

Chapter 16 The Meltons of Glendora

Once the Milam-Bryant trial in Sumner ended, less than a month later in the nearby small cotton town of Glendora, a black service station attendant and father of four children was killed by a friend of Milam's. Elmer Kimball murdered Clinton Melton and then nineteen days later, Melton's young wife was killed, only a week before Kimball's murder trial opened.

Clinton Melton was murdered four miles from where Emmett Till's body was dumped into the Tallahatchie River earlier in August. Kimball had lived in Glendora for a short time, managing a local cotton gin, and had an account at the gas station where Melton worked.

On the day of the murder, Kimball, 35, was driving a car borrowed from his friend, J.W. Milam, one of the two men accused and acquitted of killing Till, when he drove to the gas station and asked for a fill-up. Melton's daughter, Deloris Melton Gresham, was a toddler when her parents were killed, but she later was told what occurred at the service station:

When Kimball drove up to the station, my father's boss told my father to go out and fill up his car. But when he was done filling the car, Kimball went into a rage and said he only wanted a dollar's worth of gas, and that he was going to go home and get his gun to shoot him. The gas station owner tried to talk him down, but couldn't. He told him my father was a good negro and that he did not deserve to be hurt. He really pleaded with Kimball.

As soon as Kimball left, his boss told him that he had better leave, fast. But his car was out of gas and he had to fill it first. Kimball came right back and began shooting at my father. Another man was in his car with him, and yelled for him not to shoot. He jumped out of the car and ran into the station to hide. On arrest, Kimball claimed Melton shot at him first. McGarrh [the white owner of the gas station] denied this, adding that Melton did not have a gun at any time during the quarrel. A bullet hole was found in the windshield of my father's parked car.ⁱ

An angry Hodding Carter reacted to the murder of one of "Mississippi's own," comparing it to the Till case in a *Delta-Times* editorial:

[Melton] was no out-of-state smart Alec. He was home-grown and "highly respected."... There was no question of an insult to Southern womanhood. There was only an argument about ... gasoline. There was no pressure by the NAACP, "credited" with the outcome of the Till trial... So another "not guilty" verdict was written at Sumner this week. And it served to cement the opinion of the world that no matter how strong the evidence, nor how flagrant is the apparent crime, a white man cannot be convicted in Mississippi for killing a negro.ⁱⁱ

Little attention was given to the death of Gresham's mother that occurred on or around December 21, 1955, approximately nineteen days after Clinton Melton was killed on December 3. Officially, her mother's

death was blamed on faulty driving. “Later, a relative told me that was not true, that everyone knew she was run off the road,” Gresham said.ⁱⁱⁱ

Gresham, a toddler at the time, recalled being trapped inside her mother’s car as it sank to the bottom of a murky bayou near Glendora. A relative driving by saved her life and that of her baby brother. But Beulah Melton drowned.

“My mother was a pretty woman, known for being bright and outspoken,” Gresham said. “People who knew her have told me we are very much alike – both in looks and in personality.” Beulah Melton had been picking up information on her husband’s death and would have been a “problem” for Kimball at the trial, Gresham said.

From news accounts and the talk around Glendora, there was no provocation of her father’s killing. It was outright murder, according to white witnesses, including the white service station owner. The Melton family was well known in Glendora. Clinton Melton had lived there all his life and, “for once, white people spoke out against the killing of a negro. The local Lions Club adopted a resolution branding the murder ‘an outrage’ [and pledging to donate \$400 to the family],” Myrlie Evers wrote.

Melton’s widow told Medgar Evers she feared justice would not be done if the NAACP interested itself in the case, and asked him not to become involved. “Her wishes were respected.”^{iv} In a later investigation after her death, Medgar Evers discovered the club had given the widow only twenty-six dollars and that a local white minister had given her sixty dollars of his own.

Relatives took in Delores Melton Gresham and her siblings, and Gresham continued to live in Glendora with her grandmother. “My grandfather was so upset, he left Glendora and never came back.”

Unlike some earlier Mississippi white on black murders, Kimball was charged for the murder and although not convicted, spent some time in jail:

Kimball Loses Bid for Freedom on Bond

Sumner, Miss. (AP) –December 28, 1955 – Elmer Kimball today lost his bid for freedom on bond while awaiting grand jury action on a charge of murdering a Negro man.

Three justices of the peace held a preliminary hearing for the white gin operator and refused bond. Officers returned Kimball to jail to await action of the grand jury which meets next March. The hearing was held in the little courthouse where the sensational Emmett Till trial was held. Bond usually is refused in cases where a person is accused of a crime which carries a possible death sentence upon conviction.

Kimball is charged with murder in the shotgun slaying of Clinton Melton, Negro service station attendant at nearby Glendora and father of four children. The accused man testified he fired in self-defense after someone shot at him three times. Kimball said he didn’t know who fired until he returned the fire and killed Melton.

Lee McGarrh, Melton’s employer, testified that Kimball fired without provocation, and Melton was unarmed. He said Kimball became angry at the Negro during an argument over gasoline for

Kimball's car. McGarrh said Kimball declared he was going home for his gun and [sic] kill Melton.^v

One wire service sent a staff member to cover the Kimball trial, and the only Mississippi newspaper that sent a staffer was Carter's Greenville *Delta Democrat-Times*. Reporter David Halberstam remained in Mississippi after the Milam-Bryant trial and wrote as a freelancer. This time cameras were barred, not only from the courtroom but also from the entire courthouse property, and no press table was set up. The sentiment [for conviction] was particularly strong in the Glendora community where Kimball shot Melton and where both the deceased and the defendant were well known, Halberstam wrote. "Elsewhere in Tallahatchie County, of course, it tended to become the usual matter of a white man and a black man."^{vi}

Defining "Good" and "Bad"

Halberstam, covering the Kimball trial as a freelancer, assessed the environment before the trial got started:

A friend of mine divides the white population of Mississippi into two categories. The first and largest contains the good people of Mississippi, as they are affectionately called by editorial writers, politicians, and themselves. The other group is a smaller but in many ways more conspicuous faction called the peckerwoods.

The good people will generally agree that the peckerwoods are troublemakers, and indeed several good people have told me they joined the Citizens Councils because otherwise the peckerwoods would take over the situation entirely. It is the good people who will tell you that their town has enjoyed racial harmony for many years, while it is the peckerwoods who may confide that they know how to keep the niggers in their place; it is the good people who say and mean, "We love our nigras," and it is the peckerwoods who say and mean, "If any big buck gets in my way it'll be too damn bad."

But while the good people would not act with the rashness of and are not governed by the hatred of the peckerwood, they are reluctant to apply society's normal remedies to the peckerwood. Thus it is the peckerwoods who kill Negroes and the good people who acquit the peckerwoods; it is the peckerwoods who hang dead crows from the trees of a small town and the good people who do not cut them down.^{vii}

Despite his pleas of self-defense, Kimball was denied bond in two preliminary hearings. The biggest problem at the trial facing District Attorney Roy Johnson and County Attorney Hamilton Caldwell, according to Halberstam, was swearing in fair and impartial jurors [from] a group "sworn by birthright to protecting the interest and life of the white."

The state had produced three witnesses. First was McGarrh, "a stern little man who was a member of one of Glendora's most respected families." McGarrh, Halberstam wrote, stuck to the same story he had told at the earlier hearings. "He said he saw Kimball shoot the unarmed Melton. He went unshaken under cross

examination. The only weakness in his story is that although Kimball had given prior warning of his intention McGarrh stayed inside the station with his shot gun.’

The next witness was John Henry Wilson, “a Negro in whom Kimball said he had a great deal of confidence. Wilson did not witness the shooting, but he damaged the self defense theory. He was standing outside the station when Kimball returned with a gun. He asked Kimball what he was going to do.

“I’m going to kill that nigger,” Kimball said.

“Please, sir, don’t shoot that boy. He ain’t done nothing to you,” Wilson said.

“Get back or I’ll kill you too,” said Kimball. Wilson ran to the back of the station.”

The last witness for the state, George Woodson, testified that he was standing about ten feet away from the scene and saw Kimball walk around the side of the station with a gun, and that he did not see any gun in Melton’s hand.^{viii} The defense lacked eye witnesses and thus tried to shake the testimony of the state’s witnesses. Its witnesses came up with only minor points, according to Halberstam. “But more significant than their testimony were their positions—a sheriff, a deputy sheriff, and a chief of police.” But Kimball did the most damage to himself when he got on the stand:

[He] got up there before those twelve Mississippians and told them a story about his relations with Melton that flatly contradicts all the Mississippi mores.... Kimball said he went inside and told McGarrh that Clinton was getting pretty nasty and asked him to total up his account and he’d be back and settle up; when he returned a few minutes later someone started firing at him, hit him, and he went back to his car and got his shot gun.^{ix}

Kimball’s story would be hard for any jury to believe, because they would know.... “[You] cannot provoke a Negro attendant to talk like that no matter how much you irritate him, particularly a trusted Negro such as Clinton Melton.”

The jury also knew that “no white peckerwood gin manager, the best friend of J. W. Milam, would let a Negro talk like that without doing a little whupping right there on the spot.”^x

After four and one-half hours, the jurors walked in and announced their decision to acquit.

Sumner, Miss. (AP) – Elmer Otis Kimball was acquitted of murder late yesterday in the shotgun slaying of a 33-year-old Negro. “I wasn’t sure justice would be done,” said the 35-year-old white Glendora cotton gin operator, “but I should have known.” A 12-man, all-white jury, made up mostly of farmers, deliberated more than four hours before freeing Kimball.

Two witnesses testified they saw Kimball blast Clinton Melton three times with a shotgun December 3 at a Glendora service station. Witnesses said the shooting was an aftermath of an argument between Kimball and Melton over gasoline to be put into Kimball’s car. Kimball testified that Melton cursed him during the argument. Defense Atty. J. W. Kellum said Kimball fired the fatal shots in self-defense. Kimball said three shots were fired at him before he opened

fire, one wounding him in the shoulder. He showed a scar and brought in a doctor who verified the gunshot wound.

But neither Lee McGarrh, white owner of the service station, nor George Woodson, Negro, who said he witnessed the slaying, said they saw or heard Melton fire. No weapon was found on Melton's body or in his car. The trial took place in the same courtroom where half-brothers J.W. Milam and Roy Bryant were found innocent six months ago of the murder of 14-year-old Emmett Till, Chicago Negro. Kellum was one of five defense attorneys in the Till case.^{xi}

Times were now more dangerous for Mississippi's African Americans. One white Glendora resident, asked by a reporter for his opinion of both the Till and Melton murders told him "There's open season on the Negroes now. They've got no protection, and any peckerwood who wants can go out and shoot himself one."^{xii}

Clinton and Beulah Melton's daughter never moved from the Delta. She keeps a picture of her mother who looks like she could be her twin. While she has never owned a picture of her father, Gresham said she would have liked to know him better and continues to question what happened to her mother on that frightening day.

Her story had a happy note. In 2003, Keith Beauchamp, a New York filmmaker, discovered a copy of an old newsreel showing the story of Clinton Melton's murder. Beauchamp incorporated the reel into a documentary on Emmett Till, and made sure that Gresham had a copy for her family. The following year, the documentary was shown on a Chicago television station, resulting quite by chance in one of Gresham's brothers discovering his sister. A family reunion took place that summer. "It was joyous," Delores Gresham said. "We talk to each other on the phone several times a week, and I'm meeting other relatives through my brother."

Gus Courts pays for his activism

Two years after the deaths of Rev. Lee, Emmett Till and Mr. and Mrs. Clinton Melton, Gus Courts of Belzoni testified before a U. S. Senate subcommittee. Courts stated that Rev. Lee had received an anonymous note only two hours before he was killed, warning him not to help blacks register to vote. The morning after Lee's death, a member of the white Citizens Council visited Courts and told him to expect the same demise unless he took his name off the register of voters. "I told him... I'd as soon die a free man than live a coward."^{xiii}

In 1954, Courts was pressed to withdraw his name from the voting list by the president and others of the Belzoni Guarantee Bank and Trust Company, also members of the white Citizens Council.

Mrs. Willie Hazelwood of Belzoni remembers how Courts was sneaked out of town by other civil rights leaders after Rev. Lee was killed, via the modern Underground Railroad. "He was shipped out in a casket for his own safety. I don't know where they took him, but Rev. Joe Thurman helped move him out. That was our version of the Underground Railroad – often used to get people out of the Delta fast."^{xiv}

After Courts returned to Belzoni and led 22 blacks to the polls for the second primary in August 1955, their votes were voided after they lost a challenge under new state voter registration laws. Around the state, much the same happened as blacks attempted to vote and their ballots were destroyed.

When the election took place that November, Courts was critically wounded by a shotgun blast while at work, after refusing to remove his name from the voting books even though all of the others had done so.

He further angered the sheriff when he “impeded an official investigation” by allowing himself to be driven 75 miles to a Mound Bayou hospital for treatment of the wound. Courts feared the treatment given to his friend, Rev. Lee by the local medical community. There was no trial or conviction, and Courts later testified before a subcommittee hearing of the United States Senate:

“They told me they were not going to let the Negroes in Humphreys County vote, and they told me they are not going to let the NAACP organization operate in Belzoni.”^{xv} Courts moved to Chicago after he recovered, calling himself an “American refugee from Mississippi terror.”

During Courts’ hearing, Mrs. Savannah Luton testified that a white man shot Courts; she was immediately taken off welfare benefits. When Courts later spoke for civil rights legislation in Washington, he was quoted in *The New York Times*: “My wife and I and thousands of Mississippians have had to run away.... We had to flee in the night. We are the American refugees from the terror in the South, all because we want to vote. Not only are they killing colored people who want to vote and be citizens, but they are squeezing them out of business, foreclosing their mortgages, refusing them credit from the banks to operate their farms.”^{xvi}

IT TOOK REMARKABLE bravery for any reporter to cover the string of early murders of African Americans and trials that ensued in Mississippi, especially during the 1950s and if the reporter was black. Yet, Hank Klibanoff, writing for the *Media Studies Journal*, observed that as the 1950s began, “much of the black press was already onto stories of brutality that the white press was missing, ignoring or belittling.”^{xvii} Because of their reporting, there are more objective and thorough accounts of events, particularly the murders of Emmett Till and Clinton Melton:

Few black leaders died as heroes in the white press, North or South. In much of the Southern white press, early leaders who were killed for their activism were portrayed as dying in freakish incidents or under mysterious circumstances or of self-inflicted wounds. It would be the black press that would seek and discover evidence of homicide where sheriffs found none.

The 1955 death of Rev. Lee, a pastor of four churches, a grocer and a leader of a voter registration drive in Belzoni, was treated as an odd accident in the Jackson, Mississippi, *Clarion-Ledger*, leaving it to the black press to point out that his pierced vocal chords and the lead pellets embedded in the remains of his face suggested homicide. Similar differences in coverage came that year after the murders of Lamar Smith in Brookhaven, and Clinton Melton in Sumner.^{xviii}

Just “getting to the stories” was difficult. It wasn’t typical for black reporters to fly to assignments, and bus rides “into the backwaters were fraught with danger and, of necessity, cloaked with deception.” Black reporters, dispatched from large cities such as Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Chicago and Detroit to cover stories of

lynchings, beatings and castrations, would “shed their suits and ties and put on dusty bib overalls and a low-headed shuffle in order to slip into a Southern town and start reporting.”^{xix}

Regardless, the news of Till’s sadistic murder and the easy release of his killers made it clear once more that change had to come. Three months after the Milam-Bryant trial, Rosa Parks, who said that she was thinking of Emmett Till at the time, refused to surrender her seat to a white person on a segregated Montgomery, Alabama, city bus.

Parks later became a friend of Till’s mother and once told Mamie Till-Mobley she was thinking about “a good many things, but she was thinking about Emmett Till, as well, and she couldn’t be moved.”

Bill Minor, one of the first journalists to acknowledge this important relationship, was a 35-year-old reporter who had been covering Mississippi for the *New Orleans Times-Picayune* for almost nine years. Minor later wrote of “seeing the historic significance of the Sumner courtroom when Milam and Bryant were acquitted.”^{xx}

National media attention surrounding Emmett Till’s death, the trial, and the inevitable acquittal of his killers had an effect that no one could have imagined or predicted, Minor wrote, becoming “a key factor in the explosive year that launched the modern Civil Rights Movement.”

At the end of the trial, Minor wrote and filed a dispatch reporting, "To the sweaty, tense courtroom audience, it was clear that not two men but a system as old as the Constitution of the United States, and a way of life which may be older, had been on trial.”

Parks’ courageous act of civil disobedience led to the Montgomery Bus Boycott and the entrance of a young minister, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., as a powerful leader in the fight for civil rights. Emmett Till’s lynching had galvanized Black leaders and ordinary citizens, including Parks.

A few years later, when four students from North Carolina Agricultural and Technical University (A&T) integrated the Woolworth’s lunch counter in Greensboro – starting a movement across the South – they, too were affected by Emmett Till. Several told PBS interviewers years later they had felt depressed by it, leading them to talk to others about how things should be.^{xxi}

Two years after *Brown II*, and only two months following the Till and Melton Sumner trials, 101 Southern Senators and Congressmen on March 12, 1956, introduced a “Southern Manifesto,” written by Senator Eastland.

The decree rejected *Brown* and pledged to use “all lawful means to bring about a reversal of this decision which is contrary to the Constitution and to prevent the use of force in its implementation.”

Two weeks later, on March 21, Mississippi legislators voted 129 -2 for a bill sponsored by House Speaker Sillers to create the Mississippi Sovereignty Commission to fight integration. Gov. J. P. Coleman signed the Sovereignty Commission bill into law eight days later, and as governor, sat as the first chair of the commission.

Citizens Councils militants jumped into action, acting on Judge Brady’s call for "a cold war and an economic boycott" against black agitators. "A great many Negro employees will be discharged," Brady predicted. And they were.

Less than two months after its creation, the Sovereignty Commission authorized production of a series of half-hour films and a speaker's bureau. Resulting films and speeches were disseminated to schools and other states promoting segregation as “wholesome and good.”

Blacks were losing in the struggle to vote and to go to better schools while the “old submissiveness crept back as the best way to avoid violence or intimidation,” Aaron Henry observed. “Whites had won a big round, and, for several years after early 1956, there was no extreme violence, because it was not necessary. The threat of it was enough. We all knew we moved under a cloud, and we moved cautiously.”^{xxii}

The legislature, guided by its aged speaker Sillers, passed a law that made “stirring up litigation” a crime. Then to preserve Mississippi’s way of life, the legislature repealed the state’s compulsory school attendance law.

It was becoming dangerous to hold memberships in the NAACP, the Klan’s chief target. Around the state, blacks were harassed into leaving the civil rights organization. Chapters became inactive and some were abandoned.

Clinton Battle, a young physician who headed the Indianola NAACP chapter, left the state after asking the FBI to investigate the pressures put on himself and his practice. All sharecroppers in the region had received orders from plantation owners to “find a new doctor.”

When the FBI was contacted, “They sent a white man born and raised in Mississippi to investigate. He told me I should tell the sheriff. When I saw that the federal government wasn’t going to do anything about the violation of my civil rights, I knew that I might as well move out of state.”^{xxiii}

Battle was not alone. In Cleveland, a banker called in Amzie Moore’s \$6,000 mortgage on his home and service station; In Natchez, A.M. Mackel’s telephone was tapped; other blacks believed their mail was being opened. Lovie F. Walker, a member of the Indianapolis NAACP branch, wrote the national NAACP board of directors, stating that black leadership in Mississippi was being subjected to “undisguised economic intimidation.”^{xxiv}

Ron Carey, a union leader speaking before the national AFL-CIO convention in 1956, saw ulterior motives in creation of segregationist groups and the resultant intimidation. The union had supported the NAACP financially and by filing *amicus* briefs before the Supreme Court in the series of cases leading to *Brown*, and Carey believed anti-union activity was the true goal of the Citizens Councils:

Every area of the South, where these councils have been organized, and have become a political and economic power, the normal process of justice has been diminished. At the same time, this campaign of terror and intimidation is showing its effect among prominent Southern liberals.

Many of the large Protestant church denominations have gone on record as approving the abolition of racial segregation as a public policy. However, when the local ministers attempt to put their religious belief into practice, they are immediately threatened and intimidated by these White Citizens Councils.

Organized labor constitutes the only other group that has economic and political influence in these major industrial centers of the South. Unless we of the trade union movement and like-minded community groups develop a program to expose this type of subversion, our liberties and

future union organizing campaigns will be jeopardized. Equally important, unless we act promptly and decisively, our local unions risk being infiltrated by these organizations with their totalitarian philosophy. Such a situation could well sound the death knell to our efforts to bring the benefits of trade union organization to Southern workers.^{xxv}

A student of Professor James Silver at the University of Mississippi confirmed much of what Carey said about anti-union activity. In 1948, one of the history professor's best students wrote a master's thesis on the history of the CIO in Mississippi, "quite a feat as the union at the time was only two years old in the state." But Gene Roper established in his research that "every conceivable force, ethical and unethical" – including the persuasive powers of businessmen, banks, church leaders, school officials, the press, and town officers – was laid on the workers in such towns as Grenada to get them to vote down the "red-tainted" organization.^{xxvi}

Early civil rights legislation important

The Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s got a kick-start through passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1957; from this legislation the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Rights Act followed. Bayard Rustin of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) believed the Act of 1957 was important, even if it was inherently weak because it symbolized the first civil rights legislation for 82 years and provided a base to build upon.

On September 9, Republican President Dwight Eisenhower signed the Act, the first federal civil rights legislation since Reconstruction. The law gave the federal government power to enforce voting rights, but Congressional Democrats, including John F. Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson, and the Southern bloc, devastated the Act by requiring that voting-rights offenses be prosecuted before a jury, which guaranteed acquittals in the South.

In response, Eisenhower publicly asserted that the jury-trial requirements of the Civil Rights Act would be "bitterly disappointing" to many millions of Americans "who will continue to be disenfranchised."

Following Congressional procedure, Senate leader Johnson had sent the bill to a Judiciary committee for examination of flaws and controversial and unconstitutional points. The committee, led by Eastland, altered the proposed legislation almost beyond recognition. The U. S. Civil Rights Commission was established, but creation of an enforcement division within the Justice Department was pulled.

Resulting legislation angered black leaders. Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, had testified for the original bill, offering examples from nearly every Southern state of "flagrant and systematic" denial to blacks of the right to vote. Most problems came from Mississippi; he told committee members, "the entire scale from economic reprisal to outright violence in preventing colored people from voting," was to be found in Mississippi. Proposed legislation would add no new civil rights "but calls merely for provisions to protect rights established seventy-five years ago," Wilkins said.

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- ⁱ From an interview with Delores Melton Gresham by Susan Klopfer, 2004.
- ⁱⁱ Myrlie Evers, 182-183. Evers cites editorial from the *Delta Democrat-Times*.
- ⁱⁱⁱ Interview with Delores Melton Gresham.
- ^{iv} Myrlie Evers, 181-182.
- ^v Copy of Associated Press article found at the Clarksdale Library.
- ^{vi} Ibid.
- ^{vii} Ibid.
- ^{viii} Ibid.
- ^{ix} Ibid.
- ^x Ibid.
- ^{xi} Copy of newspaper report from the Clarksdale Library. No identifying information is contained on the copy.
- ^{xii} Dittmer, 59, citing Halberstam.
- ^{xiii} Jeanne Mooney, "I was not going to take my name off the register," *The Virginian Pilot*, August 29, 1999.
- ^{xiv} Conversation with Mrs. Willie Hazelwood, by Susan Klopfer, September 2004.
- ^{xv} Ibid., 216. The author cites the U. S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary, Hearings before the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, 85 Cong., 1957, 547. See also Charles J. Lapidary, "Belzoni, Mississippi," *The New Republic*, vol. 134, May 7, 1956, 12-13.
- ^{xvi} Henry, 97.
- ^{xvii} Hank Klibanoff, "L. Alex Wilson: A Reporter Who Refused to Run," *Media Studies Journal*, Vol. 14 no. 2, Spring/Summer, 2000.
- ^{xviii} Ibid.
- ^{xix} Ibid.
- ^{xx} Bill Minor, "American Experience, Online Forum," *PBS online*, January 23, 2003.
- ^{xxi} PBS documentary aired February 6, 2005, "February One: The Story of the Greensboro Four," filmmakers Dr. Steven Channing and Rebecca Cerese.
- ^{xxii} Ibid., 98.
- ^{xxiii} Ibid., 99.
- ^{xxiv} Dittmer, 48.
- ^{xxv} "Carey On Civil Rights: AFL-CIO Convention (1956)," *Blacks, Unions, and Organizing in the South (1956-1996): A Documentary History*, compiled by Rudolph Lewis.
- ^{xxvi} Silver, "Running Scared: Silver in Mississippi," 31-32.