Art & Culture Toolkit

A SNCC Digital Gateway Companion

Photograph by Jim Peppler
ABOUT THE SNCC & GRASSROOTS ORGANIZING DISCUSSION SERIES

Funded by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the SNCC & Grassroots Organizing discussion series and related materials aim to expand knowledge of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC, pronounced “Snick”), the only national civil rights organization led by young people. Organized in 1960 and mentored by the legendary Black organizer, Ella Baker, SNCC worked with community leaders to organize around voter registration and build local grassroots organizations in the Deep South. At its core, SNCC helped community members feel empowered to make choices and act on the issues that most impacted their lives and their communities.

THE PURPOSE OF THESE LEARNING TOOLKITS

The Learning Toolkits provide concrete ways for people of all ages to engage with and learn about SNCC’s work. The Learning Toolkits will help people and groups explore primary source materials and utilize the SNCC Digital Gateway (snccdigital.org), which tells the story of SNCC and grassroots organizing from an inside-out perspective. Community members will be able to connect contemporary issues in their own lives and communities to central themes in SNCC’s history.

WHO ARE THE LEARNING TOOLKITS FOR?

The Learning Toolkits are made for a broad audience: interested individuals, civic organizations, community or activist groups, educators, students, young people, librarians and museum staff, and most of all, you.

You can work through the material on your own. But we’ve also designed the Learning Toolkits to be used by people and groups that are in a position to share what they’ve learned with others. Grab your friends, comrades, colleagues, and neighbors and dig into the history.

WHAT YOU’LL FIND

Singing in the Movement (p. 2 - 8)
- “Ain’t Gonna Let Nobody Turn Me Around”
- Engage with the Sources: Analyzing Oral History Interviews
- SNCC Digital Gateway
- Activity Using “Songs of the Southern Freedom Movement”
- Learn Directly from SNCC Organizers: Singing & Music

More Art & Culture (p. 8 - 13)
- Learn Directly from SNCC Organizers: Maria Varela & Freedom Handbooks
- Activity: SNCC Photo Department
- Activity: Free Southern Theater
- Explore the SNCC Digital Gateway
- Us Colored People
- Being SNCCy

Making Connections, Learning More (p. 13 - 15)
- “Ella’s Song”
- Reflection: What Have You Learned
- If You Want to Keep Learning

SNCC & Grassroots Organizing | Art & Culture Toolkit | 1
Singing energized and sustained the Civil Rights Movement. It was at the heart of every aspect of SNCC’s work. Because singing was so central, we believe the Toolkit and Toolkit Workshops should start with a song. “Ain’t Gonna Let Nobody Turn Me Around” was developed during the Albany, Georgia, Movement in summer 1962, and has been widely used and further adapted since. As with many freedom songs, you can add your own lyrics and use the song to address issues that are important to you.

“AIN’T GONNA LET NOBODY TURN ME AROUND”

Ain’t gonna let nobody turn me ’round,
Turn me ’round, turn me ’round,
Ain’t gonna let nobody turn me ’round,
I just keep on a-walkin', keep on a-talkin’,
Marching up to freedom land.

Ain’t gonna let no jailhouse turn me ’round,
Turn me ’round, turn me ’round,
Ain’t gonna let no jailhouse turn me ’round,
Oh, I, keep on a-walkin', keep on a-talkin’,
Marching up to freedom land.

I can’t let segregation turn me ’round,
Turn me ’round, turn me ’round,
Ain’t gonna let segregation turn me ’round,
I’m gonna keep on a-walkin', keep on a-talkin’,
Marching up to freedom land.
In August 1962, lawmen tried to disrupt and intimidate a group of African Americans on their way home from trying to register to vote in Indianola, Mississippi. As the lawmen arrested some and demanded a fine from others, a sharecropper named Fannie Lou Hamer raised her voice and began singing church songs to “drive away fear.” (Bob Moses, interview with Julian Bond, UVA Leadership)

Later that night, when Mrs. Hamer refused to withdraw her attempt to register, she was evicted, lost her job, and was forced to move away from her family. But she quickly found a new home in the Movement and in the coming months and years, she became a well-known leader, organizing her neighbors and drawing national attention to Black disfranchisement and the violence of white supremacy. Mrs. Hamer’s attempt to register and her subsequent work were part of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee’s (SNCC’s, pronounced “Snick”) work to build a movement around voter registration, and it was no surprise that her singing was central to her effectiveness and leadership.

Singing was everywhere in the Civil Rights Movement. It calmed fears, brought people together, offered encouragement, claimed space, provided a vehicle for identifying the issues, and let people call out white oppressors—like the local sheriff or mayor. It expressed joy, kept up morale in jail, and was at the heart of mass meetings. Charles Sherrod, who helped organize the Albany Movement in Georgia, recalled the community’s first mass meeting where he “threw my head back and closed my eyes as I sang with my whole body.” The goal of the meeting was to create unity, and there was definitely unity when, in Sherrod’s words, “we rose to sing ‘We Shall Overcome,’ [and] nobody knew what kept the top of the church on its four walls. It was as if everyone had been lifted up on high.” (Sherrod in Forman, Making of Black Revolutionaries, 247)
When Sam Block began organizing in Greenwood, Mississippi, he found that freedom songs drew people to the meetings, even when they were cautious or afraid. People who had been crossing the street to avoid him, asked when they would be able to gather again for more singing. Block reflected, “I began to see the music itself as an important organizing tool to really bring people together—not only to bring them together but also as the organizational glue to hold them together. I started to give people the responsibility of thinking about a song that they would want to sing that night and of changing that song, you know, from a gospel song.” (Block interview by Sinsheimer, 18)

Worth Long, a SNCC field secretary who later worked as a folklorist, explained that “There were elements of movement culture that helped you fight a battle during that particular time by reinforcing people’s group solidarity, so that they felt that they could be strong even though they were afraid.” (Long interview by McGehee, 15) Bernice Johnson Reagon, a songleader who joined the Movement as a college student, recalled that in mass meetings “There was more singing than there was talking. Most of the work that was done in terms of taking care of movement business had to do with nurturing the people who had come, and there would be two or three people who would talk but basically songs were the bed of everything.” (Reagon, Eyes on the Prize interview, in Carson, et al., ed. 144-45)

In fact, the powerful singing in the Albany Movement birthed the SNCC Freedom Singers, who traveled the country, raising money and sharing the story of the Movement. In 1963, SNCC described the Freedom Singers as one of their main sources of support and thought of the singers as part of their field staff because of the difficulty and importance of their work, explaining, “They communicate, through their songs, the urgency, immediacy, and sincerity of the student movement in the South.” (Survey: Current Field Work, Spring 1963, CRMVet, Cordell Reagon, SDG)
ENGAGE WITH THE SOURCES: ANALYZING ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWS

Scan to access excerpts of oral history interviews with Bernice Johnson Reagon and Worth Long who analyze SNCC’s use of singing through their perspectives as participant and culture worker. Read and discuss these questions with your neighbor.

According to Worth Long and Bernice Johnson Reagon:

- What is the relationship between the Movement, freedom songs, mass meetings, and traditional Black culture?
- What are some of the ways organizers used singing in the Movement?
- How did singing help in the face of white intimidation and fear?

S can to find this and other documents

THE SNCC DIGITAL GATEWAY

Primary sources are embedded on many pages throughout the SNCC Digital Gateway. You can find the ones featured here by scanning the QR codes in this toolkit or by following the breadcrumbs where they are listed. For example, to learn more about Bernice Johnson Reagon, check out her profile page.

SNCCDigital.org > People > Bernice Johnson (Reagon)

With the Movement, people were challenging all kinds of limits and pushing through barriers—whether that meant desegregating a lunch counter, registering to vote, walking in a white part of town, or defying expectations related to race and gender. Reagon herself explains that by marching around the courthouse with a group of people and walking on a street she had only been on once before, she gained permission to change the lyrics of a sacred song, replacing the word “trouble” with “freedom,” as she sang what would have been “over my head, I see trouble in the air.” (Reagon, Eyes on the Prize interview, in Carson, et al., ed. 143–44) When a federal judge issued an injunction to try to stop the Albany Movement from marching, dozens of people hit the streets singing, “Ain’t Gonna Let Nobody Turn Me Around.”

Songs and singing were important for making a group statement, for challenging those in power, for building strength and unity, and for spreading joy. In rural Terrell County, Georgia, when white lawmen burst into a mass meeting doing their best to terrify everyone and break up the meeting, they were almost literally pushed back as those present began to sing. Worth Long explains the power of this kind of group singing, “You hear your strength when you sing loud in a group of three hundred people. There is a . . . feeling of strength . . . that is unlike anything else I know.” (Long interview by McGehee, 15)
The Movement’s vibrant singing was communal and democratic, just as the Movement was collaborative and collective. The Movement had songleaders, not soloists, in the same way that SNCC had organizers, not charismatic leaders. One skill organizers had to develop was to choose, as Worth Long put it, the “right song at the right time.” He added, “This Might Be the Last Time,” was a beautiful song, but you wouldn’t want to sing it before trying to lead people on a march. (Long interview by McGehee, 15-16)

**ACTIVITY USING “SONGS OF THE SOUTHERN FREEDOM MOVEMENT”**

1. Drawing on the “Songs of the Southern Freedom Movement” document, pick a song and analyze the lyrics. Do you think this was an original song written for the Movement or one adapted from an existing song? What situation would be good for using this song?

2. Now put your spin on it. Choose a song from the document and add your own lyrics to address something important from the Movement or something that is important to you today.

3. “The Right Song at the Right Time”: Worth Long, in conversation with SNCC songleaders Charles Neblett and Bettie Mae Fikes, reiterated the importance of selecting the right song for the moment, an important skill for SNCC organizers. Dig into movement songs and think about what you need at different moments.

**PICK A SONG TO USE IN EACH SITUATION:**

a. You are participating in one of the first mass meetings in your community.

b. You are about to lead the first mass march in a community.

c. You are at a mass meeting after a breakthrough or some kind of success.

d. You are at a mass meeting after a setback.

e. You are on a march.

f. You are part of a group marching to challenge an arrest or series of arrests.

g. You are on a march and lawmen are closing in to make arrests.

h. You have just learned that some of your comrades are missing—last seen in jail.

i. You are leaving a SNCC meeting and heading back to your project.

j. You are in jail.
There were always songs, even at the worst of times. When word came that James Chaney, Michael Schwerner, and Andrew Goodman were missing on the cusp of the 1964 Freedom Summer Project and everyone feared the worst, Jean Wheeler rose from the back of the Oxford, Ohio, orientation room and began singing “Freedom They Say, is a Constant Struggle.” (*Freedom on My Mind*, prod. Connie Field, 1994) When freedom riders were incarcerated in Parchman Penitentiary and given a choice between their mattresses or singing freedom songs, they choose freedom songs. (Frederick Leonard, *Eyes on the Prize* interview) Bernice Reagon recalled that white lawmen sometimes begged movement activists to stop singing. The singing continued and so did the Movement. (Reagon, *Eyes on the Prize* interview, in Carson, et al., ed. 143-145)

Singing and freedom songs infused every aspect of the Movement, but SNCC used a wide range of cultural forms to share information, document the knowledge and wisdom of Black southerners, and support people who were challenging restrictions and expanding their worlds. The creativity of SNCC staffers came through in their organizing as well as their photographs, poetry, field reports, and their teaching and documentary materials. They developed their own vibrant internal culture while helping to build a movement that tried to bring out the best in everyone.

In 1962, Danny Lyon became SNCC’s first staff photographer, and he was soon joined by other staff and community photographers documenting SNCC’s work, preventing or creating a record of violence, and illustrating fundraising materials. In 1963, for example, Danny Lyon’s photographs of teenage girls jailed in horrendous conditions in Americus, Georgia, alongside SNCC’s impressive press work, helped secure their release.

To combat pervasive and systemic efforts to limit Black education, SNCC gave considerable attention to developing literacy among Black southerners. People like Maria Varela, a SNCC field secretary leading an underground literacy project in Selma, quickly saw the potential value of photographs as

---

**LEARN DIRECTLY FROM SNCC ORGANIZERS:**

**Singing and Music**

SNCCDigital.org > Our Voices > Singing and Music

How did SNCC use singing to bring people together?
How did SNCC use singing to help deal with jail and fear?
How and why did SNCC adapt songs?
How did songs evolve? How did they tell movement stories?

“I began to see the music itself as an important organizing tool to really bring people together—not only to bring them together but also as the organizational glue to hold them together. I started to give people the responsibility of thinking about a song that they would want to sing that night and of changing that song, you know, from a gospel song.” - Sam Block

Singing and freedom songs infused every aspect of the Movement, but SNCC used a wide range of cultural forms to share information, document the knowledge and wisdom of Black southerners, and support people who were challenging restrictions and expanding their worlds. The creativity of SNCC staffers came through in their organizing as well as their photographs, poetry, field reports, and their teaching and documentary materials. They developed their own vibrant internal culture while helping to build a movement that tried to bring out the best in everyone.

In 1962, Danny Lyon became SNCC’s first staff photographer, and he was soon joined by other staff and community photographers documenting SNCC’s work, preventing or creating a record of violence, and illustrating fundraising materials. In 1963, for example, Danny Lyon’s photographs of teenage girls jailed in horrendous conditions in Americus, Georgia, alongside SNCC’s impressive press work, helped secure their release.

To combat pervasive and systemic efforts to limit Black education, SNCC gave considerable attention to developing literacy among Black southerners. People like Maria Varela, a SNCC field secretary leading an underground literacy project in Selma, quickly saw the potential value of photographs as
LEARN DIRECTLY FROM SNCC ORGANIZERS: MARIA VARELA AND FREEDOM HANDBOOKS

How did SNCC use visuals and people’s experiences in these freedom handbooks? What do you think these visuals convey? Why do you think it was important for SNCC to draw on the wisdom of people who typically had only limited access to formal education?

Have you seen or used visuals effectively today to educate people or address issues that you consider important? How might you create materials to share ideas or teach people about an issue significant to you and your community?

SNCC & Grassroots Organizing | Art & Culture Toolkit | 8
Freedom Summer and Freedom Schools demonstrated SNCC’s creativity and opened up more opportunities for creative expression. Freedom School students wrote poetry, published newspapers, and thrived in vibrant classrooms that drew on the students’ own knowledge and skills. One of the treats for students and their communities was seeing live theater through the Free Southern Theater, founded by Doris Derby, John O’Neal, and Gilbert Moses, to break through the “intellectual and cultural isolation of the Negro in the South.” The Free Southern Theater founders wanted to promote “growth and self-knowledge,” believing “that self-knowledge and creativity are the foundations of human dignity.” They saw themselves as providing opportunities for expression and a way to learn outside the “distortions” of traditional media and beyond the “inferior education in segregated Southern schools.” (Free Southern Theater Proposal, 1-2) In the tradition of the Movement, they sponsored workshops and invited active participation from their audience, encouraging people to attend their rehearsals and write their own plays. (Free Southern Theater presents)

In McComb, there was so much fear that the Freedom School classes were initially meeting in a yard behind a burned out Freedom House. When adults in the community read Joyce Brown’s poem, “The House of Liberty,” they opened up a church for the school and began to more actively organize to support the Movement. (Dittmer, Local People, 268-69) In his “Foreword” to Freedom School Poetry Langston Hughes wrote, “If poetry makes people think, it might make them think constructive thoughts, even thoughts about how to change themselves, their town and their state for the better. . . . Poems, like prayers, possess power.”

The House of Liberty

by Joyce Brown, age 16, McComb

I came not for fortune, nor for fame,
I seek not to add glory to an unknown name,
I did not come under the shadow of night,
I came by day to fight for what’s right.
I shan’t fear, my monstrous foe,
Conquer my soul with threat and woe.
Here I have come and here I shall stay,
And no amount of fear my determination can sway.

I asked for your churches, and you turned me down,
But I’ll do my work if I have to do it on the ground,
You will not speak for fear of being heard,
So crawl in your shell and say, “Do not disturb.”
You think because you’ve turned me away
You’ve protected yourself for another day.

But tomorrow surely must come,
And your enemy will still be there with the rising sun;
He’ll be there tomorrow as all tomorrows in the past,
And he’ll follow you into the future if you let him pass.
You’ve turned me down to humor him,
Ah! Your fate is sad and grim.
For even tho’ your help I ask,
Even without it, I’ll finish my task.

In a bombed house I have to teach my school,
Because I believe all men should live by the Golden Rule,
To a bombed house your children must come,
Because of your fear of a bomb,
And because you’ve let your fear conquer your soul,
In this bombed house these minds I must try to mold;
I must try to teach them to stand tall and be a man
When you, their parents, have cowered down and refused
 to take a stand.

(Written for the opening of the McComb Freedom School on the grass before the bombed-out private home at which the school had to be held)

Freedom School Poetry, Civil Rights Movement Archive

Learn more about the Freedom Schools by going to:
SNCCDigital.org > Inside SNCC > Culture & Education > Freedom Schools

no jailhouse turn me ’round, t
ACTIVITY: CHOOSE ONE OF THE FOLLOWING

ACTIVITY OPTION 1: SNCC PHOTO DEPARTMENT
SNCCDigital.org > Inside SNCC > SNCC National Office > Photography Department

Look through SNCC’s posters and booklets to get a sense of how SNCC used images.

1. Who does SNCC feature in its fundraising and informational books? What issues or ideas do they represent through images?

2. What image do you get of SNCC and its work from looking at these pictures? How does this image or portrayal compare to your general understanding of the Movement? How does it relate to what you have learned from school or textbooks or popular culture?

ACTIVITY OPTION 2: FREE SOUTHERN THEATER
SNCCDigital.org > Inside SNCC > Culture & Education > Free Southern Theater

Find and explore the “Free Southern Theater presents” and pick another primary source to explore.

1. According to the document, what were the Free Southern Theater’s goals and priorities? What did you learn from the other Free Southern Theater primary source you explored?

2. How do you think art and storytelling can help people confront and solve problems?

3. Find John O’Neal’s name and follow the link to his profile page. From there, listen to the interview, “A Conversation with John O’Neal.” How did he draw on his SNCC experience with Junebug Jabbo Jones and story circles?
EXPLORE THE SNCC DIGITAL GATEWAY:

With your neighbor(s) or group, explore the following pages. What did you learn? What do you want to know more about? Follow a link on one of these pages and share what you learned with your neighbor(s) or group. Identify a primary source you would be interested in exploring if/when you have time.

SNCCDigital.org > Inside SNCC > National Office > Freedom Singers

Check out this primary source: “SNCC Staff Meeting in Selma, Alabama, Dec. 13-16, 1963”

What formal role did singing have in this 1963 Selma staff meeting? What else did you learn about SNCC from reading this document?

SNCCDigital.org > Inside SNCC > National Office > Communications

Check out these primary sources: “Danville, Virginia” by Dorothy Zellner and “SNCC Builds an Organization” from the SNCC 50th anniversary

SNCCDigital.org > Our Voices > The Black Panther > Political Education

Check out these primary sources: “Sheriff” and “Board of Education” by Jennifer Lawson and Courtland Cox

SNCCDigital.org > People > Fannie Lou Hamer

Choose and explore a source on this page

SNCCDigital.org > People > Bettie Mae Fikes

Choose and explore a source on this page

Photograph by Jim Peppler
One of SNCC’s most ambitious efforts to combine art, culture, and education took place in Lowndes County, Alabama, where Jennifer Lawson and Courtland Cox created political education materials using cartoons to help people who had been excluded from voting and political participation for almost a century understand the inner workings of elective positions like coroner and tax assessor, the political offices up for election in 1966. The most important of these, “Us Colored People,” was an overview of the transformation the community was in the midst of making. The comic follows Mr. Blackman and the emerging movement as it grows from individual acts of courage to a collective effort and the establishment of the Lowndes County Freedom Party with its Black Panther symbol.

Even as SNCC was utilizing culture as a key part of its organizing efforts, the group developed its own very distinctive internal culture. Chuck McDew, the group’s second chairman, said SNCC had “many minds, one heart,” and many in the group considered themselves a “band of brothers and sisters, a circle of trust.” (Greenberg, Circle of Trust) Most of the group were young people—roughly college-aged—and they were typically whip smart, very determined, and, in the words of one member, “would argue with a telephone pole.” (SNCC Culture, SDG) Other sixties organizations adapted the ideas and practices of small-d democratic politics and decision-making by consensus from SNCC. This translated into meetings that ran, not for hours, but for days. The young people in SNCC worked hard, but they also played hard, singing (of course), laughing, dancing, and occasionally getting in trouble for an ill-advised but much needed party.
During Freedom Summer, as the Movement confronted the murder of three civil rights workers, Janes Chaney, Michael Schwerner, and Andrew Goodman, SNCC advisor Ms. Ella Baker pointed out that there had been no similar outcry when African Americans had been killed without white companions, insisting that “until the killing of Black mothers’ sons is as important as the killing of white mothers’ sons, we who believe in freedom cannot rest.” (Bernice Johnson Reagon in Continuum, ed. by Barnwell, 135-37) In 1979, Bernice Johnson Reagon immortalized these words in “Ella’s Song.”

Unfortunately, Ms. Baker’s analysis remains all too relevant today, as police and vigilante killings continue to disproportionately target Black and Brown people. As current activists consider ways to go beyond marches and public demonstrations to organize communities for political power and systemic change, many of them are looking to SNCC and the lessons that emerge from this less visible part of movement history. Ella Baker’s words and, more importantly, her approach to organizing have gained renewed attention. “Ella’s Song” directly links these movements as activists and supporters remain committed to Baker’s words and the ongoing freedom struggle. As Ms. Baker insisted and Reagon sang, “we who believe in freedom cannot rest.”

**“ELLA’S SONG”**

We who believe in freedom cannot rest
We who believe in freedom cannot rest until it comes

Until the killing of black men, black mothers’ sons
Is as important as the killing of white men, white mothers’ sons

That which touches me most is that I had a chance to work with people
Passing on to others that which was passed on to me

To me young people come first, they have the courage where we fail
And if I can but shed some light as they carry us through the gale

The older I get the better I know that the secret of my going on

Is when the reins are in the hands of the young, who dare to run against the storm

Not needing to clutch for power, not needing the light just to shine on me
I need to be one in the number as we stand against tyranny

Struggling myself don’t mean a whole lot, I’ve come to realize
That teaching others to stand up and fight is the only way my struggle survives

I’m a woman who speaks in a voice and I must be heard
At times I can be quite difficult, I’ll bow to no man’s word

We who believe in freedom cannot rest
We who believe in freedom cannot rest until it comes
We opened this workshop and toolkit with a song because singing was so central to the Freedom Movement. As we close our collective discussion of SNCC’s use of art and culture in movement organizing, let’s share another song, to celebrate and strengthen our connections and prepare us for the work ahead. But first (in the tradition of the Highlander Research and Education Center), we’d like to ask you:

- What have you learned?
- What will you do with what you have learned?
- How can you share this toolkit and SNCC’s lessons?

Art and culture were at the heart of SNCC’s work. That included the singing that accompanied every aspect of the Movement; the vivid photographs that taught southern Blacks and made the Movement real to people throughout the country; the Free Southern Theater plays, the poetry, or the role playing exercises that enlivened Freedom School classrooms; and the development of teaching materials that reflected the wisdom, values, and experiences of the people they were for. The shared laughter and joy that were central to SNCC helped sustain individuals and the group, making it easier for people to deal with the hard times, whether that was going to jail, dealing with the daily tedium of organizing, getting through a beating, or facing the loss of comrades.
LEARN MORE

SNCC was an extraordinary organization with a rich and extensive history. We hope this toolkit helped introduce you to the ways art and culture were central to SNCC’s organizing. There is much more to learn, and the SNCC Digital Gateway is a great place to continue exploring. You can also find archival materials, bibliographies, lesson plans, and essays at the SNCC Legacy Project Website (SNCCLegacyProject.org) and the Civil Rights Movement Veterans Archive (CRMVet.org). Find out more about the SNCC and Grassroots Organizing: Building a More Perfect Union discussion series, including information about and livestream recordings of our in-person events. This toolkit is one of six—please use, share, and look for the others.

Learn more about the series

PHOTOGRAPHS USED

Danny Lyon Photograph Collection, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.
Photograph(s) copyright of Danny Lyon, all rights reserved. Used here with permission. To learn more about Danny Lyon visit Bleakbeauty.com, or on IG at Dannylyonphotos2

Jim Peppler Southern Courier Photograph Collection, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, AL.
Photograph(s) copyright of Jim Peppler, all rights reserved. Used here with permission.

How did we do?
Send us feedback

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES

The SNCC and Grassroots Organizing: Building a More Perfect Union discussion series has been made possible in part by a major grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Any views, findings, conclusions, or recommendations expressed in this toolkit do not necessarily represent those of the National Endowment for the Humanities.