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## **A. Eugene Cox collection**

**Title:** A. Eugene Cox collection  
**Collection No:** MSS.26  
**Extent:** 7.25 cubic feet  
**Inclusive Dates:** 1933-1990

**Abstract:** The collection contains correspondence, photographs, reports, printed material, newsletters and clippings related to the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, Delta and Providence Cooperative Farms in Mississippi, and the life of A. Eugene Cox (1905-1992).

**Donor:** A. Eugene Cox, Memphis, Tennessee, October 1967, July 1968; Lindsey Cox, Memphis, July 1993.

**Processed by:** Louisa Bowen, 1980; James E. Montague, 1999; Gerald Chaudron, 2015, 2018.

**Access:** Open to all researchers.  
**Language:** English

**Preferred Citation:** A. Eugene Cox collection, Special Collections Department, University Libraries, University of Memphis.

**Publication date:** 2018 July

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## Biographical information

Allen Eugene “Gene” Cox was born in Denison, Grayson County, Texas, on August 13, 1905. His father, James Edgar Cox, was a dairyman from Missouri and his mother, Laura May Lott Cox, came from Prairie Grove, Arkansas. Cox was the eldest of two boys and four girls. He attended four schools in Denison between 1912 and 1916 because the family often moved. By 1920 he was living in Dallas and attending school there but left in the 7th grade. Cox then worked for a merchant in Dallas until 1927. Early that year he moved to El Paso where he was employed in the accounting departments of the Armour Packing Company and the Magnolia Petroleum Company. In 1931 he entered Texas Christian University with the intention of entering the ministry. He was active in the International Relations Club and involved in promoting civil rights for African Americans.

After meeting the prominent missionary Sherwood Eddy at a revival, Cox became interested in the cooperative farm project Eddy had founded at Hillhouse (later called Rochdale), in Bolivar County, Mississippi. Also involved with Eddy on the Delta Cooperative Farm project, purchased in March 1936, were theologian Reinhold Niebuhr; John and Mack Rust, inventors of the cotton picking machine; William Amberson, a physiology professor at the University of Tennessee Medical School in Memphis, Tennessee, who was also the leader of the Memphis Chapter of the Socialist Party of America; Sam H. Franklin, Eddy’s student; and H.L. Mitchell (1906-1989), executive secretary of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union. The 2,138-acre farm was a diverse operation under resident director Franklin and had a mix of black and white families, mostly evicted Arkansas sharecroppers. It promoted economic equality and gave both races access to various social services. Cox moved there in June 1936 to work as accountant and bookkeeper. There he met Miriam Lindsey “Lindy” Hail (1911-1996) who was born in Japan to missionaries John Eugene Hail (1873-1911) and Harriet J. Wyckoff Hail (1874-1942). She had trained as a registered nurse at Massachusetts General Hospital and was also recruited by the cooperative farm in 1936. Gene and Lindy married the following year. They had three daughters: Carol, Patricia Gail, and Ann.

After Franklin enlisted in the navy in 1942, Cox became resident director of Providence Cooperative Farm, bought in 1938, near Cruger, Holmes County. But the cooperative farms were struggling. The Delta Cooperative Farm was on land difficult for farming and was never viable without outside money. This problem was made worse by the exodus of rural workers entering the armed services and moving to war-related industries, which led to the sale of the Delta Cooperative Farm in 1942. Cox found Providence could not compete against the mechanized farms and leased much of its land to private farmers. David R. Minter became farm doctor in 1938 and returned in 1946 after serving in the war. In that same year, Delta Foundation, Inc. was organized as a non-profit organization primarily for educational work. In 1950, Sam Franklin, Reinhold Niebuhr, and Charles S. Johnson resigned from the Providence board of trustees and a new board of directors was formed comprising Gene and Lindy Cox, and David and Mary Sue Minter. By the 1950s, Providence included a cooperative grocery, credit union, purchasing cooperative, supplementary school for African American children, and medical clinic. Cox

became acting director of the Mount Beulah Christian Center, near Edwards, Mississippi, in 1954 to offer religious and social services to African Americans.

Despite some early efforts by local plantation owners to undermine the cooperative farm, Cox and the people on the cooperative farms had generally cordial relations with the surrounding communities in Bolivar and then Holmes County until the early 1950s. But that cordiality began to change as some whites were concerned about the work of the farm with African Americans because the interaction was not strictly segregated. The label of communist was also attached to the farm leaders. They seemed out of sympathy with locals after Minter testified in support of Hazel Brannon Smith, editor of the Lexington Advertiser, in a libel case in which she accused a local sheriff of an unprovoked shooting of an African American man. On September 27, 1955, a group of about 600 white people organized by the local Citizens' Council met at Tchula High School to protest an incident where some African American boys had allegedly whistled at a white girl. Tensions were already high because of the 1954 Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas, decision and the acquittal a week earlier of two white men for the murder of African American youth Emmett Till in the Mississippi Delta. Summoned to the meeting, Cox and Minter heard a tape recording of the boys' interrogation conducted the previous day, which included references to mixed activities among the races at the farm. Both Cox and Minter denied racial integration was practiced there but Cox admitted he thought segregation was unChristian. The Cox and Minter families were asked to leave the county but initially they refused. The incident received national attention and the farm families suffered harassment from the local sheriff's department. Bowing to the inevitable, the Cox and Minter families left Mississippi, with the former moving to Whitehaven in Memphis, Tennessee, where Cox worked for the National Council of Churches as director of rural development programs. Providence Farm was sold to the Delta Foundation with Gene Cox acting as executive director. The intention was for the foundation to carry on the work of the farm as the founders had intended. Lindy Cox and the Minters, now living in Texas, continued as directors. The farm, run by Fannye Booker, continued to have a store and offered educational programs to local African Americans.

Cox was deeply affected by being forced to leave, yet he was also determined not to abandon Mississippi and he continued to visit the state as part of his work for the NCC. He was active with religious groups and civil rights organizations and as part of an effort to publicize and document the situation in Mississippi and further afield, he collected materials including voluminous clippings which he copied and distributed. It says much about the organized nature of the man, his attention to detail and determination, and his wide interests, that he compiled such extensive files. Cox was very involved with the labor activities of H.L. Mitchell and the two men were life-long friends. He was very interested in the history of telephones and established a small museum. Another interest was archeology and he also collected and polished stones which he would give to the wide circle of people he met.

By the 1980s a decision had to be made on the future of Providence farm. Nearly 289 acres containing an archeological site was donated to the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, while the remaining land was sold to the Nature Conservancy in 1991. In their retirement, Gene and Lindy volunteered extensively for the Memphis Regional Medical Center

which was recognized by Congressional Community Service Awards in 1981. Gene Cox died after a stroke on December 19, 1992. Lindy Cox died on August 1, 1996.

The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union (STFU) was founded in July 1934 near Tyronza, Arkansas by H. L. Mitchell and Clay East in response to the crop-reduction program of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (A. A. A.) and the resulting eviction of sharecroppers by Southern planters. Members of the union included both black and white sharecroppers. The Union's objectives were "the relief of displaced workers; the establishment of collective bargaining agreements between workers and landlords, and the revamping of the A.A. A." Though not politically partisan itself, the union's leaders were Norman Thomas-inspired socialists, a fact which was often used in efforts by planters to discredit the union.

In 1937 the STFU and other unions united to form the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America (UCAPAWA) affiliated with the CIO. Two years later, unable to pay its dues and unhappy with the administration of the CIO, the STFU withdrew from UCAPAWA. The STFU was active during the war years, at one time reaching a membership of 35,000 centered in Arkansas, Oklahoma and the Missouri bootheel. In 1946 it reorganized as the National Farm Labor Union (NFLU), which affiliated with the AF of L, with rights to organize anywhere in the U.S. In 1952 the NFLU became the National Agricultural Workers Union (NAWU), which in 1960 joined the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workers of North America, officially ending the union's unique history of farm labor unionism.

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## Scope and contents

The collection is arranged in three series. Series 1. Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, contains miscellaneous reports, articles, books, speeches, correspondence, photographs, and newspaper clippings related to the history of the STFU. Much is centered on the union's driving force, H.L. Mitchell, and there are copies of his correspondence and writings, as well as material on the STFU Association which was organized to care for the legacy of the union. An interesting item is a scrapbook compiled by the British writer Naomi Mitchison (1897-1999) on her 1935 trip to the United States.

Series 2, Delta and Providence Cooperative Farms, contains printed material and articles pertaining to the establishment of the Delta Cooperative Farm and three folders of audits, 1936-1942, provide insight into the farms' financial failure. In regard to the Providence Cooperative Farm, there are several folders of materials describing the sequence of events and emotional climate in which Holmes County residents tried to force Cox and Minter to leave the area in 1955.

The third series, A.E. Cox, is the largest. It contains some personal correspondence and correspondence related to his work with the Delta Foundation. But the bulk of the series is published materials and newspaper clippings collected by Cox on a variety of subjects of interest

to him. While he had a life-long interest in economic and social injustice, there are also folders of material on politics, history and science, Elvis Presley, to name a few.

Note: Cox used abbreviations of the newspaper titles to mark many of his clippings. They include:

CA – *Commercial Appeal*, Memphis, Tennessee  
CL – *Clarion-Ledger*, Jackson, Mississippi  
DCP – *Deer Creek Pilot*, Rolling Fork, Mississippi  
DDT – *Delta Democrat-Times*, Greenville, Mississippi  
DJ – *Daily Journal*, Tupelo, Mississippi  
DN – *Daily News*, Jackson, Mississippi  
HCH – *Holmes County Herald*, Lexington, Mississippi  
LA – *Lexington Advertiser*, Lexington, Mississippi  
PS – *Memphis Press-Scimitar*, Memphis, Tennessee

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## Related materials

MSS.36. William R. Amberson papers.

Allen Eugene Cox papers, Special Collections Department, Mississippi State University Libraries.

A. Eugene Cox Papers, 1953-1968, Archives and Special Collections, University of Mississippi Libraries.

Delta and Providence cooperative farms papers, 1925-1963, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Paul J. Vanderwood papers on the Delta Cooperative Farm, 1938-1964, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

William Ruthrauff Amberson papers, 1915-1977, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Southern Tenant Farmers' Union records, 1934-1991, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

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## Subject terms

Agricultural laborers--Labor unions--United States.

Cox, A. Eugene, (Allen Eugene), 1905-1992.

Delta Cooperative Farm Project (Hillhouse, Miss.)

Memphis (Tenn). Police Dept.

Mitchell, H. L., (Harry Leland), 1906-1989.

Presley, Elvis, 1935-1977.

Providence Plantation (Miss.)

Sharecroppers.

Southern Tenant Farmers' Union.

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## Inventory

### Box 1

#### Folder

#### Series 1. Southern Tenant Farmers Union.

- 1 Test Case: Sharecroppers of Arkansas vs. Hiram Norcross, 1935, briefs (copy).
- 2 Miscellaneous reports, programs, newsletters, memoranda, 1933-1936.
- 3 S.T.F.U. Songbook, undated (copy).
- 4 National Farm Labor Union calendar, 1947.
- 5 Agriculture and allied workers, publicity releases, 1957, 1961.
- 6 Clippings, 1945-1967.  
Articles and Interviews:
- 7 Burgess, David S., "The Bible Speaks to Labor," Town and Country Department, Board of Home Missions, undated.
- 8 Cobb, William Henry, "Commonwealth College: A History," M.A. thesis, University of Arkansas, 1962. Bibliography only.
- 9 Mitchell, H. L., Transcript of tape interview with Charles W. Stanfield, 1972 January 4.  
Mitchell, H. L., Transcript of tape interview with Jules Coreil, 1972 February 6.  
Mitchell, H. L., "The Founding and Early History of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union," a lecture given to the Arkansas Historical Association, 1973 April 26.  
Mitchell, H. L., Portion of book manuscript and letters concerning it, 1941.  
Mitchell, H. L., "Protest and Political Action: Means of Social Change," a lecture given to Young Democrats at Louisiana State University, 1970 January 6.  
Mitchell, H. L., "Race Relations in the Southern Tenant Farmers Union," lecture given to History Department, Princeton University, 1973 April 4.  
Mitchell, H. L. "The Southern Tenant Farmers Union," Southern Student Organizing Committee, Nashville, Tennessee, circa 1968.  
Mitchell, H. L., Television interview, transcript WSIX- TV Columbia, South Carolina, 1972 September 20.  
Mitchell, H. L., Manuscript of lecture given at Cleveland State University, 1972 October 27.  
Mitchell, H. L., Manuscript of lecture given to History Department, Wake Forest University, 1972 September 28.  
Mitchell, H.L., "American People's Movements: The Southern Tenant Farmer's Union", 1966.
- 10 Extract from Evelyn Smith's "Rebel Voices," an unpublished memoir,

undated.

Findall, George Brown, "The Emergence of the New South 1913-1945,"  
Louisiana State University Press, 1967, pp.416-421 (copy).

Vandiver, Joseph S. "The Changing Realm of King Cotton," undated (copy).  
"Migrant Farm Labor: The Problem and Ways of Meeting It," circa 1939.

"Two Angry Young Men," circa 1962.

- 11 Affidavit, strike bulletin, etc., 1934-1935 and undated.
- 12 Several short histories of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union.
- 13 Newspaper and periodical articles pertaining to the sharecropper system and the S.T.F.U., 1936-1974.
- 14 Newspaper and periodical photographs and articles on the S.T.F.U., 1936-1990.
- 15 Copies of Clay East's correspondence 1934-1939. Includes Cox and Mitchell correspondence re: East, 1978. East was a president of the S.T.F.U.
- 16 Correspondence and other material related to Ernesto Galazara, who served as a vice-president of the S.T.F.U., 1968-1984 and undated.
- 17 George A. McNeely file. Contains a copy of a letter to his grandson. Also contains anti-black, anti-Jewish, and anti-business materials. McNeely was a vice-president of the S.T.F.U.
- 18 Clipping: Evelyn Smith Munro, first office secretary of the S.T.F.U., and member of the American Socialist Party, 1988.
- 19 Obituaries of former members of the S.T.F.U.
- 20 Copies of correspondence to George Stith, S.T.F.U. organizer, and ephemera, 1949-1968.
- 21 Correspondence related to S.T.F.U.'s relationship with the United Cannery, Agricultural Packing, and Allied Workers of America Union, 1934-1939.
- 22 Accounts of acts of violence against striking sharecroppers and S.T.F.U. members, 1936-1938.
- 23 C. T. Carpenter, S.T.F.U. attorney, correspondence pertaining to his defense of Ward H. Rogers, a vice-president of the S.T.F.U., and the striking sharecroppers; newspaper articles pertaining to threats on the life of Carpenter, 1934-1935.
- 24 Copy of letter written by the Chairman of Conference of Younger Churchmen of the South (undated) requesting people to write to Secretary of Agriculture, Henry A. Wallace, urging him to make a thorough investigation of charges of "organizing to overthrow the government" against Ward H. Rogers, (Marked Tree, Arkansas).
- 25 Correspondence related to the arrest of L. M. Mills, W.H. Stultz, A. B. Brookins, and R. T. Butler, 1934-1935.
- 26 American Federation of Labor Resolution No. 197 endorsing the S.T.F.U., 1935 October 17.
- 27 Material on Delmo Homes, a housing project located in Southeast Missouri, 1939-1978.
- 28 News release by the executive board of the United Mine Workers of America endorsing the strike of the S.T.F.U., 1936 May 29.
- 29 Petition to President Franklin D. Roosevelt, undated.  
Correspondence pertaining to investigation of Delta and Providence Farms and memoranda:  
1937-1940 February 28.
- 30



- 31 1940 March 13-November 5.
- 32 Fairview Farms' sharecropper's contract.
- 33 Friends of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union; poem by John Henry, S.T.F.U. organizer.
- 34 Front page of *Memphis Press-Scimitar* newspaper describing the floods along the Mississippi River, 1937 January 27.
- 35 *S.T.F.U. News*, Vol. 1, No.3, 1938 June.
- 36 H. L. Mitchell's recommendation of a working division on organization and education for the S.T.F.U., undated.
- 37 Staff correspondence, 1936-1938. Includes correspondence with Sam Franklin, Delta Cooperative Farm.
- 38 Executive council meetings minutes, 1937 January 30, March 21, 22, June 18-20; financial statements, 1937 February, March.
- 39 Calendar of events, 1936 June-October, 1942-1943, 1945 January.
- 40 Constitution and by-laws, rural economic survey cards, travelers card, notices of union meetings.
- 41 *Sharecropper's Voice*, Vol. 2, No. 4, 1936 October-November; *The Tenant Farmer*, 1941 November 15; excerpt from *Letters*, Vol. 3, No. 14, 1936 July 6, pertaining to tenant farmers.
- 42 News release pertaining to union's opposition to farm labor supply bill, undated (during World War II).
- 43 Photographs, 1935-1956 and undated.
- 44 Biographical materials on H. L. Mitchell.
- 45 Lists of H. L. Mitchell's speaking engagements.
- 46 Articles written by H. L. Mitchell, 1943-1984 and undated.
- 47 Reviews of H. L. Mitchell's 1979 book *Mean Things Happening In This Land; The Life and Times of H.L. Mitchell, Co-Founder of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union*, 1981 and undated.
- 48 Newsletter s and other mailings from H.L. Mitchell's office, 1974-1987 and undated.
- 49 H. L. Mitchell's outgoing correspondence, 1965-1988 and undated.
- 50 H. L. Mitchell's incoming correspondence, 1970-1980.
- 51 Transcript of tape recordings made for the Oral History Project of Columbia University, New York, 1956-1957. The autobiographical recordings were made by H. L. Mitchell.
- 52 Copy of letter from President Harry Truman to H.L. Mitchell, 1945 November 26.
- 53 Program for the Twelfth Annual Convention, 1945 December; program for the Tenth Annual Meeting of the Federation of Southern Cooperatives, 1977 August.
- 54 Proceedings of fortieth anniversary meeting, Little Rock, Arkansas, 1974 April 25.
- 55 Forty-eighth anniversary meeting, Memphis, Tennessee, 1984. Includes *Behind the Cotton Curtain*, Vol. 1, No. 4, 1981-1982 December-January; fiftieth anniversary meeting, Little Rock, Arkansas, 1984. Includes transcript of broadcast by National Public Radio's "All Things Considered", week of March 18, 1984; letter to John Terreo, Memphis State University, 1984, re: anniversary.
- 56 Program for the Fourth Annual Convention, Little Rock, Arkansas, 1938 February 25-27;

itinerary for tour "Cooperatives, Labor, and Religion in Europe" July 9-August 28, 1938, led by Rev. James Myers.

- 57 Copy of mailing list.
- 58 Copy of *Share Croppers Voice*, Vol. 1, No.1.
- 59 National Agricultural Workers Union ballots on whether to join Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, undated.
- 60 National Farm Labor Union *Constitution, By-laws and Handbook for Local Unions*; N.F.L.U. membership application blanks; pamphlet: "The Statement of Principles of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen".
- 61 Charter of the National Agricultural Workers Union, AF L, Local #43, 1952 September 4.
- 62 *Farm Labor News*, Vo. 2, No. 7, 1947 July, Vol. 3, No. 3, 8, 9, 1948 March, August-September, Vol. 6, No. 4, 1951 April.
- 63 Cassette of songs by John L. Handcox and other songs; correspondence concerning Handcox's suit for royalties from *Mean Things Happening in This Land* and other matters, 1981 -1986.
- 64 Copy of a play "Southern Tenant Farmers Union Forever" by Flotine Hodge, undated. Correspondence: S.T.F.U. film project:
  - 65 1982-1984.
  - 66 1985-1986.
  - 67 1987-1989.
  - 68 undated.

#### **Box 2**

- 1 Reunion, 1981-1989. Correspondence, newsletters: re: reunion, film project, etc.
- 2 Claude Williams, 1936-1979 and undated.  
S.T.F.U. Association:
  - 3 Charter, 1980.
  - 4 Tax exemption, 1983.
  - 5 Bylaws, 1983.

#### **Box 3**

- Unfoldered Scrapbook/photograph album: Compiled by British writer Naomi Mitchison (1897-1999) on her 1935 trip to the U.S.A. Contents include section on plight of sharecroppers. Also poems by William Amberson and Mitchison.

#### **Box 4**

- 1 A.E. Cox outgoing correspondence, 1968-1973.
- 2 A.E. Cox correspondence related to life insurance on former S.T.F.U. members, 1960s-1970s.
- 3 A.E. Cox correspondence related to life insurance on former S.T.F.U. members, 1960s-1970s.
- 4 A.E. Cox's incoming correspondence, miscellaneous addresses, 1954-1988 and undated. Refers to S.T.F.U. and Cooperative Farm.
- 5 Correspondence between A.E. Cox and members of George L. Wilder family, photographs, 1956-1972.
- 6 Photograph proofs used in 1959 anniversary brochure and correspondence.

- 7 *Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union Papers 1934-1970*  
located in the Southern Historical Collection, The University of North Carolina  
Library, Chapel Hill, N.C., Microfilming Corporation of America, 1971.
- 8 *The Green Rising 1910-1977 A Supplement to the Southern Tenant Farmers Union*  
*Papers, A Guide to the Collection*, Microfilming Corporation of America, 1978.
- 9 "No More Moanin' - Voices of Southern Struggle", *Southern Exposure*, Vol. 1, No. 3-4,  
1974 Winter.
- 10 *Farm Labor Organizing 1905-1967: A Brief History*, National Advisory Committee  
on Farm Labor, New York, 1967.
- 11 Mitchell, H.L., *Roll the Union On: A Pictorial History of the Southern Tenant Farmers*  
*Union*, Charles H. Kerr, Chicago, 1987.
- 12 *Workers in Our Fields: The Story of a Union That Would Not Die*, Rural Education and  
Welfare Association, Inc., Memphis, Tenn., circa 1960.
- 13 Periodicals: "The South: A Portrait of a People and a Land, Progressive Farmer  
Anniversary Commemorative, 1886-1986"; Venkataramani, M.S., "Norman  
Thomas, Arkansas Sharecroppers, and the Roosevelt Agricultural Policies, 1933-  
1937", *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 24, No. 1, 1965 Spring, pp. 3-28;  
Cobb, William A. & Donald H. Grubbs, "Arkansas' Commonwealth College and  
the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union", *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 25,  
No. 4, 1966 Winter, pp. 293-311; *The Staple Cotton Review*, Vol. 20, No. 1, 1942  
January. Includes Gary, Hugh L. (President, Delta Council), "The Tenant Farmer  
in the Mississippi Delta: Unionization is not the Answer", pp. 1-6.

**Series 2. Delta and Providence Cooperative Farms.**

- 14 Charter, correspondence and articles, 1936-1941 and undated.  
Audits:
- 15 1936-1938.
- 16 1938-1941.
- 17 1941-1942.
- Holmes County incident, 1955:
- 18 Materials on incident including articles and statements on Cox's non-Socialist  
affiliations.
- 19 Clippings; article by Sam Franklin.
- 20 Clippings and correspondence; Dr. Minter's prescription pad.
- 21 Pamphlet: Gillespie, Rev. G. T. (President Emeritus, Belhaven College, Jackson,  
Miss.), "A Christian View on Segregation", 1954; reprint of editorial "The  
High Wall Around Mississippi - It Must Not Be Built," *Lexington*  
*Advertiser*, Lexington, Miss., 1959 October 29.
- 22 Account of what was said at the meeting in which Cox and Minter were asked to  
leave Holmes County; obituary of J.P. Love, one of the participants in  
meeting; list of rumors concerning what went on at Providence Plantation;  
copy of article written by H. L. Mitchell for the January 1955, issue of  
*Socialist Call* concerning incident.
- 23 Clippings from periodicals concerning incident, 1955.
- 24 Clippings from newspapers concerning incident.

25 Fannie Booker: teacher's contract, Sunday school lessons, prayer book, photographs.

**Series 3. A.E. Cox.**

- Correspondence to Cox, Executive Director of the Delta Foundation, requesting loans for education expenses:
- 26 1965-1976.  
27 1965-1970.  
28 1953-1969.  
29 1965-1970.  
30 1954-1969.
- 31 Personal correspondence to Mr. & Mrs. Cox from Margaret Hampton, Cruger, Miss., 1970-1983 and undated.
- 32 Personal correspondence to Mr. & Mrs. Cox from John Gibson; Mr. Gibson's obituary, 1957-1971.
- 33 Personal correspondence to Mr. & Mrs. Cox from Mrs. John Gibson, 1972-1981.
- 34 Personal correspondence, 1979-1981.
- 35 Southern Rural Welfare Association: Minutes, 1971-1983.
- 36 Young couples' discussion group on poverty, July 1968.
- Publications:
- 37 "Minds Stayed on Freedom- Movement Veterans Speak to Holmes County Youth", *Bloodlines*, Rural Organizing and Cultural Center, Vol. 2, 1990 Spring.
- 38 Palmer, Bruce, *The Southern Populist Movement, 1891-1896: A Political Analysis*, Southern Student Organizing Committee, 1969.
- 39 *Southern Exposure*, Vol. 8, No. 1, 2, 1980 Spring, Summer.
- 40 *Rural America: A Voice for Small Town and Rural People*, Vol. 5, No. 6, 1980 September; *The Movement*, Vol. 1, no. 12, 1965 December.
- 41 Raper, Arthur F., et al, *The Japanese Village in Transition*, Report No. 136, Natural Resources Section, General Headquarters, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, Tokyo, 1950.
- 42 Miscellaneous printed materials, 1954-1969 and undated.

**Box 5**

- Subject files (clippings and ephemera):
- Racism, integration, and civil rights issues:
- 1 National States Rights Party. Includes 1980-1982 clippings pertaining to J. B. Stoner, newsletter from N.S.R.P., correspondence, *The States Rights Voters League Quarterly Report*, Vol. 1, No1, 1984 Spring.
- 2 *The Thunderbolt*, No. 277, 278, 1982 May, June; No. 286, 1983 March; No. 296, 1984 March.
- 3 Advertisement for the Southern National Party, 1981 July 21.
- 4 John Birch Society, 1961-1980.
- 5 Radical groups in the United States, 1978-1979.
- 6 Radical groups in the United States, 1980-1984.
- 7 *The Crisis*, Vol. 87, No. 10, 1980 December; *Race Relations - A Monthly Summary of Events and Trends*, Vol. 5, No. 3-4, 1947

- December-1948 January.
- 8 "Racism in Boston", *Boston Globe Magazine*, 1980 December 14.  
9 *Racism in America and How to Combat It*, United States Commission on  
Civil Rights, 1970 January.
- 10 Kester, Howard, "The Lynching of Claude Neal", N.A.A.C.P., 1934,  
reprint.
- 11 Carter, Hodding, "Racial Crisis in the Deep South", *Saturday Evening  
Post*, 1955 December 17.
- 12 Martin, John Bartlow, "The Deep South Says Never", *Saturday Evening  
Post*, 1957 July.
- 13 Southern Conference Educational Fund literature, 1978 and undated.  
14 Statement of students of the Atlanta University Center in support of  
integration of the South, circa 1959.
- 15 Reprint of article from: Graham, Frank P., "The Need for Both Wisdom  
and Good Faith", *The Virginia Quarterly*, Vol. 31, No. 2, 1955  
Spring, reprint.
- 16 Weisenburg, Karl, "The Oxford Disaster ... Price of Defiance", *The  
Chronicle*, Pascagoula, Miss., 1962 December 17-21, reprint.
- 17 Margaret Valiant, 1976-1982.  
18 Dr. Hollis F. Price, 1982. Re: death of the former president of LeMoyne-  
Owen College.
- 19 Maxine and Vasco Smith, 1978-1984.  
20 Civil Rights Activists- D'Army Baily, Al Lowenstein, Rev. Ben Chavis,  
Floyd McKissick, James Farmer, Ezekiel Bell, Suhkara Abdul  
Yahweh, Daisy Bates, A. Maceo Walker, Marion Barry, and Dr. H.  
R. Jackson, 1978-1981.
- 21 Sam Todd, missing New York divinity student in 1984, 1984-1985.  
22 Voice of Calvary Ministries and founder John Perkins, 1981-1982.  
23 Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 1978-1980.  
24 Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 1981-1983.  
25 Operation PUSH and Rev. Jessie Jackson.  
26 Roy Wilkins, 1981. Re: death of former N.A.A.C.P. executive director.  
27 National Urban League, Vernon Jordan, 1980-1982.  
28 *Para La Gente*, Chicano Legal Defense Fund, Austin, Texas, Vol. 1, No.  
11, 1978 June.
- 29 List of important dates in Memphis black medical history, compiled by  
Walter W. Diggs, 1980.
- 30 N.A.A.C.P., Memphis branch, 1978-1982.  
31 Memo written by H. L. Mitchell outlining efforts of landowners in Fayette  
and Haywood Counties, Tenn., to limit the voting power of blacks  
by forcing the sharecroppers off the land through mechanization,  
circa 1961.
- 32 Rossville Health Center, Rossville, Tenn.; Fayette-Haywood work camps,  
1977-1979.

- 33 N.A.A.C.P. (Tennessee), 1979-1981.
- 34 N.A.A.C.P. (National)/Rev. Ben Hooks, 1978-1979.
- 35 N.A.A.C.P. (National)/Rev. Ben Hooks, 1980-1982.
- 36 N.A.A.C.P. and N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense Fund ephemera.
- 37 N.A.A.C.P. (Mississippi)/Aaron Henry, 1978-1979.
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