RESOURCE NUMBER & NAME	PHOTOGRAPH (if available)	LOCATION (county & additional info.)	OWNER	REMARKS (history, condition, status, historic designation, etc.)
Statewide Mississippi Freedom Trail	AWE DU HAMER A war and how and have a service and the service		State of Mississippi	The Mississippi Freedom Trail Task Force oversees placement of markers commemorating and bringing recognition to the Civil Rights movement in Mississippi. Four markers have been placed in the Delta. and more are planned. Listings will be added as new markers are unveiled when the inventory is updated periodically. Visitmississippi.org
CR-B-1 Isaiah T. Montgomery House		Bolivar County Mound Bayou West Main Street	Private	Born into slavery, Montgomery was the founder of Mound Bayou. With his cousin, he bought property to found Mound Bayou in 1887. As the mayor, he was an active politician, participating in the 1890 Mississippi constitutional convention which disfranchised black voters. He was seen as promoting an accommodationist position (also shared by Booker T. Washington). Montgomery worked to procure blacks protection by the law and to keep their work and lives separate from supervision by whites. Listed on National Register - 1976.

RESOURCE NUMBER & NAME	PHOTOGRAPH (if available)	LOCATION (county & additional info.)	OWNER	REMARKS (history, condition, status, historic designation, etc.)
CR-B-2 Mary Booze House		Bolivar County Mound Bayou		Mary Booze was the daughter of Isaiah Montgomery. She was a National Republican Committeewoman representing Mississippi during the 1920 and 1930s.
CR-B-3 Mound Bayou Bank		Bolivar County Mound Bayou 202 West Main Street	Private	Founded in 1904, this bank was an "all black enterprise," but went out of business in 1914 because of the failing cotton economy. The building was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1996.
CR-B-4 Taborian Hospital	A DOZANI - WARM	Bolivar County Mound Bayou Junction of Hwy. 61 and McGinnis Street	Taborian Urgent Care Center (The building is currently being rehabilitated.)	Shortly after a fire destroyed much of the business district, Mound Bayou began to revive in 1942 after the opening of the Taborian Hospital by the International Order of Twelve Knights and Daughters of Tabor, a fraternal organization. For more than two decades, under its Chief Grand Mentor Perry M. Smith, the hospital provided low-cost health care to thousands of blacks in the Delta. This site was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1996.

RESOURCE	PHOTOGRAPH	LOCATION	OWNER	REMARKS
NUMBER &	(if available)	(county &		(history, condition, status, historic
NAME		additional info.)		designation, etc.)
CR-B-5 Dr. T.R.M. Howard home		Bolivar County Mound Bayou 203 Edwards Ave.		Businessman and surgeon Dr. Theodore Roosevelt Mason Howard founded and led the Regional Council of Negro Leadership, the pre-eminent Civil Rights organizations in the 1950s. He was a mentor to many Civil Rights activists including Medgar Evers, Charles Evers, Fannie Lou Hamer, Amzie Moore, Aaron Henry and Jesse Jackson.
CR-B-6 Amzie Moore Home		Bolivar County Cleveland 614 Chrisman Avenue		Built in 1941, it was the first brick home built by an African American in Cleveland, and Moore was the first African American to receive a government sponsored home loan. After serving in the Army Air Force, Moore returned to Cleveland and became a leader in the Civil Rights Movement. In 2011, it was added to the Mississippi Heritage Trust's 10 Most Endangered list. MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM TRAIL SITE

RESOURCE NUMBER & NAME	PHOTOGRAPH (if available)	LOCATION (county & additional info.)	OWNER	REMARKS (history, condition, status, historic designation, etc.)
CR-CO-1 Clarksdale Train Station		Coahoma County Clarksdale		Built in 1926, Muddy Waters left the Delta from this station in 1943. Many others left from here during the Great Migration, and Civil Rights protests occurred here during the 1960s. It featured two waiting rooms (one for whites and one for blacks) with the ticket office in between.
CR-CO-2 New Roxy Theatre		Coahoma County Clarksdale Issaquena Ave.	Robin Colonas	Currently under restoration but used for events such as the Juke Joint Festival. Built in 1949-1950 as a movie theater for African Americans. Muddy Waters and Sam Cooke performed at the opening. Located in the "New World" neighborhood.
CR-CO-3 Home of Dr. Aaron Henry		Coahoma County Clarksdale 636 Page St.		Dr. Aaron Henry was the state president of the NAACP in the 1960s and worked with many Civil Rights groups. His home was firebombed unsuccessfully by the KKK.
CR-CO-4 Greyhound Bus Station		Coahoma County Clarksdale		In the fall of 1961, Vera Mae Pigee and Idessa Johnson, members of the NAACP Clarksdale branch, began efforts to desegregate the bus station by entering the whites-only section and purchasing tickets. When Pigee's daughter, Mary Jane, came to the terminal to return to school after Christmas, policemen threatened arrest. The women filed complaints with the NAACP, U.S. Justice Dept., Interstate Commerce Commission, local F.B.I. and police. Protests continued until December 27, 1961 when segregation signs were removed.

RESOURCE NUMBER & NAME	PHOTOGRAPH (if available)	LOCATION (county & additional info.)	OWNER	REMARKS (history, condition, status, historic designation, etc.)
CR-CO-4 First Baptist Church		Coahoma County Clarksdale 115 MLK Blvd.	First Baptist Church	Historic church – hosted three visits/talks by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. during the Civil Rights era.
CR-CO-5 Haven United Methodist Church		Coahoma County Clarksdale 404 Yazoo	Haven United Methodist Church	Historic church – hosted voter registration campaigns led by Rev. Jesse Jackson; hosted the state NAACP convention; home of outstanding gospel choir
CR-CO-6 Site of Fourth Street Drug Store		Coahoma County Clarksdale 220 Fourth St. (corner of MLK Blvd. and Fourth)		Owned by Dr. Aaron Henry, pharmacist, an important Civil Rights pioneer; longtime member of the MS House of Representatives; president of the MS NAACP; key contributor to the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

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CR-CO-7 Martin Luther King Blvd.		Coahoma County Clarksdale Formerly Fourth Street	Multiple property owners	Site of Civil Rights marches
CR-D-1 Site of James Meredith Shooting		Desoto County Hernando Hwy. 51 one mile south of Hernando		On June 6, 1966, Meredith was shot here during his 220-mile solo March Against Fear from Memphis to Jackson, Mississippi (see photo at left). He was shot in the chest by Aubrey James Norvell and was taken to St. Francis Hospital. Martin Luther King Jr. came to visit him. King began the walk two weeks later and finished the walk to Atlanta. Meredith recovered and was able to complete the walk.
CR-H-1 Eureka Masonic College (aka - Little Red Schoolhouse, O.E.S. Shrine, Richland Literary Institute)		Holmes County Richland Hwy. 17	Private	This two-story brick Federal style building was constructed in 1847 by the Holmes County Masons as the Richland Literary Institute. It was renamed the Eureka Masonic College in 1848. During the Civil War it served as the headquarters for a Mississippi Infantry regiment. After the war, the county took it over to use as a segregated public school for African Americans. It was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1970.

RESOURCE NUMBER & NAME	PHOTOGRAPH (if available)	LOCATION (county & additional info.)	OWNER	REMARKS (history, condition, status, historic designation, etc.)
CR-Hu-1 Green Grove Missionary Baptist Church & Cemetery		Humphreys County Belzoni 603 Church St.	Green Grove Missionary Baptist Church	Meeting place for Civil Rights activities since the 1950s. Hosted participants in the "March Against Fear" in which Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. participated. Funeral services for Rev. George Lee, the first person killed in the struggle were held here, and Lee is buried in the nearby cemetery (see photo at left).
CR- Hu-2 Rev. George Lee House		Humphreys County Belzoni 507 Church St.	Private	Lee drove into the front porch after he was shot by an unknown assailant because he had registered to vote and was encouraging other African Americans to register and vote. This house is vacant and needs repair.
CR-Hu-2 Rev. George Lee Museum of African American History and Heritage		Humphreys Belzoni 17150 Highway 49		The museum's focus is to preserve, promote and authentically present African American history. The museum is named in honor of Rev. George W. Lee, the first person to die in the Civil Rights movement in Mississippi in the effort to register blacks to vote. Located in an early 20 th century shotgun house.
CR-Hu-3 Fannie Lou Hamer Civil Rights Museum		Humphreys Belzoni 17150 Highway 49		Located at Heritage Village House, the museum features a collection of newspaper articles on Civil Rights trials and investigations. Features the Old Storyteller who tells stories collected from Civil Rights activists and presents re-enactments based on the life of Fannie Lou Hamer and other Civil Rights activists.

RESOURCE NUMBER & NAME	PHOTOGRAPH (if available)	LOCATION (county & additional info.)	OWNER	REMARKS (history, condition, status, historic designation, etc.)
CR-I-1 Home of Honorable Unita Blackwell		Issaquena County Mayersville		During the Civil Rights movement, the home served as the hub of activities including housing members of SNCC and hosting celebrities such as Shirley MacLaine. Unita Blackwell was a Civil Rights activist who was the first African American woman (and the 10 th African American) to be elected mayor in Mississippi. She was a project director for SNCC and helped organizer voter registration drives.
CR-L-1 Cat Holland Site		Leflore County Greenwood 114 East Gibbs Street		Endesha Ida Mae "Cat" Holland was recruited at age 18 by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee to help with a voting drive. She was arrested multiple times as a result and her house was fire-bombed by the KKK (her mother died of burns). She later became an esteemed playwright. The house at left may be a replacement or it was renovated.

RESOURCE NUMBER & NAME	PHOTOGRAPH (if available)	LOCATION (county & additional info.)	OWNER	REMARKS (history, condition, status, historic designation, etc.)
CR-L-2 Saint Francis Center		Leflore County Greenwood 709 Avenue I		The center served as a hospital for African Americans and a distribution center for food and clothing in the 1950s. An 18-month boycott of Greenwood's white-owned businesses was launched in the fall of 1967 by activist James Moore and Father Nathaniel Machesky, the white priest in charge of Saint Francis and coordinated from the center.
CR-L-3 The Elks Hall		Leflore County Greenwood 106 East Scott St.		The Elks Hall hosted the first two meetings of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in the summer of 1962.
CR-L-5 David Jordan's Home		Leflore County Greenwood 514 Avenue H		Science teacher David Jordan lived here in the 1960s. In 1962, SNCC workers took refuge in the house while being pursued by armed whites. Jordan later became a Greenwood City Councilman, leader of the Greenwood Voters' League and Mississippi State Senator.
CR-L-6 2 nd SNCC Office		Leflore County Greenwood McLaurin & Avenue G		In January 1963, SNCC workers moved to this location. The Council of Federated Organizations served as an umbrella organization to coordinate the efforts of SNCC, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and the NAACP. In March 1963, workers from all of these groups came to Greenwood to help with food distribution, voter registration and literacy and citizenship classes. Arsonists burned the building on March 24, 1963.

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CR-L-7 Reno Café and Booker's Places		Leflore County Greenwood 310 West McLaurin St. and 211 Walthall		Reno Café and Booker's Place were popular with Civil Rights activists. Proprietors of several restaurants and cafes in Greenwood's black community often provided free meals for Civil Rights workers.
CR-L-8 Leflore County Courthouse		Leflore County Greenwood 306 West Market St.		Voter registration attempts ended up at the courthouse which was also the site of several protests and skirmishes with the police.
CR-L-9 Greenwood City Hall		Leflore County Greenwood Main Street and Church Street		In the 1960s, the building served as city hall and the county jail. In 1963, Rev. Tucker from Wesley United Methodist Church led a march here to register to vote. The group was met with police and dogs.
CR-L-10 Turner Chapel		Leflore County Greenwood 717 Walthall St.		Turner Chapel, Jennings Temple and Union Grove Church served as gathering places from the Primary Election Freedom Vote held August 6, 1963. The votes were rejected by the county's Democratic Party but inspired work on the November Freedom Vote in which more than 83,000 blacks and a few whites participated.
CR-L-11 Friendship Baptist Church		Leflore County Greenwood Noel Street and Avenue E		This church served as the new permanent headquarters from COFO's Greenwood and Leflore County projects after previous offices were burned in 1963.

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CR-L-12 Jennings Temple		Leflore County Greenwood 320 Avenue G		The temple served as a polling place for the 1963 Primary Election Freedom Vote. This is the last church in Greenwood in which Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. spoke on March 16, 1968 prior to his assassination on April 4, 1968.
CR-L-13 Union Grove Missionary Baptist Church		Leflore County Greenwood 615 Saint Charles St.		This church was the third site where voters participated in the 1963 Primary Election Freedom Vote. This was the first Baptist church to open its doors to Civil Rights activity in Greenwood.
CR-L-14 3 rd SNCC Office		Leflore County Greenwood 708 Avenue N.		In the summer of 1964, the building that was once on this site became headquarters for SNCC's national staff and was used until 1968.
CR-L-15 Broad Street Historical Park		Leflore County Greenwood Broad Avenue and Avenue N		This park was the site of several protests rallies and marches. The most famous was held on June 12, 1966. After James Meredith was shot during his "March Against Fear," SNCC Chairman Stokely Carmichael worked to organize Civil Right groups to continue the march. At a June 12 rally, Carmichael's remarks included his first public use of the term "Black Power."

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CR-L-16 First Christian Church		Leflore County Greenwood 100 East Percy St.	East Percy Street Christian Church	Rev. Aaron Johnson opened his church for Civil Rights Movement meetings. Despite a decrease in his congregation as a result, Rev. Johnson kept the doors of his church open to the movement, and the first mass meetings were held here.
CR-L-17 Wesley United Methodist Church and Turner Chapel		Leflore County Greenwood 800 Howard St. and 717 Walthall St	Wesley United Methodist Church	Built circa 1870, this church was the starting point for multiple voter registration marches during the Civil Rights Movement era.
CR-L-18 Bryant's Grocery Store		Leflore County Money	Privately owned	While visiting his uncle in 1955, 14-year old Emmett Till reportedly whistled at Carolyn Bryant, a white woman working at her husband's store. Her husband and his half-brother were later arrested for murdering Till, but they were acquitted by an all-white jury. They confessed to the killing in a 1956 interview. Many historians credit Till's murder with sparking the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s. The grocery store is currently in a state of decay. MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM TRAIL SITE

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CR-L-19 Home of Moses Wright		Leflore County		Emmett Till stayed at the home of his uncle, Moses Wright, when visiting from Chicago in 1955. Till was brutally murdered on August 28. Wright testified against Till's murderers. After the men were acquitted Wright was in danger and went to Chicago.
CR-SU-1 Mississippi State Penitentiary (Parchman Farm)		Sunflower County Intersection of Hwys. 32 and 49 W.	State of Mississippi Department of Corrections	The oldest prison in the state, it is located on 28 square miles and was established in 1901. Inmates work on the prison farm and in manufacturing workshops. In addition to blues greats, former inmates known for their Civil Rights efforts included Stokely Carmichael (Kwame Ture), James L. Farmer, Jr., and John Lewis.

RESOURCE	PHOTOGRAPH	LOCATION	OWNER	REMARKS
NUMBER &	(if available)	(county &		(history, condition, status, historic
CR-SU-2 Fannie Lou Hamer Memorial Garden		additional info.) Sunflower County Ruleville 726 Byron Street		designation, etc.) In 1969, Fannie Lou Hamer bought 40 acres to use as a cooperative "Freedom Farm." The co-op ultimately went bankrupt, possibly because she allowed hundreds of families who could not afford the membership fee to share in the farm's produce. This memorial garden was completed recently and features a statue of Hamer, interpretive monuments, an entrance gateway, fencing, landscaping, lighting, and the grave site of Hamer and her husband
				MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM TRAIL SITE
CR-SU-3 Irene Carter Magruder Home Site		Sunflower County Indianola 210 Byas Street		Irene Magruder was the first person in Indianola to house Civil Rights workers during Freedom Summer in 1964. Her decision influenced others who then opened their homes to the volunteers. On May 1, 1965, her home was firebombed.
CR-SU-4 Giles Penny Saver Store historical marker		Sunflower County Indianola		The store was owned and operated until 1988 by Oscar and Alice Giles who were active in the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party and the local Civil Rights Movement. The store was firebombed on May 1, 1965 and was heavily damaged. Neighbors helped extinguish the fire.
				MISSISSIPPI HISTORICAL MARKER

RESOURCE NUMBER & NAME	PHOTOGRAPH (if available)	LOCATION (county & additional info.)	OWNER	REMARKS (history, condition, status, historic designation, etc.)
CR-SU-5 Freedom School historical marker		Sunflower County Indianola		The building which served as a Freedom School and headquarters for Civil Rights workers was firebombed and destroyed on March 5, 1965. MISSISSIPPI HISTORICAL MARKER
CR-SU-6 White Rose Café		Sunflower County Indianola 351 Mill Street		Established by siblings Fred Carter, Irene Carter Magruder, and Courtney Carter Magruder in 1947, the café served meals to working African American residents and others who came to Indianola on Saturday nights from area plantations in the late-1940s and 1950s. It was sold in the early 1960s to George and Estella Reed. It was a safe place where both white and African American Civil Rights workers would go to eat, dance, and relax during Freedom Summer in 1964.
CR-SU-7 William Chapel		Sunflower County Ruleville Corner of OB Ave. and Elisha & Everett Langdon St.	William Chapel M. B. Church	This is the church to which Amzie Moore first escorted SNCC workers on August 9, 1962. Fannie Lou Hamer was a Deaconess at this church and pressured the minister to open it to Civil Rights activists.

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CR-T-1 Sumner Courthouse		Tallahatchie County Sumner (Hwy. 49, 5 miles south of Tutwiler)	Tallahatchie County	This historic courthouse is the site of the Emmett Till murder trial. Tallahatchie County has two county seats: the Sumner courthouse in the Delta, and the Charleston courthouse in the hill side of Tallahatchie County. The courthouse was recently restored to its 1955 appearance.
CR-T-2 Delta Inn		Tallahatchie County Sumner		Built in 1920 as a railroad and residence hotel by Zachariah Edwards Jennings. The jury for the Bryant/Milam trial for the racially motivated murder of Emmett Till stayed here in September 1955. During the trail, the KKK burned a cross in front of the inn.
CR-T-3 Emmett Till Intrepid Center		Tallahatchie County Glendora 33 Thomas Street	Emmett Till Intrepid Center	A former cotton gin, the building is where a metal fan was taken and tied to Emmett Till before disposing of his body in the Tallahatchie River.
CR-T-4 Tutwiler Funeral Home		Tallahatchie County Tutwiler Downtown		On August 31, 1955, Woodrow Jackson prepared Emmett Till's body at this funeral home to return to his mother in Chicago. Emmett's uncle, Crosby Smith, had to sign a document promising not to open the casket. One the body reached Chicago, Mamie Till-Mobley defied that order.

RESOURCE NUMBER & NAME CR-W-1 Pleasant Green Baptist Church	PHOTOGRAPH (if available)	LOCATION (county & additional info.) Warren County Vicksburg 817 Bowman St.	OWNER	REMARKS (history, condition, status, historic designation, etc.) Built around 1898. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. spoke here in the summer of 1964.
CR-W-2 Jefferson Funeral Home		Warren County Vicksburg 800 Monroe St.	Family owned	Family owned and operated since 1894. In the 1950s, the funeral home was partially owned by George Lee Jefferson, president of the NAACP Vicksburg branch. In 1954, Jefferson qualified to run for a seat on the State Board of Education. A cross was burned in front of the funeral home. His brothers advised George to sell his share of the funeral home. He died in poverty.
CR-W-3 George Lee Jefferson burial site – Cedar Hill Cemetery		Warren County Vicksburg 326 Lovers Lane		Once listed as one of the wealthiest black men in Mississippi, Jefferson died in poverty because of his work in the Civil Rights Movement

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CR-W-4 Bethel AME Church		Warren County Vicksburg 805 Monroe St.	Bethel AME Church	The First African Methodist Episcopal Church in Mississippi and first Masonic Lodge in Mississippi were organized here in 1875. In 1890, Campbell College, the first African American college in Mississippi, was established without the aid of whites, and operated in a building behind the church. The college moved to Jackson in 1897 and was absorbed by Jackson State University.
CR-Wa-1 New Hope Missionary Baptist Church		Washington County Estill Walcott Road at Deer Creek	New Hope Missionary Baptist Church	.Established in May 1887 and considered the church for the "well-to-do" African Americans of the era. Rev. J.B. Scruggs became the church's first pastor. It has intricately crafted pulpit furniture dating to 1903 and a beadboard-covered sanctuary.

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CR-Wa-2 Sacred Heart Roman Catholic Church		Washington County Greenville 422 E. Gloster Street		The Divine Word Missionaries started a school for black children here in 1913. In 1920 the St. Augustine Seminary was founded here as the first seminary in the U.S. for training black priests. It moved to Bay St. Louis in 1923. The current brick Romanesque Revival church was built in 1928.
CR-Wa-3 Live Oak Cemetery	DIA CLINETER	Washington County Greenville South Main Street	Live Oak Cemetery	Live Oak is the final resting place of some of the county's most outstanding African Americans, including: Bishop Lampton - Mississippi's first African American bishop; Holt Collier - the greatest bear hunter of his time and President Teddy Roosevelt's legendary hunting guide; Rufus Straughter - an influential banker and businessman. The cemetery has scores of unmarked graves that date to the mid-1800s.
CR-Wa-4 Simmons High School		Washington County Hollandale 501 W. Washington Street	Hollandale School District	Following his freedom from slavery, Emory Peter "E.P." Simmons moved to Hollandale and became a teacher in the black schools. In 1923, funding from the Julius Rosenwald Fund, local governments, and donors resulted in the first brick school for blacks. Simmons worked in Hollandale schools until 1942. In 1950, the Hollandale Colored School was renamed Simmons High School.

RESOURCE NUMBER & NAME	PHOTOGRAPH (if available)	LOCATION (county & additional info.)	OWNER	REMARKS (history, condition, status, historic designation, etc.)
CR-Y-1 Afro-American Sons and Daughters Hospital		Yazoo County Yazoo City 8th St. and Webster Ave.	Afro American Sons & Daughters Hospital Foundation	Built in 1928, the AASDH served as the state's first hospital for blacks. It provided free health care to anyone. The hospital also trained future nurses, enabling them to get state licenses and serve other parts of the state until it closed in 1972. It was listed on the National Register in 2006 and was on the Miss. Heritage Trust's 2007 most endangered list. It is in a state of decay.
CR-Y-2 Mosely-Woods House (aka – Starling Wilburn House)		Yazoo County Yazoo City 1461 Bell Rd.	Private	The house was built ca. 1860 and purchased by William Mosely in 1880. It is one of the oldest African American residences continuously owned by the same family in the Yazoo City area. The house was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 2005.
CR-Y-3 Augustus J. Oakes House		Yazoo County Yazoo City 308 Monroe St.	Private	The home was built in stages 1866-1910 by John and Mary Oakes, free blacks who had moved to Yazoo City by the 1850s, and by their first son, Augustus J. Oakes, an educator and builder, who established the Oakes Lumber Yard by 1900. The house was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1993.

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CR-Y-4 Gravesite of Joseph Williams (New Hope M.B. Church)		Yazoo County Yazoo City 4300 Nivens Road	New Hope M.B. Church	First black man to run for Supervisor in Yazoo City in 1963. As a former president of the NAACP, Williams was threatened by the Klu Klux Klan to have his house burned down. This prompted Robert Kennedy to send FBI agents to protect him. Mr. Williams died in 2010.
CR-Y-5 Oakes African American Cultural Center		Yazoo County Yazoo City 312 S Monroe St.	Oakes African American Cultural Center	The building was once home to a prominent African American family in the 19 th century and is now a museum. Purchased by John and Mary Oakes in 1866 as a one-room structure, it grew in time. A.J. Oakes founded the Oakes Academy in 1884, a private school for blacks. Funds are needed for restoration. In 2009 it was listed on the Mississippi Heritage Trust's 10 Most Endangered list.
CR-Y-6 Rose Hill Missionary Baptist Church		Yazoo County Yazoo City 8694 Myrleville Road	Rose Hill Missionary Baptist Church	George Collins, NAACP president, organized the Yazoo City Civil Rights Movement at the church with the help of Rudy Shields. It was here the meetings were held and the movement was formulated.