

Chapter 24 Follow the Money

“Mississippi steadfastly and self-righteously presented itself to the media and to the national consciousness as the last bastion of the Confederacy, the state that would never yield to equality among the races. The Mississippi Southern ‘way of life’ would forever resist outside agitators, Commies, and the federal government.” Peter Jan Honigsberg, law student volunteer

The assassination of President John Fitzgerald Kennedy left most civil rights activists grief-stricken. Kennedy had been the first president since Harry Truman to support equal rights for black Americans, even if he was not always decisive.

Many knew that his successor, Lyndon Baines Johnson, helped engineer the Civil Rights Act of 1957, a mild measure,ⁱ but but at the same time questioned if Johnson could be trusted to work for civil rights or if he would support his fellow white Southerners instead – men like like Senator James O. Eastland of Sunflower County.

On November 27, 1963, President Johnson’s support of civil rights was assured as he addressed the Congress and the nation for the first time as President, calling for passage of the Civil Rights Bill as a monument to the late President Kennedy: "No ... eulogy could more eloquently honor President Kennedy's memory than the earliest possible passage of the Civil Rights Bill for which he fought so long."

Victory for this legislation would not come easily; few could have predicted the massive effort coming from Mississippi to undermine this legislation or the hundreds of thousands of dollars used to keep civil rights in check. By the fall of 1963, Mississippi public funds were already underwriting “the most active lobby [in Washington, D. C.] against civil rights legislation,” reported Ben A. Franklin in a special report to *The New York Times*.ⁱⁱ

From reports filed with the clerk of the House of Representatives, Franklin discovered money coming from the Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission to initiate activities of the Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms, Inc. (CCFAF) at the taxpayers’ expense. CCFAF was organized in July 1963, registering as a lobby to oppose the Administration’s Civil Rights Bill and “all similar legislation.” In all, over \$300,000 was collected and spent on this legislation and related Mississippi segregationist projects, the records show.

CCFAF’s lobbyist quickly worked to enlist support from other lobbyists representing industrial and trade associations. Publicly, CCFAF was counting on contributions from all Southern states that maintained sovereignty commissions including Alabama, Georgia, Florida, Louisiana, South Carolina, Mississippi, North Carolina, and Virginia, calling their lobbying effort “the greatest unified project ever undertaken in the South.”ⁱⁱⁱ

The few sovereignty commission-type organizations outside of Mississippi were “largely paper organizations” and none made significant contributions to the anti-Civil Rights fight except for Mississippi. Early on, the only reported outside contributions to Mississippi’s Sovereignty Commission came from two

Virginians: Landon B. Lane, vice president of a cedar chest manufacturing company, and Bruce Dunstan, a realtor.

It was an intriguing group that came together to battle the civil rights legislation: Chairing CCFAF was William Loeb, the controversial and conservative editor and publisher of the *Manchester (N.H.) Union Leader* and other newspapers. James J. Kilpatrick, editor of the *Richmond News Ledger*, was Vice Chair while secretary-treasurer and most active top officer was John Satterfield of Yazoo City, a close adviser to Governor Ross Barnett and president of both the Mississippi and American Bar Associations (in 1961 and 1962), positions he clearly used in fighting to oppose the Civil Rights Bill.^{iv}

Satterfield once charged the Supreme Court with “eroding state’s rights and threatening the country’s liberty and security” by giving “inordinate weight” to the rights of individuals.^v By the end of the 1960s, *Time* magazine would label Satterfield “the most prominent segregationist lawyer in the country.”^{vi}

A year before the Washington, D. C. effort, the Yazoo City attorney served as a special adviser to Governor Barnett during James Meredith’s successful integration of the University of Mississippi, and wrote a report to the Mississippi legislature blasting Kennedy and the federal government’s intervention.

Satterfield was an accomplished wordsmith who made top money for his talents, and this project paid him well. He negotiated “an agreed maximum of \$2,000 a month” plus all expenses with the Sovereignty Commission for his legal work on fighting civil rights efforts.^{vii}

Satterfield had his enemies, including Rev. Ed King. In a Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania Methodist Conference rally a year following the death of Medgar Evers, King appeared in front of the session to brand Satterfield as “the chief [functionary] of the Nazi operation that operates the state of Mississippi.” Satterfield was attending as leader of the lay delegation of the Mississippi Methodist Conference. King included reporting on Satterfield’s “\$20,000 a year to lobby against civil rights legislation in Washington.”^{viii}

Nonetheless, Mississippi’s fight over civil rights legislation was an upscale operation, under Satterfield’s direction, with an office suite serving as CCFAF headquarters at the Carroll Arms Hotel, a Capitol Hill landmark overlooking the Senate office buildings. John A. Synon, “a public relations man” who once worked for a California governor, was named CCFAF’s staff director, and a Washington, D. C. lawyer was also hired “at a reported fee of \$750.00 a month.” Various others were compensated for their services – from a legislative assistant to a member of the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR).

Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party and Freedom Summer

Violence against blacks and civil rights workers kept building as the Civil Rights Movement progressed into 1964. While the Justice Department worked on court suits and legal matters, this did not halt the brutal backlash. Civil rights workers in the rural communities of Mississippi and other parts of the South were being shot, beaten, gassed, whipped, lynched, murdered and jailed for all their efforts.^{ix}

A revival of Klan activity was evident; outside of Mississippi a growing interest in these brutalities continued to develop. With each malicious event, anger intensified, “growing into a thunderous demand for immediate and complete equality before every aspect of the law,” Aaron Henry observed.

When leaders of COFO and national church groups around the state met to work out plans for the coming year, Henry and others agreed the voting rights movement was gaining a steady momentum, however. They would take advantage of this break and work towards a massive voter registration program the following summer. Mock elections the previous fall had attracted new supporters and there could “never be a time better to launch a full-scale effort.”^x

Movement leaders also talked about challenging the right of the regular all-white Mississippi Democrats to represent the state at the party’s upcoming national convention. It was obvious that Mississippi’s Democratic Party controlled the state government and maintained control by keeping blacks from voting. These were the same Mississippi Democrats who also continued to condemn openly the party’s national candidates, thereby putting blacks in a strong position, some believed, to make a successful political protest.

Over 80,000 people voted in a COFO-sponsored mock governor’s election held the past fall; this was a new phenomenon, seeing so many blacks willing to become involved in a civil rights activity. The time had come to build a new party for these new voters, since blacks were not allowed a part in the mainstream Democratic or Republican parties.

Henry and others knew they would need outside help to achieve their goals. Moses would direct a Freedom Summer project, assisted by Dave Dennis, a CORE field representative. Both set out to bring in one thousand student workers from the North who would register as many black voters as possible, offer freedom schools with remedial help in basic courses, and set up community centers for job training and general health education.

The final *coup* planned for that summer was to challenge successfully the seating of Mississippi’s delegation at the Democratic National Convention in August.

Personal survival was a real objective, recalled Lawrence Guyot, who later chaired the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party that was formed by movement leaders on April 26, 1964. MFDP candidates ran for Senate and three Congressional seats in the June Democratic primary.^{xi}

“[We needed] to bring the country into Mississippi in order to really put the spotlight into Mississippi,” Guyot said. “We had learned [from experience] these people would bring with them more FBI agents and more cameras than anything else. [We] were being picked off systematically ... our phones were tapped. So it was a matter of time before the twenty-five or thirty of us were – would have been obliterated.”^{xii}

Bob Moses, Dave Dennis, Hunter Morey, a young SNCC worker, and Aaron Henry also spoke around the country, searching for college students to help with Freedom Summer. Students were required to first raise – on their own – five hundred dollars bail money, list their next of kin, and then sit for photographs with an identification number labeled across their chests.

Before students came into Mississippi as freedom workers, two orientation sessions took place in Oxford, Ohio where students learned their duties would be to help with voter registration, establish community centers where poor blacks could find medical and legal assistance, and conduct freedom schools to compensate for the lack of mandatory school attendance for Mississippi black children.

As the students talked and questioned on the Ohio campus, Jim Forman and Bob Moses never let them forget for one moment that death was always a possibility for those who ventured into Mississippi as civil rights missionaries. “Don’t expect them to be concerned with your constitutional rights,” Moses said. And

[Forman told students,] “Everything they (the white power structure) do in Mississippi is unconstitutional.... I may be killed. You may be killed – the question of whether you will be put in jail will become very, very minute.”^{xiii}

R. Jess Brown, a graying black lawyer from Jackson, “added fuel to the volunteers’ mounting fear” when he cautioned: “I am one of the three Mississippi lawyers ... who will accept a case in behalf of a civil rights worker. Now get this in your heads and remember what I am going to say. They – the white folk, the police, the state police – they are all waiting for you. They are looking for you. They are ready; they are armed. They know some of your names and your descriptions even now, even before you get to Mississippi.”^{xiv}

There was never a question that bringing hundreds of largely white middle class male and female youth and students into Mississippi was a calculated maneuver to raise the consciousness of the nation, “... and everyone knew that the kind of violence and terrorism that was going to address that situation was going to be ... leverage against the government to really enforce the laws that were on the books and also pass whatever laws were necessary in order to be passed,” according to Bob Zellner, a white volunteer from Alabama who was assigned to work in Greenwood.^{xv}

Zellner, like other students choosing to help out in Mississippi, believed in the American Dream and found it disturbing to be surrounded and followed by white policemen riding shotgun once they entered the state.

“Even as their bus curved through bayous and then raced deep into the Mississippi Delta, the civil rights volunteers amused themselves by reading dispatches from the North – particularly a column by Joseph Alsop – that warned of the ‘Coming Terrorism.’”^{xvi}

The national columnist wrote that “a great storm was gathering in the State of Mississippi” and the southern half of the state had been powerfully “reinvaded by the Ku Klux Klan that was banished from the state many years ago.” Then Alsop “loosed a blockbuster which should have made the most committed civil rights zealot rise in his bus seat and take notice:”

Senator James O. Eastland, wrote the journalist, had managed to prevent infiltration of the Northern part of the state where his influence predominates. “But Southern Mississippi is now known to contain no fewer than sixty-thousand armed men organized to what amounts to terrorism. Acts of terrorism against the local negro populace are already an everyday occurrence.”^{xvii}

The bottom line for Freedom Summer remained intact, the columnist asserted: COFO’s voter registration forces needed to be strengthened; the nation needed to know what was happening in Mississippi; the federal government needed prodding; and blacks who had recently obtained the vote needed protection to ensure they would not be frightened off. Student help would be critical in making this happen.^{xviii}

At nearly the same time in Washington, D. C., Yazoo City attorney John Satterfield and his crew were nearing the end of their anti-civil rights campaign. From around Mississippi, hundreds of small donations had come into the Sovereignty Commission daily (to be passed on the CCFAF) from realtors, chambers of commerce, banks, businesses, clubs, and individuals. Donations ranged from \$5.00 to \$100.00 or higher, as much as \$15,000 from some donors:

From Indianola the Sovereignty Commission reported donations of \$100 from “Clark, Townsend and Davis”; \$20 (Frank L. Tindall); \$5, Dr. E. Lee Dorsett; \$50 (Allen Brothers); \$100 (Holly Ridge Planting Co.); \$100 (W. W. Gresham); \$10 (Max A. Hodges); \$50 (Dr. J. C. Shirley). In all, a total of \$1,310 came out of Indianola.^{xix}

At least \$795 came from Inverness; \$232.50 from Ruleville; \$2,401 from Tunica, including \$500 from the Tunica County Citizens Council. The Jackson Real Estate Board boosted its city’s total by collecting \$1,130 from several dozen members.^{xx}

Larger donations came in from the Mississippi Manufacturers Association and Mississippi Economic Council co-contributing \$10,000; Farm Bureau and the Delta Council, \$10,000; Southern Bell Telephone and Telegraph, \$2,500; Mississippi Bankers Association, \$5,000; Mississippi Bar Association, \$2,500; and the Mississippi State Medical Association, \$2,500, records show.^{xxi}

But the Sovereignty Commission was “sending through” far more money to CCFAF than it was receiving from Mississippi donors.^{xxii} Most of the money supporting Satterfield’s campaign didn’t come from the ‘little guys’ or even from Southern corporations, but arrived from a far-away war chest shrouded in “anonymous gifts of stock” from the Sovereignty Commission *via* Morgan Guaranty in conjunction with Wycliffe Draper’s attorney, Harry F. Weyher.^{xxiii}

Dr. William Tucker through his research answered the money questions, and Douglas A. Blackmon, staff reporter of *The Wall Street Journal*, confirmed Tucker’s findings: Both researchers met by coincidence in Jackson, Mississippi, looking into boxes of Sovereignty Commission files newly released to the public. “Blackmon was the only national reporter that I know of who seemed interested in Draper,” Tucker said.^{xxiv} Blackmon, searching for bottom line information, and after looking through the treasure trove of ledgers, invoices and correspondence recording the commission’s finances, reported that

[R]ecords show large transfers of money by Morgan on behalf of a client who turns out be a wealthy and reclusive New Yorker named Wycliffe Preston Draper. Mr. Draper used his private banker to transfer nearly \$215,000 in stock and cash to the Sovereignty Commission for use in its fight against the Civil Rights Act. The entire budget for the effort amounted to about \$300,000. Adjusted for inflation, Mr. Draper's contributions would be worth more than \$1.1 million today. The Sovereignty Commission files do more than simply document one man's role. They show that some of the most virulent resistance to civil-rights progress in the 1960s was supported and funded from the North, not just the South. The files also highlight the ethical issues that confront an institution like Morgan Guaranty, the private-banking unit of J. P Morgan & Co., when it is drawn, even unwittingly, into a client's support for repugnant causes.

When Mr. Draper died in 1972, Morgan was an executor of his estate, overseeing distributions totaling about \$5 million to two race-oriented foundations. The primary beneficiary was the Pioneer Fund, an organization Mr. Draper helped found and which became known in recent years for funding research cited in "The Bell Curve," a book arguing that blacks are genetically inclined to be less intelligent than whites or Asians. In his will, Mr. Draper instructed that after his death, the Pioneer Fund use Morgan for financial advice; the fund did so for two decades.^{xxv}

Embedded within Sovereignty Commission files was a note to Erle Johnston regarding a phone call from Satterfield, and instructing Johnston to send a telegram to “Mr. Rossiter” in the Trust Department of Morgan Guaranty in New York. “Satterfield had a call from Draper’s attorney Weyher about the telegram” regarding stock transfers and sales, and “the banks need to be advised what action to take.”^{xxvi}

Most of the money supporting Mississippi’s fight against the 1964 Civil Rights Act, so it turned out, came from outside of Mississippi, from a Northern neo-Nazi, racist “philanthropist” with a focused racist agenda.^{xxvii} Satterfield and others used these funds for putting together an impressive marketing campaign that emphasized a mix of speeches, publicity, direct mail, newspaper advertising, radio and television advertising, ghostwritten editorials and press releases.

Over the initial period, 35 press releases alone were sent out at regular intervals to over 14,000 media representatives (editors, reporters, etc.). By April 1964, the Satterfield and Synon-led group distributed 1.4 million pamphlets and mailings, Sovereignty Commission records indicate.^{xxviii}

Satterfield used his governing status in the legal profession: Nearly all releases purposely “took the form of articles over John C. Satterfield’s signature as past president of the American Bar Association.”^{xxix} The U. S. Press Association was also used by CCFAP. “We retained [the Association] to write a weekly editorial espousing our position on the bill. The results from this effort were equally pleasing. Each week for months we received about 100 clips from this service, gathered from all points of the nation.”^{xxx}

Despite the work of Satterfield, Synon and others, CCFAP lost its battle. Lyndon Johnson, known to be the master of parliamentary procedure and known as well for the “Johnson Treatment” – back-slapping, log-rolling, arm-twisting – had used his formidable skills along with the prestige of the presidency in support of the Civil Rights Bill; on February 10, 1964, the House of Representatives passed the measure by a 290-130 vote. Yet everyone knew “the real battle would be in the Senate, whose rules had allowed white Southerners in the past to mount filibusters that had effectively killed nearly all civil rights legislation.”^{xxxi}

With Johnson working on their side, civil rights leaders mounted their own massive lobbying campaign, including visits to the Capitol by religious leaders of all faiths and colors. The strategy paid off, and in June the Senate voted to close debate.

A few weeks later, one of the most important piece of civil rights legislation in the nation’s history was passed, and on July 2, 1964, signed into law by President Johnson. Title II is the heart of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and deals with public accommodations, so that African Americans could no longer be excluded from restaurants, hotels, and other public facilities.^{xxxii}

The Act also prohibits discrimination in voting and jobs. A year later, President Johnson signed into law on August 6, 1965, the Voting Rights Act, which temporarily suspended literacy tests and provided for the appointment of federal voter registration examiners.

Perhaps foreseeing that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 would not be defeated, Satterfield had developed a plan for perpetuating the life of CCFAP – which had paid him well. In March of 1964, he wrote a five-page letter to Governor Paul B. Johnson outlining his thoughts. Included was a pamphlet designed by Putnam, one of Draper’s favorite propaganda zealots.^{xxxiii}

Satterfield's suggested offshoot of CCFAF would demonstrate that the plight of blacks in the South was the result "not of mistreatment and discrimination" but the "completely different nature of Negro citizens and white citizens," Satterfield informed the governor.

Further, "certain groups in the East who prefer anonymity" were ready to back the effort with \$200,000, if the state would match the contribution – an unnamed Northern benefactor had already committed \$50,000, Satterfield confirmed. The donor, of course, was Draper. His gift arrived via Morgan Guaranty on June 2, 1964. Gov. Johnson endorsed the plan and the Legislature quickly appropriated \$200,000.^{xxxiv}

With the national outcry focusing on Mississippi, there could be no new anti-civil rights appeals. Draper's contribution was sent back, and the state's \$200,000 appropriation was quietly returned to the Mississippi treasury.^{xxxv} Weyher deposited the \$50,000 into his firm's escrow account but years later, when questioned by Blackmon, Weyher "could not recall" the flow of funds, though he did remember meeting with Satterfield in the 1960s.^{xxxvi}

Draper maintained his interest in the fight to preserve segregation by sending dozens of checks to private academies that were opened to support white families fleeing newly integrated public schools in the 1960s and 1970s.^{xxxvii}

Draper died in 1972 and five years later his assets were distributed according to his wishes: Draper left about \$1 million to family members (leaving most of them angry at this pittance) and remaining portions went to the trust supervised by Deposit Guaranty National Bank in Jackson, Mississippi.

The Puritan Fund,^{xxxviii} which had been incorporated in August 1963 for unspecified charitable purposes and listed as its address Satterfield's law firm, was merged with W. J. Simmons' nonprofit Council School Foundation, created to support private segregated schools catering to Mississippi's white students. The Pioneer Fund contributed \$2.6 million or \$11.1 million AFI. Considering Draper's viewpoint, "these bequests were designed as different routes to the same end: The contributions to Mississippi were intended to help preserve segregation in practice, and the endowment for Pioneer was expected to provide the scientific evidence for the 'completely different nature' of blacks that would justify segregation in theory," Tucker wrote.^{xxxix}

Draper's will named Jackson's Deposit Guaranty as trustee for another \$3.25 million (\$13.9 million AFI). Although the ultimate recipient of these funds remains unknown, the money was undoubtedly left for another operation intended to preserve "some island of segregation" The bank itself, where William J. Simmons's father once chaired the Executive and Trust Committees, was notably sympathetic to the segregationists' campaign, providing substantial loans to the local Citizens' Council and its School Foundation for the segregated schools in the Jackson area.

Disclosure of the loans later in 1979 caused some embarrassment because, by that time, the chair of Deposit Guaranty's Executive Committee was also a member of an educational advisory committee set up by the Nixon administration to promote support for public schools in Mississippi. Between the Puritan Foundation and the unnamed recipient of the Deposit Guaranty trusteeship, the Colonel had left just under \$5 million (\$21.14 million AFI) to the center of resistance to civil rights.^{xl}

ⁱ The Civil Rights Act of 1957 aimed to increase the number of registered black voters. However, any person found guilty of obstructing someone's right to register barely faced the prospect of punishment as a trial by jury in the South meant the accused had to face an all-white jury as only whites could be jury members.

ⁱⁱ Ben A. Franklin, "Mississippi funds Fight Rights Bill: State Gives \$20,000 in Tax Money to Capitol Lobby," *The New York Times*, November 3, 1963.

ⁱⁱⁱ Ibid.

^{iv} Report of CCFAP by John Satterfield, Mississippi Sovereignty Commission, SCR ID # 6-70-0-1-3-1-1.

^v Ibid.

^{vi} Franklin.

^{vii} Letter/invoice to Sovereignty Commission from John C. Satterfield on stationery from "Satterfield, Shell, Williams and Buford," dated July 30, 1963. SCR ID # 6-70-0-432-3-1-1.

^{viii} From a newspaper clipping found in Sovereignty Commission files, an untitled newspaper report, "Mississippi Lambasted By Tougaloo Chaplain," May 3, 1964.

^{ix} This information is supported by countless civil rights books, Sovereignty Commission files, oral histories, media archives, and interviews.

^x Henry, 162, 163.

^{xi} Jo Freeman, "The Civil Rights Vigil at the 1964 Convention," jofreeman.com.

^{xii} Lawrence Guyot, September 7, 1996.

^{xiii} Sovereignty Commission file, quotes from article in *Rampage Magazine*, "Mississippi Eyewitness: the three civil rights workers – how they were murdered," by Louis E. Lomax, John Howard Griffin and Dick Gregory, SCR ID # 10-60-0-30-8-1-1.

^{xiv} Ibid.

^{xv} John Blewen, "Oh Freedom Over Me," interview with Bob Zellner, *Minnesota Public Radio*, 2001.

^{xvi} Woods, 180

^{xvii} Ibid.

^{xviii} Ibid.

^{xix} Report of Indianola donations, Sovereignty Commission, 9/9/63..SCR ID # 97-2-0-3-1-1-1.

^{xx} Sovereignty Commission, SCR ID # 97-2-0-9-1-1-1

^{xxi} Ibid., SCR ID # 97-2-0-23-1-1-1.

^{xxii} Ibid., report shows four separate checks sent by Commission to CCFAP between July 31, 1963 and September 24, 1963. SCR ID # 97-2-0-24-1-1-1.

^{xxiii} Tucker, 71. There are several examples of stock transfers to the Sovereignty Commission contained in the commission's files. For instance, SCR ID # 97-2-0-2-2-1-1 is the copy of a stock transfer memo dated 9/16/63, from Morgan Guaranty transferring 300 shares of R.J. Reynolds Tobacco stock. On 9/18/63, 1700 RJR stocks were handed over, SCR ID # 97-2-0-2-3-1-1. Tucker writes that Draper and Weyher took extensive precautions to keep Draper's contributions to these efforts secret, but in the case of CCFAP and money to the Citizens Councils for segregated schools a "smoking gun" ... "specifically" linked Draper's money to the projects. Draper created two committees that began, in the late 1950s, to disburse his money, according to Tucker. The first of these committees was concerned with "population problems, quality, quantity, and homogeneity," according to Weyher. Senator Eastland, who accused the Supreme Court of intending to "use force to completely mongrelize the American people," and Henry E. Garret, a psychologist (with a relationship to the Sovereignty Committee) were both Pioneer's board members.... The Pioneer Fund itself made only five small grants between 1954 and 1971. Thus, when a campaign to oppose integration on largely scientific grounds was finally launched, it was highly probable that Draper had funded it.... Moreover, as Weyher had written ... his client wanted to finance an organization that would distribute the professor's scientific polemics against integration. The distribution of literature to members of selected groups, "long Draper's preferred method for attempting to influence policy and public opinion," was the principal tactic used by both the IAAEE and the National Putnam Letters Committee, the two operations sharing the same "basic mailing list" of some 16,000 names." The later committee, had a direct tie to John Synon, who became its director once the CCFAP was shut down.

^{xxiv} Telephone interview with Tucker, spring 2004.

^{xxv} Douglas A. Blackmon, “Silent Partner: How the South’s Fight To Uphold Segregation Was Funded Up North,” *The Wall Street Journal*, June 11, 1999.

^{xxvi} Note to Erle Johnston, Sovereignty Commission, SCR ID # 6-70-0-105-1-1-1.

^{xxvii} Kevin Begos, “Against Their Will,” five-part series in *Journal Now* (online) of the *Winston Salem Journal*, September 15, 2003.

^{xxviii} Final report of Satterfield, *ibid* fn 904; Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission file(s) SCR ID # 6-70-0-436-1-1-1; SCR ID # 6-70-0-436-2-1-1; SCR ID # 6-70-0-436-3-1-1

^{xxix} Satterfield’s Final Report to CCFAF, 65-pages, 15 June 1964, Sovereignty Commission, SCR ID # 6-70-0-1-6-1-1. Both Tucker and the Sovereignty Commission show Putnam (who had a long term relationship with Draper) and Satterfield meeting with each other for a working lunch.

^{xxx} *Ibid.* Section on News Releases.

^{xxxi} Melvin I. Urofsky, “Basic Readings in U. S. Democracy,” (online), author is Professor of Constitutional History Virginia Commonwealth University Richmond, Virginia.

^{xxxii} Sources: Charles and Barbara Whalen, *The Longest Debate: A Legislative History of the 1964 Civil Rights Act* (1985); *Carl M. Brauer, John F. Kennedy and the Second Reconstruction* (1977) ; and Doris Kearns, *Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream* (1976).

^{xxxiii} Blackmon. Also in March, a separate, independent memo was sent to the Sovereignty Commission by John Sullivan of Vicksburg, a private investigator known to do work for the Sovereignty Commission, Mississippi Legislative Council, Citizens Councils and for Eastland’s Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, records show. Sullivan, a former FBI agent, had met with Governor Johnson and Representative Frank Shanahan regarding the state’s “present pressing need” for extending investigative coverage on the activities of Communists in the state ... [who] make contacts with people such as officials of the NAACP and other organizations of this type.” Sullivan was suggesting that the FBI was “too limited” to furnish information needed by Mississippi officials, and that the state should use its own people to obtain such information to use “in any manner we saw fit.” Sullivan suggested that Guy Banister, former Special Agent in Charge of the New Orleans [CIA] office, should be developed as a source of information. Banister, a former Office of Naval Intelligence officer and FBI agent who ran anti-Castro operations, was later connected with Lee Harvey Oswald, alleged assassin of JFK, and David Phillips, the CIA’s propagandist. It is likely that Sullivan and Banister met through Eastland’s Senate Internal Security Subcommittee of which it has been suggested that Oswald was also involved. New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison became convinced that a group of right-wing activists, including Banister, David Ferrie, Carlos Bringuier and Clay Shaw, were involved in a conspiracy with the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to kill Kennedy. Garrison claimed this was in retaliation for his attempts to obtain a peace settlement in both Cuba and Vietnam.

^{xxxiv} Blackmon.

^{xxxv} *Ibid.*

^{xxxvi} *Ibid.*

^{xxxvii} *Ibid.*

^{xxxviii} Puritan was formed “to act as an intermediary, funneling money from unnamed donors to unspecified recipients, according to Tucker. The true purpose of this vague document became somewhat clearer when an amendment, filed in March 1964 – at exactly the same time that the Jackson citizens’ Council’s School Committee was planning its alternative, segregated system – revealed that John B. Trevor Jr., was the Puritan Foundation’s president and Harry Weyher its secretary, indicating that even before Draper’s death the foundation had been one of Pioneer’s unacknowledged activities.” (Tucker, 128-129). “The participation of Buford and Shell in this laundering operation, both men members of the board of the Council School Foundation, suggested the ultimate destination of the Colonel’s money in this case.... Any residual doubt that Puritan had been Draper’s method for funding segregated schools in Jackson was dispelled when, in 1978, the Puritan Foundation was merged into the Council School foundation.” (Tucker 129). On the activities of the bank and its chair, Tucker cites R. Reed, “Mississippi Banks Assisting Segregated Schools,” *New York Times*, August 27, 1970. Tucker also states the Charter of Incorporation of the Puritan Foundation (August 14, 1963), the amendment (February 19, 1964), and the Certificate of Merger into the Council School Foundation (December 8, 1978) “are all available from the State of Mississippi Executive Office, Jackson, Mississippi; also available from the same office is the Charter of Incorporation for the Council School Foundation (September 4, 1964) and its amendment (September 22, 1964).” (Tucker, 251, fn 195).

^{xxxix} Tucker, 132.

^{xl} Ibid., 129.