POLITICS OF MISSISSIPPI, 1900-1966

by

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The field work for my research was carried out on a part-time basis when I served as an Instructor of Geography at the University of Southern Mississippi, Hattiesburg, from 1964 to 1966. At "Southern" I was able to conduct original research into a vast range of primary source materials. A study was made of legislative records and microfilmed newspapers in the Mississippi Room of the University of Southern Mississippi library. Visits were also made to the Mississippi legislature when in session.

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis attempts to trace the course of politics in Mississippi from 1900 to 1966. What makes Mississippi a worthwhile state to study is the complication of race in society at large and in the political system. This study brings out a number of themes but the central one, the continuing thread, is that race is the principal conditioning factor in the politics of Mississippi. For certain periods, for example the 1930's, the racial theme underlies other themes, such as economic development, but in due course it re-appears and becomes the central issue. It will be seen that there is some truth in the oft-heard cry: "What other issue is there other than white supremacy?"

The study seeks to show how the political system of Mississippi actually worked in the 20th century. A study is made of the role of the governor, as a legislative leader and chief executive, with emphasis on the legislative process and issues of each gubernatorial period. Major issues, which divided the legislature, often on factional or group lines, are illuminated where this helps to explain the peculiarities of the Mississippi system. It is a one-party Democratic state in this century but it will be seen that the party of the white man is such an effective common denominator that we really have a 'no party system'.

Mississippi must be seen in its context as a Deep South state and as an American state. To the outsider, it would appear that Southernism and Americanisation are incompatible goals. One of the themes in this thesis is the dilemma faced
by Mississippi in being loyal to its Deep South traditions, especially on the race question, and its duties and responsibilities as a member of the Federal Union. The federal-state relationship must change over a long period if the federal government takes on the responsibility of elevating its second class citizens and the state refuses to recognise this goal as a legitimate aim of government.

A Deep South state, Mississippi has always had the largest negro percentage of total population in the United States. Despite possessing some of the richest cotton land in the world in the Delta, wealth has been unevenly distributed with great disparities between the planter and the poor white hill farmer. The state has consistently had the lowest per capita income in the nation. It is the most rural, the most undeveloped economy in the United States and has consistently failed to build up its small industrial base. It is known to the outside world - which probably does not know the Magnolia state at all - as the home of the "rednecks" who practise fundamentalist religion and keep alive some of the values of Old America such as Anglo-Saxon Protestantism and abstention. One of the objectives of writing this book is to paint a more balanced picture of Mississippi society when societal forces impinge on the political processes.

In its American context, Mississippi has been subjected to the forces of history like any other state. Of particular importance, however, in the psychological development of her peoples was the experience of secession and Civil War. Despite the most heroic, selfless efforts, the state was brought to the ashes of defeat by the Union Armies. It was found that a Confederate States of America could not be carved out of an historic and legitimate Union. From 1865 the problem was
one of Mississippi reconciling herself to the demands made by successive federal governments. The brutal experience of Radical Reconstruction, especially the crude instrument of Military Government, introduced two years after hostilities, sapped the confidence of native whites, and made reconciliation more difficult.

From 1870 to 1897 American agriculture was depressed, with production far outstripping demand and prices declining. In addition railroad freight rates were fixed on the principle of charging what the traffic would bear and farmers were further crippled by borrowing money at exorbitant interest rates and pledging crops to merchants for future supplies. Agrarian protest movements flourished in this period with the West combining with the South in a debtors' alliance against the East. After 1875 the discovery of immense deposits of silver in the Rocky Mountains led to farmers' demands for the free coinage of silver, at the ratio of 16 to 1 of gold, as a means of inflating the currency, expanding the money supply and raising commodity prices. The Bland-Allison Act, 1878, passed over the presidential veto, and the Sherman Silver Purchase Act, 1890, provided for federal purchasing of silver output.

Much of the discontent with the social and economic system of the United States culminated in a progressive movement which energised America from 1900 to 1914. There were several strands sharing a broad philosophical outlook on the desirability of reform such as control of corporations by state governments; national control of banking and railroads; a middle class revolt against concentration of wealth in the hands of the few; and a social justice movement. The
Mississippi version had a strong liberalising influence in social, economic and political reforms but it was accompanied by a powerful white supremacy campaign indicating that the benefits of progressivism were for whites only.

The election of Woodrow Wilson as President in 1912 was a famous Democratic victory after 20 years of Republican presidents. For the first time in 20 years there was a Democratic majority in 1913 in the House and Senate. Wilson's victory was largely attributable to the solidity of the Democratic South which seized on the opportunity to elect a native Southerner, even if he had been governor of New Jersey. Wilson's New Freedom philosophy espoused Southern demands for tariff reform, a federal reserve banking system and anti-trust legislation. By the 1916 election, Wilson's progressivism had moved away from the New Freedom to the New Nationalism philosophy advocated by Theodore Roosevelt in 1912. In April 1917 Wilson led the nation into World War One. In the United States the economy boomed under the inflationary conditions. Mississippi benefited from the demand for cotton and other agricultural products: farmers prospered in the nation relative to other groups from 1914 to 1919. In 1919 agriculture was 22.9 per cent of the national private production income, in 1929 it was only 12.7 per cent. Mississippi also enjoyed federal investment in her infant shipbuilding industry and in Army training camps.

During the 1920's fundamental weaknesses in the American economy were rocking the foundations of capitalism. Europe's financial dependence on the United States proved fatal when American credit dried up; throughout the decade American farmers were depressed with prices plummeting but large industrial concerns maintained wages and prices at artificially
high levels even for a time after the Wall Street crash of October 1929. The Great Depression of the 1930's brought to an end a long era of economic expansion and social progress since the 1890's. President Herbert Hoover based his cautious programme of relief and recovery from 1931 on the assumption that federal intervention was necessary.

Decisive Democratic victories in 1932 by Franklin D. Roosevelt for the Presidency and in the House and Senate made a positive programme of recovery almost mandatory in March 1933. The outcome was the famous New Deal programme, implemented from 1933 to 1938. The federal government underpinned the economic survival of the nation. The first task was to save the currency and capitalism by overhauling the banking system. Secondly, a vast programme of public works, under several federal agencies, was undertaken to reduce the 15,000,000 and 6,000,000 on city and state relief rolls in 1933. Farm prices were stabilised under the Agricultural Adjustment Administration which reduced output by the "plow-under" policy in return for benefit payments to farmers.

Events in Europe from 1938 brought war preparations in the United States from 1939 to 1941. Britain benefited from Lend-Lease in the period of "phony war". The United States' declaration of war after Pearl Harbour in December 1941 accelerated the gigantic growth of industrial output and military preparedness. The Mississippi economy was again the recipient of lavish federal expenditure on the war effort for the training of troops and the supply of ordnance. Of special interest was the revival of the Mississippi shipbuilding industry at Pascagoula, a revival which has continued under the Korean and Vietnam emergencies up to the present day.
The advancement of the negro in the armed services and in defence industries in wartime led logically to the question of his civil rights in peacetime. President Harry S. Truman unequivocally supported the negro's quest for status in the 1948 election and combined winning negro votes with labour votes by his promise to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act (a promise unfulfilled). The Dixiecrat revolt of 1948 against the National Democratic civil rights plank proved to be abortive and Truman narrowly defeated the favourite, Thomas Dewey. The stage was set for confrontation with the South.

The South found itself at odds with the Truman Administration in its substantial expansion of the economic and welfare activities of the federal government. Furthermore in the early 1950's, there was a period of anti-Communist hysteria in the United States which was seized on by Southern politicians who accused Truman of being oblivious to the danger of Communist subversion at home. The Civil Rights campaign was linked, in Southern eyes, with the Communist plot. Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin undoubtedly appealed to millions of Americans, especially in the Mid-West and South, by his accusations that the State Department had been influenced by pro-Communist advisers and employees. The worst fears of the nation were confirmed by the North Korean Communists' invasion of South Korea in June 1950. Under the United Nations command, the United States made a massive contribution by its armed forces and money during the period of conflict from June 1950 to July 1951. When the armistice was signed on 27th July, 1953, it guaranteed the integrity of South Korea along the 38th parallel. But by failing to allow General McArthur to invade China, and recalling him
instead, the suspicion lingered that Truman had failed to defeat Communism. Furthermore, the United States had been in its first "No Win" war in history.

This discontent with the outcome of the war contributed to Dwight D. Eisenhower's Presidential victory for the Republicans in 1952. Many Southern Democrats voted against Truman's civil rights programme and for state ownership of the tide lands as much as for Eisenhower. If the South expected conciliatory policies from Eisenhower on civil rights, they were to be disappointed. The whole trend of the Administration in the 1950's was to extend federal intervention into the South. The monumental decision of the Supreme Court of 17th May, 1954, in Brown v Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas overturned Plessy v Ferguson's principle and established that "in the field of public education the doctrine of separate but equal has no place". The South made much of the loophole that desegregation should not be carried out precipitately but with "all deliberate speed", despite the Court's 1955 decision that "reasonable progress" must be made to desegregate public schools. The 1950's was an era of fierce Southern resistance to integrated schools, the battles being fought in protracted federal court cases and by Southern Congressmen at Washington. Grass roots resistance movements, such as the Citizens' Councils, flourished in Mississippi, the most resistant state.

The intention of the federal government to implement the 1954 decision by force, if necessary, was demonstrated at Little Rock, Arkansas, in September 1957. The lesson was not heeded when Mississippi, led by Governor Ross Barnett, confronted the Kennedy Administration in the University of Mississippi integration crisis of September 1962. The
admission of the negro Meredith was achieved by the strength of the United States Army in a bloody riot situation. President Lyndon Johnson, who had succeeded to the Presidency after the assassination of John F. Kennedy on 22nd November, 1963, accelerated the whole liberalising process of the Democratic Administrations. The Civil Rights Act, 1964, gave federal agencies the power to withhold grant funds from any programme permitting discrimination. The violent Selma, Alabama, march of 1965 convinced Johnson that a Voting Rights Act was essential to enforce the Fifteenth Amendment and its impending passage in the summer of 1965 forced Southern legislatures to re-write their election laws. Token integration of schools had reached even into Mississippi by September 1964 and a new era of compliance in the federal-state relationship appeared to be opening.

In Chapter One 19th Century historical influences are considered as a necessary background for the description of 20th century Mississippi politics. Chapter Two is concerned with the class struggle from 1900 to 1920 in the age of progressivism. In Chapter Three some attention is given to the mechanics and methods of the political system in the style of Mississippi politics. In Chapter Four there is taken up the historical evolution of state politics from 1920 to 1940, a period dominated by the economic struggle and the federal intervention in the New Deal. Chapter Five deals with the travails of World War Two from its end until 1960 and the principal, still unresolved, problem, the role of the negro in American society. The resistance of Mississippi to the federal encroachment in the civil rights field is the principal theme of the modern era, 1960-1966, described in
Chapter Six. In Chapter Seven some Conclusions are drawn from this study and a selection is made of the principal themes from the various conflicting forces of the 20th Century. In the Appendix there is an account of the Penitentiary in Mississippi Politics from 1887 to 1918.
This chapter traces the important 19th century historical influences which helped to determine the course of 20th century politics in Mississippi.

In the early 19th century Mississippi evolved from a Territory to a state and from a frontier society to a prosperous agrarian society in the cotton boom of the 1850's. The economic system depended, to a large extent, on slaves, introduced in vast numbers before the Civil War of 1861-1865. This destroyed the emerging state socially, economically and politically. When the post-war problems were being solved, the Radical Republican-controlled Congress imposed Military Government from 1867 to 1870. The negro was organised as a voting force but native whites were disfranchised and removed from office. Negroes participated in Republican state government from 1870 to 1876 and represented the state in the United States Senate.

The Democratic Revolution of 1875 led to the impeachment of the Republican Governor Ames in 1876. From 1876 to 1890 the "Bourbon" Democratic leadership welcomed outside investment in Mississippi. Many of the leaders had close connections with business and consequently small farmers became disillusioned as in the silver issue, and formed independent movements. The role of the negro was determined by the Constitution of 1890 and Supreme Court decisions in 1896 and 1898. As the century closed, the role of the ordinary white farmer was yet to be determined.
When the United States government established the Territory of Mississippi on 7th April, 1798, it had a history of settlement by France, Britain, Spain and Georgia( 1 ). The Chickasaw, Choctaw and Natchez Indian tribes still controlled most of the territory, however, and settlement by the 5,000 whites and 3,500 negro slaves was concentrated in the Natchez region on the Mississippi River with smaller settlements on the Gulf Coast( 2 ). American troops, led by Andrew Jackson, later to be a type of constitutional patron saint of the emerging state, inflicted defeats on the Indians in 1813-1814 and more importantly, on the British Army at the Battle of New Orleans in 1815, thus extinguishing the last external threat to the Territory.

As the Territory became safer to settle, steps were taken by the settlers to achieve statehood. Thus a 'state' constitution was adopted in convention at Washington, the territorial capitol, on 15th August, 1817. The dominating political figures at the time were members of the Natchez Junto, a group of wealthy and influential planters, many of whom could trace their lineage directly to England through the English Tory settlers of the 1760's and 1770's( 3 ). Perhaps the most influential delegate was George Poindexter, a lawyer and planter and Chairman of the committee appointed to draft a frame of government( 4 ).

The Constitution of 1817 was less liberal than most constitutions of the new states. It reflected the views of

1. For a summary of the early history of Mississippi see Note 1, page 230
2. Map 1
3. 24 of the 47 delegates at the convention represented five counties adjoining the Mississippi River in the Natchez area. 8 others were from the interior counties of the old Natchez District.
4. Poindexter was to become governor, 1820-1822, and United States Senator, 1829-1835. For a list of governors, see page 264.
MISSISSIPPI IN 1817
The Year of Statehood
Federal Writers' Project

Source: Federal Writers' Project, Mississippi, A Guide to the Magnolia State, p.68
Copyright: Hastings House, Publishers, Inc., New York. (By kind permission)
the dominant planter class. For example, a representative in the lower house of the General Assembly had to possess 150 acres or real estate valued at $500. A state senator had to possess twice this amount of wealth and the governor four times this amount. Furthermore the suffrage was limited to free white males who paid taxes or served in the militia. Most subordinate officials were chosen by the General Assembly. There was no provision for the amendment of the constitution except by the summoning of a new convention, the initiative for which rested with the General Assembly (5).

Statehood was achieved on 10th December, 1817, when Mississippi was admitted into the Union as the 20th state (slaveholding) (6). The capitol was, naturally enough, at Natchez and the first governor was David Holmes, 1817-1820. A governor served for two years but could succeed himself without restriction. In 1822 the capitol was moved to Jackson, as this was in the centre of the new state.

The domination of Mississippi politics by the Natchez Junto was resisted by other sections, notably East Mississippi. From 1825 legislators from East Mississippi introduced several bills in the General Assembly to liberalise the constitution but without success. The situation was changed, however, when 30 new counties were being organised in land formerly occupied by the Indians in North Mississippi. The Natchez Junto decided to support a constitutional convention before the new counties were created. As a result,

5. With the approval of two-thirds of both houses, the General Assembly was empowered to recommend a convention at a general election. If a majority of the voters approved, the Assembly had to call a convention with each county having as many delegates as it had members of the Assembly. (Edwin A. Miles, Jacksonian Democracy in Mississippi, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1960, pp.33-34)

6. The western part of the Mississippi Territory became the state of Mississippi, the eastern part formed the Territory of Alabama.
a convention was convened in 1832.

The influence of Andrew Jackson was reflected by the small farmer element at the convention who voiced Jackson's philosophy of liberal capitalism and democratic opportunities for the farmers, artisans and small businessmen. The second state constitution, of 1832, contained a declaration of rights. Property qualifications for office and suffrage were abolished. The nominating power of the legislature was drastically curtailed by the election of several subordinate executive officers and the judiciary. A governor could only hold office for four years out of any six. The office of lieutenant-governor was abolished and the president of the Senate was designated to assume the duties of governor in the event of a vacancy. The constitution, adopted by a vote of 36 to 10, was not submitted to the electorate for ratification.

The period from 1832 until the Civil War in 1861 was one of rapid extension of white settlement. A series of treaties was concluded with the Indian nations by 1835 which threw open the whole state for legal white settlement. Of particular value for cotton growing was the Delta land between the Yazoo River and the Mississippi River. As news of the opportunities reached the Atlantic seaboard, waves of Anglo-Saxon immigrants began to arrive in Mississippi.

7. Mississippi was the first state to elect judges by the people. (Miles, p.43)
8. Table showing Mississippi population 1800-1860, Note 2, p.230
9. Map 2; Many Indians migrated to large reservations in Oklahoma, whilst some remained on small reservations in Mississippi, preserved to the present day.
10. The immigrants were mainly Anglo-Saxon stock with English, Scottish and Irish strains. The pure Anglo-Saxon heritage has remained intact to the present day and is one of the principal factors producing white uniformity on the race question.
MAP 2. MISSISSIPPI : TERRITORIAL ACQUISITIONS
1801-1832

Source: Federal Writers' Project, Mississippi, A Guide to the Magnolia State, p.62
Copyright: Hastings House, Publishers Inc., New York, (By kind permission)
Negro slaves were required in large numbers to clear the forests and scrubland of the fertile Delta before cotton could be planted (11). In the sub-tropical climate the slaves were ideal for the heavy manual work as the heat and humidity of the long summers was too overpowering for continuous effort by white men. Consequently slaves were imported from the seacoast states such as Virginia and North Carolina. The large negro populations in the river counties today are a result of this importation. Because of the heavy negro majorities, they became known as 'black counties'.

The ante-bellum society, later to be eulogised as "ideal" by states' rights groups, reflected the importance of property ownership but had great disparities of wealth. By analysing slave and land ownership, in selected counties, Herbert Weaver, in his book Mississippi Farmers 1850-1860 (12) showed the economic basis for the white class structure. Rejecting the traditional analysis of the Old South as a society composed of "planters" and "poor whites" (13), Weaver...
demonstrates that there were four white classes: big planters, small planters, yeomen and poor whites. Weaver recognised the limitations of his own analysis, however, by emphasizing that "any attempt to divide the population into social or economic classes involves the drawing of arbitrary lines which did not really exist" (14). This problem of terminology is a difficulty because the researcher, attempting to analyse 20th century Mississippi politics, is aware of the realities of the class struggle, particularly from 1900 to 1920, but is taxed to find a satisfactory definition of the classes. Weaver uses the economic basis for class as the primary mode of analysis and then looks at the social behaviour of the four classes. There is also some evidence of a geographic basis for the economic organisation: for example, the big planters were found in the Delta counties, yeomen were particularly numerous in the North Eastern hills. The writer finds that Weaver's analysis provides a modus vivendi. With the economic decline of the yeomen after the Civil War they subside into the "lower classes" along with the poor whites who remained at the bottom of the white class structure. The big planters can be roughly equated with an "upper class" because of the clear economic and social superiority that they enjoyed before the Civil War. The small planters present a difficulty because of their mobility and initiative but their wealth before the Civil War indicates a type of middle class.

Big planters owned at least 50 slaves and over 500 acres of improved land, and constituted 8 per cent of the

14.Weaver, p.37
agricultural operators in the state in the decade before the Civil War. The first area of settlement - the river counties of Adams, Wilkinson, Jefferson and Claiborne (15) - had well established plantations by this period so that many wealthy planters imitated the aristocratic life of England by residing in Natchez in mansions and leaving the management to resident agents or overseers. At Natchez they had the culture, time and wealth of an upper class. They enjoyed hunting and parties and used 30 or 40 slaves as house servants and ground keepers. Some planters were influential in politics particularly in the Whig party.

A second group of big planters were less economically secure and were principally in the new Delta counties in the North: Issaquena, Washington, Bolivar, Coahoma and in the East such as Lowndes and Noxubee (16). This group conducted themselves as mere farmers, living in log cabins and superintending the work on their estates. Many had recently risen from the 'small planter' class. The principal money crop for the big planters was cotton, with corn as a second crop. Other crops included sweet potatoes, sugar cane, vegetables; they also kept poultry and bees. The big plantations were economic units possessing cotton mills, grist mills, syrup mills and blacksmith shops.

Small planters owned from 20 to 49 slaves and 200 to 499 acres of improved land, and constituted 14 per cent of the agricultural operators in the state, but 25 per cent of the operators in the newly settled Delta-Loess region. Many were newly arrived from the seaboard states and as they were experienced farmers, they increased their slaves and

15. Map 3. The map should be studied in conjunction with Table 1 and Table 2.
MISSISSIPPI REGIONS

I Delta-Loess
II Northeastern Hills
III Pine Barrens

MAP 3. MISSISSIPPI REGIONS AND SELECTED COUNTIES FOR WEAVER'S ANALYSIS OF CENSUS RETURNS 1850-1860

Source: Herbert Weaver, Mississippi Farmers, 1850-1860 Nashville, Vanderbilt University Press, 1945, p. 33
(By kind permission)
### Table 1. Size of Slaveholdings in Sample Mississippi Counties by Regions, 1850 and 1860

Source: Herbert Weaver, Mississippi Farmers, 1850-1860, p. 35

(By kind permission)

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<td>0.06</td>
<td>0.16</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.09</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Compiled from Schedule II, Seventh and Eighth Censuses.

Figures in parentheses in this and other tables represent the number of agricultural operators on which percentages were based.

### Table 2. Size of Improved Landholdings in Sample Mississippi Counties by Regions, 1850 and 1860

Source: Herbert Weaver, Mississippi Farmers, 1850-1860, p. 36

(By kind permission)

<table>
<thead>
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<td></td>
<td>(1,858)*</td>
<td>(1,962)</td>
<td>(4,717)</td>
<td>(4,696)</td>
<td>(1,080)</td>
<td>(1,562)</td>
<td>(7,655)</td>
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<td>14.12</td>
<td>16.54</td>
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<td>22.46</td>
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<td>0.09</td>
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<td>0.17</td>
<td>0.06</td>
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<td>0.06</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.06</td>
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<tr>
<td>4,000-4,999</td>
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<td>0.10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.02</td>
</tr>
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<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.21</td>
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<td>6.11</td>
<td>6.30</td>
<td>5.72</td>
<td>8.64</td>
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Compiled from Schedules I and IV, Seventh and Eighth Censuses.
landholding rapidly. On the small plantations there was less division of labour than on the larger plantations. Buildings and implements were crude and animals were less numerous. Slaves were treated more fairly because of the close personal relationship between master and slave(17).

Yeomen owned up to 200 acres of improved land, with or without slaves, and constituted 60 per cent of the agricultural operators in the state. They were particularly numerous in the North Eastern hills (67 per cent of operators) and the Pine Barrens (72 per cent of operators). Some owned a few slaves, but living mainly in the hill country on land unsuitable for cotton, they belonged to the 'white' counties - where the whites were the overwhelming majority of the population. They raised cattle and mixed crops. The yeomen were property owners and enjoyed the general prosperity of the ante-bellum era. They were quite distinct from the poor whites(18). After the Civil War, however, the yeomen became largely impoverished and declined in economic terms into the lower class.

Poor whites comprised 18 per cent of all agricultural operators in the state, and were numerically a small part of the farm population in any region. Although they were landless and slaveless, many owned cows, horses, pigs and other property by 1860. Many established themselves as

17.Hundley, p.84
18.The yeomen lived at a higher economic level than the poor whites, owned land and in some cases owned slaves. The confusion has arisen because the yeomen farmers were largely inarticulate and left few written records. The writings of J.F.H. Claiborne, a Mississippi planter, who made a journey through the Pine Woods, has provided evidence of the independence and diligence of the yeomen. (J.F.H. Claiborne, "A Trip to the Piney Woods," Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society IX, 1906, pp.487-538)
squatters in the pine forests of the Southern counties, leaving the animals to fend for themselves. The poor whites lived in crude log cabins, which were often in a state of disrepair. Agricultural activity was limited to five or six acres and in many cases there was no pretence of cultivation of the soil. Their main diet consisted of corn, pork and sweet potatoes. Insufficient or improper food made these people easy victims of disease. This was a cause of their lack of energy and description as "shiftless people" (19). In the 20th century the poor whites became known as "rednecks", because of their sunburnt features. They were noted for their hatred of the negro and the white propertied classes, and were organised politically in the class struggle of the early decades of the 20th century.

Thus by 1860 a class structured society was well established in Mississippi. By 1860 there was general prosperity with new lands being opened up, slaves still expanding in numbers and cash surpluses, especially from cotton, being invested in new lands and slaves. The comparatively late start in settlement was, by 1860, working to Mississippi's advantage because by then the seaboard states - Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia - were suffering from soil erosion and a one-crop (cotton) economy. Thus seaboard immigrants were still pouring into Mississippi in 1860 determined to diversify their crops on vast, untapped acreages. Cotton was combined with food crops, thus achieving self-sufficiency and soil conservation. Despite the buoyancy some farmers failed due to indebtedness to factors and property was deserted - but this was still a frontier society.

19. Weaver, pp. 61-62
The prosperity was brought to an end by the Civil War. This catastrophic event in American history aborted the old social order and destroyed lives, property and way of life of ante-bellum Mississippi. It is beyond the scope of this historical introduction to describe the events leading up to the secession from the Union (20) but it should be noted that when the Presidential election of November 1860 forced the issue between "union" and "secession", economic interests moulded the political alignments in Mississippi.

The Whigs, mainly wealthy, big planters were loath to trust their fortunes to an untried government and supported the Union, and were supported by yeomen. The middle class, such as the small planters, were for secession and by their numbers, ability and reckless courage swept the Whigs and yeomen with them into withdrawal from the Union (21).

As the Secession Convention at Jackson on 9th January, 1861, by a vote of 84 to 15, Mississippi became the second state to secede from the Union, following South Carolina (22).

When the decision had been taken in "the storm centre of secession", there was a closing of the white ranks with planters enlisting as officers in the Confederate States' Army. The first president of the Confederate States of America, created on 8th February, 1861, was Jefferson Davis of Mississippi. This drew the state particularly close to the new government.

22. South Carolina seceded on 20th December, 1860, Mississippi was followed by Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana and Texas.
During the first year of war, activity in Mississippi was chiefly of a preparatory sort. But in 1862 Union forces entered the state with the primary objectives of capturing Vicksburg and thereby controlling the Mississippi River and isolating Mississippi troops from arms and supplies by capturing railway towns. Thus in April 1862 the Union troops won the battle of Shiloh in North East Mississippi and in October 1862 captured the important railroad junction town of Corinth (23). After victories at Iuka and Holly Springs, General Ulysses Grant moved his federal troops south to Vicksburg, and after more victories at Port Gibson, Raymond and Jackson (in May 1863), he subjected Vicksburg to a famous six week siege. After a courageous defence and great personal hardship, the city surrendered on 4th July, 1863, and Union forces controlled the river and the western part of Mississippi. In July 1863 General Sherman marched a federal army eastwards across the state, destroying Jackson, which had been temporarily recaptured by Confederate forces. The devastation brought by this march was described by Sherman himself: "The wholesale destruction is terrible to contemplate". (24)

Despite a growing peace sentiment from 1863 (25), the state government, a peripatetic institution from May 1863, (26)

23. Map 4; The Mobile and Ohio railroad crossed the Memphis and Charleston railroad at Corinth.
26. The government remained at Jackson until May 1863 when it moved away from the battle area to Enterprise and Meridian, East Mississippi. The state Supreme Court authorised the legislature to meet anywhere in the state (James W. Garner, Reconstruction in Mississippi, New York, Macmillan, pp.39-40.)
MAP 4. THE STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE OF RAILWAYS IN MISSISSIPPI IN THE CIVIL WAR, 1861-1865

Source: Robert C. Black, The Railroads of the Confederacy, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, p.6 (By kind permission)
continued to prosecute the war. The peace movement was strong among the Whigs and in North East Mississippi where Tishomingo County (Corinth) enjoyed local government during occupation and regular trains from January 1865.

The War ended, effectively, with the surrender of General Robert E. Lee and the Confederate Army in Virginia at Appomattox on 9th April, 1865. On 8th May, 1865, General Nathan Bedford Forrest surrendered in East Mississippi. Governor Charles Clark called a special session of the Mississippi legislature on 16th May, 1865, but business ended abruptly when Brigadier General Embury D. Osband arrested Clark and state officers. The federal army took over the civil government of the state. (27)

The physical destruction of war left an indelible scar on the minds of present and future generations of Mississippians: "When hostilities ceased, Mississippi was a ruin". (28)

Mississippi contributed about 78,000 men to the Confederate armies, of whom 12,000 were killed or died of wounds and 15,500 died of disease. The loss comprised about one fourth of the white males aged 15 and above in 1860 (29). When the thousands of crippled whites are added, the labour force was seriously depleted in what was an unmechanised agricultural area.

The freeing of the 437,000 slaves accentuated the manpower losses. The value of these slaves was in their capacity to produce and at the end of the war negro labour was not as reliable or as efficient as in slavery. Furthermore,

27. Governor Clark was arrested and imprisoned in Fort Pulaski, Savannah, although he was suffering from wounds. Other state officers were placed under guard. On 22nd May, 1865, General Osband took forcible possession of all the public property and archives of the state. (Garner, pp.58-60)
28. Mississippi, A Guide to the Magnolia State, p.72
29. Harris, pp.26-27
with emancipation, a valuable credit collateral was destroyed. The freedmen became a liability; many became diseased in overcrowded shanty towns and there was a belief that freedmen were dying out (30). Although the federal government established the Bureau of Freedmen, Refugees and Abandoned Lands on 3rd March, 1865, its relief work in Mississippi was minimal (31). The Bureau was connected with the legend that negroes would receive 40 acres and a mule for Christmas 1865 - a fable still recounted in the 1960's. When nothing happened, the whites spread a rumour that the freedmen would rise in insurrection and "slay them from the cradle to the grave". The state militia was increased and the negroes were disarmed (32).

In battle areas towns were destroyed: Jackson was left a mass of ruins, as was Enterprise, Meridian and Vicksburg. Farms and plantations were devastated by the armies. Stocks were stolen and crops were depleted. In the Delta counties destruction of levees resulted in the flooding of the best cotton land. Farmland declined rapidly in value.

30. The inaccuracy of the state census of 1866, showing a decline of 12 per cent or 50,000 negroes between 1860 and 1866, contributed to this belief until the registration of 1867 showed a negro majority of electors. See footnote 46, p. 26 (Vernon Lane Wharton, The Negro in Mississippi 1865-1890, New York, Harper & Row, 1965, p.54.)

31. The Bureau of Freedmen, Refugees and Abandoned Lands was established under the War Department, to unify the federal organisations that had been set up during the war to deal with the negro problems. In theory the Bureau provided destitute rations, medical services and camps for the homeless negroes. But only 3,262 Mississippi negroes out of 400,000 received rations in August 1865 and 566 in 1866. It was also responsible for the negroes who had remained on the plantations. There is no statistical data to show the numbers of negroes who remained loyal to their masters. The Bureau regulated contracts of employment between the plantation owners and the negroes. Special courts were established to enforce negro rights. (Wharton, p.55)

32. Wharton, p.59
The railroad system was practically destroyed (34) and all the companies had large debts and overdue bond-interest payments. The system of banking and finance had broken down by the end of the war: Confederate bonds and money were worthless. The planter class, the bulwark of commerce and society in their communities, was with few exceptions insolvent in 1865 (35). The difficult conditions were made more difficult by the employment of United States Treasury Agents, often corrupt, who confiscated cotton, crops and livestock under the Confiscation Act 1862. Furthermore the imposition of a federal shipping duty and a special cotton tax of 2½-3 cents per pound – about one fifth of the market price – added to the planters' difficulties (36).

With the social and economic structure in ruins, a political settlement was urgently sought. President Andrew Johnson, a native of Tennessee, appointed his friend, Judge William L. Sharkey, an old line Whig, as Provisional Governor on 13th June, 1865 (37). Implementing the

33. "The assessed valuation of property declined 30 to 60 per cent during the decade of the sixties, farmland formerly sold for more than $50 an acre brought three to five dollars and poorer land could not be given away because of the tax liability". (John S. Ezell, The South Since 1865, New York, Macmillan, 1963, p.28)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Assessed Valuation of Property Percentage</th>
<th>1860</th>
<th>1870</th>
<th>Decrease</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mississippi</td>
<td>$509,472,917</td>
<td>$177,278,890</td>
<td>65.5</td>
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(Emory Q. Hawk, Economic History of the South, New York, Prentice-Hall, 1934, p.427, compiled from: William A. Scott, Repudiation of the State Debts, Appendix III.)

34. "One Mississippi line reported fit for use, though damaged, a total of one locomotive, two second-class passenger cars, one first-class passenger car, one baggage car, one provision car, two stock cars and two flat cars." Repair shops and foundries were wrecked or in disrepair. In areas by-passed by battle the capital was depleted by the appropriation of equipment needed on the battle front. (Ezell, p.27)

35. Harris, p.32
36. Before the cotton tax was repealed in February 1868, it had brought in $68,000,000 but it ruined many planters, including Northerners who had come south. (Ezell, p.29)
37. Sharkey was an old time Whig, slave holder and opponent of secession. He had passively supported the Confederacy.
President's reconstruction policy, Sharkey called an election for a type of constitutional convention, which met in August 1865. Dominated by 70 Whigs, who were the opposition before the War, against 18 Democrats, the convention annulled the ordinance of secession and declared that slavery should be abolished, but in other respects defied the President. (38)

The convention called for a general election on 2nd October, 1865. Benjamin G. Humphreys, a Whig and Union man before the War and a Confederate brigadier, was elected governor and inaugurated on 16th October, 1865. (39) The legislature of 1865 had a majority of Whigs, who favoured the conservative position on the all-important question of the place of the freedmen in the labour system and society at large, whereas the minority Democrats favoured a radical approach. A Black Code (40) was formulated which severely regulated the negro labour force, their children, and reflected the paternalistic position of the Whigs. But faced with increasing hostility from the North, the Black Code was gradually repealed by 1870 (41).

After almost two years of self-government, the Mississippi political system was again overturned when Military Government was imposed in March 1867. The success of the Radical Republicans in Congressional elections of

38. The convention failed to ratify the Thirteenth Amendment, which abolished slavery, failed to repudiate the state's war debt and completely ignored Johnson's suggestion that negroes, with certain qualifications, should get the vote. (Ezell, p. 49; Eric L. McKitrick, Andrew Johnson and Reconstruction, Chicago, Chicago University Press, 1964, p. 106.)

39. President Johnson pardoned Humphreys on 5th October, 1865, as Humphreys could not meet the requirement of the Amnesty Proclamation. Sharkey continued as Provisional Governor in a dual system of government, until relieved by Johnson on 25th December, 1865. (Harris, pp. 116-117)

40. A summary of the Black Code of November, 1865, will be found in Note, page 230

41. Wharton, pp. 91-93
November 1866, with a majority sufficient to override the Presidential veto, brought "a dictatorship which would leave the President powerless to interfere".(42) Bringing the Fortieth Congress forward nine months to 4th March, 1867, a number of laws were passed to determine the new policy of Congressional Reconstruction. The most important act was the First Reconstruction Act of 2nd March, 1867, passed over Johnson's veto, which overthrew the civil government in ten Southern states and provided for military government (43).

Mississippi was placed in the Fourth Military District under the command of Major General E.O.C. Ord, in March 1867. The bitter resistance of white Mississippi to military government and the army of occupation became one of the most important influences of the nineteenth century. Following Governor Humphreys' suit on 6th April, 1867, in Mississippi v Johnson (44) to restrain President Johnson from enforcing the Reconstruction Acts of 1867 on the grounds that they were unconstitutional, the Supreme Court held that the Executive and his representatives could not be sued.

The Army's role was to enforce Congressional laws. Thus a new electorate had to be established but the registrars, who had to take the "ironclad oath" - that they had never willingly aided the rebellion - were consequently mainly Union soldiers, Freedmen's Bureau agents or negroes! As registration was restricted to those who could take a loyalty oath, a large section of the whites were eliminated as

42. Ezell, p.80
43. A summary of other Reconstruction legislation will be found in Notes, p.231, Note 4.
44. A summary of Mississippi v Johnson, 4 Wall 475 and Ex parte McCordie, 5 Wall 316; 7 Wall 514 will be found in Notes, p.231, Note 5.
former Confederates. Thus a majority of the new electorate were negroes (45).

Again the familiar process of convening a constitutional convention was started. An election in November 1867, largely ignored by the whites, approved a constitutional convention (46). The "Black and Tan" convention was held in Jackson from 8th January, 1868, to 18th May, 1868. It was controlled by Republicans - a combination of Northerners, native white radicals and negroes (47). The new constitution would have been modelled on the states of the Middle West but, unlike the other state constitutions, it was submitted to the people for ratification in June-July 1868 and rejected (48). Faced with disfranchisement under the constitution - all citizens above the rank of private who had given aid to the Confederacy were to be disfranchised - the Democrats and Conservatives waged a fierce campaign of opposition and intimidated negroes. Wholesale 'election' of Democrats to office, including Governor Humphreys, was invalidated by rejection of the constitution (49). Governor Humphreys

45. 60,167 negroes were eligible to vote.
46,636 whites were eligible to vote.
Of the 61 counties, 33 had negro majorities. Three counties - Bolivar, Covington and Tunica were excluded. (Garner, p.175)
46. For a convention 76,016
Against a convention 6,277
From the totals at least 20,000-25,000 whites voted
(Wharton, p.146)
47. Of the 100 delegates, 67 were native Southerners, 24 were Northerners and 9 were foreign born. 67 were Republicans and 29 were Conservatives. 84 of the delegates were white and 16 were negroes. (Wharton, pp.146-147)
48. For the proposed constitution 56,231
Against the proposed constitution 63,860
49. The Democrats would have won four of the five Congressional seats and 66 of the 138 seats in the legislature. Humphreys 'defeated' General B.B. Eggleston by a majority of over 8,000. (Hodding Carter, The Angry Scar, New York, Doubleday & Co., 1959, p.284.)
was removed from office by General Irwen McDowell, the military commander, on 15th July, 1868, for his opposition to the Reconstruction Acts. Humphreys was replaced by Major-General Adelbert Ames from Maine, who was "acting civil governor".

Reconstruction conditions became progressively more severe for white Mississippians. On 23rd February, 1869, General Alva 0. Gillem, commanding general, executed a Congressional joint resolution through Governor Ames. All persons holding civil office, whose Confederate disabilities had not been removed, were removed from office. 2,000 native whites, almost all the civil officers of the state, were removed and replaced by "loyal" officers who were, of course, Northerners, negroes and a few native whites. But in the execution of this policy, the Army was accused of treating whites in a rough way (50).

On 4th March, 1869, President Ulysses S. Grant, the former federal general in Mississippi, took office and dismissed General Gillem, a Southerner and Democrat. Adelbert Ames, scion of an abolitionist family in Maine, became military commander and provisional governor. Ames declared that freedmen were competent to be jurors despite their lack of education.

On 30th November, 1869, the constitution was re-submitted to the electorate without the proscriptive (disfranchising) clauses which were submitted separately and rejected overwhelmingly. The constitution was approved by 113,735 votes to 955 votes. James L. Alcorn, former Whig and big planter, was elected governor, as the nominee of the Radical Republicans, defeating Judge Louis Dent, Conservative coalition candidate.

50. Garner, pp.231-232. The native whites, who cooperated with the occupying powers and took office, were known as "scalawags".
and brother-in-law of President Grant. When the "Reconstruction" legislature convened in January 1870 it was found that the negroes had gained 35 of the 110 Republican seats (51) against only 32 Democrats. Furthermore some negroes received high office: Rev. James D. Lynch, a talented Northern mulatto, became secretary of state, the first negro to hold a major office in Mississippi (52). Rev. Hiram R. Revels, a negro Methodist minister, was chosen to fill the unexpired term of Jefferson Davis in the United States Senate ending in March 1871, the first negro to serve in the Senate (53). Governor-elect Alcorn was elected for a full term in the Senate beginning in March 1871 and General Ames was elected for an unexpired term ending in March 1875.

Such a legislature was clearly antagonistic to native whites as it differed widely in personnel as well as politics from any law-making body that had ever assembled in the state. James W. Garner wrote: "Nothing illustrates better the extent of the revolution than the fact that some of the wealthiest counties of the state were represented wholly by men who a few years before were negro slaves." (54)

The legislature promptly ratified the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments which was an absolute condition and precedent to the re-establishment of civil government and re-admission to the Union. Congress debated the re-admission of the state for two weeks before passing a re-admission bill on 23rd February, 1870. On 26th February, 1870,

51. Senate: 28 Republicans (5 negroes) and 7 Democrats
   House: 82 Republicans (30 negroes) and 25 Democrats (Wharton, p.172)
52. A biographical sketch of James D. Lynch will be found in Notes, p.231, Note 6
53. A biographical sketch of Hiram Rhodes Revels will be found in Notes, p.232, Note 7
54. Garner, p.270
military government was officially terminated with the abolition of the fourth military district (55). On 10th March, 1870, after three years of military government, James L. Alcorn was inaugurated as the first Republican civil governor. Federal troops withdrew from the state apart from small detachments in three large towns. The life and death struggle of native whites to redeem the state was soon to begin.

Alcorn's Republican state government, working under the Constitution of 1869, gave the governor greater powers than the Constitution of 1832. New offices were created including a lieutenant-governor. Alcorn's strategy was to reconstruct state institutions which were in disrepair such as the levees and state hospitals. A new judicial system was organised (56) and an elaborate system of free and universal education for at least four months in the year was instituted (57).

Two opposing forces were working against Republican government; politically minded negroes and native white Democrats. The negroes, whose votes had put Alcorn in office, demanded an increased share of offices in 1870 and 1871. By 1872 they could be resisted no longer and John R. Lynch, a negro, (58) was appointed Speaker of the House. In 1873 negro demands became ominously bellicose. At the Republican

55. General Orders No. 25 of the United States Army, 26th February, 1870, (Garner, p. 279)
56. A Supreme Court replaced the High Court of Errors and Appeals. 20 Chancery Courts and 15 Circuit Courts were established. The governor, with the advice and consent of the Senate, appointed the judges and Supreme Court Justices. A new Mississippi Code of Laws was drawn up. (Garner, pp. 282-284)
57. Northern teachers were imported to implement the scheme. Fearing integrated schooling, the Ku Klux Klan burnt down the schools in many counties. (Wharton, p. 175)
58. A Biographical sketch of John R. Lynch will be found in Notes, p. 232, Note 8
convention they demanded three of the seven state offices:

"The Warren County delegates are alleged to have mounted the desks in the convention hall, and with pistols drawn demanded that one of the three candidates must come from Vicksburg. Their argument was that colored men did the voting and were, therefore, entitled to the offices." (59)

From summer 1873 the Whig element in the Republican party, disgusted by Radical excesses, began to turn to the only viable alternative – the Democrats. None other than Alcorn, who relinquished the governorship on 30th November, 1871, (handing over to Ridgley C. Powers) illustrates the volte face of the Whigs. Alcorn became a spokesman for conservative, white Mississippians in the United States Senate!

In the gubernatorial election of November 1873, Alcorn was the candidate of the "Republican Party of Mississippi", a party founded by native white Republicans and some Northerners. Ames, the radical Republican's nominee, won the 'color-line' election, receiving solid negro support (60).

The Ames' government of 1874 elevated the negroes higher than in 1870. Three negroes achieved high state offices: A.K. Davis (61) became lieutenant-governor, James Hill (62) became secretary of state and T.W. Cardozo (63) became superintendent of education. Hill was an outstanding negro leader but Davis and Cardozo were of poor quality. More importantly, Blanche Kelso Bruce (64)

59. Garner, p.293
60. Ames 69,870
   Alcorn 50,490
   (Wharton, p.176)
61. A biographical sketch of A.K. Davis will be found in Notes, p.233, Note 9
62. A biographical sketch of James Hill will be found in Notes, p.233, Note 10
63. A biographical sketch of T.W. Cardozo will be found in Notes, p.233, Note 11
64. A biographical sketch of Blanche Kelso Bruce will be found in Notes, p.233, Note 12
was elected to the United States Senate, the only negro to
serve a full term in the Senate, serving with distinction
from 1875 to 1881. In the legislature of 1874, 64 of the
152 seats were held by negroes and 24 by "carpet-baggers."  
(65)

Any Mississippi government with a strong element of
negroes would be criticised by native whites. The criticisms
levelled at this Republican government became a major
historical influence in the 20th century. The Ames government
increased state expenditure to an unprecedented level (66).

But as V.L. Wharton has observed:

"The elevation of the negro involved a rapid
expansion of state services which were inconsistent
with the old ideas of economy. The readjustment of
the relationship between the races was a matter
beyond the power of the governor or the legislature."  
(67)

The taxpayers, particularly landowners, bore the major
share of the rising state expenditure (68). The opposition
to increased taxation was so strong that the Ames administra-
tion made economies such as biennial sessions of the

65. Mississippi, A Guide to the Magnolia State, p.74
66. Year Distributive Republican Year Administrations Administrations
   Democratic Administrations 1870 .. $1,062,249.90
   1856 through $767,438.78 1871 .. 1,729,046.34
   1860 average 1,410,250.13 1872 .. 1,596,828.64
   1865 .. 1,850,609.89 1873 .. 1,450,632.80
   1866 .. 629,617.80 1874 .. 1,319,281.60
   1867 .. 529,678.80 1875 .. 1,430,192.83
   1868 .. 463,219.71
   1869 ..
   1870 .. 518,709.03
   1871 .. 697,018.86
   1872 .. 707,022.46
   1873 .. 553,326.81
   1874 .. 803,191.31
   1875 .. 1876 .. 1877 .. 1878 .. 1879 .. 1880 ..
   $8,663,129.71
   State Expenditure 1865-1880
Source: Vernon L. Wharton, The Negro in Mississippi
1865-1890, p.177
67. Wharton, p.176
68. The rate of taxation rose from 1 mill in 1869 to 5 mills
in 1871 (5 dollars for $1,000 of property) to 14 mills
in 1874. (Wharton, p.178)
legislature and reduction of printing costs (69).

The conduct of the negro lieutenant-governor A.K. Davis brought criticism: he would assume the governorship when Ames left the state on his summer holidays, whereupon Davis would discharge employees at the capitol and install his friends! Furthermore Davis was disposed to a liberal policy of issuing pardons, commutations and remissions of sentences (70).

The native white opposition to Republican government was limited in the parliamentary sense because of the disfranchisement legislation until May 1872, when Congress passed a general amnesty bill. They were further aided by the dissolution of the Freedmens' Bureau in 1872 which left the negro fieldhands more susceptible to the planters' directions. The major outlet was the Ku Klux Klan, founded by General Nathaniel Forrest in September 1867 but officially disbanded by him in 1869. After 1870 a number of bogus, local Klans mushroomed under General Albert Pike. Organised in secret "dens", the Klan opposed mixed schools, high taxes, insolent negroes and the Republican leaders.

As the federal surveillance slackened, the whites organised themselves in militia companies, mainly mounted riflemen. At Vicksburg a white militia overthrew Republican control after a municipal election in September 1874 and

69. State Printing Costs (Compiled from auditor's reports)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1861</th>
<th>1866-1867</th>
<th>1867-1868</th>
<th>1870</th>
<th>1871</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Costs</td>
<td>$8,028</td>
<td>6,228</td>
<td>8,675</td>
<td>52,876</td>
<td>127,848</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

69. Source: J.W. Garner, Reconstruction in Mississippi, p.316
70. Davis issued 65 pardons, commutations and remissions of sentences, allegedly to negro friends in the county jails and penitentiary. Ames issued 36 in the same period. (Garner, pp.298-299)
ousted negroes from Warren County offices. Eventually federal troops were sent to Vicksburg in January 1875 and restored the negro sheriff to office (71). The riot situation continued and in September 1875 Governor Ames appealed for federal troops to disperse the white militiamen but received no assistance (72). Failing to organise his own militia - only two companies were formed - Ames came to terms with the Democratic leadership when he reached a "Peace Agreement" on 15th October, 1875, with James Z. George (73). Ames agreed to disband the militia; George guaranteed to maintain peace and secure a fair election in November 1875. This strategy of George was all part of the white man's revolution, known as the "Mississippi Plan".

The election of 3rd November, 1875, was described by J.W. Garner as "the most exciting in the history of the state, and in some respects it will compare favorably with any political struggle that ever occurred on American soil." (75). Native whites were determined to win the legislative elections by any means. For three months the whites left their fields, shops and stores to take part in the canvass. The Macon Beacon said: "Mississippi demands that every man

71. A Committee of Congress investigated the Vicksburg riots. A majority report blamed the whites but a minority report admitted that much misgovernment existed in the affairs of the county. (Garner, pp.328-334)
72. Edward Pierrepont, U.S. Attorney General, wrote a letter of refusal to Ames, in the absence of President Grant, quoting the famous presidential comment that "the nation was tired of the annual autumnal outbreaks in the South" and that the majority were ready to condemn any interference on the part of the government. (See Wharton p.194 for Ames' condemnation of this "Flippant utterance")
73. A biographical sketch of James Z. George will be found in Notes, p.234, Note 13.
74. For a vivid account of the Peace Conference written by a participant, see Frank A. Johnston, "The Public Services of Senator James Z. George", Mississippi Historical Society's Publications, VIII, 1904, pp.205-207.
75. Garner, p.372
shall do his duty in the campaign". (76) On election day whites duly intimidated negroes even to the extent of training a loaded cannon on the polling place at Aberdeen, Monroe County (77). The Democrats won a sweeping victory, winning majorities in both houses (78), the office of state treasurer and elected local officials in 62 of the 74 counties. In Garner's words: "The election ended the rule of the carpetbagger in Mississippi and marks the beginning of a new era in the history of the state." (79)

The new era began when Governor Ames told the Democratic-controlled legislature of 1876 that it was 'an illegal body and that the election had been carried by fraud and violence.' The legislature responded by appointing a committee to enquire into the official conduct of Governor Ames. The committee recommended impeachment and removal of the governor for official misconduct. Ames resigned on 29th March, 1876, in exchange for withdrawal of the articles of impeachment. He left the state to reside in the North. The negro lieutenant-governor A.K. Davies was impeached and the negro superintendent of schools T.W. Cardozo resigned before he could be impeached. John M. Stone, president pro tempore of the Senate, succeeded Ames as governor, serving until January 1882, and later 1890-1896.

The Democratic leaders who dominated Mississippi politics

76. Cited by Garner, p. 373
77. Garner, p. 221, Wharton, p. 196
78. In the House, 95 Democrats (1 negro) were elected, leaving the Republicans with 20 seats (15 negroes). In the Senate only half the seats were contested in 1875. After the election, Democrats had 26 seats and Republicans 10 seats (5 negroes elected before 1874). (Garner, p. 395)
in the new era, 1876-1890, were of a new breed. They were men who rose on the strength of their Civil War record, many holding high rank(80). The pre-war leadership of big planters had passed and instead men of merit, who had remained loyal to the Democratic cause in the dark days, became natural leaders of the new government in a period known as "Bourbon"(81). The principal leader was Lucius Q.C. Lamar (82), United States Representative, 1873-1877, United States Senator, 1877-1885, Secretary of the Interior in President Cleveland's cabinet, 1885-1888, and Justice of the United States Supreme Court, 1888-1893. James Z. George, the organising genius of the 1875 revolution, became Chief Justice of the Mississippi Supreme Court and served in the United States Senate from 1881 to 1897. Edward C. Walthall (83) served in the United States Senate from 1885 to 1894 and 1895-1897.

From 1876 to 1890 there was a period of economic development in Mississippi. Industrialisation, railways, banking and merchandising entered the state as Northern and

80. For example: George was a brigadier-general, Edward C. Walthall was a major-general.
81. Definitions of the term Bourbon seem to have varied with time and locality. In the period under discussion a Democratic paper in Mississippi described the Bourbon Democrats as "irreconcilables". Raymond Hinds County Gazette, 7th January, 1880. This meant that they were unreconciled to the defeat of the Confederacy and that they refused to accept the new order of things. They were, in Mississippi, the ultra Democrats who wanted to maintain the colour line in state and local politics, and opposed any friendly move towards the Republicans or the North. (Willie D. Halsall, "Democratic Dissensions in Mississippi 1878-1882", Journal of Mississippi History, II, 1940, p.123, footnote 2). See also: Willie D. Halsall "The Bourbon Period in Mississippi Politics 1875-1890", Journal of Southern History, XI, 1945, pp.519-537.
82. A biographical sketch of Lucius Q.C. Lamar will be found in Notes, p. 235, Note 14
83. A biographical sketch of Edward C. Walthall will be found in Notes, p. 236, Note 15
foreign investors (84) capitalised on the new expansion. It is to be noted that the Democratic governments welcomed the new capital, possibly because it did not challenge the new political system. Indeed, Lamar, George and Walthall were talented corporation lawyers who profited from the new interests.

The arrival of industrial investment only engaged a small fraction of the population—the new urban managerial class—as the vast majority of the population were employed in agriculture. The problems of the small farmer troubled some of the Democratic leaders and Senator George and Governor Stone were especially responsive. Nevertheless the general view was that the voice of the small farmer was often disregarded by the Bourbons. An example was the issue of gold or free coinage of silver. The Mississippi legislature of 1878, dominated by farmers, instructed Senators Lamar and Bruce to vote for the Bland Silver Coinage Bill. Lamar, a "goldbug" and hence supporter of a hard money system, voted against the bill. But the negro Bruce obeyed his instructions and the bill passed. Consequently Lamar had difficulty in gaining re-election to the Senate in the legislature of 1882. Despite a strong challenge from Ethelbert Barksdale, of the Farmers' Alliance (85), who


85. A brief history of the Farmers' Alliance will be found in Notes, p.237, Note 18.
advanced a Sub-Treasury plan (86), George won enough support to gain re-election to the Senate in 1891. Only in 1894, when the wave of agrarian radicalism was at its zenith, did George and Walthall vote for free-silver legislation over President Cleveland's veto (87).

The depressing conditions for farmers from 1876 to 1895 resulted in independent movements such as the Grange (88), Greenback-Labor party (89), Farmers Alliance and Populist party (90). Because the forces of history made the small farmers suspicious of a rival party to the Democrats, they would not come over in sufficient numbers to challenge the one-party system. Thus, gradually, the independent movements replaced each other and expired.

The other recurring problem in the Bourbon period was the negro. Haunted by the memory of negro politicians in Republican government and the possibility of the negro majority in the state once more voting the 'color line', there was pressure for a constitutional convention in the 1880's especially from the white counties. The fusion system, dividing a ticket between white Democrats and black Republicans, worked in the black counties where planters kept control and negroes received minor offices. Thus a stable number

86. The Sub-Treasury plan called for Government-established warehouses to store non-perishable farm produce. In exchange the farmer would receive a loan of legal tender up to 80 per cent of the market value of his produce, which might be repaid at one per cent interest when the depositer wished to sell his crop, when the market was favourable. (Ezell, p.162)
88. A brief history of the Grange will be found in Notes, p.236, Note 16
89. A brief history of the Greenback-Labor party will be found in Notes, p. 237, Note 17
90. A brief history of the Populist party will be found in Notes, p. 238, Note 19
of negroes remained in the legislature from 1876 to 1890 (91). But in the gubernatorial election of 1881 the Republicans made a fusion with the Greenback-Labor party who thoroughly organised the negroes in a 'color-line' election. The Democrat, Robert Lowry, only defeated Benjamin King, the Greenback-Republican, after a long and hard fought canvass. Ironically Governor Lowry was a strong opponent of a convention, vetoing a bill in 1888 on the grounds that 'colored people were happy and society should not be disturbed'. When John M. Stone was elected governor in 1889 the voice of the small farmers was heard at last and a convention bill passed in February 1890.

The constitutional convention of 12th August - 1st November, 1890, witnessed a struggle between the black counties and the white counties. Both factions wanted to see the negro disfranchised but disagreed as to the method. The negroes were not consulted: although almost 58 per cent of the population there was only one negro among the 134 delegates (92). A compromise was eventually reached. Voting qualifications were made more difficult: a poll tax

91. Negro Members of Mississippi Legislature 1876-1890

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>House</th>
<th>Senate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: V.L. Wharton, Negro in Mississippi, p.203

92. Delegates were: 130 Democrats, two Republicans (one negro), one Conservative, one Greenback-Labor, (Kirwan, p.64). The negro, Isaiah T. Montgomery, was an odd-ball. A former slave from Bolivar County, he rose to a position of wealth and influence as a planter. He defended the franchise clauses and apportionment. He was willing to sacrifice the votes of 123,000 negroes in order to ease racial tension. (Kirwan, p.82; Wharton, pp.211-212.)
of $2 a year had to be paid on or before 1st February for two successive years (93). A literacy test consisted of reading or understanding a section of the constitution or giving a reasonable interpretation thereof (94).

The legislature was re-apportioned on the basis of Senator George's plan based on "voting population" rather than "total population" (95). The House of Representatives was increased from 120 to 133 seats (96), the additional seats going to white counties. A further guarantee of white supremacy was the election of the governor by the unit system (97). The constitution was not submitted to the electorate for ratification (98).

The effect of the Constitution of 1890 was to debar the poorer section of the electorate, who could not afford the poll tax, and the illiterates. Thus in the state election on 4th November, 1890, only 30 per cent of the electorate voted.

93. Mississippi Constitution 1890, Article 12, Sec.243.
94. Mississippi Constitution 1890, Article 12, Sec.244. According to one delegate, the reading clause would take advantage of the fact that "at least 10 per cent of the white and 60 per cent of the colored population can neither read nor write." (Jackson Clarion-Ledger 18th September, 1890). The understanding and interpretation clauses were, according to proponents, "designed to furnish a loophole to qualify illiterate whites." It was urged by the white county delegates and bitterly opposed by the black counties. (Kirwan, pp.70-71)
95. The Constitution of 1868 had apportioned legislators according to the number of qualified electors, both white and negro. After the 1875 Revolution, negro voting was curbed yet the white minority in the black counties elected 68 House representatives while the white counties had 52 representatives. (Kirwan, p.78)
96. Mississippi Constitution 1890, Article 13, Section 254.
97. Mississippi Constitution 1890, Article 13, Section 140. Each county was allotted electoral votes according to its number of representatives. The candidate, who carried a county, received the electoral votes of the county. To be elected governor, a candidate had to receive a majority of the popular vote and a majority of the electoral vote.
98. The judiciary committee of the convention determined that such ratification was not required for lawful adoption. (Wharton pp.214-215 citing Mississippi Constitutional Convention of 1890, Journal pp.549-550).
normal negro electorate voted (99). In 1892 the negro electorate, faced with the literacy requirements, was reduced to 8,615 or 6 per cent of the negro voting age population, compared with 70 per cent in 1867. The white electorate, too, declined from 120,000 in 1890 to 68,127 in 1892. Thus the price of white supremacy was a heavy one for small farmers. The new situation strengthened the Democratic leadership and reduced the effectiveness of the embryonic Populist party.

The role of the negro in the segregated Southern states was determined in 1896 in Plessy v Ferguson (100). Between 1887 and 1891 nine Southern states had provided 'Jim Crow' railroad cars. The Supreme Court ruled that segregation was not in itself discrimination as long as the separate accommodations were equally good or bad for both races. Following this decision, comprehensive segregation laws were passed in the Southern legislatures.

Any lingering doubts about the constitutionality of the franchise clauses of the Constitution of 1890 were removed in 1898 in Williams v Mississippi (101). The Supreme Court passed favourably upon the new plan and adopted the views of the Mississippi court.

The emerging Democratic leader as the 19th century closed was Anselm J. McLaurin, governor from 1896 to 1900 and United States Senator, 1900-1909 (102). He operated

100. 160 U.S. 537 (1896)
101. 170 U.S. 213 (1898). For a summary of this case see Notes, p. 238, Note 20
102. A biographical sketch of Anselm J. McLaurin will be found in Notes, p. 239, Note 21
a system of virtually one-man government or "McLaurinism". He used patronage to reward his friends and punish enemies. He was instrumental in getting the Democratic state convention of 1899 to nominate A.H. Longino (103) as gubernatorial candidate. The connections between the business interests, the Delta counties, and McLaurinism were strong and the situation was ripe for exploitation by James K. Vardaman (104), the firebrand leader of the common man and defeated candidate in 1899.

Thus by the turn of the century the lower classes had failed to convert their numerical superiority into a majority of legislative offices. Their leadership had lacked the organisation and flair for electoral success when faced with the machines of the Bourbon leaders and their successors such as McLaurin. Before the lower classes' potential could be realised, their self-interest had to be aroused by the passionate advocacy of demagogues such as Vardaman.

103. A biographical sketch of Andrew H. Longino will be found in Notes, p.239, Note 22
104. A biographical sketch of James Kimble Vardaman will be found in Notes, p.240, Note 23
As the 20th century opened, Mississippi politicians found themselves working in a set of political, economic and social conditions which could be traced back to the post-war period of the 1870's. The main political inheritance was a one-party system controlled by the Democrats. The nomination of William Jennings Bryan as the Democratic Presidential candidate in 1896 and the adoption of the free-silver doctrine by the National Democratic party helped to contain agrarian radicalism in the 1890's. The only alternative party for the small farmers, the Mississippi Populist Party, polled 18,167 votes in the gubernatorial election of 1895 but only 6,421 votes in the gubernatorial election of 1899 (1). The memories of Radical Republican government were too recent and too poignant to permit a Republican Party to function as an opposition party in the early 1900's, a millstone which remained until the 1960's. The Republicans were synonymous with 'negro government' and 'federal oppression' in the minds of white Mississippians. A deep distrust of federal government was orthodoxy by 1900 and this attitude pervaded throughout the 20th century. Although the Republicans existed in name, the main function was the distribution of Presidential patronage.

The political threat posed by the negro majority was being steadily eroded as the Constitution of 1890 reduced the negro electorate by the stringent application of the poll tax and literacy provisions. It must be emphasised that the white electorate was thereby also reduced, which made one-party rule even more manageable by the Democratic leaders.

The economic inheritance of the post-war period was one of agricultural depression. The Mississippi lien law of 1867, passed euphemistically as an "Act for Encouraging Agriculture", was the key to the 'New Order' in agriculture because it authorised the pledging of crops to merchants for future supplies and provided summary means of enforcement(2). As farmers had to have credit or starve, they committed themselves to a permanent state of debt because of the vicissitudes of agriculture and the very high rates of interest paid - from 30 to 70 per cent. Many plantation owners subdivided their acreages into small farms, often less than 20 acres, worked on a sharecropping basis by families, both black and white. Plantation owners usually owned stores which provided for tenant farmers. In the hill counties, particularly, country stores became a special object of hatred especially when these supply, marketing and credit-granting agencies were controlled by merchants of Jewish or foreign origin(3). The constant fall in prices between 1873 and 1897 and the dependence on cotton in a one-crop system (often at the insistence of the merchant) made the small farmer's indebtedness more

3. For a summary of the origins of the Jewish supply merchant see Notes, p. 242, Note 24
chronic and paved the way for the free coinage of silver.

The other economic inheritance was the growth of corporations. Investors in Mississippi were primarily interested in expanding the railroad network and purchasing timber land. They were selling insurance and operating cartels such as the cottonseed oil trust and the jute-bagging trust. The railroads were a prime target for radical politicians as the former bought land cheaply, often turning farmer owners into tenants and sharecroppers and adding insult to injury by fixing discriminatory rates against the South on the grounds of geographical remoteness from the industrial East.

The main social inheritance was a policy of white supremacy. Institutions in the state were segregated by 1900, a practice sanctioned by state law and the Plessy v. Ferguson decision of 1896. The demise of the negro as a political force contributed to the political struggle of the period 1900-1920, because the native whites, relatively free from the problems of negro oversight, could afford to indulge in a class struggle between themselves.

This chapter describes the class struggle between 1900 and 1920. It is in six phases. The type of society and the societal influences are first considered: the timber boom in the southern counties, mobility, newspapers, religion and class structure. The second phase is the nature of the class struggle, placed in the context of the Progressive movement in the South. The passage of the Primary Law of 1902, described in detail, extended democracy to the white masses. The election of James K. Vardaman, governor from 1904 to 1908, led to the passage of social and economic reforms. Sectionalism complicated the factional alignments.
But the struggle was between those classes possessing enough wealth and those classes without the means for a decent life. The election fought by Vardaman and John Sharp Williams in the Senatorial primary of 1907 epitomises the class struggle.

The third phase is the reforms of the moderate Governor Noel, the most outstanding being the Prohibition Law of 1908. Fourthly, the reforms of the Vardaman-controlled legislature from 1912 to 1916 prepare the ground for the fifth phase, the Bilbo reforming era from 1916 to 1920. Sixthly, the influence of the wider politics in the United States after the election of Woodrow Wilson in 1912 are briefly related to the careers of the Mississippi Senators, Vardaman and Williams.

Before analysing the politics of the early 20th century, it is necessary to set the scene by portraying the type of society in which the political forces operated. In 1900 Mississippi, the Magnolia state, was the most undeveloped and the most rural state in the nation. A significant feature of the period was the growing awareness of the value of the pine forests, which covered the southern counties of Mississippi - and indeed other Deep South states. Old-fashioned entrepreneurs opened up virgin areas for settlement. For example, the city of Hattiesburg in Forrest County was developed at the intersection of two railroads in the heart of the pine forest belt. The Tatum family built a mansion in the city in 1911 and derived great wealth from the timber industry. The White family business was in Columbia, Marion County and the pattern repeated in
Laurel, Jones County and a host of thriving communities. With the economic development there was a rapid growth of population in the southern counties, whose politicians and newspapers demanded increased representation in the state legislature.

The growth of railroads, although primarily for freight, provided passenger services which linked the previously isolated rural communities. With the arrival of the automobile and an improvement of the mud track roads into a road network — a process aided by construction in World War One — travel was available to the masses by 1920. Society became more mobile: literally in the sense of travelling to work in the next town and psychologically in the sense of a desire to know the problems of the state at large.

The county newspaper was an important medium for the dissemination of knowledge and discussion of issues. At the turn of the century there was a revolution in printing techniques which permitted small country towns to enjoy at least one and often two newspapers (4). This factor has been somewhat overlooked by historians. The rural lower classes therefore had a voice to express their demands for reform and this was reflected in the editorials and presentation of news stories when speeches of reformist politicians would be reported. The country voice was very different when compared with its urban counterpart. Country editors lashed out constantly at the social and economic evils which

4. Newspapers had grown steadily in number since 1870. In 1874 there were 33 newspapers in the Mississippi Press Association. By 1924 174 newspapers and periodicals, including 14 dailies, were published in 129 centres in Mississippi. All the county seats had at least one newspaper (Dunbar Rowland, Encyclopedia of Mississippi History, Vol. 2, Madison, Wisconsin, p.620)
bedevilled rural society: shortage of capital, the ruinous credit system, the handicaps of staple crop agriculture, poor roads, poor health and illiteracy. The movements for public schools were often led by country editors (5). Local editors, like James K. Vardaman, owner-editor of the Greenwood Enterprise and later founder-editor of the Greenwood Commonwealth, became active in politics, supported hand-picked candidates and ran for office themselves. Because of their year-round political involvement, their papers reflected grass-roots politics.

By contrast the urban press such as the Jackson Clarion-Ledger and the Jackson Daily News with its extraordinary editor, Frederick Sullens, considered issues more from the standpoint of the betterment of the state as their circulations gradually extended beyond Jackson. They became the most influential newspapers in the state and advocated the cause of business and economic development and stable social relationships in a generally conservative outlook. Whether rural or urban, Mississippi newspapers were traditionally very partisan - they had to be to survive: "Neutral papers found favor nowhere"(6).

One of the most important societal influences was organised religion. As C. Vann Woodward declared: "Neither learning nor literature of the secular sort could compare with religion in power and influence over the mind and spirit of the South." (7) In a rural state the church was more than a spiritual refuge, it was a social centre, a place to go to on Sunday in one's best clothes - after a week's toil.

6. Rowland, p.619
7. Vann Woodward, p.448
in the fields - where one could listen to the minister preach an evangelical "hell-fire" sermon of the 'old-time religion'. Modernism and liberal theology were rejected. Protestant churches, mainly Southern Baptist and Southern Methodist, increased their white membership rapidly in the first decades of the 20th century( 8 ). These churches declared segregation to be the will of God and recounted the fate of Cain and Abel to prove it. The ministers helped to produce a distinctive regional culture: "The public spirited, conservative minister is often a greater force in molding public opinion in a community than is the editor of the local paper."( 9 )

Negroes were even more attentive to the demands of church membership: "Sunday is the Lord's day in Mississippi for the great majority of negroes." The negro masses belonged to the Baptist Church, a rural organisation, but the Methodist Church, a town church, belonged to the negro middle class in Mississippi: doctors, dentists, teachers, businessmen, barbers and the better-off farmers. In every major town there was (and is) at least one 'high-class' or 'city-style' Baptist Church to meet the needs of country-style Baptists who have attained position of prominence but who are unwilling to break their ties with their denomination. Whereas the Baptist churches are entities in themselves, the Methodist Church is a hierarchical group: thus Baptist students, as at Jackson State College, aspiring to class and status attended the Methodist Church at college( 10 ). The Colored Baptist Association and the African Methodist Episcopal Church membership in the South was 6,139,023 in 1890 but increased 51 per cent to 9,260,899 in 1906. Population grew 39 per cent. (Ibid, p.449)

8. Church membership in the South was 6,139,023 in 1890 but increased 51 per cent to 9,260,899 in 1906. Population grew 39 per cent. (Ibid, p.449)
Church probably contributed to segregation as a norm because here, at last, could be found real freedom from the white man: a diligent pastor chanting the eulogies of the hereafter before a neat, responsive all-black congregation. A dual religious system was maintained to the benefit of ministers and congregation - of the two races. (11)

The class structure was strongly entrenched by the 20th century. Although precise definitions of the classes cannot be made - Herbert Weaver had recognised the dangers of drawing arbitrary lines which did not really exist (12) - there is circumstantial evidence of three white classes (13), the lower, middle and upper classes with a foundation in economic conditions. Consequently there was an impression of 'class' on the politics of the period.

The most numerous lower classes were the poor farmers and their urban allies who lacked education, wealth and means of self-advancement. Abysmally poor and historically deprived, they were found in large numbers in the hill counties, although they existed in all sections of the state. (14)

11. Segregation has been maintained by negroes in leadership positions, such as clergymen and schoolteachers, who have benefited economically and socially from institutional segregation. (Daniel C. Thompson, "The New South", Journal of Social Issues, XXII, 1966, p.17)
12. Herbert Weaver, Mississippi Farmers 1850-1860, p.37
13. For a discussion of the problem of the use of the term 'class' see Notes, p.242, Note 25
The heavy negro population of the black counties in the Delta and river counties in the West and in the Black Prairie counties of the East contrasts with the predominantly white population of the hill counties of North East, Central and South Mississippi.

Copyright: University of Kentucky Press, 1951. (By kind permission)
A correlation can be made between negro population and soils. The rich, black soils of the Delta have been used for cotton plantations hence the heavy negro population which provided labour. The hill counties with poorer soils have been farmed by whites, predominantly working class and impoverished, with little requirement for negroes.

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Many were self-employed tenant farmers working small acreages in difficult physical conditions as the heavy rainfall of the sub-tropical climate gullied, leached and eroded the poor, red clay soils. The large number of rented and encumbered (mortgaged) white homes can be seen in Table 3 (15). The small farmers lacked the capital to purchase sufficient fertilisers and the best seeds and cattle which were sorely needed in these conditions. It must be emphasised that the class consciousness of the lower class whites was plebeian rather than socialist. They were, at heart, capitalists but on a small scale; hence they were concerned with the equalisation of property relations rather than with their supercession. In this sense they differed from many of their European counterparts.

Nevertheless the lower classes' image of themselves as portrayed in speeches, had many desirable qualities such as self-respect, a capacity for hard work, frankness in speech, personal honesty — especially in financial and marital matters, individual enterprise and a belief in God-fearing Christianity. And they never forgot — even in their most depressed moments — that they were white Anglo-Saxons: "The less a man had to be proud of, the more proud was he of his color." (16) Although the poor farmers and their urban allies were at the bottom of the white class structure, they would never occupy the lowest rung because beneath the most impoverished white lay the blacks, with their own class structure determined also by economic standing. Some concept of this can be seen in Table 3 with the high proportion of

15. Table 3, Proprietorship of Homes, 1900-1920, will be found in Notes, p. 243, Note 26
16. Bryce, p. 319
coloured rented homes, as a proportion of total homes and the small number of coloured owned homes. Negro home ownership declined from 1910 to 1920.

If only because of the sheer weight of their voting number, (17) the lower classes were destined to elect some of their own kind to high office. The lower classes' politicians capitalised on the societal qualities and manipulated them adroitly as moral armament in the struggles against the more privileged classes. Because the greatest number of impoverished whites lived in the hill counties and because many of the wealthiest whites lived in the black counties, a sectional struggle developed between the hill counties and the Delta (18).

As the economy expanded in the early decades of the 20th century, the professional and managerial classes prospered. They had skills which were in demand and could be bought for a fee or salary. The growth of railroads, manufacturing industries and financial services was accompanied by a proliferation of lawyers (19) bankers, newspaper

17. The voting strength of Vardaman might be used to indicate the support of the lower classes for one of their 'own kind', if one allows for the inevitable cross-voting and sectionalism found in Mississippi elections.

Gubernatorial Second Primary 1903
Vardaman 51,357 (53.57 per cent)
Critz 44,493

Senatorial Primary 1907
Williams 55,496
Vardaman 58,848 (49.75 per cent)

Senatorial Primary 1911
Vardaman 79,380 (59.95 per cent)
Alexander 31,500
Percy 21,521

18. This the theme of V.O. Key, Southern Politics in State and Nation, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1950, Chapter II, "Mississippi: The Delta and the Hills". See Maps 5 and 6 for the geographical position of the black (Delta) counties.

19. A summary of the number of lawyers in the Mississippi State Bar Association will be found in Notes, p. 243, Note 27.
editors and opinion formers. The urban population expanded in such cities as Jackson, Meridian and Vicksburg (20).

As the economy developed, there was a noticeable division between ownership of corporation stock and day-to-day control. The owner-manager thus became more rare. The large corporations such as the insurance trusts, lumber trusts and oil mill trusts which were usually owned by Northern business interests employed managers, often sent from the North, to control the corporations in Mississippi (21).

Politically the middle class generally supported the 'old guard' conservative politicians, many of whom were upper class plantation owners and lawyers. A subtle coalition of the middle and upper classes, the established interests' faction (22), evolved to protect their position and wealth from the ravages of the hungry lower classes' faction.

The upper class was the smallest class but made up for it in terms of influence in state politics, its exclusivism founded on its plantation society and by enjoying considerable wealth (23). Sometimes they were described as 'aristocratic' because they could trace their lineage to the early Tory settlers or to England itself. In the local politics of the black counties, they generally exercised control. In the

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Rural</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>120,035 (in 22 corporations of over 2,500)</td>
<td>1,431,235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>207,311 (in 29 corporations of over 2,500)</td>
<td>1,589,803</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>240,121 (in 32 corporations of over 2,500)</td>
<td>1,550,497</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Dunbar Rowland, Encylopedia of Mississippi History, Volume 2, Madison, Wisconsin, 1916, p.358
(See Appendix II, p. 282, for Mississippi population statistics, 1800-1960.)

22. Again, this is my term. The "interests" was a noun in common currency in the period. I have added the adjective 'established' to denote the institutional permanency of the plantations, railroads and insurance trusts, etc.
words of W.A. Percy, a planter's son:

"They were leaders of the people, not elected or self-elected, but destined, under the compulsion of leadership because of their superior intellect, training, character and opportunity... Applause or aggrandizement played no part in their calculations. They knew leadership was a burden, they knew there was no such thing in the long run as public gratitude for public service, they also knew that unless the intelligent disinterested few fought for good government, government would be bad." (24)

The upper class showed a considerable flexibility in response to the changes thrust upon them. Whereas in pre-war Mississippi one could safely equate an upper class with a ruling class, this was not possible after the Civil War. Upper class politicians embraced the new professional middle class: thus politics polarised into a class struggle between two classes - the "have"s, possessing a means to earn a comfortable living, and the "have nots" who were forced to struggle to survive.

The class struggle dominated the politics of the period, probably more intensively than in subsequent periods of Mississippi political history. The root cause of the struggle was the lack of economic opportunities for the lower classes and consequently the determination of their demagogic politicians to improve these miserable lives. The natural enemies were those persons who possessed sufficient education, employment, and income to be free from poverty, the men of the established interests.

24. Percy, p.69. Percy is quite clear that the old slave holders, the landed gentry were the "governing class" in the Delta in the period (Ibid, pp.66-74). From 1911-1916, however, lower class whites began to seep in from the hills of Alabama and Mississippi coming "as tenants and remaining as small farmers." By 1941, when Percy's book was first published, lower class whites controlled the government of some Delta counties. "That fate is probably in store for my own county (Washington). I am glad I shall not be present to witness its fulfillment. The river folk do not like white tenants or "red-neck" neighbors. When these shall have supplanted the negro, ours will be a sadder country, and not a wiser one." (Ibid, pp.20-21)
Three interlocking themes can be detected in the imbroglio: the advocacy and fate of reform policies, the undercurrent of sectionalism and the role of personalities. The demands for reform were multifarious but the more persistent were firstly, political reforms, the most fundamental being a primary law; secondly, a sectional demand for re-apportionment of the legislature so that southern counties would receive more seats; and, thirdly, social-economic reforms by the re-apportioning of state expenditure so that the poor hill counties would receive more resources at the expense of the wealthy black counties for education and by introducing legislation to control the activities of corporations in the state (for example, in connection with hours of work, safety standards): this implied a demand for a new taxation structure which would make manufacturing and commercial interests contribute more to state revenue.

Seen in the context of Southern politics, Mississippi's reform politicians were part of the 'Progressive' movement of depressed whites, and although no formal links existed between reform politicians in the Southern states, the same type of 'reform movement' without any formal organisation existed in every state. They had inherited the Populist ideas even after Populism had declined but had remained within the Democratic Party. The better known were: Vardaman; Jeff Davis, sometimes called the Karl Marx of the Ozark hillbillies and governor of Arkansas; "Pitchfork" Ben Tillman of South Carolina at the height of his power in 1900 and dominated the state's politics. In addition, one-time Populist, Tom Watson, practically dictated the Democratic
nominees for governor of Georgia from 1906 to 1920 (25).

The Progressive movement extended from about 1900 to 1914 (26). Hofstadter defines "Progressivism" as "that broader impulse towards criticism and change that was everywhere so conspicuous after 1900, when the already forceful stream of agrarian discontent was enlarged and redirected by the growing enthusiasm of middle-class people for social and economic reform." It was the agrarian radical element, in the context of Mississippi politics, which provided the engine for reform. In Mississippi the white supremacy doctrine of the agrarian radicals, adjudged to be illiberal by Hofstadter, coexisted - indeed could not be removed from the minds of native whites - with reform (27).

Modern capitalism had come late to the South and many of the political leaders and small businessmen remained under the spell of an agrarian mystique that rendered them sceptical of finance, trusts, protectionism and Wall Street. (28) Southern agrarians were fighting for democracy: for example the battle for a primary law in Mississippi was at its height from 1900 to 1902; they were also fighting for railroad regulation, warehouses, rural credits and free trade. Ironically in a region which had long imbued the philosophy of states' rights, the progressive programmes could only be achieved by legislation enacted by the federal government. President Woodrow Wilson's New Freedom philosophy of 1913 provided a haven for Southern agrarians because Wilson was

27. Ibid, p.19
28. Carleton, p.226
fundamentally a states' rights Democrat who believed the federal power should be used to sweep away special privileges and artificial barriers to the development of individual energies and to preserve and restore competition in business: the shackles of monopolies, cartels and trusts had long restrained the South.

During the administration of Governor A.H. Longino (29), 1900-1904, the reform politicians made some notable advances. A primary law was passed in 1902, educational funds were redistributed in 1900 and the legislature was re-apportioned in 1900. The most far-reaching reform was the Primary Law of 1902 (30). This was a Rubicon event in the struggle and it opened the distant political vistas to the lower classes' politicians.

Opposition to the nominating power of the Democratic state and county executive committees had been voiced in 1878 in Bolivar County (31). Although the Constitution of 1890 provided that "The legislature shall enact laws to secure fairness in party primary elections, conventions or other methods of naming candidates"(32), the legislature failed to give passage to a state primary bill introduced in the legislature of 1896. Edmund F. Noel, later to be governor from 1908 to 1912, became the leader of the primary movement (33).

29. A biographical sketch of Andrew H. Longino will be found in Notes, p. 239, Note 22

30. Mississippi Laws 1902, Chap. 66.
31. Albert D. Kirwan, Revolt of the Rednecks, p. 122
32. Mississippi Constitution, 1890, Section 247.

A biographical sketch of Edmund Favor Noel will be found in Notes, p. 244, Note 28.
The turning point was the failure of the state executive committee in 1900 to provide for a choice of a new committee, although it had ordered primaries to select presidential electors and delegates to the Democratic national convention. This failure caused an uproar and the state press condemned this "glaring but intentional oversight". It was suggested that the committee intended to perpetuate itself in power "ad infinitum so that it can pass upon party matters in 1903" (34).

When United States Senator-elect McLaurin and United States Senator W.V. Sullivan defended the old committee; it smacked of establishment politics, although McLaurin's nominee for governor, Governor A.H. Longino, and United States Senator H.D. Money opposed the old committee.

James K. Vardaman proposed a state-wide convention to nominate presidential electors, delegates to the national convention and a new state executive committee. This met on 5th June, 1900, and nominees were put forward as candidates for the state-wide primary on 21st June, 1900. The election was shot through with alleged fraud, particularly in the Delta counties. Election returns were sent in from Coahoma County but it was later proved that no election had been held. The convention nominees were successful and the new executive committee assumed office.

In a message to the legislature of 1900 Governor Longino urged a compulsory primary law. A bill passed the Senate but it was too late for the House to act before adjournment (35).

Pressure for reform built up in the press campaigns before the legislature met in 1902. By then the climate of public

35. Mississippi Senate Journal 1900, p.92, pp.567-569
opinion, as reflected in newspapers, was strongly in favour of a primary law (36). Even in the Delta pockets of discontent with the convention system were numerous enough to undermine opposition to a primary law (37). In 1902, in response to popular sentiment, Governor Longino urged the legislature to enact a primary law.

Nevertheless the politicians of the black counties fought the passage of the bill in the legislature as they were afraid of losing their control of the convention. It was a rearguard struggle - the majority, from the white counties, outvoted them. The Primary Law was approved on 4th March, 1902.

The new law produced far-reaching consequences for Mississippi politics. The conduct of elections and the role of parties was stipulated by law. The state executive committee lost many of its functions but county executive committees were given "tremendous power" over the local election machinery (38).

With the removal of the convention's nomination power, each candidate for state-wide office had to organise a campaign throughout all sections of the state appealing directly to the electorate. Local organisations with campaign managers had to be heavily financed if the momentum provided by the candidate's visit to a small rural community was to be sustained up to election day. The raising of funds under a state chairman became an integral part of electioneering (39).

36. Most of the state's newspapers were in favour of the primary after 1895. "None of the papers had the temerity to oppose it." (Kirwan, p.123)
38. Kirwan, p.130
39. In 1903 a state candidate required a minimum of $10,000 (Kirwan, p.134, citing Vicksburg Herald 1st, 2nd July 1903. By 1948 a serious state candidate would need a minimum of $100,000 (Key, p.464.)
Candidates who could speak the language of the common man, in an idiom they could understand, were likely to be successful. The men to influence - the electorate - were at the creeks and crossroads after 1903, whereas under the convention system local delegates had to be influenced privately. Secondly, the special interests of a group of counties in one section of Mississippi could be so pervasive that one could speak of sectional issues.

The educational funds issue and the reapportionment issue illustrate the force of sectionalism in Mississippi politics - although the sectional alignment was different in each issue.

The Constitution of 1890 provided that poll tax receipts should augment the common school fund. The common school fund was to continue to be pro-rated among the counties on the basis of the total number of educable children. But it was not clear from the constitution whether the poll tax should be retained in the county where it was paid or whether the poll tax and state fund should be combined and divided on the basis of the number of educable children. The latter method was followed.

The matter was of crucial importance to both black and white counties. The black counties were the main beneficiaries of the system as the large negro population and small white population were all counted when assessing educable children. It was possible to pay white and negro teachers high salaries in the black counties and to maintain a school system for both races for 5½ months a year, which was considerably longer than in the impoverished white counties.

Governor Longino had paved the way for an amendment
to the constitution by pointing out the unfairness of the scheme in his inaugural message of 1900.

An amendment, which sought to divide school funds among counties on the basis of actual school attendance, passed the legislature in 1900, although it was strongly opposed by black counties' legislators.

Ratification of the amendment was passed in a general election in November 1900 by 42,931 votes to 7,522. Seven black counties voted against the amendment (40).

The demands for increased representation by the southern counties were naturally resisted by the other sections who stood to lose representation. The old-established black counties of the west allied themselves with the white hill counties of the north-east to defeat the southern demands. In the 1900 election, Section 256 of the constitution was amended: the state was divided into three sections - west, north-east and south-east. Each section had a maximum of 44 representatives. The legislature had the power to reapportion after each decennial census but this could only change the number of representatives per county inside the section.

The third theme was the progressive impulse in the shape of lower classes' demands for social-economic reform. When James K. Vardaman, the "Great White Chief" (41), had won the gubernatorial primary election of 1903 (42),

40. Biennial Report of the Secretary of State to the Legislature, 1st October, 1899 - 1st October 1901, Jackson 1901.
42. For details of the election result see Notes, p.244, Note 29
on a platform of social and economic reform, blended with a strong anti-negro and anti-Roosevelt sentiment, the lower class white voter had, at last, elected one of his 'own kind' to high office. Thus from 1904 to 1908 Vardaman and his supporters joined battle with the corporations, railroads, public utilities, banks and financiers.

As the McLaurin machine was reputed to control the state legislature (43), Vardaman was vehemently opposed on most issues. On some issues Vardaman was successful, but the McLaurin machine also claimed its share of successes. Some issues were settled by compromise.

The following examples will illustrate the struggle. Vardaman was successful in obtaining a major educational reform, a state textbook commission which selected a uniform series of school books and broke the monopoly of the American Book Company, which had sold 80 per cent of the school books in Mississippi up to 1903 (44).

He obtained increased educational appropriations for common schools and teachers' salaries rose by almost 30 per cent. This was achieved in an overwhelmingly agricultural state at a time of general agricultural depression (45).

He instituted reforms in the treatment of inmates at the state asylum but he could not obtain legislation for a building programme for state eleemosynary institutions (46).

43. Coody, p.23
44. Mississippi Laws 1904, Chap.86. The law was immediately effective. In 1905 the American Book Company sold 20 per cent of the school text books in the state. The new books were cheaper and were adopted for a five year period instead of one year before the reform. (Kirwan, p.165)
46. Kirwan, p.167
Factions in the legislature opposed most of Vardaman's financial reforms (47). For example, the following proposals were rejected by the legislature: reduction of the legal rate of interest from 10 per cent to 8 per cent; appointment of a state bank examiner; redistribution of school funds on the basis of taxes paid by each race; and taxation reforms designed to tax railroads, manufacturing enterprises, telephone and telegraph lines on their real value, "just as the farmer's house is taxed." (48) The legislature opposed most of his other reforms, such as a child labour law and an elective judiciary.

Vardaman had long demanded penitentiary reform. The penitentiary was reformed in 1906 but the scheme of control was considerably different from that advocated by Vardaman, although some of his proposals were identical to the committee's recommendations. This could be considered as a compromise (49).

Vardaman used his veto power to oppose legislation which would benefit corporations. He vetoed a bill which would have given the Southern Railroad control of the Mobile and Ohio Railroad (50). He also vetoed a bill which would have permitted saw mill corporations to own land worth $10,000,000 of real estate. (The existing limit was $1,000,000). After reconsideration by the legislature the maximum limit was raised to $2,000,000 (51). Vardaman vetoed a bill which would have enabled all insurance companies in Mississippi

47. Ibid, p. 164
48. Mississippi Senate Journal 1906, pp. 5-31
50. The Mobile and Ohio Railroad case is discussed in Notes, p. 244, Note 30
to form a Fire Prevention Bureau which would have been a
tariff monopoly (52). He also vetoed a bill to appropriate
funds for the Holly Springs State Normal School, a negro
teacher training college (53).

Despite the spread of democracy following the Primary
Law it would be wrong to assume the lower classes' politicians
would win all state wide elections. Vardaman's career
received a set back, if temporary, in 1907. The primary for
the United States Senate in 1907 was a classical struggle
between a conservative Congressman, John Sharp Williams,
and the radical Governor Vardaman. Williams had been a
United States Representative since 1893 and Democratic
minority leader since 1903 and he made his 14 years service
at Washington his platform. He sought 'promotion' to the
Senate. Williams had long advocated free coinage of silver
and claimed to have stood for the welfare of the masses
and "had opposed special privilege and class legislation".
(54) Vardaman wanted to solve the negro problem by repeal
of the Fifteenth Amendment and modification of the Fourteenth
Amendment (55). Williams knew these proposals were non­
starters in the Senate and wanted to avoid making the race
question "a football to be played with by politicians in the
Senate and in the House." (56)

The economic conservatism of Williams was illustrated
on the issue of government ownership of railroads. He had
opposed William Jennings Bryan, Democratic Presidential

52. Mississippi House Journal 1908, p.81; Ladner, p.193
53. Holmes, pp.121-122
54. George Coleman Osborn, John Sharp Williams: Planter
Statesman of the Deep South, Gloucester, Mass., Peter Smith,
1964. (Copyright 1943 by Louisiana State University Press),
p.152. Williams' Biographical Sketch is Note 31, p.245
55. Holmes, p.180
56. Ibid, p.154
candidate on this issue in 1906, travelling to London to persuade Bryan to declare against nationalisation of the railroads, but Vardaman came out solidly for government ownership of railroads. The two men finally met in joint debate at Meridian before a 20,000 crowd on 4th July, 1907, when Williams scored a victory. The election was a close contest to the end, with Williams winning by 648 votes out of the total 118,344 votes cast (57).

Vardaman's successor as governor was Edmund Favor Noel, who served from 1908 to 1912. Noel's term shows the difficulty of attempting a correlation between 'class' and 'political philosophy'.

Noel was a well educated, wealthy lawyer from Holmes County but unlike other members of his class his platform was one of social and economic reform. Although he received the tacit support of Vardaman in the 1907 primary, Noel was independent of the Vardaman machine. Noel did not pursue the neo-Populist, anti-corporation policies of Vardaman. Noel's hallmark was moderation.

The legislature of 1908 was purported to be controlled by McLaurin. Noel undoubtedly received support from the McLaurin faction for some reforms whilst the Vardaman faction was generally in favour of his reform measures. Noel's legislative policy was helped by the changing climate of public opinion. C. Vann Woodward has suggested that "the fierce anti-monopoly and anti-railroad spirit probably

57. Williams 59,496
Vardaman 58,848
Biennial Report of the Secretary of State to the Legislature, 1st October 1905 - 1st October 1907, Nashville 1908.
reached its climax in the South, as it did in other parts of the country, in 1906 and 1907." (58) In 1908 there was some degree of consensus among politicians from both factions that new legislation to control corporations was required (59). Banks (60) and railroads (61) were regulated. A child labour law was passed (62).

Noel's reforms were continued in the legislature of 1910 (63). Noel was not an 'anti-corporation' politician. He wanted industrial growth provided decent safeguards for the state and its citizens were forthcoming. Thus a law was passed in 1910 which decreased penalties for violation

58. Vann Woodward, p. 360; The three important causes of the discontent of the people against the railroads in 1907 were: discrimination in freight and passenger rates against difficult states, especially in the South; stock jobbing and watering techniques forbade the people from owning stock with safety; and lack of consideration and often discourtesy to passengers. (D.A. Tompkins, "The Real Grievances Against The Railroads", South Atlantic Quarterly, VI, 1907, pp. 317-322)

59. In the 1907 gubernatorial primary, the leading candidates advocated some degree of control over corporations. Charles Scott, a wealthy Delta planter, advocated a reduction of the interest rate to relieve borrowing farmers; Earl Brewer, also a Delta planter, attacked the railroads for their exorbitant rates, as did "Granny" Noel, a wealthy lawyer, who advocated heavier taxes on railroads. (Kirwan, pp. 185-187). Discriminatory railroad rates affected all sections and areas of the state hence the general opposition to them.

60. Mississippi Laws 1908, Chapters 110-112.
61. Mississippi Laws 1908, Chapters 82-95.
62. The child labour law forbade the employment of children under 12 in mills or factories. Children under 16 could not work over ten hours a day. (Mississippi Laws 1908, Chapter 99.)
63. Examples of his 1910 laws are: establishment of state institutions: a state charity hospital; Mississippi Normal College for teacher training; county agricultural high schools; an agricultural experimental station; the passage of a pure food law; and the creation of the office of county prosecuting attorney to enforce prohibition.
of anti-trust laws (64).

Noel's outstanding reform was the Prohibition Law of 1908 (65). It was partly by chance that the prohibition crusade had made juncture with the progressive movement in the South. Although the two movements quarrelled, common enemies had drawn them together (66). The fundamentalist doctrines of the Southern Baptist and Methodist churches, which dominated the South after 1895, brought pressure on legislatures to eliminate gambling, drinking and prostitution (67). But until 1907 no state-wide prohibition law existed in the South although local prohibition was quite common - in Mississippi 69 of the 76 counties had banished the saloon before the 1908 law.

Rural Mississippians were, ostensibly, influenced by the ministers who carried the crusade into their pulpits and preached outright teetotalism. There was a pronounced correlation between the success of prohibition and the high percentage of native-born (99 per cent) rural, Protestant elements in the population (68).

64. Mississippi Laws 1910, Chapter 222. This act amended Section 5004, Mississippi Code 1906, and fixed the minimum penalty for violation of Chapter 145 at 20 dollars instead of 200 dollars a day. The maximum penalty remained at 5,000 dollars a day for each offence and each day any person, corporation, partnership, firm, association continued to do so, was a separate offence.

65. Mississippi Laws, 1908, Chapter 113. This was the most important act of the 1908 session. Ethridge, described it as "a very drastic act", Mississippi - A History, p. 457. The act prohibited the manufacture, sale, barter or giving away of "any vinous, alcoholic, malt, intoxicating or spirituous liquors or intoxicating bitters or other drinks, which, if drunk to excess will produce intoxication". After 31st December, 1908, individuals were not allowed to have alcohol in their possession (Sec.6). The only exceptions were alcohol for sacramental or medicinal purposes - on the prescription of a physician (Sec.3). Records had to be kept by transportation companies of C.O.D. shipments.

66. Vann Woodward, p. 389
67. Clark and Kirwan, pp.114-115
68. A table showing Church Population will be found in Notes, p. 245, Note 32
There was strong sectional opposition to Noel's law from the Delta, where the plantation society fervently and unashamedly enjoyed liquor, and from the Gulf Coast counties, with its liberal Catholicism and tourist industry. This "wet" sectionalism re-appeared constantly in later years when prohibition became an electoral issue (69).

The same moral streak in Noel could be seen by the abolition of "bucket shops" which sold future securities "on the margin", and was a popular form of gambling (70).

During the administration of Governor Earl Brewer, from 1912 to 1916, the class struggle intensified. Brewer had been unopposed in the Democratic primary of 1911 although he was a Delta planter and lawyer (71).

The Vardaman faction had enjoyed great success in the contested elections of 1911. Vardaman was anxious to win the primary for the United States Senate after the sinister dealings in the Percy election of 1910 (72), and he harnessed the full venom of the lower classes' forces and ousted two candidates with an upper class background—Charlton H. Alexander and the luckless Leroy Percy (73).

69. There were referenda on the issue in 1934, 1952 and 1966.
70. Mississippi Laws 1909, Chapter 110. Bucket shops were so called by the Americans, "accidental usage of the word "bucket" meaning "cheat."
71. It was the first and only time that a gubernatorial candidate had been unopposed in the Democratic primary. State Senator G.A. Hobbs wrote later that Brewer had had formidable opposition in his nomination "but the politicians manipulated affairs so that no candidate offered against him. Governor Brewer was not unlike all other politicians who seek to build up power by means at hand be they fair or foul." (G.A. Hobbs, Bilbo, Brewer and Bribery, N.F. 1917, pp. 180-181. Copy seen by author in Jackson, Mississippi.) A biographical sketch of Earl L. Brewer will be found in Notes, p. 246, Note 33.
72. This Percy Election is described in Chapter Three, pages 88-91.
73. Primary elections, 1st August, 1911:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>United States Senate</th>
<th>Lieutenant-Governor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>J.K. Vardaman</td>
<td>T.G. Bilbo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79,380</td>
<td>76,240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.H. Alexander</td>
<td>Wiley N. Nash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31,500</td>
<td>31,834</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. Percy</td>
<td>T.O. Yewell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21,521</td>
<td>21,351</td>
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Biennial Report of the Secretary of State to the Legislature of Mississippi from 1st October, 1909, to 1st October, 1911, Nashville 1911. The election is described on pages 92-93.
Vardaman candidates won all state-wide offices. His heir apparent, T.G. Bilbo (74), became lieutenant-governor and the lower classes' faction had a majority in the legislature of 1912.

Bilbo was the ex-officio president of the Senate, but actively lobbied on the floor for reform legislation. Brewer, after first attempting to be a "peacemaker" in the legislature of 1912, became identified with the minority established interests' faction. The feud between Bilbo and Brewer became public from September 1912 and plagued the whole conduct of legislative processes (75).

Despite the factionalism, some sensible reforms were passed by a legislature which was described as "liberal" for the conditions of 1912. Fears expressed by the leading newspapers that the Vardaman-controlled legislature would prove to be "radical" were unfounded. For example, factory legislation restricted employment of children and young persons and regulated hours of employment (76). More factory reforms followed in 1914. Taxation reforms were designed to encourage new manufacturers (77) but the old corporate enemies of the people, the railroads, and timber lands paid higher taxes. A further distinctly anti-corporation measure was the gin law, 1914, which prohibited cotton seed and compress companies from owning cotton gins (78). The

74. A biographical sketch of Theodore G. Bilbo will be found in Notes, p.246, Note 34
75. The feud is discussed in Chapter Three, pages 94-95
76. Mississippi Laws 1912, Chapter 165
77. New manufacturing enterprises were exempted from all taxation for five years. This exemption applied to state, county and levy taxes. Municipalities could grant exemption up to ten years. (Mississippi Laws 1912, Chapter 115.)
78. Gins separated the cotton fibre from the cotton seed. This act was the brain child of Senator Frank Burkitt, the former Populist and farm leader. Constitutionality was later upheld by state court and the United States Supreme Court. (Mississippi Laws 1914, Chapter 162.)
Delta, whose levee boards had spent its appropriation in advance, obtained relief from an extraordinary session of 1913.

When Bilbo won the gubernatorial primary of 1915 (79), he prepared himself for an administration from 1916 to 1920, which would accelerate the process of social and economic reform. The success of his policies depended on a sound financial base, which did not exist.

Bilbo was the first politician to attempt a radical reform of the state taxation system. His struggle illustrates the problems of public finance in a poor rural state. He created a State Tax Commission in 1916 which had the power to approve or change assessment rolls of each county after they had been submitted to the county board of supervisors. This was an arbitrary power and provoked considerable resentment throughout the state. The net effect was to introduce a new taxation base and to fix assessments at 100 per cent of estimated values whereas the general custom had been to assess property at 50 per cent of estimated values.

By 1917 the commission had greatly increased assessments on railroads, public service corporations (80), large plantations and the wealthier counties (81). Assessments

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79. Primary Election, 3rd August 1915:

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Governor</td>
<td>Lieutenant-Governor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.S. Bilbo</td>
<td>74,573</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.M. Reily</td>
<td>47,717</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.R. Tally</td>
<td>11,451</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.S. Stovall</td>
<td>6,706</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H.M. Quinn</td>
<td>7,627</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lee M. Russell</td>
<td>77,663</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Duncan Carter</td>
<td>62,978</td>
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The turnout in the gubernatorial primary was a record in Mississippi and was evidence of the masses' enthusiasm for Bilbo. (Biennial Report of the Secretary of State to the Legislature July 1st, 1913 - July 1st, 1915. Memphis 1915)

80. Assessments on railroads and public service corporations were increased by $40,000,000. (Mississippi Senate Journal 1917, pp.12-17)

81. For example Bolivar County's assessment was increased by (Continued.)
were increased in 15 counties, including Bilbo's Pearl River County and several southern counties where timberland had been grossly underassessed. On the other hand assessments in 65 poor counties - mainly in the hills - were reduced.

As the state ad valorem tax for 1916 and 1917 was high at 6 mills on the dollar (the taxpayer would pay $6 on $1000 of assessed property) with the county ad valorem tax fixed at a maximum of 10 mills on the dollar, practically all taxpayers had to pay more taxes. Strong pressure from the corporations and the taxpayers throughout the state forced Bilbo to abandon his high state ad valorem tax. A special session of the legislature in 1917 reduced the state tax to 4 mills for 1917 (82).

A report of a joint legislative committee on the state's revenue system and fiscal affairs presented to the 1918 legislature was an indictment of Bilbo's financial policies (83). A budget system for state government was "urgently recommended". The 1918 legislature passed legislation to this effect. The governor had to prepare a budget for the biennial period (84). The State Tax Commission was given additional powers and duties including the preparation of the assessment roll (85). The state tax was raised to 5½ mills for 1918 and 1919. This was passed over Bilbo's veto.

81. Continued. 463.7 per cent. Coahoma County's assessment was increased by 433.5 per cent and Washington County's assessment was increased by 234 per cent. (Miss. Senate Journal. 1918, pp. 37-38)
82. Mississippi Laws 1917, Chapter 22; Kirwan p.264.
83. The report stated that the State Tax Commission had been set up too quickly and showed that deficits in the state revenue were rising. It charged counties with extravagance and incompetency. The state had made large investments in roads, schools and public buildings which the state could not afford. (Joint Report of Senate and House Committees to consider the state's Revenue System and Fiscal Affairs. Mississippi Senate Journal 1918, pp.175-221)
84. Mississippi Laws 1918, Chapter 225
85. Mississippi Laws 1918, Chapter 228, Chapter 135
The taxation issue showed the dependence of the governor on the legislature for the enactment of policies. In this very radical measure Bilbo's customary supporters deserted him in the interests of their constituents who could not afford high taxation rates.

In general, Bilbo had the support of the Senate, which favoured greater expenditure for welfare agencies, but he was opposed by the House, which was controlled by the anti-administration forces and was intent on cutting expenditures (86). For example, Bilbo's advocacy of a state highway department to build and unify a system of state roads was defeated.

Despite the problem of finance, Bilbo's administration drew widespread praise for its successful educational and social welfare reforms, which included: a uniform series of text books for schools (87); compulsory school attendance from 1st September, 1918 (88); a State Illiteracy Commission which virtually removed much adult illiteracy (89); a tuberculosis sanatorium (90); a state charity hospital (91); a state industrial and training school for delinquent children (92); the abolition of public executions (93); a regulation of bogus stock by a blue sky

86. Kirwan, p. 260
87. Mississippi Laws 1916, Chapter 179
88. The only exceptions were for cases of extreme poverty and where there was no public school within 2½ miles by the nearest road. (Mississippi Laws 1918, Chapter 258)
89. Mississippi Laws 1916, Chapter 110; The Commission started voluntary night schools for 30,000 white illiterates of whom 12,000 were males of voting age.
90. Mississippi Laws 1916, Chapter 109
91. Mississippi Laws 1916, Chapter 108. This was established at Laurel.
92. Mississippi Laws 1916, Chapter 111.
93. Mississippi Laws 1916, Chapter 218. For a Note on Judge Edward H. Green's role in the introduction of the bill see p. 247, Note 35.
law (94) and a tick eradication law (95). As George Brown Tindall has summarised: "Bilbo was unique in this positive phase of progressivism. No other leader of the plebeian masses in the teens had either a program or a record to equal his." (96)

When one considers the wider United States scene from 1912 to 1920, the reforms of the Brewer and Bilbo administrations in Mississippi can be seen in the context of progressivism in the nation and its aftermath. The presidential election of 1912, when progressivism was the dominant mood, was won by the Democrat, Woodrow Wilson, with his New Freedom philosophy — although he only received 42 per cent of the popular votes. His chief rival, Theodore Roosevelt, Progressive party, espoused the philosophy of New Nationalism which advocated an extension of federal government into the social-economic sphere — for example by bringing the great corporations under complete federal control and by establishing protection for labour within a type of welfare state. The third candidate, President William Howard Taft, Republican, represented the Old Guard leadership and policies, and he was soundly defeated (97).

94. Mississippi Laws 1916, Chapter 97
95. Mississippi Laws 1916, Chapter 167; The tick eradication law made cattle dipping mandatory in an attempt to defeat the South African cattle tick which carried Texas fever. Farmers in poor counties could not afford the chemicals and many believed dipping killed the cattle as well as the tick. South Mississippi opposed this law and this undoubtedly contributed to Bilbo's defeat in the 1918 Congressional election. (Ethridge, p.473). Bilbo, however, "yields to no man in his hatred for the South African tick". (Jerome Beatty, "Mississippi Pearl", American Magazine, Feb.1935, p.95.)
Wilson's election was largely attributable to the solidity of the Democratic South. All 11 former Confederate states gave him a majority. (Arizona was the only other state to do so.) Wilson was the first native Southerner elected President since Lincoln, although he had grown up in the North, having become governor of New Jersey. Wilson's victory has been compared with Jefferson's election in 1800, as it "effected an important shift in the geographical control of the federal government" (98). Southern influence had been decisive in nominating Wilson and directing his campaign and the "pay off" was an important Southern role in formulating national policies. Five of the ten cabinet ministers of the Administration of 1913 were born below the Potomac and William Jennings Bryan, Secretary of State, was an idol of the Southern masses. One example of Southern influence was the segregation of negro and white workers in the Treasury and Postmaster General's department – a policy which was later reversed in 1914 following a storm of protest from negroes and white progressives in the North.

For the first time in 20 years there was a Democratic majority in the House and Senate. The two Democratic Senators from Mississippi, James Vardaman and John Sharp Williams, provided an interesting contrast in their policies and relationship to President Wilson. Vardaman was one of the few Southern radicals in the Senate, joining Mid-Westerners such as Robert La Follette, Wisconsin, and George W. Norris, Nebraska, in the constant exertion of pressure to force Wilson to the left, a policy which succeeded by Wilson's espousing Roosevelt's New Nationalism to win his

re-election in 1916 (99). Williams was described as "one of the moderate liberals with whom Wilson is likely to confer a great deal". (100)

Southern demands for tariff reform were met by the Underwood-Simmons Tariff Act of 1913 which reduced tariffs and this was supported by both Vardaman and Williams. The two Senators differed on the income tax provision. Vardaman fought for a higher income tax and was the lone Democrat to vote for the La Follette amendment, and despite the opposition of Williams (the Democratic party would become "the Communist party or quasi-communist party of the United States"), enough Democrats threatened to follow Vardaman that the Democratic caucus reconsidered it and a compromise was reached whereby the surtax was increased to a maximum of 6 per cent on incomes over $500,000 (101).

Both Williams and Vardaman supported the Glass-Owen Federal Reserve Act of 1913. A Federal Reserve Banking system was established with a system of regional reserve banks and a central board of governors. Both Mississippi Senators supported in general Wilson's third main measure of reform, anti-trust legislation, although with reservations. Williams strongly opposed the Federal Trade Commission (in private), as did Vardaman. Both men supported the Clayton Anti-Trust Act, 1914, which strengthened the Sherman Anti-Trust law of 1890.

On international questions, Vardaman became a vehement opponent of Wilson, contrasting with Williams' support for the President. The British argument that the Panama Canal...
Act of 1912 was unfair as it exempted American coastal shipping from paying tolls was accepted by Wilson, who eventually forced an amendment to the act through Congress in 1914. Vardaman, who favoured exemption, on the grounds that it was in the Democratic platform of 1912 and would result in lower consumer prices at home engaged Williams in a heated debate on the Senate floor.

With the outbreak of World War One in Europe in 1914, the United States herself drifted towards War. Between 1914 and 1917 Vardaman adopted an isolationist, anti-preparedness and anti-war policy so that when the United States declared war on Germany in April 1917, Vardaman had burned all his bridges with the administration. By contrast Williams soon became converted to the doctrine of armed neutrality and before the declaration of war again clashed in the Senate with Vardaman. Vardaman's defeat by Representative Pat Harrison (102), a Wilson supporter, in the primary for the United States Senate in August 1918 (103) was a vote by Mississippi for patriotism. It ended Vardaman's political career as he was also defeated in the 1922 Senatorial primary by Hubert D. Stephens, a Wilson Democrat, in the contest for Williams' vacated seat (104). Furthermore Vardaman's
anti-war policy openly broke the Vardaman-Bilbo alliance. As governor, Bilbo threw Mississippi's support behind the war, instructing the state's teachers to read Wilson's war message to every child and warning that German spies were at work in the state trying to sabotage sawmills.

Mississippi and the South benefited from federal investment in the war effort. Wartime demands halted a threatened depression in textiles and the years 1917-1919 were the best cotton had ever seen, reaching 35 cents a pound in 1919! (105). Shipbuilding brought life to coastal communities: on the Mississippi coast more than three million dollars was invested in the industry at Gulfport, Biloxi, Pascagoula and Moss Point, partly because of a state tax exemption. Army training camps were set up in every Southern state, the magnet being the climate. The camps and some ships were constructed (mainly) from Southern pine timber, in abundance in Mississippi and the South. The armed services provided employment and the troops spent money freely. Workers, even negro sharecroppers, enjoyed the new found income. The economic boom continued after the war until well into 1920.

The twenty-year period, 1900-1920, was an age of reform in the nation. It encompassed the Progressive movement, which extended from about 1900 to 1914, and its Mississippi version spearheaded the drive for legislative reforms in the state.

The politics of Mississippi were largely but not entirely controlled by the men of the established interests

105. Tindall, p.60
until the passage of the Primary Law of 1902, which gave the required impetus to the lower classes' candidates who won many electoral offices from 1903: Vardaman's gubernatorial period from 1904 to 1908 was noted for implementation of reforms, despite defeats by the established interests' faction in the legislature.

The class struggle between the economic 'haves' and the more numerous 'have nots', dominated legislative politics with a clear factionalism which had a strong sectional element when issues such as the educational funds and re-apportionment brought a clear division between the representatives of the Black Counties (mainly Delta) and the White Counties (mainly the hills).

The issue that divided the legislature was not the desirability of reform but the nature of reform and the precise method of financing. The state was notoriously short of finance and worked by borrowing money from successive bond issues. Notable reformers such as Bilbo found the financial bottleneck a severe handicap but he proposed a solution. Bilbo founded the State Tax Commission which equalised the incidence and rate of taxation between the rich Delta counties and the poor hill counties. Bilbo's social and economic reforms extended governmental functions for the first time and gave Mississippi a state government beyond the legal forms (106).

The advent of War, resisted by Vardaman, and supported by Williams, broke the Vardaman-Bilbo lower classes' alliance. Under Bilbo, Mississippi prospered from the economic effects of the War.

By 1920 many of the reforms advocated in the early 1900's had become law. Although Mississippi remained at

106. Ibid, p.24
the bottom of most indices, she did enjoy, relatively, considerable advancement. For example in education Mississippi under Bilbo "made more educational progress than any other state", according to the Federal Commissioner of Education. (107) Nevertheless legislative reforms could only produce a marginal advancement towards social justice. The pattern of life remained basically unchanged in the period, the harsh economic facts of life and the racial and class divisions had an almost institutional permanency in the most rural state in the nation.

The subordinate themes in Mississippi politics in the first two decades of the 20th century throw light on the workings of the political system. Whilst the main theme was the class struggle, based on economic conditions, the subordinate themes imperceptibly intertwine with the main theme. The subordinate themes are the politics of personalities, the politics of corruption and the use of investigation techniques.

In rural Mississippi aspiring politicians were more than mere vote seekers in the first two decades of the 20th century. They were entertainers who travelled the state, seeking out the electorate at barbecues, fairs and the courthouse steps. An audience could be held spellbound for hours – if the politician had the personality. Politicians had to be master showmen if they were to be distinguished from their rivals: eccentric clothes, curious mannerisms, invective, wit and sheer oratorical ability were required. A. Wigfall Green, the historian, has noted: "Politics became the art, the drama and the bread of the public." (1)

After the introduction of the state-wide primary in 1903 the use of a personality technique became a distinctive feature of Mississippi politics. In a pure one-party system

the main road of advancement was to lead one of the factions inside the Democratic party. As there were several ambitious claimants to leadership, only the most distinctive politicians had a chance of succeeding. The lower classes' faction of the Democratic party, being larger than the established interests' faction, was more competitive and produced a colourful group of leaders who used the techniques of projecting their personalities to the widest possible audiences. As Bilbo told Jerome Beatty, a visiting journalist, in 1935:

"It's always a family fight down here, and a family fight is the best of all. We're all Democrats, and we have to deal in personalities because there are no issues - we're all in favor of the same things. So you don't try to show the other fellow is in favor of this or against that, you just show he's a low-down blankety blank." (2)

The career of Vardaman illustrates the use of the personality technique. When struggling to become a statewide politician in the early 1900's, he displayed considerable sartorial elegance and showmanship. Something of a dandy, he had shoulder-length flaxen hair and wore an all-white linen suit with a red neck tie which later became the uniform of his supporters. His elegant clothes contrasted with the overalls of his supporters. He would address his audiences from the back of a wagon which was drawn by eight oxen.

As a fierce advocate of increased educational opportunities and social reform for the benefit of the poorer whites, he opposed negro education and advancement. Vardaman became known universally as "The Great White Chief". Vardaman's platform manner was to use the full range of invective, outlandish claims and emotional appeals which were available to him.

Political opponents such as President Theodore Roosevelt were ruthlessly attacked. Roosevelt was portrayed by Vardaman as an advocate of racial equality after the President had entertained the negro leader, Booker T. Washington, to dinner at the White House in October 1910, thus incurring the wrath of the white South. Prior to Roosevelt's arrival in the Mississippi Delta to hunt bear in November 1902, Vardaman advertised in his Greenwood Commonwealth:

"WANTED, sixteen big, fat mellow, rancid 'coons' to sleep with Roosevelt when he comes down to go bear hunting with Mississippi's onliest governor Longy." (3)

Governor Longino was condemned for officially welcoming President Roosevelt to Mississippi. Furthermore the appointment of Edgar S. Wilson, a Democrat, and Longino's brother-in-law, as Marshal of the Southern District of Mississippi, in January 1902 "fostered the belief that a cabal existed between Longino, Wilson and Roosevelt", especially as Wilson became Roosevelt's patronage referee for Mississippi (replacing the negro Republican James Hill) and worked closely with Booker T. Washington in attempting to revitalise the Republican Party in Mississippi by "selecting able and honest men for office." (4)

Vardaman generated much political ammunition out of the celebrated Indianola Post Office issue (5). A Mrs. Minnie M. Cox, a well educated negro woman, had been

4. Ibid, p.98
appointed postmaster at Indianola by President Benjamin Harrison when no white Republican in the area qualified for the job. She had been re-appointed by President William McKinley in 1897 and 1900. Trouble arose in Spring 1902 after Wilson's appointment as patronage referee as some whites thought, erroneously, that all negro office holders would be replaced by whites. Vardaman, a candidate for governor, delivered several speeches in Indianola, and chided the people for "tolerating a negro wench as postmaster." (6) Vardaman implied that Mrs. Cox had been appointed by Roosevelt and Wilson. A meeting of white citizens demanded Mrs. Cox's resignation, and she did resign on 1st January, 1903. Roosevelt refused to accept Mrs. Cox's resignation and he closed the post office on 2nd January, 1903. Vardaman's wrath was evident in his Greenwood Commonwealth editorial: "It is the work of a human coyote who would destroy the civilisation of the better and more respecting section of the country." (7) As the post office was closed until January 1904, when a white man was appointed, Vardaman used the closure to aid his election as governor. In a speech at Jackson, Vardaman declared that his defeat would be construed by the Negroes as "an endorsement of President Roosevelt's criminal policy of social and political equality" between the races; and as a result, "we would have to kill more negroes in the next twelve months in Mississippi, that we have had to kill in the last twenty years." (8)

A second example of the personality technique is found in the career of Bilbo. He, too, was an unknown politician—

6. Holmes, p.100 citing Greenwood Commonwealth, 14th, 28th November, 5th December, 1902.
7. Ibid, p.101 citing Greenwood Commonwealth, 10th January, 1903
from the backwoods of South West Mississippi. By advocating the cause of the poor whites and denouncing his opponents in the most provocative terms and using himself in the third person in his speeches, he became known as "The Man Bilbo."

Bilbo's invective was more extreme than Vardaman's and often led to his being physically attacked. For example, in 1911 Bilbo called J.J. Henry, a former penitentiary warden, "a cross between a hyena and a mongrel. He was begotten in a nigger graveyard at midnight, suckled by a sow and educated by a fool." (9) Bilbo assumed Henry was the author of a leaflet condemning him. Henry swore personal vengeance and later beat Bilbo into insensibility with a pistol on a train at Starkville.

In a speech Bilbo described Major W.D. Gibbs, state senator and "war horse of Yazoo", as "Old Wash Gibbs, a renegade Confederate Soldier". (10) A political enemy, Gibbs had voted for Bilbo's expulsion from the Senate. Gibbs waited for an opportunity to assault Bilbo and knocked him down with a cane on the street in Yazoo City. The gold-headed cane broke over Bilbo's head. The cane had been presented to Gibbs in 1888 "in recognition of his splendid work in fighting against carpetbaggers." Admirers of Gibbs bought him a new gold-headed cane with the inscription: "To W.D. Gibbs for one broken on Bilbo's head." (11)

Vardaman and Bilbo became known as "demagogues" because of these rabble-rousing techniques. Their personalities undoubtedly helped to establish them as leading politicians. The more outrageous their demands, the greater the publicity and the ensuing political turmoil. They were responsible to

11. Green, p. 40
a large extent for the bitterly partisan nature of Mississippi politics in the period and the consolidated support of the lower class rednecks.

Discovery of corrupt practices was a constant feature of the period. The frequency of the discoveries suggests that corruption was endemic and that the deterrent effect of revelation was minimal. In this respect at least Mississippi was in the mainstream of the American political tradition!

A recurring motive for corruption was the flagrant acquisition of money and goods. This was understandable as politicians were close to the administrative machine and the distribution of largesse. Corruption permeated the entire society, like a cancer, and corrupt politicians were linked with immoral activities, especially in Jackson. On the other hand, one man's corruption was another man's work and this functional aspect became almost institutionalised.

The administration of Governor Longino was beset by three proven cases of corruption. Longino suspended J.R. Stowers, the state treasurer, on 24th August, 1901, after Longino had made a spot check of state cash and found a deficiency of $107,621.44. It was subsequently revealed in court that the money had been "lent" to a Memphis banker, John Armistead, who in turn "lent" it to the Memphis Street Railway Company (12). If the state treasurer was naive enough or simply crooked enough to "loan" public money to private individuals, it tells us something about the character of the state officials. Although opponents of the Longino

administration naturally made political capital out of the trial of Stowers and his three associates, it did not put an end to corrupt practices.

In February 1903 a forgery was discovered in the office of the new state treasurer, G. Carlisle. A bill had been altered while in the custody of the treasurer's office which would have created a liability of thousands of dollars against the state in favour of the heirs of the Weineman estate. Nobody was convicted of forgery and everybody claimed innocence(13).

The building of a new capitol was a major construction project for the state. There was keen competition from contractors to secure the contract. In November 1900 Longino charged J.E. Gibson, a contractor from Indiana, with attempting to get the contract by bribery. Gibson subsequently pleaded guilty but there was an outcry by the Jackson Clarion-Ledger, a pro-Longino newspaper, when he was only fined $1,000 and costs. The state allowed Gibson to set aside the forfeiture of his $5,000 bond which should have been retained by the state (14).

In the management of the penitentiary, the employment of impressionable staff, the selling of cotton from penitentiary farms and the control by politicians made corrupt practices almost a norm. An additional and more complicated factor, the element of cruelty, was pervasive.

14. "Gibson, who had been pictured as everything bad and terrible stood forth a freeman and richer by $3,000 - $5,000.... The "Clarion-Ledger cannot agree the honor of the state has been vindicated. Just the reverse." (Jackson Clarion-Ledger, 30th January 1901.)
in the penitentiary and the state insane hospital (15).

The management of the penitentiary was found to be corrupt when investigated by legislative committees, which reported in 1902, 1906 and 1914. Governor Brewer found corruption during his own investigation from 1912 to 1914. (16)

Vardaman seized on the penitentiary issue in the 1903 primary, mercilessly attacking the McLaurin-controlled Board of Control and demanding 'reform'. Although Vardaman became an ex-officio member of the Board of Control in January 1904, he did not gain control of the penitentiary until January 1907, one year before his term expired. An illustration of the corruption was the Board's flouting of the constitutional prohibition of leasing convicts for use on private plantations until December 1904 by leasing convicts to the Sandy Bayou plantation owned by State Senator H.J. McLaurin, brother of United States Senator A.J. McLaurin (17).

Corruption was not confined to the penitentiary. Other state institutions had their share of the investigators' pallid limelight. Governor Brewer's administration was particularly zealous (18). "Painstaking investigations" were started in 1913 and a report by the Joint Legislative Investigating Committee was made to the legislature of 1914 (19). After a careful audit of 35 undertakings by "high class men", who had worked on a "business basis", and furthermore "reported facts, as they were found", deficiencies

15. See Appendix I, pp.269, 274-275, 279-281
16. See pages 93-94
17. See Appendix I, p.270, pp.272-273
18. Brewer employed Ira Sample and described him as "a bright young lawyer from Chicago." Sample was paid $2,200 from the contingent fund for sixteen months of investigation but was "really worth a great deal more". Green, p.49 citing Jackson Daily News, 4th February 1914.
19. Mississippi Senate Journal 1914, pp.196-290
totalling $8,221.82 were found in 13 state undertakings (20).

The state insane hospital at Jackson had long been considered 'a hot bed of graft'. During the First World War soldiers visited patriotic nurses nightly at the hospital. The institution was said to be "Bilbo's favorite resort. He was an almost....... nightly visitor." (21) A report by a House Investigating Committee into the state insane hospital to the legislature of 1918 found that Dr. R.M. Butler, the superintendent (who was a personal friend of Bilbo), had secured "certain goods and property of the institution without requisitions and without their being charged to him." (22) The immoral activity of nurses had become "a scandal that had covered the city of Jackson from one end to another for more than twelve months."

Patients were treated very cruelly. There was a scarcity of hot water: "Patients could not receive even one bath each per week." Food supply was below subsistence level, clothing was scarce, rooms were "absolutely filthy" and unheated, and there was a shortage of bed-chambers at night (23).

The commonplaceness of corruption in the politics of Mississippi was exploited by eager politicians anxious to further their own careers by their advocacy of investigation and punishment of the guilty. It is doubtful whether the electorate was always in agreement. Investigators could not necessarily expect public opinion to be on their side. The factional politics of the state, and sectional politics,

20. For an account of the deficiencies see Notes, p. 249, Note 38
22. Mississippi House Journal 1918, pp.435-441
23. Loc cit
kept alive by local newspapers, meant that in some counties investigators would be suspected of political 'plots' and attacked accordingly. As far as lower class attitudes were concerned, there was a feeling of identification with 'their' politicians. If "one of them" could make some money on the side, this was acceptable to the impoverished whites who opposed establishment money and politics. The only crime was for a political hero to be actually caught with his hand in the till.

For every case of alleged corruption in government, an investigation technique was employed to determine whether legal action was necessary. The most commonly used instrument was a special investigating committee of the legislature. Governors also carried out investigations, usually with the authority of the legislature.

The employment of investigation techniques sometimes resulted in the employment of a persecution technique. Aggrieved politicians claimed that the machinery of state was being used to persecute them. Bilbo claimed he was persecuted in 1911 and 1915 and won his elections largely on the strength of his protests.

Three examples illustrate the politics of the investigation technique: the Percy election of 1910; Governor Brewer's investigation of the penitentiary from 1912 to 1914; and the Delta County Bill.

The most revealing investigation in the period was the investigation by the State Senate of charges of bribery in the election of a United States Senator. In December 1909, United States Senator A.J. McLaurin, the formidable machine
politician of the established interests' faction died suddenly. As McLaurin's term did not expire until 1912, the primary to name his successor would be in 1911. Primary elections did not apply to unexpired terms and the choice would be made by the legislature of 1910. Accordingly, "a contest was precipitated which was to have tremendous consequences on the politics of the state." (24)

The contest became a factional duel between Vardaman and Leroy Percy, a planter from Greenville. Vardaman addressed the legislature of 1910 and reiterated his racial views and thereafter all the candidates denounced him. There was a strategy, therefore, to prevent Vardaman's nomination (25). The strategy was helped by the secret ballot which had been adopted by the legislature at the outset (26). A candidate had to receive an absolute majority to be elected, so although Vardaman received 71 votes, with the other candidates receiving 99 in the first ballot, this was insufficient. A deadlock ensued for six weeks until the caucus voted to drop the lowest man on each ballot (27). On 23rd February, 1910, Percy was given a clear run against Vardaman and defeated him by 87 votes to 82 (28).

24. Kirwan, p.151
25. See the account of W.A. Percy in Notes, p.249, Note 39
26. This was by a vote of 101 to 69. A Vardaman supporter claimed that the majority included a number of legislators who wanted to vote against Vardaman but did not want their constituents to know about it. This secret balloting produced the misnomer "Secret Caucus". The hall was not actually closed to spectators. Newspapermen were admitted and the galleries were open to all. Only the voting was secret. (Kirwan, p.193)
27. Kirwan, p.156
28. This was after 57 ballots and eight weeks of trading (ibid).
The Vardaman forces claimed that Percy’s victory had been bought with bribery and illegal use of patronage (29). Vardaman charged that he was opposed by “every railroad attorney … the lumber trust, the whiskey trust and every other trust that does business in Mississippi.” (30) The Percy election exacerbated the class struggle as it was construed by the lower white classes as a distortion of their popular will. In ring politics, the overwhelming voting superiority of the white masses counted for very little when commercial interests exerted their influence in the Secret Caucus. Thus in the new era of the common man, Mississippi was represented in the United States Senate by two wealthy Delta planters: John Sharp Williams and Leroy Percy.

The event which led to a State Senate investigation (31) was the returning of an indictment against L.C. Dulaney, a planter and levee contractor, charging that he had paid Senator Theodore G. Bilbo $645 to obtain his vote for Percy.

In his evidence to the Senate Investigation Committee, Bilbo agreed that he had accepted the bribe but claimed that he did so only as a means of catching the guilty. After a meeting with friends, he had prepared a plan to act as a detective and to accept a bribe which he intended to expose after the election (32). Bilbo’s evidence of his movements was corroborated in substance, although not in every detail, by other witnesses (33).

29. The extent of the lobbying is described in Notes p. 250, Note 4.
31. The investigation lasted from 30th March, 1910, to 10th April, 1910. (Investigation by the Senate of the State of Mississippi of the Charges of Bribery in the Election of a United States Senator, Nashville, 1910.)
32. Ibid, pp. 36-43
Dulaney denied that he had attempted to bribe anyone. Bilbo's statement that he had received $645 was a "most infamous and filthy lie". Dulaney said that his object was to defeat Vardaman as Vardaman's policies had caused negroes to migrate to Arkansas. Bilbo had come into Dulaney's hotel room a number of times: "He got very friendly with me and he would drop in and depart with a bottle." (34)

Bilbo's evidence was rejected by the Senate Investigation Committee. A subsequent Senate resolution to expel Bilbo failed by one vote to receive the required two-thirds majority (35). But other resolutions condemned Bilbo's role as "utterly unexplained and absolutely incredible," resolved that Bilbo was "unfit to sit with honest upright men in a respectable legislative body" and upheld the election of Percy as "free from fraud and corruption." (36)

After Dulaney was tried and acquitted at Yazoo City on 4th January, 1911, a sworn statement was issued by the jury: Dulaney was acquitted because the jury "believed Mr. Bilbo's statement to be untrue... and his charge to be a 'frame-up' and pure fabrication." (37)

Bilbo fully exploited the Senate's expulsion resolution and the grand jury's sworn statement as clear evidence of his persecution. Maintaining he was the honourable detective, who was fighting for 'the people' against the Percy forces

34.Ibid, pp.301-320
35.Resolution No.8, Mississippi Senate Journal 1910, pp.998-999. Voting was: 28 for, 15 against and 2 absentees.
36.Bilbo's supporters walked out, hence the votes of 25-1 and 28-0 respectively for the last two resolutions. (Ibid, pp.999-1000)
37. The verdict was unanimous and on the first ballot. The statement was made so that the public might know that the jury was not misled in any respect, nor Mr Dulaney acquitted on any 'legal technicality' but upon the testimony as given by all the witnesses under oath. (Kirwan, p.208, quoting Jackson Clarion-Ledger, 5th January, 1911.)
and established interests, he appealed directly to the rednecks to reject the 'corrupt practices' of the legislature and judiciary. The people were, of course, with him. The entire electorate of his district signed a petition for Bilbo as lieutenant-governor (38). Waging a joint campaign with Vardaman, both men won resounding election victories in 1911.

Percy's brief appearance on the political stage was ended, perhaps inevitably, by Vardaman in the Senatorial primary of 1911. Although Percy had offered to meet Vardaman in an early primary election in November 1910 and Vardaman had accepted the offer, Governor Noel opposed it. What prevented the election was a requirement by the Democratic executive committee that all candidates in the primary should engage in a series of joint debates. Vardaman refused and the election was cancelled. The election of August 1911 was a three-man fight between Percy, Vardaman and Charlton H. Alexander, a Jackson lawyer and one of the defeated candidates in the secret caucus. The mood of the electorate was for revenge and Bilbo, campaigning for Vardaman and himself (for lieutenant-governor), became the most exciting speaker in the campaign, using the idiom of the people and convincing many people that he told the truth. "Men who came to jeer, stayed to cheer. Bilbo was political dynamite." (39) Percy's chances were minimal in the class politics of the day. He made the great mistake of calling a rowdy pinewoods' audience "cattle", an epitaph used by the rednecks at Vardaman's rallies. Vardaman campaigned on the evils of the Secret Caucus and the advocacy of economic policies which would help the lower classes: lowering the tariff,

38.Creel, p.733
39.Holmes, p.240
regulating railroads, graduated income tax and federal control of banking. He was swept to victory (40).

The second example of the investigation technique is found in Governor Brewer's investigation of the penitentiary. The penitentiary had been losing since 1911, so Brewer felt compelled to investigate as soon as the legislature of 1912 ended. As was his custom, Brewer employed Burns' detective agency to assist him. He found that a large proportion of the cotton crop had been sold to Boyce and Company of Memphis without competitive bidding from 1908 to 1912. Boyce and Company would not produce records of cotton exported to England, so accordingly in September 1912 Brewer made a trip to England to investigate Boyce's sales in Liverpool and Manchester. When Boyce's customers refused to cooperate, Brewer took the matter up with the State Department, which investigated through the British Government. Records of Boyce's sales in the United States were made available and there was evidence of high profits to Boyce after paying low prices to the penitentiary.

Losses were also attributed to embezzlement by the secretary of the prison board; violation of the Mississippi Code of 1906 as the products had not been sold by the trustees and the money had not been paid into the state treasury; and the failure of farm sergeants to keep records (41). Eight men were indicted by state criminal courts during the investigation. The president of the prison board, C.C. Smith, was sentenced to five years imprisonment for selling a

40. The result was given in footnote 73, p.67.
secondhand automobile to the board for a sum alleged to be several hundred dollars in excess of its value (42).

In the end Brewer's investigation was successful, because the penitentiary made a profit in 1912 and 1913. Net income increased to more than $300,000 per annum. Brewer said: "This investigation has been of great benefit in a financial way to the state of Mississippi." (43)

The third example of the investigation technique was the role of Brewer in the Delta County Bill case. In February 1912 a bill had been introduced in the legislature to create a new county in the Delta. It was opposed by the Delta counties, four of which would be dismembered (44). A Steve Castleman, of Belzoni, a large property owner, who had become a business associate of Governor Brewer, was given $2,000 by the citizens of Belzoni for lobbying key Senators. Belzoni wanted to be the new county's seat. When a sub-committee gave an unfavourable report, the bill was killed. (45)

The matter lay dormant for 22 months. On 1st December, 1913, a grand jury at Vicksburg brought indictments against State Senator G.A. Hobbs and Lieutenant-Governor Bilbo. They were charged with soliciting a bribe of $2,000 from Castleman and actually receiving $200.

Bilbo called the charge "political piracy" and a plot on the part of Brewer to ruin him politically. Brewer had

42. This sentence was reduced to a $500 fine by Brewer when physicians testified that Smith's health would preclude his outliving the sentence. (Kirwan, p.238)
43. Mississippi Senate Journal 1914, pp.65-81
44. The new county, first named "Delta", and later "Vardaman", would have been created out of parts of Leflore, Holmes, Yazoo and Washington Counties. Some thought it was a conspiracy by Bilbo to dismember Washington County, which had opposed him in the race for lieutenant-governor, and was Percy's county. (Green, p.45)
45. Bilbo was one of five members of the sub-committee. Judge Pat Henry, who defended Bilbo in his trial, showed that Bilbo had persuaded them to drop the bill because of the rumours afloat. (Speech of Judge Pat Henry in Bilbo-Hobbs
indeed been sleuthing since 1912, employing Burns' detective agency, who wired a Vicksburg Hotel room with detectaphone devices.

In the subsequent trials it appeared that Castleman was bribing Bilbo and Hobbs with the knowledge, if not encouragement, of Brewer. It was not disputed by Hobbs or Castleman that the bribe had been passed at Vicksburg but Hobbs claimed that his motive was "patriotic". Hobbs was acquitted on 31st December, 1913.

Bilbo was tried in June 1914. He made great political capital out of his trial, again presenting himself as the persecuted patriot. Bilbo was found not guilty and proceeded to make Brewer's investigation techniques rebound on the governor. In the gubernatorial primary election of 1915 Bilbo scored a great personal victory over W.M. Riley, Brewer's nominee. The lower classes' faction also won the nomination for lieutenant-governor: Lee M. Russell, Bilbo's protege, thus consolidated his political base (46). Thus the politics of persecution had twice rewarded Bilbo - in 1911 and 1915.

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45. Continued. Trial, Jury Speeches in Full, Jackson, Mississippi, N.D., pp.30-31
46. The election result was given in footnote 79, page 69
The economic problems of the first two decades of the 20th century were unresolved by 1920. During the twenty year period from 1920 to 1940 economic matters dominated Mississippi politics as successive state governments grappled with problems of unparalleled magnitude—especially in the 1930's.

In 1920 progressive sentiment was still strong in the nation and the Mississippi version, as reflected by Governor Lee Russell (1), was directed towards state regulation of corporations and trusts, notably insurance companies. Russell's progressivism extended to female suffrage, a major issue in 1920, but the legislature refused to ratify the Nineteenth Amendment.

The anti-corporation policies were halted by a change of government. In 1923 H.L. Whitfield (2), a representative of the state's "best people", defeated Bilbo for the governorship in a 'campaign of retribution'. By the mid-1920's extreme progressive sentiments were weakening in the nation and Governor Whitfield's administration reflected the "New South" creed of economic development. A philosophy of business progressivism developed out of the strands of old-style progressivism and economic expansion through the encouragement of industry (3). In this context the state's own expenditure had to be carefully controlled.

1. A biographical sketch of Lee M. Russell will be found in Notes, p.251, Note 41
2. A biographical sketch of Henry Whitfield will be found in Notes, p. 251, Note 42
Bilbo returned to office in 1928 determined to enact schemes of state enterprise such as a state printing plant and a major highway construction programme. Equally determined opposition by the House defeated the programme. But, in 1930, on gaining control of the board of trustees of the state university and colleges, and free from legislative oversight, Bilbo made some savage reforms — removing senior academics and others from their posts. Despite a poor administrative record, Bilbo had, amazingly, revived his stock sufficiently to win the senatorial primary in 1934.

When Governor Mike Conner (4) took office in 1932, the Great Depression was engulfing the nation. As a poor, rural state, with the lowest per capita income (5) in the nation, Mississippi was extremely vulnerable to the Depression and suffered from high unemployment (6) common throughout the South. Conner inherited a massive state deficit from Bilbo and forced a sales tax through the legislature of 1932 and by introducing other financial reforms saved the state from disaster. The scale of activities required to meet the Depression could only be provided however by a massive federal involvement. President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal programme, from 1933 to 1938, provided relief payments, reformed agriculture and set up

4. A biographical sketch of Martin Sennett (Mike) Conner will be found in Notes, p.251, Note 43
5. Mississippi had the lowest per capita income in the United States. A table of Per Capita Income 1929-1963 can be found in Appendix III p.283. One of the reasons for the low per capita income was the large number of farm tenants. In the Delta 80 per cent of all farm operators were tenants. Tenants rarely got out of debt, especially on cotton plantations, where landlords provided credit to buy food and seeds — from the plantation shop — at high rates of interest. Both races suffered from tenancy. (Report of the Mississippi Valley Committee of the Public Works Administration, 1st October 1934 United States Printing Office, Washington 1934, p.199)
6. Unemployment is discussed in Notes, p. 252, Note 44
a series of construction programmes.

Governor Hugh L. White (7) introduced his own scheme of self-help in 1936, the Balance Agriculture with Industry programme through which the state subsidised private industries which would locate in Mississippi. When B.A.W.I. was added to the major federal schemes, the economic climate of the late 1930's was far removed — in time and philosophy — from the anti-corporationism of the 1920's.

The administration of Governor Lee Russell from 1920 to 1924 was strongly influenced at first by the policies of the outgoing Governor Bilbo in 1920. As lieutenant-governor to Bilbo, Russell had probably helped to shape the policies (8). One of the principal issues of the time was woman's suffrage. Both Bilbo and Russell believed in votes for white women. In June 1919 President Wilson wired the governors of all Southern states urging ratification by the legislatures of the Federal Suffrage Amendment from the viewpoint of expediency and warning them that the National Democratic party's success in the November 1920 elections was at stake. The only outcome was the condemnation of the President as a "meddler"(9).

Governor Russell devoted more time to the question of

7. A biographical sketch of Hugh L. White will be found in Notes, p. 252, Note 45
8. The legislature of 1920 failed to pass Governor Russell's reforms. The Speaker of the House, Mike Conner, who had been elected in 1916 with Bilbo's support, had split with Bilbo in 1918 and Russell in 1919. He was elected speaker again after a fight in 1920. A majority of the legislators were opposed to Russell's demands for increased appropriations and demanded economy. By the session of 1922, Russell and Bilbo had split and had become hardened enemies. (Albert D. Kirwan, Revolt of the Renegks, pp.296-298; William F. Holmes, The White Chief, p.374.)
ratification than any other topic in his inaugural address in January 1920. In his opinion, women should have the vote. There was considerable opposition in the legislature: opponents feared that 'illiterate, colored women would be enfranchised; f and that Congress would enforce the mandate by 'appropriate legislation'. A rejection resolution passed the House on 21st January 1920. It was referred to the Committee on Constitution but later a ratification resolution was substituted. On 30th March, 1920, the Senate voted 22-22 but Lieutenant-Governor H.H. Casteel broke the tie and cast an affirmative vote. The attention of the whole nation switched from Republican Delaware to the Democratic Mississippi legislature, with telegrams pouring in from supporters of Women's Suffrage appealing to the House to make Mississippi the thirty-sixth state which would have ensured passage of the amendment. On 31st March, 1920, the House passed a motion that it "do not concur with the Senate resolution of ratification." In fifteen minutes the resolution to ratify was announced as defeated and the clerk was reading another bill. Curiously the legislature passed bills making provision for women to vote in primary and general elections, both contingent upon the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. In August 1920 Tennessee ratified the Nineteenth Amendment but Mississippi and Georgia women alone did not vote in the election of November 1920 because they were not registered, in accordance with state law, for four months and six months respectively before the election (10).

10. Ibid, pp.470-472
Russell naturally opposed the corporations and trusts, who were, by red-neck definition, "enemies of the people". The politics of the state became dominated by a violent factional struggle between 'representatives of the people' and 'supporters of the trusts'. As Clarence E. Cason observed for the Virginia Quarterly Review:

"Violent resentments against all "enemies of the people" - deep jealousies and hatreds, inhibited for years - sprang savagely to the surface and held the stage against constructive programs ...... In the minds of the newly powerful hill people of Mississippi, the large corporations and "trusts" became confused with their old masters, the delta folk."( 11 )

Russell's philosophy was revealed in his inaugural address. Whereas profiteers, "the arch-criminals in the land", should be punished, the interests of the labourers should be protected by a proposed "Department of Labor". Russell's policy was to control corporations through legislation and court action, invoking the anti-trust laws. Although handicapped by his faction being a minority in the legislatures of 1920 and 1922, he waged a continuous campaign against business interests.

An example occurred in 1922 when the Cumberland Telephone and Telegraph company proposed to raise their tariff by an average of 31.14 per cent in Mississippi. Predictably, the public protested vehemently. Russell recommended to the legislature that a contingent fund should be established to fight the case ( 12 ). When the Railroad Commission granted a 20 per cent increase, a House Committee of Investigation advocated the winding up of the Railroad Commission and its replacement by a Public Utilities

12. Mississippi Senate Journal 1922, pp.13-54
Commission with substantial powers to control all public utilities.

The objects of special hatred were the insurance companies. Russell's case was that the companies made excess profits and did not invest in the state. Russell told the legislature of 1922:

"The fire insurance business had reached enormous proportions in the state. Records in the Insurance Commission's office show that in 1919 the companies received $6,500,000 from premiums from policy holders in Mississippi, but fire losses were $2,500,000. This left a substantial profit of approximately $4,000,000. They pay to the state a reasonable tax for this large business.... but... do not invest a single dollar in Mississippi." (13)

From 1920 to 1922 Stokes V. Robertson, state Revenue Agent, filed suits against 100 fire insurance companies under the anti-trust laws. By using rates advised by the Mississippi Rating Company of Vicksburg the companies were charged with conspiring to fix rates and destroy competition. The companies fought back with a petition containing 36,000 signatures, demanding the repeal of the anti-trust legislation.

In the trial that followed in 1921 it was established that the insurance companies were afraid of the attitude of the state towards foreign capital and only used the Rating Company on the assurance of the state attorney general that it would be legal. T.M. Henry, state Insurance Commissioner, testified that fire insurance could not be

13. Loc Cit; For a critical view of the Russell government's position see: Frederick W. Jones, "Mississippi's Great Fight for Honor and Prosperity", The Outlook, CXXXI, 31st May, 1922, pp.209-211. This article gives an account of influential forces who were campaigning for foreign capital, for example Charles H. Brough, ex-governor of Arkansas and native of Mississippi and C.H. Markham, President of the Illinois Central Railroad, which operates extensively in Mississippi.
written safely without the use of a service provided by the Rating Company, a corporation chartered by the state to perform the very service for the use of which the companies were sued for $400,000,000. Henry regarded the attack of the revenue agent upon the companies as a terrible blow to the good name and prosperity of the state. Although efforts were made by business interests to persuade the governor to call a special session of the legislature to abate the suit, he refused to do this. The suit resulted in a judgement calling for damages of over $1,000,000.

One of the attorneys representing the insurance companies was Hon. R.L. McLaurin, of Vicksburg, and this, according to Russell, indicated the sort of men who were representing the companies (14). All insurance companies, except a few small local ones, were restrained from selling policies in the state for a certain period. As a result, people were without cover when the large fire insurance companies withdrew from the state in 1921.

Russell made serious charges against the insurance companies in a special message to the legislature of 1922. (15) A House Committee of Investigation investigated Russell's charges. Russell declined to appear and stated he obtained his information from the state revenue agent, who testified the evidence was 'hearsay' by several people. The Committee reported that "inadequate jurisdictional authority of the Committee to compel witnesses to appear

14. Mississippi Senate Journal 1922, pp.13-54; The chief contest in the legislature of 1922 was the question of putting the state revenue agent on a salary, as he received a commission of 20 per cent of all the damages he could collect. The office brought riches to its occupants. (Jones, p.210)
15. Mississippi Senate Journal 1922, pp.621-626
made it impossible to give a conclusive finding and the matter was left to the courts." (16)

The Ford Company, a favourite target for anti-corporation sentiment, received a set-back from the Russell government: under a temporary injunction all Ford dealers in the state were compelled to cease operations for six weeks.

From the above examples, it can be seen that the Mississippi brand of the Progressive movement had a hostile approach to corporations which reduced the all-important level of confidence between business interests and state government. Russell's ruthless policies helped to prevent any significant growth to the small industrial base in Mississippi and was a sad isolationism when other Southern states, such as North Carolina and Virginia, were positively attempting to attract new industries.

The state's role in economic development was one of the principal issues in the gubernatorial election of 1923. This election was a classical struggle between Bilbo and Henry L. Whitfield who was, by background and philosophy, a member of the established interests' faction.

In this election the odds were, for once, firmly against the Bilbo faction. The administration of Governor Russell had been troubled with charges of extravagance in the payment of a levee contractor (17) and corruption (18). In

15.Ibid, pp.1895-1912.
16.A Special House Committee appointed to investigate the (N.46 affairs of T.M. Henry, Insurance Commissioner, found that he had withheld funds of $19,799.40 from the state treasury in violation of Sec.2626, 1906 Code, collected prior to 17th January, 1922, and paid to state revenue agent on 20th February, 1922. His deputy, J.A. McNair, was "under bond with a New York company without the governor approving the bond or the bond being filed with the Secretary of State as required by law. (Mississippi House Journal 1922, pp.2176-2181)
addition Russell faced a personal scandal: Miss Francis C. Birkhead, his secretary, accused him of seduction and a breach of promise to marry when he obtained a divorce (19).

Bilbo suffered from the general view that he had been the inspiration behind the Russell government, and, in particular, from his suspicious role as Russell's advocate in the Birkhead seduction case: "The affair left a nauseating stench in the nostrils of many Mississippians."(20)

There was also a personal issue - the integrity of Whitfield: Whitfield had been dismissed as President of Mississippi State College for Women in 1920 by the board of trustees and this was popularly thought to be a political dismissal by Governor Russell (21). Whitfield was supported in a "campaign of retribution" by the alumnae of M.S.C.W. and friends of other schoolmen who had been ousted by Russell (22). Whitfield won the election (23) and as governor, from 1924 to 1927, readjusted the personnel of the educational institutions. The honest educator and man of integrity had been returned by an electorate which was overwhelmingly of the lower classes:

"Whitfield was elected as an exponent of the Whig point of view and a representative of the state's "best people", a member of the respectable Democratic faction headed by Senator John Sharp Williams, as opposed to the poor-white and agrarian faction led by Senator Vardaman"(24).

19. The Birkhead case is discussed in Notes, p. 253, Note 47  
20. Albert D. Kirwan, Revolt of the Rednecks, p. 299  
21. Cason, p. 236; Whitfield had attempted to "unify the conflicting factions" in the state by having an established quota of students from each county. Exclusive social organisations were not allowed, all students slept in similar dormitories and wore the same, simple uniforms.  
22. Cason, p. 238  
23. H.L. Whitfield  
T.G. Bilbo  
Report of Secretary of State to the Legislature of Mississippi 1921-1923.  
The electorate had apparently rejected Bilbo's charge that Whitfield favoured the "interests". Such a charge had little relevance in the economic doldrums of 1923. Thus Whitfield "rode into office on a wave of discontent with extravagance and alleged corruption, as something of a dark horse, a schoolman who had hitherto kept clear of politics." (25)

Whitfield came into office committed to a policy of 'domestic economic conservatism' and he was intent on balancing state income and expenditure before the state could further expand its services. The state had a long history of deficit financing necessitating bond issues to borrow money to make up the deficits. The full burden of these bond issues - the payment of interest and capital repayment - fell on later generations of taxpayers. Whitfield believed that a solvent state government would attract private enterprise. Unlike Russell, Whitfield realised that industrial growth was the cornerstone of economic advance. The state's role was to provide the guidelines inside which private capital would be attracted.

The acute economic problems facing Whitfield were summarised in his inaugural address to the legislature of 1924:

"The incoming administration assumes the responsibility of the state's Government under most unfavorable conditions. The lack of prosperity in agriculture; the excessive burden and unfair distribution of taxes; the almost depleted condition of our forests; the continued loss of population; the timid attitude of the business world towards our state; the lack of development of our natural resources; and the failure of crops during the past year - these and other adverse factors have caused our people to become discouraged and to look on the"

25. Ibid, pp.190-191
future with apprehension.... The state is just now emerging from the pioneer condition that marks a stage in the life of every civilised people in their struggle for progress." (26)

In the face of these problems, Whitfield's policies were firstly, to practise overall economy in public expenditure; secondly, to reform taxation and retire bond issues; and thirdly, to revise anti-trust laws in order to attract industrial investment. These policies were executed with remarkable success. Whitfield kept state expenditure within revenues and stopped the policy, which had existed since 1904, of meeting current expenses by bond issues (27). His tenet was: "The curtailment of local waste and extravagance is the key to tax reform." (28)

The Income Tax Law, 1924, provided a fair, graduated system of income tax on all individuals and corporations (29). He removed the burden of taxation from visible property and put it on 'privileges' and luxuries (30).

Whitfield changed the anti-corporation climate engendered by the Russell administration. He pursued a liberal policy towards business, revising anti-trust laws in 1924; hydro-electric companies were authorised to exercise eminent domain (31); railroad companies were permitted to consolidate with other companies (32); and corporations were permitted to consolidate by acquisition of capital and equipment of other corporations (33). In 1925

26.Mississippi Senate Journal 1924, pp.192-216
27.Half the bond issues since 1904 were for that purpose. (Mississippi Senate Journal 1926, pp.20-57)
28.Mississippi Senate Journal 1924, pp.192-216
29.Mississippi Laws 1924, Chapter 132.
30.Whitfield reduced the state levy from 8 mills on the dollar in 1924 and 1925, with a county maximum of 8 mills to 6 mills state levy for 1926 and 1927 and a county maximum of 6 mills. This was made possible by taxing tobacco, soft drinks, amusements and new automobiles and by increasing gasoline and oil taxes.
31.Mississippi Laws 1924, Chapter 179
32.Mississippi Laws 1924, Chapter 178
33.Mississippi Laws 1924, Chapter 182
Whitfield set up a Special Commission to study the whole problem of anti-trust legislation. It reported in 1926 and its recommendations were largely enacted by the legislature of 1926 (34). The controversial issue of insurance rates was tackled when Whitfield established a Fire Insurance Rating Bureau which established uniform rates for fire insurance, prohibited discrimination in rates and provided for a review of rates fixed by the Bureau (35).

Whitfield made his niche as an educational reformer. He revised the School Code of 1924 and reformed the whole educational system (36). A concomitant was the Child Labor Law, 1924, which prohibited children under 14 years from working in manufacturing establishments (37).

The problem of cotton prices was tackled by Whitfield in characteristic fashion. The poor crops in 1921, 1922 and 1923 and low prices, which persisted in general throughout the decade, (38) made action imperative. Whitfield called Southern governors to a cotton convention at Memphis in October 1926. Cotton pools of four million bales were formed by the cooperatives in collaboration with bankers who would refuse loans to farmers unless they reduced cotton acreage by 25 per cent and planted food and feeds. Six million fewer acres were harvested in 1927 and the price rose to

34. Mississippi Laws 1926, Chapter 182. This amended anti-farming laws of 1912, 1916 and 1922.
35. The bill had been vetoed by Governor Russell in 1924 before he left office. The bill had to go to a Conference Committee. (Mississippi Laws 1924, Chapter 188)
36. The School Code was the body of laws affecting education and its revision was a reform of the educational system. For example: attendance was compulsory between ages 7 and 16; teachers' salaries were raised; taxation was provided to support schools; a text book commission was established and curricula were established. (Mississippi Laws 1924, Chapter 283.)
37. Boys or girls over 14 years and under 16 years were not permitted to work more than 8 hours in one day or more than 44 hours a week or be detained between 7 pm. and 6 am. (Mississippi Laws 1924, Chapter 314.)
38. The price per pound of cotton received by Mississippi farmers will be found in Notes, p. 254, Note 48.
21.11 cents a pound in Mississippi in 1927, the highest price before World War Two. This was at a time when the boll weevil was moving eastwards across the cotton South, which was blanketed by 1923 and it was not conquered by calcium arsenate until the 1930's. Thus, for the above reasons, farmers were forced to diversify by raising cattle, pigs, hay and pasturage, and with cotton acreage reduced, some negro tenants left the land and migrated to cities. In a sense Whitfield pre-empted federal legislation in the Great Depression.

The overall success of the Whitfield administration was evident from his legislative and fiscal reforms. The state went into surplus in 1926 (39), and state bonded debts were reduced. When Whitfield died in March 1927, his faithful lieutenant-governor, Dennis Murphree, became governor. His most immediate problem was the great flood of Spring 1927. The Mississippi River broke its banks in the most devastating flood in the history of the Mississippi River valley. Lives, land and property was destroyed and famine and disease followed. The immense damage of the flood led to a complete control of rivers and dams by the United States Army Corps of Engineers (40).

Under the firm hands of Whitfield and Murphree, the Mississippi economy had achieved a degree of prosperity by 1928. Murphree reported to the legislature of 1928 in his final message:

39. There was a surplus of $1,484,445.69 on 1st January, 1926, for the period 1924-1925 compared with the previous biennium, 1922-1923. There was a cash surplus of $1,117,336.38 in the state treasury in cash. (Mississippi Senate Journal 1926, pp.20-57)

40. The devastation caused by the flood is described in Notes, p.254, Note 49
"During the period 1924-1926, larger appropriations for the causes of education, pensions, institutions etc., were made than had ever before been made by our legislatures, but by reason of the taxing system and additional methods of raising revenues, funds were provided and the state treasury had paid every warrant presented upon it." (41)

When faced with a choice of continuing the conservative policies under Murphree or a return to 'Bilboism', the electorate narrowly chose Bilbo in the second gubernatorial primary of 1927 (42). Murphree was handicapped by devoting so much time to the great flood whilst Bilbo was promising massive state expenditure - if elected. Undoubtedly Bilbo's charisma and personal magnetism - for a large part of the electorate - was too exciting for him to be left out of office.

Governor Bilbo came into office in 1928 determined to enact schemes of state enterprise. The principal schemes were firstly, a state owned printing press to print free school text books and, secondly, the construction of brick-paved roads throughout the state with the bricks being made by convict labour (43). He also wanted a central

41. Mississippi Senate Journal 1928, pp.21-37. Bilbo challenged the position of the state's finances in his 1928 inaugural address.

42. T.G. Bilbo 147,669  
    D. Murphree 137,130
    Biennial Report of Secretary of State to the Legislature of Mississippi 1927-1929

Murphree faced many handicaps: the disastrous flood of 1927, which almost took his life, required so much time that he was unable to devote proper attention to the campaign. He twice called out the National Guard to prevent lynchings in Jackson. His finances were inadequate for such an undertaking but Hugh L. White and L.O. Crosby came forward to underwrite expenses. (William D. McCain, "The Life and Labor of Dennis Murphree", Journal of Mississippi History, XIII, 1950, pp.186-187.)

43. This was parallel to Huey Long's roadbuilding programme in Louisiana.
state purchasing agent, a central board of trustees for all state colleges and a state constabulary appointed by the governor and responsible to him (44). Because of determined opposition by the House this programme was defeated. The Senate, however, generally supported the governor's programme.

The state printing plant scheme, long a dream of the impoverished whites who naturally objected to buying textbooks, was killed when the House State Printing Investigation Committee reported in 1929:

"After reviewing all the facts we have been able to obtain, the committee is firmly of the opinion that it would be utterly impossible to save one dime in Mississippi by the establishment and operating of a state owned printing press" (45).

Money could be saved instead by children using the existing books longer than the present period of two years.

The highway construction programme was defeated even though Bilbo dropped the convict labour scheme and substituted an $82,000,000 bond issue scheme to finance it. The financing and scale of the highway programme was considered to be unrealistic by opponents. More importantly the House feared Bilbo would control the entire construction programme and extend the governor's "patronage". Raymond Gram Swing, a critical journalist, reported in 1935:

"The state highway scheme with its huge bond issue led Bilbo into close fellowship with high finance, and he was near at one time to getting his money on an I.O.U., the bonds actually to be deposited in a bank outside the state. The eminent group which played with him was interested on a vast scale in road material, and one of the principals, Luke Lea, is now in prison. This project would have been a vast "gravy-dish", but the money was not borrowed after all, and when he retired the state was $11,500,000 in the hole and its credit was in jeopardy." (46)

45. Mississippi House Journal 1929, p.261
46. Swing, p.125
Bilbo's schemes of state enterprise were defeated on three occasions - in the legislatures of 1928, and at extraordinary sessions which he called in 1929 and in 1930. Any faint hope of passage of the highway construction bill ended when a financial scandal in 1930 revealed that Lester C. Franklin, Chairman of the State Tax Commission, had received $162,000 from a lawyer representing a road construction company in settlement of a tax-claim brought by the state under the anti-trust laws. (47)

The administration of education in Mississippi was the third scheme of reform by Bilbo. A. Wigfall Green has indicated that:

"Ruthless politics had existed in the educational system of Mississippi for many years, and probably from the beginning, but Bilbo, in the hope of improving the system, injected more politics." (48)

In 1928 Bilbo had attempted to move the ancient and much respected University of Mississippi ("Ole Miss") from its home in Oxford, North Mississippi, where it had been founded in 1848 to provide higher education for the Delta's cultured youth, to the state capitol at Jackson. Determined opposition by the Chancellor, Dr. Alfred Hume, and the citizens of Oxford, defeated the removal but at a terrible personal cost to Hume. When Bilbo's nominee's gave him control of the board of trustees of the state university and colleges in 1930, he fired three college presidents, including Dr. Hume and 45 faculty members (49). Bilbo

47 See the Partial Report of a House Investigating Committee summarised in Notes, p. 255, Note 50
48 Green, p. 77
49 Green, p. 76; John B. Hudson in "The Spoils System Enters College: Governor Bilbo and Higher Education in Mississippi", New Republic, LXIV, 12th September, 1930, pp. 123-125, gives a figure of 179 dismissals.
told reporters:

"Boys, we've just hung up a new record. We've bounced three college presidents and made three new ones in the record time of two hours.... And that's just the beginning of what's going to happen." (50)

As a result, the University of Mississippi lost accreditation in 1930 as did the four state colleges (51).

A. Wigfall Green has found evidence of terror tactics employed by Bilbo:

"It is undeniable that a secret record was kept at each institution of the faculty members who had disparaged Bilbo. The blacklist went to Jackson, where consideration was given to replacements. After recommendation the list was returned to each institution for appropriate action." (52)

Since the dismissals various theories were advanced for Bilbo's course of action. It is probable that Bilbo was building up his political machine in readiness for the Senatorial primary of 1934. Lines of demarcation were being prepared: his own political followers were obviously rewarded during the 'reforms' at the expense of his political enemies.

Bilbo's administration ended in a low key. The Wall Street crash of October 1929 began to depress business activity in 1930 and the state faced acute financial difficulties from 1930. In the period from 1928 to 1932

50. Hudson, p.123
51. Accreditation is the recognition of an institution's degrees by the appropriate educational authority. This system ensures a semblance of academic standards in the nation which is essential for employment applications. The University of Mississippi was dismissed by the American Association of Universities because of the insecurity of tenure of faculty. The four state colleges were dropped by the Southern Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges.
52. Green, p.75
the state constantly spent more than its income, thus reversing Whitfield's conservative management policy. Since 1929 property assessment values had fallen and consequently privilege taxes had fallen (53). Income taxes had fallen with the decline in incomes of all kinds. Bilbo failed to reduce the costs of state government, despite the protests of the influential Jackson Clarion-Ledger (54). When Bilbo left office in 1932 he was a "political down and out", having few friends, a negative legislative record and financially embarrassed (55). His revival, indeed his survival, in Mississippi politics "smacks of the miraculous, even to those who know Mississippi." (56)

Bilbo obtained a post in Washington in 1932 as director of the clippings bureau of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration with the possible connivance of Senator Pat Harrison (57). The $6,000 a year post saved Bilbo from starvation but, more importantly, gave him a job for two years at Washington during which time he apparently did

53. Assessment values had fallen from $775,716,077 in 1928 to $692,683,904 in 1932. (See inaugural address of Governor Conner, Mississippi Senate Journal, 1932, pp.66-96)
54. This was the view of the Jackson Clarion-Ledger, which consistently opposed Bilbo:
"One of the causes is the ever-increasing cost of government, city, county, state and national. Extravagance and wanton waste have so crept into office that it requires a large part of the receipts of a farm to meet the tax bill

"If the taxpayers will organize one-half as strongly as those who are eating at the public trough, then economy can be forced into the heads of office holders." (Quotation in The Literary Digest, 7th May 1932, p.10)
55. "He had to give up his heavily mortgaged pecan farm, worth $75,000, because he could not raise $500 to settle a claim against him. (Swing, p.123)
56. Loc Cit
57. Walter Davenport has suggested that Senator Hubert Stephens obtained the post for Bilbo, (Walter Davenport, "Brethren and Sisters", Colliers, 16th March, 1935, p.19) but most other sources, for example J. A. Wigfall Green, The Man Bilbo, p.90, suggest Harrison was the intermediary.
a minimum of work as the self-styled "Pastemaster General" and built up a new political base out of the ashes of defeat. Bilbo was a candidate in the primary for the United States Senate in 1934, standing against his old personal enemy, Senator Hubert D. Stephens - a man who had been close to death in 1931. In that event Bilbo, as governor, would have been a candidate to succeed him. During his illness Stephens had issued a statement accusing Bilbo of "waiting like a ghoul for me to die", only for Bilbo to reply in writing:

"Hubert Stephens is a vicious, malicious, pusillanimous, cold-blooded, lop-eared, blue-nosed, pre-meditated, plain and ordinary United States Senatorial liar." (58)

Bilbo made the class issue the central issue of the campaign, portraying Stephens as the upper class gentleman who was out of touch with the hard realities of life in the Great Depression. Using the techniques of the rabble-rouser, Bilbo won the second primary (59).

When Governor Martin Sennett (Mike) Conner (60) took office in January 1932, the American capitalist system was in danger of collapsing following the failure of European banks in the summer of 1931 and a decline in

58. Davenport, p.19
59. T.G. Bilbo 101,702  
H.D. Stephens 94,587  
Mississippi Blue Book, Biennial Report of the Secretary of State to the Legislature of Mississippi, 1931-1933
60. Biographical details are in Notes, p.251-252, Note 43
American bank resources and deposits (61). There was still over a year before Roosevelt would take office - in March 1933 - and implement the New Deal.

The Conner administration inherited a $12,500,000 deficit from the Bilbo administration. The state had tried to sell $6,000,000 current expense bonds, after being authorised by an extraordinary session of the legislature in October 1931, but there were no buyers for what was normally a safe and profitable investment (62). State finances were practically non-existent: state bonds were listed at 75 and 80 cents on the dollar. Teachers were unpaid. Public institutions had no credit: patients at Mississippi state hospitals for the mentally ill lived off the gardens (63). As in other states, the system of local relief had collapsed by 1932. Thomas R. Dye has shown how the failure of state budgetary financing inevitably led to federal programmes to fill the vacuum:

"By 1932 the traditional structure of local relief had collapsed. Local governments were quickly drained of financial resources to aid the indigent. Direct state participation in welfare activities increased rapidly and a majority of states distributed money to local relief agencies. But state governments were also running out of money. In some states 40 per cent of the people were on relief and in some counties the figure rose to 80 per cent. Frantic appeals for help from the national government were made by states and localities. Even Herbert Hoover was forced into approving limited federal relief programs. The Roosevelt administration very early launched large-scale emergency relief and public work programs. In time these emergency programs were abandoned, but the precedent of federal responsibility for public welfare had been established." (64)

61. "Between June 30th, 1931, and June 30th, 1932, total (American) bank resources declined from $70,209,000,000 to $57,245,100,000, while bank deposits shrank nearly $9,000,000,000." (Arthur S. Link, American Epoch, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, p.384)
62. Mississippi Senate Journal, pp.56-96
63. Covington News-Commercial, 22nd September 1950
For the individual citizen the most pressing financial obligation was to pay state taxes. If they could not pay, the state was forced to foreclose properties. In April 1932 one fourth of the entire area of the state was sold by auctioneers in a single day. Historic plantations, as well as small farms, were sacrificed under this economic pressure.

A correspondent wrote:

"One-fourth of the entire area of the state went under the auctioneers' hammers.

That land included 20 per cent of all farms and 12 to 15 per cent of all town property. The sales conducted by seventy-four sheriffs affected 39,699 farms.

Of the land sold Monday, about 400,000 acres went to the state. The remainder went to insurance companies, loan agencies, and mortgage holders to protect loans.

The state already has more than 1,000,000 acres on its hands, so acquired. In another eighteen months, with the rate of acquisition increasing, it will have more than 3,000,000 acres of farmers' lands."

(65)

In the face of these adverse factors, Conner strongly recommended all-round economy in state expenditure and use of resources. He recommended a complete reorganisation of state government on "practical business-like and economical grounds" (66). Conner used a similar policy as Governor

65. The families were not made homeless immediately, however, because owners could retain possession of lands sold and have two years in which to redeem them. (The Literary Digest, 7th May, 1932, p.10)

66. Economies could be made by: a budget system with a director to achieve a balanced budget; centralised contracting and purchasing; a State Bond Commission to control the sale of bonds throughout the state; economy in education could be achieved by making the 82 counties school districts instead of the 5331 existing school districts. (Mississippi Senate Journal 1932, pp.66-96)
Whitfield but drew much more trenchant opposition to his proposals – particularly for a 3 per cent state wide sales tax.

This issue proved to be the most controversial one in Mississippi politics in the 1930's:

"When the sales tax was proposed to meet the mounting obligations, a veritable storm broke over the state. A statewide mass meeting was called. Trains ran excursions to Jackson. Traffic was heavy on the highways, and crowds poured into Jackson. At the auditorium a series of blistering, anti-Conner speeches were made. Merchants attacked him and a mob marched on the governor's mansion. After the sales tax the state operated on a cash basis for the next four years." (67)

Conner was unmoved by the constituency pressure. Opponents claimed that 'everything would be taxed and the poor would have greater hardship'. Conner and his supporters claimed it would have the reverse effect: it would lead to a reduction of the inequitable property tax which crippled the poor farmers. The difficulty was the time factor - it would take at least two years for its effect to work through. He forced the measure through a bitterly divided legislature of 1932 by 2/5 of one vote - but only at the rate of 2 per cent. Thus, "one of the most unpopular taxes ever levied in the South" (68) had arrived in Mississippi.

Conner carried through his other financial reforms in the 1932 session. A Budget Commission was created (69).

67. Conner received several death threats but refused protection from the National Guard. (Covington News-Commercial, 22nd September, 1950) Therefore meant that the state had a surplus of cash for the period 1932-1936.
68. Loc Cit
69. The purpose of the Budget Commission was to promote economy and efficiency in the management of the state's finances. The Chairman of the State Tax Commission would be assistant director and the governor ex-officio director. (Mississippi Laws 1932, Chapter 120)
and taxation laws were revised. When Conner reported to the legislature of 1934, his policy of severe economic restraint was vindicated - if one were assessing the situation in monetary terms. The controllable expenses of state government had been reduced by an unprecedented 36.67 per cent (71)! The operating budget had balanced due to all-round economy, and the sales tax which had increased tax income by 25 per cent permitted property tax to be reduced. All outstanding obligations had been paid in full. In 1934 the Great Depression meant an even more stringent budgetary. The sales tax was raised to 4 per cent (72) and the legislature passed a series of laws designed to comply with the national recovery programme (73). Before Conner left office in January 1936, he reported a net cash balance of $2,696,584.45 in the general fund (74).

70. The Privilege Tax law, 1932, was a comprehensive revision of privilege taxes imposed upon trades, professions, callings and businesses (Mississippi Laws 1932, Chapter 69); the Tobacco Tax law, 1932, raised the tax on tobacco to 20% (Mississippi Laws 1932, Chapter 92); Income Tax was raised and exemptions were reduced. The state was divided into two taxing districts with a chairman and two associate commissioners appointed by the governor with the advice and consent of the Senate. (Mississippi Laws 1932, Chapter 96)

71. Controllable expenses of state government had fallen from $24,161,536 in 1930-1931 to $15,579,131 in 1932-1933 - a reduction of 36.67%. This was an unprecedented reduction in a state budget. (Mississippi Senate Journal 1934, pp.13-35)

72. Emergency Revenue Act (Mississippi Laws 1934, Chapter 119)

73. For example: anti-trust laws were suspended when in conflict with the National Industrial Recovery Act (Mississippi Laws 1934, Chapter 207). State banking laws were revised (Mississippi Laws 1934, Chapter 146) Income tax laws (Mississippi Laws 1934, Chapter 120) and Privilege Tax laws (Mississippi Laws 1934, Chapter 118) were also revised.

74. "The administration had financed its entire current expense obligations for all purposes from its current revenues, and had taken care of debt service requirement. The state owes $4,719,666.15 less than in 1932... The official records reveal that ours is the first state administration, since the state began to issue bonds in quantities, actually to reduce the state debt..." In four years more of the bonds of the state were paid off than in the preceding 100 years." (Mississippi Senate Journal 1936, pp.26-42)
Gonner's policies of governmental reorganisation were resisted by legislative blocs who considered that the governor was too extreme in his policies and that, if the schemes were executed, the governor's power base would be extended. Two issues illustrate the strength - and fears - of the opposition forces: the liquor issue and the highway department issue.

In 1932 Conner was under considerable pressure to call an extraordinary session of the legislature which could authorise a referendum on ratification of the Twenty-First Amendment which was drafted to end national prohibition. Conner, a noted dry, was not prepared to call a special session just to consider liquor. He was prepared to consider liquor and his plan to reorganise state government through the calling of a constitutional convention. In August 1933 he canvassed legislators for their support but when a majority of the legislators had failed to support him - by October 1933 - he refused to call an extraordinary session, maintaining there was insufficient time before the regular session in January 1934. Thus Conner and the legislative opposition achieved a deadlock: the governor could not obtain his quid pro quo and refused an extraordinary session.

In the event Utah ratified the Twenty-First Amendment on 7th November, 1933, and national prohibition was over as 3/4 of all the states had ratified without Mississippi having voted (75). The "wets" in the state achieved a minor victory in the legislature of 1934 when the sale of

beer and light wines was authorised if counties opted for it (76). A referendum was held on 10th July, 1934, when 15 counties voted "wet", although the state as a whole elected to remain dry (77).

A second major obstacle to Conner's reorganisation plans was the legislative lobby which preserved the state highway department intact. In 1934 Conner wished to reorganise the state highway department so that its expenditure would be controlled by specific legislative appropriations instead of being free to spend its own revenues without direct legislative control. Conner's objective was a balanced budget by transferring gasoline taxes to school support and destitution relief rather than issue current expense funds.

The highway department preservation lobby refused to permit a constitutional convention unless a guarantee was given that the highway department would not be affected (78).

The federal involvement in the states was cemented with President Roosevelt's New Deal programme which turned Mississippi, along with the other 47 states, into a client state from 1933 to 1938. A measure of Mississippi's destitution was that the state Department of Emergency Relief declared bankruptcy early in 1936 (79). The federal

76. The purpose of the law was to provide a source of revenue for the state. (Mississippi Laws 1934, Chapter 171)
77. The voting shows the traditional sectionalism on the issue. 15 Delta and river counties combined with the Gulf Coast to vote "wet" but Sunflower and Humphreys Counties were against the sale of alcohol in the county. 67 Hill counties voted "dry". Total vote: for prohibition: 84,044, against prohibition: 35,950. Mississippi Blue Book 1935-1937
78. The highway lobby's opposition is discussed in Notes, p.255.
government was responsible for unemployment, which was tackled by public works expenditure and unemployment relief, and the federal government took on a new fiscal role by large scale spending and unbalanced budgets (80).

The passage of the Agricultural Adjustment Act on 12th May, 1933, brought the federal government into the day-to-day economics of farming. For Mississippi and the South, the act meant support for cotton prices. Farmers ploughed under one-third of the bumper crop of 1933, receiving a subsidy in lieu from the federal government (81). As a result, prices rose in Mississippi from 6.82 cents a pound in 1932 to 10.51 cents a pound in 1933 (82). The lion's share of benefit payments went to the landowner, however, who received rental for acreage taken out of production at his tenant's expense. Many tenants were forced off the land to become casual day-labourers or go on relief (83). The programme was a subsidy to planters and was a reflection of the planter influence in the administration: Oscar Johnston, operator of the largest plantation in the United States at Scott, Mississippi, was manager of the Federal Cotton Pool and special assistant to the Secretary of the Treasury on matters of farm finance. When neglect of the tenant and sharecropper became known to the Roosevelt Administration, amendments to the act were being prepared when the whole programme was nullified by the conservative Supreme Court in United States v. Butler on 6th January, 1936 (84).

80. Richard Hofstadter, The Age of Reform, pp.306-307
81. Thomas D. Clark and Albert D. Kirwan, The South Since Appomattox, pp.235-236
82. The cotton prices will be found in Note 7, p254
83. One study showed that the average payment to the landowner was $822 per plantation, while the aggregate received by all tenants per plantation was $108. (Clark and Kirwan, p.236)
84. 297, U.S. l.
new Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 provided for crop limitation in cotton, corn, tobacco and peanuts through benefit payments for "soil conservation" and through marketing loans. In return for federal support—prices on cotton and other commodities, farmers agreed to accept the quotas given them and to pay a penalty tax on all that they sold above the quota.

The decisive federal legislation was the Emergency Relief Appropriations Act approved by President Roosevelt on 8th April, 1935. The Works Progress Administration was the main administrative agency which executed the work relief programme from 1935 to 1943. The first Mississippi project was approved on 16th August, 1935. Much of the material progress of modern Mississippi can be attributed to W.P.A. construction in the period. The W.P.A. built or repaired farm-to-market roads, projects under $25,000 as the Public Works Administration and the state were responsible for the larger projects. Many cities and towns improved their transportation routes, notably Columbus and Blue Mountain. In all $67,193,771 was spent on "Highways, Roads, and Streets." (85) The "Public Buildings" division aided construction and renovation of over 200 school buildings. Negro schools were constructed by a negro labour force under separate projects (86). Although racial discrimination was prohibited,

86. W.P.A. and W.I.A. spent $400,000 for negro education between 1935 and 1937. Burgland High School, McComb, was the result of a $65,000 building made possible by W.P.A. In October 1938, 44,819 people were enrolled in such schools. (Whatley p.49, citing Charles W. Wilson, Education for Negroes in Mississippi since 1900, Boston, 1947, pp.55, 125, 556)
there was little or only token integration in Mississippi. Some racial problems of the 1960's were presaged by W.P.A. policies, however, because "the white people undoubtedly realised that there was much power to promote integration in the hands of those who made the rules." ( 87 )

Agricultural buildings such as cold storage plants and warehouses were erected and permitted the farmers to hold their produce until a rise in prices. Post Offices, civic centres and 29 armouries were built. By 1943 161 outdoor recreational facilities had been built by the "Parks and Other Recreational Facilities" division. The $3,000,000 programme of the "Conservation" division re-sodded eroded land in Bolivar County, planted tung trees in Harrison County and restocked large lakes in the Delta with fish from drying sloughs. Many cities, such as Jackson, had new storm sewers and public water facilities, under the "Sewer Systems and Other Utilities" division. Under the "Airports and Other Transportation" division, 13 airfields were built or improved.

For the "White Collar Projects", relief work of an educational, recreational, professional and clerical nature included rural libraries, adult education, music education, nurseries and blind education. "Goods Projects" employed women, who had the same rights and benefits as men, in sewing and canning. Under "Health and Sanitation" ditches were drained to eradicate mosquitoes and outdoor toilets were built. Mississippi spent 8.2 per cent of its funds on sanitation projects, a high figure, but reflecting the lack of amenities in the state.

87. Whatley, p.49
Other relief agencies were the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, which aided 53 per cent of the state's population; Civilian Conservation Corps; National Youth Administration; and the Civil Works Administration.

In order to assure useful work projects, local administrative divisions of the W.P.A. were required to pay one-fourth of the cost of each project. Governor Conner was under pressure from politicians, aware of the vote-catching possibilities, and the work-hungry electorate to call an extraordinary session of the legislature in July 1935 in order to apportion state funds to match federal funds so that W.P.A. work projects could start. It was not until October 1935 that Conner did call the extraordinary session — and only then because the federal government gave an ultimatum. Federal relief payments had been temporarily terminated on 1st February, 1935, and would cease on 1st November, 1935, if Mississippi did not appropriate more state money to match federal requirements. The legislature passed the Emergency Relief Act 1935 (88) and appropriated $700,000 for emergency relief (89). The new element of federal sanctions was thus evident in the welfare economics of the Great Depression.

In the gubernatorial election of 1935 a wealthy candidate won the election on his advocacy of schemes of state enterprise. Hugh L. White, president of the J.J. White Lumber Company of Columbia (90), defeated Paul B. Johnson.

88. Mississippi Laws 1935, Chapter 18
89. Mississippi Laws 1935, Chapter 17
90. See Notes, p. 252, Note 45
later to be the victor in 1939. White advocated policies on the same general philosophical lines as Bilbo: the state should assume a positive role in manufacturing enterprises because private enterprise had not got the risk capital. Whereas Bilbo failed in his proposals, White achieved considerable success. But in White's administrative period from 1936 to 1940, the state and nation had been conditioned by the use of federal money in the New Deal, and schemes of state enterprise, at one time anathema in a "free enterprise" system, were in accordance with the times.

White had been conditioned by his experience as Mayor of Columbia from 1927 to 1933. This pinewoods community in Marion County, South Mississippi, had been founded to exploit the long leaf pine wood which grows in abundance on the infertile soils. He realised that other industries must be attracted to Columbia if the community were not to die. As mayor, he attracted a shirt and pyjama factory to Columbia in 1932, employing 100; in 1936 700 were on the payroll and the target payroll of $1,000,000 had been achieved (91). Because the real attraction was local finance, other industries followed, many using local pine wood (92). The weakness of labour unions and the availability of labour also influenced

91. The citizens of Marion County raised $85,000 for the construction of the building. The company received a five year exemption from ad valorem taxes as provided in state law. The company guaranteed to employ 500 within two years of opening and within 10 years to pay out in salaries and wages a total of not less than $1,000,000. The city would retain title to the building until the payroll had reached this figure. H.L. White, "Mississippi Bids for Industry", Review of Reviews, December 1936, pp.30-31

92. Other industries attracted to Columbia included a men's high grade hosiery plant; a vegetable cannery; a factory producing naval stores including turpentine and other products - using the pine stumps; a hardwood mill; a wire-bound box plant; a pickle cannery; and a second-growth pine lumber manufactory. By 1936 1500 persons were employed in the new industries when running at full capacity. Local citizens invested $72,000 in housing facilities. Columbia's population was only 5,000 and Marion County's population was 20,000. (Loc Cit.)
companies' location decisions.

The importance of this period as Mayor was clearly revealed in an article in Review of Reviews written, as governor, in December 1936. White wrote:

"One sunny summer day in 1929 I sat in the executive offices of the J.J. White Lumber Company, of which I was president, at Columbia in Mississippi, and gazed out over hundreds of acres of pine stumps - "sawmill graveyard."

"What of the future of Mississippi?" I asked myself, as I reflected that before my eyes was concrete proof that soon the inspiring sight of Virgin pine forests would be transformed to one of desolate and nearly wanton destruction.

I thought of many neighboring communities that had been abandoned when sawmills were shut down because of the depletion of timber supply. I thought of the thousands of citizens who had worked in those sawmills and who were then seeking employment. I thought of still other thousands of farmers who had lost a market for their products as their neighbors, the mill workers, were forced to leave their homes in search of livelihood in other cities and towns.

A firm resolution I then made. I vowed that I would work to restore, in part at least, the wealth that I and my brethren of the lumber industry of the South had taken from the soil. I further resolved that I would do everything possible to maintain the population of my home community, which had been built upon the lumber industry, and to prevent it from drying-up as had other communities dependent upon the manufacture of lumber." (93)

Governor White's distinctive role was to devise and execute a policy of "Balancing Agriculture with Industry" (94).

93. Loc Cit
94. The definitive account of the first B.A.W.I. plan from 1936 to 1940 is: Ernest J. Hopkins, Mississippi's B.A.W.I. Plan, Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, Georgia, 1944. Of 3,500 proposals, 300 were carefully investigated, reducing the list to 100 firms. Of these, 60 firms sent representatives to the state but only 21 certificates were issued and 12 plants were established under the first B.A.W.I. plan. Thus the B.A.W.I. enterprises were a carefully selected group. Ingalls Shipbuilding Corporation, Pascagoula, was the largest employer. Total employment for the 12 plants, dominated by the shipyard, was 12,466 on 30th June, 1946. (Hopkins, pp.6-10, 23-24)
as measured by numbers employed in both sectors of the economy. White was supported by the legislature of 1936 and later by the media when he appealed to the public on a nation-wide basis in June 1936 (95). This was a prelude to his calling an extraordinary session of the legislature in September 1936. In an address to the legislature he said:

"There was an immediate economic emergency in this state brought about by the constant decrease in the number and size of industrial enterprises operating in the state, and the curtailment of markets for our agriculture products - particularly cotton. 85 per cent of the state's wealth was in agriculture...... There were a large number of unemployed people in the state and a falling population - a decrease of 2½ per cent since 1931. Incomes in the state were very low.

The state was in competition with other southern states to attract industry, but it could offer lower manufacturing costs due to improved transportation, cheap fuel and power services and a high percentage of efficient and intelligent Anglo-Saxon labor."(96)

White piloted through the Mississippi Industrial Act, 1936, whose object was to balance agriculture with industry (97). This act created the Mississippi Industrial Commission which had to approve the application of any county or municipality for the right to issue bonds, proceeds from the sale of which might be used in the construction and operation of industrial plants. The county or city had to prove it had sufficient natural resources and an unemployed labour supply at least one and one-half times as would meet the needs of the industry under consideration. Tax payments were waived on the capital outlay of the business for five

95. On 12th June, 1936, White made a speech advocating B.A.W.I. to the Mississippi Press Association at Gulfport, which received nation wide coverage. This was a preliminary to his calling an extraordinary session of the legislature from 14th September - 19th September, 1936.
96. Mississippi Senate Journal, 1936, pp.799-806
years. For twenty years industries paid rent, which equalled mortgage payments on buildings, and at the end of that time they had amortised their buildings, which became their property. The programme was publicised to the entire nation by the Mississippi Advertising Commission. The State Planning Commission provided information in the preparation of reports on resources requested by prospective industries (98).

From 1936 to 1955 138 industries located in Mississippi under the B.A.W.I. plan (99) despite the suspension of the scheme during the Second World War from 1940 to 1944. One of the first major industries to be attracted was the Armstrong Tire and Rubber Company, a subsidiary of Sears, Roebuck and Company, to Natchez: "Under the shadows of plantation homes, a surplus labor force converted raw rubber into tires. This famous old cotton and river town took on a new appearance, and a new smell." (100) The range of products of Mississippi industries included hosiery, garments, furniture, paper, glass, light bulbs, building materials, tool and wood and metal gadgets. Some of them were assembly plants, assembling parts manufactured in the industrial North.

It is now quite usual to see the gleaming aluminium water tower of a factory as one approaches a rural town. As Thomas D. Clark has emphasised, the labour force is mainly rural and at the end of the industrial day, small farmers return to their farms, often converted to pasturage and worked by machinery (101).

98. White, p.31
99. Thomas D. Clark, The Emerging South, New York, Oxford University Press, 1968, p.116. In 1952 manufactured products in Mississippi were worth $1,060,000,000 or a 509 per cent increase over $175,000,000 produced in 1939. (Ibid, p.117)
100. Ibid, pp.116-117
101. Ibid, p.113
B.A.W.I. became an American prototype of state enterprise and received favourable publicity in the nation. "Self-help" appealed to the American consciousness. The success of the scheme was evidenced in March 1965 when a balance of numbers employed in industry and agriculture was achieved in White's lifetime (102).

To summarise, the twenty year period between the World Wars was a transitional period in the economic system of the United States. The weaknesses of laissez-faire economics - such as the vulnerability of employment and home mortgages in the downward movement of the trade cycle - had been one philosophical objection of the progressives to capitalism and its manifestations - such as the corporations and trusts - in the early 1920's. The failure of agriculture in the mid-1920's and the Wall Street crash of 1929 paved the way for an end to laissez-faire economics and the beginnings of the federal involvement in the 1930's. Thus the state of Mississippi, which suffered from its dependence on agriculture in the 1920's, benefited from its client state role in the 1930's because federal schemes brought a diversification of the economy and a partial solution to the unemployment problem. In no sense did the federal involvement mean general prosperity in the state: Mississippi remained the poorest state in the union as measured by per capita income. But without federal money, Mississippi would have been unable to exercise its governmental function as the state was, in effect, bankrupt.

102. The 'balance' of numbers employed in industry and agriculture was finally achieved in March 1965 - in White's lifetime. In March 1965 145,200 were employed in manufacturing and 144,900 in agriculture. (Jackson Clarion-Ledger, 2nd June, 1965; 15th July, 1965.)
In terms of state politics, the economic struggle left its mark. Whereas in the early 1920's factional lines were quite clearly marked between the established interests and the lower classes, this fierce factionalism died out in the late 1920's leaving in its stead cliques and groups who lacked the numbers and virility of the old clans. In July 1939 the Jackson Clarion-Ledger reported:

"Politics in Mississippi has undergone... a rapid and well-nigh complete change as a result of the federal relief and work programs. The voters no longer have the economic dependence enjoyed by the electorate of twenty or thirty years ago. For example, literally thousands of Mississippi voters are dependent today upon the federal bounty in one form or another for their meat and bread. This makes a world of difference in a man's politics, even though the job he holds may not be subject to the drifting winds of politics directly. The disposition of the fellow, who receives aid or work from Uncle Sam, generally is to keep himself in the background politically speaking..." (103)

Thus in the gubernatorial election of 1939 (104) the seven candidates were 'lone hands' supported by cliques and not factions.

The federal involvement had political strings along with economic benefits. The full implication of this new role may not have been apparent to the electorate in this period - even if the more perceptive Mississippi politicians sensed a changing of National Democratic policies towards the South in the late 1930's on the racial question - which was to be the major crisis area of the 1950's and 1960's. But to William Faulkner, the outstanding Mississippi author, the implications of federal policies were clear:

103. Jackson Clarion-Ledger, 16th July, 1939
104. Second Primary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>Votes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R.B. Johnson</td>
<td>163,620</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.S. Conner</td>
<td>135,724</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mississippi Blue Book, Biennial Report of the Secretary of State to the Legislature of Mississippi, 1939-1941.
"We - Mississippi - sold our state's rights back to the federal government when we accepted the first cotton price-support subsidy twenty years ago. Our economy is not agricultural any longer. Our economy is the federal government. We no longer farm in Mississippi cotton fields. We farm now in Washington corridors and Congressional committee rooms." (105)

As the United States returned to a more normal state of economic affairs in the late 1930's, the nation's attention was turning to the ominous events in Europe. By spring 1938 the Nazi menace in Europe was recognised by the United States as a threat to world peace and the declaration of war by Britain and France on Germany on 3rd September, 1939, accelerated American re-armament.

After Pearl Harbour in December 1941, the United States declared war on the Axis powers, a decision strongly supported by the Democratic South. The whole nation benefited from the massive expenditure for the war effort. Even the poorest state, Mississippi, enjoyed the economic boom created by the Armed Services in local training camps. The shipbuilding industry at Pascagoula expanded with Naval orders.

At the end of the war the negro question became the central issue in southern politics. The negro's role in the Armed Services and war factories led logically, in the minds of his supporters, to the question of his civil rights. Negro voting brought a strong emotional response from Senator Bilbo and other Mississippi politicians. The Mississippi legislature enacted a series of laws designed to make the electoral system more complicated for negro registrants.

When the National Democratic Convention adopted a strong Civil Rights plank in 1948, a major struggle ensued to conserve Mississippi institutions. Although Mississippi Democrats did not formally break their ties with the National
Democrats, they strongly supported the "Dixiecrat" revolt of 1948, and the States' Rights faction, seated at the 1952 Convention, underlined the alienation of Mississippi from national policies. Mississippians easily connected the civil rights movement with the Communist conspiracy which was 'unfolded' by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin. The failure of the United States to win the Korean War, 1950-1951, seemed to be further evidence of the potency of International Communism.

The signal for massive Southern resistance against the national trend was the Brown v. Board of Education decision of the Supreme Court in May 1954. Mississippi responded by appropriating more funds for negro education, and, inter alia, abolishing the compulsory attendance law. On this most fertile of issues, a demagogic politician was in his element but practically all politicians identified themselves - in 1954 - with the grass roots' Citizens' Councils movements founded in the Mississippi Delta. The Ku Klux Klan enjoyed a revival, and crimes of violence against negro transgressors were perpetrated. In this mood of retrenchment, the legislature, busily engaged with new laws to offset federal laws and court orders, was not prepared to accept Governor James P. Coleman's plan to call a constitutional convention in 1957. A major role in the struggle was played by Mississippi Congressmen at Washington, notably Senator Eastland, Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee in 1956. Finally the federal courts in Mississippi, staffed by native whites, resisted all integration plans in the period of this chapter.

After Britain's declaration of war on Germany in September 1939, the United States gave every kind of support,
short of intervention, to the United Kingdom Government although the Neutrality Act was in force. When Hitler invaded Denmark and Norway and later Belgium, the Netherlands and France in the spring of 1940, President Roosevelt gambled on British survival. The passage of the Lend-Lease bill of 1941 provided Britain with arms, aircraft and ammunition. After the Pearl Harbour attack by the Japanese in December 1941, the United States declared war on Japan, Germany and Italy.

In his war policies President Roosevelt had the strong support of the Southern Democrats. Undoubtedly the memory of the debacle of 1919-1920 was fresh in the minds of senior Democrats. They had supported President Wilson in his attempt to ratify the Treaty of Versailles and to join the League of Nations but had been frustrated by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Republican arch-enemy of the South and sponsor of the "Force Bill" of 1890.

The Southern support for Britain in 1939-1940 reflected the strong ethnic ties and traditional Anglo-Saxon solidarity. There were also economic reasons: German conquests menaced the cotton and tobacco trade with Britain and Europe. Undoubtedly there was an overlap of the Southern world view with British Imperialism. Both the South and Britain shared the 'white man's burden'. Anglo-Saxons in the South and the Crown Colonies controlled the destinies of vast numbers of coloured people. The South, ever alert with its psychology of danger and defence and imbued with its military-patriotic tradition, saw the threat to the British Empire as a threat to Anglo-Saxon values throughout the world. As the world crisis deepened in 1941, the South favoured intervention
The outbreak of war proved to be a blessing to the Mississippi economy, which benefited from the large expenditure on military training and war production factories in the South. Per capita income in Mississippi rose from $201 in 1939 to $555 in 1946, an increase of 176 per cent, whilst the United States per capita income rose from $539 in 1939 to $1200 in 1946, an increase of 123 per cent (2). The subtropical climate and the availability of vast areas of land suitable for military training were the magnets. In Mississippi and five other Southern states the expenditure on military training exceeded that on war plants (3). For example, Camp Shelby was constructed in the pine forest belt in South Mississippi's Forrest County. It was one of the largest Army training camps in the United States and the economy of the neighbouring towns such as Hattiesburg undoubtedly benefited. Keesler Air Field at Biloxi had a 69,000 man war-time complement. In 1949 it had 9,000 personnel but it was still the second largest Air Force base in the United States as it was the electronic centre of the Air Force with training facilities for radar, atomic defence, tower control and radio. Its $40,000,000 annual payroll

1. George Brown Tindall, The Emergence of the New South 1913-1945 pp.687-694. In October 1941 the Gallup poll found 88 per cent of the Southerners convinced that the defeat of Germany was more important than keeping out of war; in other regions from 63 to 70 per cent thought so. (Tindall p.688 citing Public Opinion Quarterly, VI, (1942) pp.150-151)
2. See Notes, p. 256, Note 52
was the state's largest in 1949. This base and other federal installations on the Gulf Coast produced "a free-spending year-round prosperity that is not shared by many areas similar in size and population."( 4 )

The South benefited from the Southward movement of war production as the war progressed. In the early stages the defence contracts were given to the factories with established labour forces and facilities but when these areas reached saturation point, the contracts were decentralised to utilise new resources and labour and for transport and security reasons - but not to build up a region.

An example of wartime development in Mississippi was the shipbuilding industry at Pascagoula, where the Maritime Commission sponsored the enlargement of a dilapidated World War One shipyard ( 5 ). Robert Ingersoll Ingalls, a steel manufacturer of Birmingham, launched in 1940 The Exchequer, the first arc-welded cargo ship made of steel, from the parent company ( 6 ). Before Pearl Harbour the yard employed 3,000 but at the peak of wartime employment 13,000 were employed and 60 per cent were Mississippians mostly without shipbuilding experience before they came to the yards. The importance of Ingalls Shipbuilding Corporation led to urban development. Pascagoula grew from 4,000 to 30,000, received a head start on war housing and community services in 1940.

5. In 1938 Jackson County floated a $100,000 bond issue under B.A.W.I. and rented the shipyard to Robert Ingalls. "This was the biggest break in the history of Pascagoula", as Ingalls "was to make shipbuilding history at a time when ships were needed the most". The yard was renowned as it had a Vera Anderson, "Champion woman welder of the world". (Carter and Ragusin, pp.186-196). See Map 7.
The 82 counties have been unchanged since 1918 when Humphreys County was organised.
and had to unload surplus population on Mobile.

The industry flourished with Naval contracts (7) and its re-establishment as a modern shipyard was continued in peacetime with the Korean and Viet^m^n^n^n^n wars giving it further boosts. In the 1960's it produced nuclear submarines and produced merchant vessels on an assembly-line technique (8).

By 1942 ordnance factories were sprouting throughout the South. Smokeless powder and explosives were made from cotton linters, wood cellulose and petroleum products. The lumber industry, Mississippi's major industry, was under heavy war demands but had difficulty keeping its workers. (9)

The demand for labour meant that, as the war progressed, negroes were increasingly employed on defence contracts, mainly in the 'h' jobs - 'hot, heavy and hard'. The United States government policy theoretically opposed discrimination but in practice industry was segregated. When faced with the prospect of a negro mass march on Washington, President Roosevelt forestalled this on 25th June, 1941, with Executive Order 8802 which forbade discrimination in defence industries and training programmes and established a Fair Employment Practices Committee to investigate charges of discrimination on account of race. The F.E.P.C. was bitterly attacked by the white South as a step on the road to Communism. United

7. In 1940 an order was placed for four net layers to be built at Pascagoula at a cost of $50,000,000, which accounted for two-thirds of the value of defence contracts placed in Mississippi during the year. (Ralph G. Hon, "The South in a War Economy", Southern Economic Journal, VIII, 1941-1942, pp.295-296)
8. The development of the yard by Litton Industries is described in Notes, p. 256, Note 53
9. Ernest J. Hopkins, Mississippi's R.A.W.I. Plan, p.54
States Representative John Rankin of Mississippi told Congress "Oh! This is the beginning of a Communistic dictatorship."[10] After the F.E.P.C. was reorganised in May 1943, it proved more effective in its public hearings until its expiry in June 1946. It exerted chiefly moral influence as it had no power to enforce directives and refused to recommend the ultimate weapon, cancellation of defence contracts. But when war production was at its height in 1944 2,000,000 negroes were in industrial employment (11).

The rapid expansion of the armed forces absorbed large numbers of Mississippians and moved them to training camps throughout the United States and to overseas battlefields. Their pay would be a rise in general on the home income levels but more significantly the experience of travel and meeting Northerners on equal terms probably influenced post-war attitudes. One might postulate that some negroes, more aware of the immense resources of the United States, were anxious to claim what they considered to be their 'civil rights' in the post-war world. But Southern whites, aware of negro militancy in the armed forces, were just as determined to stop them.

The armed forces were segregated as an act of deliberate government policy in World War Two. The Army maintained its tradition of separate units throughout the war. For instance, a 1944 order banning segregation in recreational and transportation facilities on Army buses was evaded. The Navy accepted negroes for general service in April 1942 and in

10.Tindall, p.715, citing Congressional Record, 78 Cong. 2 Sess, 5054. Rankin's warning of a "Jewish-Communist" world plot is referred to on page 153. A biographical sketch of John Elliott Rankin will be found in Notes, p. 256, Note 54
11.Arthur S. Link, American Epoch, p.530
1944 began to commission negro officers. In all about 1,000,000 negroes served in the armed forces, 80,000 of them coming from Mississippi. By contrast 120,000 white Mississippians served.

Although the negro advanced slowly in defence industries and the armed services, he did advance, and the general movement towards his civil rights, which was perforce suppressed by the wartime emergency, came into the forefront of American politics in 1946 at the cessation of hostilities.

Negro voting aspirations had been raised in 1942 when a limited federal law provided for distribution of postal cards to servicemen with which they could request state absentee ballots for the presidential election in November 1942. State registration and poll-tax requirements were abrogated but the law was so late that only 28,000 voted under it. A simple and uniform servicemen's ballot, recommended by Roosevelt in 1944, was blocked by the states' rights Southerners led by Senator James O. Eastland (12) and Representative John Rankin of Mississippi (13). Instead a truncated version was passed, without the President's signature, requiring the consent of the state.

On 3rd April 1944 in the case of Smith v Allwright (14) the Supreme Court reversed Grovey v Townsend, 1935 (15) and declared that the Texas Democratic party rule which excluded negroes from the primary was unconstitutional. The primary was "an integral part" of the election process.

12. A biographical sketch of James Oliver Eastland will be found in Notes, p. 257, Note 55
13. A critical appraisal of Rankin's role in Congress is in: Russell Whelan, "Rankin of Mississippi", American Mercury, LIX, 1944, pp. 31-37
14. 321, U.S. 649 (1944)
15. 295, U.S. 45 (1935)
With every judicial decision favouring negro advancement, one can detect measures of resistance in the South. Following Smith v Allwright, the Mississippi Democratic Convention of 1944 placed uninstructed electors on the party ballot for the Presidential election. The hope was that other states would follow the example and a large bloc of uninstructed Southern electors might seize the balance of power in a close election. This plan never got off the ground, however, because the Mississippi legislature, under the influence of Senator Bilbo, nominated another slate of electors pledged to Roosevelt, which soundly defeated the anti-Roosevelt group. Only Texas conservatives adopted the Mississippi plan but the regulars also won there (16).

At the end of World War Two, the negro voting issue came to the forefront of Mississippi politics. Senator Bilbo sought re-election to the United States Senate in July 1946 and he made negro voting the main issue. Returning veterans – 120,000 whites and 80,000 negroes – were relieved of poll tax by federal law but still had to pass the state’s literacy test in order to register. Although all the candidates opposed negro voting, Bilbo made out that the negro veterans’ votes were a threat to white society. He stormed the state, speaking for two hours, three times a day, using his well versed techniques of the demagogue:

"I don't say 'go to violence' but go to any extremes that are justified and if you don't know what I mean you are just plain dumb. But remember the best way to keep the negro from voting is to see him the night before." (17)

16. Thomas D. Clark and Albert D. Kirwan, The South Since Appomattox, p.292
17. Jackson Clarion-Ledger, 28th June, 1946. The atmosphere engendered by Bilbo on the campaign is described by: Harry Henderson and Sam Shaw, "Bilbo", Collier's, 6th July, 1946, pp.16-20, 28 and 30.
Bilbo advised election officials and citizens to challenge negroes on the basis of a Mississippi law which states that no one is eligible to vote in the primary who has not "been in accord with the party" for the preceding two years (18).

In the opinion of the Jackson Clarion-Ledger, Bilbo's tirades had brought unfavourable national publicity and brought the negro question to the forefront:

"Six months ago the negroes of Mississippi had given no thought to voting in this summer's primaries. The idea would not have entered their heads, and the national spotlight would never have been turned on our election had not Bilbo made such an issue of the negro question from every platform in the state. Today the negroes of Mississippi have been made restless and dissatisfied by Bilbo's tirades. Our Senior Senator has stirred up more racial friction than Mississippi has known in half a century." (19)

In the event few negroes voted in the primary (20) and Bilbo secured re-election (21) but at the considerable cost of a Senatorial investigation. Complaints by negroes had been pouring into Washington alleging intimidation.

In December 1946 the Senate Special Committee to Investigate Senatorial Campaign Expenditures conducted public hearings in Jackson to investigate the allegations under Senator Allen J. Ellender of Louisiana, Chairman. Negroes testified before the Committee of intimidations and obstructions by election officials which prevented their voting in the July 1946 primary, imputing these occurrences to the white supremacy

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18. Jackson Clarion-Ledger, 28th June, 1946
19. Jackson Clarion-Ledger, 29th June, 1946
20. The estimated registered negro votes was 1667 but this was the largest number of negro votes since Reconstruction. (Jackson Clarion-Ledger, 23rd June 1946). The Jackson Clarion-Ledger estimated 800 negroes and 132,000 whites would vote (Jackson Clarion-Ledger, 30th June 1946).
21. Primary for United States Senate, 2nd July, 1946:
   T.G. Bilbo 97,820
   T.Q. Ellis 56,005
   R.A. Collins 16,875
   N. Levings 15,720
   F. Harper 1,386

Mississippi Blue Book 1945-1949
speeches of Bilbo. A solid front of white municipal officials resisted efforts by the Committee to connect specific acts of violences with Bilbo's speeches. After hearing the evidence, the majority found that Bilbo's conduct had been irreproachable, a minority found that it had been reprehensible (22).

Bilbo's problems did not end with this 'acquittal'. Another committee, the Senate War Investigating Committee, was enquiring into Bilbo's war-time relations with contractors. It was found that contractors had given Bilbo gifts and carried out private work on his Dream House and estate, in one case charging the account of Keesler Field, a nearby air force base (23).

A majority of the Committee approved a "very tough" report on Bilbo. The constitutional position of Bilbo was uncertain. Because Bilbo had violated the law of the United States, the Senate Republican Steering Committee, headed by Senator Robert A. Taft, was determined to oust him. The problem was how to do it? Bilbo was not permitted to sit in the United States Senate on 3rd January, 1947, as he was refused the oath. In view of Bilbo's physical condition - he was suffering from cancer - it was moved that his credentials should "lie on the table without prejudice and without action" until "the attending physician at the Capitol shall certify that Mr. Bilbo is able to be present in the Senate." (24)

22. A. Wigfall Green, The Man Bilbo, p.110
23. One contractor, who gave Bilbo a Cadillac as a 1946 Christmas gift, described by Bilbo as "just an old Southern custom", constructed a lake and a swimming pool at the Dream House - charging the $4,000 cost to the Keesler Field account, and operated Bilbo's farms, allegedly at a loss. Other contractors lent him money, repainted his house and contributed to Juniper Grove Baptist Church. (Green, pp.111-114)
The situation remained confused:

"No decisive action was taken by the Committee on Rules and Administration, and the highest legislative body in the nation declined to adjudicate the vital and interesting constitutional issues of the case, thus preventing a definitive decision by the Supreme Court of the United States. It accepted Bilbo's credentials which stated that he had been duly elected, but it evaded evaluation of them. It denied him the oath of office and a seat as a senator but paid him the salary of a United States senator." (25)

Bilbo died on 21st August, 1947. Judge John Stennis replaced him as United States Senator (26) after a special election on 4th November, 1947 (27). In contrast to Bilbo, Stennis' declared policy was to do nothing about negro voting: "He won without hill-billy bands, without showmanship, without the usual 'white supremacy' which marked the campaigns of the Man Bilbo." (28)

The unwelcome national publicity following Bilbo's election campaign induced resistance techniques by the Mississippi legislature from 1947. Under the leadership of Governor Fielding I. Wright (29) the legislature proceeded to change state election laws in order to make it more difficult for negroes to register and vote - although not declaring this policy overtly because of the constitutional and legal difficulties.

25. Green, p.117
26. A biographical sketch of John Cornelius Stennis will be found in Notes, p.p.257,258, Note 56
27. Special election for United States Senate, 4th November, 1947
   John C. Stennis 52,068
   U.S. Rep. Wm.(Bill) Colmer 42,725
   Forrest B. Jackson 43,642
   Paul E. Johnson, Jnr. 27,159
   R.L. Collins 623

It must be remembered that a plurality of the votes is required in a special election. Mississippi Blue Book, 1945-1949
28. Jackson Clarion-Ledger, 6th November, 1947
29. A biographical sketch of Fielding I. Wright will be found in Notes, p.258, Note 57
In March 1947 Governor Wright called an extraordinary session in order to revise the primary election laws. Radical measures failed to pass (30) but the rules were changed to strengthen the power of the county executive committees in controlling registration and the conduct of the primaries (31).

After President Harry S. Truman's nomination and election in 1948, the National Democratic party was committed by its platform of Civil Rights to hasten negro advancement in voting, education, housing and social justice. Working quite independently of the Executive, the United States Supreme Court produced a series of decisions which also hastened negro advancement in the 1950's. Thus Mississippi was on the defensive in the face of these national pressures. The only effective method of conserving Mississippi institutions was by the process of state law. Thus the vital Section 244 of the Mississippi Constitution remained as the most effective legal basis for disfranchising potential negro voters:

"On and after the first day of January, A.D. 1892, every elector shall, in addition to the foregoing qualifications, be able to read any section of the Constitution of this state, or he shall be able to understand the same when read to him, or give a reasonable interpretation thereof. A new registration shall be made before the next ensuing election after January the first, A.D. 1892." (32)

30. Jackson Clarion-Ledger, 15th March, 1947
31. Mississippi Laws 1947, House Bill 36; Other election legislation was: only persons supporting the nominations of the party and the principles of the party could vote. Any voter could be challenged by a party member. (Mississippi Laws 1947, House Bill 38); Names of candidates had to be submitted to the proper executive committee 60 days before any primary (Mississippi Laws 1947, Senate Bill 4); Each elector had to vote for the full number of candidates on the ballot in the district (Mississippi Laws 1947, Senate Bill 5).
32. Mississippi Constitution 1890, Article 12, Section 244; See footnote 94, page 39.
In June 1951 in *Feay v. Cox* (33) the United States Court of Appeals, Fifth Judicial Circuit, questioned a current practice requiring negro applicants not only to read, but also to interpret sections of the constitution in apparent violation of Section 244.

The legislature of 1952 proposed to legalise the practice questioned in *Feay v. Cox* by amending Section 244 to require all applicants to read and interpret any section of the constitution. This amendment was rejected in the election of November 1952 mainly because the white masses considered that this was an attempt by some of the state's politicians to bar them from the polls in their customary numbers.

The legislature of 1954 overcame the problem of the white voter by adopting a new resolution to amend Section 244. This time the resolution also required the applicant to demonstrate "a reasonable understanding of the duties and obligations of citizenship under a constitutional form of government". (34) All persons registered before 1st January, 1954, were exempt, i.e. about one-twentieth of the eligible negroes and roughly two-thirds of the adult white population (35). The amendment was adopted by the electorate in November 1954 and implemented by the legislature in extraordinary session in January 1955 (36). This provision controlled voting registration up to 1965.

The declared objective of the proponents of the amendment was "solely to limit negro registration."(37)

33.190 F 2nd 123 (5th Circuit 1951); See also: *Voting in Mississippi*. A report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, Washington D.C., 1969, p.5
34. *Mississippi Laws 1954*, Chapter 427
35. *Voting in Mississippi*, p.6
The success of this policy was evident from the registration figures: In 1956 5 per cent of the negroes of voting age were registered. In 1964 this figure had risen to 6.7 per cent (38). The small number of negroes who registered and voted in the 1950's were essentially trusted citizens of a conservative outlook themselves and holding responsible professional posts such as ministers, school teachers and morticians (39). These middle class negroes had a vested interest in maintaining segregation and, in general, did not represent a threat to segregation (40). The white pressures to limit negro registration were probably greatest in the black counties in the Delta and the river counties where the negro population, although largely illiterate and apathetic, greatly outnumbered the whites (41). In one of these black counties, Sunflower County, the white Citizens' Council was founded in July 1954 (42).

It must be emphasised that very few negroes were interested and willing to attempt to register in the 1950's and 1960's. The traditional attitude of the black masses towards elections was one of apathy and a feeling that 'politics and voting is for the white man'. For the politically-conscious negro the most formidable barrier to his participation was the conduct of the county registrar. He usually selected difficult sections of the constitution for negroes to interpret whilst white applicants, some of whom were semi-literate, were given easier sections. The registrars generally

38. Voting in Mississippi, p.11
39. Clark and Kirwan, p.316
41. See Map 5, after p. 49
42. See pages 165-166
discriminated in their interpretations and application of the "letter-perfect" rule, by which applicants had to execute a letter-perfect form wholly without assistance. They sometimes rendered assistance to whites but not to negroes (43).

A further barrier was the payment of the poll tax. Sheriffs, who were also tax collectors, often refused to accept poll taxes paid by negroes or created difficulties (44). The necessity of paying poll taxes for two successive years — and keeping the receipts — proved to be an economic barrier for thousands of whites as well as negroes. In a one-party system a low poll reflected the inevitability of election results, and the annual two dollar poll tax was almost irrelevant for impoverished people.

A third deterrent for negroes was the publishing of names of registrants in a local newspaper in accordance with state law. This was a massive deterrent to negroes who risked losing their jobs and faced reprisals. The native Mississippian, Thomas D. Clark, has written: "The negro not only shares the white man's apathy toward voting, but he suffers from an ingrained fear of white retribution toward "smart" negroes who insist on voting." (45)

Thus with the combined weight of law, administration and custom to rely on, the white politicians of Mississippi were successful in keeping the negro electorate to a bare minimum, thus ensuring that the essentially white electorate would elect white legislators and officials.

43. *Voting in Mississippi*, pp.13-18
44. For example the sheriff of Tallahatchie County, in the Delta, instructed his deputies to require all persons paying poll taxes for the first time to apply to him personally. This requirement was made void by a federal court order in 1961. Between 1956 and 1964 the sheriff of Hinds County refused to accept poll taxes from negroes. (Voting in Mississippi, pp.18-19)
45. Thomas D. Clark, *The Emerging South*, p.212
One cumulative effect of the Civil Rights' pressure of the post-war period led Mississippians to examine the apparent dichotomy of belonging to the Democratic Party. Since the Democratic Revolution of 1875, Mississippi politics has been controlled by men who label themselves 'Democrats' but who have little in common with Democrats of the North. For purposes of convenience, notably seniority in Congress and their role in the Democratic National Convention, Mississippi Democrats, along with their Southern compatriots, have resisted the seductive temptation of forming a Southern Democratic party despite the stresses. At the Democratic National Convention in 1936 President Roosevelt, seeking re-nomination for his second term, could afford to demonstrate his independence of the South and appeal to the masses in other regions. The historic two-thirds rule for nominations was eliminated, thereby removing the South's veto power. The situation approximating a break between the South and the rest of the Democratic party was the oft-heralded 'Dixiecrat' revolt of 1948.

The Civil Rights' objectives of the Truman Administration could be pursued quite safely after the end of the war. The Mississippi political leadership was, tactically, again on the defensive. In January 1948 Governor Fielding Wright delivered an inaugural address described as "the most militant message delivered to the state legislature and citizenry by a chief executive in years."( 46 ) It was the first open challenge to the National Democratic Party and the Administration.

46. Jackson Clarion-Ledger, 21st January 1948
in Washington. The objective of hatred was President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights appointed on 5th December, 1946, and consisting of distinguished Southerners, negroes, and leaders in church and education throughout the country, to investigate and recommend "more adequate and effective means and procedures for the protection of civil rights of the people of the United States." Its 1947 report, *To Secure These Rights* called for the strengthening of the Civil Rights Section of the Justice Department and the use of the F.B.I. in cases involving violations of civil rights and also for the enactment of anti-lynching and anti-poll tax laws and a permanent F.E.R.C. (47). The outline of Wright's argument was that

Mississippi was a sovereign state and Congress was invading "sovereign rights of the individual states." There were "harmonious relationships" between the races in Mississippi. "The uninterrupted progress which has been made will be continued in an orderly, effective manner if both races are left alone by those unfamiliar with the true situation...... We feel that our rights are being threatened by enemies of the South who are in fact also enemies of the nation."

He hinted that the South might oppose the regular Democratic party ticket in July 1948 because the national leaders had attempted to "change those principles for which the party stands." The legislature supported Wright (48).

The seriousness of the situation was underlined by United States Senator James O. Eastland's special address to the legislature on 29th January, 1948:

"This fight on states rights boils down simply to this: whether or not the government of the United States has the right to judge in the last resort, or the extent of its power, and if it secures that right the South that we know and love will be destroyed."

There was an historic choice to be made at the National Democratic Convention between supporting the regular party or Dixicrats. He reviewed the

history of the South from the end of Reconstruction to 1937 when he saw "the storm clouds gather." During this period a "racial system in the South that is the envy of any section in the world where the two races live side by side" was built up. "Of course it is built upon segregation, but not a country in the world that has a color problem similar to ours that does not adopt the identical safeguards to protect its racial integrity that have been adopted by the Southern people. Every decent Southerner wants the negro to have a square deal. Every decent Southerner wants the negro to enjoy the fruits of his labor.... to do well and make a good citizen. The only rule that we of the South lay down is that he must stay out of politics, because he would use the power of the ballot to destroy the laws on which our social structure is built. We have got to give him better schools... better hospitals.... better health programs but the only question is that he stay out of political office." (49)

When the President asked Congress to implement the recommendations of the Committee on Civil Rights - a forlorn measure because of the Southern filibuster in the Senate - Governor Wright called a public mass meeting in Jackson in February 1948, thus invoking vox populi.

The Mississippi Democratic executive committee resolved to take all necessary measures to ensure that its delegates to the national convention and its electors should vote against any nominee who would not openly oppose the recommendations of the Committee on Civil Rights. Mississippi delegates were instructed to withdraw from the national convention if a civil rights plank were included in the party platform.

A second mass meeting at Jackson in May 1948 urged all Southern states to choose delegates who would oppose civil rights. The meeting adjourned until after the national convention, agreeing to reconvene at Birmingham. (50)

In July 1948 the threatened break between the Mississippi Democrats and the Democratic National Convention, which had

49. Mississippi Senate Journal, 1948, pp.119-128
50. Clark and Kirwan, p.293
been talked about since 1940, finally materialised when the Mississippi delegation walked out of the National Convention at Philadelphia and joined the delegates of other Deep South states, the "Dixiecrats", at Birmingham. The States' Rights Democratic party nominated Governor J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Governor Wright on their "national" ticket.

As opponents of the President's civil rights programme and of the expansion of federal authority, the "Dixiecrats" made a powerful appeal to southern white sentiment and won control of the Democratic party in Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina and Louisiana. But by failing to organise an all-Southern rebellion they missed their chief objective of throwing the election into the House of Representatives. Truman was elected President in November 1948, narrowly defeating Governor Thomas E. Dewey of New York.

This was a period of anti-Communism in the United States. Following the discovery of Soviet spy-rings in the United States, President Truman had issued an Executive Order on

51. The Result of the general election on 2nd November, 1948, in Mississippi was as follows:—
   Electors of Mississippi Democratic Party for Thurmond and Wright 167,538 (maximum) 166,137 (minimum)
   Electors of National Democratic Party for Truman and Barkley 19,384 (maximum) 19,345 (minimum)
   Electors of Independent Republic Party for Dewey and Warren 2,448 (maximum) 2,439 (minimum)
   Electors of Republican Party of the State of Mississippi for Dewey and Warren 2,595 (maximum) 2,561 (minimum)

Mississippi Blue Book 1945-1949

52. Instead of an anticipated 100 or more electoral votes, only 39 electoral votes were won by the Dixiecrats. (Emile B. Adler, "Why the Dixiecrats Failed", Journal of Politics, 15, 1953, pp.356-369)
22nd March, 1947, inaugurating a comprehensive investigation of all federal employees by the F.B.I. and the Civil Service Commission to ferret out Communists. Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, of Wisconsin, elected to the Senate in 1946, capitalised on the anti-Communist hysteria by using a smear campaign and the "big lie" tactic. Much legislative time was spent on accusations by Senator McCarthy that the State Department had been influenced by pro-Communist advisers and employees. The Senator failed to produce convincing evidence of his charges but he persuaded many voters to vote Republican in 1950, was accepted by the inner councils of the Republican party by 1951, (53) and contributed to Dwight D. Eisenhower's Presidential victory in 1952. In the words of Arthur S. Link:

"McCarthyism" was only the most violent manifestation of the anti-Communist fear that engulfed the United States from 1948 to 1953. In a varying degree the hysteria affected the press, schools, churches, the courts and Congress. It created an atmosphere of fear and above all stimulated the conviction that it was safer to conform than to disagree with the majority." (54)

The frustrations of the Korean War, 1950-1951, the first "No Win" war in American history, contributed to the anti-Communist hysteria. At first the nation supported strong American retaliatory action under the United Nations when the North Koreans crossed the 38th parallel on 25th June, 1950. But by the time the fighting ended on 10th July, 1951, (the armistice was signed on 27th July, 1953) it had cost the United States billions of dollars, 25,604 dead, 103,492 wounded and over 10,000 missing, most of whom were probably dead. (55)

The suspicion lingered that General Douglas McArthur, the Supreme Commander of the United Nations Command, could have defeated Communism in the Far East if Truman had allowed him

54. Arthur S. Link, American Epoch, p.646
55. Op Cit, p.696
to attack China. Truman relieved him of his command on 10th April, 1951. The mood of the nation had changed by 1952 to one of discontent with the Democratic Administration's policies at home and abroad. The attacks by McCarthy and less abusive Republican leaders had planted the suspicion in American minds that the Democratic party was tainted with treason and Communism.

Clearly Southern politicians connected the Communist conspiracy with the civil rights movements. Negro advancement was, allegedly, the tactical instrument of the Soviet Communists, who wanted to overthrow the lawful state and federal governments.

Representative John E. Rankin of Mississippi linked his defence of America against the Jews with the international Communist conspiracy. His continual speeches warning of the dangers of the "Jewish-Communist world plot" put him in the category of a demagogue in the opinion of Russell Whelan, a Northern journalist, who observed in 1944:

"Rankin is the prize anomaly of Congress, a ranting demagogue who nevertheless gets in his share of meritorious legislative licks: a wild-eyed Jew-baiter whose screaming, windmilling, oratorical delivery draws his colleagues from the cloakrooms as does no other attraction on the Floor; a bigot and a throwback and a travesty of a true democrat, who still seems to a certain Southern mentality the Confederate hero incarnate, forever manning the sainted ramparts of Dixie against the dam yankees."

In addition States' Rights politicians in the South were aided by the tidelands dispute: the Democratic Administration and Northern Democrats opposed state ownership of off-shore oil lands and exclusive regulation of the natural gas industry.

56. Russell Whelan, "Rankin of Mississippi", American Mercury, LIX, 1944, p.31
In 1952 there was a struggle between the States' Rights faction and the loyalist faction of Mississippi who both sought to be seated at the Democratic National Convention at Chicago. Although the loyalist faction wanted to maintain close connections with the National Democrats, the credentials sub-committee voted to seat the States' Rights faction or regular faction. But in seating this faction, the committee recognised the realities of power: the political elite of Mississippi constituted the States' Rights faction (57), whereas the loyalist faction lacked popular support (58).


57. The regular or States' Rights faction included United States Senators James Eastland and John Stennis, Governor Hugh L. White, Attorney General James P. Coleman, the recognised national committee man, and United States Representative James Whitten.

58. This was a minority faction. It was led by Mrs. John A. Clark and included Jimmy Walker, Rev. Otis D. Ashworth, Dixon Pyles and Knox Walker, all of Jackson.

59. The Mississippi Republican Party of 1952-1956 is discussed in Notes, p. 258, Note 58.

60. The result of the general election on 4th November, 1952, in Mississippi, was as follows:

- Regular electors of Mississippi Democratic Party for Stevenson and Sparkman 172,566 (maximum)
- 172,543 (minimum)

Continued
In 1956 Governor James P. Coleman (61) led the loyalist forces who were intent on keeping Mississippi in the Democratic column. Coleman worked hard to achieve his aim by visiting six district caucuses to canvass support for Stevenson and eventually he controlled a majority of the delegates to the state Democratic convention. Coleman's loyalist delegation was seated at the Democratic National Convention at Chicago in preference to an uninfluential delegation led by Charles Hamilton, an Episcopalian minister, which supported negro voting (62). Stevenson and Senator Estes Kefauver of Tennessee easily won the Mississippi electoral votes in the Presidential election of 1956 despite challenges from Republicans and Independents (63). It had little effect as Eisenhower and Nixon were re-elected as President and Vice-President.

For the ordinary white Mississippian, negro voting was something he objected to in principle — and practice, where

Independent electors for Eisenhower and Nixon

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Maximum</th>
<th>Minimum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>112,966</td>
<td>111,961</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mississippi Official and Statistical Register 1956-1960

61.A biographical sketch of James P. Coleman will be found in Notes, p.258-259, Note 59

62.The Mississippi delegation first supported Senator Lyndon B. Johnson for President but eventually switched to Stevenson who won on the first ballot on 16th August, 1956. There was "no enthusiasm for the head of the ticket anywhere in the South, he was simply regarded as less objectionable than some of the other possibilities." Stevenson offered an open choice for Vice-President's candidate. The Mississippi delegation leaders showed a strong preference for Senator John Kennedy. (Jackson Clarion-Ledger, 17th August, 1956.)

63.The result of the general election on 6th November, 1956, in Mississippi was as follows:-

Election of Mississippi Democratic Party for Stevenson and Kefauver

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Maximum</th>
<th>Minimum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>144,498</td>
<td>144,408</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Election of Mississippi Republican Party for Eisenhower and Nixon

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Maximum</th>
<th>Minimum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>56,372</td>
<td>56,339</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
necessary - and the National Democrats were a remote body meeting every four years in a Convention which passed resolutions generally hostile to Mississippi Democrats. But as far as his day-to-day living was concerned, marginal negro voting and Democratic politics mattered for little. By stark contrast the educational crisis of 1954 did matter and produced explosive reactions on the part of the white masses. There was a fear of integrated schooling which, if implemented, would reverse an historic culture pattern which their ancestors had fought for in the Civil War and in the Democratic Revolution of 1875.

Mississippians had felt reasonably secure up to 1940 as the United States Supreme Court had not considered segregation to be a constitutional issue until 1940 (64). The famous Supreme Court decision in Plessy v Ferguson 1896 (65) decreed that segregation was not in itself discrimination so long as the separate (travel) accommodations were equally good or bad for both races. The point at issue in this case was the quality of service rendered on street cars rather than the issue of purely racial discrimination as such.

The pressure by educated negroes to end segregated schooling was building up gradually in the late 1940's and early 1950's. In 1951 in Briggs v Elliott (66) a three-judge federal court upheld the constitutionality of 63. Continued

Electors of Mississippi Black and Tan Grand Old Party
for Eisenhower and Nixon

4,311 (maximum)
4,310 (minimum)

Independent electors (Unpledged)
42,950 (maximum)
42,950 (minimum)

Mississippi Official and Statistical Register 1960-1964
64. Clark, p.172
65. 537 (1896)
66. 350 (1952). The case was appealed to the Supreme Court becoming one of the 1954 segregation cases.
segregated schools in Clarendon County, South Carolina, by a vote of two to one (67). Under the leadership of Governor Hugh White, enjoying his second term of office, the Mississippi legislature of 1952 anticipated the coming crisis by creating a Recess Education Committee to study existing school laws, school programme and school politics of the state of Mississippi (68). Governor White called an extraordinary session from 3rd November to 28th December, 1953, to implement recommendations for improved educational facilities in the state for both races. Laws were passed which were designed to do this: for example, a minimum Program of Education for all children legally enrolled in the public schools from grades 1 to 12 was enacted and an equitable plan for financial support was provided (69). The curriculum for public grammar and high schools was specified (70). A County Board of Education was established in each county (71) and a state Educational Finance Commission was established (72).

The hammer-blow to Southern resistance was the Supreme Court decision of 17th May, 1954, in Brown v Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas (73) which reversed Plessy v Ferguson.

67. Clark and Kirwan, p.353
68. Governor White's reasons for advocating the Recess Education Committee are in Notes, p.260, Note 60
69. Mississippi Laws, 1953, Chapter 14
70. The curricula are given in Notes, p.260, Note 61
71. A County Superintendent of Education was created in each county. He was executive secretary of the County Board of Education. (Mississippi Laws 1953, Chapter 10)
72. The Commission had to distribute funds appropriated by the legislature for school maintenance and construction. (Mississippi Laws 1953, Chapter 11)
73. 347, U.S. 483 (1954). There were four state-school cases docketed as Brown v Board of Education arising from cases in Kansas, South Carolina, Virginia, and Delaware. For a discussion of the decision see: 68 Harv L Rev 96 (1954)
The Supreme Court delivered a unanimous decision through Chief Justice Earl Warren that "in the field of public education the doctrine of separate but equal has no place." (74) The Supreme Court ordered desegregation not precipitately but with "all deliberate speed." Although this phrase became a loophole for resistance, the Court's second decision on 31st May, 1955, ordered the defendant counties to begin making reasonable progress towards desegregating their public schools (75).

In Mississippi the most extreme form of white resistance followed the 1954 decision. Mississippi was—and is—the most reactionary of the Southern states on the race question. In the "fortress of segregation" the white population was not prepared to have its children educated alongside negro children. Thus any action taken by politicians to resist the implementation of the Court's decision was supported by the white electorate. The underlying reason for white resistance was the fear that 'integrated' or desegregated education, even if on a token basis, could lead ultimately to mixed marriages, which, although forbidden by Mississippi law, could take place outside the state. It was probably this fear and not the denial of educational facilities per se to negroes which fomented the crisis(76).

74. In the decision, segregated schools were, by their nature, infringements of personal rights. Persons in segregated schools were deprived of the equal protection of the laws as guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment.

75. The Supreme Court had requested further argument on the question of relief. In its May 1955 decision the Supreme Court unanimously reversed those courts which had permitted segregation in public schools. The U.S. District Courts, which had originally heard these cases, were charged with performing the judicial appraisal of the time factor in the implementation of Brown v. Board of Education.

76. See Tom F. Brady, Black Monday, Winona, Mississippi, 1955, pp. 64-67, for a statement of white fears on inter-marriage.
Because, constitutionally, a state controlled its own educational system which was administered by state and county officials in accordance with state law, there was considerable room for manoeuvre in changing state law to meet the new requirements after 1954.

After the 1954 decision Governor White exercised considerable powers of leadership in his handling of the crisis and devoted the "major portion" of his time working on the problem. White established a Committee of Twenty-Five, legislators, lawyers and educators, to study the problem and make recommendations. He undertook to maintain segregation on a voluntary basis, and attempted to get 90 negro educational leaders to agree to equal facilities and staff advantages, but only one negro favoured the plan and one was partially in favour (77).

The regular session of the 1954 legislature, which met from 5th January to 6th May, anticipated the Court's adverse decision and appropriated only enough funds for full operation of the schools for one year and partial funds for the second part of the biennium. This tactic gave Governor White the opportunity to work a "squeezeplay". The main proposal of the Committee of Twenty-Five was the passage of a constitutional amendment which, if approved by the electorate, would enable the legislature, by a two-thirds vote in each house, present and voting, to abolish public schools through the state but on a purely local option basis. Thus if the extraordinary session of the legislature of September 1954 did not approve the proposed amendment, and if the amendment were not adopted

77. Clark, p.193
by the electorate, Governor White gave a specific ultimatum that there would be no additional extraordinary session to appropriate additional money for schools (78). At the extraordinary session White stated, however, that there was "no intention of abandoning or even reducing our public school program." (79) The legislature approved the proposed amendment (80). In a special election on 21st December, 1954, the amendment was approved by 106,748 to 46,099 (81).

Having secured his tactical victory, Governor White called an extraordinary session in January 1955 at which he insisted that abolition of public schools was only to be used "as a last resort and when every other effort to preserve segregation had failed." (82) Additional revenue was provided to carry out the Minimum Education Program (83) and additional funds for negro children in daily attendance were provided in an attempt to equalise the funds spent on both races (84). But an act was passed prohibiting whites from attending state schools which were also attended by negroes (85). Because of the crucial importance of public finance, a Commission of

78.Ibid, p.194
79.Mississippi Senate Journal 1954, Extra, pp.7-10
80.Mississippi Laws 1954, Extraordinary Session, Chapter 39
81.15 counties voted against the amendment. Nine of these counties were in the North East hills and six were on the Gulf coast, areas with few negroes. Mississippi Official and Statistical Register 1956-1960
82.Mississippi Senate Journal 1955, pp.173-176
83.An additional appropriation to the Minimum Education Program Fund of $21,195,000 for the fiscal year 1st July 1955 - 30th June 1956 was approved. (Mississippi Laws 1955, Chapter 6)
84.An additional $3.00 for each negro child in average daily attendance each year had to be paid by the state to local school boards. $12.00 had to be paid for each child in average daily attendance in the public schools. (Mississippi Laws 1955, Chapter 97)
85.Mississippi Laws 1955, Chapter 42
Budget and Accounting was reorganised (86).

The implementation of this new legislation proved to be an unwanted burden on the state's taxpayers. As Governor White was the main personal force behind the "Balance Agriculture with Industry" programme, the taxation of new industry was out of the question when every effort was being made to industrialise the state. In concrete terms, equalising educational opportunities for both races within two years would cost $44,000,000 plus $118,000,000 for new buildings. The immediate cost for new school buildings for negroes was estimated at $60,000,000 (87). In a state as poor as Mississippi the taxation money required for 'equalisation' was simply not available on this scale, even if the politicians did not admit this (88). Under Governor Coleman taxation was increased in 1956 in order to finance a nine-month school term under the Minimum Education Program and to pay for increased teachers' salaries – the lowest in the nation – and new school buildings.

When Governor Coleman took office in January 1956, there was considerable pressure to abolish the public schools and thus avoid compliance with federal law by creating private schools (89). The legislature of 1956 repealed the compulsory attendance education laws which had been instituted by the

86. It had to prepare and submit to the legislature an overall balanced budget before 1st December preceding the biennium which started on 1st July. (Mississippi Laws 1955, Chapter 24
87. Clark, p.195
88. In the budget for 1st July 1956 – 30th June 1958, $13,000,000 was set aside for the school building programme. (Mississippi Senate Journal 1956, pp.94-102) In his final address in January 1956 Governor White estimated that the cost of education would rise from 57½ cents of each tax dollar to 60 cents in the dollar. (Mississippi Senate Journal 1956, pp.12-21)
89. The School board of Prince Edward County, Virginia, had pioneered abolition of public schools in 1955 and their replacement by private segregated schools, which eventually received public money.
legislature of 1918 (90). Following the Little Rock confrontation of September 1957 (91), Coleman called an extraordinary session of the legislature in November 1957 with the principal objective of calling a Constitutional Convention to draft a new state constitution. In Coleman's opinion, Mississippi had to keep its public school system to avoid "absolute ruin of the state". A new constitution would necessarily wipe the state clean of all legal handicaps created prior to that time, claimed Coleman. "As long as our constitution and our laws do not make race (and race alone) the sole and only legal basis of separation, we can exercise any other legitimate, educational reason for that separation." (92) The rejection of Coleman's arguments by the Mississippi legislature is described below (93).

Despite the furore, the Mississippi public schools remained open, a feat described by Coleman in his final address to the legislature of 1960 as "a major accomplishment". (94)

The 1954 Supreme Court decision brought out the conservative forces in all their considerable militancy and

90. See Notes, p. 265; Mississippi Laws 1956, Chapter 288.
91. Governor Orval Faubus of Arkansas, had predicted trouble if nine negroes attended Central High School, Little Rock, in September, 1957. When they appeared on the first day, Faubus ordered them away. President Eisenhower federalised the National Guard and 1,000 United States troops held back the mob and escorted the students to class. (Clark and Kirwan, p.357)
92. Mississippi Senate Journal 1957, pp.1392-1400
93. See pages 170-172
94. Mississippi Senate Journal 1960, pp.10-19
wrath. The struggle to defend the Mississippi way of life was waged at the grass roots, in the legislature, in Congress and in the courts. The integration issue had an immediate effect on Mississippi politics: the moment was ripe for the return of the demagogue (95). Dan Wakefield wrote in The Nation in October 1955:

"The integration issue has submerged other political questions in the Deep South, and in many places election campaigns have been turned into contests among the candidates to surpass each other in promises of maintaining segregation." (96)

Senator Eastland won re-election to the United States Senate by using the techniques of the demagogue in the primary of June 1954. Although he had not displayed such militancy in public before, he attacked the integrationist trend in America:

"I know that Southern people, by and large, will neither recognise, abide by nor comply with this decision. We are expected to remain docile while the pure blood of the South is mongrelised by the barter of our heritage by Northern politicians in order to secure political favors from Red mongrels in the slums of the East and Middle West." (97)

A second example of a Mississippi demagogue was Ross R. Barnett (98). As a candidate in the gubernatorial primary of 1955, Barnett barnstormed the state in the rural style of Bilbo warning darkly against the federal forces. Despite the support of the Citizens' Councils and other conservative groups, he was defeated and the more moderate James F. Coleman was elected (99). Undeterred, Barnett

95.Clark and Kirwan, p.356
96.Dan Wakefield, "Respectable Racism, Dixie's Citizens Councils", The Nation, 22nd October, 1955, pp.339-341
98.A biographical sketch of Ross Robert Barnett will be found in Notes, p. 260, Note 62
99.Result of first primary, 2nd August, 1955:-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>Votes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P.B. Johnson</td>
<td>122,423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.F. Coleman</td>
<td>104,140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.L. Wright</td>
<td>94,410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.R. Barnett</td>
<td>92,785</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary D. Cain</td>
<td>22,469</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Continued
spent the next four years actively campaigning for the next gubernatorial election in 1959. In the 1959 campaign he promised to "investigate the N.A.A.C.P. from A to Z when elected governor." Furthermore he promised to reduce income tax, which had been raised under Governor Coleman (100). This was a popular tactic as the Coleman Administration had been strongly opposed on this issue and Barnett probably picked up some of the 'protest vote'. Barnett received substantial support from the Citizens' Councils, the white lower classes generally and from the influential Jackson Clarion-Ledger (101) and defeated Lieutenant-Governor Carroll Gartin (102).

In neighbouring states the demagogues also returned to the stump: Governor Orval Faubus of Arkansas became a world-famous figure for his 'stand' against federal troops at Little Rock in 1957. Governor George Wallace of Alabama persistently resisted integrated education at school and University level in 1963 and 1964.

At the grass roots, there was a spontaneous response from white resistance groups. A large number of these groups mushroomed in the South after the 1954 decision such as the American States' Rights Association, Americans for the Preservation of the White Race (A.P.W.R.) and the Grass Roots League Inc. None were as large or as well organised

99. Continued

Result of second primary, 25th August, 1959:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>Votes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R.R. Barnett</td>
<td>230,557</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Gartin</td>
<td>193,706</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mississippi Official and Statistical Register 1960-1964
as the White Citizens' Council or Citizens' Council. The first Citizens' Council was organised at Indianola, Sunflower County, Mississippi in July 1954 (103). One of the organisers of the meeting, Robert B. Patterson, became full-time secretary and organiser of the Association of Citizens' Council, and from his office in Winona he also directed the mailing of pro-segregation material (104).

The Citizens' Council movement began in the Delta where the negroes were concentrated in large numbers working part of the cotton lands as tenant farmers. The small white population, which had relied on its "paternalism and its peculiar human controls" to master the negroes, suddenly felt exposed to a social revolution initiated by the Supreme Court. As Thomas D. Clark, a native of Mississippi and a renowned historian, has written: "To understand this fact is to appreciate the tremendous shock of the Supreme Court decision." (105)

The organisation had an immediate appeal in Mississippi where racial attitudes have long been institutionalised. By 1955 there were 60,000 members in Mississippi, organised in each community. Other Southern states had similar organisations but the headquarters was always in Mississippi. In the early years the leadership came mainly from the professional middle class in the towns and there was a certain respectability in membership (106). Leading politicians, such as Senator Eastland and Representative John Bell Williams (107) actively

104. Clark, p.100
105. Loc Cit
106. For example, Whites in Clarksdale, Mississippi, were urged to "go to your nearest local bank" in order to enlist in the cause. (Wakefield, p.341)
107. A biographical sketch of John Bell Williams will be found in Notes, p.260-261, Note 63
supported the Councils. One of the Councils' aims is to screen candidates for office in order to keep out those with an "independent" point of view. A candidate in the mid-1950's, not sympathetic with the Council and therefore the white consensus, was a rarity.

When the initial furore died down, lower classes' leadership began to replace the middle class leadership in the Councils. Governor Coleman felt sufficiently independent of the Councils to oppose publicly a proposal to give the Councils tax money through the State Sovereignty Commission. He felt that the "over-riding governmental principle" was "that public funds should never be contributed to private organisations, whether it be the Citizens' Council, the N.A.A.C.P., or any other group." By the late 1960's legislators were less inclined to list Council membership in their biographical notes in the Mississippi Official and Statistical Register.

Although the Councils were called "Main Street Ku Klux Klans", they operated quite independently from the various Ku Klux Klans, which enjoyed a revival after the 1954 decision. Membership of the Klans appealed to the rural white lower classes such as garage hands and farm labourers presumably

108. This is the view of Sherrill, p.195
109. Letter to author from Judge James P. Coleman, Ackerman, Mississippi, 6th September, 1971
110. In 1964 13 State Representatives and 9 State Senators were members of the Citizens' Council as recorded in Biographical Notes in Mississippi Official and Statistical Register 1964-1968. In 1968 5 State Representatives and 1 State Senator listed Citizens' Council membership in Mississippi Official and Statistical Register 1968-1972. Of those 1964 legislators remaining in office in 1968, 4 State Representatives dropped membership whilst 3 continued membership and 3 State Senators dropped membership with 1 continuing - as recorded in Biographical Notes.
because the secret organisation, with its peculiar hierarchy, offered a status symbol to whites, who were socially and economically deprived in normal life and who were uncomfortably close to negroes - some of whom threatened to integrate white schools.

Klan leaders have repeatedly claimed to be anti-Communist, as indeed have all white preservation groups, and actively standing for the Bible and the Constitution. They claimed not to be anti-negro, 'as the white Southerner knows the negro as a friend'. Individual members of the Klan did not always practise this sentiment: of all the white vigilante groups the Klan was clearly the most militant and its members engaged in a whole series of outrages against integrationists - burning warning crosses on their lawns at night, warning them by telephone campaigns and physically assaulting them. In rural areas the Klan could control small communities by its night-riding activities. In producing white conformism the Klan probably achieved its aim in rural Mississippi. (111)

After 1954 the white population became more sensitive about the accepted code of race relations. Whites were much more likely to take the law into their own hands when the federal government was attempting to overturn a way of life. As examples of violence, Emmett 'Bobo' Till, a negro teenager from Chicago, was taken from his uncle's home in Money, Leflore County on 25th August, 1955. He had allegedly "wolf-whistled"

111. By 1965 the Klans were estimated to be splintered into 14 organisations with about 9,000 members: the largest was the United Klans of America, Inc, headed by imperial wizard Robert M. Shelton of Tuscaloosa, Alabama with 4,600 members (estimated). The second largest was the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi with 2,000 members (estimated and headquarters at Laurel, Mississippi. (See Memphis Commercial Appeal, 24th April, 1965, for insight into the Klan's 'knockoff squads'.)
at a white woman. Three days later his body was pulled from the Tallahatchie River along with a 70 pound cotton gin fan tied with barbed wire to his neck. An all-white, male jury returned a verdict of "innocent" on the two accused white men, a decision based on defence testimony that the body was unidentifiable. Another alleged negro transgressor, Lamar Smith, was shot to death at high noon in August 1955 in front of a Mississippi court house. Although three white men were indicted, they were never brought to trial, because, a Mississippi judge explained, no white man in the state could be persuaded to testify against another for killing a negro.

Southern judicial mores was:

"One standard of justice prevails when a negro commits a crime against a negro, another when a negro commits a crime against a white, still another when a white commits a crime against a white, and a fourth when a white commits a crime against a negro." (112)

The Reconstruction practice of lynching in rural areas was revived on 24th April, 1959, when Mack Charles Parker, of Poplarville, was taken from jail, lynched and thrown into a stream. Parker had been jailed for criminally assaulting a white woman who was pregnant. Governor Coleman, incensed by the murder, called in the F.B.I. to investigate the crime, despite the risks to his own political career (113).

112. James W. Silver, Mississippi, The Closed Society, New York, Harcourt, Brace and World, 1964, p.152. By 1965, however, there was evidence of a change in Southern justice. On 12th November, 1965, in Hattiesburg, a white youth was sentenced to life imprisonment for raping a negro girl. Local attorneys said it was the first time a white man had been convicted of raping a negro girl in Mississippi. (Jackson Clarion-Ledger, 12th November, 1965)

113. In a letter to the author, dated 6th September, 1971, Judge James P. Coleman wrote: "I do not consider that my calling in the F.B.I. contributed anything substantial to my (gubernatorial) defeat in 1963". Nevertheless opponents called him a "moderate", a term of approbrium in Mississippi. (See Jackson Clarion-Ledger, 18th June, 1965)
murderers were never brought to justice. The white will to do this was probably non-existent:

"Rarely did the killing of a negro by a white man fall for legal inquiry, or if it did the verdict of the coroner or jury was invariably "self-defence" or "justified homicide." (114)

The determination of the Mississippi legislators to change state law to meet the new contingencies imposed by federal law and federal court orders has been demonstrated in the changing of Mississippi election laws to avert large scale negro voting (115) and the reform of the educational system (116). New laws were passed to deal with problems in other areas of administration. For example, the legislature of 1956 established a State Sovereignty Commission, known as 'the watchdog of segregation' (117). The Commission could subpoena and examine witnesses and order production of books, records and papers. A "Resolution of Interposition" was adopted and implemented by statute (118). Interposition is the "interposing" of the rights of the state of Mississippi between the people of Mississippi and the federal government. It had no validity because in 1960 the Supreme Court in Bush v Orleans Parish School Board (119) had expressly repudiated

114. Clark and Kirwan, p.323
115. Pages 143-146
116. Pages 159-162
117. The purpose of the State Sovereignty Commission was: "to do and perform any and all acts and things deemed necessary and proper to protect the sovereignty of the state of Mississippi, and her sisters, from encroachment therein by the federal government.... and to resist the usurpation of the rights and powers reserved to this state and our sister states by the federal government." (Mississippi Laws 1956, Chapter 365) Under Governor Paul B. Johnson, 1964-1968, the State Sovereignty Commission became largely defunct. Johnson was criticised for not calling a single meeting between 1964 and 1966.
118. Mississippi Code 4065.3
119. 118? Supp.916 (1960); The Supreme Court first rejected interposition in United States v Peters, 9.U.S..115 (1809)
interposition as a valid constitutional doctrine. Other laws designed to preserve segregation included the following provisions: the governor was empowered to remove elective officers in any county if they failed to execute the law (120); attorneys of other states were regulated in Mississippi courts (121); persons were prohibited from creating a disturbance or breach of the peace in any public place of business (122); railroads and bus companies had to provide separate accommodation and toilet facilities for the races travelling interstate (123) and intrastate (124).

The legislature of 1958 passed a law authorising the secretary of state to require an investigation by the attorney general or general legislative investigation committee of subversive organisations (125). Whilst prepared to make new laws which were designed to conserve existing institutions, the legislature wanted to work in the framework of the Constitution of 1890.

The hostility of the legislature to a new state constitution, which might endanger the whole fabric of state law, was seen in the Constitution issue of 1957. The Constitution issue was rather like the prohibition issue in Mississippi politics (until the latter was reformed in 1966). It comes to the surface in the 20th century from time to time but it is repeatedly submerged by the conservative forces and, for a period, forgotten. Thus Governors White, Conner and Wright had been strong advocates of a constitutional convention.

120. Mississippi Laws 1956, Chapter 188
121. Mississippi Laws 1956, Chapter 255. This was to scrutinise and discourage Civil Rights lawyers from other states.
122. Mississippi Laws 1956, Chapter 256. This was to take action against Civil Rights protestors.
123. Mississippi Laws 1956, Chapter 258
124. Mississippi Laws 1956, Chapters 259, 260
125. Mississippi Laws 1956, Chapter 484; All Civil Rights groups were considered to be 'subversive' by white Mississippians because they wanted to change the existing social and political order.
but had received insufficient legislative support. Governor Coleman's proposal to call a constitutional convention in 1957 met the same entrenched opposition.

Coleman's intention was to re-write the constitution so that, inter alia, economic advantages for Mississippi industrialists would be written into the constitution. This was the practice in North Carolina, the most industrialised state in the South (126).

Coleman campaigned actively for a constitutional convention. He made state wide television broadcasts, presenting his reasons to the electorate (127).

The forces of history were, however, against Coleman. In 1957 the race issue dominated political thought and engendered an atmosphere of mistrust. The powerful conservative forces among the Mississippi political elite rejected any attempt to change the basic law lest it opened the door to any negro advancement or weakened the existing political system. They considered that Coleman's campaign divided the people at a time when unity was essential - and at the expense of the state.

There would, of course, be many vested interests interested in retaining the Constitution of 1890; for example, the two sets of judges, circuit and chancery, when one set might be sufficient.

The conservative forces were led by State Senator Earl Evans, President Pro Tempore of the Senate. A Committee of

126. North Carolina, the most industrialised state in the South, had changed its taxation laws and "within a week attracted a $40,000,000 titanium industry. Mississippi had only attracted small industries worth $200,000 - $300,000 each and hardly any heavy industry which was necessary to provide employment and keep young people in the state. (Mississippi Senate Journal, 1957, pp.1364-1370)

127. Governor Coleman's reasons for advocating a Constitutional Convention are in Notes, p.261, Note 64
Twenty Five studied Coleman's proposals and rejected them in a pamphlet (128).

Predictably, Coleman's bill to call a constitutional convention was defeated by the legislature at an extraordinary session in November 1957 called by Coleman to consider the issue (129).

At Washington the struggle to conserve the Southern way of life was fought with unabated fury. The Congressmen of Mississippi and the other Southern states delayed the integrationist trend of federal law-making and administrative processes as long as humanly possible in Washington, using such devices as the filibuster. In 1956 Southerners in Congress produced the "Congressional Manifesto" in which they proposed to resist judicial usurpation of power and to use "all lawful means to bring a reversal of this (1954) decision which is contrary to the Constitution, and to prevent the use of force in its implementation."(130) The Mississippi Congressmen were, of course, solidly opposed to any liberalising influence at work. An example of a senior Senator working furiously for his home state was Senator James Eastland. Like many long-serving Southerners

128. The pamphlet is summarised in Notes, p. 262, Note 65
129. The voting figures and Coleman's letter to author discussing them are in Notes, p. 262-263, Note 66
130. Senators John Stennis (Mississippi), Richard B. Russell (Georgia) and Samuel J. Ervin, Jr. (North Carolina), "three of the ablest and most intelligent men in the body", constituted a drafting committee, although the final draft was the work of Senators Russell and J. Strom Thurmond (South Carolina). It was signed by 77 Representatives and 19 Senators from 11 Southern states. (Clark, pp. 235-236)
his seniority gave him the chairmanship of important committees. By 1971 he had served in the Senate longer than any other Mississippi Senator and only two other members of the Senate had served longer.

In the early 1950's Eastland was Chairman of the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee, which, inter alia, investigated the Southern Conference Education Fund, which was the only inter-racial group in the South pressing for desegregation. More importantly as Chairman of the Senate Civil Rights Sub-Committee from 1950 to 1953, Eastland blocked all the civil rights bills. In his 1954 campaign, he claimed to have broken the law as the committee did not hold a single meeting whilst he was chairman although by law the committee was supposed to meet weekly: "I didn't permit them to meet. I had to protect the interests of the people of Mississippi."

In 1956 Eastland became Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, "The Little Senate", believed to be one of the two or three most important committees in the Senate and with 15 Sub-Committees responsible to the full committee. The Committee's immense power stems from the fact that over half of all the legislation introduced in the Senate must pass through it. It handles all civil rights bills and all judicial appointments, including appointments to the Supreme Court, and oversees all appointive jobs in the Department of Justice. In this senior position Eastland was able to bottle up civil


rights bills (133), and hold up appointments within the Department of Justice (134).

In the House, Representative William M. Colmer (135) who entered Congress in 1933 and became Chairman of the Committee of Rules, opposed all civil rights legislation in the period.

Whilst publicity media naturally focus on news-worthy acts of violence and speeches in Congress and the state legislature, the day-to-day struggle to hold back the flood tide of change has been fought in state and federal courts in Mississippi. A new growth industry of lawyers concerned with educational and civil rights suits has risen with the proliferation of cases.

It was the deliberate policy choice of Mississippi political leaders to create new state laws which would, in turn, create an endless chain of litigation "in the hope that integration efforts would drown in a sea of protracted court controversy."(136) In Mississippi, school districts refused to 'desegregate' until faced with a federal court injunction. The politicians were assured that the state and county courts would protract school cases as long as possible. As all-white institutions, they naturally supported the white man's traditional dominance in all areas of life. Thus state and county court

133. The New York Times claimed that Eastland's influence had bottled up 122 civil rights bills as chairman of the Civil Rights Sub-Committee and as chairman of the Judiciary Committee. (Sherrill, p.187)
134. Sherrill suggests that Eastland attempted to evoke the promise that federal troops would not be used to enforce civil rights laws in the South. (Loc cit)
135. A biographical sketch of William M. Colmer will be found in Notes, p.263, Note 67
decisions to uphold segregation were commonplace: "Judges, prosecutors, sheriffs, jailors, constables, and other administrative officials were elective and were thus responsive to the inclinations and prejudices of the voters." (137)

The federal district courts in Mississippi were also staffed by native whites, partly because of the convention of "senatorial courtesy": Federal district court appointments in a state must have the approval of both Senators from the state, if of the same party as the President, before the United States Senate will confirm them, (138) although constitutionally the President nominates all federal judges by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. (139) And these nominations must be confirmed by a majority vote of the United States Senate (139).

Up to 1964 the federal courts in Mississippi upheld the plans of school districts for pupil intake on a segregated basis. This is not surprising. As Burke Marshall, Assistant Attorney General, Civil Rights Division, Department of Justice, wrote in 1964:

"The judicial selection system for federal district courts is weighted, as it should be, so that the bench reflects the customs and attitudes of the community. This is one of the facts of the federal system. At the same time, the federal judges are the only existing instruments for enforcing federal standards on state officials and for bringing about recognition of federally guaranteed rights for negroes." (140)

Thus the federal district court system, like the state courts, provided a reliable defensive wall for the white politicians

137.Clark and Kirwan, p.319
138."Senatorial Courtesy", is an unwritten rule which virtually transfers the nominating power for such offices from President to the Senator or Senators of his party from a state before making a nomination to an office in that state. (John H. Ferguson and Dean E. McHenry, The American System of Government, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1956, p.274)
139.Constitution of the United States of America, Article II, Section 2(2).
and white population.

To summarise, the Second World War required national unity and racial harmony and the only objective was victory over the Axis powers. An important result of the armament programme was the expansion of the Southern economy with Mississippi benefiting from industrial investment particularly at Ingalls Shipyard, in ordnance factories and the military training camps whose personnel spent money locally.

After the War, the Roosevelt Administration turned to the problem of civil rights for negroes with a predictable backlash in Mississippi. The negro voting issue was exacerbated - for his own ends - by Senator Bilbo in the 1946 Senatorial primary in Mississippi. Bilbo's speeches led to an unwanted Senatorial investigation into intimidation of negroes in the primary election. Bilbo was acquitted, but, following a separate Senate investigation into his war activities, he was not permitted to take his seat in the United States Senate and died shortly afterwards.

The negro question began to dominate the thinking of white Mississippians in the late 1940's. As more pressure came from the federal centre, the more resistant were the attitudes and policies of Mississippi's Democrats particularly in the state legislature where more difficult election laws were passed. When Truman came out strongly for Civil Rights in the 1948 Democratic National Convention, the Mississippi delegation walked out to join the other Southern Dixiecrats in a third party movement in the Presidential election. The failure of the Dixiecrats was a sobering experience because, despite pressures from the extreme conservatives to bolt
the Democrats in 1952 and 1956, Mississippi stayed in the Democratic column.

All events before May 1954 paled into insignificance compared with the momentous Supreme Court decision in *Brown v Board of Education*. This precipitated a major crisis in the history of the nation because the enforcement of the decision could only be achieved with the compliance of the white authorities who used a vast array of state law, legal processes and administrative techniques to hold up the enforcement and thus to effectively ignore the edict "with all deliberate speed". In Mississippi Governor White concentrated his resources on 'separate but equal' educational facilities which could not be achieved on the existing taxation resources.

The pressure from the grass roots was a genuine response on the part of threatened white parents. Thus the birth of the Citizens' Council in July 1954 was a form of spontaneous combustion. The politicians in the state legislature needed no prodding in the passage of a battery of laws designed to uphold segregation but, just in case, the Citizens' Council, the Ku Klux Klan and other white action groups kept a stern watching brief.

At Washington Senator Eastland bottled up civil rights bills as Chairman of the Senate Judicial Committee and the other Mississippi Congressmen filibustered on the floor and generally used their considerable powers to obstruct the Eisenhower Administration.

Court decisions in Mississippi offered little encouragement to negroes in the late 1950's and the decade brought no integration of Mississippi schools. The events of Little Rock in September 1957 showed the consequences of defying a
federal court order by force, however, and pointed to a trend in the distant skies of the 1960's.

Over the twenty year period the negro had once again become the central issue in Mississippi and the South. The decisions of the Supreme Court were generally in favour of the negro's assumed quest for civil rights but the implementation of the decisions imperilled the entire social structure of Mississippi. The upsets did not help the state to attract industry and the image of violence, although not reflecting the peaceful nature of day to day living, probably damaged material progress.
CHAPTER SIX

MISSISSIPPI POLITICS 1960-1966:
THE MODERN ERA, RESISTANCE AND CONCILIATION

The application of federal pressure in the late 1950's intensified in the 1960's with the passage of federal legislation designed to accelerate the negro's assumed quest for his civil rights. Under Governor Ross R. Barnett the state's policy was to defy the federal authorities, but this old style of resistance was nullified by the Ole Miss crisis of 1962 when federal armed forces helped to integrate the University of Mississippi. By contrast Governor Paul B. Johnson, Jnr., (1) who succeeded Barnett in January 1964, offered a new style of leadership based on compliance with the law.

The violence of 1963-1964 in the South induced the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Mississippi negroes formed their own political party, the Freedom Democratic Party, in 1964 in order to challenge the white power structure. The violence continued in 1965 and the passage of the Voting Rights Act 1965 made Mississippi change state election laws.

Mississippi was alienated from Presidential electoral politics in 1960 and 1964 when the white electorate reacted to federal policies by pursuing an independent course in the Presidential elections. In two issue areas - reapportionment of the state legislature and Congressional redistricting - federal pressure could only produce the guidelines of changes leaving the precise details to the legislature.

1. A biographical sketch of Paul Burney Johnson Jnr. will be found in Notes, p. 264, Note 68.
The period was one of considerable economic development. Governor Barnett helped to attract Standard Oil of Kentucky to the state. Federal installations and a Research Center contributed to growth. Finally, Governor Johnson at last destroyed the evils of prohibition by advocating a liquor referendum, which made half the state "wet" in 1966.

The governorship of Ross Barnett from 1960 to 1964 was firmly in the Mississippi demagogic tradition of resisting federal authority to the maximum extent. He had the full support of William J. Simmons, organiser of the Citizens' Councils, who were alleged to have "a position of power and prestige seldom if ever achieved before by any extralegal group in the history of Mississippi." (2) In 1960 the federal government intensified pressure on recalcitrant Southern states on the voting issue. The Civil Rights Act of 1960 made three major provisions: educational facilities in federal installations were to be desegregated; bombings of schools and churches were made a federal offence; in places where negroes found it either too difficult or impossible to register, federal registrars would be appointed to register voters who wished to vote in federal elections. The act required the maintenance and production of registration and voting records (3). With this authority, the United States Department of Justice began a programme of investigation and litigation in Mississippi in 1960 (4).

Under the leadership of Governor Barnett, the Mississippi

3. 42 U.S. Code 1971(c), 1974(Supp.1964)
legislature responded by enacting laws imposing new qualifications for electors and by creating new obstacles to federal litigation. In 1960 the legislature condemned the "vicious so-called Civil Rights Bill" while it was being debated in Congress and adopted a bill authorising the destruction of registration records, thus reversing the time-honoured policy of these documents being a "permanent public record." (5) A law was enacted which eliminated any requirement that application forms for voter registration be numbered or public records be preserved (6). The legislature also adopted a constitutional amendment, ratified in November 1960 (7), which, "in addition to all other qualifications" required electors to be of "good moral character". This amendment was implemented by the legislature of 1962 (8).

The litigation programme of the Department of Justice began to bite on 10th April, 1962, when the United States Court of Appeals issued a temporary injunction directing the registrar of Forrest County to assist negro applicants as he had previously assisted whites, to ignore insignificant errors and omissions on negroes' forms and to cease requiring that each unsuccessful negro applicant wait six months before re-applying (9).

This injunction was widely publicised and only hardened the attitudes of native whites. The Mississippi legislature

5. Mississippi Laws 1960, Chapter 510; Mississippi Code 3209.6 (1950)
6. Mississippi Laws 1960, Chapter 449
7. Votes for the constitutional amendment 161,352
   Votes against the constitutional amendment 61,836
   Mississippi Official and Statistical Register 1964-1968
   Amended Article 12, Mississippi Constitution of 1890
9. United States v Lynd, 301 F 2d 818 (5th Cir. 1962)
reacted promptly by introducing four new bills on 17th April, 1962, which directly challenged federal registration requirements and became law in May 1962. One law established the requirement that the names of applicants for registration be published in a local newspaper once a week for two weeks as an invitation to voters to challenge the qualification of applicants (10).

It had long been the ambition of educated Mississippi negroes to send one of their number to the University of Mississippi, the historic white institution, hallowed as "Ole Miss" and founded in the balmy days of 1848 for the education of the children of the Delta planter class.

On 25th June, 1962, James H. Meredith, a negro, won an order from the Fifth Judicial Circuit United States Court of Appeals directing university officials to stop interfering with his registration at the University of Mississippi. On 10th September, 1962, United States Supreme Court Justice Hugo L. Black ordered Meredith to be admitted, thus nullifying the ruling of United States Circuit Judge Ben F. Cameron at Meridian which granted stays voiding rulings by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. Consequently the United States District Court issued an injunction on 13th September, 1962, against University of Mississippi officials ordering them to

10. Mississippi Laws 1962, Chapter 572; The other laws were: implementation of the good moral character requirement already approved by the electorate in the constitutional amendment, (Mississippi Laws 1962, Chapter 569); strengthening an existing requirement that applicants execute a letter-perfect form wholly without assistance (Mississippi Laws 1962, Chapter 575); directing the registrar not to advise rejected applicants of the reason for their rejection (except to those rejected on account of bad moral character) since that would constitute illegal help. (Mississippi Code 3217-01-15 (Supp.1962))
admit Meredith. On the same day the state government moved towards a head-on clash with the federal government. Governor Barnett issued a proclamation directing state and university officials to defy the court orders. Barnett invoked the doctrine of 'interposition' in which he "interposed" the rights of the sovereign state of Mississippi to enforce its laws and to regulate its own internal affairs without interference on the part of the federal government or its offices." (11) When Meredith attempted to register on 25th September, 1962, Barnett physically blocked the negro's entrance. Barnett said he would go to jail rather than admit Meredith. When bad weather prevented Barnett flying in to Oxford on 26th September, the lieutenant-governor, Paul B. Johnson, blocked Meredith's entrance. By doing this, Johnson gained publicity which later proved to be invaluable in his gubernatorial campaign of 1963. Both Barnett and Johnson were cited for contempt of court by the United States Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals (12).

The federal government responded at first by persuasion with Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy telephoning Governor Barnett daily to work out a face-saving compromise plan but when this proved to be negative, President John F. Kennedy moved 20,000 troops to nearby Memphis. The President also federalised the Mississippi National Guard as an extra precaution.

Meredith was surrounded by a small army of United States marshalls who forcibly obtained his admission on 30th September, 1962. During the night of 30th September - 1st October, 1962, severe rioting took place on the campus. Students attacked

12. The decision of the Fifth Judicial Circuit, United States Court of Appeals is given in Notes, p. 264, Note 69
the federal marshals with a barrage of missiles, whilst
the Mississippi Highway Patrol looked on. Tear gas bombs
were used by the marshals, and in the exchange of fire two
men were killed in a night of terror (13).

Meredith was guarded night and day on the campus by
marshals and troops for the remainder of the session. He
completed his studies and received a degree on 18th August
1963. A small number of other negroes followed him from
1963 but without a major incident (14).

To the white Mississippian, the lessons of Ole Miss
were grudgingly and bitterly acknowledged: the armed forces
of the United States would be invoked in the last resort in
a head-on clash with the state government. For Paul B.
Johnson, Jnr., the Oxford crisis, with his deputising for
Governor Barnett, proved to be invaluable evidence of
'resistance' in his winning the gubernatorial election of
1963.(15)

But once elected to office in January 1964, Governor
Johnson represented a transitional phase from Governor
Barnett's open resistance to a more moderate compliance
policy based on a realistic appraisal of the facts.

Johnson was a sophisticated, cautious middle-class

13. Thomas D. Clark and Albert D. Kirwan, The South Since
Appomattox, p.358
14. Two eye witness accounts of the Ole Miss crisis by faculty
members are:- Russell Barrett, Integration at Ole Miss,
Chicago, Quadrangle Books, 1965; James W. Silver, Mississippi:
Professors Barrett and Silver were noted liberals and critics
of the Mississippi political system. Meredith's account is
in James H. Meredith, Three Years in Mississippi, Bloomington,
valuable insight into negro life in Mississippi - a world
which is virtually unknown to the white man.
explanation of his defeat in Note 70
P.B. Johnson 261,493
J.P. Coleman 194,956
Mississippi Official and Statistical Register 1964-1968
politician strongly aware of the strength and limitation of state government in its relationship with the federal centre. He was determined not to precipitate a second head-on clash with the federal government. In his inaugural address on 21st January, 1964, he had warned of the dangers:

"You and I are part of this world, whether we like it or not; what happens in it, through no fault of ours, affects us. Too, we are Americans as well as Mississippians. As a practical matter, we are at this moment 'in the main stream of national life'. National policies have direct bearing on our economy, on our political freedom, on our daily living, whether we like it or not.... Hate, or prejudice, or ignorance will not lead Mississippi while I sit in the Governor's chair."( 16 )

Johnson knew that school integration could not be avoided indefinitely. His policy was to 'play along' with federal legal requirements in the hope that some degree of local control could be maintained. In this he was successful: only token integration took place in Mississippi schools from September 1964 ( 17 ). When parents were given a free choice of selecting their children's school in September 1965, few negro children took advantage of attending white schools ( 18 ). The local pressures and customs were simply too great.

Johnson was a moderating influence when racial disorders threatened. He condemned the violent activities of Klansmen. When the home of Vernon Dahmer, a Hattiesburg negro, was destroyed by fire in January 1966, killing Dahmer, the governor was outraged. Local political leaders in Hattiesburg organised a fund to build a new house for Dahmer's family ( 19 ).

16. Mississippi Senate Journal 1964, pp.34-38
17. In August-September 1964 three of the 150 school districts in Mississippi were integrated, at Jackson, Biloxi and Carthage. 58 negroes were admitted to 13 previously all-white elementary schools in Mississippi. (Memphis Commercial Appeal, 27th December, 1964)
18. Figures of black and white school enrolment will be found in Notes, p. 265, Note 71
When James Meredith, the 'Ole Miss' negro, was shot whilst on a march to Jackson in June 1966, Johnson sent extra police to protect the marchers.

Following the passage of a moderate Civil Rights Act in 1962, there were disturbances in Mississippi and the South in 1963-1964. The negro population of Mississippi was incensed by the murder of Medgar Evers, the Mississippi Field Secretary for the N.A.A.C.P., on 12th June, 1963. His brother, Charles Evers, immediately took his place as secretary. James Meredith wrote:

"The death of Medgar Evers caused more pain among the negroes of Mississippi, especially in Jackson, than any event during my lifetime." (20)

On the day after Evers' death a white boy was shot in a negro quarter of Jackson. A negro mob charged the police after Evers' funeral, despite a "solemn agreement (by the negro leaders of Jackson) with the city authorities that there would be no public demonstration connected with the funeral of Medgar Evers." (21)

Violence was rife in the summer of 1964 in Mississippi when the Council of Federated Organisations (C.O.F.O.) sent student volunteers, mainly white Northerners, to Mississippi to conduct a voter registration campaign for negroes which was bitterly resented by white Mississippi as "outside interference" and a Communist conspiracy. Three of the C.O.F.O. members were murdered (22), 30 negro churches

20. James H. Meredith, Three Years in Mississippi, p.306
21. Ibid, p.309
22. On 4th December, 1964, 21 men were arrested and charged by the F.B.I. in connection with the murder. The 21 included Sheriff Lawrence Rainey and his deputy, Cecil Price, of Neshoba County and Neal Burkes, a Philadelphia (Neshoba County) policeman. The F.B.I. said 'five were members of the Ku Klux Klan and most of the others were Klan sympathisers (Memphis Commercial Appeal, 6th December, 1964)
were destroyed by fires or bombings (23).

One important consequence of the violence was the creation of the "Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party" by the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee (S.N.C.C.) civil rights workers on 26th April, 1964. (24) The predominantly negro party was formed to pursue the concept of 'Black Power'. A principal aim was to unseat the regular Democratic party delegation to the Democratic National Convention at Atlantic City in August 1964. They invaded the convention floor but failed to unseat the regular delegates, most of whom left subsequently over a loyalty oath requirement. The Freedom Democratic Party was in its early stages an amalgam of the Mississippi negro civil rights activists and white outsiders. It lacked popular support among the negroes. The 'party' could not be registered in September 1964 under Mississippi law because one political faction, the Mississippi Democratic Party, already used the name "Democratic" and additionally all parties must follow prescribed steps in staging precinct, county and state conventions before they can be legally constituted parties (25).

The Freedom Democratic Party failed to get four negro candidates for Congress on the ballot in October 1964. They were: Aaron Henry, Clarksdale druggist and president of the state N.A.A.C.P.; Annie Devine, Canton; Victoria Jackson Gray, ...

23. Clark and Kirwan, p. 371
24. "The roots of the M.F.D.P. lie in the work and philosophy of the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee (S.N.C.C.) which started its first voter registration project in McComb, Mississippi in 1961. Voter registration schools were established to urge and assist people to register to vote." Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton, Black Power, Pelican Book, 1969, p. 97. In November 1963 "over 80,000 people in the black community cast ballots for two 'freedom' candidates as Governor and Lieutenant Governor". (Ibid p. 98)
25. Jackson Clarion-Ledger, 18th September 1964
Hattiesburg; and Fannie Lou Hamer, Ruleville (26). The state Election Commission ruled that they did not properly qualify under Mississippi law (27). Angry at this rebuttal, the Freedom Democratic Party 'stumped the state' for the Democrats, President Lyndon B. Johnson and Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, in the November 1964 Presidential election.

The Freedom Democratic Party persisted in its opposition to the Mississippi political structure by challenging, although unsuccessfully, the seating of the five Mississippi United States Representatives at Washington in September 1965. It filed a federal court suit in October 1965 to overturn the state's legislative apportionment and congressional boundaries and to force new legislative elections. Freedom Democratic Party candidates were increasingly entered in local and state elections in 1966. The Freedom Democratic Party's nominee, Rev. Clifton Whitley, entered the United States Senate primary election in June and general election in November 1966 (28) and Lawrence Guyot, executive chairman of the party, fought in the Democratic primary for the Fifth Congressional District in June 1966. Both were decisively defeated.

The disturbances of 1963-1964 became a prelude to the tougher Civil Rights Act of July 1964 (29) which spelt out clearly the intent of Congress on the 1954 Supreme Court decision: under Title IV students would be transported

27. Jackson Clarion-Ledger, 10th October, 1964
28. For the result see footnote 46, page 194
29. 78 Stat 241, P.L. 88-352
between schools to establish a racial balance in a community and Title VI provided for the withdrawal of federal funds from school districts that failed to comply with conditions for desegregating their schools (30).

Furthermore, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 gave the federal government sweeping powers to prevent denial of negro voting rights in federal elections and to prevent discrimination by employers or unions in a fair labour section; and, above all, federal agencies were empowered to withhold grant funds from any programme permitting discrimination.

Faced with the loss of federal money, which was $141.7 million dollars in 1965, one-third of the operating budget of Mississippi and one-tenth of total income in the state (31), the political leaders and the business leaders urged compliance with the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The change of tactics from resistance to reluctant compliance was evident when Governor Johnson appeared before the United States Commission on Civil Rights in Jackson in February 1965:

"My statement is entitled "Mississippi, the state of Law and Order."

"The Civil Rights Act of 1964 as passed by the Congress is the law of the land, and Mississippi knows it.

"Most Mississippians do not like the new law. They are convinced that its passage was unwise and unnecessary. Some of them will challenge its constitutionality in the courts, as is their right. But resistance will be confined to such accepted legal processes. Law and order will be maintained in Mississippi by Mississippians."

30. Enforcement of Title VI involved several difficulties. Congress failed to provide adequate money to establish an enforcing agency. The responsibility for administering the title provisions was placed under the Office of Education in the federal Department of Health, Education and Welfare. "This body was not organised for such a purpose, nor it did not have the qualified staff, even if it had the authority to carry out such a staggering assignment with vigor and efficiency." (Thomas D. Clark, The Emerging South, p.290)

31. See Notes for federal payments to Mississippi, 1962-1966 pp.265-266, Note 72
Violence against any person or any group will not - I repeat, will not be tolerated. Criminal acts will be punished with all law violators being dealt with equally.

In stating these policies, I am joined and supported by the statewide association of local law enforcement officials. Other leaders and statewide organizations representing business, professional, industrial, and religious groups have urged our people to make the necessary adjustments to the Civil Rights Act in a calm, intelligent manner, regardless of personal convictions.

I wish to assure all Americans that Mississippi will continue to be the most law-abiding state in the Nation.....

What we need from our fellow Americans is good will, encouragement, understanding, and assistance. Having accepted the will of the Nation's majority, Mississippi now asks those who have criticized our former position and actions to get off of our back and to get on our side."( 32 )

The business leaders condemned lawlessness as they had been aware of the problem of the state's 'image' in the encouragement of new industry. The Mississippi Economic Council, the state Chamber of Commerce, stated that Mississippians must "adjust to the impact of the 1964 Civil Rights Act regardless of personal feelings and conviction."( 33 ) The Mississippi Manufacturers Association called on the political leaders "to use their every influence in the quest for a solution to the problems facing us."( 34 )

After further violence in the South in 1964-1965, culminating in the crisis of Selma, Alabama, in March 1965 ( 35 ), President Lyndon B. Johnson urged passage of a new Voting Rights Bill to enforce the Fifteenth Amendment. The pending passage of the bill forced Governor Johnson to call

33. Memphis Commercial Appeal, 14th February, 1965
34. Loc Cit
35. Civil Rights demonstrators were attacked by the police during a registration drive led by Dr. Martin Luther King. (Clark and Kirwan, pp.372-373)
an extraordinary session of the Mississippi legislature on 14th June, 1965. The Mississippi political leadership knew that if Mississippi failed to reform its own election laws, federal registrars would take over the function of registration under the proposed federal law. The leadership had to convince the more conservative legislators that the reforms were essential. Thus a fierce campaign was waged in support of the constitutional changes. Joe T. Patterson, state attorney general, summarised the position:

"Adoption of laws relaxing Mississippi's voting requirements was 'a matter of self-preservation.' If Mississippians reject the state laws in the special election, federal registrars 'will swarm in here like grasshoppers on a spring morning and register one group of people on a wholesale basis. This federal bill is tailored to us like a velvet glove fits the hands. The United States Attorney General had Mississippi's voting laws in mind when the federal legislation was drafted." (36)

There was considerable opposition in the legislature by the more conservative forces. But in July 1965 restrictive voting legislation was repealed by proposed constitutional amendments (37). In a special election on 17th August, 1965, the electorate approved the constitutional amendments (38).

A further 'liberalisation' of voting conditions was the abolition of poll tax but this was entirely due to federal processes. The payment of poll taxes in federal elections was abolished by ratification of the Twenty-Fourth Amendment to the United States Constitution by the South Dakota

36. Jackson Clarion-Ledger, 3rd August 1965
37. Section 241-A of the constitution, which required a good moral character and the reading and interpreting of any section of the constitution, was repealed. It was replaced by Section 244-A, which allowed the state legislature to provide additional voter requirement tests or provisions at any future date.
38. Votes for the constitutional amendment on voter qualifications (Senate Concurrent Resolution 103) 137,236
   Votes against the constitutional amendment on voter qualifications 50,748
   Mississippi Official and Statistical Register 1968-1972
legislature in January 1964. The Mississippi legislature had rejected the Amendment.

The poll tax was abolished for state and local elections by a Supreme Court decision in Harper v Virginia State Board of Elections and Butts v Harrison on 25th March, 1966 (39). In terms of Mississippi politics the abolition of the poll tax made little impact on negroes in the Presidential election of 1964 and the state elections of 1966. Elections in Mississippi were still regarded by most negroes as contests between white men.

With the Civil Rights issue dominating Mississippi politics in the early 1960's it was inevitable that the electorate would register its disgust with federal policies by pursuing an independent line in Presidential elections. Thus, in the same way that the Truman Administration had alienated the "Dixiecrats" in 1948, the Eisenhower and Johnson Administrations alienated white Mississippi in 1960 and 1964.

The state Democratic convention of 1960 witnessed an unequal struggle between independent forces, led by Governor Barnett, and loyalist forces, led by former Governor James P. Coleman and Bidwell Adam, state Democratic chairman. The Barnett forces obtained "absolute control" of the convention, outnumbering the loyalists (40). The convention, which was

39. 383 U.S. 633 (1966). This decision was on the grounds that it violated the equal protection of the law guaranteed under the Fourteenth Amendment. The discrimination was of an economic character.
40. The loyalist forces of former Governor Coleman "simply stayed away" from the meetings although a number of loyalists were present at the convention in official positions. (Jackson Clarion-Ledger, 5th June, 1960)
set up in the pattern of the legislature, would not re-apportion itself, and it reflected the views of the rural politicians who were, in any case, in an overwhelming majority. Senator Eastland, anxious to maintain some influence with the National and state Democrats, exhorted Barnett to keep the delegation uninstructed. This was approved (41).

At the Democratic National Convention at Los Angeles in July 1960, Mississippi nominated Governor Barnett for President as a protest against the strong Civil Rights plank. It made no impact on the convention, which nominated John Fitzgerald Kennedy on the first ballot. The in-fighting continued, however when the state convention reconvened at Jackson in August 1960. A compromise was reached between the independent and loyalist factions. Two groups of presidential electors - Regular Democrats and Independent (Unpledged) Democrats - went on the ballot. In addition electors of the Mississippi Republican party were on the ballot. The Unpledged electors narrowly won Mississippi in the Presidential election on 8th November, 1960 (42) with the Republicans a good third (43). John

41. Jackson Clarion-Ledger, 3rd July 1960
42. The result of the general election on 8th November, 1960, in Mississippi, was as follows:-
   Unpledged electors of Mississippi Democratic Party 116,248
   Electors of Mississippi Democratic Party for Kennedy and Johnson 108,362
   Electors of Mississippi Republican Party for Nixon and Lodge 73,561

Kennedy's greatest strength lay in the North East hills where he won 11 counties out of a total of 25 counties. These white, impoverished hill counties had most to gain from federal aid from the Democrats. The unpledged electors won 54 counties and the Republicans won three counties - Forrest, Lowndes and Tunica. (Mississippi Official and Statistical Register, 1964-1968) See Map 7, following p.136
43. The Republican result was evidence of a growing grass-roots organisation in Mississippi. Conservative voters were attracted to the Republicans in the 1960's as a revulsion against liberal National Democratic policies and state Democrats. In the city of Hattiesburg (34,989), Forrest County, the Republican organisation was long established. Lowndes County had an urban centre - Columbus (24,771). Tunica, a rural county in North West Mississippi, had long been inclined to pursue an independent course.
F. Kennedy won the Presidential election, however, narrowly defeating Richard M. Nixon.

In 1964 the alienation of the Mississippi Democratic party from the National Democratic party was complete and the electorate, still angry at the Johnson's Administration's Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the summer C.O.P.O. 'invasion', voted Republican in the Presidential election on 3rd November, 1964, for the first time in Mississippi since 1872. Electors for Senator Barry Goldwater, for President, and William E. Miller, for Vice-President, won every county (44). 87.2 per cent of the state's vote went for the Republicans.

Goldwater's popularity in the South, where he won five states (45), lay in the fact that he voted against the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Only a relatively small number of loyalists and the few negro voters supported President Johnson and Senator Humphrey, the Democratic candidates. Prentiss L. Walker, a Republican, was elected as United States Representative for the Fifth District (46). It was the first time

44. The result of the general election on 3rd November, 1964, in Mississippi was as follows:
- Electors of Mississippi Republican Party for Goldwater and Miller 356,528 (Maximum) 356,447 (Minimum)
- Electors of Mississippi Democratic Party for Johnson and Humphrey 52,618 (Maximum) 52,591 (Minimum)

Mississippi Official and Statistical Register 1964-1968

45. Goldwater won Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina, all in the Deep South. The only other state that he carried was Arizona, where he was a favourite son as United States Senator.

46. Election result: United States Congress, Fifth District, 3rd November, 1964:
- Prentiss Walker (Republican) 35,277
- Arthur Winstead (Democratic) 28,057

Walker was defeated, however, in the general election on 8th November, 1966, for the United States Senate:
- James O. Eastland (Democrat) 258,248
- Prentiss Walker (Republican) 109,652
- Clifton R. Whitley (Independent) 30,641

Mississippi Official and Statistical Register 1968-1972
In the Fifth District, James M. Moyle (Republican) polled 24,856, and was defeated by William W. Colmer (Democratic) 56,050, on 8th November, 1966. The Republicans only won one county, Jones. (Loc Cit)
since 1883 that Mississippi had sent a Republican to Congress but was evidence of the continuing grass roots success of the Mississippi Republicans in the mid-1960's (47).

In two issue areas in the early 1960's - reapportionment of the state legislature and Congressional redistricting - federal pressure could only delineate the guidelines of the desired internal changes, leaving the state legislature to draw up the precise boundaries. Thus, unlike voting rights, where the issue was reasonably clearcut, re-apportionment and redistricting left the state legislature with considerable power to introduce only those changes which would be in the best interests of its essentially rural membership and the white electorate.

The Mississippi legislature had always resisted a major re-apportionment because a majority of the legislators represented rural seats and stood to lose by any changes. The basis of representation was heavily weighted in favour of the rural, underpopulated counties and therefore weighted against the expanding cities and Gulf Coast counties (48).

In *Baker v Carr* (49), the United States Supreme Court  

47. The first Republican breakthrough at the grass roots was in 1962 when L.L. McAllister, Lauderdale, won a seat in the State House of Representatives in a special election - the first Republican in the House since 1920's. On 8th June, 1965, the Republicans elected R.D. Harmond Mayor of Columbus and Paul E. Grady, Mayor of Hattiesburg - the first Republican Mayors since Reconstruction. (Jackson Clarion-Ledger, 6th July 1965) Later, in a special election in 1965, William E. Corr, Panola, was elected to the State Senate as a Republican. (Jackson Clarion-Ledger, 8th February 1966)


49. 369 U.S. 186 (1962)
held on 26th March, 1962, that citizens of a state had the right to challenge the apportionment of their state legislature in the federal courts, but the decision left to the federal district courts the fashioning of relief if violations of constitutional guarantees were found. Previously courts had refused to cross the separation of powers boundary because apportionment was "a political matter" and federal courts had refused to intervene in matters of local concern. (50)

A group of citizens from Harrison County on the Gulf Coast swiftly brought Mississippi's case, *Fortner v Barnett*, (51) in the Hinds County Chancery Court before Chancellor W.T. Horton. Following the lead of a federal district court in Alabama, Chancellor Horton gave the legislature until 24th November, 1962, to re-apportion itself or have the court's prepared plan installed. Because the Mississippi Constitution of 1890 provided that the "three grand legislative divisions" into which the state was divided were required to be kept substantially equal in terms of representation, any equitable reapportionment plan had to take the form of a constitutional amendment (52).

Governor Barnett, as a rural political leader, was reluctant to initiate changes which would favour the urban interests. But because of the court order, he called an extraordinary session of the legislature on 18th September, 1962. This was the time of the Ole Miss crisis, which

50. *Colgrove v Green*, 328 U.S. 549 (1946) and Justice Harlan's dissent in *Baker v Carr*
52. The authoritative work on Mississippi apportionment is: Edward H. Hobbs, *Legislative Apportionment in Mississippi*, University, Bureau of Public Administration, 1956. See also: Edward H. Hobbs, "Legislative Apportionment", *Yesterday's Constitution Today*, University, Bureau of Public Administration, 1960, pp.110-130, for a more up to date analysis of the problem.
dominated legislators' thoughts, and was probably an unpropitious time for a federally-inspired re-apportionment when federal-state relations were at breaking point. The legislature fought to the last minute over a mutually agreeable reapportionment plan. The proposal was an 82 member Senate (one senator from every county) instead of the 49 member Senate and a 140 member House of Representatives (the total remained the same but again with each county having at least one representative). But this constitutional amendment was defeated at a special election on 6th November, 1962 (53), principally on the grounds of the increased size of the Senate.

Governor Barnett was forced to call a second extraordinary session on 13th November, 1962, and whilst urban and rural forces jockeyed for position, Chancellor Horton extended the deadline until 21st December, 1962. In all 11 different reapportionment plans were introduced. The urging of Governor Barnett and the legislative leaders produced a second proposal: the House would be reduced from 140 to 122 representatives but the Senate would be increased from 49 to 53 senators. This was overwhelmingly accepted by the electorate on 5th February, 1963 (54).

Although the urban areas gained additional representation, they were still under-represented in the House and "highly

53. Mississippi Laws 1962, Chapter 57
Votes for the constitutional amendment 66,299
Votes against the constitutional amendment 99,365
Mississippi Official and Statistical Register 1964-1968

54. Mississippi Laws 1963, Chapter 34
Votes for the constitutional amendment 96,691
Votes against the constitutional amendment 19,170
Mississippi Official and Statistical Register 1964-1968
The second issue area, Congressional redistricting, basically depended on the total state population found after each decennial United States Census. There is always a reapportionment of United States Representatives among the states in accordance with population changes, although each state must have at least one Representative. With a relatively static population (56), Mississippi has lost Representatives in the 20th Century. In 1952 the state's Representatives were reduced from seven to six (57). After the 1960 Census, Mississippi's representation was further reduced from six to five Representatives, to take effect in the election of November 1962.

As the state legislature had to re-draw Congressional boundaries in 1962, this was manipulated by the political leaders in the interests of white supremacy. It must be emphasised that 28 of the 82 counties had negro majorities in the 1960 Census. The black counties of the Delta in the old Third District were combined with the white counties of the Northern hills in the old Second District to create a new Second District (58). This produced a gross population disparity: the new Second District had a population of

55.27 counties were highly over-represented in the House because of the formula that every county should have at least one Representative. In the Senate, Hinds County (Jackson) had one member for 187,045 people, Harrison County one member for 119,489, but at the other extreme, the rural district of Claiborne - Jefferson Counties had one member for 20,987 people. See Tables I and II, Public Administration Survey, March 1963.

56. See Appendix II, p. 282
57. Map 6
58. Map 9
MAP 8. MISSISSIPPI : CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS 1952
608,441 whereas the Fourth District had a population of 295,072 (59).

The Supreme Court's decision in February 1964 in *Wesberry v Sanders* (60) set in motion more redistricting activity among the states: "As nearly as practicable one man's vote in a Congressional election must be worth as much as another's". Furthermore by the 1966 elections, under the terms of the redistricting legislation passed by the United States House of Representatives in March 1965, all districts in the nation were to be brought within a population range of 15 per cent above and 15 per cent below a state's average (61).

In 1966 Mississippi again redistricted. This time the black counties of the Delta were divided into three districts which stretched across the entire latitude of the state from west to east. This 'diluted' the negro population with the white population of the hills. Hence population parity was achieved but at the expense of compactness and contiguity in the First, Second and Fourth Districts (62).

In the long term, however, the demographic balance will change more noticeably in favour of the white population.

59. Gordon E. Baker, *The Re-apportionment Revolution*, New York, Random House, 1967, p.73; One result of the redistricting was the eclipse of Representative Frank E. Smith, who had displayed liberal tendencies and loyalty to President Kennedy, and the National Democrats. Smith lost the Democratic primary to Representative Jamie L. Whitten on 5th June 1962:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>J.L. Whitten</td>
<td>34,322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.E. Smith</td>
<td>21,257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.W. Lindsey</td>
<td>1,318</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Mississippi Official and Statistical Register 1964-1968*

See Smith's account in Frank E. Smith, *Congressman from Mississippi*, New York, Pantheon Books, 1964. Smith's loyalty was "repaid" by his appointment as director of Tennessee Valley Authority.

60. 376 U.S. 1 (1964)


62. Map 10
MISSISSIPPI

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS 1966

MAP 10. MISSISSIPPI : CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS 1966
if one studies recent scientific projections (63). Since the Census of 1940, Mississippi has become 'more white' as unemployed negroes have migrated from the rural areas to Northern industrial cities. A major cause of the unemployment was the mechanisation of cotton picking. Whereas 40 per cent was picked by machines in the 17 major cotton growing counties of Mississippi in 1960, the trend was so accentuated that in 1966 82 per cent was mechanically picked (64). A machine can pick one bale of cotton per hour; it takes an able-bodied man one week to pick a bale (65). Some of the redundant negroes remained in situ in their huts depending on federal welfare payments in order to survive. The less fortunate were turned off the plantations and suffered from malnutrition and disease (66). Between 1940 and 1960 the non-white population decreased by 14.5 per cent, the 1960 figure being only 10,525 larger than the 1900 figure (67). But the white population increased by 13.8 per cent between 1940 and 1960. The white population was 616,346 larger in 1960 compared with 1900. The decline in the negro population was the result of net out-migration, the rate for non-whites


65. 1400 pounds of seed cotton in a bale; at 25 pounds per hour it would require 56 hours by hand. (Loc Cit)

66. Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler of Charlotte, North Carolina, a member of the medical team sent to Mississippi by the Field Foundation early in 1967, reported: "We can only describe as shocking - even to a group of physicians whose daily confrontation with disease and suffering" hardens them to such things - the conditions they found. Senator Eastland, a planter, denied the findings of this group, as did Representative Jamie Whitten and Governor Johnson. (Clark, The Emerging South, p.302)

67. Appendix II p.282
being about three times that of the whites between 1950 and 1960 (68). The state's population has been static between 1950 and 1960, reaching its lowest point in 1955, or 1.2 percent of the United States population.

Paradoxically, the political crises of the early 1960's did not unduly affect the expansion of the state's economy. During Governor Barnett's term from 1960 to 1964 there were "more new and expanded industries than in any other four year period in the history of the state." (69) 555 new industries and plant extensions were secured from 1960 to 1964 with a capital investment of $373,000,000, creating 44,229 new jobs when in full production (70). By March 1965 the numbers employed in manufacturing - 145,200 - finally exceeded those employed in agriculture - 144,900 - thus achieving Governor White's B.A.W.I. aim (71).

There were many reasons for this economic growth. Clearly the advance of American technology itself would produce some industrial growth in the most rural state. Furthermore the federal government invested in Mississippi. In the three year period 1959-1961, the per capita federal tax payment from Mississippi to the United States was $218 but $327 was paid by the federal government to Mississippi. The state paid the lowest per capita federal tax and the lowest percentage income in federal taxes. Of every $1,000 of Mississippi income, $286 came from the federal government (72).

68. Waller citing U.S. Department of Agriculture, Population-Migration Report, Volume 1, Part 4
69. Mississippi Senate Journal 1964, pp.14-24
70. By comparison, from 1950 to 1960 $385,877,000 had been invested. (Loc cit)
Undoubtedly aided by Senator John Stennis, as a member of the Appropriations Committee, Armed Services Committee and the Aeronautical and Space Science Committee, a N.A.S.A. rocket engine testing facility was installed in Hancock County, South Mississippi in 1965. A Cotton Mill Laboratory was placed at Mississippi State University.

Nevertheless one of the most telling reasons was the role of Governor Barnett. In the 1960's there was fierce competition among the southern states to attract new industries. Because of the state's poor image in racial matters and its undeveloped economy, the state had to be sold in the most favourable terms possible. Governor Coleman had demonstrated that a governor had strong extra-legal powers such as searching for new industries in the North. Governor Barnett followed in his train and proved to be successful in selling the state to senior company executives.

Barnett's economic policy was outlined in his inaugural address of January 1960 (73): be wanted to make Mississippi more competitive, to inaugurate a bold programme of action for economic development and to provide the research to give the "action" programmes the needed facts, information and direction.

The success of Barnett's programme can be assessed by the legislation of 1960. Because the attraction to Northern corporations was the cheap, largely non-union labour in the Deep South, Barnett institutionalised this arrangement by piloting a Right to Work Law, which guaranteed a person's right to work without joining a union (74). After a

73. Mississippi Senate Journal 1960, pp.37-47
74. Mississippi Laws 1960, Chapter 512
special election in June 1960(75) the law was also inserted as an amendment to the constitution.

The Mississippi Research Act of 1960 created a Mississippi Industrial and Technological Research Commission with the purpose of constructing and operation/(76) a Research Center. The policy of research was vigorously implemented by Governor Johnson in 1964. Governor Johnson emphasised the need for a Research and Development Center in his inaugural address of January 1964 (77) and the Center was opened in temporary accommodation at Jackson later in 1964 (78). The Industrial Park Act of 1960 encouraged the establishment of standard industrial parks by the provision of technical and financial assistance (79). As a further incentive for industry, state income tax was reduced by 1 per cent a year in a six-year programme with increased exemption.

75. Votes for the constitutional amendment 105,724
Votes against the constitutional amendment 47,461
This became a new section 198-A of the Mississippi Constitution. Mississippi Official and Statistical Register 1964-1968. Three of the four counties which voted against the amendment had large industries and union opposition to the amendment: Lauderdale County with varied industries at Meridian; Jones County with the Masonite Corporation at Laurel; and Jackson County with Ingalls shipbuilding yard at Pascagoula. But Hinds County with the capitol City of Jackson (population 144,422) voted for the amendment. According to Alfred O. Hero, Jackson is a city of rural migrants where rural attitudes prevail. There are no large, heavy industries or strong unions. (Alfred O. Hero, Jr., The Southerner and World Affairs, Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1965, pp. 320-321)

76. Mississippi Laws 1960, Chapter 389
77. Mississippi Senate Journal 1964, pp. 33-38
78. The $1,000,000 Research and Development Center was authorised by Mississippi Laws 1964, Chapter 216. Its chief executive, Dr. Kenneth C. Wagner, was head of the Industrial Development Division of the Engineering Experiment Station at Georgia Institute of Technology, and other senior staff were similarly brought in from Georgia Tech. (Jackson Clarion-Ledger, 3rd September, 1965) The Center's key function is to carry out applied research, technical assistance and service programmes designed to accelerate Mississippi's economic development. It also acts as a clearing house for the state to maintain and disseminate information needed by development agencies, industrial and business firms and by the state government.

79. Mississippi Laws 1960, Chapter 386
All this legislation was a prelude to Barnett's most outstanding success - the arrival of Standard Oil of Kentucky on the Mississippi Gulf Coast. Barnett initiated and led negotiations with Standard Oil, who were interested in building a $125,000,000 oil refinery in Bayou, Casotte Industrial District, Pascagoula, Jackson County. In August 1961 the company had committed themselves to build the refinery provided that changes could be made in state law. Barnett called an extraordinary session of the legislature in August 1961 in order to pass the necessary legislation, declaring enthusiastically that it was "the greatest single industrial development opportunity ever presented to the people of Mississippi." (80) Two constitutional amendments were approved by the legislature: the amendment of Section 182 extended ad valorem tax exemptions for new industries from five to ten years (81) and the amendment of Section 211 permitted the sale of sixteenth section land, which was historically reserved for schools (82). At a special election in October 1961 the electorate overwhelmingly approved the constitutional amendments (83). The refinery was completed in summer 1963.

80. The refinery would produce 100,000 barrels of oil per day, with an annual pay roll of $3,500,000. Construction would take two years with a construction pay roll of $40,000,000. (Mississippi Senate Journal 1961, Extra, pp.1311, 1316)
81. Mississippi Senate Concurrent Resolution 101
82. Mississippi Senate Concurrent Resolution 102
83. Votes for the constitutional amendment of section 182 140,833
   Votes against the constitutional amendment of section 182 2,254
   Votes for the constitutional amendment of section 211 139,551
   Votes against the constitutional amendment of section 211 2,734

Mississippi Official and Statistical Register 1964-1968
At a second extraordinary session of the legislature from 17th October - 21st October, 1961, the amendments were inserted into the constitution and supporting legislation was passed. (Mississippi Laws 1961, Chapters 2, 3, 5, 6)
An economic problem of a rather different kind - the liquor question - was at last tackled by Governor Johnson in 1966. The hypocrisy of the old system was well known: the bootleggers and the church forces had long opposed the "wets" - but for opposite reasons. Thus Mississippi "has always voted dry and drunk wet". The state collected an unofficial tax from the bootleggers in a trade worth $36 million a year (84).

After a police raid on the Jackson Country Club on 4th February, 1966, when $10,000 of liquor was removed, Governor Johnson, one of the guests, strongly advocated a liquor referendum (85). The Country Club itself reacted with a full scale attack and as a result County Judge Charles T. Barber ruled the law void 'because of state taxes and regulations and discriminatory enforcement.'

The issue was settled in a referendum in June 1966 when half the counties voted "wet", thus ending legal prohibition in these counties for the first time since 1908 (86). The state, as the wholesale agency, made a substantial profit from the sale of whisky in 1967-1968 (87). Thus Governor Johnson, angry at the hypocrisy and lost revenues, modernised an institution which had long demanded to be reformed.

Once set in train, the federal pressure of the late 1950's continued in accentuated form in the 1960's. The period 1960-

84. Jackson Clarion-Ledger, 16th May, 1966
85. The liquor referendum is discussed in Notes, p. 266, Note 73
86. Loc Cit
87. Loc Cit
1966 is of fundamental importance in the federal-state struggle, however, because it witnessed the destruction of a myth — the apparent invincibility of the Mississippi state government when threatened with extreme federal sanctions. The Ole Miss crisis of 1962 altered the balance of power in the federal-state relationship because, in the last resort, federal military power would be used to enforce federal court orders in a state. The pre-Oxford leadership of Governor Ross Barnett with its defiance policies and ostrich-like appraisal of events contrasted with the post-Oxford leadership of Governor Paul Johnson with its compliance policies, its adjustment to change and its realism. This was not just the difference between the personalities of two very different politicians, it was the difference between two ages — one which had its roots in the Democratic Revolution of 1875 and one which had been forged on the anvil of hatred of 1962.

The period witnessed a new spate of militancy by civil rights workers working inside the state. The white extremists resisted the forces of change by violence. Negro militants formed the Freedom Democratic Party which challenged the white power structure at the margin. Ironically this challenge came when the demographic trend was seen to be strongly towards a whiter Mississippi.

The control of Mississippi politics rested firmly with the white Democratic leadership with its rural power base in the state at large. Thus re-apportionment of the state legislature reflected the rural legislators' power and Congressional redistricting was manipulated in the interests of white supremacy. Despite the succession of federal laws and judicial decisions against white Mississippi, the state's political leaders, notably Governor Johnson, made the
necessary adjustment after 1964 without destroying the essential fabric of a white society.

The drive for industrial development and diversification of the state's economy was a priority of Governors Barnett and Johnson. The arrival of Standard Oil of Kentucky showed the pliancy of the political leaders when new investment was at stake. In the long term, however, the Mississippi Research and Development Center was likely to be the cornerstone of advancement.
CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter a survey is made of 20th century politics of Mississippi from 1900 to 1966, followed by an attempt to draw out the major influences, especially those influences which are continuing themes in the 66 year period, as well as those which are less enduring, because they reflected the circumstances of a shorter period.

The first major influence to consider is the historical experience, especially of the 19th century. The settlement of Mississippi was predominantly achieved by Anglo-Saxons in the late 18th century and early 19th century who established a slaveholding society within the framework of a Territory which was admitted to the federal union in 1817 as "the 20th state (slaveholding)". A stratified society, largely dominated by the planters, evolved, and despite social and economic differences between the white classes, a large degree of prosperity had been achieved by 1861, based on a cotton economy and the subordination of the blacks. The society, which existed before the Civil War, has since been eulogised by native whites as "ideal", in the sense that federal interference was minimal and the state enjoyed considerable autonomy in its social, economic and political organisation. This assessment, purely subjective, has been generally held by white Mississippi as an orthodoxy. It has been used as a kind of measurement or watershed and the misfortunes after 1861 have been firmly attributed to the federal government and its Northern power
base. The degree of accuracy in this castigation is less important than the belief in the Mississippi viewpoint by native whites.

The 'ideal' society was broken by the experience of the Civil War. This catastrophic event in the history of the nation destroyed Mississippi and the old South. The immense wealth of the emerging state was dissipated; a huge toll of manpower resulted and the slaves, although freed, were unable to adjust to the chaotic post-war conditions. ("When hostilities ceased, Mississippi was a ruin.") But after two years of self-government, the Radical Republican Congress imposed military government from 1867-1870. This act undoubtedly destroyed any confidence in federal government and totally alienated native whites.

Of more durability as an historical influence was the participation of negroes in government. The disfranchisement of native whites and in the same period the registration of negroes under the aegis of Northerners, some native white scalawags and the Army resulted in the election of negroes to the legislature of 1870. From 1870 to 1875 negroes received high offices of state, including the lieutenant-governorship, and represented Mississippi in the United States Senate. Former slaves became politicians and office-holders in less than ten years. Native whites doubted that negroes had the mental requirements and moral character considered essential for government. A number of negro office-holders were corrupt, such as A.K. Davis and T.W. Cardozo, men who also lacked the education which was essential for high office. On the other hand James D. Lynch, B.K. Bruce and James Hill were quite capable. Although the negro element in the state Republican government was small - the government was dominated by
Northerners and scalawags - the entering of negroes into the white sanctuary of government was - and is - anathema to native whites.

The Democratic revolution, achieved through the medium of the election of 1875, returned state government to the hands of native whites. The experience of Radical Republican government made them determined never to lose control again.

Since 1876 Mississippi has been virtually a one-party Democratic state, demanding white conformism in politics. The Constitution of 1890 decimated the negro electorate and strengthened the position of the Democratic leadership.

In 20th century politics, the shadow of the 19th century experience is always evident. Politicians, particularly the demagogues - for example James K. Vardaman, Theodore G. Bilbo and Ross R. Barnett - have drawn upon the Civil War and Reconstruction experience as a lesson to those (few) white liberals who would advance the cause of the negro. A part of the white politician's technique has been to exaggerate and embroider historical facts. Defeat in the Civil War ("the War between the states" in the South) has been interpreted as a moral victory with the deification of war leaders, Confederate war memorials in every town and the intense study and interest in the history of the period. In Mississippi the history of the 19th century is very much alive in the 20th century state.

The second major influence is race. The most fundamental division in Mississippi has always been between the white race and the black race. As stated above, this division is etched in the depths of history. As in most racial problems, the
number of coloured persons relative to the white population has determined the size of the problem. The negroes were a numerical majority in Mississippi from 1840 to 1940 (1) and in the black counties the negro majority has been institutionalised despite outmigration. 28 of the 82 counties had negro majorities after the 1960 Census.

In order to survive, the white population has imposed a system of segregation of the races. Whites have followed a catechism of white supremacy (2), which rests on a number of assumptions, held as orthodoxies: the law of heredity has determined the biological inferiority of the negro and this has been said to have been substantiated by IQ tests as given in World War Two; God created three distinct species of man: black, yellow and white each with different aptitudes, ethnic characteristics and a desire for separation. Biblical justification is always cited; the negro's role was to be as the menial labourer because of his limited aptitude; equality or advancement in citizenship must be earned by the negro and can never be given to him; any weakening on the strict segregation of the races would lead to inter-marriage which would ultimately destroy the white race as for example in Egypt, the Mayan civilisation, Babylon and Persia.

Orthodoxy makes demands on society. Thus the small, white liberal element has been constrained in its questioning of the system as the overwhelming majority of whites believe and practise the catechism of white supremacy. Negroes have been forced to work within the system and not to overthrow it. A useful by-product of segregation for negro leadership has been high social and economic status in the black

1. Appendix II, p.282
2. Tom Brady, Black Monday, pp.7, 9-11
communities. Negro leaders of churches and schools, conservative masters in their own houses, have sought a *modus vivendi* with white leaders.

The potency of race can be seen in 20th century Mississippi politics. Collectively, the whites have always agreed on the desirability of keeping the negroes in the political wilderness. The temptation to use the negroes in any balance of power struggle has always been resisted by white factions and groups. The last occasion in which whites publicly canvassed the negro vote was when the Greenbacks enlisted negro votes in the gubernatorial election of 1881. Any taint of 'liberalism' in racial matters has been a kiss of death in Mississippi politics, a fact of life clearly understood by white politicians.

Watching the activities of their politicians, particularly in the Civil Rights era of the mid-1950's and 1960's, were such bodies as the Citizens' Councils and the Ku Klux Klan. These bodies were supported, actively or passively, by many lower class whites who have traditionally resisted negro advancement, often with violence. This resistance is based on fear as well as logic: if negroes advance their status in education, employment and with the ballot, it would be, relatively, at the expense of the most vulnerable section, the lower class whites.

Although clearly prevented from participation in politics, there is very little evidence that negroes wished to enter state and local politics in the 20th century. The direct observation of the author from 1964 to 1966 was that the vast majority of negroes showed little or no interest in politics, considering it to be the white man's preserve. When S.N.C.C. started its first voter registration drive at McComb, Mississippi in 1961, it met with apathy and black residents showed little
interest in this outside movement, presumably because of the fear of sanctions. A small number of urban negroes from Jackson and other cities were active in the state N.A.A.C.P. in the 1960's. The Freedom Democratic Party failed to get candidates on the ballot for Congress in 1964, frustrated by state law, although it succeeded in 1966. Its election failure indicates its lack of black popular support.

The third major influence is white class structure. This also has an historical origin. Sharp class divisions were erected on the basis of slavery and landownership in Mississippi before the Civil War and these persisted after the Civil War in tradition if not in fact. To the upper class it was important that political candidates were "gentlemen", or at least a member of the professions. The entrance of manufacturing and commercial interests into Mississippi in the Bourbon era led to a political coalition between the upper and middle classes, the established interests' faction. Working against this faction were the ordinary plain men nourished on Jacksonian democracy and the Southern frontier: the agrarian workers and their urban allies supported their own politicians of the lower classes' faction.

The class struggle was, of course, founded in economic conditions, but there was a geographic correlation. The lower classes were most numerous in the hill counties where the "rednecks" or dirt farmers eked out an existence on poor, eroded soil. By contrast, the upper class were most numerous in the black counties of the Delta and river where they amassed considerable wealth from the plantations situated on the finest alluvial soil for cotton growing in the world.
The economic interests of the Delta and the hills produced a class and sectional conflict in the legislature as in levee construction, demanded by the Delta, and liquor, favoured by the "wet" river counties, influenced by plantation mores, and the Gulf Coast with its tourist industry, but resisted by the "dry" fundamentalist hill counties.

The class struggle was at its height in the first two decades of the 20th century. Free from Republican and negro oversight, Mississippi politics was dominated by a consistent class factionalism, "perhaps the clearest and most consistent political division to appear, even as late as 1930". (3)

The passage of the Primary Law, 1902, prised open Democratic state politics from machine control. Able to appeal to the white masses directly, politicians of the plebeian faction won many state-wide offices starting with Vardaman in the gubernatorial primary of 1903. Once in office, and inspired by the Progressive movement in the nation, the Vardaman faction forced passage of some notable reform legislation. The identification with a leader was strong and Bilbo inherited the faction's following during his reform phase of gubernatorial office from 1916 to 1920. Corporations and trusts were special objects of hatred, hence much legislative reform under Vardaman, Bilbo and Russell was anti-trust legislation, a process followed up in the courts by the attorney generals.

Politicians of the established interests had a much more difficult electoral task after 1903 but adjusted to the new conditions, playing on internal divisions and feuds in the other faction: John Sharp Williams defeated Vardaman to win a Senate seat in 1907; Percy was elected to the Senate by

3. Paul Lewinson, Race, Class and Party, p.189
the legislature of 1910; the established interests factions controlled the legislature until 1910; Pat Harrison defeated Vardaman for the Senate in 1918 and Whitfield, gentleman educationist, won the governor's seat in 1923.

Although class politics has been a more or less continuing theme in the 20th century, it was less of an issue after 1930. During crises, there was an abatement of class warfare. The problem of the 1930's was economic survival and the federal involvement of the New Deal overtook class factionalism. During World War Two the objective of victory united the state. After 1954 the external threat of federal integration of the school system brought the inevitable large degree of white unity. The economic differences of Mississippi's sections ensures a continuing class struggle, however, if in a less obvious form in the modern era.

Three influences help to explain the workings of the Mississippi political system: gubernatorial leadership, personalities and corruption. Whilst gubernatorial leadership is a constant theme in state politics, because of the constitutional position, personalities and corruption are issues in shorter periods of the 20th century.

The direction and tone of Mississippi politics in the state legislature depends to a very large extent on the policies of the governor. He has the advantage of short-term professionalism: he is working in the Capitol for four years and cannot succeed himself. As the chief executive, he is responsible for day to day administration of state government. By contrast only two regular sessions of the legislature must
be held in the four years, although extraordinary sessions are called at the discretion of the governor. The governor formulates and attempts to formulate legislation but he is very dependent on the Senate and House leadership if he is to achieve success.

The most successful governors from 1900 to 1966 were those strong personalities who could command the regular support of a cohesive legislative faction or group. As practically all legislators were Democrats - the Democratic common denominator had really produced a no-party system - the governor could not appeal for party loyalty. The legislative successes of Bilbo, 1916-1920, Whitfield, 1924-1927, White, 1936-1940, and Barnett, 1960-1964, were achieved largely by governors steering a determined course towards legislative goals with the support of strong legislative factions or groups. Other, external circumstances contributed to their successes: in times of economic or racial crises the legislature tended to follow the governor but essentially the drive forward depended on the chief executive.

By contrast, strong legislative opposition in one or both chambers could negative a gubernatorial programme. The fanatical opposition of the House destroyed Bilbo's programme in his 1928-1932 period; the highway department preservation lobby frustrated Conner's reorganisation plan in 1934; the resistance of the Sillers group in the House prevented Coleman's Constitutional Convention in 1957. Many issues were resolved by compromise between governor and legislature. Financial issues, particularly the raising of taxation, were frequently resolved by compromise as in the Sales Tax issue of 1932. Compromise was, of course, necessary for legislative progress because the governor possessed the power of veto and, as an
ultimate sanction, the legislature could override the governor's veto. A study of issues in the 20th century shows that veto powers were used sparingly—usually when compromise could not be reached.

From Reconstruction to the modern era, the Mississippi voter has been taught that Democratic party regularity was indispensable if the state were to be saved from "negro domination". Thus, given that all native white men were Democrats, the problem was to distinguish oneself, if a candidate, from one's opponents in the primary. The medium of personality was one method and when worked successfully, "personality" candidates would themselves become the issues—which kept the campaign focused on their doings. The outstanding examples of the personality technique are found in the careers of Vardaman and Bilbo. Both men propagated the cause of the plebeian whites and attacked negro advancement. Vardaman, the original Mississippi demagogue, dressed and talked like a showman, used violent invective and became known as "The Great White Chief". The self-styled, "The Man Bilbo", was the showman-orator of his day. Both men were extremely successful reform politicians who energised the white masses.

The modern example of the personality technique is found in the career of Barnett. Rousing the threatened white masses, he won the 1959 gubernatorial primary and, governing with the support of the Citizens' Councils, he attempted to defy federal authority by his "interposition" at Oxford. Extolling the innocent virtues of the white,
rural Mississippian, he "stood firm" against the forces of change. Thus Barnett, Vardaman and Bilbo used the medium of persuasive personalities to advance their political careers, founded principally on white fears of negro advancement.

Corruption was undoubtedly part of the political system in the 20th century. Proven cases of corruption were frequent between 1900 and 1931. In World War Two Senator Bilbo received gifts from contractors and private work on his estate was charged to the public account. Corruption should not be viewed from any moral standpoint, rather it was functional. The acquisition of goods and money was often a case of theft by a state employee or a "pay-off" for the placement of an employee in a job or the granting of a contract. The history of the penitentiary from 1887 to 1918 is largely one of corrupt practices, linked with maltreatment of convicts(4); the state treasury was defrauded in 1901 and 1903; 13 state undertakings had deficiencies in 1913; the state insane hospital was defrauded by the superintendent in 1918, the nurses were immoral and the patients were inhumanly treated; the chairman of the state tax commission was alleged to have received $62,000 from a company, which owed taxes, in 1931.

A political system, with a large element of corruption, was manipulated by ambitious politicians. Vardaman used the penitentiary scandal to attack McLaurinism in the 1900's. Corruption in Russell's administration was in stark contrast to the integrity of Whitfield who defeated Bilbo in 1923.

4.Appendix I, p. 268-281
Some politicians specialised in the subsequent investigation techniques: Brewer tracked down penitentiary cotton sales in England and in Mississippi. The state Senate's investigation of charges of bribery in 1910 was a trial of Bilbo's integrity.

Because the Mississippi public was usually cynical about allegations of corruption, perhaps due to their frequency or the public's distrust of politicians generally, investigators were not always assured of public support. When class politics was rife, accusations against Bilbo were turned round by him in a persecution technique which served as ammunition in his victorious election campaigns of 1911 and 1915.

A number of major influences can be traced in the politics of modernisation. They are the economy; the federal-state relationship; the National Democratic - state Democratic dichotomy; and judicial processes. The influences intertwine and must be considered as parts of the whole process of modernisation.

The economy has always exercised the ingenuity of Mississippi politicians. Although valiant attempts have been made to introduce industry in the 20th century, Mississippi has remained an agricultural state in terms of numbers employed in farming and the state's dependence on agriculture as the mainstay of the economy both directly and indirectly in processing industries which use primary agricultural products.

In the mid-1920's and in the 1930's the problem was to provide a balanced state budget when tax revenues were falling and at the same time to encourage economic growth. Two
positive economic philosophies were propagated: the domestic economic conservatism of Governors Whitfield and Conner, which controlled state expenditure within defined budgetary limits, and theories of state enterprise of Governors Bilbo and White. Bilbo's schemes were defeated in the legislature (1928-1932) but White made a niche for himself in the political history of Mississippi by the long term economic benefits of his Balance Agriculture with Industry plan.

Self-help could not contain the ravages of the Great Depression. The federal government intervened throughout the nation. Roosevelt's New Deal, 1933-1938, brought federal employment schemes, relief payments and liquidity into the states. Without this intervention, Mississippi state government would have been bankrupt. The Mississippi economy, so chronically dependent on cotton, was forcibly diversified under the terms of the Agricultural Adjustment Act 1933. Many farmers diversified into cattle. Public works, such as cold storage plants and warehouses, enabled farmers to hold their produce until a rise in prices. Roads and sewers provided an infrastructure for factory construction in small towns. Before the impetus could be lost, the United States was preparing for World War Two and with the declaration in December 1941, federal money poured into Mississippi in military training camps and ordnance factories. The shipbuilding industry at Pascagoula enjoyed unprecedented expansion. A largely unskilled labour force learnt new industrial skills, valuable in peace time.

Apart from emergency situations, the growing complexity of governmental services in the modern era has forced the state and federal government to cooperate in the financial arrangements. Inter-state highway construction has been
financed largely by federal grants; education has received considerable federal support grants. For a poor state, the federal connection has been most advantageous in financial terms: the state paid the lowest per capita federal taxes in the three year period 1959-1961 - $218 but received back $327 from the federal government. One third of the operating budget of Mississippi - $141.7 million dollars - came from the federal government in 1965, a sum which represented one tenth of total income of the state.

Despite federal money, a rural economy cannot yield the tax revenues which a state needs to provide comprehensive services. The state has fallen short of the American norm in education - compulsory attendance at public schools, introduced in 1918, was abolished in 1956. The provision of even minimal services has necessitated deficit financing and the continual floating of bonds. Indebtedness has become a way of life for government and individuals. Quite apart from financial limitations, the problem of race and the desire of many whites to 'stand on their own feet', has reduced the impetus to develop social-welfare services.

In the modern era structural changes in the economy have been evident in agriculture and industry. The mechanisation of agriculture and the use of scientific methods has made a large pool of negro-field labour redundant and dependent on welfare subsidies. Negro outmigration to Northern cities has increased sharply. The relative decline of agriculture in terms of labour employed has forced government to seek new industries. Because of the racial problem, the state has been difficult to "sell" to Northern corporations. Governor Barnett enticed Standard Oil of Kentucky to build a Gulf Coast refinery but constitutional
amendments were part of the arrangements. Barnett piloted legislation favourable to industry such as the Right to Work Law, permitting the open shop and making wage negotiations easier for the companies. The state's industrial base, whilst growing, is of the wrong kind, however; there are few large scale manufacturing plants and 'industry' consists mainly of small scale assembly plants owned by Northern concerns. Whilst numbers employed in industry 'balanced' those in agriculture in 1965, it must be stressed that many industrial employees ran small farms as well. Of all the innovations in the modern era, the Research and Development Center, 1964, is likely to attract growth industries because of its intensive research techniques to find industries most suitable for the Magnolia state.

In the modern era Mississippi has had a troubled relationship with the federal government, mainly because of the racial problem, which has debarred the state from entering the mainstream of American life. The state has rejected many aspects of "Americanisation", for example trade union organisation, preferring to be "Southern". The Mississippi position is rationalised by the philosophy of "States' Rights", which emphasises the constitutional rights of the states, especially the Tenth Amendment, which reserves to the states "those powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states". Barnett maintained that operation of the public school system is one of the powers reserved to the states. The Constitution is, of course, interpreted differently by Mississippi and
Washington. Mississippi has maintained that the Fourteenth Amendment, on which the desegregation decisions were based, was never validly ratified in 1868. This position has been rejected, however, by the Supreme Court in Coleman v Miller 1939 (5).

The economic assistance role of the federal government, described above, was inextricably linked with the civil rights issue after World War Two. Whereas in the 1930's the state could accept federal funds without fear of sanctions, receipt of federal funds in the 1950's and 1960's became conditional on the state's acceptance of stringent federal terms. This 'acceptance' did not make any practical difference in Mississippi until the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which permitted federal agencies to withhold grant funds from any programme permitting discrimination. This pressure was felt most acutely in the sensitive area of education, where the threat to withhold federal money brought a token integration of public schools in 1964. The time lapse of ten years between Brown v Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas, in 1954 and the admission of negroes to a white school in 1964 shows that federal sanctions were exerted very sparingly. Concessions to white Mississipians and Southern customs were coupled with practical and political expediencies.

The federal-state relationship was radically changed by the Ole Miss crisis of 1962. After the forced integration of the University of Mississippi by federal troops, who were enforcing federal court orders in the state, it was clear to government and people that the "defiance" stand of Governor Barnett was a temporary and unsuccessful expedient. Thus Governor Johnson avoided a further confrontation with the
federal government and urged compliance policies. Instead of erecting new "barriers" of state laws, as in the Barnett era, Johnson came to terms with the existing federal laws. Thus the Voting Rights Act of 1965 forced the state to change its own election laws in order to preserve a degree of control rather than have federal registrars.

As the tensions between state and federal government mounted in the civil rights era, the problem of Mississippi's allegiance to the National Democratic party was again re-appraised. In 1936 Roosevelt had demonstrated that he could win the Democratic nomination and the Presidential election without the support of the South, a process confirmed by the ending of the historic two-thirds rule in the convention. From 1937 the storm clouds gathered but the National Democrats could not write Civil Rights into the platform until after the Second World War in the Truman era of 1948. The South had to ask what it had in common with a Democratic party bent on destroying the South's social structure? The immediate answer seemed to be "nil", hence the enthusiasm for the Dixiecrat movement in 1948. What dampened the movement, and prevented similar revolts, was the shocking electoral failure — even in the South. Any ultimate hope of a 'balance of power act' with the election in the House of Representatives was futile.

At Washington, Mississippi Congressmen have been Southerners and Democrats. They have been Southern on the civil rights issues, yielding no ground to majority opinion, and have obstructed such legislation in committee and on the
floor. At the same time, on other issues not involving states' rights, they have been normal party members. The seniority rule of committees has favoured Mississippi Congressmen, giving them great influence. For example, Senator Eastland, who entered the Senate in 1941, had been a United States Senator from Mississippi longer than any other man by 1971. Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee since 1956, he had held the position "longer than any man in the 20th century", by 1971. Senator Stennis, who entered the Senate in 1947, was Chairman of the Armed Services Committee in 1969. He undoubtedly brought federal military contracts to Mississippi. Representative William M. Colmer entered the House in 1933 and was serving in 1972. As Chairman of the House Committee on Rules since 1967, he has attacked the "Masquerade of Liberalism" in the movement for constitutional revision and in particular the encroachment of the federal government upon the sovereignty of the states through the agency of the Supreme Court (6). The tendency for these Congressmen would be to persist with the dichotomy, representing constituency opinion and enjoying committee seniority. As practical politicians, no other course could be effectively pursued.

The final influence in modernisation is judicial processes. Undoubtedly the main impetus to change the internal social structure of Mississippi has come from Supreme Court decisions and lower federal court decisions. Federal law was not a

sufficient guarantee in itself but when coupled with federal judicial processes, there has been a formidable pressure to enforce the law. Again there was the central theme of race at the centre of most controversial court decisions.

A number of Supreme Court decisions from 1944 served notice that change, if it came at all, would come from federal judicial processes. Smith v Allwright, 1944, outlawed the white primary in Texas, and although Texas yielded, Mississippi ignored this decision for all practical purposes for two decades. The monumental decision in Brown v Board of Education, 1954 made integrated education a prime issue in Mississippi politics henceforth. Baker v Carr, 1962 forced the Mississippi legislature to re-apportion in 1962, and despite the rural weighting, the urban counties gained increased representation. Wesberry v Sanders, 1964 forced the state to redistrict but, by maintaining the population criteria, the new Congressional districts of 1966 were redrawn to dilute the negro "majority" in the Delta with white majorities to the east. The poll tax, abolished for federal elections by the Twenty Fourth Amendment, 1964, was abolished in state and local elections by Harper v Virginia State Board of Elections and Butts v Harrison, 1966.

Of a less spectacular nature but affecting the lives of the population more directly is the work of the lower federal courts. The actual admission of negroes to white public schools is fought through these courts. Although clearly reflecting the conservative society in which they adjudicate, the lower federal courts followed the direction of the more liberal Supreme Court in its decisions from 1964 to 1966.
From the above research, it is the author's contention that the central theme in a study of Mississippi politics in the 20th century is race. The racial theme can be found at the core of the federal-state relationship. The areas of conflict and difficulty between the federal and state governments have largely concerned the status and rights of the negro in a white society. The 19th century crisis of the Civil War and Reconstruction did not solve the problem. The final outcome was a return to government by native whites in 1876. The government of Mississippi was pursued without recourse to the negro until after World War Two when the Democratic Administration took up the burden of establishing the civil rights of Southern negroes. The conflict arises from two very different conceptions of the negro in American society. The white Mississippian views the negro as a barely emancipated second class citizen, unable and incapable of accepting duties and responsibilities of citizenship. The federal government starts with the concept that "all men are equal before the law" and that white society has deliberately relegated the negro to second class status. Thus given the inequalities in the Mississippi political system, it is the duty of the federal government to legislate so that the negro's rights will nevertheless be guaranteed in so far as government and the federal courts can enforce the law.

The internal politics of the state have been conditioned by the racial problem. The whole structure of government, the segregated society and economic organisation have been directed towards a white supremacy credo. Although the foundation of plantation wealth depended on the negro, the
large negro population is something of an embarrassment to whites in the modern era. As plantations become mechanised, negroes are redundant and dependent on relief. Government must devote resources to these citizens without a commensurate return. But the negroes cannot be forced out of the state, hence they remain as a responsibility of white society. In a sense they stand between the white population, anxious to benefit from a modern economy, and prosperity. Because the racial problem is unresolved it helps to perpetuate the vicious circle: the poor racial image of Mississippi to the outside world (which is often caused by individual acts of violence and not by communities) is sufficient - whether justified or not by the facts - to keep new industrial enterprises from the state(7). Thus the economy cannot generate itself to a "take-off" position and the state therefore cannot derive sufficient taxation income to provide a more productive range of services urgently required, for example, in education and health. Without an educated labour force, able to absorb new skills, there is even less chance of outside industrialists operating in Mississippi. Despite heroic efforts by the state government, large scale industry has not been attracted on the whole. Small assembly-line plants, subsidiaries of Northern corporations, do not provide sufficient wealth. The state remains rural and dependent on agriculture.

7.In 1964 only $37 million was invested on new plants in Mississippi, a fall of 28 per cent compared with 1963. Informal boycotts have hurt manufacturers: an aluminium fabricator in McComb lost $250,000 in sales in 1963 because of this and a household goods manufacturer in Southern Mississippi moved his shipping operation across the state line so he could show a Louisiana F.O.B. point. Tourism has been down. (Memphis Commercial Appeal, 4th April, 1965)
Despite the tremendous pressures for social change directed at Mississippi by the federal government, the N.A.A.C.P. and the forces of the Radical Left, particularly since World War Two when civil rights became fashionable again, the social structure of the state has remained relatively intact. The white population has resisted this external pressure with rare solidity, cherishing those values which were first kindled in the ashes of defeat in the Civil War. Possibly encouraged by something of the laager mentality but always supported by the neighbouring Deep South states, white Mississippi has persisted in its beliefs and translated them into governmental acts and postures. Undoubtedly helped by the eloquence of her statesmen-politicians such as Lucius Q.C. Lamar, of whom the late President John F. Kennedy wrote:

"No partisan, personal or sectional considerations could outweigh his devotion to the national interest and to the truth." (8)

and John Sharp Williams, "planter-statesman of the Deep South", Mississippi proved to the nation that she could defend her set of values but not ignore the national interest. In domestic politics the warm humanity and commonsense of men such as Governor E.F. Noel, Governor H.L. Whitfield, Governor H.L. White and Governor J.P. Coleman enabled these leaders to pilot social and economic reforms without destroying the fabric of society.

Whilst federal pressure in the modern era has culminated in new federal laws with some degree of change in the negro's position, it is the author's conclusion that the basic condition of the Mississippi body politic remains unchanged, and the words of Alphonse Karr summarise the politics of the 1960's: "Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose".

CHAPTER ONE

1. The first Europeans, a Spanish army led by Hernando de Soto, reached North East Mississippi in December 1540. They discovered the Mississippi River on 8th May, 1541. No garrison was maintained in the area. In 1673 Jacques Marquetter, French priest and trader, and Louis Jolliet made contact with the Chickasaws. In 1682 Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle, reached the mouth of the Mississippi River and claimed the entire valley for Louis XIV, naming it Louisiana. In 1699 a permanent settlement was made by Pierre le Moyne, Sieur d'Iberville, at Port Maurepas, on the Gulf Coast. The second permanent settlement was at Fort Rosalie (Natchez) in 1716. After the Seven Years War, by the Treaty of Paris 1763, the territory became part of British West Florida until relinquished by Britain in 1783. During the American Revolution, the Spaniards captured Fort Sanmure (Natchez) in 1779 and it remained in Spanish hands officially until 1795 and virtually until 1798. Georgia claimed the territory, erected it as Bourbon County, 1785-1788, and "sold" the land in 1795.

2. Mississippi Population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>8,850</td>
<td>5,179</td>
<td>3,671</td>
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<td>1810</td>
<td>40,352</td>
<td>23,024</td>
<td>17,328</td>
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<td>1820</td>
<td>75,448</td>
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<td>1830</td>
<td>136,621</td>
<td>70,443</td>
<td>66,178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>375,651</td>
<td>179,074</td>
<td>196,577</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>606,526</td>
<td>296,718</td>
<td>310,808</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>791,305</td>
<td>353,901</td>
<td>437,404</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


3. The Black Code of November 1865:— The Apprentices Law, applying to negro children only, which bound children whose parents were unable or unwilling to look after them. The former owner of the minor had preference if he were suitable for the purpose. The Vagrant Act deemed that all unemployed negroes on the second Monday in January 1866 were "vagrants" and would be fined or imprisoned. If unable to pay the fine, the freedman would be hired out to the bidder who would pay his fine and costs. Although some civil rights were conferred on freedmen, such as ability to sue and be sued, they were restricted in renting or leasing land. (Mississippi Session Laws, 1865, pp.86-90 cited by Wharton, pp.84-89)
4. Other important laws were: Tenure of Office Act, 2nd March 1867, which made it a high misdemeanor to remove civil officers, including members of the Cabinet, without the consent of the Senate; Army Appropriation Act, 2nd March, 1867, required the President to issue all his military orders through the General of the Army who could not be sent from Washington, or his headquarters removed, without approval of the Senate. Both laws were passed over Johnson's veto. A Supplementary Reconstruction Act, 23rd March, 1867, prescribed the procedure of voter registration and calling constitutional conventions. Third Reconstruction Act, 19th July, 1867, clarified the mechanics of voter registration. Fourth Reconstruction Act, 11th March, 1868, required only a majority of votes cast, rather than a majority of registered voters, to ratify "carpetbag" constitution. (Ezell, p.80, McKitrick, p.493)

5. Mississippi v Johnson, 4 Wall 475. Mississippi (Sharkey and Walker) asked the Supreme Court permission to file a bill of injunction against the President and district commander to restrain them from enforcing the Reconstruction Acts. They claimed Mississippi was a member of the Federal Union and could not be constitutionally expelled. The Court refused to allow the bill to be filed on the ground that for reasons of expediency and policy the President should not be interfered with by the courts in the performance of his duties. No opinion was expressed as to the constitutionality of the Reconstruction Acts.

Ex parte McCardle, 6 Wall 318; 7 Wall 514. A case involving the validity of the Reconstruction Acts came before the Supreme Court on appeal from a military commission sitting in Vicksburg. After the arguments had been made and while the case was under advisement, Congress extricated the Supreme Court by passing an act depriving the court of jurisdiction in the particular case and of all others of a similar character.

The constitutionality of the Reconstruction Acts was affirmed by a United States district judge in Mississippi in a habeas corpus proceeding. (Ex parte Walton et al. See Garner pp.159-160)

6. A Biographical Sketch of James D. Lynch

James D. Lynch was probably the most remarkable of the negroes who rose to prominence in the period. An able and highly educated Pennsylvanian, he came to Mississippi in 1868 to take charge of the activities of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the state. Within three years he had gained a place in the hearts of the negroes that no leader of either race has ever challenged. His speeches would attract thousands of negroes 'from every point of the compass'. He was appointed secretary of state in 1870. Lynch was a candidate for the Republican nomination for Congress in 1879. He was dragged into court by white Republican rivals on a charge of adultery. Deprived of the nomination, he died almost immediately. Negroes say the cause was 'a broken heart'. (Wharton, pp.154-155)
7. A Biographical Sketch of Reverend Hiram Rhodes Revels

Hiram Rhodes Revels was the first negro to serve in the United States Senate, in which he completed the unexpired term of Jefferson Davis. He was born of free parents in Fayetteville, North Carolina on 27th September, 1827. He was educated at a Quaker seminary in Indiana, a negro seminary in Ohio, and completed his religious training in Illinois. Revels was ordained as a minister in the African Methodist Episcopal Church. His duties eventually took him to Mississippi in the Civil War where he organised churches, lectured and attempted to organise schools. He settled in Natchez and, almost entirely against his will, he was drawn into politics and served on the city council. Revels was elected to the state senate. It had been agreed that the short term in the United States Senate should go to a negro and Revels was chosen by the negro legislators after an impressive opening prayer. He did not distinguish himself in the United States Senate but did speak effectively on several occasions.

At the end of his term he became President of Alcorn University, the new state college for negroes. He gained the confidence of the whites but in doing so lost the confidence of the negro masses. He served briefly as acting secretary of state only to be ousted by Governor Ames. He worked with the Democrats in the election of 1875 and received the presidency of Alcorn from Governor J.M. Stone. He died in 1901. (Wharton, pp.159-160)

8. A Biographical Sketch of John R. Lynch

John R. Lynch was born in Louisiana in 1847. He was the son of a slave mother and a wealthy white planter. (Mulattoes seemed to receive favourite treatment from their fathers.) After the death of his father both mother and son were sold and taken to Natchez, where the boy became body-servant of one of the leading citizens. When the city was occupied by federal troops, Lynch attended night school. He continued his studies through wide reading and work with tutors. After a brief term as a justice of the peace, he resigned to become a member of the state legislature at the age of 22. He made a remarkable impression at Jackson, and in spite of the fact that there were only 32 negroes in the House, he was elected speaker in 1872. Democrats and Republicans praised his ability and impartiality. He was elected to Congress in November 1872 and served from December 1873. He was a fluent and witty speaker on the floor. He probably possessed as much influence at the White House as any negro, being frequently called for consultation by Presidents Grant and Garfield. After studying and practicing law, he entered the army in 1898 and served until 1911. He then became a powerful Republican lawyer in Chicago, where he died in 1939 at the age of 93. (Wharton, p.162)
9. A Biographical Sketch of A.K. Davis
Little is known of the background of A.K. Davis and T.W. Cardozo as they were obscure local politicians. Davis served as lieutenant-governor from 1874 until his impeachment in 1876. Davis was weak, treacherous, and apparently dishonest, although he was cleared in a criminal court of the charge of bribery on which he was convicted by the legislature. He had practically no influence outside his home district of Noxubee County. (Wharton, p.164)

10. A Biographical Sketch of James Hill
James Hill, a light mulatto, was born in 1846 near Holly Springs, Mississippi, where he received his early education from two daughters of his master. He continued his education while working as a youth in the railroad shops at Holly Springs. Although he received no formal training, he was probably more influential in state politics than Bruce or Lynch, despite lacking their oratorical ability. After a year as sergeant-at-arms in the House, he entered that body in 1872. He became secretary of state from 1874 to 1878. He then became postmaster at Vicksburg and collector of internal revenue. After a hopeless campaign for Congress in 1882, he turned to business and made a modest fortune as a land agent for the Louisville, New Orleans and Texas Railroad. He aided negro projects, was a leader of the African Methodist Church and had the support of native white Democrats—except when he ran for Congress. (Wharton, p.163)

11. A Biographical Sketch of T.W. Cardozo
Cardozo was an educated mulatto from New York. Nominated as a result of pressure from the Vicksburg machine, he was almost unknown outside Warren County before his election as superintendent of education in 1874, a post he held until his resignation under threat of impeachment in 1876. He was undoubtedly involved in corruption at Vicksburg and embezzled more than $2,000 of the funds of Tougaloo University. After this episode, he returned to the obscurity from which he came. (Garner, p.293)

12. A Biographical Sketch of Blanche Kelso Bruce
Blanche Kelso Bruce was described by Benjamin Brawley as "probably the most astute political leader the negro ever had." (Benjamin Brawley, Negro Builders and Heroes, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1937, p.127)

Bruce was born in Virginia in 1841. A light mulatto, his father was a wealthy planter and his mother the planter's slave. Although nominally a slave, he was educated like a wealthy white boy receiving education from a private tutor. He studied the printing and book trade in Missouri where at Hannibal, he organised the first negro school in the state. After two years at Oberlin College he moved to Mississippi in 1868 and began his political career. He served briefly as election commissioner and sergeant-at-arms in the State Senate and then became assessor, sheriff and tax collector of the rich Delta county of Bolivar. He became a wealthy planter and served as county superintendent of schools and levee commissioner. After a long campaign in his favour by the Florenceville Star, he won his election to the United
12. Continued

States Senate in 1874. At the close of his term in the Senate, he served as register of the United States Treasury and recorder of deeds for the District of Columbia. He died as register in 1898. (Wharton pp.160-161.)

13. A Biographical Sketch of James Zachariah George

George was born poor and grew up as a practical farmer, priding himself as "The Commoner", and the champion of the farmers. He worked for the establishment of a state agricultural college. Mississippi farmers considered him to be the father of the United States Department of Agriculture. George was a "lawyer of ability and a constitutional lawyer of the first class". As a corporation lawyer, he became wealthy and owned large plantations, but he remained at heart the poor man's friend.

George was the organising genius of the Democratic Revolution of 1875. As chairman of the state Democratic executive committee, he was in charge of the canvass, which led to the end of Republican rule. As recognition of his public services, George was appointed one of the Supreme Court Judges of the state in 1878, and later became Chief Justice. George was elected to the United States Senate by the legislature of 1880, serving from 1881 to 1897. In the Senate he realised the necessity and benefits of corporations but considered the people should be protected from their excesses. Hence he helped to shape the Sherman Anti-trust Law, supported the Interstate Commerce Act and pushed a bankruptcy law through the Senate.

George's re-election to the Senate by the Mississippi legislature of 1891 was dominated by the Sub-Treasury issue. George opposed the plan and only narrowly gained re-election against Ethelbert Barksdale, the Farmers' Alliance candidate. Governor J.M. Stone refused to appoint both men's supporters as county election managers despite a recommendation by the state Democratic executive committee to divide the appointments. George men were appointed exclusively and many farmers refused to vote, considering the George forces to be corrupt; in some counties there was evidence of fraud and arson.

George made a successful defence of the Mississippi Constitution of 1890 in the Senate. George helped to shape the Constitution and his limited suffrage and legislature apportionment measures were considered to be the mark of genius in the 1890's. George died on 14th August, 1897. (Frank A. Johnson, "The Public Services of Senator James Z. George", Mississippi Historical Society's Publications, VIII, 1904, pp.201-226; Willie D. Halsell, "The Bourbon Period in Mississippi Politics, 1875-1890", Journal of Southern History, XI, 1945, pp. 522-525.)
14. A Biographical Sketch of Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus Lamar

Lamar was a United States Representative at the beginning of the Civil War and he regained his position from 1873 to 1877. He was elected to the United States Senate by the new Democratic-controlled legislature of 1876 and he served from 1877 to 1885, succeeding Hiram R. Revels, the negro senator.

Lamar was the principal leader of Mississippi politics in the period 1875-1890, known as "Bourbon". Lamar's importance was as a conciliator between the federal government and the Mississippi state government. He won a national reputation as the spokesman in Congress for southern reconciliation following the war and became the patron saint and ambassador of the Mississippi Democratic Party in Washington.

On economic questions Lamar had views similar to Eastern capitalists rather than Southern debtor farmers. He was not a wealthy man, however, nor did he own considerable property despite his success as a lawyer. He refused to vote for the Bland Bill for free coinage of silver in 1878, disobeying the "instructions" of the Mississippi legislature and consistently advocated a money system based on gold. Lamar's course in Congress was frequently in accord with the interests of capitalists and corporations. In a speech in the Senate in 1878 on the Texas Pacific Railroad he discussed the various benefits corporations had brought. He supported railroad connections with Eastern markets. He invited Eastern capital to the South, painting a glowing picture of the region's natural resources. Because of his views, Lamar had difficulty in gaining re-election to the Senate by the Mississippi legislature in January 1882. Furthermore Lamar was unsympathetic to the farmers' demands for a constitutional convention.

Lamar was a member of President Cleveland's cabinet as Secretary of the Interior from 1885 to 1888. He was a Justice of the United States Supreme Court from 1888 to 1893. (Willie D. Halsell, "Bourbon Period in Mississippi Politics", pp.525-527. Willie D. Halsell, "Democratic Dissensions in Mississippi 1878-1882", Journal of Mississippi History, II, 1940, pp.124-235)

15. A Biographical Sketch of Edward Cary Walthall

Walthall was born in Richmond, Virginia on 4th April 1831. When a small boy, his family moved to Mississippi and he was educated at the Academy of St. Thomas, Holly Springs. He was not only aristocratic by birth but also well off financially. At an early age he began reading law and was admitted to the bar in 1851. His early success as a lawyer led to his election as District Attorney in 1856 and he was re-elected in 1859, resigning in the spring of 1861 to join the Confederate Army.

Walthall took part in all the important battles from Missionary Ridge to Atlanta. Although wounded at Missionary Ridge he prevented the destruction of the Confederate Army by keeping his men in line. As an outstanding war leader, he rose quickly in rank to
15. Continued

Major-General, bestowed in June 1864.

After the war, Walthall resumed his law practice at Coffeeville and from 1871 in Grenada. He served as a delegate to the Democratic National Conventions of 1868, 1876, 1880, 1884 and 1896. In 1885 Governor Robert Lowry appointed Walthall as Lamar's successor in the United States Senate, on Lamar's appointment to the cabinet. Walthall was Lamar's personal friend and close disciple. Walthall served in the Senate from 1885 until he resigned through ill-health in 1894. He voted for the Interstate Commerce Act and was a friend of the railroads - as a onetime railroad lawyer - and sympathetic to corporations. On monetary questions he approximated more or less the views of Mississippi farmers. Originally a gold-bug, he favoured a conservative policy to paper money but was a "free silver man, open and decided" by 1892. Despite this, small farmers of the Grange disapproved of him, perhaps because he opposed a constitutional convention.


16. The Grange or National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry was founded on 4th December, 1867, by Oliver H. Kelley, a clerk in the Bureau of Agriculture, who had become aroused by the conditions of Southern farmers. The Grange was introduced into Mississippi in May 1871. By 1875 it had a membership exceeding 30,000 with chapters in every county of the state.

The principle of the Grange was to organise a united agricultural brotherhood and to obtain sectional reconciliation in the nation. The small farmers were attracted to the Grange because it aimed to improve farm life, dispense with middlemen, encourage transportation, oppose monopolies and fight for agricultural education. A constant theme was the need for crop diversification and soil preservation.

The local chapters of the Grange attended to the more immediate local problems. As the major Mississippi problem was the high prices of middlemen and merchants, the Mississippi Grange appointed a purchasing agent in Liverpool to look after consignments of cotton and to reduce the high cost of warehouse charges. It also established a number of cooperative stores to eliminate middlemen. Negroes did not join the Grange but went into a negro equivalent, the Council of Laborers, which had two white Grangers as advisers.

After 1876 when Reconstruction had ended, the Grange declined rapidly. It was opposed by the powerful landlord and merchant classes who boycotted Grange members. The Grange failed through lack of leadership and after redemption in 1876 lost its importance with the growth
16. Continued

of other independent movements, although it officially continued in existence with slight interruptions until 1898 when it became inactive in Mississippi. (James S. Ferguson, "The Grange and Farmer education in Mississippi", Journal of Southern History, VIII, 1942, pp.497-512; Ezell, p.155)

17. The Greenback-Labor Party was founded by the Grange of Indiana in November 1874. The party was established in Mississippi in 1877. Its platform included free coinage of silver, free issue and complete legal status of greenbacks by the federal government, full employment of labour, low interest rates and endorsement of legal restrictions on hours of labour. The peak of the party's popularity in the nation was in 1878 when 14 Congressmen were elected. By 1879 there were signs that its influence was waning in Mississippi.

In the gubernatorial election in Mississippi in 1881 the Greenbacks joined with the white Republicans and independents in support of Benjamin King, the fusion candidate. King received 52,009 votes, sufficient to shake the Democratic candidate, Robert Lowry, who received 77,501 votes.

Although the Greenbacks were neither strong nor numerous in Mississippi, the organisation of the party signified the existence of a working class opposition to the corporations, hard money policies and the Lamar leadership of the Democratic party. Pressure for state supervision of railway rates came out of the Greenback movement. (Kirwan, pp.8, 20-22; Halsell, "The Bourbon period in Mississippi politics 1875-1890", p.532)

18. The Southern Alliance became the successor to the Grange and the Greenback-Labor Party. In 1887 C.W. Macune, a Texan, organised the Farmers' Alliance and Cooperative Ydon and in 1888, merged with the Arkansas Agricultural wheel to form the Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union. Under Macune's leadership an organisation was established in each state.

The Alliance pursued a similar set of goals to the Grange. The establishment of Alliance stores, warehouses, gins and newspapers was only a partial success however, as they were opposed by the business interests.

In Mississippi, Alliance men were not advocates of a third party as negro voters were still sufficiently strong to nullify any attempt to divide the white man's vote. Instead they sought to effect Alliance reforms inside the Mississippi Democratic party. In Alliance conventions they named candidates for state offices and instructed their members to work for the nomination of their candidates in the Democratic convention. This brought charges of "dictation by a minority". In 1888 one Alliance Congressman was elected and in 1890 two Alliance Congressmen were elected in Mississippi. (Kirwan, pp.85-86; Willie D. Halsell, "The Bourbon Period in Mississippi Politics, 1875-1890", p.533)
19. The Populist Party was the only genuine third party organised in the period of agrarian discontent. It was founded on 19th May, 1891, at Cincinnati as the People's Party of the United States of America or Populists.

The Mississippi leader was Frank Burkitt, a former Democratic farmers' leader and editor of the Chickasaw Messenger. Barksdale would not leave the Democratic Party but after his defeat by George in 1891, Burkitt led an open revolt. The Mississippi Populists stood for the abolition of national banks, the establishment of a Sub-Treasury, 2 per cent federal loans direct to the farmers, an increase in currency to 50 dollars per capita, free coinage of silver, forfeiture of unearned land grants to railways and a limiting of their land-holdings, a tariff favouring the producer rather than processor, a graduate income tax, reduction of government expenditures, regulation of railroad and election of United States Senators by direct vote.

In Mississippi the Populists fought Congressional and state elections in the 1890's. Despite vigorous campaigning, no Congressional seats were won in Mississippi by the Populists but a handful of seats were won in the legislature. In the gubernatorial election of 1895, R.K. Prewitt, the Populist candidate, polled 18,167 votes against A.J. McLaurin, Democratic candidate's 46,870 votes. In the 1899 election Prewitt polled 6,421 against A.H. Longino, Democrat's 42,227 votes.

The Populists had practically expired in Mississippi by 1900. Their failure was due to many causes: the race question - fear of a divided white race; poor leadership and mismanagement; returning prosperity in the late 1890's; conservatism of its platform when revolutionary ideas were required; the nomination of William J. Bryan by the Democrats in 1896 as a free silver candidate.


20. Williams v Mississippi, 170 US 213 (1898)

Henry Williams, a negro, was indicted for murder in June 1899 by a grand jury in the Circuit Court of Washington County, Mississippi, composed entirely of white men. He attempted to have the indictment quashed because 'the laws by which the grand jury was selected were unconstitutional and repugnant to the spirit and letter of the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States'. His specific objection was that 'jurors must be electors and electors must be able to read and write and registration officers are given arbitrary power in determining their qualifications.' Williams was tried by a jury composed entirely of white men and sentenced to be hanged. An appeal to the Supreme Court of the State of Mississippi was taken and the judgement of the court below was affirmed. Williams took the "assignments of error" to the United States Supreme Court. He lost his case because the Opinion of the United States Supreme Court was that: "The equal
20. Continued

protection of the laws is not denied to colored persons by a state Constitution and laws which make no discrimination against the colored race in terms, but which grant a discretion to certain officers, which can be used to the abridgment of the right of colored persons to vote and serve on juries, when it is not shown that their actual administration is evil, but only that evil is possible under them." (United States Supreme Court Reports, 42 Law Ed, 167-170, The Lawyers' Cooperative Publishing Co., Rochester, New York, 1898, p.1012. For the definitive report see: United States Reports, Volume 170, New York and Albany, Banks and Brothers, Law Publishers 1898.)

21. A Biographical Sketch of Anselm Joseph McLaurin

Anselm Joseph McLaurin was born at Brandon, Mississippi, on 26th March, 1848. The family moved to Smith County where he was reared on a farm and attended neighborhood schools. In August 1864, when he was 16 years old, he joined the Confederate Army and served as a private soldier in the Third Mississippi Cavalry. After the war, he entered the Summerville Institute and studied law at home at night. He was licensed to practice law in 1868. He was elected District Attorney in November 1871, elected to the state House of Representatives from Rankin County in November 1879, and was a delegate from Rankin County to the Constitutional Convention in 1890.

McLaurin was elected to the United States Senate on 7th February, 1894, to fill the unexpired term of Senator Edward C. Walthall who had resigned. McLaurin was elected governor in November 1895 and served from 1896 to 1900. He was re-elected to the United States Senate in January 1900 over Congressman "Private" John Allen and took his seat on 4th March, 1901, and served until his death on 22nd December, 1909. (The Official and Statistical Register of the State of Mississippi, Madison, Wis: Democrat Printing Co., 1917, pp.317-318)

22. A Biographical Sketch of Andrew H. Longino

Andrew Houston Longino was born on 16th May, 1854, in Lawrence County in South West Mississippi and he was educated in the common schools there. He graduated from Mississippi College in 1875 and served as a Clerk of the Circuit and Chancery Courts of Lawrence County from 1876 to 1880. In 1880 he graduated from the University of Virginia Law School and in 1881 he was admitted to Mississippi Courts as an attorney. From 1890 to 1894 he was a State Senator for Hinds, Lawrence and Lincoln Counties. In 1888 President Cleveland appointed him District Attorney for the Southern District of Mississippi — a post he held until 1890. From 1894 to 1899 he was a Chancellor in Mississippi courts and in November 1899 he was elected as Governor. Longino had a long record of service to the Democratic Party having attended almost every state convention since 1875. In 1900 he was chairman of the Mississippi delegation to the Democratic National Convention.

Longino was a friend and political compatriot of
Governor Anselm J. McLaurin. He was a member of the Delta-business-lawyers' faction; McLaurin appointed Longino to be a judge of the Supreme Court. (Dunbar Rowland, Encyclopedia of Mississippi History, Vol. 2, 1916)

23. A Biographical Sketch of James Kimble Vardaman

Vardaman was born in Jackson County, Texas on 26th July, 1861. Vardaman's father, William, had moved with his family and slaves from Holmes County, Mississippi to Texas in 1858. After Vardaman's father had incurred debt, they sold their land in Texas and returned to Mississippi in 1866. The young Vardaman helped with the physical tasks and suffered permanent injury to his right arm which was mangled in a corn sheller. Vardaman's elementary education was in the one-room log schoolhouse in Yalobusha County. At the age of 16, he moved to Carrolton, Mississippi, to live in the home of his uncle, Major Pierson Money, where he read the volumes of law, history and literature in the family's library. He also served as a clerk for a local law firm.

In 1882 Vardaman passed the state bar examination and moved to Winona where his cousin, Hernando De Soto Money, practised law. Money had entered the state House of Representatives in 1875 and remained a force in state politics for 30 years. Money, 20 years older than Vardaman, was a junior associate of Senator James Z. George. Hence Vardaman easily espoused the white supremacy cause of George and Money and became part of the legacy to the state of these post-Reconstruction Bourbons. Vardaman practised law and edited the Winona Advance jointly with his cousin William Vardaman Money, the paper having been bought by United States Representative H.D. Money.

In June 1884 Vardaman married Anna Robinson, a widow seven years his senior. The widow was left a 3,000 acre plantation by her late husband. The family moved to Sidon in the Yazoo-Mississippi Delta and in January 1886 moved to Greenwood, a chief river port on the Yazoo. In 1890 Vardaman bought the Greenwood Enterprise, edited it for five years and then sold it. Vardaman was elected to the state legislature in 1889, serving from 1890 to 1896. He was elected Speaker of the state House of Representatives in 1894. In 1895 he was a candidate for governor but withdrew before the Democratic state convention.

In December 1896 Vardaman founded the Greenwood Commonwealth which became a platform for his strong views on race, prohibition and his opposition to the McLaurin administration of 1896-1900.

In June 1898, at the outbreak of the Spanish-American war, Vardaman left the United States to serve in Cuba. Although refused a commission by McLaurin, he received a commission nevertheless and served with the Judge Advocate Corps in Santiago. Vardaman returned to Mississippi in June 1899 to run for governor. He was
defeated by A.H. Longino in the Democratic state convention.

Vardaman continued editing the Greenwood Commonwealth from September 1899 and following the passage of the Primary Law of 1902, attacked the Longino administration, particularly for Longino's opposition to lynchings. In 1903 Vardaman was elected governor in the first state-wide primary, and he served from 1904 to 1908.

In 1907 Vardaman made an unsuccessful attempt to be elected to the United States Senate, being defeated by John Sharp Williams. In 1908 Vardaman founded the Jackson Issue. In 1910 he was defeated in the "secret caucus" election, but in 1911 he was elected to the United States Senate, serving from 1913 to 1919. A fierce opponent of President Woodrow Wilson's war policy, he sacrificed his political career for his unpopular war views. Mississippians are traditionally patriotic and pro-British. It was no surprise that he was defeated by Representative Pat Harrison in the Senatorial primary of 1918 and by Representative Hubert D. Stephens in the primary of 1922. By then Vardaman was a sick man and he died on 25th June, 1930.

CHAPTER TWO

24. Jewish Supply Merchants

"In the earlier years of the rise of the supply merchant, this class seems to have been of less indigenous origin than later." (C. Vann Woodward, Origins of the New South, p.184, citing New York Tribune, 23 May, 1881.)

German Jewish immigration to the United States could be traced back to the European Revolutions of 1848. Jewish immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe, along with Slavs and Italians, arrived in considerable numbers in the 1880's. These immigrant groups were buffeted by the nativism and jingoism of the 1890's. The Jews' supposedly unscrupulous greed seemed to be subversive in the depressed economic conditions. In the late 1880's the first serious anti-Semitic demonstrations in American history occurred in parts of the lower South where Jewish supply merchants were common. In the worst year, 1893, night-riders burned dozens of farmhouses belonging to Jewish landlords in Southern Mississippi. Jewish stores were wrecked in Louisiana and Jewish businessmen were forced to leave the state. (John Higham, Strangers in the Land, New York, Atheneum, 1963, p.92)

25. The term 'class' is used in my own European connotation. The assumption is made that society is stratified in Mississippi and that the economic conditions formed the basis of three socio-economic classes. It must be stressed that this assumption is one mode of analysis and that the actors themselves do not generally use the term 'class' preferring amorphous phrases such as 'the people' or 'the interests'. Irrefutable economic evidence as a basis for class structure was not available in the period. Information on income was first collected in the 1940 Census and the only economic data in 1900, 1910, 1920 was for the proprietorship of homes. (Letter to author from Herman P. Miller, Chief, Population Division, Bureau of the Census, 28th October, 1971.) A summary of this data is in Table 3 below. It is the author's contention that the type of occupation pursued by the breadwinner and the associated income would probably produce an attitude of mind and a social outlook found generally in the 'class'.

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total Homes</th>
<th>Rented</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Free</th>
<th>Encumbered</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
<th>Tenure Unknown</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mississippi 1900</td>
<td>White 122,729</td>
<td>44,686</td>
<td>73,667</td>
<td>55,964</td>
<td>13,564</td>
<td>4,139</td>
<td>4,376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Colored 193,385</td>
<td>149,951</td>
<td>28,978</td>
<td>17,195</td>
<td>9,953</td>
<td>1,830</td>
<td>14,456</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mississippi 1910</td>
<td>White 156,665</td>
<td>64,613</td>
<td>88,491</td>
<td>65,500</td>
<td>21,007</td>
<td>1,984</td>
<td>3,361</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Colored 228,059</td>
<td>182,239</td>
<td>38,666</td>
<td>23,395</td>
<td>14,041</td>
<td>1,230</td>
<td>7,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mississippi 1920</td>
<td>White 179,101</td>
<td>78,017</td>
<td>96,451</td>
<td>71,773</td>
<td>21,100</td>
<td>3,578</td>
<td>4,633</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Colored 224,097</td>
<td>179,954</td>
<td>30,849</td>
<td>25,700</td>
<td>9,222</td>
<td>1,527</td>
<td>7,694</td>
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</tbody>
</table>


As information on income was first collected in the 1940 Census, the only Census reports on the distribution of wealth are for proprietorship of homes. There are no figures available to show an analysis of proprietorship of homes for each county by race, although combined figures for each county are available in the Census.

27. Mississippi Bar

The Mississippi Bar was originally organized in 1821 with 38 members. This organization lasted about six years.

There is no official record of a state bar organization until 1886. This second bar organization lasted six years. No record was made of the number of attorneys in the state.

The Mississippi State Bar Association was set up in 1908 and has remained in continuous existence. The number of attorneys during specified years were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Attorneys</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>1375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>1404</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>1575</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>1964</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above includes only those attorneys located in Mississippi. They do not include judges, non-practicing attorneys and those residing outside Mississippi. There are approximately 600 in these categories.

The reasons for the big increase between 1960 and 1965 is that the state university law school substantially increased its number of graduates during the past four years and more admits are remaining in the state to practice. Also, more attorneys from other states are coming to Mississippi to practice. (Letter from George Van Zant, Executive Director, Mississippi State Bar, to author, 7th October, 1968)
28. A Biographical Sketch of Edmund Favor Noel

Noel was born in 1856 in Lexington, Holmes County. After attending county schools in Holmes County, he went to Louisville, Kentucky in 1872 where he finished high school and proceeded to read law in the office of his uncle, Major D.W. Sanders. In 1877, when he was 21 years of age, he returned to Lexington where he was admitted to the bar and practised law in Holmes County. In 1881 he was elected to the state House of Representatives. In 1887 he was elected district attorney of the Fifth Judicial District. In 1895 he was elected to the state Senate, and again in 1899. In 1898 he fought as a Captain in the Spanish-American War, serving until 1899. He was defeated by Vardaman in the gubernatorial election of 1903 but was elected governor in 1907, serving from 1908 to 1912. An historian, probably an admirer, has written that he took "a very active part in each legislative session, originating many of the important reforms then inaugurated." (Dunbar Rowland, Mississippi: The Heart of the South, pp.694-695)

29. Election Results 1903

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Primary, 27th August, 1903</th>
<th>Second Primary, 27th August, 1903</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>J.K. Vardaman 39,679</td>
<td>Vardaman 51,357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.A. Critz 34,813</td>
<td>Critz 44,493</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.F. Noel 24,233</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Biennial Report of the Secretary of State to the Legislature, 1st October, 1901 - 1st October, 1903. Nashville, 1904, pp.119-120

Critz was supported by Senator A.J. McLauriin, Governor Longino and the established interests. Noel supported Critz in the second primary. Vardaman carried all the counties where populism had been strongest and where there were high percentages of farmer tenancies. (Heber A. Ladner, "James Kimble Vardaman, Governor of Mississippi, 1904-1908,"Journal of Mississippi History, II, 1940, pp.175-184. Eugene E. White, "Anti-Racial Agitation in Politics: James Kimble Vardaman in the Mississippi Gubernatorial Campaign of 1903", Journal of Mississippi History, VII, 1945, pp.91-110.)

30. Mobile and Ohio Railroad

In 1903 the Southern Railroad acquired control of several railway lines in the state including the Mobile and Ohio which was a domestic corporation. Section 197 of the Constitution of 1890 appeared to prohibit this transaction. The state had the right to make all domestic corporations take out domestic charters and thus be subjected to the state regulations under sections 197 and 198 of the Constitution. Vardaman said in his veto message: "The legislature shall enact laws to prevent all trusts, combinations, contracts and agreements inimical to the public welfare." (Mississippi House Journal 1906, pp.45-48)

The attorney-general instituted a suit to challenge the legality of this control or merger. But the 1904 legislature passed a merger bill which purported to legalise the transaction (House Bill 82, 1904). On the last day the senate had passed the bill. Thus Vardaman
30. Continued
held the bill until the 1906 session when he vetoed it. (Mississippi House Journal, 1906, p.45). The suit was not pressed to a decision. (G.H. Ethridge, Mississippi — A History, Historical Record Association, Jackson, N.D., p.448)

31. A Biographical Sketch of John Sharp Williams
John Sharp Williams was born at Memphis, Tennessee, on 30th July, 1854. The family home was the Cedar Grove plantation, Yazoo County, Mississippi. He was educated at private schools in Yazoo City during the Civil War, a Memphis school, 1865, Kentucky Military Institute, 1867, University of the South, 1870, University of Virginia, 1870-1873, and University of Heidelberg, Germany, during two years in Europe, 1874-1876. With this liberal and classical education, he entered the Law School, University of Virginia, from 1876 to 1877. Williams was admitted to the Tennessee bar in 1877 as a member of a Memphis firm. He married Elizabeth Dial Webb in 1877 and managed the family plantation.

Williams was a Democratic candidate for Congress in 1890 but lost. In 1892 he was elected and served in the United States House of Representatives from 1893 to 1909. He became House minority leader in 1903. Although a candidate for the United States Senate in 1899, he withdrew when Governor McLaurin had won enough county primaries to ensure his election in the state legislature. After his 1907 victory, he served with distinction in the Senate from 1911 to 1923. He was a member of the Foreign Relations Committee and Finance Committee, which reported the Tariff Bill of 1913. Williams was a loyal Democrat and a staunch supporter of President Woodrow Wilson. He died on 27th September 1923. (Who Was Who in America, Chicago, A.N. Marquis Co., 1942, Vol.I, p.1353. The definitive biography is by George Coleman Osborn, John Sharp Williams: Planter Statesman of the Deep South, Gloucester, Mass., Peter Smith, 1964, (Copyright 1943 by Louisiana State University Press.))

32. Church Population 1910

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mississippi Population 1910(a)</th>
<th>Native Born 1910(b)</th>
<th>Church Population 1910(c)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total 1,797,114</td>
<td>Rural 1,589,803</td>
<td>Per Cent Rural 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total 1,787,364</td>
<td>Per Cent 99+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total 762,977</td>
<td>Protestant 687,778</td>
<td>Per Cent Protestant 90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
32. Continued
(a) Abstract of the Fourteenth Census of U.S., 1920, pp. 75, 103
(b) U.S. Census of Religious Bodies, 1916, Part II, pp. 108-113

33. A Biographical Sketch of Earl Leroy Brewer
Brewer was born on 11th August, 1865, in Carroll County, Mississippi, where his father was a plantation owner. He attended county schools and the law school of the University of Mississippi where he graduated with an LL.B in 1892. He practiced law locally in Carroll County. Brewer was elected to the State Senate in 1895, serving from 1896-1900. In 1902 he was appointed District Attorney by Governor A.H. Longino but resigned in 1907 to run for governor. He was defeated by E.F. Noel but in 1911 he was elected governor without opposition, the first unopposed gubernatorial election in Mississippi history.

Brewer's administration from 1912-1916 was plagued by his public feud with State Senator T.G. Bilbo. Brewer became known as an investigator and traveled as far as England to trace a fraud in the sale of penitentiary cotton. *(The Official and Statistical Register of the State of Mississippi, pp. 321-322)*

34. A Biographical Sketch of Theodore Gilmore Bilbo
Bilbo was born at Juniper Grove, near Poplarville, Pearl River County in the poor pine woods section of South West Mississippi on 13th October, 1877. He grew up on his father's farm and obtained an early education in the public schools of Pearl River County. He entered Poplarville High School very late at the age of fifteen in the third grade (normally entered at age nine in a junior school). In the next four years he passed the ten grades to finish the High School course.

At 19 he became a licensed Baptist lay preacher and it was his early intention to go in for the church. From 1897 to 1900 he attended Peabody College, University of Nashville, as a preparatory theological student. To support himself he worked as a "news-butch on a railroad and ran a laundry agency." In 1899 he was defeated in his first election for circuit clerk.

From 1900 to 1905 he taught in Pearl River County schools. In 1903 he was defeated in an election for a circuit judgeship. He then "abandoned the traditional style of campaigning and perfected one of his own. It was based on a style of oratory that appealed strongly to the tastes of the country people, with rich rolling periods filled with biblical illusions."

From 1905 to 1907 he studied law at Vanderbilt University and University of Michigan. In June 1906 he was admitted to the Tennessee bar. In 1907 he ran for the State Senate, and "after riding horseback more than
34. Continued

2,000 miles through five counties, delivering at least two speeches a day, he was elected by a big majority."

In 1911 he was elected lieutenant-governor and served in this office from 1912 to 1916. In 1915 he was elected governor, occupying this post from 1916 to 1920. In 1918 he was defeated by F.B. Johnson in an election for United States Representative. In 1923 he made an unsuccessful attempt to be elected governor again but was defeated by H.L. Whitfield. Bilbo was characteristically undeterred and in 1927 he was successful, serving his second term as governor from 1928 to 1932. In 1933 Bilbo was employed in Washington as a superintendent of the news clipping collection of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, a job which he described as "Paste-Master General."

In 1934 he returned to Mississippi and belatedly entered the primary election for the United States Senate. Bilbo defeated the ageing and conservative Senator Hubert D. Stephens. Bilbo served in the United States Senate from 1935. In a stormy career he advocated 'repatriation' of negroes to Africa and maintained a hard-line white supremacy approach to race relations in a traditional Mississippi style. He died on 21st August, 1947, before a decision was taken on whether he could take his seat in the United States Senate. (The only biography to date is: A. Wigfall Green, The Man Bilbo, Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1963. This book contains a "Critical Essay on authorities" (pp.139-145), which provides source material on Bilbo and magazine and newspaper articles on him. The most illuminating articles are: New York Times, 22nd August, 1947; Jerome Beatty, "Mississippi Pearl", American Magazine, February 1935, pp.31, 94-97; Louis Cochran, "Mussolini of Mississippi", Outlook and Independent, CLVIII, 1931, pp.203-205, 222-223. Bilbo's own works included: Take Your Choice - Separation or Mongrelization, Poplarville, Mississippi, Dream House Publishing Co., 1947 and "An African Home for our Negroes", Living Age, CCCCLVIII, 1940, pp.327-335)

35. Judge Edward H. Green stated to William D. McCain on 9th March, 1968, that Bilbo had nothing whatever to do with the abolition of public hanging except that he signed the bill introduced by Judge Green. Dr. McCain adds: "It is certain that many other reforms came about without any help from Bilbo, but historians will tend to give him all of the credit or discredit for whatever was done." (William D. McCain, "Theodore Gilmor Bilbo and the Mississippi Delta", Journal of Mississippi History, XXX, 1968, p.27, footnote 54)

36. A Biographical Sketch of Byron Patton Harrison

Harrison was born at Crystal Springs, Copiah County, Mississippi, on 29th August, 1881. He obtained his early education in the local schools. He attended the University of Louisiana and choosing law as a profession, he began the practice at Leakesville, Mississippi, in September 1902. He served as district attorney from 1905 to 1911. In 1910 he was elected to the United States House of Representatives
36. Continued
and was re-elected in 1912 and 1914.

Harrison was a strong supporter of the policies of President Woodrow Wilson and defeated the Vardaman faction in the Democratic State Convention of May 1916 when elected permanent chairman. The convention instructed the Mississippi delegation to the Democratic National Convention to vote for the re-nomination of President Wilson. During the National Convention he played a prominent part and delivered a speech of great force on behalf of preparedness and other administrative measures for war with Germany. Harrison played a prominent part in the National Convention of 1920 when he helped to get James M. Cox nominated for President and in 1924, as temporary chairman, he delivered the opening address at the National Convention at New York, a speech which received the favourable notice of the people of the Country regardless of party. In 1916 Harrison defeated Vardaman for the United States Senate in a primary election fought on Wilson's war policies, and he served in the Senate until his death on 22nd June, 1941. (Dunbar Rowland, The Official and Statistical Register of the State of Mississippi, 1924-1928, New York, J.J. Little and Ives Co., 1928, pp.117-118. William S. Coker, "Pat Harrison - Strategy for Victory", Journal of Mississippi History, XXVIII, 1966, pp.267-285)

37. A Biographical Sketch of Hubert Durrett Stephens
Stephens was born at New Albany, Union County, North East Mississippi on 2nd July, 1875. He attended the public schools and graduated from the law department of the University of Mississippi in 1896. He was admitted to the bar in 1896 and practised in New Albany. He was elected district attorney in 1907 for the second district of Mississippi, serving until April 1910 when he resigned to run for Congress. He was elected as United States Representative in 1910 and served from 4th March, 1911 to 3rd March, 1921. He was a strong supporter of President Woodrow Wilson. He then resumed his law practice and was elected to the United States Senate in 1922 and served from 4th March, 1923, to March 1935.

Stephens' greatest achievement, while serving in Congress, was his work in creating the committee on Radio and his work on the enactment of the original Federal Aid Highway Law. His services as vice-chairman of the Pujo Money Commission counted high in his record of achievement as the findings of the commission resulted in the creation of the Federal Reserve System. After his defeat for a third term by Bilbo in 1934, he was appointed by President Roosevelt as a member of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation 1935-1936, but refused a second term in order to practice law in Washington. He later returned to his farm at Hell Creek, Union County, where he died on 14th March, 1946. (Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927, United States Government Printing Office, 1928, p.1564. Who's Who in America 1938-1939, Vol.20, Chicago: A.N. Marquis Co., 1938, p.2364.)
CHAPTER THREE

38. Report of Joint Legislative Investigating Committee 1914

After 35 completed audits, the deficiencies in the state undertaking were as follows:-

- Industrial Institute and College: $43.50
- University: $99.85
- A. & M. College: $125.77
- Supreme Court: $90.00
- Land Commissioner: $673.05
- Delta Experiment Station: $45.20
- Secretary of State: $592.59
- Soldiers Home: $562.13
- Auditors Office: $786.00
- Governors Office: $80.00
- Yazoo-Mississippi Delta Levee Board: $73.73
- Insane Asylum, Jackson: about $5,000.00

Total: $8,191.82

Of the shortage in the Land Commissioner’s office, $328.05 was paid into the treasury by Leigh Watkins in July. He was Deputy Land Commissioner and he confessed to embezzlement. He received a one year sentence but was pardoned by Governor Brewer after a few weeks.

The loss of at least $5000 at the Insane Asylum, Jackson, was due to fraud and embezzlement. There were shortages of five or more cattle, hides, food, clothing, etc. As a result of the enquiries T.H. Turkey, a steward, was indicted on four counts and sentenced to two years. L.J. Kline, dairyman, was indicted for selling a cow that belonged to the hospital but the case was nolle prossed. W.S. Hamilton, president of the Board of Trustees, was indicted on a charge of dealing in contracts with the hospital and he resigned, his case being nolle prossed. His brother, Bob Hamilton, was indicted on a charge of defrauding the state in the sale of stock to the steward. W.A. Goddis was indicted for dealing with the institution.

The institution was found to be inadequate and in need of repair. (Mississippi Senate Journal 1914, pp.198-290)

39. This is made clear by W.A. Percy’s account: “Everyone conceded that on the first ballot... Vardaman would receive a plurality, but it was hoped that if several anti-Vardaman candidates ran, between them they could muster a majority and hold it until they could agree on the strongest of their number as the anti-Vardaman candidate for the final ballot. With this strategy in mind and confident that no Delta man and no gentleman could possibly be elected, Father (Percy) consented to be one of five prominent citizens to enter the race against Vardaman.” (W.A. Percy, Lanterns on the Levee, pp.144-154)

The paradox in W.A. Percy’s statement is ‘that no gentleman could possibly be elected’. One of the five was going to challenge Vardaman and Percy, Senior, must have been in with a chance or he would not have entered.
There seems to be evidence of extensive lobbying:

"Jackson filled with men as if in answer to some secret call. First came the Percy brothers; then a flock of railroad lawyers, "handy men" of the Lumber and Oil-Mill trusts, lobbyists, and, more truculent and cunning than any other, L.C. Dulaney, boss of Issaquena County and driving-rod in the McLaurin machine that Vardaman had smashed." (George Creel, "The Carnival of Corruption in Mississippi", Cosmopolitan Magazine, LI, 1911, p.728); "It is undeniable that the Percy faction, perhaps without the knowledge of the candidate himself was guilty not only of devious and dishonest practice but also of giving bribes." (A.Wigfall Green, The Man Bilbo, p.36) At the ensuing Senatorial investigation one of the Percy campaign managers admitted that he had spent about $1,900 during the campaign, in addition to making liberal gifts of whisky to any friend of the Percys." (Investigation by the Senate of the State of Mississippi of the Charges of Bribery in the Election of a United States Senator, Nashville, 1910, pp.134-141)
41. A Biographical Sketch of Lee M. Russell

Lee M. Russell was born on 16th November, 1875, at Lafayette County, Mississippi, where he attended the public schools. He graduated at Toccapola College in 1897 with a B.S. degree and entered the University of Mississippi and graduated in 1901 with a B.F. Degree and then took a junior law course, completed in 1901. He passed an examination of the bar and re-entered the University, took a further course in law and received an LL.B. degree. He became a practising lawyer. He was elected to the state House of Representatives, 1908 to 1910, and served in the Senate, 1912 to 1916, where he was a "forceful speaker and energetic member". He was a leading member of the Vardaman-Bilbo faction and served as lieutenant-governor, 1916 to 1920, under Bilbo. After 1920 his relations with Bilbo became distinctly cooler until the two men became hardened enemies. (The Official and Statistical Register of the State of Mississippi, 1917; Kirwan, pp.296-298.)

42. A Biographical Sketch of Henry Lewis Whitfield

Whitfield was born on 20th June, 1868, near Brandon, Mississippi. His father was an owner of slaves but became a school principal at the end of the Civil War. Whitfield worked on the small family farm and attended local schools. He obtained a license to teach at 16 but his college education was spasmodic; he was not enrolled in college two years in succession and it took him ten years to obtain his degree from Mississippi College in 1895. He then took a law course at Millsaps College but did not practise. He became a high school principal.

Whitfield was appointed State Superintendent of Education in 1898 by Governor A.J. McLaurin and was re-elected twice. He was elected President of Mississippi Industrial Institute and College, which became Mississippi State College for Women. He refused to use his office to promote the political interests of the working class faction and he was not re-elected by the board of trustees in 1920. He became superintendent of B.B. Jones Farm School, a home for Masons' orphans, but left in February 1923 to run for governor. He died on 18th March, 1927, whilst governor. (Jackson Clarion Ledger, 19th March 1927)

43. A Biographical Sketch of Martin Sennett (Mike) Conner

Born in Hattiesburg, South Mississippi on 31st August, 1891, the son of pioneering Irish immigrants, he was educated in local schools at Seminary, Covington County, and Hattiesburg.

He graduated from the University of Mississippi in 1910 and continued at the University of Mississippi Law School, graduating in 1912. He then went to Yale Law School and graduated with honours in 1913. Conner was a highly successful lawyer in private practice.

He was elected to the state House of Representatives, representing Covington County from 1916 to 1924 and became the youngest speaker at the age of 25. Conner was an unsuccessful candidate for governor in 1923 and 1927, but
43. Continued

won in 1931. He lost three campaigns after his term expired. He died on 16th September, 1950. (Covington News-Commerical, 22nd September, 1950)

44. The Bureau of Labor Statistics, United States Department of Labor, does not have data on unemployment by states in the period 1920-1940. (Letter to author from Ago Ambre, Chief, Division of Information Services, 26th June, 1969); In Mississippi, where the negroes numbered slightly more than half the population, only nine per cent of them were receiving aid in 1933 as compared to 14 per cent of the whites. (John S. Ezell, The South Since 1865, p.433) Historians agree that the negroes were the hardest hit by the Depression, since most of them were engaged in agriculture. They were hurt by crop restrictions and by federal action abolishing sweatshop jobs. (Loc Cit) It is estimated that more than 2,000,000 Southern negroes were on relief in 1933, twice as many as their percentage of the population would warrant. Many negroes migrated to Northern cities in the 1930's. (Thomas D. Clark and Albert D. Kirwan, The South Since Appomattox, p.230)

45. A Biographical Sketch of Hugh Lawson White

Born on 15th August, 1881, at McComb, Pike County, South Mississippi, White attended local schools before going to the University of Mississippi, 1898-1901, for a general business course. He continued his education at Soule College, New Orleans, where he took an advanced course in business training. He then worked for his father, who was a wealthy lumber mill operator, as a member of a log train crew. He learnt to drive a locomotive and he held a card of the American Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen.

In 1909 White's father selected him as president of the lumber company although he was the youngest child. In 1912 White moved to Columbia, Marion County, South Mississippi where he lived for the rest of his life. He operated the J.J. White Lumber Company. In 1926 he became Mayor of Columbia being elected without opposition. He was re-elected twice, serving until 1933.

He won the Democratic primary for governor in 1935, serving from 1936 to 1940 and was again successful in the primary in 1951, serving as governor from 1952 to 1956. White was known as the "father of modern industrial growth in Mississippi" for his Balance Agriculture with Industry Program introduced in 1936. He never really retired from public life and was one of the state's truly great servants. Governor White died on 20th September, 1965. (Jackson Clarion-Ledger, 2nd January, 1952) (Jackson Clarion-Ledger, 21st September 1965)
There was a sectional struggle between the Delta representatives who wanted to make members of the Yazoo-Mississippi Delta Levee Board elective and the Governor Russell's representatives from the hills, who wanted the governor to retain his powers of appointment. At stake were valuable contracts and control of funds. A House Committee of Investigation of the Yazoo-Mississippi Delta Levee Board investigated rumors that the Board in 1920 and 1921 had "recklessly, wantonly and fraudulently wasted and misapplied the money belonging to the people of the Levee District." (Mississippi House Journal 1922, p.117)

It was found that R.T. Clark & Co., a contractor, had renegotiated with the Board and been paid 78 per cent more for work than his contract called for. It was alleged that Clark was a strong political supporter of Russell. The committee reported on 24th February, 1922, that:

"no funds were fraudulently misapplied but that the Levee Commissioners have shown an utter disregard for the rights and interests of the already burdened taxpayers of the Levee District and that they have extravagantly and wastefully spent the money that has come into their hands without due and just regard for the rights of the people they represent."

(Mississippi House Journal 1922, pp.935-955)

The charges dated back to July 1918, when Russell was lieutenant-governor. Miss Birkead filed a suit for $100,000 damages. Miss Birkhead alleged pregnancy. She was forced to have an abortion and as a result her health was ruined. Russell claimed that the charge was political blackmail instigated by the trusts. Russell was eventually acquitted of the charge on 11th December, 1922, at Oxford, North Mississippi.

The most important feature of the whole case was Bilbo's conduct. Bilbo did not appear as a prosecution witness although a subpoena had been served upon him. Bilbo tried for contempt of court and sentenced by Judge E.R. Holmes on 16th April, 1923, was given 30 days in jail and fined $100 and costs. The sentence was reduced to 10 days. (Albert D. Kirwan, Revolt of the Rednecks, pp.297-299)

An interesting sequel came in 1936 when Bilbo opposed the appointment of Judge Holmes to the U.S. Fifth Court of Appeals. Bilbo explained his non-appearance in 1923: he was on business in South Mississippi and not in hiding. Bilbo said he had been a friend of Russell and his attorney in 1918 and "succeeded in effecting a compromise which prevented or kept the women from suing him. Later Russell had repudiated the settlement and the woman sued him." Bilbo claimed he did not plead guilty but a plea of guilty was entered on the record by Judge Holmes. Bilbo claimed that the fine and jail sentence was illegal. (United States Congressional Records, 1936, pp.3391-3395)
48. The price per pound for cotton received by farmers in Mississippi for the period 1920-1940 was as follows:-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year beginning</th>
<th>Cents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st August</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>15.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>17.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>23.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>31.12</td>
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<td>1924</td>
<td>23.36</td>
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<td>1925</td>
<td>20.95</td>
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<td>21.11</td>
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<td>1929</td>
<td>17.05</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>6.16</td>
</tr>
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<td>6.82</td>
</tr>
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<td>11.32</td>
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<td>8.57</td>
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<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>8.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>9.30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Mississippi Acreage, yield, production and price per pound received by farmers, for cotton, 1920 to date.

Source: Table 43, *supplied by United States Department of Agriculture, in a letter to author, 26th June, 1969.

*Statistical Bulletin 329

49. By the 1920's, after almost 50 years of mixed success, the Delta and other Mississippi river valley inhabitants had erected levees to a point beyond which, their engineers assured them, flood waters could not possibly go. In spring 1927 the levees were breached by the greatest flood in the history of the Mississippi river valley. Hundreds of lives were lost and $450,000,000 worth of property was destroyed. The flood flowed over 12,500,000 acres to a depth of 3 to 12 feet, for a period varying from 3 to 10 weeks. It was "a yellow sea, stretching a thousand miles from Missouri to the Gulf of Mexico, from 50 to 120 miles in width, rendering more than 700,000 people homeless, putting 600,000 of them on the charity of the American people." (Robert Brandon, Cotton Kingdom of the New South, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1967, pp.22-24, quoting former Senator Leroy Percy's evidence to United States Congress, House Committee on Flood Control Hearings .... on the Control of the Destructive Flood Waters of the United States, 70th Cong. 1st Session, 1927, 2575, 745 and 44)

Red Cross workers found widespread pellagra, caused by diet deficiency of proteins, in the flood areas. The collapse of the cotton market and the ravages of the boll weevil had created famine conditions. (George Brown Tindall, The Emergence of the New South, 1913-1945, pp.278-279)

In 1928 the Mississippi Rehabilitation Commission was established by the legislature to rehabilitate flooded sections of the state. The main relief was from the federal government who rebuilt the levees through the United States Army Corps of Engineers, who maintain control to the present day.
Franklin was alleged, in a partial report of a House Investigating Committee into State Offices (28th March, 1930) to have received $62,000 from Carl Marshall, a lawyer, who received it from counsel representing the Warren Brothers Roads Company. The Company owed taxes to the state under the anti-trust laws and they paid a total of $80,000 to Marshall in settlement of the claim. Marshall would not testify about his relationship with Franklin and Governor Bilbo, who opposed the investigation, undertook to pardon Marshall.

Franklin was impeached by the House for high crime and misdemeanor in office. He was tried before the Senate but was acquitted by 26 votes to 22. (Partial Report of Investigating Committee into State Offices, Mississippi House Journal 1930, pp.456-693). There were allegations that Bilbo received $20,000 of the $80,000 paid by the construction company. Bilbo denied this. According to A. Wighill Green, in The Man Bilbo, p.81, "A careful weighing of the evidence in the highway case negates belief in The Man's complete innocence."

The opposition forces' suspicion had been aroused two years earlier in the 1932 session. A "Highway Directors Bill", Senate Bill 462, had been proposed. Under the bill, the governor would have appointed the highway director, designated as executive head of the highway commission, and three commissioners. Opponents charged that Conner would have gained control of the highway department. They preferred the existing system which gave the executive power to the commissioners, who were elected on a geographical basis and who gave special consideration to their area. Conner denied he was the author of this bill. (Mississippi House Journal 1932, pp.953-955) The bill passed the Senate but was found to be unconstitutional by Greek L. Rice, the attorney general, despite later amendments. (Mississippi House Journal 1932, pp.1114-1115, 1120-1121.)
CHAPTER FIVE

52. During World War II the South made its greatest absolute and relative gains in income. During the five years 1940-1944 inclusive, Southern income payments rose from 12.5 billion dollars to 29.7 billion dollars, an increase of 115 per cent, while outside the South the increase was from 63.3 billions to 121.5 billions or 92 per cent. (Calvin B. Hoover and B.U. Ratchford, Economic Resources and Policies of the South, New York, Macmillan, 1951, pp. 57-58)

The relevant per capita income figures for Mississippi and the United States are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
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<th>United States (Dollars)</th>
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<th>Index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>539</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
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<td>1941</td>
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<td>1945</td>
<td>570</td>
<td>1177</td>
<td>284</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>555</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

See Appendix III page 283 for Per Capita Income 1929-1963 and sources.

53. Shipbuilding at Pascagoula

Following the Second World War, employment fell to a low of 1,434 until 1951 when the work force began to increase. Ingalls was acquired by Litton Industries in 1962. Employment rose to 6,721 in 1966 and to 14,000 in 1971. In 1971 there were two Litton shipbuilding divisions in Pascagoula - Ingalls Nuclear Shipbuilding division producing nuclear submarines and Litton Ship Systems division, a modern ship-manufacturing facility engaged in the assembly-line production of surface ships. Total work backlog of the two divisions was in excess of $3 billion. (Letter to author from Jerry St Pè, Public Relations Department, Litton Industries, Marine Group, Pascagoula, 7th July 1971)

54. A Biographical Sketch of John Elliott Rankin

Rankin was born in Itawamba County, Mississippi on 29th March, 1882. He was educated in the common schools, high school and the University of Mississippi, graduating from the law department in 1910. He became a lawyer and served one term as a prosecuting attorney.

Rankin fought in World War One and was elected to Congress in 1920, serving from 1921 and by 1951 he had completed a record 30 years as a Mississippi Congressman. As a North East Mississippi Representative, he took a special interest in cheap electricity for his District and he is credited with saving the Rural Electrification Administration, and was a co-author of the law creating the Tennessee Valley Authority. When he first came to Congress, less than 1 per cent of the people in the District had electric light. In 1951 90-95 per cent had it - through rural electrification.

A fierce opponent of Communism as a member of the Un-American Activities Committee, Rankin's patriotism espoused
white supremacy and "Jew baiting". He was a man of violence at times and once threw an inkwell at the Republican chairman of a House Committee. Rankin, although No. 8 in seniority, was limited by the Truman Administration to the Chairmanship of the Veteran Affairs Committee. (Jackson Clarion-Ledger, 14th November, 1951. Mississippi Official and Statistical Register 1949-1951, p.12)

A Biographical Sketch of James Oliver Eastland

James Oliver Eastland was born at Loddsville, Mississippi, on 28th November, 1904. His childhood was spent in Forest, Scott County. He attended the University of Mississippi, Vanderbilt University and the University of Alabama, studying law. He was admitted to the bar in 1927 and practised in Forest. He also engaged in farming. He was a member of the state House of Representatives, 1928-1932.

Eastland moved to Sunflower County, in the Delta, in 1934 and became a plantation owner. He was appointed to the United States Senate to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Senator Pat Harrison and served from 30th June, 1941, to 28th September 1941. Eastland was elected to the United States Senate on 3rd November, 1942 and served from 3rd January, 1943. He was unopposed for the term beginning 3rd January, 1949, and was re-elected in 1954, 1960 and 1966. In 1956 he became Chairman of the powerful Senate Committee on the Judiciary. He is Chairman of its Internal Security and Immigration and Naturalization sub-committee. He is also a member of the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry. (Mississippi Official and Statistical Register 1968-1972, p.135.) By 1972 Eastland had served longer than any other person as United States Senator from Mississippi. His own publicity states: "In Washington, he shuns publicity, never accepts countless invitations pressed on him to attend diplomatic receptions and fashionable parties... preferring, instead, to spend quiet evenings at home with Mrs. Eastland in the District of Columbia." (Larry Speakes, "News from Senator James O. Eastland", Washington D.C., January 1971)

A Biographical Sketch of John Cornelius Stennis

Stennis was born in Kemper County, East Mississippi, on 3rd August, 1901. He attended country schools. He graduated with a B.S. degree from Mississippi State University in 1923. He took his LL.B. degree at University of Virginia Law School in 1928. Stennis was elected to the state legislature as a Representative from Kemper County from 1928 to 1935. He was elected district prosecuting attorney, Sixteenth Judicial District in 1931 and 1935. He was appointed circuit judge for the Sixteenth Judicial District in 1937 and elected in 1938, 1942 and 1946. Stennis' election to the United States Senate in November 1947 was aided by his being known as a judge as he won all five counties of the Sixteenth Judicial District. Stennis was re-elected on 4th November, 1952, for the term beginning January 1953 and was re-elected in 1958, 1964 and 1970. Stennis was Chairman of Armed Services
Committee in 1969; Chairman of Preparedness Investigating Sub-committee, and a member of the Appropriations Committee and Space Committee. (Mississippi Official and Statistical Register, 1968-1972, p.132)

57. A Biographical Sketch of Fielding L. Wright
Wright was born on 16th May, 1895, in Sharkey County in the Delta. He was the son of a county sheriff in a predominantly negro county. He attended Bellbuckle School, Tennessee, and later the University of Alabama where he graduated in law. Wright was a member of the state legislature from 1928 to 1940. He also practiced law at Vicksburg until 1943 when he was elected lieutenant-governor serving with Governor Thomas L. Bailey from 16th January, 1944, until Governor Bailey's death on 2nd November, 1946, when Wright succeeded as governor. This practical experience as governor aided Wright's re-election in 1947. (Jackson Clarion-Ledger, 18th July, 1948)

Wright was a rarity - a Delta politician elected as governor. He served as governor until 22nd January, 1952, over five years and one of the longest periods.

58. The Lumpkin-Johnson movement could not call itself Republican for historical reasons. By 1952, however, there was renewed interest in the Mississippi Republican party with the possibility of patronage from a new Eisenhower-Nixon Administration. At the Republican Convention in Chicago on 3rd July, 1952, the Mississippi 'Black and Tans' faction was seated despite the claims of two white factions which merged on 4th August, 1952. The Black and Tans were led by Percy W. Howard, veteran national committeeman since 1924 and negro attorney of Washington, D.C. He claimed his group had been the regular Republican Party in Mississippi since 1871. Mississippi had five national convention votes. (Jackson Clarion-Ledger, 4th July, 1952, 10th July, 1952, 5th August, 1952.)

At the Republican Convention in San Francisco on 21st August, 1956, two Mississippi factions fought for the seating rights. The G.O.P. National Committee gave seven electoral votes to the Lily Whites, led by E.O. George Spencer, Jackson, formerly Governor of Nebraska, and Wirt Yerger, Jnr., who was recognised by the National Party as Chairman of the Mississippi Republican Party, and eight votes to the Black and Tans led by Percy Howard. (Jackson Clarion-Ledger, 23rd August, 1956)

59. A Biographical Sketch of James Plemon Coleman
Coleman was born in 1914 near Ackerman, Choctaw County, Mississippi. He grew up in the poverty of the North Mississippi hill country. Coleman learnt to read by lantern light in the farmhouse and on the farm he often ploughed barefooted. There was no school in the village of Fentress until Coleman was eight years old. After it
was built, he divided his time between school and the farm. After he had finished 10 grades, a gravel road was opened to the county seat of Ackerman and he was transported to school daily. He graduated from high school in 1931 and spent a year saving the family farm from the Depression.

In 1932 Coleman entered the University of Mississippi and worked his way through by waiting, washing, sweeping and gardening. In 1935 he graduated and joined the staff of Representative A.L. Ford in Washington, attending the night law classes at George Washington University.

Coleman returned to Mississippi in 1939 to practise law at Ackerman. Politics had already gripped him and in 1939 at the age of 25 he was elected district attorney for the Fifth Circuit District, winning re-election in 1941. He was elected a state Circuit Judge in 1946 and was appointed to the state Supreme Court in 1950. He resigned to accept appointment as attorney general by Governor F.L. Wright in 1950 and he won a full term in 1951, serving from 1952 to 1956.

Coleman was always active in Democratic National politics as a delegate to the National Convention in 1940 and 1956, a Presidential elector in 1944 and national committeeman in 1956.

Coleman was a candidate for governor in 1955 in a race he was given no chance to win but he defeated ex-Governor Wright and future governors, R.R. Barnett and I.B. Johnson. His administration, 1956-1960, abolished "marriage mills" on the state's borders, gave the public service commission power to regulate utilities, voters the right to recall public officials and the state the right to own and operate ports. When he stepped down, he left a $35 million surplus.

Coleman served as state Representative for Choctaw County from 1960 to 1964 "to defend his administration". Thus Coleman became the only individual in the history of Mississippi to have served by election in all three branches of the state government - legislative, executive and judicial. He was defeated by P.B. Johnson in the gubernatorial primary of 1963, a defeat attributed to earlier connections with President Kennedy and the affairs at Oxford. Coleman was nominated by President Lyndon B. Johnson as a Circuit Judge, Fifth Judicial Circuit, United States Court of Appeals and he took his oath on 16th August, 1965. (Jackson Clarion-Ledger, 17th January, 1960, Jackson Clarion-Ledger, 18th June, 1965; Biloxi-Gulfport Daily Herald 31st August, 1963, Letter to author from James P. Coleman, Ackerman, Mississippi, 6th September, 1971)
60. Recess Education Committee 1952
Governor White said "that the committee's function was to make such recommendations - necessary and proper to maintain segregation of the races in the public schools of the state of Mississippi so as to expand and equalise the educational opportunities afforded to the children of the South of Mississippi, so as to provide equal school facilities for the races, and so as to provide for a salary schedule for teachers." Mississippi was "at the very bottom of the educational ladder", 48th out of 48 states in teachers' salaries and per pupil expenditure. There was a wide variation in educational opportunities between the races and between children of the same race in different sections of the state. Standards in rural areas had to be raised up to match prosperous urban areas. (Mississippi Senate Journal 1953, pp.1269-1272)

61. Schools' Curricula 1953
Grammar schools' curriculum was:- Spelling, reading, arithmetic, geography, English grammar, composition, literature, United States history, history of Mississippi, elements of agriculture and forestry, Civil government with special reference to the state of Mississippi and local government, physiology, hygiene,... effect of alcohol and narcotics on the human system, home and community sanitation, general science. High Schools' curriculum was:- Math, English, State and Federal constitutions, history, social science, pure and applied science, including agriculture, elementary economics, home economics and manual arts, safety in highways. (Mississippi Laws 1953, Chapter 26)

62. A Biographical Sketch of Ross Robert Barnett
Barnett came from a rural background. Born in 1898 he was brought up on a small farm in the Standing Pine Community, Leake County, in the Central Mississippi hills. By his own efforts he graduated from Mississippi College. He studied law at the University of Mississippi and graduated in 1926.

He practised law in Jackson from 1926 and specialised in segregation cases in the 1950's. Barnett had a reputation of being a vociferous "country boy". When he was campaigning he told a reporter that when he was elected governor "just kick the door in and ask for Ole Ross." After his defeat in the gubernatorial primary of 1955, Barnett won the 1959 primary, serving as governor from 1960 to 1964. He tried to make a comeback in 1967 but was defeated in the first gubernatorial primary. (Jackson Clarion-Ledger, 26th August, 1959)

63. A Biographical Sketch of John Bell Williams
Williams was born on 4th December, 1918, at Raymond, Mississippi, and Raymond has remained his permanent home. He was educated in the public schools of Hinds County, graduated from Hinds Junior College, and attended the University of Mississippi and the Jackson School of Law. He was admitted to the state bar in April 1940.
Continued

Williams served with distinction in World War Two as a pilot in the Army Air Corps and was critically injured in the crash of a bomber in South America in 1943, suffering the loss of the lower portion of his left arm. He married a W.A.C. Officer in 1944.

Williams' first public office was as Hinds County Prosecuting Attorney on 20th May, 1944, a post he held until October 1946 when at the age of 27 he was elected as U.S. Representative for the Third District of Mississippi - the youngest congressman in state history! He served in Congress from 1947 to 1967, coming home to enter the Democratic primary for governor. He defeated Ross R. Barnett and William L. Waller, among others, in the first primary and defeated the popular William F. Winter, state treasurer, in the second primary. Williams became the state's 55th governor on 16th January, 1968, serving until 1972. (Ironically William L. Waller won the Democratic primary in 1971 and took office as governor on 18th January, 1972, with William F. Winter sworn in as lieutenant-governor.) (Mississippi Official and Statistical Register 1968-1972, p.23)

Governor Coleman's reasons for advocating a constitutional convention were:

1. BAWI must go into the constitution; BAWI was sustained by Mississippi Supreme Court in 1938: Vol.181, Mississippi Reports, as an emergency measure to stop unemployment, but Judge Anderson in a dissenting opinion said it drove a "steam shovel" through Sections 183 and 285 of the constitution and broke the constitution.

2. Tax exemption must be written in the constitution. The constitution states that all property shall be assessed at full value. But in practice it was assessed at 22 per cent. Industrialists were suspicious and a shoe factory was lost in 1957.

3. By Section 178 the legislature could alter, amend or repeal the charter of incorporation. This was "the most shocking thing of all" - even if it never happened in practice.

4. Reapportionment of the legislature to give counties fair representation and eliminate sectionalism.

5. Homestead exemption should be in the constitution. Governor White's Homestead Exemption Act 1938 had given homesteads certain exemption from property tax.

6. Circuit and chancery courts should be combined so that judges can sit on law and equity: "Mississippi is the only state in the Union with two sets of courts."

7. Office of sheriff and tax collector should be separated.

8. Annual 60 day sessions of the legislature for revenue purposes "instead of guessing 2½ years ahead."

9. Removal of anachronistic sections such as Section 15 which prohibits slavery, Section 19 prohibiting duelling and Section 137 which requires the governor to count the money in the state treasury. (Mississippi Senate Journal, 1957, pp.1370-1376)
65. The pamphlet was: This is no time to tamper with our state constitution - a collection of statements and opinions on the subject of a proposed Constitutional Convention compiled by the Committee of Twenty Five. State Senator Earl Evans summarised the opponents' objections:

1. There were insufficient reasons for drastically changing organic law. The constitution was not old - 32 states had older constitutions.
2. It was not anti-industry, hence economic progress under Governors White, Milley, Wright and Coleman up to the present time.
3. A constitution was not necessary to maintain segregation.
4. The people rejected annual meetings of the legislature.
5. Apportionment can be more satisfactorily handled by present legislature.
6. The dual law system had worked for 140 years with smoothness and perfection.
7. Tax collector and sheriff's offices can be separated by a simple amendment of the present constitution.
8. As Mississippi Supreme Court had upheld the constitution of the BAWI programme, it was already part of the constitution.
9. Homestead exemption could be inserted by an amendment.
10. Section 178 was necessary to protect the public interest.

Other reasons were: an objection to the power of a constitutional convention - the executive branch of government may be increased. A new constitution did not have to be ratified: "50 per cent of the delegates present and voting can do any and all things not naturally impossible." There was no protection for minority groups. The cost was "tremendous" and a burden to the tax payers. Amendments can change the existing constitution.

(Mississippi Senate Journal 1957, pp.1380-1386)

66. Defeat of the Bill to call a Constitutional Convention, November 1957
On 9th November, 1957, a bill to call a constitutional convention was defeated in the Senate: 22 for, 25 against and 2 absent. (Mississippi Senate Journal, 1957, p.1402) An amendment to permit a referendum first was passed by the Senate: 27 for, 19 against and 3 absent, (Mississippi Senate Journal 1957, p.1410) but was defeated by the House: 61 for, 78 against, 0 absent, mainly due to the 'Sillers group' - a strong faction led by Walter Sillers, House Speaker and a veteran political leader.

Correspondence 1971
The author wrote to former-Governor James F. Coleman on 26th August, 1971. Question 3 asked: "Concerning the Constitution Issue of 1957, why do you consider you failed to get a constitutional convention bill through the legislature? In retrospect do you think you chose the most appropriate time? Why is Mississippi reluctant to modernise her constitution?" Former-Governor (now federal Judge) Coleman replied in a letter to author, Ackerman, Mississippi, 6th September, 1971, "Question No. 3. I think experience since 1890 teaches that there is no "appropriate time" to get a bill through the Mississippi Legislature for a State Constitutional
66. Continued
Convention. I had sufficient pledges of support to have insured a Convention in 1957. The heat applied to some of the brethren by those who thought their interests would be adversely affected by a Convention caused them to waver and to falter. The bill passed the Senate, but not the House. It remains my considered judgment that much of the evils visited upon Mississippi in the last decade would have been blunted if not altogether forestalled had the Convention been allowed to take place."

67. A Biographical Sketch of William Meyers Colmer
Colmer was born at Moss Point, Jackson County, Mississippi on 1st February, 1890. He was educated in the public elementary and high schools in Harrison County and at Millsaps College in Jackson. He taught public school at Lumberton, 1914-1917, studied law on the side and was admitted to the bar in 1917. He enlisted in World War One was a private but was discharged as a regimental sergeant major. In 1919 he commenced practising law at Pascagoula and was elected county attorney of Jackson County in 1921 serving two terms until 1927.

Colmer was elected as district attorney, Second Judicial District in 1928, serving until he resigned to serve in Congress in 1933. First elected to the United States House of Representatives in November 1932, Colmer was still serving in 1972. (News from Congressman William M. Colmer, 2307 Rayburn Building, Washington D.C., March 1972.) After 39 years of service this made him the third-ranking member in the House and Senate, behind only Emanuel Celler of New York and Wright Patman of Texas in Congressional seniority.

Colmer is the senior member of the National Forest Reservation Commission, and was first appointed by Speaker Sam Rayburn in 1942. During World War Two, he was Chairman of the Special Committee on Post-War Economic Policy and Planning; which eventually planned the conversion of the nation from a war-time to peace-time economy. At the end of the war he personally interviewed the leaders of thirteen nations, including Winston Churchill and Joseph Stalin.

Colmer is best known as Chairman of the House Committee on Rules. A member of the committee since 1939, he became chairman in January 1967. This is probably the most singularly powerful committee in the House of Representatives. Primarily the jurisdiction of this committee is over propositions to make or change the rules, for the creation of committees and authorising and/or directing them to make investigations. All major legislation must pass through the Rules Committee before it reaches the floor of the House. Therein lies the immense power of the Rules Committee and its chairman.
CHAPTER SIX

A Biographical Sketch of Paul Burney Johnson

Governor Johnson, born on 23rd January, 1916, at Hattiesburg, Mississippi, was the son of the late Governor Paul B. Johnson, 1940-1944. He was educated in the public schools of Forrest County and Columbia Military Academy, Tennessee. As a student at the University of Mississippi, he compiled "an excellent record in both scholastic and extra-curricular activities." He graduated in law and was admitted to the Bar in 1940 and apart from the War has practised in Jackson and Hattiesburg.

Johnson had a distinguished war record rising from private to captain in the United States Marine Corps. From 1948 to 1951 he was Assistant United States Attorney for the Southern District of Mississippi. In 1959 he was elected lieutenant-governor, serving from 1960 to 1964. He was elected governor in 1963, serving from 1964 to 1968. (Mississippi Official and Statistical Register, 1964-1968, p. 26)

Decision of Fifth Judicial Circuit, United States Court of Appeals.

On 5th May, 1965, the Fifth Judicial Circuit, United States Court of Appeals, by a vote of 4-3, held that Governor Paul B. Johnson and former Governor Ross Barnett need not stand for trial for defying the courts by trying to block enrolment of James Meredith at the University of Mississippi.

The Court's majority opinion stated: "Changed circumstances and conditions... rendered the further prosecution of criminal proceedings unnecessary." The Civil Rights Act of 1964 had been generally recognised as creating a status under which the 'Law of the Land' is beyond question: "Indeed there has been widespread voluntary compliance.... It is highly improbable that other persons will hereafter commit acts similar to those herein charged." (Jackson Clarion-Ledger, 6th May, 1965.)

Coleman's explanation of his defeat in 1963 gubernatorial election

The defeat of James P. Coleman in the 1963 gubernatorial election was, in the opinion of Coleman, " Solely because of the Oxford episode, with which I had no connection whatever, but which enabled my opposition to point the finger of criticism towards my personal and political friendship with President John F. Kennedy. I might say further that I understood all this when I began the campaign. I knew that the people of Mississippi were greatly disturbed and stampeded about Oxford, and had not been able to get the real facts. I do not blame the people for my defeat in 1963." (Letter to author from Judge P. Coleman, Ackerman, Mississippi, 6th September, 1971.)
71. The author's observation in Hattiesburg revealed little desire on the part of negroes to attend white schools.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Black Students In Desegregated Schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>7,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>8,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>15,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 1963 data ** 1965-66 data
1/ The sudden drop in enrollment might be due partially to the increase in private school enrollment by both whites and blacks. Source: Letter from Robert F. Davies, United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare to author, 15th June, 1970. Education statistics can be found in Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1964-1969.

The median age of the non-white population was 18.6 years in 1960, but the median age of the white population was 28.7 years in 1960, indicating that the negro population was essentially a young one hence the children of school age (6-16) would probably be as numerous as the whites despite the negroes only being 42.04 per cent of the total population in the 1960 census. (Source: United States Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population: 1960)

In the author's opinion the abolition of the compulsory attendance law of 1918 by the Mississippi legislature of 1956 (Mississippi Laws 1956, Chapter 288) marginally reduced the incentive of negro parents to send their children to school. In rural areas the poverty of the negro population often meant a shortage of decent clothes for school. The legislature's theory was that with fewer negroes attending school, there would be less pressure for integration. Transportation costs by school buses and educational costs would perforce be reduced. By contrast white children were expected to attend as usual as their parents were generally very keen on education.

For both races the lack of compulsion meant a high "drop-out" rate. In 1965 the "drop-out" rate was estimated at 22,000 a year. This saved the state $300 a child or $6,600,000 (est.) Jack Tubb, state Superintendent of Education, favoured the enactment of a compulsory attendance law. See Tom Ethridge's attack on this idea as a waste of taxpayers' money. (Jackson Clarion-Ledger 5th December, 1965)

72. Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Federal Payments $Millions</th>
<th>Total Income $Millions</th>
<th>Population '000</th>
<th>Percapita Income $</th>
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<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>105.7</td>
<td>1278</td>
<td>2261</td>
<td>1285</td>
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<td>1965</td>
<td>141.7</td>
<td>1438</td>
<td>2322</td>
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<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>177.4</td>
<td>1606</td>
<td>2327</td>
<td>1777</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: 1963 through 1966 - Governmental Finances (for each year) Department of Commerce - Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C.

73. Liquor Referendum

Governor Johnson wanted a referendum which would give a choice between prohibition with adequate enforcement weapons or local option liquor, with state liquor stores and restaurants licensed by a state alcoholic control commission. (Jackson Clarion-Ledger, 3rd February, 1966.)

Governor Johnson's indignation at the Prohibition Law was evident when he was caught drinking at the Jackson Country Club when it was raided on 4th February, 1966. Hinds County deputies smashed open the liquor room door and seized $10,000 of liquor whilst the guests stood by in anger and astonishment. Johnson said: "I made my stand, I took my chance." (Memphis Commercial-Appeal, 6th February, 1966.)

In May 1966 the state legislature passed a law giving each county in the state the right to vote themselves out from under the prohibition laws. The law became effective on 1st July, 1966. By July 1969, 39 counties and 4 half-counties (counties with more than 1 judicial district) had voted wet. 39 counties and 4 half-counties remain dry. There has been no state wide election on this issue. As a general rule the larger, more heavily populated counties have voted wet and the small, rural counties have continued to be dry. (Letter from Kenneth Stewart, Director, Alcohol Beverage Control Division, to author 23rd July, 1969.)

Alcohol Beverage Control Division of the State Tax Commission

The state sold whisky as the wholesale agency through the Alcohol Beverage Control Division of the State Tax Commission.

The state made a substantial profit from this undertaking:
### First Fiscal Year
1st July 1967 - 30th June 1968

| Total Net Profit | $4,506,209.70 |

### Second Fiscal Year
1st July 1968 - 30th June 1969

| Total Net Profit | $5,456,505.00 |

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*Grand Total of Division Net Revenues*

| First Fiscal Year | $11,884,297.40 |
| Second Fiscal Year | $14,761,689.23 |

*Grand Total of Division Net Revenues:*

| incl. total net profit, excise tax collections, sales tax collections, net licensing revenues.|

(Summary statement of Alcohol Beverage Control Division to Governor John Bell Williams and legislature, 11th July, 1969. Copy in author's possession)
The state penitentiary has been described by G.H. Ethridge, the Mississippi historian, as:

"a fruitful source of political controversy and no doubt it will continue to be so for all time. Such institutions will likely create differences of opinion as to how and in what manner they shall be managed and the convicts used. It is in its very nature a subject of difficulty."

The purpose of this appendix is to show the difficulty of managing the penitentiary and the use made of it by politicians.

In ante-bellum days crime had been no great social problem. Slaves, as valuable chattels, were kept under the personal control of the master, who was able to administer his own form of justice. Slaves rarely had to be dealt with by the courts. In the post war period the freedmen were ill-equipped to face the problem of finding employment and as a result many freemen drifted into crime.

The penitentiary was too small to accommodate the large number of convicts, who were mainly negroes. An act of 1876 authorised the State Penitentiary Board to lease the convicts as labourers to individuals. The lessee had to supply the convicts with food, clothing and medicines and to pay the state for them at the monthly rate of $1.10 a person. The lessee would usually sub-lease the convicts to selected plantations and railway contractors.

1. G.H. Ethridge, Mississippi - A History, p.435
The convict lease system (2) was criticised because of the harsh conditions under which the convicts worked. The Chickasaw Messenger called it:

"a stain upon our manhood, a blot upon our civilization, and a stigma upon the Christianity we profess." Convicts were "Tortured out of all semblance to human beings; their sufferings are such that the realities of a brimstone inferno would be a welcome relief." (3)

In the absence of any property interest the lessee's policy was to work the convicts hard, thereby exacting the maximum labour in return for the least expenditure on his welfare. If a convict died or were sick or disabled, he could be replaced from an inexhaustible supply of fit convicts.

In the summer of 1887 the grand jury of Hinds County inspected the penitentiary hospital in Jackson. In its report the convict lease system was condemned as one that:

"takes a poor creature's liberty and turns him over to one whose interest is to coin his blood into money". The 26 inmates were "lying there dying, some of them on bare boards, so poor and emaciated that their bones almost came through their skin." The convicts were living in verminous and filthy conditions with little bedding and clothing. (4)

There was an annual mortality rate among Mississippi convicts from 1881-1885 of more than 11 per cent. At some periods the mortality rate was above 17 per cent and rarely dropped below 10 per cent.

Reaction against the system resulted in the prohibition of further leases by the Constitution of 1890 (5). A

2. The leasing system was common to all the Southern states except Kentucky and Virginia; For an account of the eventual overthrowing of the convict lease system see: J.H. Jones, "Penitentiary Reform in Mississippi", Mississippi Historical Society Publication, VI, 1902, pp.111-125.
5. Mississippi Constitution 1890, Article 10, Sections 223-226
new system was soon evolved, however, to circumvent the constitutional ban. The State Penitentiary Board leased lands from private individuals and worked them with convict labour. But in direct violation of the constitution, the plantation owner was left to manage the leased lands. In practice the scheme was the same as the former one, so far as the convicts' welfare was concerned. The main difference was that the state and landowner divided the profits equally. In 1896 the state made a net profit of $56,000 from nearly a thousand convicts.

In 1898 the state's share of net profit was $150,000. There was fierce competition between landowners to win contracts for convict labour. There is evidence of political influence being used. H.J. McLaurin wrote to his brother, Governor A.J. McLaurin, on 4th November, 1895: "I want you to give Captain Jenkins a talk for me before the Board of Control contracts to work the prisoners next year." He wanted 250 convicts to work "our place on shares." In order to avoid criticism, he agreed to fix them in the name of another party (6).

After allegations by legislators of corrupt management, misappropriation of funds and the illegal use of convicts on private farms, a legislative investigation was authorised in 1900.

Governor A.H. Longino was apparently unaware of the actual state of affairs. In his message to the legislature on 7th January, 1902, he said:

"So far as I have been able to ascertain the convicts have been well fed and clothed, and have not been treated with undue severity; but I have to admit that by reason of the numerous duties which are imposed by law upon the governor, it had been utterly impossible, though Chairman of the Board of Control, to give such personal attention

to the convicts and penitentiary as would be necessary to properly understand the detailed working of its affairs on the various farms lying in nine different counties... I feel justified in saying that the present system under which convicts are worked is just to the prisoners and profitable to the state. (7)

The Board of Control consisted of the governor, attorney general and the three Railroad Commissioners.

In February 1902 the Joint Legislative Investigating Committee reported on penitentiary conditions as follows:-(8)

1. The books were found to be improperly kept. "It is impossible even with the most careful and long continued examination of the books to ascertain with any degree of accuracy, whatever, the results of the former operations of the Board of Control." Detailed statements or accounts of sale were called for, but neither the bookkeeper nor Board of Control could produce same.

2. "We find that the labor of the convicts is largely used or employed in the improvement of, and making much more valuable the land of private individuals in many instances without proper compensation to the state." An example was the clearing of woodland belonging to the warden, J.M. Parchman, in the summer of 1901.

3. Cotton seed, worth $30,000, had been lost to the state from the crops of 1895-1900.

4. Many of the contracts made by the Board or Warden had been wholly verbal.

5. Large sums were being lost on Rankin County and Oakley farms.

6. Water supply was not good. New artesian bores were needed.

7. Convicts, with few exceptions, had been well treated. They were sufficiently clad and fed but on nearly every plantation men were found who should be in the hospital because of disease that incapacitated them. The majority of deaths were from sunstroke or blood poisoning.

The committee recommended an amendment of the law as follows:-

The warden should be "financially responsible for all funds received."

The Board of Control should ratify all contacts made by the warden.

There should be "proper written records of all transactions."

7. Mississippi Senate Journal 1902, p.42
8. Mississippi House Journal 1902, pp.451-461
There should be regular monthly visits to prison farms by all the Board except the attorney general and governor. Sergeant should be more competent, better paid and should keep records. Experts should be used to classify cotton and timber on state farms.

After this report, Longino agreed that strict business methods were needed in the management of the penitentiary (9).

Although the committee had made a unanimous report, the legislature refused to adopt it in March 1902. The legislature was dominated by the McLaurin faction. The legislature of 1904 was still dominated by the same faction and it rejected Governor J.K. Vardaman's recommendations that the Board of Control be abolished and that a new system of penitentiary management should be instituted.

Vardaman became an ex-officio member of the Board of Control as governor in January 1904. His views had no chance of being accepted by the Board as the other four members were in the McLaurin faction.

The Board of Control flouted the constitutional prohibition of leasing convicts for use on private plantations until December 1904 by leasing convicts to the Sandy Bayou plantation owned by State Senator H.J. McLaurin, a brother of United States Senator A.J. McLaurin.

In December 1905 the Board of Control proposed to enter into another contract to work Sandy Bayou but Vardaman obtained a temporary injunction against the Board's execution of the contract. The attorney general had refused to file such an

9.Mississippi House Journal 1902, pp.146-147
Injunction. The lower court upheld Vardaman but the State Supreme Court upheld the Board’s decision in two separate appeals. In both decisions the majority was 2-1. The McLaurin appointees, Judges S.S. Calhoon and Jeff Truly, upheld the Board’s decision but A.H. Whitfield, the Chief Justice and Vardaman’s appointee, wrote a dissenting opinion (10).

In Vardaman’s message to the extraordinary session of the legislature on 2nd January, 1906, he condemned the policies of the Board of Control:

"The penitentiary has been the one festering sore upon the body politic, poisoned by the virus of private personal cupidity, the most corrupt and corrupting influence in state politics. Votes were controlled in conventions and nominations, made the sole end in view of leasing some political dictator’s Delta plantation. If you question that statement, read the history of the penitentiary of Mississippi." Vardaman appealed for reform: "...the prime purpose of the penitentiary has been overlooked by the Board of Control. Instead of being conducted for the benefit of the criminals - a kind of moral hospital, where the moral cripples could be treated - the question of making money for

10. In State of Mississippi Ex Rel. J. Greaves, District Attorney v J. J. Henry, Warden of Penitentiary, 87 Miss. 125, 40 So. 152; the opinion of the state Supreme Court was given by Judge S.S. Calhoon:

The legislature may lease farms on which to work convicts, under a constitutional provision that it may place convicts on state farms and "may buy farms for that purpose." (Section 225, Mississippi Constitution) The purchase of farms for the working of state convicts is not required by a constitutional provision that the legislature may place the convicts on a state farm and "may buy farms for that purpose". "May" is not to be construed as "shall" in a constitutional provision unless from the whole context the purpose plainly appears that it shall be mandatory. The action of the Board of Control leasing land on which to work state convicts is not, even though corruption is charged, subject to the control of the courts, when it is in the exercise of the discretion committed to it by the legislature.

In a dissenting opinion, Chief Justice A.H. Whitfield construed the work "may" as mandatory as the proceedings of the constitutional convention revealed it was the intention of the convention to use "shall", which it adopted, only for a revision committee to substitute "may". (The Lawyers Reports Annotated, New Series Book 5, Rochester, New York, 1907, pp. 340-354)
the state and the favored few has been the end sought to be attained." There has not been an honest warden in the past ten years. (11)

In March 1906 a report by a Joint Legislative Investigating Committee into the running of penitentiary farms found that the management of Oakley farm had been "grossly incompetent and negligent." There had been theft on the part of certain employees. The Sergeant-in-Charge, E.E. Jackson, was found to have used convicts, who were confined in hospital and supposed to be sick and incapable of physical labour, on his adjoining private farm in 1903 and 1904. He did not pay "one cent to the state for the use of the labour." Jackson converted to his own use the proceeds of convict labour to the extent of about $7,500.

The report stated that the convicts were in fact recovered. The prison doctor, J.F. Berry, denied his connivance as did the warden. (12)

Dr. Berry did not visit the penitentiary every day. The Oakley hospital was a "huge shack, absolutely unfitted for use as a hospital of any sort." In a ward for incurably sick negroes, broken window glass was found in January. There was an improper purchasing and use of medicines. Huge quantities of drugs, including morphine, were purchased at retail prices when wholesale prices could have been obtained. Although there were only thirty "patients", 12,470 morphine tablets and one barrel of whisky was consumed every forty days. Jackson was "running a huge blind tiger." Enormous drunkenness was discovered in contravention of Sec.3195 Mississippi Code (13). Members of the Board of Control and Senator A.J. McLaurin had received costly gifts from Jackson.

The committee recommended:

13. "No liquor is to be taken into the penitentiary except as medicine." (Mississippi Code, Section 3195)
1. Oakley should be sold and a concentration on Sunflower farm was needed.
2. Board of Control should be abolished.
3. Penitentiary affairs ought to be divorced from politics as far as possible.

E.D. Cavett, a member of the committee, issued a dissenting minority report (14). He dissented because the investigation was confined to Oakley instead of the whole system. He corrected details of fact and defended Dr. Berry. He did not want to see the Board of Control abolished.

A later report (15) by the investigating committee showed that Rankin County state farm had net losses of $42,867.91 from 1896 to 1904. The heavy losses were due to "gross mismanagement."

Wagonloads of supplies were sent weekly from Rankin County farm to a neighbouring hotel owned by a relative of Sergeant Puckett, the warden of the farm. Puckett's horses were fed on the farm provender. No payment was received by the state.

The farm was a "nest of cruelty and graft." "Drunken subordinates were allowed to brutally maltreat the convicts, in some cases at will, or whenever the unfortunates ran counter to their inebriate wishes." A drunken guard, Joe Strong, son-in-law of Puckett, ordered a convict, Horace Wallace, to murder a prisoner.

The Board of Control did not make a record of an investigation. Warden Henry did not hold an inquest on the violent death of a convict in violation of section 3221 of the 1892 code.

Spurred on by the committee's revelation and by Vardaman,

15. Mississippi House Journal 1906, pp. 916-918
the legislature of 1906 enacted a new method of management based on the recommendations of the investigating committee and in particular Dr. A. Miller, a committee member. The scheme of control was considerably different from that advocated by Vardaman however. (16) Nevertheless some of Vardaman's proposals were identical to the committee's recommendations.

The main provisions (17) were as follows:

- The Board of Control was eliminated and replaced by an elective Board of three full-time trustees. A superintendent was appointed by the governor for a four-year period subject to confirmation by the Senate. He was responsible for day-to-day management and had to be an experienced farmer of known executive ability. He had to make an annual report by 13th September of each year showing all the accounts. The trustees had the power to purchase all supplies, to sell all crops, and were responsible for discipline and reports. They had to visit each farm once a month and make a report for the monthly meeting of the trustees. The trustees had to make a biennial report to the legislature. They had to make a bond for $20,000. All money received had to be paid into the state treasury at once and a regular set of books had to be kept.

- The evil of leasing private lands and working state convicts ended on 31st December, 1906. After this date convicts could only work on state farms, public roads, public levees or other public works as provided in Section 224 of the Constitution of 1890.

Vardaman actually got control of the penitentiary management on 1st January, 1907, when his appointees to a temporary Board of Trustees took office. In August 1907 the elective Board was appointed. The result of the legislation was a distinct improvement in penitentiary conditions after 1906.

16 Ethridge, pp. 445-446
17 Mississippi Code 1906, Chapter 107, Mississippi Laws 1906, Chapter 108
As evidence, the death rate in the penitentiary decreased as follows:

1901-1902  5.75 per cent death rate  
1902-1903  6.06 per cent death rate  
1909-1910  2.07 per cent death rate  (Total convicts 1690, 35 deaths, 3 whites, 32 negroes)  

But the element of corruption was never eliminated as proved by Governor Earl Leroy Brewer in his investigation of 1912-1914 (19).

In a special message to the legislature of 1914, Governor Brewer gave a detailed account of the workings of the penitentiary since 1911. Since 1911 the penitentiary had been losing money. Expenses had been increasing while profits had been decreasing. As "a practical businessman", he investigated as soon as the 1912 session was over. As a result of his enquiries, the sale of penitentiary cotton and cotton seed went up to $466,304 in 1912 compared with $246,630 in 1911.

Brewer conducted his own thorough investigation which included a trip to England in September 1912. The loss was attributed to the following:— embezzlement by the secretary in charge of the office of the penitentiary (20); violation of the 1906 Code (Section 3630): the products had not been sold by the trustees and the money had not been paid into the state treasury. Farm sergeants did not keep records of their activities; a large proportion of the cotton produced from 1908 to 1912 was sold to one firm,
Boyce and Company of Memphis, Tennessee, without competitive bidding. Boyce and Co., would not produce records of their transactions. Records of cotton sold by Boyce in the United States were available and there was evidence of high profits to Boyce after paying low prices to the penitentiary.

He recommended the closure of Rankin farm because of losses.

Mr. Boyce appeared before the Joint Sub-Penitentiary (21 Investigating committee on 23rd March, 1914, and presented statements and accounts to show that all the cotton bought had been at a good price. But he said he could not produce foreign accounts. An accountant, Lewis E. Crook, represented the committee and said:

"There were no books furnished by Boyce & Co., which pertained to the weights, prices or grades of cotton, but their records or data consisted of the following: Sheets containing weights of state cotton only. Copies of invoices from the Manchester office for consignment from this side. Copies of invoices for shipments to foreign mills and brokers which did not state the actual prices or weights. Master Porters' weights and United States Weighers' certificates were furnished in most cases. We were unable to determine as to the exact price and weights from the copies of consignments to the Manchester office."

Boyce could not produce invoices or records for Manchester transactions.

By 1918, conditions in the penitentiary had improved since Brewer's investigation of 1912-1913 and the subsequent committee investigation of 1914.

Bilbo reported to the legislature of 1918 (22): "I

21. Mississippi Senate Journal 1914, pp.1290-1299
22. Mississippi Senate Journal 1918, pp.6-44
have found the convicts in splendid health, well fed and as a rule (they) received splendid treatment." Business efficiency had been applied to the farming activities:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Gross Receipts</th>
<th>Net Profit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>$513,944</td>
<td>$216,444.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>$962,802</td>
<td>$653,310.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Estimated) 1917</td>
<td>$1,425,000</td>
<td>$1,000,000.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

He declared that "With better management $100,000 to $200,000 could be saved." He urged the purchasing of 25,000 acres of land for the penitentiary in the Delta at Parchman at a low price.

The description of penitentiary conditions and the callous treatment of the inmates of the state insane hospital (23) suggests that cruelty was fulfilling some psychological need for society. This touches on a problem which is largely unexplored.

Normal human beings derive satisfaction from reading accounts of horror and bestiality. The newspaper accounts of penitentiary and insane hospital conditions would be objective in so far as they reported the findings of the legislative investigating committees. It is not difficult to believe, however, that the sensational element would strongly appeal to their readers particularly in the muckraking era of American journalism. Editorial writers used the "facts" to their own advantage to discredit politicians that the newspapers opposed.

It can be argued that the penitentiary guards derived satisfaction in some unpleasant way as they were in a

23. See page 87
position to make conditions more or less difficult for the convicts. There may have been a practical reason. It is very likely that the guards shared in the distribution of whisky and farm produce and were thus party to the gross corruption perpetrated by the sergeants.

Another possibility is that some of the convicts had a masochistic mentality and derived some pleasure from their ill-treatment. This is not unlikely when one considers that a high percentage of the prisoners were negroes with a cultural tradition of oppression by white masters.

In society at large there would be an element that identified itself with the oppressed. The precise nature of this identification can only be guessed at: a desire to share suffering, relief at being spared such cruelty. Similarly an element in society would identify itself with the oppressors, perhaps from delusions of megalomania, or in the case of Mississippi, a hatred of negroes.

One must remember that Mississippi was a frontier society in the early twentieth century. Cruelty and violence were accepted as part of the everyday pattern of living. In the period under discussion summary action on the part of white gangs led to a large number of lynchings – mainly of negroes accused of capital crimes. Public executions were not banned until 1916 when Bilbo's law was passed. The availability of firearms, which is still regarded as a constitutional right, dates back to the frontier battles with Indians.

From the above it is clear that the function of cruelty in society is an unsolved problem. It is one that could be studied in some detail as it has implications about the mentality of 'normal' human beings. The connection between
cruelty and the political system would require a detailed investigation. From the above evidence it was one of the elements of corruption in government with, consequently, an effect on the power structure.
### APPENDIX II

#### POPULATION OF MISSISSIPPI

**Mississippi Territory**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>8,850</td>
<td>5,179</td>
<td>3,671</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1810</td>
<td>40,352</td>
<td>23,024</td>
<td>17,328</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**State of Mississippi (1817)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1820</td>
<td>75,448</td>
<td>42,176</td>
<td>33,272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>136,621</td>
<td>70,443</td>
<td>66,178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>375,651</td>
<td>179,074</td>
<td>196,577</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>606,526</td>
<td>295,718</td>
<td>310,808</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>791,305</td>
<td>353,901</td>
<td>437,404</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>827,922</td>
<td>383,721</td>
<td>444,201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>1,131,597</td>
<td>481,306</td>
<td>650,291</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Mississippi Territory**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Negroes</th>
<th>Other Races</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Rural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>1,289,600</td>
<td>544,851</td>
<td>742,559</td>
<td>2,190</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>1,551,270</td>
<td>641,200</td>
<td>907,630</td>
<td>2,440</td>
<td>120,035</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>1,797,114</td>
<td>786,111</td>
<td>1,009,487</td>
<td>1,516</td>
<td>207,311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>1,790,618</td>
<td>853,662</td>
<td>935,184</td>
<td>1,472</td>
<td>240,121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>2,009,821</td>
<td>998,077</td>
<td>1,009,718</td>
<td>2,026</td>
<td>338,850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>2,183,796</td>
<td>1,106,327</td>
<td>1,074,578</td>
<td>2,891</td>
<td>432,882</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>2,178,914</td>
<td>1,188,632</td>
<td>986,494</td>
<td>3,788</td>
<td>602,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>2,178,000</td>
<td>1,257,546</td>
<td>915,743</td>
<td>4,852</td>
<td>821,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources:

### APPENDIX III

**PER CAPITA INCOME 1929-1963**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mississippi</th>
<th>United States</th>
<th>Rank Order of Mississippi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>680</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>368</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>539</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>693</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>570</td>
<td>1,177</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>555</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>733</td>
<td>1,491</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>994</td>
<td>1,866</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>1,168</td>
<td>2,217</td>
<td>50*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>1,285</td>
<td>2,368</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>1,390</td>
<td>2,449</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Total states in the Union rose from 48 to 50 in 1959 with the admission of Alaska and Hawaii.

**Sources:**


GOVERNORS OF MISSISSIPPI FROM DATE OF TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATION TO DATE

Governors of Mississippi Territory, 1798-1817

Winthrop Sargent - May 7th, 1798 to May 25th, 1801
William C.C. Claiborne - May 26th, 1801 to March 1st, 1805
Robert Williams - March, 1805 to March 7th, 1809
David Holmes - March 7th, 1809 to December 10th, 1817

Governors of State of Mississippi, 1817 to Date

David Holmes - December 10th, 1817 to January 5th, 1820
George Poindexter - January 5th, 1820 to January 7th, 1822
Walter Leake - January 7th, 1822 to November 17th, 1825
Gerald C. Brandon - November 17th, 1825 to January 7th, 1826
David Holmes - January 7th, 1826 to July 25th, 1826
Gerald C. Brandon - July 25th, 1826 to January 9th, 1832
Abram M. Scott - January 9th, 1832 to June 12th, 1833
Charles Lynch - June 12th, 1833 to November 20th, 1833
Hiram G. Runnels - November 20th, 1833 to November 20th, 1835
John A. Quitman - December 3rd, 1835 to January 7th, 1836
Charles Lynch - January 7th, 1836 to January 8th, 1838
Alexander G. McNutt - January 8th, 1838 to January 10th, 1842
Tilgham M. Tucker - January 10th, 1842 to January 10th, 1844
Albert G. Brown - January 10th, 1844 to January 10th, 1848
Joseph M. Matthews - January 10th, 1848 to January 10th, 1850
John A. Quitman - January 10th, 1850 to February 3rd, 1851
John I. Guion - February 3rd, 1851 to November 4th, 1851
James Whitfield - November 24th, 1851 to January 10th, 1852
Henry S. Foote - January 10th, 1852 to January 5th, 1854
John J. Pettus - January 5th, 1854 to January 10th, 1854
John J. McRae - January 10th, 1854 to November 16th, 1857
Wm. McWillie - November 16th, 1857 to November 21st, 1859
John J. Pettus - November 21st, 1859 to November 16th, 1863
Charles Clark - November 16th, 1863 to May 22nd, 1865
William L. Sharkey - June 1865 to October 16th, 1865
Benjamin G. Humphreys - October 16th, 1865 to June 15th, 1868
Adelbert Ames - June 15th, 1868 to March 10th, 1870
James L. Alcorn - March 10th, 1870 to November 30th, 1871
Ridgley C. Powers - November 30th, 1871 to January 4th, 1874
Adelbert Ames - January 4th, 1874 to March 29th, 1876
John M. Stone - March 29th, 1876 to January 29th, 1882
Robert Lowry - January 29th, 1882 to January 13th, 1890
John M. Stone - January 13th, 1890 to January 20th, 1896
Anselm J. McLaurin - January 20th, 1896 to January 16th, 1900
Andrew H. Longino - January 16th, 1900 to January 19th, 1904
James Kimble Vardaman - January 19th, 1904 to January 21st, 1908
Edmond Favor Noel - January 21st, 1908 to January 16th, 1912
Earl LeRoy Brewer - January 16th, 1912 to January 18th, 1916
Theodore Gilmore Bilbo - January 18th, 1916 to January 20th, 1920
Lee Maurice Russell - January 20th, 1920 to January 22nd, 1924
Henry Lewis Whitfield - January 22nd, 1924 to March 18th, 1927
Dennis Murphree - March 18th, 1927 to January 17th, 1928
Theodore Gilmore Bilbo - January 17th, 1928 to January 19th, 1932
Martin Sennett Conner - January 19th, 1932 to January 21st, 1936
Hugh L. White - January 21st, 1936 to January 16th, 1940
Paul B. Johnson - January 16th, 1940 to December 26th, 1943
Dennis Murphree - December 26th, 1943 to January 18th, 1944
Thomas L. Bailey - January 18th, 1944 to November 2nd, 1946
Fielding L. Wright - November 2nd, 1946 to January 22nd 1948
Fielding L. Wright - January 22nd, 1948 to January 22nd, 1952
Hugh L. White – January 22nd, 1952 to January 17th, 1956
J.P. Coleman – January 17th, 1956 to January 19th, 1960

Source: Mississippi Official and Statistical Register, 1968-1972, p. 390
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