CRMVet Newsletter

MAY 2025

CRMA
CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT ARCHIVE
MONTHLY NEWSLETTER

May 1st, 2025

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In 1905, the Spanish philosopher George Santayana noted that, "Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it." And in his prescient dystopian novel 1984, George Orwell later wrote, "Those who control the present, control the past and those who control the past control the future." And that, of course, is what the Make America Great Again (MAGA) regime is trying to do. Their end-goal is to restore and enforce the explicit and legally-sanctioned racial hierarchies of the past.

To that end, last month they continued issuing decress, executive orders, regulations, and policies, aimed at suppressing Diversity, Equity and Inclusion (DEI) programs and combating what they see as, "woke ideology." By which they mean preserving, studying and teaching America's history of racism and of our peoples' struggles for freedom and equality such as the Civil Rights Movement. One recent example of their assault on our history was last month's sudden revocation of an NEH grant to the SNCC & Grassroots Organizing Discussion Series without explanation or notice.

Back in the day, Citizenship Schools leader Septima Clark declared that, "Education should not serve to perpetuate inequality, but rather to dismantle it."

That is the principle that motivates this Civil Rights Movement Archive and our Sister organizations as despite MAGA and all that they stand for we remain committed to freely-providing to all an up-from-below, inside out, and lives-lived, perspective on the Civil Rights, Black Power, and other freedom and social-justice movements that shaped not only our lives but American history and culture to this day.

PLEASE DONATE

With a Little Help From Our Friends,
We'll keep on keeping on.

Ever since we established the CRMA (originally known as "CRMVet") in 1999, it has been almost entirely funded by personal donations from Freedom Movement veterans and individual supporters. We carry on this work with almost zero institutional support, foundation grants, or philanthropic contributions. So if you find our CRMA site useful and worthy, please click donate to keep us alive and growing. You can donate via check, your bank's Bill Pay service, or PayPal. Thank you for anything you are able to contribute.

OUR SISTER SITES

SNCC Legacy Project (SLP). SLP preserves and extends SNCC's legacy. Although SNCC the organization no longer exists, we believe that its legacy continues and needs to be brought forward in ways that continue the struggle for freedom, justice and equality today.

SNCC Digital Gateway (SDG). A joint project of SLP and Duke University, SDG tells the story of how young activists in SNCC united with local people in the South to build a grassroots movement for change that empowered the Black community and transformed the nation.

Black Power Chronicles. The SNCC Legacy Project created the Black Power Chronicles (BPC) in 2015 to help fill the informational void that exists in our historical record about the impact of the Black Power Movement in local communities throughout America.

SCOPE 50. Preserving Civil Rights and the Story of Voting. Website of SCLC/SCOPE project activists.

Veterans of the Mississippi Civil Rights Movement. Empowering the next generation, passing it on to carry it on by preserving the history of the Mississippi Movement.

Movement History Initiative, John Hope Franklin Center, Duke University.

Teaching for Change and Zinn Education Project. Provides teachers and parents with the tools to create schools where students learn to read, write, and change the world by promoting and supporting the teaching of people's history in middle and high school classrooms across the country.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

SNCC & Grassroots Organizing Discussion Series. Spring, 2025. SNCC veterans and humanities scholars explore SNCC's organizing work and its connections to life, community, social-justice struggles today. In-Person and Live-Streamed.

From Protest to Power Podcasts. SNCC Legacy Project (SLP). The central theme of these visual podcasts is the ongoing effort of the Black community to achieve the power to define its existence in America.

Save A Civil Rights Landmark! In 1964, President Lyndon Johnson was told that if he wanted to keep an eye on the leaders of the Civil Rights Movement, he should just look at the St. Johns County Jail in St. Augustine, Florida because that's where they were all incarcerated. Now the Sheriff proposes to tear down that civil rights landmark. Will you add your voices, as veterans of the movement, to those who do not want to lose this important building? Five County Commissioners will have the final vote on its fate. Please write and let them know that the world is watching!

bcc1whitehurst@sjcfl.us
bcc2sarnold@sjcfl.us
bcc3cmurphy@sjcfl.us
bcc5ataylor@sjcfl.us
bcc4kjoseph@sjcfl.us

If Anybody Should Ask You ... This Is What Happened: A Memoir, by Gwendolyn J. Dennis-Mack. 2024. The personal story of an African American high school girl who joined the movement of young people to desegregate American classrooms in Deep South Georgia.

Movement Art: If you are aware of any works of art related to the Freedom Movement such as paintings, drawings, murals, statues, and so on, please take a look at our Civil Rights Movement Art page to see if we already have an image of it in our collection. If it isn't included in our collection please email us an image we can post, or a weblink, or some other information that we can use. Thanks.

Movement Materials: Please continue to email to us documents, letters, reports, stories, and other Southern Freedom Movement materials from the period 1950-1970. See Submissions details.

WEBSITE REPORT

According to Google, there were 36,511 visits to the CRMA website during April for an average of 1217 per day. This is approximately 10% higher than April of last year.

On school days, our number of visitors ranged from 2200 to 1200 per day.

Roughly 13% of our visitors came from outside the U.S. in April. On average over the course of a year, international users make up 15%-20% of our users. We are proud that our Freedom Movement of the 1960s is still of interest to people around the world and that our site still stands as a free, publicly- available, un-censored international information resource.

As of May 1st, our online archive contains 11,906 viewable pages, documents, images, and recordings, plus 468 videos in our Vimeo video channel.

TOP-TEN MOST VIEWED

According to Google, our top-ten, most-visited sections and individual pages in April .
(Note that Google does not count how often PDF files are accessed. Since most of our documents are in PDF format, the "Top Ten" lists are not all that accurate.)

Sections, Landing & Reference Pages

1. Freedom Rides and Freedom Riders Resources
2. Are You "Qualified" to Vote?—Literacy Tests & Voter Applications
3. Site Search: Civil Rights Movement Archive
4. Original Freedom Movement Documents
5. Poems of the Civil Rights Movement
6. Documents From the 1960s Sit-Ins
7. Civil Rights Movement Major Topic Resources
8. Civil Rights Movement History 1950-1970
9. Documents: Selma Alabama and the March to Montgomery 1963-1965
10. Freedom Movement Photo Album

Individual Pages & Documents

1. Civil Rights Movement History: 1961 (Freedom Rides, MS voter registration, Albany GA)
2. Photo Album: The Children's Crusade: Birmingham (1963)
3. Civil Rights Movement History: 1960 (student sit-ins)
4. Photo Album: We're Going to March in St. Augustine (1963-1964)
5. The Other America, Dr. Martin Luther King. (1967)
6. Photo Album: The Freedom Rides (1961)
7. Documents From the Montgomery Bus Boycott
8. Louisiana Voter Application and Literacy Tests
9. Photo Album: The Sit-Ins—Off Campus and Into Movement (1960)
10. Poems of Langston Hughes

Top Ten Sections & Pages That Others on the Internet Link To

Google reports that out on the global internet there are 21,286 backlinks to materials on our site by people, organizations, grade-schools, and universities using us as a trusted information resource. The Top-Ten linked to pages are:

1. The Medical Committee for Human Rights (MCHR)
2. The Other America, Dr. Martin Luther King. (1967)
3. Are You "Qualified" to Vote?—Literacy Tests & Voter Applications
4. Public Opinion Polls on Civil Rights Movement activities 1961-1969, Roper Center archive
5. Freedom Rides and Freedom Riders Resources
6. Martin Luther King and the Montgomery Story Comic Book. (Fellowship of Reconciliation)
7. Civil Rights Movement History: 1961 (Freedom Rides, MS voter registration, Albany GA)
8. Civil Rights Movement History: 1963 Jan-June (Birmingham, Greenwod, Danville)
9. Civil Rights Movement History: 1960 (student sit-ins)
10. I'm Sick and Tired of Being Sick and Tired, Fannie Lou Hamer

CRMA Video & Audio

Our CRMA Video Channel on the Vimeo hosting service provides videos created by Freedom Movement veterans (or their immediate families) and videos created by others that are substantially about Movement veterans. When you visit the channel, please consider adding yourself as a "follower" for social-media metrics. Thanks.

New Videos posted in April:

It's Dark, But It's Not Midnight. Video editorial by the SNCC Legacy Project (SLP) on the current political situation and the historic role of the Black community in America. April 2025.
2 minute version 4 minute version

Gaye Adegbalola: Civil Rights and the Blues, by University of Mary Washington, 2017. Fredericksburg, VA. 1960 lunch counter sit-ins. 82min.

Richmond 34 Collection

Sit-In STAND OUT documentary film by Richmond Performing Arts Alliance (RPAA), 2011.16 min.

Elizabeth Johnson Rice, by RPAA, 5 min.

Ford T. Johnson, Jr., by RPAA. 39 min.

Dr. Allix B. James, by RPAA. 42 min.

Barbara Thornton Nero, by RPAA. 31 min.

Dr. Leroy M. Bray, Jr., by RPAA. 31 min.

Tobias Randolph, by RPAA. 31 min.

Raymond B. Randolph, Jr., by RPAA. 45 min.

A.J. Franklin, by RPAA. 38 min.

Woody Grant, by RPAA. 5 min.

New Movement Documents

1961 Voter registration proposal to Taconic Foundation, Wyatt T. Walker, SCLC. Undated (possibly 1961). 14 pages.

1961 Voter registration proposal and budget to Taconic Foundation. James Farmer, CORE. 8/17/61. 3 pages.

1961 Memorandum on voter registration campaign, unsigned SRC. 8/23/61. 7 pages.

1963? Please Do Not Patronize the Campus Grill Until It Serves All Students Regardless of Race, Creed or Color. Ron Parker, Nashville TN. Undated, possibly 1963

1964 Memorandum on Structure and Activities of NAACP in Voter Registration. Unsigned (possibly LDF). Undated (possibly 1964).

1964 List of racist laws & resolutions Mississippi legislature, Jan-March, 1964. Unsigned. 3 pages.

1966 Jackson MS voter registration effort, YWCA/NAACP students, April spring break. 11 documents.

1964 Instructions for Holding a Precinct and Conunty Convention, MFDP. Preparation for challenging the all-white Mississippi delegation to the Atlantic City convention. Undated, mid-1964.

1964 Recruitment Techniques, unsigned Greenwood MS. SNCC? COFO? MFDP? Undated.

1966 The Selection of Candidates to Run For Congress Against James O. Eastland. Victoria Gray, Bill Ware, Andrew Green, MFDP. Undated (probably August 1966).

1966 MFDP campaign flyer, 1966 Mississippi election. November 8.

1966 MFDP campaign flyer, 1966 Mississippi election. November 8.

1966 Dear Community Leader or Organizer, memo from Freedom Information Service (FIS). 8/16/66. 3 pages.

Mississippi Freedom Summer Documents

1964 Mississppi Freedom Summer (flyer for Black communities), Unsigned, COFO. Undated 1964

June? The Mississippi Power Structure. Unsigned COFO or SNCC. 10 pages.

June? Voter Registration Laws in Mississippi, Subversion of the Fifteenth Amendment in Mississippi. Unsigned COFO or SNCC. 9 pages.

June? Mississippi Politics and COFO's Political Program. Unsigned COFO or SNCC. 16 pages.

June? From New Negro Poets: USA. Unsigned COFO or SNCC. 4 pages.

June? Harriet Tubman 1823-1913. Unsigned COFO or SNCC. 2 pages.

June? Fredrick Douglas 1817-1895. Unsigned COFO or SNCC. 2 pages.

July Freedom News, Holly Springs Freedom School, MS. July 10, July 17

1964 Letters From Mississippi letter lists & releases, by Betita Martinez (Elizabeth Sutherland).

Freedom Movement Publications

Southern Patriot March, 1955: Anne Braden trial, Jim Crow parks banned, CORE desegregates Baltimore lunch counters.

Southern Patriot April, 1955: Supreme Court desegregation cases, Montgomery Alabama Claudette Colvin bus segregation case.

Southern Patriot May, 1955: Southwest rally on integration, Phoenix AZ school integration, West Virginia HBCU integrates.

Southern Patriot June, 1955: New Orleans social workers statement in favor of school integration, Houston conference school integration formulas.

Southern Patriot September, 1955: Sen. Eastland, American Legion, and others attack SCEF as 'subversive' organization

Southern Patriot October, 1955: New Oleans school integration petition, Red scare smears against SCEF, Mississippi significance of Emmett Till murder.

Southern Patriot November, 1955: Georgia Attorney-General attacks SCEF, NAACP, and SRC, Dalton GA red-scare union busting,

Southern Patriot December, 1955: Anti-integration red-scare in New Orleans, School integration in St. Louis, Montgomery Bus Boycott begins.

WATS & Phone Reports (Log of daily phone-in reports)

SNCC, May 1, 1964. Hattiesburg MS Pete Stoner appeal, McComb MS Zellner arrest

SNCC, May 1, 1964. Nashville TN protests, SNCC organizing there, injunction & violence.

SNCC, May 5, 1964. Meridian MS arrests, Nashville TN protests marches and white support.

SNCC, May 6, 1964. Report on Jackson MS harrassment and arrest of SNCC/COFO activists at train station.

SNCC, May 6, 1964. Meridian MS legal cases, Natchez & Canton MS bomb threats, Jackson MS legislation against Freedom Summer, Greenwood MS legal case.

SNCC, May 7, 1964. Larry Rubin & Alvin Packer arrested at Holly Springs MS roadblock while delivering books for freedom school.

SNCC, May 9, 1964. Chapel Hill NC arrests, injunction, legal cases and voter registration.<

SNCC, May 9, 1964. Red smear article against SNCC in Cincinatti Enquirer and Justice Department's reply.

Vietnam War, Military Draft & GI Movement Documents

1967	Berkeley city referendum against Vietnam War flyers. September-October, 1967
1967	WIN Peace & Freedom through Nonviolent Action newsletter. Vol III, No. 15. Sept 15, 1967. 16 pages.
1970	FTA Project Report. Unsigned Fuck the Army project, Louisville KY. Undated (probably November 1970). 3 pages.
70s	CAMP Political Report, unsigned Chicago Area Military Project. Undated 1970s. 2 pages.
70s	G.I. Movement conference, unsigned. Undated 1970s. 2 documents.
70s	Brother Veterans, memo about forming a veterans "common-interest" group. John & Hal, FTA. Undated 1970s.

Documents from the Northern Wing of the Movement

9/37	ACLU	The American Civil Liberties Union brochure. 11 pages
1964	CORE?	Draft summer program slums & jobs, NY City. Unsigned possibly CORE. Undated 1964
7/15/65	CORE	East Bay Civil Rights Conference, U.C. Berkeley.
6/19/67	CNVA	Direct Action for a Nonviolent World, New England Committee for a Nonviolent Action newsletter. #79. 6 pages.
8/67	WSP	MEMO, newsletter of Women Strike for Peace. August 1967. 16 pages.

New Letters & Reports

1962	Faith Holsaert, SNCC	Dear Betsy & Paul, Albany and Terrell County Georgia.
12/62?	Faith Holsaert, SNCC	Dear Ciff, letter to her sister re Albany & SW Georgia.
12/62	Faith Holsaert, SNCC	Dear Ciff, note to her sister re Albany & SW Georgia.
12/30/62	Daddy Holsaert	Dearest Faith, letter to Faith Holsaert from her father.
1963	Leko	Dear Faith, personal note to Faith Holsaert
1/13/63	Anne Braden, SCEF	Letter to Faith Holsaert re legal cases & etc, Southwest Georgia.
2/12/64	Jack ????	Note to Anne and Carl Braden of SCEF re communication strategy for MS,
8/65	Judy Richardson, SNCC	Residential Freedom School Report. 12 pages.
8/29/66	Jan Hillegas, FIS	Letter to Bruce Hartford, re ASCS query. MS

New Letters & Reports From Freedom Summer

7/8	Appeal letter, Marylin Rapley. To faculty member. No location
7/11	Mississippi, Marilyn Rapley, report from Laurel MS.
???	Dear Mother, John Stevenson. Re MFDP. Undated. No location.
???	Letter about mood & emotion, Heather Tobis Booth. Undated. Shaw, Sunflower Co.
???	Dear Friends, George Robbins. Poverty, violence & the Movement in Shaw MS. Undated. 6 pages.
6/9	SV Girl Reports From Mississippi, Gretchen Schwarz, (Sunnyvale Standard) Report from Ruleville on Freedom School.
8/5	Dear Mom, Gretchen Schwarz, Report from Ruleville on MFDP.
9/11	Report (pages missing), Gretchen Schwarz.

New Stories & Narratives

Bob Mants	Interview for Eyes on the Prize by Blackside re SNCC, Lowndes Co. AL, voter registration, Stokely Carmichael. 1988. 21 pages

Rudolph Lee	Interview for Eyes on the Prize by Blackside re Montgomery Bus Boycott, Birmingham's 16th Street Baptist Church, mass meetings. 1979. 9 pages
Linda Brown Smith	Interview for Eyes on the Prize by Blackside re Brown v. Board of Education, Little Rock school integration. 1985. 10 pages
Darrell Evers	Interview for Eyes on the Prize by Blackside re Medgar Evers. 1986. 7 pages
A.G. Gaston	Interview for Eyes on the Prize by Blackside re Birmingham, AL protests, AG Gaston Motel, children in marches, Bull Connor, Fred Shuttlesworth, Martin Luther King Jr. 1985. 9 pages
Patricia Harris	Interview for Eyes on the Prize by Blackside re youth movement, protest marches, freedom songs. 1979. 7 pages
Georgia Gilmore	Interview for Eyes on the Prize by Blackside re Montgomery Bus Boycott. 1979. 4 pages
Georgia Gilmore	Interview for Eyes on the Prize by Blackside re Montgomery Bus Boycott, Rosa Parks. 1985. 11 pages
Joseph Ellwanger	Interview for Eyes on the Prize by Blackside re Birmingham, AL, Selma to Montgomery Rights March. 1998. 13 pages

Affidavits of Repression, Retaliation & Violence

1963	Affadavit of Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer describing atrocity in Winona MS. Affadavit dated May 24, 1964

New Articles & Speeches

No new articles added this month

New History Articles

No new history articles added this month.

New Thoughts & Commentaries

No new history commentaries month.

Activist Roll Call, New Names

No new names added to the Roll Call this month

In Memory, New Tributes

No new memories or tributes added this month

Frequently Asked Questions , New Answers

No new answers added this month.

New Poems

J. Shetterly: Mississippi Love Song

New Photos, Art & Posters

In the Circle of Trust

Freedom Movement Posters

Web Links and Bibliography updated, revised, & expanded.

Archive of Previous Monthly Newsletters

Recent Books by or About Movement Veterans:

Spell Freedom: The Underground Schools That Built the Civil Rights Movement. Atria/One Signal Publishers (Simon & Schuster) March 2025. The little known story of how four activists in the 1950s created and built a semi-clandestine network of Citizenship Schools across the Jim Crow South. A network that formed a foundation for the Freedom Movement's voting rights battles of the 1960s. Septima Clark, Esau Jenkins, Bernice Robinson, and Myles Horton of the Highlander Center.

Mississippi's Black Cotton. By MacArthur Cotton and John Obee, foreword by Nikole Hannah-Jones. University of Georgia Press. May 1, 2025. A personal history of the 1960's Mississippi Civil Rights Movement by SNCC Field Secretary MacArthur Cotton, who lived it.

If Anybody Should Ask You ... This Is What Happened: A Memoir, by Gwendolyn J. Dennis-Mack. 2024. The personal story of an African American high school girl who joined the movement of young people to desegregate American classrooms in Deep South Georgia.

More Voices of Civil Rights Lawyers: Continuing the Struggle, by Kent Spriggs. Stories and descriptions by 23 Civil Rights Lawyers about their struggles to advance and maintain human rights in the United States South.

Putting the Movement Back Into Civil Rights Teaching, Second Edition. By Menkart, Murray, and View. 2024. Lessons, quizzes, images, essays, articles, primary source documents, and poetry, to help teachers go beyond a "heroes and holidays" approach to teaching about the Freedom Movement in K-12 classrooms. The focus is on people of color, women, youth, organizing, culture, institutional racism, and the interconnectedness of social movements — Desegregation of Public Spaces, Voting Rights, Black Power, Labor and Land, Transnational Solidarity, and Student Engagement.

Recent Books by or About Movement Veterans:

Unlawfully Incarcerated At Age Thirteen, by Emmarene Kaigler Streeter, 2024. Personal story of one the "Stolen Girls of the *Lee County Stockade* arrested in Americus GA, and imprisoned in 1963.

Marching in Montgomery, by John J. Hartman. IPBooks. 2024. First-hand account by a participant of the March 1965 voting rights protests in Montgomery Alabama in support of the movement in Selma AL.

Ma Lineal: A Memoir of Race, Activism, and Queer Family, by Faith Holsaert. Memoir of NYC childhood, SNCC in Southwest Georgia, and raising her own children in the coalfields of West Virginia.

The Rise and Fall of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, by Martin Oppenheimer. Native Publishers, 2024. Concise history including the historical antecedents, the Greensboro sit-ins, Freedom Summer, the violence of KKK and police, and its demise around 1973.

As always comments, suggestions, corrections, and submissions from Freedom Movement activists are welcome. Veterans of the Southern Freedom Movement who are listed on the website's Roll Call are encouraged to contribute to the website their stories, thoughts, documents, and memories & tributes of those who have passed on by emailing them in to us.

If you're not already a subscriber to the monthly email version of this newsletter, send us your email address and let us know you'd like to be added to the list. To unsubscribe (heaven forfend!) do the same.

— Bruce Hartford
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