

Chapter 29 Not Afraid

“In the 1960s, Sunflower County, Miss. became known for two worlds—one exemplified by the notorious racist Senator James O. Eastland, the other by the civil rights activist and liberation thinker, Fannie Lou Hamer. It was in the life and death struggle between these two worlds that Mae Bertha Carter rose up.

“Born at the North end of the county, virtually in the shadow of Mississippi's Parchman Penitentiary, Mae Bertha Carter and her husband Matthew Carter worked as sharecroppers for more than two decades. Mae Bertha Carter joined the NAACP in 1955, years before Mississippi's civil rights movement made national headlines.

“The murderous repression that swept the Mississippi Delta that year did not intimidate her; throughout her life, repression never stopped her quest for freedom.” Michael Flug, “In Memoriam: Mae Bertha Carter, 1923-1999.”ⁱ

The Carter children of Drew wanted to go to public schools, so they tricked their parents into making this happen.

The children initiated the school change when their mother was out of town visiting relatives when they opened a letter sent out by the school district to their parents – and signed up to go to the “white” school.

Mississippi, under threat of losing federal funds, had come up with a "freedom of choice" plan to circumvent federal law. Drew school board members did not believe any black children would really take them up on the new plan allowing entrance by blacks into any of the school district's white classrooms.

The Carter children surprised the school officials, and in the fall of 1965, with the permission of their parents, seven Carter children enrolled in the Drew community's all-white schools, challenging the school district's efforts to subvert the desegregation of local schools.

Once the children entered through the school doors, they were verbally threatened, shots were fired at the Carter house, and the family was evicted from the Pemble plantation where they sharecropped and lived. The Carters were prevented from getting farm work anywhere around Drew and their credit was cancelled at the plantation store.

The family could not have been too surprised; both blacks and whites knew what would happen to families who made such a choice. "If they don't get you in the wash, they'll get you in the rinse," Mae Bertha Carter told a visiting minister from Ohio who supported the family.ⁱⁱ

Carter often worried about her children's safety. "I found myself back on the bed praying until my children came home," said Carter, also determined that her 13 children would not have to pick cotton as their

livelihood. "I went out on the porch when I saw the bus coming, and I counted my children one by one as they got off the school bus."ⁱⁱⁱ

While remaining the only Black students in the Sunflower County white schools, the Carter children encountered numerous cruel incidents as other children spit on them and teachers made cruel comments:

Spitballs and insults rained on the children as they rode the bus to a school where life was no easier. "I hated history class," one of the older boys recalled, "when we covered the Civil War and the teacher said 'nigger' and allowed the students to say it like I wasn't even there.... It was the Carter children who made the choice to go to the white schools. None of them ever went back to the black schools, which had split sessions so that students could work in the cotton fields. "What I hated most was being in the cotton field and seeing the white school buses pass us by while we were picking," the oldest girl, Ruth Carter, recalled. But Ruth also came to hate her days at the white school. "During that time, it seemed like I was filled up with hate. I hated Mississippi, I hated the white man. I hated my teachers. I hated everything. Then we started having these little sessions at home in the afternoon after school. It was almost like therapy. We would sit down and Mama would say, 'How did things go today at school?' We would talk about what happened and a lot of times we would cry together." ^{iv}

Mrs. Carter became a tireless activist in the Civil Rights Movement, successfully suing the state of Mississippi over its deceptive integration plan. Freedom of Choice was never actually meant to work since whites believed black children could be scared away from choosing to attend a white school.

In 1967, a unanimous Supreme Court decision in *Alexander v. Holmes County* ruled that the time for "all deliberate speed" was over and that all of Mississippi's public schools were officially desegregated. When black students finally attended the white schools in numbers, whites set up private academies, millions of dollars coming from Wycliffe Draper's foundation to support these segregated institutions, leaving the public schools virtually all black and stripped of some resources and funds.

Stories are still told in Drew of some teachers removing books, equipment and other resources on their way out of the public school, taking their stolen booty to the new all-white academy where they were moving with the white students. In the public schools, nothing was done by the state (or the segregated academies) to make up for these losses.

Many of the new private academies were named for famous Confederate heroes or forts – Forrest Academy, Pillow Academy. Athletic teams named "Rebels" and other symbols of the Confederacy still abound. Paintings of Confederate flags and Confederate soldiers remain painted on many schools' walls, inside and out as late as 2005.

The Carter children, like their mother, were unstoppable. All of the younger family members graduated from college, seven of them from the University of Mississippi, the same school that blocked its first black student in 1962. Mae Bertha Carter did not stop her quest for school improvement, even after her children completed college. In 1993, she wrote an educational newsletter article on the problems of Mississippi public education:

Education in Mississippi has taken so many steps backward that our children can't compete in this world.... There's a teacher shortage here in Sunflower County because teachers are so underpaid. A teacher in Drew makes about as much as at McDonalds.... The same government that doesn't see the need to educate our children still wants to send our children to war and put them in the ground. Mississippi had more young Black people in this last war (Persian Gulf) than any other state, just because they couldn't find a job at home. We got a long way to go down here.^v

In Drew, the segregation continues in after school activities as parents of white students maintain a segregated ball field for their children while black children play on poorly maintained city fields. The only operable swimming pool is at the private country club. The city pool stands drained.

The "Drew Blues" Tradition

When Mae Bertha Carter learned her children planned to integrate the public schools, she had reason for concern; the town had a horrid reputation for racial violence. Even to experienced SNCC activists working in neighboring Ruleville, Drew's reputation for terror kept their and other civil rights organizations from setting up offices or doing much else in the small ginning community. Perhaps it is no surprise that many of the most famous Delta blues musicians started out in Drew.

Marvin Flemmons, a nationally recognized Delta Blues authority, grew up in Drew, unfamiliar with the significance of the music around him until he was in high school and the member of a small band.

"I started noticing some famous 60s musicians were performing blues music that came from the Delta. Then I became more interested about what they were playing and started learning all that I could about this music and its history."^{vi}

For years, Flemmons owned Music Mart on Drew's Main Street, often meeting Delta blues artists whom he wrote about for many national blues magazines. Flemmons is considered an authority on the "Drew tradition," a musical style which is well documented because of the untiring efforts of Flemmons and a few others including Dr. David Evans, director of a doctoral program in Southern Regional Music Studies at Memphis State University. "Dr. Evans spent much time in Drew during the late 1960s while gathering information for his book, *Big Road Blues*.

Clearly, early blues musicians of the Deltas – Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, Missouri, and Tennessee – were building a regional and later national African American community through the music they were creating. Through what he terms "blues realism," historian Clyde Woods observed that the music was also carving out a role for Delta blues performers as a collective who took a serious look at the problems and inequities of the world around them.

Woods points to the music's focus on humor, love, good times, religion, and nature "that allowed them to present a complete worldview to an audience whose boundaries were continually being widened through the wandering of the musicians through mass migration, and through recordings."

The insistent voices and music of these folk intellectuals could not be ignored by either blacks or whites. Therefore, this period also marked the beginning of a permanent national cultural crisis. The voices of the oppressed African Americans and their blues ... were not permanently linked to the new communication technologies. As this relationship broadened and deepened, it continually scraped the raw nerves of a nation forever worried about its identity, ethnicity, and morality, and about the true meaning of democracy.^{vii}

Before 1930, Charlie Patton, Tommy Johnson, Willie Brown and Kid Bailey had all made commercial recordings in the Drew tradition, music that encompassed the blues performed in nearby towns as well, according to Flemmons: "We are not sure of the boundaries of the Drew tradition. We know [these blues men] played Boyle, Cleveland, and Merigold on visits ... the Drew regional blues could just as easily have been called ... Dockery regional blues, as Dockery's Plantation [at the edge of Drew] was one of the most active centers of blues activity."

The Patton family moved to Dockery in 1897, two years after the plantation was founded. "Charlie Patton learned to play well by following an older musician named Henry Sloan. Later, Patton was very influential upon the younger local musicians around Dockery and Drew."

Patton's most important young student was Willie Brown ... born between 1890 and 1895, either in Drew or [nearby] Shaw. "By 1911, Brown was living near Drew on Jim Yeager's place and playing guitar." The years between 1910 and 1930 were the most important for this musical development, Flemmons said, and music was often heard at the Drew train depot as blues musicians played for tips while waiting for the train:

They would announce upcoming appearances [at the train depot]. It was at the depot in Lula (east of Clarksdale) that Charlie Patton met Son House who had just been released from Parchman. Charlie Patton had moved to Lula in 1933. Son House [who later influenced Eric Clapton, the Beatles, and numerous other rock musicians] did not play in the style of the Drew tradition at that time.... Even though their personalities clashed and they often argued, he and Patton became life-long friends. With Patton's influence and the other friends in Robinsonville, Son House soon played in the fashion that had been transplanted from Drew.^{viii}

Roebuck "Pops" Staples also learned to play guitar from Charlie Patton in the late 1920s. In the 1930s, Staples moved away from Drew to Chicago and with his children formed *The Staple Singers*, an internationally known gospel group. Blues lovers in Drew later hosted a Pop Staples Festival annually until funding was no longer available.

Flemmons learned from Staples that musicians were plentiful in Drew, all learning from each other. "Some of [them] had as much talent as those doing recordings. They chose not to leave for a recording career but were content to entertain at the house parties and small juke houses." The best house party Flemmons said he ever attended took place one summer during the Staples festival when "so much hail fell down we had to move the festival into a house. Each musician and his band took different rooms to play their music."

Flemmons has created a list of many blues players of the Drew tradition that numbers “nearly thirty but is not complete.” His information comes from “front porch interviews conducted with blues researcher and the author of a biography on Howlin’ Wolf, James Segrest of Notasulga, Alabama. Often these interviews included a front porch concert.” Flemmons list includes:

Mott Willis, who moved to Drew in 1919 from Crystal Springs and “played many instruments in Henry Bailey’s Minstrel Show at the age of eighteen or nineteen.”

Tommy Johnson, also from Crystal Springs, who lived in Boyle around 1915 and then moved to Drew with his brother LeDell in 1921. “They lived on the plantation belonging to Tom Sanders, also from Crystal Springs. Johnson was a major Mississippi blues singer for more than thirty years.”

Kid Baily, a native of Doddsville who “performed with Charlie Patton and even did some recording from 1920s until the 1950s.”

Flemmons also lists Rubin Lacy, Lee Van Robinson, Jack Hicks, Jim Holloway, Bertha Lee Jones, Bear Taylor, Will Bryant, Cap Holmes, Ishman Bracy, Lucille Davis, Dick Bankston, Louise Johnson, Ben Maree, Joseph Harris, Mager Johnson, Josie Bush, Willie Brown, Henry Sloan, Homer Lewis, Jake Martin, Chester Burnett, Sam Williams and Willie Stewart.

After the 1920s, other blues singers moved to Drew including Nathan Scott and the legendary Chester Burnett, “better known as Howlin’ Wolf.”

Burnett, known for his musicianship and business skill, lived with his family on the Young and Morrow place in Ruleville in 1923. “Most people know this place today as the Connell Place on Quiver River. Like other musicians, he too learned from Charlie Patton and often played on the streets of Drew, Ruleville, Cleveland, Boyle, and Mound Bayou. “Pops Staples recalled coming to watch Howlin’ Wolf at the train depot in Drew.”

Blues go north

A musical slowdown – the beginnings of an exodus - took place in Drew several years after the notorious “Battle of Joe Pullen” transpired in downtown Drew. The 1923 gunfight resulted in tighter curfews, affecting musicians and their audiences on Drew’s “blues alley” (Wilson Street).

Drew police chief, Dewey Roth – many people called him Dewey Ross – was known to be unusually mean. One night no one was paying attention to the curfews – the music was loud and they were having a good time. So Roth and some other men came into the juke joints and shot up a lot of people. “It was a blood bath, and from then on many of the blues musicians moved on,” Flemmons said.

By the end of World War II, the Delta blues was expanding Northward, beyond Memphis, into Chicago where independent labels were building sales on Delta artists; their music captured the lives and determination of refugees from the Delta and other Southern regions.

Delta native Willie Dixon of Vicksburg, “a key catalyst in Muddy Waters’ success,”^{ix} was prominent in constructing the new Chicago blues sound. As a youngster, he’d learned the blues while imprisoned on a county plantation for taking plumbing from an abandoned house. At 13, he was arrested in Clarksdale and sentenced to thirty days for trying to catch a train to Chicago. After thirty days, Dixon was not released and was told he would be there until he died. But Dixon escaped on a stolen mule and headed for Chicago.^x

*I gotta axe handle pistol
On a graveyard frame
That shoots tombstone bullets
Wearing balls and chains...*

*I'm ready for you
I hope you're ready for me.^{xi}*

Charlie Patton eventually moved on to Holly Ridge, between Indianola and Leland, where he died in 1934. By the 1930s, few new musicians emerged and the older ones left or quit. The commercial record companies' interest in traditional blues began to turn from Southern rural life to Northern city life and in the 1950s jukeboxes began to replace live music.

“Many have passed away [and].... I feel fortunate to have started paying attention to the Delta blues early enough to have known Pops Staples and others who are no longer here. There are so many unforgettable characters who were truly masters of their art,” Flemmons said.

NEAR THE END of 1965, many “outside agitators” started leaving Mississippi – returning to school or to their work. Some stayed on, joining natives Charles McLaurin and Fannie Lou Hamer of Sunflower County, Annie Devine in Canton and many other dedicated civil rights activists around the state. As they discovered new ways to continue the freedom fight, both old and new dilemmas were there to face.

There would be no easy victories for those who remained in the Delta after 1965, and many national leaders chose to distance themselves from the “ongoing rural crisis.” It was up and down for the educational systems as schools desegregated and re-segregated.

In 1969, Mississippi was successfully sued by the U. S. Department of Justice to carry out *Brown* of 1954. In response, money given to segregationists by Wycliffe Draper and others was used to start tax-exempt, private white schools with the state paying the white students' tuitions. At Parchman prison, where some employees lived on the grounds, the state paid tuition for white students who chose to attend a nearby private white academy rather than attend public schools that were free.

Black citizens were often still denied basic services: When Unita Blackwell assumed mayoral office in Mayersville, she found no decent housing, roads that were not paved, no water system, no garbage, fire or police services “because the whites who controlled the area didn't think people needed them.” Blackwell, as president of the National Conference of Black Mayors, found the climate of “certain services in certain areas” existed nearly everywhere, and not just in the Delta. “It's a climate of keeping other people down, or keeping all the money in one area. It's the same with education. The thread runs all the way through.”^{xii}

Most blacks were still dependent upon the plantation bloc for credit, loans, and jobs. Robert Clark, the only African American legislator in Mississippi in 1968, charged the state had halted industry from coming into Mississippi and the Delta due to a fear this would help both blacks and whites escape dependency.

Clark called for unions, noting the state was “always against this one hundred percent.” Black communities, he reminded white officials, had no doctors, dentists, or health centers. What they did have were the highest illiteracy and infant mortality rates in the United States. Clark demanded relief through “outside help.”^{xiii}

Even what seemed to be improvement, at first consideration – the rise of black elected officials in rural Mississippi – was overstated, according to Woods:

There were significant electoral gains by African Americans during this period. Increases in Black voter registration were responsible for disproving the myth of incompetence, and there was also “a decline in the systematic use of terrorism,” a curtailment in “the use of racial demagoguery in political campaigns,” and the creation of coalitions that “elected Cliff Finch governor in 1975, William Winter in 1979, Bill Allain in 1983, and Ray Mabus in 1987.” Yet these historic [white Democratic] electoral victories were both limited and systematically undermined by white bloc voting and gerrymandering. For twelve years after his election in 1967, Delta native Robert Clark remained the only African American sitting in the Mississippi House of Representatives; he was then joined by Aaron Henry, president of the Mississippi State Conference of the NAACP. While the number of black officials holding city and county elected positions increased from 57 in 1970 to 254 in 1980, they still represented a small percentage of the total.^{xiv}

In the Delta’s twelve counties where blacks represented more than half the voting-age population in 1980, the percentage of black county officials was “typically far below 50 percent.” Woods cites as an example Bolivar County with 7 percent, Coahoma, 16 percent; Leflore, 13 percent; Tallahatchie, 4 percent; and Sunflower with no black county officials at all. While Tallahatchie County is almost 60 percent African American, its first black county supervisor was not elected until 1986, “and then only after 80 percent of his opponent’s ballots were disqualified for being fraudulent.”^{xv}

As the composition of Delta black leadership was changing, other reform movements had some regional influence – but usually this was small. By the mid 1960s, the Nation of Islam had purchased farmland in Mississippi for “building a foundation for African American economic self-sufficiency.”

Republic of New Afrika

In 1971, a small group out of Detroit, Michigan calling themselves the Republic of New Afrika (RNA) bought land near Greenwood, and tried to buy land near Cleveland, Indianola, Jackson and elsewhere around Mississippi for building black separatist communities. RNA’s purchase was to be “the first step toward a Black republic in the South” (ironically close to plans once supported Senator Eastland and by the Citizens Councils of America).

The RNA’s plans were under observation by the Sovereignty Commission and then halted as the FBI went after a purported “fugitive” in an RNA Jackson residence. Police fired tear gas and were answered by RNA shots from a bunker under the house, leaving one Jackson policeman dead, another officer wounded and sending eleven RNA citizens to prison.^{xvi} Though RNA leader Imari Abubakari Obadele (s/n: Richard

Henry) was away at the time of the raid, the Bureau had him arrested and imprisoned on charges of conspiracy to assault a government agent.

The RNA was an acknowledged target of the FBI's COINTELPRO operations, leaving numerous questions about the Jackson raid – questions that were still drawing interest in February of 2005 when Obadele was invited to speak at a Black History event in Jackson. Obadele also appeared before a Jackson City Council meeting, responding to some people who were angry over his invitation to the capital city. According to Obadele he had been “set up” and had had nothing to do with the killing of the police officer. His federal conviction was for conspiracy, although he was one of the four who was arrested several blocks away from the shooting at the RNA office.^{xvii}

Since 1971, the RNA raids have been the focus of academic interest, according to sociologist Donald Cunnigen.^{xviii} Writing on “Police repression of the RNA” for *Sociological Spectrum*, Cunnigen stated that before the raids, “one member's house was mysteriously burned down,” and in Bolton, “there were police raids on members' houses.” The “blatant disregard for innocent black lives [the raid took place in a residential black area] was of great concern to many Black Jacksonians. Consequently, a group of citizens formed the Black Jacksonians for Justice.”^{xix}

Churchill and Vander Wall show evidence of COINTELPRO harassment of the RNA even before the group moved to Jackson through a number of bogus letters and memos written by FBI agents acting as RNA members and following these instructions: “Insure [sic] this mailing cannot be traced to the Bureau and advise of results. If results are favorable, consider submitting a recommendation for circulating this letter to other RNA members in other cities.”^{xx}

The RNA aside, much of the new black leadership after the mid 1960s was “rife with schisms,” as some black leaders aligned themselves with conservatives. Shirley M. Watson of the Mississippi State Conference of the NAACP, for instance, complained by letter to the national NAACP that Aaron Henry, Fayette Mayor Charles Evers, and field director Emmett Burns had aligned themselves politically with Republican candidates: “I want to know where does it stop.... I am still upset that the NAACP program would be jeopardized in times like these, when segregation has taken on a new growth, and discrimination is present in every sphere.”^{xxi}

Attempts to fix education, health, economic, service and electoral problems faced by blacks were typically defeated; most hope came through private funds. MACE or Mississippi Action for Community Education obtained major grants for many of its Delta programs including adult literacy, credit unions, job counseling and emergency food distribution. In 1969, the new Delta Foundation focused on black-owned business development and job training. The Federation of Southern Cooperatives helped to develop black cooperatives throughout the South in the 1980s, of which five were in the Delta.

Blacks kept leaving for the North, resulting in black land loss. Affecting this, too, were illegal seizures, denial of loans for production, land and resources, and other such reasons. Many whites were entering farming for the first time and Federal agencies, especially the USDA, “played a central role in the systematic legal, illegal, and violent efforts to eliminate the remaining black farmers.”

In a massive 1971 study of black land loss by the Black Economic Research Center, the investigator assigned to the Mississippi Delta found wide conspiracy: “There is serious evidence that white bankers,

federal loan agencies (the Farmers Home Administration and the Federal Land Bank) and local merchants conspire to force blacks into foreclosure. There have been examples of reprisals against blacks who helped fellow blacks save their land.”^{xxii}

Woods points out the Delta freedom movement was not created by SNCC, SCLC, CORE, NAACP, or Delta Ministry. This was “not the creation of innovative public officials ... or important social theorists.” Any new freedom in the Delta – its new leaders, communities, and institutions – emerged from “the daily lives and the collective history of the people of the Delta, just like the blues.”

Long after the conflicts faded from national news coverage, Fannie Lou Hamer was acting on her dream of an ideal community. In 1970, Hamer formed the Freedom Farm Cooperative to help displaced farm workers become self-reliant: at its zenith, the cooperative owned 680 acres of land devoted to cotton production, 200 units of low-income housing, day care center, and a small manufacturing plant.

When Hamer died in 1977, Georgia state legislator and SNCC representative Julian Bond spoke at her funeral, noting that Fannie Lou Hamer was “the articulator for the Southern movement to continue to fight long after SNCC’s summer soldiers abandoned Ruleville and the rural South, shell shocked by too much of what was daily life for her.”

Hamer’s impact upon African Americans, the labor and women’s movements, was impressive, Bond said. “She and her co-workers taught a powerful lesson to those now facing the rapid dismantling of the formal structure of African American progress, the rise of widespread racist terrorism, and the intensification of economic exploitation.

“It is impossible to escape plantation bloc relations, ideology, and practices by denying the vision of the blues,” Julian Bond said.^{xxiii}

ⁱ *News & Letters*, June 1999 (online version).

ⁱⁱ Paul Trachtman, a review of *Silver Rights*, *The Smithsonian Magazine*, Book Reviews, June 1997 (online). Constance Curry Silver Rights, New York: Algonquin Books, Harcourt Brace.

ⁱⁱⁱ Mae Bertha Carter in the documentary "Standing on My Sisters' Shoulders" directed by Laura Lipson Brown -Wright and written by Constance Curry.

^{iv} Trachtman.

^v Mae Bertha Carter, for *News & Letters*, (online), 1993.

^{vi} Interview with Marvin Flemmons, 2004 and 2005, by Susan Klopfer. Permission given to use materials from “Drew Area Blues,” series written by Marvin Flemmons for *The Drew Leader*, Vol 1, Issue 1 (undated copy).

^{vii} Woods, 11-12.

^{viii} Flemmons interview.

^{ix} Robert Stantelli, “The Big Book of Blues,” (New York: Penguin Books, 2001),143.

^x Woods, 169. Cites Dixon, 1989, 25-30.

^{xi} Willie Dixon, “I’m Ready,” *Hoochie Coochie Music*, 1954, 1982. See also Dixon, 1989, 23, 6, 41; Dixon, “The Seventh Son,” *Hoochie Coochie Music*, 1955, 1983; Dixon, “I’m Your Hoochie Coochie Man,” *Hoochie Coochie Music*, 1957, 1985.

^{xii} Woods, 215. Cites Kay Mills, “Interview with Uita Blackwell: MacArthur Genius Award Caps Creative Political Life,” *Los Angeles Times*, August 2, 1992.

^{xiii} Woods, 215.

^{xiv} Ibid., 216.

^{xv} Gerald Gabris, "Dynamics of Mississippi Local Government," in Dale Krane and Stephen Shaffer (eds.), *Mississippi Government and Politics*, 1992, 223-248.

^{xvi} Woods, 217. Also, various Sovereignty Commission files on the RNA.

^{xvii} Churchill and Vander Wall write that SA George Holder and his associates "undertook by word of mouth to foster a marked increase in anti-RNA sentiment in the Klan-ridden Jackson area." When the early morning assault took place on RNA facilities August 18, 1971, some 36 heavily armed agents and local police "headed by SAC Linberg" – as well as an armored car – were dispatched. "In the resultant firefight, one police officer, William Skinner, was killed and an agent, William Stringer, was wounded. Imari Obadele and 10 other RNA members were arrested – thereby becoming the 'RNA 11' – and charged with murder, assault, sedition, conspiracy, possession of illegal weapons, and 'treason against the state of Mississippi.'" The original charges, "which had ostensibly provided a basis for the massive police raid, were never brought to court. In the end, eight of the accused were convicted, but only of conspiracy to assault federal officers, assault, illegal possession of a nonexistent automatic weapon, and having used weapons in the commission of these other 'felonies.' This is to say they were imprisoned for having defended themselves from the armed attack of a large number of FBI agents and police who could never show any particular reason for having launched the assault in the first place." As it turned out, they were imprisoned "for having defended themselves from the armed attack of a large number of FBI agents and police who could never show any particular reason for having launched the assault in the first place. Obadele received a twelve year sentence, served seven, and the entire operation undoubtedly entered the annals of 'successful' COINTELPROs." See page 123.

^{xviii} Donald Cunnigen, "Bringing the Revolution Down Home: The Republic of New Afrika in Mississippi," *Sociological Spectrum*, 19: 63-92, 73-5, 1999.

^{xix} Ibid., 74.

^{xx} A sample "anonymous" bogus letter included in this chapter of *The COINTELPRO Papers* criticized Henry's brother, Imari, an RNA officer who was "allegedly using RNA funds for personal expenses." Its author advised there had been enough discussion among RNA members "so as to protect our sources." The letter, sent to RNA members, makes the accusation that a "lack of funds" of the RNA and asks how "Imari owns a house, supports a family and travels all over the country when he is not even working." Criticism of leaders of black nationalist extremist groups, such as the RNA, for misusing funds, is an "effective method of neutralizing these leaders," the agent writes in a separate memo to the Bureau dated December 3, 1969. "Since this is an anonymous letter, there is no possibility of embarrassment to the Bureau." See page 121.

^{xxi} Ibid.

^{xxii} Woods, 217.

^{xxiii} Woods, 219. Cites Julian Bond, "Tribute to Fannie Lou Hamer," *Delta Democrat-Times*, March 16, 1977.