Pleasant Baptist instead of Raymond's congregation. Although Mama does not understand Moody's pursuits, she is concerned for Moody's safety and protection, even when their relationship is strained.

Raymond

Raymond is Mama's second husband and Moody's stepfather. He is a soldier when he meets Mama. He is light-skinned, and his family does not approve of Mama's dark skin. Raymond seems unable to stand up to his mother. He also tries unsuccessfully to farm. He resents Moody for unknown reasons, one of which might be that she resists his lust for her.

Mrs. Burke

Mrs. Burke is one of Moody's employers in high school. She is active in guild meetings, which it later becomes clear are actually Klan meetings. Mrs. Burke is the first white person Moody encounters who treats her badly in an overt way.

Wayne

Wayne is Mrs. Burke's son. He and his friends need help with algebra, and Moody tutors them. He and Moody enjoy each other's company, something that makes Mrs. Burke upset. Wayne likes Moody and wants to annoy his mother, but he does not fully realize that his friendly gestures put Moody in danger.

Joan Trumpauer

Joan is a white Tougaloo student who works with SNCC. She and Moody do activist work together, including the Woolworth's sit-in in Jackson.

Reverend Ed King and Mrs. King

Reverend King is a chaplain at Tougaloo College and a civil rights activist. His southern background makes Moody distrustful of him at first, but she comes to know Ed King and his wife better through civil rights work. She respects them deeply and thinks they are some of the best white people she has known.

John Salter Jr.

John Salter Jr. is a professor at Tougaloo College and a community organizer in the civil rights movement.

Dave Dennis

Dave Dennis is a civil rights activist. He is the co-director of the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), and director of Mississippi's Congress of Racial Equality (CORE).

Memphis Norman

Memphis Norman is one of the students at the counter on May 28, 1963.

Bob Moses

Bob Moses is a leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) on voter education and registration in Mississippi. As part of his work with the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), a coalition of the Mississippi branches of the four major civil rights organizations (SNCC, CORE, NAACP, SCLC), he is the main organizer for the Freedom Summer Project.

Medgar Evers

Medgar Wiley Evers is an American civil rights activist and soldier who is working as the NAACP's first field secretary in Mississippi.



Further Information on the Jackson, MS Civil Rights Movement in 1962 and 1963

From: <http://www.crmvet.org/>

Jackson MS, Boycotts (Winter-Spring 1962-1963)

Jackson is Mississippi's capitol and most significant urban area. In 1960, 40% of its 150,000 residents are Black, and Blacks are a clear majority in the surrounding rural areas of Hinds, Madison, and Rankin counties. Jackson is totally segregated, and Blacks are restricted to the lowest-paid menial jobs in the public and private sectors. Jackson is a White Citizens Council stronghold and the Council dominates the local political scene. Mayor Allen Thompson is a rabid segregationist, as are the Governor and state legislators. A miasma of fear lays heavy over the Black community, ruthless police brutality is common, and Klan terrorists lurk in the shadows ready to strike down anyone who challenges the.

In the fall of 1961 and into early 1962, SNCC organizers try to organize protests and register voters in Jackson, but make little headway against police repression and the grip of fear. SNCC moves its main focus into the Mississippi Delta region around Greenwood where there is more hope of success. This leaves the NAACP as the main civil rights organization with an ongoing presence in Jackson. But the Jackson NAACP is largely moribund, most of its Youth Councils are dormant, and only the heroic efforts of NAACP State Field Director Medgar Evers keeps the organization barely alive.

The NAACP's national leadership shun direct-action protests in favor of lawsuits in federal Court, but unlike Alabama where Federal Judge Frank Johnson often rules in favor of civil rights, Mississippi Federal Judge Harold Cox (appointed by President Kennedy) is an ardent segregationist. He almost always rules against the NAACP, forcing them to appeal each case to the Federal Fifth Circuit Court in New Orleans, a process that slows and limits progress.

The national NAACP also emphasizes voter registration, but unlike SNCC who work with the masses of Black sharecroppers, maids, and laborers, the NAACP concentrates their efforts on the small Black elite — ministers, professionals, teachers, business owners. But in Mississippi, the Black elite are vulnerable to the economic terrorism of the White Citizens Council. With some notable exceptions, in 1962 most of them are still unwilling to risk attempting to register.

Back in the fall of 1961, Tougaloo student Colia Lidell (later Colia Lafayette) and Tougaloo teacher Hunter Bear (John Salter) began reactivating and rebuilding the North Jackson NAACP Youth Council (NJYC). By early 1962 it has slowly begun to make headway against the palpable fear. Along with a few high school students such as NJYC President Pearlana Lewis, Lewis Lidell (Colia's brother), and Cleveland Donald, they hold on and dig in deep.

When school resumes in the fall of 1962, they are joined by Tougaloo student Betty Anne Poole, expelled Jackson State students Dorie and Joyce Ladner who have transferred to Tougaloo, and white exchange students Karin Kunstler and Joan Trumpauer. The NJYC continues slow but steady growth, moving their meetings from living rooms to the attic of Virden Grove church. Made up mainly of students Tougaloo and Jackson State and from

Lanier, Hill, and Brinkley high schools, along with some school dropouts and young professor Hunter Bear as their "adult" advisor, they begin distributing the *North Jackson Action*, a mimeographed newsletter.

In early October, Jackson hosts the annual state fair, a major harvest festival. It is completely segregated, the first week is for "whites only," followed by 3 days for "colored." The NJYC calls on Blacks to boycott the "second-hand fair." Any public demonstration, such as picketing, will result in immediate arrest and there is no money for bail. Anyone caught distributing boycott leaflets will also be jailed. Like resistance fighters in occupied territory, the word has to be spread secretly, through clandestine meetings and passing flyers covertly from hand to hand. A telephone tree is organized and sympathizers are asked to call their friends. October 15 is the first day of the "Negro Fair." The boycott is 90% effective, Black fair goers are few and far between to the financial discomfort of white vendors and concessionaires.

Buoyed by the success of the fair boycott, the NJYC and the revived Tougaloo NAACP chapter begin organizing a Christmas boycott of Jackson's downtown merchants (all white, of course). They adopt four key demands:

1. Equality in hiring & promotion
2. End segregation of restrooms, water fountains, lunch counters
3. Courtesy titles such as "Miss," "Mrs," "Mister"
4. Service on first-come first-served basis

Medgar Evers tries to negotiate with the merchants but they refuse to meet with him. The boycott targets 150 white stores including all the "downtown" stores. The plan is to start with a small group of pickets whose inevitable arrest will dramatize the boycott, and then follow up with a campus meeting to mobilize support. Despite pleas by Medgar — who is NAACP state Field Director — the national NAACP leadership is unwilling to provide any bail funds. But enough bond money for six protesters is contributed by the Southern Conference Education Fund (SCEF), NY attorney Victor Rabinowitz, and Dr. King's Gandhi Fund.

On Saturday December 12, the first civil rights demonstration in Jackson since the Freedom Rides takes place on Capitol Street, the main drag of the downtown shopping district. Led by Hunter Bear, the six pickets raise their signs and a swarm of 50 cops immediately arrest them, including Hunter's wife Eldri, and Tougaloo students Betty Poole and Ronald Mitchell.

The mass meeting is held on the Tougaloo campus that night. The next day the NJYC and Tougaloo and high school students begin clandestinely distributing leaflets through Jackson's Black neighborhoods and to Blacks in Hinds, Madison, Rankin, and Yazoo counties. But the end of December, 15,000 flyers have been passed from hand to hand. The telephone tree is activated, speakers are assigned to address church meetings, and "undercover agents" (Black students posing as shoppers) patrol Capitol Street quietly informing out-of-area Black shoppers about the boycott.

Enough bail money is raised for a second team of pickets — Tougaloo students Dorie Ladner and Charles Bracey — to be busted on Capitol Street on December 21. That night, Klan nightriders fire into Hunter Bear's home narrowly missing his baby daughter. Armed guards are posted on the Tougaloo campus.

NY attorney William Kunstler (father of Tougaloo exchange student Karin Kunstler), Gandhi Fund lawyer Clarence Jones, and local Jackson attorney Jess Brown devise a new legal strategy. Pointing out the obvious fact that civil rights demonstrators cannot possibly receive a fair trial in segregated state courts that only allow whites to serve on juries, they petition to have the picket cases transferred to federal court under an old Reconstruction Era statute. The racist Federal Judge Harold Cox denies their petition and they appeal his ruling to the Fifth Circuit in New Orleans. While the case is working its way through the judicial system, the pickets are free on bail and their trials are postponed. The removal petition eventually succeeds, setting a precedent for transferring civil rights cases from all over the South to federal court where they enter a legal limbo and are never brought to trial.

The Christmas boycott is surprisingly effective, honored by roughly 60% of the Black population. And once the pressure of providing Christmas gifts to children is past, the boycott gains strength as it continues into 1963. In tacit admission of the economic hardship being suffered by the white merchants, the City waives the annual property taxes for businesses being boycotted. But despite their economic losses, the white business owners refuse to negotiate with Blacks or make any changes in segregation. And the White Citizens Council stands ready to foreclose mortgages, stop supplies, and mobilize a white boycott against any merchant who wavers in steadfast support of segregation.

Jackson Sit-in & Protests (May-June, 1963)

By Easter, 70% of Black shoppers are supporting the boycott of Jackson's white-owned stores. 10,000 leaflets a month are being clandestinely distributed in Jackson and the surrounding area — a total of 110,000 by the end of May. Most of Jackson's Black churches allow boycott leaders to speak at Sunday services. Boycott committees are active in many of Jackson's Black neighborhoods and there are student committees at the three Black high schools, Lanier, Brinkly, and Jim Hill. Supporters in the North are mounting sympathy pickets against Woolworths and other chain stores in Chicago, Denver, Los Angeles, New York, San Francisco, and elsewhere.

The boycott is energized and sustained by the young activists of the NAACP Youth Councils. But against the entrenched resistance of the White Citizens Council backed by state and local government, they know that the boycott alone is not strong enough to break segregation in Jackson Mississippi. Inspired by the Birmingham Movement, they are convinced that similar mass protests are necessary in Jackson. NAACP state Field Director Medgar Evers shares their views, but the NAACP's national leaders prefer lawsuits and voter education to mass direct-action, and they control the purse-strings. Though they reluctantly accept the necessity of a few pickets being arrested to publicize the boycott, they adamantly oppose sit-ins, mass marches, or other tactics that they associate with Dr. King, whom they view as an upstart rival.

As an employee of the national organization, Medgar is prohibited from endorsing or participating in mass direct-action. But the other NAACP activists in Jackson are unpaid volunteers and thus have more freedom to chart their own course. On May 12, Jackson boycott leaders send a letter to the white power structure demanding fair employment, an end to segregation, and biracial negotiations with officials and community leaders. Large-scale, Birmingham-style, direct-action is threatened if the city refuses to meet with Black leaders. The letter is signed by Medgar, Mrs. Doris Allen who is President of the Jackson NAACP, and Hunter Bear (John Salter) the NAACP Youth Council's adult advisor.

Led by Mayor Allen Thompson, the power-structure adamantly refuses to make any concessions or to meet with Black leaders.

A mass meeting is called on May 21 at the Pearl Street AME church. The cops surround the church, but over 600 people — a cross-section of the community, young and old, poor and affluent — defy police intimidation to ratify the demands in the May 12 letter and democratically elect a 14-member negotiating committee.

Mayor Thompson refuses to meet with the elected committee. Instead he appoints his own "Negro Committee" composed of conservative, pro-segregation Blacks, such as Jackson State College President Jacob Reddix who had previously suppressed civil rights activity on his campus.

One week later, on Tuesday, May 28, after training in the tactics of Nonviolent Resistance by Dave Dennis of CORE, young activists Lois Chafee, Perlina Lewis, Anne Moody, Memphis Norman, Joan Trumpauer, and Walter Williams, sit-in at Woolworth's lunch counter on Capitol Street in downtown Jackson. They are joined by youth advisor Hunter Bear. Mercedes Wright (NAACP Georgia youth advisor) and Tougaloo Chaplain Reverend Ed King act as observers.

The boycott pickets outside are immediately arrested as usual. But, surprisingly, the cops do not bust those who are sitting in. Instead, a mob of white teenagers and young men are allowed (encouraged) to enter Woolworths to attack the sit-ins, cursing, punching, covering them with mustard, ketchup, & sugar. Water mixed with pepper is thrown into their eyes. Jackson Police Captain Ray and dozens of cops do nothing as Memphis Norman is pulled from his stool, beaten and kicked. After he loses consciousness, the cops arrest him. Joan too is beaten, kicked, and dragged to the door, but with steadfast, nonviolent courage she manages to resume her seat. FBI agents observe, and as usual do nothing.

Hunter Bear (John Salter) later described what happened:

Someone struck me several hard blows on the side of my face. I almost passed out and had to grip the counter for support. My face was bleeding. Then I was struck on the back of the head and almost passed out again. I was dizzy and could hardly hear myself talking, but I asked Annie Moody what she thought of the final examination questions that I had asked in Introduction to Social Studies. She smiled and said that she felt they were much too

tough. Joan Trumpauer began to talk about her final exams. More ketchup and mustard were poured over us. Then sugar was dumped in our hair. We talked on. [4]

George Raymond of New Orleans CORE arrives and joins the sit-ins. Dr. A. D. Beittel, President of Tougaloo College, sits down to join the students' protest. Unable to intimidate the sit-ins, the mob begins to smash up the store. At that point, the police immediately order them out. In Mississippi it's okay to savagely attack "race mixers," but destroying commercial property won't be tolerated.

The Mayor meets with the Black "leaders" selected by him and tells them he will desegregate public facilities such as parks and libraries, hire some Negro cops, and promote a few Black sanitation workers.

That night, more than 1,000 people attend a mass meeting at Pearl St. Church to support the boycott and the sit-ins. The young activists call for mass protest marches like those in Birmingham. But at the urging of the more conservative Black ministers, the young activists agree to temporarily halt demonstrations while the Mayor's promise is tested.

The next day, Wednesday May 29, the Mayor denies that he made any concessions at all. He announces that protests will not be tolerated and hastily deputizes 1,000 "special officers" drawn from the ranks of the most virulent racists. A mob of whites and over 200 cops prowl Capitol Street ready to pounce on any pickets or sit-ins. Woolworths and other stores close their lunch counters and remove the seats. Pickets led by local NAACP chair Doris Allen are immediately arrested, but students successfully desegregate the Jackson library (scene of the Tougaloo Nine arrest in 1961).

That night a firebomb is thrown at Medgar's home. The police refuse to investigate, calling it a "prank." The following day, Thursday May 30, more pickets and sit-ins are arrested.

With the public school term ending the next day (Friday, the 31st), high school students begin mobilizing for mass marches to begin as soon as school lets out. At Lanier and Brinkley High, Youth Council activists lead several hundred students singing freedom songs on the lawn during lunch break. Cops force the Lanier students back into the building with clubs and dogs. The school is surrounded, and parents are beaten and arrested when try to reach school.

To protest police brutality, Tougaloo students and community adults stage a nonviolent protest at the Jackson Federal building (site of Federal Court, FBI, and US Marshal's offices). Even though they are on Federal property and their action is protected by the First Amendment, they are immediately arrested by the Jackson police. FBI agents and Justice Department officials observe this violation of Constitutionally-protected free speech, but do nothing about it.

As soon as school lets out for the summer on Friday May 31st, close to 600 Lanier, Brinkley, and Jim Hill high school students join students on summer break from Tougaloo and Jackson State at Farish Street Baptist Church for the first mass march. Their plan is continuous marches like Birmingham with jail-no-bail for those arrested (there is no

money for bail bonds, and the cost of incarcerating hundreds of protesters will put pressure on the authorities).

Hundreds of cops, troopers, "special deputies," and sheriffs surround the church. Whites in cars prowl the city waving Confederate flags. Led by NAACP youth organizer Willie Ludden, the students march out of the church two-by-two on the sidewalk. Carrying American flags, they start towards the downtown shopping district on Capital Street. The cops block the street. They grab the flags from the marchers and drop them in the dirt. Beating some of the marchers with clubs, they force them into garbage trucks and take them to the animal stockade at the nearby state fairgrounds. "*Just like Nazi Germany,*" observes World War II veteran Medgar Evers who is not allowed to participate in the march by his NAACP superiors. U.S. Department of Justice officials observe, and do nothing.

That night 1500 people attend a huge mass meeting. Though the students planned to go jail-no-bail, NAACP lawyers who oppose mass marches convince many of them to bond out. And the minors are forced to sign a no-demonstration pledge before being released. But a hard core of protesters over the age of 18 hold out, refusing to sign the pledge.

On Saturday, June 1st NAACP national head Roy Wilkins, Medgar Evers, and Mrs. Helen Wilcher of Jackson are arrested for picketing downtown stores. It is Wilkins first-ever civil rights arrest, and the three are quickly bonded out. A number of national NAACP leaders are now in Jackson vigorously opposing mass marches and mass arrests. They argue for voter registration and continuing the boycott in the same manner as the past six months. Despite their opposition, late in the day 100 students and adults march. The cops are caught by surprise, and the marchers manage to get several blocks through the Black community before being surrounded and hauled to the fair grounds stockade in garbage trucks.

On Sunday June 2nd, the Jackson NAACP offices are locked up tight and there is no place for marchers to gather. Using their control of funds, the national NAACP leaders oust the student and Youth Council activists from the democratically elected strategy committee and replace them with conservative ministers and affluent community "leaders" who oppose Birmingham-style mass action. The new, reconstituted, committee agrees to refocus on the boycott, voter registration, and court cases.

Over the following days the national NAACP leaders prevent any new mass marches. Without the sustaining energy of mass action, morale sags and attendance at mass meetings drops, though a hard core of students are still holding out in the stockade, refusing to be bonded out.

On Thursday, June 6th, a Hinds County court issues a sweeping injunction against all forms of movement activity. Though the injunction blatantly violates Constitutionally protected rights of free-speech and assembly, the national NAACP leaders who have taken over the Jackson movement choose not defy it with direct-action. Discouraged and disheartened, the last students accept bond and leave the stockade. Noted comedian Dick Gregory, who had come to Jackson to participate in demonstrations returns to Chicago saying: "*The NAACP decided to go into the courts — and I'm no attorney. I*

came down here to be with that little man in the streets; and I was willing to go to jail for ten years, if necessary to get this problem straight."

Though the boycott continues to be effective, store-owners dare not go against the White Citizens Council by hiring Blacks or integrating facilities no matter how much business they lose. Without the pressure of sit-ins and mass marches, neither local officials nor the Federal government have any reason to challenge the status quo. And without the defiance of young protesters inspiring the courage of their elders, the NAACP's voter registration drive has little success.

Medgar Evers Assassination (June, 1963)

After a late meeting, and buoyed by President Kennedy's eloquent address to the nation on civil rights, NAACP state Field Director Medgar Evers returns to his Jackson home a bit after midnight in the early morning hours of June 12.

Hiding behind a bush with a high-power rifle is KKK and White Citizens Council member Byron De La Beckwith of Greenwood MS. He shoots Medgar in the back and flees into the night. Medgar's wife Myrlie and their children rush to his side as he lays dying in the driveway. He is just 37 years old when they gun him down. (Dr. King is just 39 when he is assassinated in Memphis five years later.)

At the time of his assassination, Medgar Evers is the most prominent leader of the Mississippi freedom movement. The son of sharecroppers, he grows up in Decatur, Mississippi. He and his wife Myrlie move to Mound Bayou in the Mississippi delta where they begin organizing NAACP chapters in 1952. (Mound Bayou is a Black town founded by freed slaves in the late 1800s.) In 1954 Medgar becomes the state's first NAACP field secretary, courageously traveling the state to organize and sustain the movement. He plays a key role in the desegregation of the University of Mississippi and the Jackson Movement.

Medgar's assassination is part of a KKK plot to simultaneously murder freedom workers in three states: Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama. Later that day, Klansman brutally beat SNCC worker Bernard Lafayette in Selma Alabama. A CORE worker in Louisiana is also targeted, but the Klan is unable to locate him.

Evers — a former Sargent in the U.S. Army and World War II veteran — is buried with full honors in the Arlington National Cemetery on June 19.

On June 23, De La Beckwith is arrested for the murder. His fingerprints are on the rifle, witnesses place him at the scene, and he boasts of his crime to White Citizen Council and Klan buddies. An all-white jury refuses to convict him. During the trial, De La Beckwith is visited by Mississippi Governor Ross Barnett and Major General Edwin A. Walker who had helped incite the white mob when James Meredith integrated Ole Miss in 1962. De La Beckwith is tried a second time, and again an all-white jury fails to convict him. As Medgar's friend Sam Baily put it: "*A white man got more time for killing a rabbit out of season than for killing a Negro in Mississippi.*"

Medgar's brother Charles takes over as NAACP Field Secretary and continues working in the freedom struggle. Myrlie and the children move to California where she enrolls in Pomona College, graduating in 1968. She is active in public affairs and continues the struggle to have her husband's murderer arrested, tried, and punished. In 1995 she is elected the national Chairwoman of the NAACP and serves in that position until 1998.

Finally, in 1994 — after a thirty year campaign for justice — the state of Mississippi finds the political will to bring a known killer to justice. Byron De La Beckwith is tried a third time and convicted by a jury of eight Blacks and four whites. He is given a life sentence, and dies in prison in 2001.

Medgar's Funeral and the End of the Jackson Movement (June)

On the morning of Medgar Evers Assassination (June 12), former Tougaloo student Colia Lidell (now married to Bernard Lafayette and working for SNCC in Selma, Alabama), Hunter Bear (John Salter), Perleana Lewis, Willie Ludden of the NAACP, and Dave Dennis of CORE, lead a protest march of 200 people, half of them adults, from the Masonic Temple (NAACP HQ) on Lynch Street. They are blocked by a swarm of hundreds of cops who arrest 150 and violently force the others to disperse with clubs and guns.

The young activists mobilize for a mass meeting at Pearl Street church that evening from which they intend to stage a large night march. Even though the police surround the church and intimidate those trying to attend, there is a huge turnout. But the national NAACP leaders in Jackson cancel the night march as too dangerous.

The next day, (Thursday, June 13) after training in nonviolent tactics by Dave Dennis of CORE, the young activists stage a mass march from Pearl Street church. The cops block it, tearing American flags from the hands of marchers as they arrest them. A crowd of Black bystanders watching the police brutality chant, "*Freedom! Freedom Now!*" The cops charge into the crowd to arrest and beat Hunter Bear who is observing the march from the porch of a nearby home. White Movement activists Steve Rutledge and Lois Chafee are also arrested with him. The cops and local press blame "outside agitators" for the growing anger and unrest among Jackson Blacks. Taken to the fair grounds stockade, the marchers are brutalized and some are forced into broiling hot "sweat boxes" under the blazing sun on a day when the temperature soars to over 100 degrees.

That night there is another huge mass meeting in the sweltering Blair Street AME church. In memory of Medgar, SCLC offers to set up a "Medgar Evers Memorial Bail Bond Fund," but NAACP national officers in New York reject the offer out of organizational rivalry. Dave Dennis of CORE and NAACP youth advisor Hunter Bear argue for continuing the mass actions, but the national NAACP leaders in Jackson block them.

On Friday, June 14, young activists again gather for a march, but national NAACP leaders tell them that if they are arrested that day they won't be out of jail in time to attend Medgar's funeral scheduled for Saturday. Everyone is expecting a massive demonstration in conjunction with the funeral. Most of the young demonstrators don't want to risk missing the funeral march, so only 37 are willing to protest. It is Flag Day, so they go

downtown carrying American flags, but no signs of any kind. They are beaten and arrested, their flags seized.

The city agrees to allow a mass funeral procession from the Masonic Temple to Collins funeral home on Farish street, but only if none of the marchers carry any signs advocating integration or an end to segregation, and the march is silent with no singing, chanting, or speech-making allowed — in other words, that it cannot in any way be considered a demonstration. The national NAACP leaders agree to those terms and forbid the young activists from engaging in protest activity during or after the funeral procession. Though bitterly disappointed, the militants who had worked so closely with Medgar understand that unity and discipline are essential.

On Saturday, June 15, more than 5,000 people march in solemn funeral procession to honor Medgar Evers. Among them are Nobel laureate Ralph Bunche, Dr. King, SNCC workers from the Delta, and thousands of Blacks from all over the state.

An army of Jackson police, State Troopers, and sheriff's deputies from many counties surround Collins funeral home. They are armed with rifles, shotguns, pistols, and snarling attack dogs. Their faces are filled with hate. When the procession ends, the crowd spontaneously starts singing freedom songs in violation of the "silence" agreement. Suddenly they surge down Farish street towards Capitol Street in a spontaneous, unplanned, unorganized march. Police invade a nearby building to arrest (yet again) Hunter Bear and Reverend Ed King who are trying to find a telephone.

The police phalanx manages to block the marchers just short of Capitol Street. With clubs beating heads bloody, dogs lunging on their leashes, they slowly force the huge throng back to the Black portion of Farish street. Firing pistols and rifles over the protesters' heads they drive them up Farish Street, shattering the 2nd-story windows of Black-owned businesses. Enraged by the vicious police violence, some angry Blacks retaliate by throwing rocks and bottles at the cops. As the troopers and deputies prepare to fire directly into the crowd, Department of Justice attorney John Doar places himself between the two opposing forces to avert a blood bath.

With Medgar dead, the national NAACP leaders and conservative ministers bypass the elected steering committee and take complete control of the Jackson movement. Overruling the Youth Council activists and a large segment of Jackson's Black community, they quash any resumption of mass direct-action.

Meanwhile, behind the scenes, President Kennedy and his brother Attorney General Robert Kennedy pressure Mayor Thompson to make some concessions to the NAACP/minister committee because otherwise they won't be able to forestal new protests. In return for a no-demonstrations pledge, the Mayor agrees to hire six "Negro Police" and eight Black crossing guards, promote eight Black sanitation workers, and he promises that the City Council will hear Negro grievances in the future. But he refuses to accept a biracial committee. Nor is there any agreement on the part of store-owners to desegregate lunch counters, rest rooms, or other public facilities, hire Blacks, or use courtesy titles such as "Mister" or "Miss" to Black customers.

[Today, the term "Negro Police" might be assumed to refer to law officers who are Black, but in the South of the 1960s that term had a special and particular meaning. While the specifics varied from one town to another, for the most part "Negro Police" were paid less than white cops, often had different badges (or no badges at all), could only work in Black neighborhoods, and were usually not permitted to arrest a white person even if they observed that person commit a crime. As a general rule, they were armed with clubs, but not guns. "Negro Police" could not work with, or ride with, white officers in any role that might imply equality with a white cop (female police officers of any race were unheard of). In some jurisdictions, "Negro Police" were not considered peace officers by the local judicial system. Freedom Movement activists of CORE, SCLC, and SNCC did not consider the hiring of "Negro Police" to be any kind of victory, but rather a continuation of segregation.]

On Tuesday, June 18, the son of a White Citizens Council leader forces another car into a head-on collision with an auto driven by Hunter Bear in an assassination attempt disguised as a road accident. Rev. Ed King is riding with him. Just before the crash, Jackson police who are tailing the two freedom fighters are observed talking at length on their police radio — presumably reporting their position to set up the "accident." Both Hunter and King are hospitalized with serious injuries, but both survive.

Disheartened and disillusioned by the national NAACP's actions, those Youth Council students who continue their Freedom Movement activity turn to SNCC and CORE organizing projects outside of Jackson. Ed King remains active with COFO. Hunter Bear goes on to work for the Southern Convergence Education Fund (SCEF) in North Carolina and elsewhere. Without the power of mass action, the boycott fails to desegregate white-only facilities or obtain jobs for Blacks in white-owned businesses. Segregation remains the law in Jackson until it is overturned by the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and defacto segregation continues for long after. The NAACP's 1963 voter registration campaign fails, few voters are registered in Jackson until the Voting Rights Act of 1965 is finally passed after two more years of heroic struggle, deep-root organizing, and mass action.

As Movement veterans, we note the following about the Jackson Movement of 1962-63 and the assassination of Medgar Evers:

- The Jackson Movement substantially cracked the mantle of fear which had enveloped the Black community in Jackson and its environs.
- It destroyed the self-serving white myth of Black satisfaction in Jackson and nearby counties.
- The violence of Movement opponents played a significant role in supporting the eventual passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Film clips of the much-televised Woolworth Sit-In were shown to Congress at several points in debate over the Act.
- The Jackson Movement, and Medgar's martyrdom, played an important role in focusing national and international attention on Mississippi.
- Nourished by the sacrifices of the Jackson Movement, the boycott lived on — weakening the white merchants' opposition to desegregation and eroding the hold on them by the White Citizens Council. By the time the Civil Rights Act of 1964

came into force, the white businessmen of Jackson were in no mood to do anything except quickly comply by ending formal, overt, segregation. But equal employment took much longer, and to some degree job discrimination lingers to this day.

March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom



Lincoln Memorial, Martin Luther King, Jr. National Historical Park, Martin Luther King, Jr. Memorial, National Mall and Memorial Parks

It was the largest gathering for civil rights of its time. An estimated 250,000 people attended the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom on August 28, 1963, arriving in Washington, D.C. by planes, trains, cars, and buses from all over the country.

Demonstrators marching in the street during the March on Washington, 1963

Photo by Marion S. Trikosko, LOC, LC-U9- 10344-14
March on Washington Intro

The event focused on employment discrimination, civil rights abuses against African Americans, Latinos, and other disenfranchised groups, and support for the Civil Rights Act that the Kennedy Administration was attempting to pass through Congress. This momentous display of civic activism took place on the National Mall, "America's Front Yard" and was the culmination of an idea born more than 20 years before.

While the March was a collaborative effort, sponsored by leaders of various student, civil rights, and labor organizations, the original idea came from A. Philip Randolph, a labor organizer and founder of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and the Negro American Labor Council (NALC). His vision for a march on the Nation's Capital dated to the 1940s when he twice proposed large-scale marches to protest segregation and discrimination in the U.S. military and the U.S. defense industry and to pressure the White House to take action. The pressure worked. President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 8802 (Prohibition of Discrimination in the Defense Industry, 1941) and President Truman signed Executive Order 9981 (Desegregation of the Armed Forces, 1948), and Randolph cancelled the marches.

Bayard Rustin (L) and Cleveland Robinson (R) in front of the March on Washington headquarters, August 7, 1963

Photo by Orlando Fernandez, LOC, LC-USZ62-133369



Organizing the March

By the 1960s, a public expression of dissatisfaction with the status quo was considered necessary and a march was planned for 1963, with Randolph as the titular head. Joining Randolph in sponsoring the March were the leaders of the five major civil rights groups: Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Whitney Young of the National Urban League (NUL), Martin Luther King, Jr. of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), James Farmer of Congress On Racial Equality, and John Lewis of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). These "Big Six," as they were called, expanded to include Walter Reuther of the United Auto Workers (UAW), Joachim Prinz of the American Jewish Congress (AJC), Eugene Carson Blake of the Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches, and Matthew Ahmann of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice. In addition, Dorothy Height of the National Council of Negro Women participated in the planning, but she operated in the background of this male dominated, leadership group.

The March was organized in less than 3 months. Randolph handed the day-to-day planning to his partner in the March on Washington Movement, Bayard Rustin, a pioneer of the 1947 Journey of Reconciliation and a brilliant strategist of nonviolent direct action protests. Rustin planned everything, from training "marshals" for crowd control using nonviolent techniques to the sound system and setup of porta-potties. There was also an Organizing Manual that laid out a statement of purpose, specific talking points, and logistics. Rustin saw that to maintain order over such a large crowd, there needed to be a highly organized support structure.



Rustin coordinated a staff of over 200 civil rights activists and organizers to assist in publicizing the march and recruiting marchers, organizing churches to raise money, coordinating buses and trains, and administering all of the other logistical details. In many ways, the March defied expectations. The number of people that attended exceeded the initial estimates made by the organizers. Rustin had indicated that they expected over 100,000 people to attend - the final estimate was 250,000, 190,000 blacks and 60,000 whites. View of crowds on the National Mall from the Lincoln Memorial to the Washington Monument, August 28, 1963

Photo by Warren K. Leffler, LOC, LC-U9- 10360-5
A Powerful, Peaceful Protest

With that many people converging on the city, there were concerns about violence. The Washington, D.C. police force mobilized 5,900 officers for the march and the government mustered 6,000 soldiers and National Guardsmen as additional protection. President Kennedy thought that if there were any problems, the negative perceptions could undo the civil rights bill making its way through Congress. In the end, the crowds were calm and there were no incidents reported by police.

While the March was a peaceful occasion, the words spoken that day at the Lincoln Memorial were not just uplifting and inspirational such as Martin Luther King Jr.'s "I Have a Dream" speech, they were also penetrating and pointed. There was a list of "Ten Demands" from the sponsors, insisting on a fair living wage, fair employment policies, and desegregation of school districts. John Lewis in his speech said that "we do not want our freedom gradually but we want to be free now" and that Congress needed to pass "meaningful legislation" or people would march through the South. Although the SNCC chairman had toned down his remarks at the request of white liberals and moderate black allies, he still managed to criticize both political parties for moving too slowly on civil rights. Others such as Whitney Young and Joachim Prinz spoke of the need for justice, for equal opportunity, for full access to the American Dream promised with the Declaration of Independence and reaffirmed with the passage of the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments. They spoke of jobs, and of a life free from the indifference of lawmakers to people's plights.

In the end, after all of the musical performances, speeches, and politics, it was the people that truly made the March on Washington a success. They brought box lunches, having spent all they could spare to get to Washington; some dressed as if attending a church service while others wore overalls and boots; veterans of the Civil Rights Movement and individuals new to the issues locked arms, clapped and sang and walked. Many began without their leaders, who were making their way to them from meetings on Capitol Hill. They could no longer be patient and they could no longer be held back, and so they started to march - Black, White, Latino, American Indian, Jewish, Christian, men, women, famous, anonymous, but ultimately all Americans, all marching for their civil rights.

16th Street Baptist Church Bombing (1963)

The 16th Street Baptist was a large and prominent church located downtown, just blocks from Birmingham's commercial district and City Hall. Just before 11 o'clock on September 15, 1963, instead of rising to begin prayers, the congregation was knocked to the ground. As a bomb exploded under the steps of the church, they sought safety under the pews and shielded each other from falling debris.



16th Street Baptist Church, Birmingham, Alabama

On September 15, 1963, the congregation of the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama greeted each other before the start of Sunday service. In the basement of the church, five young girls, two of them sisters, gathered in the ladies room in their best dresses, happily chatting about the first days of the new school year. It was Youth Day and excitement filled the air, they were going to take part in the Sunday adult service.

Just before 11 o'clock, instead of rising to begin prayers the congregation was knocked to the ground. As a bomb exploded under the steps of the church, they sought safety under the pews and shielded each other from falling debris. In the basement, four little girls were killed—14-year-olds Addie Mae Collins, Denise McNair, Carole Robertson, and 11-year-old Cynthia Wesley. Addie's sister Sarah survived, but lost her right eye.

In the moments after the explosion, questions hung in the air—'Where is my loved one?'



'Are they ok?' 'How much longer can this violence last?' They did not ask if this was an accident, they knew that this was a bomb that had exploded as it had dozens of times before in "Bombingham."

16th Street Baptist Church interior after the bombing

Birmingham Public Library

The Aftermath

Upon learning of the bombing at the Church, Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. sent a telegram to Alabama Governor George Wallace, a staunch and vocal segregationist, stating bluntly: "The blood of our little children is on your hands." The

brutal attack and the deaths of the four little girls shocked the nation and drew international attention to the violent struggle for civil rights in Birmingham. Many whites were as outraged by the incident as blacks and offered services and condolences to the families. Over, 8,000 people attended the girls' funeral service at Reverend John Porter's Sixth Avenue Baptist Church.

The deaths of the four girls was followed two months later by the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, causing an outpouring of national grief, galvanizing the civil rights movement and ensuring the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

Why This Church?

16th Street Baptist was a large and prominent church located downtown, just blocks from Birmingham's commercial district and City Hall. Since its construction in 1911, the church had served as the centerpiece of the city's African American community, functioning as a meeting place, social center, and lecture hall. Because of its size, location, and importance to the community, the church served as headquarters for civil rights mass meetings and rallies in the early 1960s.

Birmingham was the most segregated city in the United States and in April 1963, after an invitation by Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth to come help desegregate Birmingham, the city

became the focus of Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). The desegregation campaign conceived by Shuttleworth was known as "Project C" and was to be a series of nonviolent protests and boycotts.

Despite resistance from some of the church's leadership and members of the congregation, the 16th Street Baptist Church joined the SCLC in their campaign. The church became the departure point for many of the demonstrations that took place in the city. On May 2, 1963, students ranging in age from eight to eighteen gathered at the church to march downtown and talk to the new mayor about segregation. After leaving the church they were met by police and many were jailed. By the time the "Children's Crusade" and the ensuing demonstrations ended on May 10th, thousands of children and adults had been injured by fire hoses and attack dogs and incarcerated by order of "Bull" Connor, Commissioner of Public Safety.

The church came to be viewed by many as a symbol and a rallying place for civil rights activists; and it became the focal point for racial tensions and white hostility towards the civil rights movement in Birmingham.



Bomb-damaged home of Arthur Shores, September 5, 1963

Marion S. Trikosko, LOC, LC-U9- 10409-18A

Why Then?

Due to the success of the Birmingham Campaign, on May 10, 1963, the city agreed to desegregate lunch counters, restrooms, drinking fountains, and fitting rooms, to hire African Americans in stores as salesmen and clerks, and to release the jailed demonstrators. White segregationists opposed desegregation, however, and violence continued to plague the city.

On May 11th, a bomb destroyed the Gaston Motel where Martin Luther King, Jr. had been staying and another damaged the house of King's brother, A. D. King. NAACP attorney Arthur Shores' house was fire bombed on August 20th and September 4th in retaliation for his attempts to help integrate the Birmingham public schools. On September 9th, President John F. Kennedy took control of the Alabama National Guard, which Governor Wallace was using to block court-ordered desegregation of public schools in Birmingham. Around that time Robert Chambliss, who would later be named as a suspect in the 16th Street Baptist Church bombing, foreshadowed the violence to come when he told his niece, "Just wait until Sunday morning and they'll beg us to let them segregate."



March sponsored by CORE in memory of the four little girls, 16th Street, NW, Washington, D.C., September 22, 1963

Thomas J. O'Halloran, LOC, LC-U9-10515-6A

Eventual Justice

The FBI office in Birmingham launched an immediate investigation. In a 1965 memo to J. Edgar Hoover, FBI agents named four men as primary suspects for the bombing - Thomas Blanton, Robert Chambliss, Bobby Frank Cherry, and Herman Cash. All four men were members of Birmingham's Cahaba River Group, a splinter group of the Eastview Klavern #13 chapter of the Ku

Klux Klan. Eastview Klavern #13 was considered one of the most violent groups in the South and was responsible for the 1961 attacks on the Freedom Riders at the Trailways bus station in Birmingham.

The investigation ended in 1968 with no indictments. According to the FBI, although they had identified the four suspects, witnesses were reluctant to talk and physical evidence was lacking. In addition, information from FBI surveillances was not admissible in court. Hoover chose not to approve arrests, stating, "The chance of prosecution in state or federal court is remote." Although Chambliss was convicted on an explosives charge, no charges were filed in the 1960s for the bombing of the church.

In 1971, Alabama Attorney General Bill Baxley reopened the case, requesting evidence from the FBI and building trust with witnesses who had been reluctant to testify. Investigators discovered that, while the FBI had accumulated evidence against the bombers, under orders from Hoover they had not disclosed the evidence to county prosecutors. Robert Chambliss was convicted of murder on November 14, 1977; however, it would be decades before the other suspects were tried for their crimes. In 2000, the FBI assisted Alabama state authorities in bringing charges against the remaining suspects. On May 1, 2001, Thomas Blanton was convicted and sentenced to life in prison. In 2002, Bobby Frank Cherry was convicted as well. His boasts that he was the one who planted the bomb next to the church wall helped send Cherry to prison for life. Herman Cash died in 1994 having never been prosecuted for the murders of the four girls.

President Johnson signs Civil Rights Act



On July 2, 1964, U.S. President Lyndon B. Johnson signs into law the historic Civil Rights Act in a nationally televised ceremony at the White House.

In the landmark 1954 case *Brown v. Board of Education*, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that racial segregation in schools was unconstitutional. The 10 years that followed saw great strides for the African American civil rights movement, as non-violent demonstrations won thousands of supporters to the cause.

Memorable landmarks in the struggle included the Montgomery Bus Boycott in 1955—sparked by the refusal of Alabama resident Rosa Parks to give up her seat on a city bus to a white passenger—and the “I Have a Dream” speech by Martin Luther King Jr. at a rally of hundreds of thousands in Washington, D.C., in 1963.

Civil Rights Act

As the strength of the civil rights movement grew, John F. Kennedy made passage of a new civil rights bill one of the platforms of his successful 1960 presidential campaign. As Kennedy’s vice president, Johnson served as chairman of the President’s Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities. After Kennedy was assassinated in November 1963, Johnson vowed to carry out his proposals for civil rights reform.

The Civil Rights Act fought tough opposition in the House and a lengthy, heated debate in the Senate before being approved in July 1964. For the signing of the historic legislation, Johnson invited hundreds of guests to a televised ceremony in the White House's East Room.

After using more than 75 pens to sign the bill, he gave them away as mementoes of the historic occasion, in accordance with tradition. One of the first pens went to King, leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), who called it one of his most cherished possessions. Johnson gave two more to Senators Hubert Humphrey and Everett McKinley Dirksen, the Democratic and Republican managers of the bill in the Senate.

The most sweeping civil rights legislation passed by Congress since the post-Civil War Reconstruction era, the Civil Rights Act prohibited racial discrimination in employment and education and outlawed racial segregation in public places such as schools, buses, parks and swimming pools.

In addition, the bill laid important groundwork for a number of other pieces of legislation—including the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which set strict rules for protecting the right of African Americans to vote—that have since been used to enforce equal rights for women as well as all minorities and LGBTQ people.

Organizations and Timeline of the Civil Rights Movement ***highlighted is mentioned in We Shall Not be Moved performance**

National Civil Rights Organizations

NAACP: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People 1909-1970

NCNW: National Conference of Negro Women (1935-1970)

CORE: Congress of Racial Equality (1942)

SCEF: Southern Conference Education Fund (1942)

LDF: NAACP Legal Defense & Education Fund (aka "Inc Fund") 1930s-1970

SCLC: Southern Christian Leadership Conference (1957)

SNCC: Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (1960)

Year-by-Year Chronology

1951-52

Pilgrimage for "Martinsville Seven" Richmond VA (1951)

Student Strike at Moton High VA (1951)

Students and Parents Challenge School Segregation (1951-1952)

NAACP Builds the Case (1951-1954)

"We Charge Genocide" Petition to the United Nations (1951)

Murder of Harry & Harriette Moore (Dec, 1951)

Regional Council of Negro Leadership Established in Mississippi

1953

Baton Rouge Bus Boycott (June)

1954

***Brown v. Board of Education* (May)**
"Massive Resistance" to Integration
White Citizens Council Formed (July)
Murder Trial of Ruby McCollum (Oct)
Citizenship Schools (1954-196?)

1955

Baltimore Sit-In Victory (Jan)
Rev. George Wesley Lee Murdered (May)
The "*All Deliberate Speed*" Decision (AKA "*Brown II*") (May)
Lamar Smith Murdered (Aug)
Emmett Till Lynched (Aug)
John Earl Reese Murdered (Oct)
Montgomery Bus Boycott (Dec 1955-Dec 1956)

1956

Southern States Try to Destroy NAACP (1956-1964)
Mississippi Sovereignty Commission
Autherine Lucy at the Univ. Alabama (Feb)
Fred Shuttlesworth and the Birmingham Resistance (1956-1962)
Tallahasee Bus Boycott (May 1956-Jan 1958)
Student Protests & Boycotts — Orangeburg, SC (April - May)
Clinton TN & Desegregation of First White Schools in the South

1957

Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) Founded (Jan)
Robert Williams & Armed Self-Defense in Monroe NC
Tuskegee Merchant Boycott (1957-1961)
Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom, Washington, DC (May)
Royal Ice Cream Sit-in — Durham, NC (June)
Nashville "Grade-a-Year" School Desegregation Scheme
Civil Rights Act of 1957 (September)
The Little Rock Nine (September)
SCLC Crusade for Citizenship, 1957-1960

1958

Oklahoma City Sit-Ins & Boycotts (1958-1964)
Atlanta Police Murder of Joseph Jeter (Sept)
Youth March for Integrated Schools — Washington, DC (Oct)

1959

Fayette County Tent City for Evicted Voters (1959-1963)
Second Youth March for Integrated Schools — Washington, DC (April)
Clyde Kennard Framed and Jailed in MS (Sept)
CORE Sit-Ins, Miami, FL (Sept)

Prince Edward County, VA, Closes It's Public Schools The Rising of the Bread

1960

Sit-In Background & Context
The Greensboro Sit-Ins (Feb)
Sit-ins Sweep Across the South (1960-1964)
Durham Sit-ins and Protests (1960-61)
Charlotte-Rock Hill Sit-ins (Feb-Mar)
Nashville Student Movement (1960-1964)
Tallahassee Students Gassed & Arrested (Feb-March)
Richmond Desegregation Campaign (1960)
Mass Arrest of Student Protesters, Orangeburg, SC. (Feb-March)
Montgomery Sit-ins Suppressed (Feb)
Alabama Attacks Black Leaders (1960-1964)
Baltimore Sit-ins & Protests (1960)
Atlanta Sit-ins (Mar-Oct)
Nonviolent Action Group (NAG) Howard University
Savannah Sit-ins & Boycott (1960-62)
Baton Rouge Sit-ins & Student Strike (Mar-April)
New Orleans Merchant Boycotts & Sit-ins (1960-1963)
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Founded (April)
Civil Rghts Act of 1960 (May)
Jacksonville Sit-ins & 'Ax-Handle Saturday' (Aug)
Dr. King, JFK, and the 1960 Election (Oct-Nov)
New Orleans School Desgregation (Nov)

1961

University of Georgia Desegregated (Jan)
Rock Hill SC, "Jail-No-Bail" Sit-ins (Feb-Mar)
Tougaloo Nine and Jackson State Protest (Mar)
Freedom Rides (May-Nov)
Frame-up, Escape, & Exile of Robert F. Williams (1961-1969)
Mississippi — the Eye of the Storm
Voter Education Project (VEP) (1961-1968)
Direct Action or Voter Registration? (Summer)
Voter Registration & Direct Action in McComb MS (Aug-Oct)
Herbert Lee Murdered (Sept)
Desegregate Route 40 Project (Aug-Dec)
Albany GA, Movement (Oct 1961-Aug 1962)
Savannah Boycott Victory (Oct)
Christmas Boycott in Clarksdale MS (Dec)
Baton Rouge Student Protests (Dec 1961 - Jan 1962)

1962

Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) Formed in Mississippi
"Criminal Anarchy" in Louisiana (Feb)
Cambridge MD — 1962

Maryland Eastern Shore Project (Summer)
Diane Nash Defies the Mississippi Judicial System (April-May)
Freedom Highways in the Tarheel State (1962-63)
Freedom Highways in Durham and Greensboro (Summer-Fall)
Cairo IL, Protests (SNCC) (June)
Mississippi Voter Registration – Greenwood
James Meredith Desegregates 'Ole Miss (Sept-Oct)
The Campaign for a Second Emancipation Proclamation
Greenwood Food Blockade (Winter)
Jackson MS, Boycotts (Winter-Spring)
Operation Breadbasket – SCLC

1963 Jan-June

Alabama Governor Wallace Takes Office (Jan)
Northwood Theatre – Baltimore (Feb)
Marching For Freedom in Greenwood (Feb-Mar)
Cambridge MD, Movement – 1963
Birmingham – the Children's Crusade (April-May)
The Mailman's March (Murder of William Moore) (April)
Voter Registration Movement Expands in Mississippi (Spring)
Mass Action in Durham (May)
Mass Action in Greensboro (May-June)
Jackson Sit-in & Protests (May-June)
Danville VA, Movement (May-Aug)
Atrocity in Winona (June)
Standing In the Schoolhouse Door (June)
Kennedy's Civil Rights Speech (June)
Medgar Evers Assassination (June)
Medical Committee for Civil Rights Pickets the AMA (June)
Medgar's Funeral & End of Jackson Movement (June)
Selma – Breaking the Grip of Fear (Jan-June)

1963 July-Dec

St. Augustine FL, Movement – 1963
Savannah GA, Movement (June-Dec)
Farmville VA and the Program of Action (July-Sept)
Struggle for the Vote Continues in Mississippi (July-Aug)
Savage Repression in Gadsden AL (Aug)
Americus GA Movement & "Seditious Conspiracy" (July-Aug)
Federal "Jury Tampering" Frameup in Albany GA (Aug)
Kennedys Appease the Segregationists (Aug)
Man-Hunt in Plaquemine LA (Aug-Sept)
Orangeburg SC, Freedom Movement (Aug-Sept)
March on Washington for Jobs & Freedom (Aug)
Birmingham Church Bombing (Sept)
Freedom March in New Orleans (Sept)
Mary Hamilton and the "Miss Mary" Case (Sept)
FBI's COINTELPRO Targets the Movement (Oct)

Freedom Day in Selma (Oct)
Free Southern Theater (Oct)
Freedom Ballot in MS (Oct-Nov)
Assasination of President Kennedy (Nov)
SNCC Meets Kenyan Freedom Fighter in Atlanta (Dec)

1964 Jan-June

Atlanta Sit-ins & Mass Arrests (Dec-Feb)
Freedom Day in Hattiesburg (Jan)
24th Amendment Ends Poll Tax in Federal Elections (Jan)
Louis Allen Murdered (Jan)
Civil Rights Act Passes in the House (Feb)
Freedom Day in Canton
St. Augustine FL, Movement — 1964
Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) Founded (April)
Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC) (April)
CORE Still-In & Protests at New York World's Fair (April)
Cambridge MD & the "White Backlash" (May)
Repression and Resistance in Tuscaloosa (June-Aug)
Civil Rights Act — Battle in the Senate (March-June)

1964 Mississippi Freedom Summer Events (June-Aug)

Mississippi Summer Project
Lynching of Chaney, Schwerner, & Goodman (June)
Freedom Schools (Summer)
Medical Committee for Human Rights (MCHR) (Summer)
The McGhees of Greenwood (July-Aug)
McComb — Breaking the Klan Siege (July '64-March '65)
MFDP Challenge to Democratic Convention (Aug)
Wednesdays in Mississippi (1964-1965)

1964 July-Dec

Civil Rights Act of 1964 Signed into Law (July)
Effects of the Civil Rights Act
The Selma Injunction (July)
Lemuel Penn Murdered (July)
Deacons of Defense & Justice (July)
Impact of Northern Urban Rebellions on Southern Freedom Movement
Massive Evasion of School Integration ("Freedom of Choice")
Integrating Americus High School (Fall)
Delta Ministry Founded in Mississippi (Sept)
SNCC Delegation to Africa (Sept-Oct)
MFDP Congressional Challenge (Nov '64-Sept '65)
Hoover Attempts to Destroy Dr. King (Nov-Dec)
Dr. King Awarded Nobel Prize (Dec)
Virginia Students Civil Rights Committee
Scripto Strike, Atlanta (Nov-Dec)

***Heart of Atlanta Motel v. United States* (Dec)**
ASCS Elections — A Struggle for Economic Survival (Dec)

1965: Selma & The March to Montgomery
Selma Voting Rights Campaign (Jan-Mar)
The March to Montgomery (Mar)
Murder and Character Assassination of Viola Liuzzo (Mar)

1965 (Remainder)
Confronting the Klan in Bogalusa With Nonviolence & Self-Defense (Jan-June)
Issues of Poverty, Exploitation, and Economic Justice
Mississippi Freedom Labor Union (Jan)
Issaquena County School Boycott (Feb-May)
Passage of the Voting Rights Act (Mar-Aug)
Cracking Lowndes County (Mar-Aug)
Jackson, MS Protests (June)
Summer Community Organization Political Education Project (SCOPE)
The *Southern Courier* (July '65-Dec '68)
Americus GA Protests (July)
Murder of Jonathan Daniels (Aug)
The Vietnam War and the Assembly of Unrepresented People (Aug)
Natchez MS — Freedom Movement vs Ku Klux Klan
ASCS Election Campaigns (Fall)
Crawfordville GA School Bus Struggle (Jun-Oct)
Poor Peoples Corporations, Cooperatives, & Quilting Bees
Birmingham Voter Registration Campaign (Dec-Mar)

1966 (Jan-June)
War on Poverty
The Murder of Sammy Younge (Jan)
Vietnam and the Draft: Taking a Stand
Julian Bond Denied Seat in GA Legislature (Jan)
The Murder of Vernon Dahmer (Jan)
Greenville Air Force Base Occupation (Feb)
State Poll Taxes Ruled Unconstitutional (Mar)
Lowndes County: Roar of the Panther
White House Conference on Civil Rights (June)
Meredith Mississippi March and Black Power (June)

1966 (July-Dec)
Chicago Freedom Movement & the War Against Slums
Grenada MS Freedom Movement (June-Dec)
Clarence Triggs Murdered (Jul)
Civil Rights Act of 1966 Killed by Senate Filibuster (Sept)
ASCS Elections in Alabama — The Struggle Continues
1966 Alabama Elections

The Election in Lowndes County
The Election in Dallas County (Selma)
The Election in Macon County (Tuskegee)
Keeping On — From Co-Ops to *Pigford*

1967

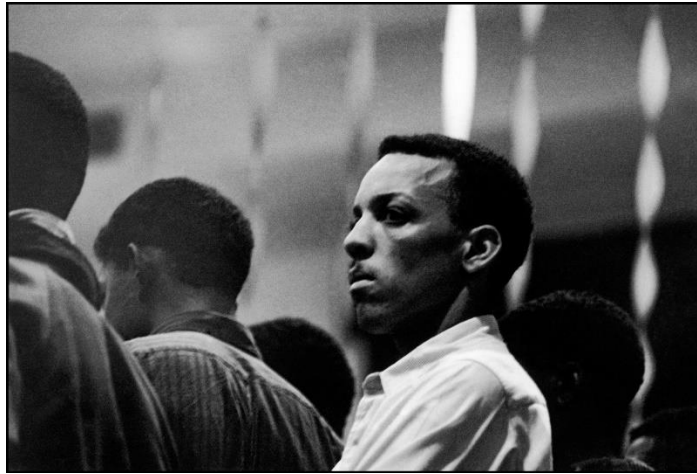
Assassination of Wharlest Jackson (Feb)
The Killing of Benjamin Brown (May)
***Beyond Vietnam: A Time to Break Silence*, Dr. King and the Vietnam War (April)**
Miscegenation Laws Ruled Unconstitutional (June)
Supreme Court Jails King in "Birmingham Letter" Case (June)
Stand Off in Prattville, Alabama (June)
Cambridge MD — Black Power Speech (TBD) (July)
Robert Clarke elected to MS Legislature (TBD) (???)
Federation of Southern Cooperatives Formed (TBD) (Aug???)
Bogalusa to Baton Rouge March (Aug)
Poor Peoples Campaign (Dec)

1968

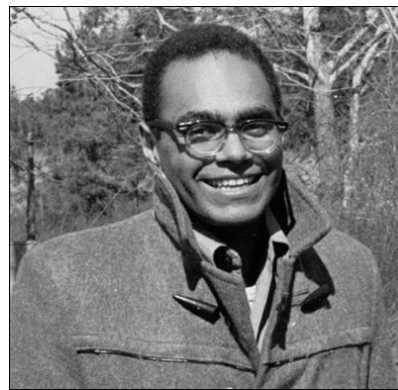
Orangeburg Massacre (TBD) (Feb)
Natchez Protests (TBD) (Feb???)
Memphis Garbage Workers Strike (TBD) (Feb-April)
Dr. King Assassinated in Memphis (TBD) (April)
Tuskegee Expels All Students (TBD) (April)
Fair Housing Act of 1968 (TBD) (April)
The Fall of Resurrection City (TBD) (May-June)
End of Dual White & "Colored" School Systems (TBD)
Wallace Campaign and the "Southern Strategy" (TBD)
Campus Uprisings Nationwide (TBD) (1968-1972)



Dave Dennis



Medgar Evers



Bob Moses



John Salter



Joan Trumpauer



Anne Moody



Evaluation Form for Teachers/Leaders

Name _____

School _____ Grade Level _____

1. What was your overall reaction to the play?
2. What was your reaction to the acting?
3. What was your reaction to the scenery, costumes, etc. of the play?
4. Please comment on the educational value of the play.
5. Do you feel this production was age appropriate for your students?
6. What titles or subjects would you like to see staged for student audiences?
6. Do you have other suggestions for future performances?

Send us your feedback!

Please send you feedback and thoughts to us! Return form to: **New Stage Theatre, ATTN: Education Director, 1100 Carlisle Street, Jackson, MS 39202**



Evaluation Form for Students

Name _____

School _____ Grade Level _____

1. What was your overall reaction to the play?
2. What was your reaction to the acting?
3. What was your reaction to the scenery, costumes, etc. of the play?
4. What was your favorite part of the play?
5. Did you learn anything from any part of the play? If so, what?
6. What of stories would you enjoy seeing staged live by actors?
6. Do you have other suggestions for future performances?

Send us your feedback!

Please send you feedback and thoughts to us! Return form to: **New Stage Theatre, ATTN: Education Director, 1100 Carlisle Street, Jackson, MS 39202**

About **New Stage Theatre**

*Winner of the 2019 Governor Arts Award for Excellence
in Theatre, located in the heart of Jackson.*



The Theatre

New Stage Theatre is located in Jackson, Mississippi. New Stage Theatre was chartered as a nonprofit organization in 1965 and produced its initial season in the winter and spring of 1966. New Stage's first home was an adapted church at the corner of Gallatin and Hooker Streets. The theatre produced 13 seasons in the 150-seat church before moving to its present site in Belhaven in 1978.

Built in 1963 for the Jackson Little Theatre, the 12,000 square foot structure includes the 364-seat Meyer Crystal Auditorium, and a flexible, smaller performing space, the Jimmy Hewes Room. The theatre also owns the five other structures on the site, four of which are used for actors' housing and one for offices. In 1997, the theatre complex was designated as the Jane Reid Petty Theatre Center in recognition of the New Stage founder's contributions to the development of professional theatre in Mississippi.



The Mission

The mission of New Stage Theatre is to provide professional theatre of the highest quality for the people of Mississippi and the southeast. New Stage is committed to producing important contemporary works and classics, selected for their artistic merit and their power to illuminate the human condition. Challenging new works in development are included through the Eudora Welty New Play Series named for the distinguished writer who helped found New Stage. New in recent years is The Mississippi Plays Series.

More about **New Stage Theatre**

The theatre is dedicated to cultivating and educating a culturally diverse audience by gathering the finest available resources including playwrights, actors, directors, designers, technicians, administrators, trainees, and board members. Integral to the theatre's total effort, New Stage's Education Department maximizes its impact within our surrounding community, through artistic and technical apprenticeships, which mount touring programs facilitated by our Apprentice Company, aided with classroom materials for schools statewide, and developing curricula for and instructing youth classes.



Mainstage Productions

New Stage produces five plays each year in its subscription series, in addition to a holiday show, an annual student matinee, and a musical theatre summer camp featuring local youth. Mainstage productions range from master works to contemporary classics to new plays. All productions carry the mark of professional quality for which the theatre has long been recognized. Additionally, New Stage has a second season called Unframed, overseen by Artistic Director Francine Reynolds and facilitated by our Apprentice Company and Education staff, that features contemporary works. New plays are read and developed through the Eudora Welty New Plays Series and the Mississippi Plays Series.



The Staff

The theatre staff is comprised of seven full time administrative and artistic staff members, six full time production staff members, four acting apprentices, and three part time employees. All actors are paid and typically one to two AEA actors are hired per production.



NEW STAGE
Theatre



NEWSTAGEEd

1100 Carlisle
Jackson, Mississippi 39202

