## CONTENTS

Acknowledgments xi
Foreword xiii
Prologue xv

### Part I Early Ideals

**Introduction** I Was There: The Murder of Ben Brown 1

**Chapter 1** Independence, Principles, and Arrival 5
- Beginnings 5
- College 9
- Law School 11
- World Events Were Never Far from Mind or Discussion 15
- White & Case 16
- Summer 1965–February 1967 17
- Lawyers’ Committee for Civil Rights Under Law 21
- Setting Up for the “Next Generation” 22

### Part II Early Role of Lawyers in the Civil Rights Movement

**Chapter 2** Where Are All the Lawyers? Lawyers’ Committee for Civil Rights Under Law 25
- The President’s Committee 25
- Opening the Jackson, Mississippi, Office 33
- The Mississippi Bar and the Jackson Office 34
- The Jackson Office, Its Relations, and Its Work 35
# Contents

Chapter 3 **Voting Rights I: A Citizen’s Most Basic Leverage—Voting Power**
- The Mississippi Plan, Phase I 38
- Mississippi’s Bag of Voter Exclusion Tools 39

Chapter 4 **Voting Rights II: Voter Registration Efforts and Unseating the Regulars** 57
- Freedom Summer and Building Strength 57
- The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party 61

Chapter 5 **Voting Rights III: The Voting Rights Act of 1965 and The Mississippi Plan, Phase II** 75

Chapter 6 **Voting Rights IV: Voter Education, Elections, Problems, and Victories** 89

Part III **Volunteering in Mississippi**

Chapter 7 **My Month as a Volunteer: The First Week** 95
- My First Day in Mississippi: March 1, 1967 95
- Natchez 97
- Charles Evers 99
- My Second Day in Mississippi 101
- Suspicious Moments 102
- Welfare Hearings 102
- Mississippi Bar 105
- Alcorn A & M Suit 106
- Friction and Fiction—Mississippi Bar 107
- Alcorn 108
- After Hours 109
- New Perspectives 110
- The Rest of My First Week in Mississippi 111
- False Accusations 111
- Joseph Smith 112
Contents

Chapter 8  My Month as a Volunteer: Walking the Line  119
My “Volunteer” Exposure to Our Local Problems and Our National Office  119
Black Lawyers and Other Civil Rights Legal Offices  122

Chapter 9  Grenada  125
Boycotts and Business  125
Background History  125
Our Meeting  128

Chapter 10  My Month as a Volunteer: Half a World  133

Chapter 11  My Month as a Volunteer: Finishing Out the Month  139
Three More Weeks as a Volunteer Lawyer . . .  139
Mississippi Sovereignty Commission and the White Citizens’ Council  139
Back to Work  140
Voter Registration and Juries  141
More JP Trials  144
Problems of JP Courts  145
Pearl Henry  146
Robert Earl Harris  147
Roy Self  149
Mississippi Statutes  150
Delta Ministry  150
Mayor’s Court  152
Irony in the Wilderness  154
More Trials  154
Second Jim Joliffe Case  155
Selective Service Generally  155
People Who Made a Difference: Father Morrissey  156
Unending Days . . .  156
Ferd Allen Needs a Loan  157
### CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Slow Wheels of Justice</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Another Mass Meeting</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Big People in Small Rooms</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Evers’ Style</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Last Week</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 12</td>
<td>Moving Day</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 13</td>
<td>The Mississippi Way: A Potpourri</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Things Were Not Always Just Grim</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Always More to Do</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lucille Dorsey</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tendrils of Responsibility</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Klan Meetings and Killings</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Klan Repairman</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shot-out Front Windows</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Small Integrations</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Everyday Segregation</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Evers Hospitalized</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Special Treatment for Civil Rights Workers</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Driver’s License</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Lesser of Two Weevils</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kudzu</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thinking About “What’s Next?”</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 14</td>
<td>First Major Trial: Robert Earl Harris</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>First Trial</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jury Selection Issues</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Witnesses and Coercion</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Second Trial</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N. S. “Soggy” Sweat</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 15</td>
<td>Foreign Lawyers</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Northern and Southern District Courts</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Looking for Places to Question the Rule</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Contents

Writ of Mandamus 190
Always Humor 192
Cease and Desist 192
Parchman 193
Examination Itself 194
Spying 195
Bittersweet Celebration 196
Swearing In 196

Chapter 16  Ben Chester White 199
Ben Chester White’s Long Cry for Justice 199
White Knights 200
The High Sheriff, a Decent Officer and Man 201
Too Bizarre to Be Reality 202
My Own Investigation 207
The Court, the Law, and Permission to Sue 208
The Trial 209
First Day of Trial 211
Second Day 212
Return of the Jury Verdict 214
Small Celebrations 216
Epilogue 217

Chapter 17  The “Mississippi Burning” Judge 219
Judge William Harold Cox 219
My Mississippi Bar Entrance 223
Racism on the Bench 224

Chapter 18  Friends and the Times 225
Friends and Personal Matters 225
Dr. Robert Smith 226
Friends in Good Times and Bad 228
Music 229
The Children 230
Mama Lillie 231
Contents

Dating 232
Trends 232
Hodding Carter III 233
A Radical Seder It Was, Too! 234
Just Plain Silliness 235

Chapter 19 And Then There Were the Children 239
Juvenile Justice: Reforms Over Time 239
Lawyers’ Committee Concerns 240
Bobby Earl Hopkins 241
Charles Lavern Love 243
David Ford 244
Tommie Lee Green 244
Cases in Indianola, Sunflower County 247
Oakley and Columbia Training Schools 248

Chapter 20 A Strum of Hope for One Boy 253
Arthur Roberts 253
The Trial 255
New Briefs 257
Surprise 257
Final Result 258

Chapter 21 Assorted Cases and Stories 261
Preachers Have the Best Stories 261
Gentlemanly Buffoons 261
More Cases 262
Jim Jolliff 262
Prison Riot 263
“Sock It to Me, Baby” 264
Bias or Bias 265
Flexibility and Stretching the Envelope 267
Flexible Sentencing 267
Timothy Quinn and the Civil Service Commission 268

viii
A Threatened Witness and a Hung Jury  269

Chapter 22  I Am Arrested  271
Prelude to an Arrest  271
L. Lackey Rowe, Jr.  272
Lackey Arrested  273
Jury Suit  275
Robert Johnson’s Contempt Hearing  275
Next Hearing  276
Bill of Exceptions  276
Thames and Kelly Case  280
Our Contempt Charges  281
Robert Johnson’s Contempt Case  281

Chapter 23  Major Legal Breakthrough  283
One Step Forward  283
Highway Thuggery  283

Chapter 24  Charles Evers, Jackson Awakes, and My Last Few Months in Mississippi  289
Election Victory  290
Drive in Klan Country  291
Change in Jackson  292
Picketing  293
Youth Council  293
Evers Runs Again  294
Love in Mississippi  298

Part IV  Continuing the Work in Illinois

Chapter 25  Cairo: Ruins of Racism  303
A Town with a History  303
Last of the Great Civil Rights Movements  305
Formation of the United Front of Cairo  307
The Lawyers’ Committee Arrives in Cairo  308
Contents

My Welcome to Cairo 310
Marches, Violence, and Strategies 311
Using Criminal “Justice” to Bankrupt the Movement 313
The Lawyers’ Committee Was not Exempt from Violence 315
Indicting the Entire Justice System 315
Education Is a Priority 319
Forums for Redress Other Than Courts 321
Good Lawyers Were Needed by the White Elite Also 322
Lawyers’ Committee Becomes a Legal Services Office 322

Chapter 26 So, Where Have We Been, and Where Are We Going? 325
Impact, for Me Personally, of the Civil Rights Struggle—Good and Bad 325
Progress and Problems That Still Exist in Mississippi and Cairo 328
Problems, Old and New, Urgently Face Both This Country and the Global Society We Live in Today 332
Where Are All the Lawyers and All the Rest of Us? 334

About the Author 337
Judicial Experience 337
Current Endeavors 337
Legal Experience 337
Awards 338
Bar Associations in Which Mills Held an Office 339

Index 341