Department of Humanities, Northumbria University

Honours Dissertation

Disobedience and Defiance: Massive Resistance in Mississippi in the 1950s and 1960s

Sophie Henderson

BA Hons History

2016

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of BA (Hons) History.

Table of Contents

List of Abbreviations

AMA	American Medical Association
COFO	Council of Federated Organizations
LEAC	Legal Education Advisory Committee
MSU	Mississippi State University
NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People
MSDP	Mississippi State Democratic Party
MSSC	Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission
V.A.	Veterans Administration
WCC	White Citizens' Council

Introduction

> The Massive Resistance ranks were a curious alliance of crackpots, honest conservatives, religious fanatics, visionaries, confused moderates, and simple thugs, often with not much more in common than a shared fear of the egalitarian revolution and a belief that the southern way of life was unique and worth preserving.
>
> Francis M. Wilhoit, 1973.[1]

The definition of Massive Resistance has been contested in literature since the *New York Times* first quoted Harry Flood Byrd, Virginia Senator on February 14, 1956.[2] Although there is significant debate over whether Byrd discussed 'massive' or 'passive' resistance, it has paved the way for the definition historians give to the southern opposition to proposed integration. George Lewis's *Massive Resistance* discusses this disparity as the phrase has been used to distinguish resistance to the posed school integration of the *Brown v. Board of Education* era, but also resistance to integration more widely. However, he also demonstrates that one must be cautious when using the terminology as Massive Resistance was not a fixed movement. It evolved in response to the circumstances of the time and therefore to narrow it down to one set definition would be to trivialise its significance.[3]

It is important to note Massive Resistance was not exclusive to Mississippi. The emergence of a collective, organised response to posed integration was widely prevalent across the South. It signalled a shift in how opposition to the Civil Rights Movement would be orchestrated, open defiance over non-compliance.[4] However, the significance of Mississippi cannot be overlooked. James W. Silver in his prominent article, "Mississippi: The Closed Society," discussed the notion that

[1] F.M. Wilhoit, *The Politics of Massive Resistance* (New York: George Braziller, 1973), p.100.
[2] George Lewis, *Massive Resistance: The White Response to the Civil Rights Movement* (London: Hodder Education, 2006), p.1.
[3] Ibid: pp. 1-4.
[4] Ibid: p.2.

"Mississippi has been on the defensive against inevitable social change for over a century." [5] As slavery was abolished, white Mississippians adopted staunch segregation to uphold their racial superiority. He also emphasised slavery and segregation were fundamentally similar as both were implemented to uphold white supremacy and maintained through state rights and religious fanaticism.[6]

Therefore, this dissertation will explore how Massive Resistance mobilised after the *Brown* decision in 1954 and gained momentum throughout the 1950s and 1960s. Mississippi is renowned for its violence during the Civil Rights era and the perception of the use of brutality often overshadows the complex and sophisticated system implemented to prolong segregation. This dissertation will identify some of these practices that are often underrepresented and often understated in the literature. There will be a particular focus on key Mississippi organisations and their efforts to maintain racial separation during this period. The White Citizens' Council (WCC) and the Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission (MSSC) first mobilised in the state to uphold traditional southern values and became an outlet for white supremacy and segregationist rhetoric. The WCC and the MSSC became inextricably linked in the 1960s as the MSSC began to make donations to the WCC to support their objectives and principles highlighting the link between private and official resistance.[7]

The first WCC mobilised in July 1954 in Indianola, Mississippi in response to the *Brown* decision which was feared would fully integrate public schools in the South.[8] It was a public organisation, established and maintained by citizens across the South more widely. William Joel Blass, prominent Mississippian lawyer and politician defines the motives of the WCC that their "sole purpose was to control the black and white people in Mississippi through social, political, [and]

[5] James W. Silver, "Mississippi: The Closed Society," *The Journal of Southern History,* Vol. 30, No.1 (1964), p.3.
[6] Ibid.
[7] James Dickerson, *Dixie's Dirty Secret: The True Story of How the Government, the Media and the Mob Conspired to Combat Integration and the Anti-Vietnam War Movement* (New York: M.E Sharpe, 1998), p.41.
[8] Lewis, *Massive Resistance*, p.39.

economic pressure."[9] Much like the WCC, the MSSC mobilised in 1956 to protect state rights and prevent federal encroachment.[10] However, the MSSC was particularly significant as it represented the official state response to posed integration. First introduced in the State Legislature of 1956, it quickly evolved into a draconian organisation. The MSSC have an extensive dossier of online records made accessible to the general public in 1998.[11] The Sovereignty Commission Online archive will be referenced throughout the dissertation to demonstrate the draconian and tenacious nature of Massive Resistance organisations.

Despite the vast literature written on both Massive Resistance and Mississippi during the Civil Rights era, there is a tendency to only focus on the prevalent activism in the South and in the state respectively. Literature beyond education, voting rights and the infamous Freedom Summer of 1964, although informative, is narrow in comparison to the more prevalent topics. Ted Ownby's edited volume *The Civil Rights Movement in Mississippi* features no discussion of resistance in the health care system or recreational facilities.[12] Prominent historian John Dittmer, in his book *Local People,* only briefly discussed these topics with little analytical detail.[13] Therefore, this dissertation will attempt to bridge the gap and analyse the impact of Massive Resistance in these underrepresented sectors.

This dissertation will also explore the notion that black citizens assisted in efforts to preserve segregation. Horace Harned, a prominent member of the MSSC stated "the vast majority of our

[9] Orley B. Caudill, "Oral History with Mr. William Joel Blass," *University of Southern Mississippi Libraries: Digital Collections* (1977) [http://digilib.usm.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/coh/id/8369] p.26. Accessed: November 24, 2015.
[10] Yasuhiro Katagiri, *The Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission – Civil Rights and States' Rights* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2001), pp. 5-6.
[11] J. Michael Butler, "The Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission and Beach Integration, 1959-1963: A Cotton-patch Gestapo?" *Journal of Southern History* Vol. 68, No.1. (2002), pp.107-8.
[12] Ted Ownby (ed.), *The Civil Rights Movement in Mississippi* (University Press of Mississippi: Jackson, 2013)
[13] John Dittmer, *Local People: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Mississippi* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1995), pp.86-7, 265, 335, 425.

people, both black and white, were against forced integration."[14] Despite the caution when assessing Harned's statement due to his segregationist views, the collaboration between Uncle Toms and segregationist organisations was particularly striking. The inference is Massive Resistance relied upon collaboration with black advocates of segregation just as much as it relied upon the mobilisation of white resistance. Key examples of this will be discussed in the subsequent chapters and their motives analysed.

One of the most crucial institutions in a human's development is education. Therefore its prominence in the fight to preserve segregation cannot be overlooked despite the vast literature written on the subject. Chapter one will explicitly focus on the education system in Mississippi from elementary to university level. The chapter will chronologically analyse attempts to keep the system segregated in the wake of *Brown* up until the first official desegregation of elementary schools in Biloxi in 1964.[15] Charles C. Bolton's *Hardest Deal of All* and Charles W. Eagles' *The Price of Defiance* are two key texts written on the defiance of *Brown* in Mississippi.[16] Bolton explicitly focuses on the compulsory school system and therefore Eagles' book is significant in gaining understanding of segregation in higher education. The chapter will examine resistance from both state officials and the public analysing the above and below response respectively. The prevalence of the WCC and the MSSC in preserving segregation will be assessed alongside key legislation implemented from the Governors and state officials. Ultimately, the chapter will demonstrate the link between private and official resistance in their attempt to keep educational facilities lily-white.

Expanding upon discrimination in the education system, Chapter two will explore Massive Resistance in the public recreation sector. This chapter will thematically analyse prominent segregation battles on the beaches, in the swimming pools and in sport respectively. There will be a

[14] Yasuhiro Katagiri, "Oral History with Horace H. Harned Jr." *The University of Southern Mississippi: Digital Collections* (1993) [http://digilib.usm.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/coh/id/3056.] p.2. Accessed: November 15, 2015.
[15] Charles C. Bolton, *Hardest Deal of All: The Battle Over School Integration in Mississippi, 1870-1980* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2007), p.84.
[16] Ibid; Charles W. Eagles, *The Price of Defiance: James Meredith and the Integration of Ole Miss* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009)

particular focus upon beaches and swimming pools due to prominent fears of miscegenation and contamination. This has largely been ignored in the literature with John Dittmer's *Local People* including only two paragraphs on the beach wade-ins which give an alternative start date from that provided in key primary documents- April 14, 1960 as opposed to May 14, 1959.[17] Therefore, due to the lack of secondary literature, there will be an explicit focus on using oral testimonies, records from the MSSC archives and memoirs to gain a rounded view of the attempts to keep close contact facilities segregated. The chapter will also discuss the prevalence of racism and segregationist rhetoric in sport. Two case studies from the 1950s and 1960s respectively, will be analysed alongside primary documents in an attempt to distinguish the segregationist response to the infiltration of the great American pastime.

Themes of contamination and miscegenation will further be discussed in Chapter three in analysing the health care system in Mississippi. This chapter will be profoundly different from the first two. The lack of prominent segregation battles and documents due to patient confidentiality has made analysis on the topic difficult. Therefore, this chapter will seek to explore the discrepancies in the health care system in Mississippi. There will be a particular focus on distinguishing opportunity in terms of access to care and employment. It will also assess if access to health care was impacted as a result of race or was poverty a more contributory factor? There will also be an argument that federal intervention contributed to the lack of prominent resistance in integrating the health care system. Key primary documents from the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) will be analysed alongside MSSC private documents and oral testimony to provide an answer to these questions. Ultimately, this chapter will seek to distinguish whether Mississippi possessed a moral and ethical obligation to care that transcended racial barriers.

The analysis of the impact of Massive Resistance in the three public sectors will ultimately seek to evaluate how effective segregationist rhetoric was during this period. It will analyse the

[17]Dittmer, *Local People,* pp.86-7.

response to rising black activism and the adoption of practices to combat this. It will also analyse how officials and ordinary citizens turned this rhetoric into reality to preserve their racial separatism.

Chapter 1
The Fight to Maintain Lily-White: Defying *Brown* in the Education System

> At the very time that when the Negro was in the lengthy process of becoming a civilized being, he appeared to be and demonstrably *was* a cultural inferior, carefully trained for that status by every controllable factor in his environment.
>
> James W. Silver, 1964.[1]

It was hoped that after the landmark ruling of *Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka*, May 17, 1954, segregation in the southern education system would be outlawed. The policies of separate but equal Mississippi had relied upon prior to the ruling were under threat. Despite existing efforts to uphold segregation preceding *Brown*, a more organised and effective method of resistance was required. It is important to note resistance appeared from a grass roots level in addition to in the state legislature. As Governor Hugh L. White and his successors adopted policies to preserve segregation, the WCC mobilised in response to the prospect of federally mandated and enforced school desegregation. MSSC member Horace Harned, stated the "U.S. Supreme Court had overstepped its authority and violated the Constitution" in its ruling on the *Brown* decision.[2] Therefore, membership of organisations increased drastically as the fight to preserve Mississippi's lily-white institutions intensified. However, their significance can be questioned. In comparison to official Massive Resistance implemented in state legislation, how influential were these organisations in affecting change?

Almost immediately, anti-desegregation rhetoric spread across Mississippi aided by the mass production of flyers and leaflets distributed by the emerging organisations, established to challenge

[1] James W. Silver, "Mississippi: The Closed Society," *The Journal of Southern History,* Vol. 30, No.1 (1964), p.6.
[2] Yasuhiro Katagiri, "Oral History with Horace H. Harned Jr." *The University of Southern Mississippi: Digital Collections* (1993) [http://digilib.usm.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/coh/id/3056.] p.2. Accessed: November 15, 2015.

integration. The WCC distributed flyers in the Greenwood area of Mississippi to promote anti-*Brown* rhetoric. [3] The flyer featured two prominent quotes to challenge the Supreme Court ruling and create a catalyst for white participation. Although *Brown* had far wider implications for the operation of the Jim Crow system and white supremacy, education became a significant issue for the WCC. Prominent member William Simmons described the mobilisation as the "fight to preserve racial integrity." [4] This became a movement of the people as many WCC members were parents of white children in public schools.

However, there was a growing trend of professionals in the WCC membership which added respectability to the movement. This was evident in the membership of Bob Cannada who was a prominent lawyer and upstanding member of the public.[5] F.M. Wilhoit noted "the uneducated poor were more fanatical about white supremacy" however the middle and upper classes were equally committed as they felt it their duty to preserve state rights.[6] Thus demonstrating the diverse nature of the Massive Resistance ranks, white citizens from every sector of society had the opportunity and sense of obligation to express their discontent.

Organisations manipulated citizens' fears that integration would lead to the destabilisation of society and the end of civilisation to gain mass support for the cause. Simmons described the main motivations of the WCC which were "to halt racial integration and slow down the growth of a tyrannical federal establishment."[7] Despite only a small percentage of citizens joining the WCC, their principles and intentions were well supported by the wider population. The involvement of

---

[3] "Flyers, Citizens' Council, Greenwood, Mississippi," *Brown-Tougaloo Project* (Circa 1956) [http://cds.library.brown.edu/projects/FreedomNow/do_search_single.php?searchid=85.] Accessed: November 15, 2015.

[4] State of Siege "Transcript of American RadioWorks Documentary into Mississippi," *State of Siege: Mississippi Whites and the Civil Rights Movement - American RadioWorks* [http://americanradioworks.publicradio.org/features/mississippi/transcript.html.] Accessed: November 4, 2015.

[5] Orley B. Caudill, "Oral History with Mr. William Joel Blass." *University of Southern Mississippi Libraries: Digital Collections* (1977) [http://digilib.usm.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/coh/id/8369] p.27. Accessed: November 24, 2015.

[6] F.M. Wilhoit, *The Politics of Massive Resistance* (New York: George Braziller, 1973), p.101.

[7] Ibid: p.113.

respectable and wealthy Mississippians ensured that by the late 1950s, the WCC became "the single most powerful political force in Mississippi" and were "virtually indistinguishable" from the state government.[8] This demonstrates how effective the WCC was at garnering support from all tiers of society as involvement from state governors and legislators' ensured clear links were formed between private and official Massive Resistance.

Just as the WCC was formed to embody public opinion, the Legal Education Advisory Committee (LEAC) became the official state equivalent. The LEAC was established in anticipation of the *Brown* decision on April 5, 1954 under state legislature from Governor White's administration.[9] It is also largely recognised as the predecessor of the MSSC.[10] The intention of the state response was to defy the *Brown* ruling "if lawful means could be found by which to avoid it."[11] By exploiting legal loopholes, integration could be lawfully delayed. This became a key tactic for Mississippi. White also sought to maintain segregation by holding meetings with black and white educational representatives to convince those involved that it was in the best interest of all that schools remained segregated.[12] It was imperative for White to secure a majority before any financial support was given to improve conditions in the education system.[13] To defy *Brown*, a series of measures were proposed to improve black schools maintaining the "separate but equal" education system.[14]

William Joel Blass, active in the state legislature, details one of these measures. The establishment of the Minimum Foundation Program was designed to combat prevailing discrepancies in the education system for black students.[15] He identified white children were funded

[8] Ibid: p.111-2.
[9] Katagiri, "Oral History with Horace H. Harned Jr." p.3. See also: Yasuhiro Katagiri, *The Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission – Civil Rights and States' Rights* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2001), p. xxvii.
[10] Katagiri, "Oral History with Horace H. Harned, Jr." p.3.
[11] Neil R. McMillen, *The Citizens' Council; Organized Resistance to the Second Reconstruction, 1954-64* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1971), p.15.
[12] Charles C. Bolton, *Hardest Deal of All: The Battle Over School Integration in Mississippi, 1870-1980* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2007), pp.61-2.
[13] Ibid: p.61.
[14] McMillen, *The Citizens' Council*, p.16.
[15] Caudill, "Oral History with Mr. William Joel Blass," p.29.

$175 a year in the education system compared to $35 for black children.[16] An initial meeting in June 1954 with eight black educators from schools and colleges indicated support for White's voluntary segregation if the standard of their own institutions was raised.[17] Although initially confident, a meeting called by White on July 30, 1954, with a wider audience of black educators and officials, demonstrated resistance to voluntary segregation.[18] A clear divide in the black response to voluntary segregation demonstrates that radical activism by black citizens to break Jim Crow was not always viable. However, it was evident a more effective method of resistance needed to be adopted.

White sought to exploit the legal loopholes further in his suggestion to change the status of schools in the state from public to private. This would lawfully satisfy the *Brown* decision which only focused on public schools. The statement written by the Committee July 12, 1954 outlines that the LEAC "will recommend to the Legislature […] a program that will provide buildings and other facilities necessary to maintain separate schools between the races."[19] $200,000 of public money was made available to the Committee to fund this, demonstrating that white Mississippians would prefer to potentially compromise their own educational facilities to maintain segregation.[20] An ultimatum was issued on September 7, 1954. If the amendment was not supported, inequality in the education system would not be addressed.[21] This highlights attempts to work with black leaders were merely niceties. Subsequent Supreme Court ruling, referred to as *Brown II* in May 1955, gave White more leverage. The clause of integration "with all deliberate speed" provided an opportunity to delay integration until a time which was deemed suitable.[22] With legalities satisfied, White gave black representatives little choice but to co-operate as integration could be lawfully delayed for a sustained and prolonged period.

---

[16] Ibid.
[17] Bolton, *Hardest Deal of All,* p.60.
[18] Katagiri, *The Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission,* p.xxxi.
[19] LEAC "Legal Educational Advisory Committee Mississippi Legislature, 12 October 1954," *University of Mississippi Libraries Digital Collections: Archives and Special Collections* (1954) [http://clio.lib.olemiss.edu/cdm/ref/collection/civ_rights/id/529] pp.1-2. Accessed: January 24, 2016.
[20] Caudill, "Oral History with Mr. William Joel Blass," p.29.
[21] Katagiri, *The Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission*, p.xxxii.
[22] Bolton, *Hardest Deal of All,* p.73.

It is evident there was a clear fear that the integration of schools in Mississippi would lead to the integration of further institutions in the wake of *Brown*. Fears about the destabilisation of society continued to be present as the LEAC and White fought to maintain separation. However, T.R.M Howard active in the Regional Council of Negro Leadership, and present in the educational meetings countered the notion that a more all-encompassing social equality was the main objective of the black community. Instead he argued it was merely to achieve educational opportunity equality.[23]

Despite this, further attempts were made to overcome the rise in black activism. The sharp increase in mobilisation and membership of anti-integration organisations is testament to this. The WCC established the Educational Fund in December 1956, in response to the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People's (NAACP) own Education Fund implemented to challenge black student discrimination. The WCC attributed the rise in the NAACP and the establishment of this fund to the spread of integrationist ideas.[24] A flyer distributed by the organisation attempted to stir public opinion when mentioning that "while [they] slept, the foundation of [their] society was being eaten away" likening the black population to termites. This amplified prevalent racial attitudes that black influence would lead to the contamination and destabilisation of society.[25] The Educational Fund was chartered to raise money to cover the Council's publication distribution and production costs. However, the charter of a substantial fund to promote their own vitriolic racism demonstrates how blurred the lines had become between private and official Massive Resistance.[26] By appealing to the prevalent racist sentiment of the white citizens, it increased support and much needed funds to continue the stream of segregationist propaganda.

---

[23] Ibid: pp.63, 66.
[24] "Educational Fund of the Citizens' Council," *Historical Manuscripts and Photographs* (Circa 1956) [http://digilib.usm.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/manu/id/1496/rec/1.] Accessed: November 17, 2015.
[25] Ibid.
[26] McMillen*, The Citizens' Council*, p.38.

However, the WCC were fairly limited if they did not have governors and legislators on side. White's successor, Governor J.P Coleman, presented a clear problem for the WCC. The southern moderate disputed the draconian practices implemented by segregationist organisations and defined them as harmful to Mississippi. Coleman's involvement in legislation as a prominent member of the LEAC and Attorney General prior to his inauguration demonstrated his capabilities to find lawful means to avoid integration. [27] As Coleman was sworn in on January 17, 1956, he immediately declared segregation would remain under his administration.[28] However, much like under White, this would be through exploiting ambiguities rather than open defiance. The Legislature of 1956 established the MSSC, Mississippi's official resistance organisation responsible for expanding upon the work of the LEAC and to uncover any integrationist activism to preserve segregation.

As the battle lines continued to be drawn on integration in Mississippi more widely, the education system was still a prominent issue. 1957 witnessed the establishment of parallel institutions as Coleman sought to implement a strategy of redefining the school borders. After the limited success of the amendment to change the status of Mississippi's public schools, it was decided that changing the borders would be a more viable alternative. The Pupil Placement policy was adopted, exploiting various factors to determine which school a child would be placed in. These factors included a student's "morals, community welfare, and health."[29] In practice, this meant white pupils would be placed together and black pupils placed together as housing and communities were still largely segregated. This is evident in the census of Forrest County from 1950-1960 which identified the population of the small county was made up of 72% of white citizens compared to 28%

[27] Anders Walker, *The Ghost of Jim Crow: How Southern Moderates Used Brown V Board of Education to Stall the Civil Rights Movement* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), p.12.
[28] Katagiri, *The Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission*, p.3.
[29] Walker, *The Ghost of Jim Crow,* pp.39-40.

non-white.[30] It is evident Coleman's background in legislation greatly aided him in searching for ways to confront federal infringement. By aligning Mississippi with the rest of the USA which Coleman believed still operated segregation but covertly, the state would be autonomous without question once more. Pressure from organisations would deter black pupils from applying to white institutions but ultimately it would be the sophisticated legislation that would exclude them.

Andres Walker argues the Pupil Placement policy was more influential than previous legislations as it provided a more covert form of lawfully satisfying *Brown*. [31] Despite this, Coleman's suggestions still did not provide an adequate and indisputable response to increasing federal infringement. This is demonstrated in the reliance on old methods of defying *Brown*. Legislation implemented in 1958 granted Coleman power to close public schools if it was in the best interest of the state.[32] This essentially created sufficient opportunity for further covert resistance as old tactics of abolishing public schools were made viable once more.

However, much in the same way that segregationists increased their efforts, black activism intensified. In addition to this, resistance was not only forming at elementary and secondary education, but also in higher education in the state. The case of Clyde Kennard, a black prospective student of all-white university, Mississippi Southern, is particularly noteworthy.[33] Although Kennard had tried on numerous occasions to gain admission unsuccessfully, as greater strides were made by blacks nationally, segregationists in Mississippi could not remain complacent. The extensive dossier the MSSC collected on Kennard, labeled an "integration agitator", demonstrates he was a clear threat to the crumbling segregated education system. The in-depth and intrusive investigation was commissioned on December 17, 1958 scrutinizing Kennard's education, employment and NAACP activities for incriminating evidence to deny his application. Included in the document is the

[30]"Statistical Report on Forrest County", *The University of Southern Mississippi Libraries: Digital Collection* (Circa 1964) [http://digilib.usm.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/manu/id/660/rec/1] p.1. Accessed: March 23, 2015.
[31] Walker, *The Ghost of Jim Crow,* p.15.
[32] Wilhoit, *The Politics of Massive Resistance*, p.145.
[33] Walker, *The Ghost of Jim Crow,* p.34.

collusion with black Principals in Hattiesburg and Reverend R.W. Woullard, alleged segregation supporters, to persuade Kennard to terminate his application.[34]

The co-operation between these so-called Uncle Toms and the MSSC further highlights the split in the response to Massive Resistance. In much the same way that Massive Resistance was not unanimously operated by white citizens, support for the Civil Rights Movement from the black community was also fragmented. It is evident whilst organisations such as the NAACP advocated for activism, many black influential citizens in Mississippi were satisfied to achieve local and immediate gains through cohesion with the state. Walker discussed the co-operation between the MSSC and the black officials, further expressing the notion that black leaders were more satisfied with improvement in their own educational facilities than integration. However, Charles C. Bolton more accurately demonstrated that black educators could not afford to align themselves with integrationist groups if they were to maintain their occupations and social standing.[35] Evidently this was not unanimous, but there was a clear demand for separate institutions as demonstrated through the establishment of an all-black junior college in Hattiesburg after discussions with the MSSC.[36]

As the 1950s gave way to the 1960s, education and how to preserve segregation was still a hotly contested topic. The education question was still included in popular politics evident in the Platform and Principles speech given in 1960 by the Mississippi State Democratic Party (MSDP). The MSDP declared: "we believe in the separation of the races in the universities and colleges, in the public schools."[37] Kennard's unsuccessful attempt to desegregate Mississippi Southern was not an

[34] Zack J. Van Landingham, "SCR ID # 1-27-0-6-1-1-1**,** Sovereignty Commission Online." *Mississippi Department of Archives and History* [http://mdah.state.ms.us/arrec/digital_archives/sovcom/result.php?image=images/png/cd01/001981.png&otherstuff=1|27|0|6|1|1|1|1932|] pp.1-37. Accessed: March 21, 2016.
[35] Bolton, *Hardest Deal of All,* p.76.
[36] Van Landingham, "SCR ID # 1-27-0-6-1-1-1" p.34. See also: Walker, *The Ghost of Jim Crow,* p.34.
[37] "Excerpts from the Platform and Principles (official, White-only) Mississippi State Democratic Party." *Veterans of the Civil Rights Movement - Mississippi State Democratic Party Platform, 1960* (2013 online) [http://www.crmvet.org/docs/msdp60.htm.] Accessed: November 22, 2015.

isolated incident. 1962 witnessed one of the most infamous desegregation battles in the South, James Meredith and the case of Ole Miss.

It is important to note the University of Mississippi- commonly referred to as Ole Miss- had witnessed desegregation attempts before. Although they admitted no black students in the 50s, Clennon King, a so called Uncle Tom, attempted to enrol in 1958. This was swiftly rebutted and King was detained under a lunacy warrant with fabricated charges brought against him to stall his application. If a black segregationist advocate could not break the Jim Crow barriers of Ole Miss, they stood assured their institution would remain white-only.[38] Ole Miss's importance as not only a historical institution of education but also home to prominent football team, the Ole Miss Rebels, compelled the state to preserve the exclusivity and supremacy of this dominant institution.[39]

In a time of growing black activism in the fight to desegregate institutions of higher education in the South more widely, Meredith submitted his application to Ole Miss on January 31, 1961.[40] Covert tactics of resistance were once again employed as the University changed their cut-off date for applications to January 25. This was under the pretense it would prevent overcrowding therefore improving educational experience. However, it also made Meredith's application defunct. Charles W. Eagles noted influential blacks were once again employed by the MSSC to dissuade Meredith from his attempt to join Ole Miss. Meredith lodged his legal battle against the Board of Trustees responsible for admissions on May 31,1961. [41]

Although Meredith was admitted June 26, 1962, the battle was by no means won. A review was conducted of the record of his applications for entry and it was ruled his opponents had "engaged in a carefully calculated campaign of delay, harassment and masterly inactivity."[42] Ross Barnett, Coleman's successor and staunch segregationist, firmly aligned himself against the ruling. In

[38] Charles W. Eagles, *The Price of Defiance: James Meredith and the Integration of Ole Miss* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), pp.41, 80, 93, 221.
[39] Derek Catsam, ""Sic 'Em, White Folks!": Football, Massive Resistance and the Integration of Ole Miss." *Sport History Review,* Vol. 40 (2009), p.83.
[40] Eagles, *The Price of Defiance,* pp.201, 222-3, 239.
[41]Ibid: pp.222-3.
[42] Silver, "Mississippi: The Closed Society," p.20.

a public broadcast on September 13, 1962 declared "no school in our state will be integrated while I am your Governor. I shall do everything in my power to prevent integration in our schools."[43] The fight to preserve segregation and stall federal encroachment from the Kennedy administration was more imperative than ever.[44] The Ole Miss Riot of September 29, 1962 was the culmination of resistance to integration, federal intervention and an overwhelming sense their state rights had been diminished in the mobilisation of troops to uphold the court ruling granting admission to Meredith. October 1, 1962 witnessed the official desegregation of Ole Miss as Meredith successfully enrolled.[45] Mississippi could no longer preserve the sovereignty of the state in an in era of increasing federal intervention and wider consciousness that segregation could not always be justified.

As segregation began to crumble more widely across the states, Mississippi remained defiant. The 1964 Legislature introduced a series of bills that would ensure racial separatism in schools was still viable. Included in the Legislature was a bill to segregate schools by gender if covert racism could not be maintained. Furthermore, legislation was introduced to provide funds to change the status of schools to private if public schools are closed to lawfully satisfy Brown. Also extremely significant in the Legislature was the Anti-Freedom School Bills and the Anti-Summer Project Bill, designed to quell the rising activism from the Freedom Summer drive to register black Mississippians in the state.[46] However, Freedom Summer had far wider implications for Jim Crow than black voter registration. The Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) collectively organised to identify prevailing discrepancies in the education system also as they identified 32,196 black Mississippians had never been to school and 119,741 were illiterate.[47] To challenge the rising activism of integrationists in the state, the most important piece of legislature included was the Appropriation

[43] "Governor Barnett's Declaration to the People of Mississippi." *Ole Miss - John F. Kennedy Presidential Library & Museum* (1962) [http://microsites.jfklibrary.org/olemiss/controversy/doc2.html.] Accessed: January 21, 2016.
[44] Catsam, "Sic 'Em, White Folks!" p.83.
[45] Eagles, *The Price of Defiance*, pp.340-5, 371.
[46] "The Mississippi Legislature - 1964." *Civil Rights Movement Veterans* (1964) [http://www.crmvet.org/docs/6406_cofo_ms_leg-rpt.pdf] pp.2-5. Accessed: March 4, 2016.
[47] "Statistics on education, housing, income and employment, and health; June 1964," *The University of Southern Mississippi Libraries: Digital Collection* (1964) [http://digilib.usm.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/manu/id/565/rec/16] p.1. Accessed: March 23, 2016.

for the State Sovereignty Commission Senate Bill. This made available $450,000 of public money to supply and support the MSSC to continue their covert investigations into organisations such as the COFO to preserve state rights through intimidation and harassment.[48]

The Legislature from 1964 was extremely draconian in its practices. However, this is little surprise when assessing the officials behind the policies. Harned noted that the WCC claimed they were not a political organisation but of the 52 legislators, 10 of those were WCC members. In addition to this, legislators who were not known WCC members had close links to those who were.[49] This highlights the blurring of the lines between private and official Massive Resistance. The vitriolic racism that was demonstrated by the WCC in pamphlet and flyers had now seeped into official state practice. Coleman once disregarded the influence and practice of organisations. However, the strong show of WCC in official policy demonstrates that organisations were equally as important and influential in Massive Resistance.

As the Legislature dealt with Mississippi as a collective state, cities and counties continued to take segregationist matters into their own hands. Charles C. Bolton discussed the Clarksdale example of lawful segregation in the school system. After Clarksdale was ordered to establish school borders in 1964 on a non-racial basis, they split the city into a north-south divide. At face value, this appeared the fairest way to divide. However, white citizens mostly occupied the northern area of the city and black citizens, the south. The Clarksdale example showed that even ten years post-Brown, the ruling was still not federally imposed in Mississippi unanimously.[50] However, August 31, 1964 marked the desegregation of 4 elementary all-white Biloxi schools, the first in Mississippi to admit 23 black students.[51]

[48] Ibid: p.2.
[49] Katagiri, "Oral History with Horace H. Harned, Jr" p.3. See also: "The Mississippi Legislature – 1964," pp. 5-6.
[50] Bolton, *Hardest Deal of All,* p.89.
[51] Ibid: p.84.

In summary, it is evident that the commitment to preserve segregation in Mississippi's education system was stubborn and unyielding. Mississippi put up one of the staunchest fights to preserve segregation both in official policy and through organisations that produced an endless stream of rhetoric encouraging intimidation and harassment. The practices put in place to defy *Brown* and prevail beyond federal intervention is testament to how well supported and implemented they were. Organisations played a key part in the intimidation of prospective black students seeking to challenge segregation, however, ultimately the sophisticated legislation kept them out of schools for a sustained period. The cohesion between the MSSC, the WCC and the state officials is most prominently displayed in the 1964 Legislature where all three groups played a major role in the continuation of Jim Crow practices. Thus demonstrating that despite the various forms Massive Resistance assumed, it was a collective movement where the end goals were ultimately the same: to stall integration, to prevent federal encroachment, and to preserve state rights for as long as possible.

Chapter 2

Beaches, Swimming Pools and Stadiums: Preserving Purity in Public Amenities and Recreational Facilities

> During the period of 1954- 1965, Mississippi was generally regarded as being in the forefront of resistance to forced integration. It was the home of the organized Citizens' Councils, it had generally led the way in resistance to integration… It had generally put up the stoutest resistance and was in the forefront of the fight to preserve racial integrity.
>
> William Simmons, 1985.[52]

Much in the same way as *Brown*, it was hoped that district court rulings *Holmes vs. Atlanta* and *Dawson v. Mayor and City Council of Baltimore* would officially desegregate public amenities and recreational facilities. The rulings declared segregation unconstitutional in City and Municipal golf courses and beaches, bathhouses and recreation, respectively.[53] "Separate but equal" which the South had relied upon to maintain racial practices was officially considered obsolete.[54] Along with their educational institutions, recreational facilities accessible to black citizens were of a distinctly lower quality. The prospect of integration in these areas was strongly opposed. However, it is evident that resistance was more prevalent in close contact settings. The *Dawson* decision was particularly disturbing for southern segregationists. The desegregation of beaches and similar settings promoted prevalent theory of miscegenation and contamination. Despite this, J. Michael Butler rightly stated that it has been virtually untouched by historians when assessing Massive

[52] Blackside Inc. "Interview with William Simmons." *Eyes on the Prize Interviews* (1985) [http://digital.wustl.edu/e/eop/eopweb/sim0015.1044.097williamsimmons.html.] Accessed: December 1, 2015.
[53] "Holmes v. City of Atlanta, 124 F. Supp. 290 (N.D. Ga. 1954)," *Justia Law* (1954) [http://law.justia.com/cases/federal/district-courts/FSupp/124/290/1882491/.] Accessed April 12, 2016. See Also: "Robert M. Dawson, Jr., Et Al., Appellants, v. Mayor and City Council of Baltimore City Et Al," *Justia Law* (1955) [http://law.justia.com/cases/federal/appellate-courts/F2/220/386/78652/.] Accessed April 12, 2016.
[54] "Plessy v. Ferguson," *LII / Legal Information Institute* (1896) [https://www.law.cornell.edu/supremecourt/text/163/537.] Accessed: April 12, 2016.

Resistance practices in Mississippi.[55] Therefore this chapter will seek to explore what practices the Massive Resistance ranks implemented to preserve segregation in amenities and facilities. It will also assess which, if any, was most effective.

When assessing the mobilisation of resistance in this sector, it is imperative to consider the battle lines that were drawn over the contested integration of the 26 mile long stretch of beach in Biloxi, Mississippi. In his autobiography, Dr Gilbert R. Mason discussed the wade-ins, first conducted May 14, 1959, as he led 9 black citizens into the waters to test beach segregation in Mississippi's first "nonviolence civil disobedience campaign."[56] Prominent historian Charles C. Bolton also details the wade-ins as Mississippi's "first direct-action civil rights protest."[57] After confrontation from the police, Mason and Murray J. Saucier Jr., attempted to reason with Assistant Police Chief Walter Williams. Their insistence that the publically funded beach should not prohibit black tax payers ultimately fell on deaf ears.[58]

Mason's account of his efforts to desegregate the beaches and the threats and intimidation he received is a strong source when considering the actions of the white supremacists. Despite the cautious nature that one must take when assessing the reliability of an autobiography, particularly when it is written decades after the events detailed, there is further evidence to support his version of events. The MSSC reports make reference to Mason's involvement in the desegregation attempts in the latter half of 1959 and he was kept on constant surveillance throughout his years of activism.[59] The MSSC was ultimately "dedicated to the preservation of segregation in the state" and it's

[55] J. Michael Butler, "The Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission and Beach Integration, 1959-1963: A Cotton-patch Gestapo?" *Journal of Southern History* Vol. 68, No. 1 (2002), p.107.
[56] Gilbert R. Mason, M.D. and James Patterson Smith, *Beaches, Blood, and Ballots: A Black Doctor's Civil Rights Struggle* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2000), p.49.
[57] Charles C. Bolton, *Hardest Deal of All: The Battle Over School Integration in Mississippi, 1870-1980* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2007), p.85.
[58] Butler, "The Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission and Beach Integration," pp.114-5.
[59] Zack J. Van Landingham, "SCR ID # 2-56-1-11-1-1-1, Sovereignty Commission Online." *Mississippi Department of Archives and History* (1959)
[http://mdah.state.ms.us/arrec/digital_archives/sovcom/result.php?image=images/png/cd03/021448.png&otherstuff=2|56|1|11|1|1|1|20987|#.] Accessed: January 31, 2016.

profiling and monitoring of activists during this period is particularly striking.[60] They became one of the most important factors in preserving segregation on the beaches. Dr Mason's home address, work address, car and profession was all kept on file and monitored along with other suspected activists. Butler's assessment of the MSSC as a "Cotton-patch Gestapo" is credible, their practices and intimidation is reminiscent of a terror police state.[61] Paradoxically, the MSSC was responsible for reserving state liberties whilst infiltrating not only blacks, but also white Mississippians' privacy.

The wade-ins sparked racial tensions as old fears of miscegenation discussed by David Levenerez prompted white resistance to mobilise over fears of vulnerable, white women in close proximity to black men. [62] An editorial published June 26, 1959, in the *Gulfport Pictorial Review* stated "it would be very dangerous to try mixing races on this beach" and emphasised the differing morals of the two races.[63] However, this did not deter efforts to test integration. On September 30, 1959, Mason sent a letter to the Board of Supervisors along with three collaborators to petition against the segregation of the beach.[64] White citizens mobilised through violence and intimidation to keep black citizens off the beach. Joseph Austin, one of the collaborators emphasised that they were not looking to integrate, only to have a section they could use themselves. However, Austin was also the victim of intimidation after a cross was lit in his backyard. [65] Mason's outright condemnation of

[60] Butler, "The Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission and Beach Integration," p.109.
[61]Van Landingham, "SCR ID # 2-56-1-11-1-1-1"; Bob Thomas. "SCR ID # 5-4-0-51-1-1-1, Sovereignty Commission Online." *Mississippi Department of Archives and History* (1959) [http://mdah.state.ms.us/arrec/digital_archives/sovcom/result.php?image=images/png/cd02/011869.png.] Accessed: February 8, 2016. See also: Butler, "The Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission and Beach Integration," p.107.
[62] David Leverenz, *Honor Bound: Race and Shame in America* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2012), pp.40-1.
[63] Gulfport Pictorial Review (1959) quoted in Butler, "The Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission and Beach Integration," p.115.
[64] Gilbert R. Mason, "SCR ID # 5-4-0-2-1-1-1, Sovereignty Commission Online." *Mississippi Department of Archives and History* (1959) [http://mdah.state.ms.us/arrec/digital_archives/sovcom/result.php?image=images/png/cd02/011759.png&otherstuff=5|4|0|1|1|1|1|11520|#] Accessed: March 2, 2016.
[65] Zack J. Van Landingham, "SCR ID # 5-4-0-1-1-1-1, Sovereignty Commission Online." *Mississippi Department of Archives and History* (1959) [http://mdah.state.ms.us/arrec/digital_archives/sovcom/result.php?image=images/png/cd02/011759.png&otherstuff=5|4|0|1|1|1|1|11520|#] p.1. Accessed: March 2, 2016.

Austin's suggestions implies that voluntary segregation would not be accepted. The appeasement of a proposed development for a private black beach was also heavily criticised.[66]

The 'Bloody Wade-in' or 'Bloody Sunday' occurred on April 24, 1960. Clemmon Perry Jimerson Sr., then 14 years old, details his involvement in the non-violent, integration protest on Biloxi's beach.[67] Organised by Dr Mason, the protest involved approximately 125 black men, women and children, unhappy with the lack of response from the government to desegregate the beach.[68] Jimerson recounts it was mostly women and children as men could not afford to lose their jobs through the protest. Those involved took to the beaches in three separate groups to exercise their rights. However, the white citizens quickly took notice of the protest consequently turning the situation violent.[69]

White segregationists attacked the protesters with weapons and severely injured at least fifteen of the protestors.[70] They also burnt the possessions of those who had fled the beach in fear.[71] The fight to preserve racial separatism was at its strongest when close contact in open waters was almost unavoidable. The following day an article was published in the *Clarion-Ledger* detailing the event. The article details the arrests of black participants, however, there were no arrests made of the white mob.[72] This highlights the collusion between white, violent segregationists and the police. The police stood back and watched the violence, arresting any black citizens who acted in self-defence yet failed to arrest those responsible for inciting it in the first place.

---

[66] Zack J. Van Landingham, "SCR ID # 5-4-0-12-2-1-1, Sovereignty Commission Online." *Mississippi Department of Archives and History* (1959) [http://mdah.state.ms.us/arrec/digital_archives/sovcom/result.php?image=images/png/cd02/011785.png&otherstuff=5|4|0|12|2|1|1|11546|#] p.2. Accessed: March 2, 2016.

[67] Curtis Austin, "An Oral History with Clemon Perry Jimerson Sr.," *University of Southern Mississippi Libraries: Digital Collections* [http://digilib.usm.edu/cdm/ref/collection/coh/id/15672] pp. 3-6. Accessed: March 13, 2016.

[68] Butler, "The Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission and Beach Integration," p.107.

[69] Austin, "An Oral History with Clemon Perry Jimerson Sr.," pp. 7, 9.

[70] Butler, "The Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission and Beach Integration," p.107.

[71] Austin, "An Oral History with Clemon Perry Jimerson Sr.," p.11.

[72]"SCR ID # 5-4-0-17-1-1-1, Sovereignty Commission Online." *Mississippi Department of Archives and History* (1960) [http://mdah.state.ms.us/arrec/digital_archives/sovcom/result.php?image=images/png/cd02/011799.png&otherstuff=5|4|0|17|1|1|1|11560|#]

However, the beaches were not an isolated incident in the fight to preserve white supremacy. Public swimming pools also became key areas to maintain control. Prominent theory of black immorality corrupting white virtue in open waters and fears of miscegenation meant that integrating pools carried not only racial tensions but also heavy sexual undertones.[73] This was reminiscent of the WCC's prominent preaching of the inferiority of blacks and the fear that integration would lead to the destabilisation of society. Popular belief of black citizens having "higher rates of syphilis and lower moral standards" reinforced the commitment to segregation and the need to maintain white supremacy.[74]

Resistance over the integration of pools manifested itself in different ways. As demonstrated in the previous chapter, one relied upon method to prevent integration was to close the facility itself. This method was adopted at the Stonewall Pool. To prevent calls for continued integration, the facility was shut in 1969.[75] This showed the commitment to segregation as white residents would rather go without amenities and facilities than share them with the black population. In addition to this, Obie Clark discussed the practices taken by officials in the city of Meridian to maintain segregation. By making the Highland Park Pool a private entity, much in the same way they did with educational facilities, they could officially maintain segregation through exploiting loopholes. Membership would only be granted through the payment of a $25 membership fee and the approval of five current members of the admission.[76] This ensured that black citizens would not gain membership as no five white members would vouch for them.

This method was exploited by city officials in Meridian from 1959 up until its eventual integration in 1970, when the pool was recognised as a public facility once more.[77] Although some

[73] P. Caleb Smith. "Reflections in the Water: Society and Recreational Facilities, a Case Study of Public Swimming Pools in Mississippi." *Southeastern Geographer* Vol. 52, No. 1 (2012) pp.42-43.
[74] Ibid: p.43.
[75] Ibid: p.40.
[76] Donald Williams, "An Oral History with Obie Clark," *Civil Rights Documentation Project, Oral History Transcripts* [http://www.blackinformationhighway.com/An Oral History with Obie Clark on Civil_Rights.pdf.] pp. 12-13.
[77] Smith. "Reflections in the Water," pp.46-47.

provisions were made in the 1950s and 1960s to provide more black pools to appease the rising black activism, this still maintained the segregationist status quo.[78] This highlighted that Massive Resistance was not only conducted by the general public on a grass-roots level, it became part of state legislature and influenced state officials, showing that it had seeped into the complete hierarchy of society.

Segregation was also prevalent in recreational areas such as fairgrounds and parks. These regions were seen as hosting grounds for young people to mix with the opposite sex and provided an unadulterated setting for this to occur. Therefore, they received the same treatment as beaches and pools due to their link with racial mixing and sexual tensions. Although the literature is fairly limited on this subject and in particular in Mississippi, it is evident that segregation of fairgrounds and parks became the status quo across America. They became the perfect setting to defy segregation due to old ideas of the destabilisation of society tied in with the encroachment of black influence on innocent romance between young, white couples.[79] However, in the published MSSC reports, there is evidence of attempts to integrate parks and playgrounds by a white minister, Rev. Orlo Kauffman.[80] The investigator noted that Kauffman's attempts were unsupported as he had "gone further than the Negroes desired" and therefore his efforts were ultimately unsuccessful.[81]

This demonstrates that as well as there being no consensus for segregation, there was no consensus for integration also. Evidently, racial etiquette influenced both movements and often the idea of co-existing appeared more desirable than fully integrating. However, Francoise N. Hamlin noted that the violence and murder of black citizens in Mississippi, most prominent Emmett Till, ensured that most were afraid to speak out and support integration. Much in the same way as

[78] Ibid: p.46.
[79] Victoria W. Wolcott, *Race, Riots, and Roller Coasters: The Struggle Over Segregated Recreation in America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), pp.1-2.
[80] Zack J. Van Landingham, "SCR ID # 1-23-0-30-1-1-1, Sovereignty Commission Online." *Mississippi Department of Archives and History* (1959) [http://mdah.state.ms.us/arrec/digital_archives/sovcom/result.php?image=images/png/cd01/001568.png&otherstuff=1|23|0|30|1|1|1|] Accessed: February 12, 2016.
[81] Ibid.

reluctance by black educators to demonstrate proactive integrationist support, this reluctance was evidently felt by the wider population. The attempts of white liberals such as Kauffman only stood to antagonise the supremacists further.[82]

Despite prominent tensions arising over close contact facilities, segregation was also rife in other areas. Sports fields and arenas became a battleground for spreading supremacist rhetoric. Chants such as "Never, No, Never" demonstrated defiance to the posed integration of Ole Miss.[83] Sport was a dominant pastime of the American nation and therefore the efforts to keep it segregated were particularly vehement. Russell J. Henderson supported this notion as he stated, "segregated sports demonstrated that Jim Crow was incompatible with American democratic principles."[84] Jason A. Peterson refers to this "closed society"- first coined by James W. Silver - in his article on the Junior Rose Bowl of December 10, 1955, in relation to the segregated nature of college sports teams in Mississippi. The prospect of the all-white Jones County Junior College football team playing an integrated Compton County College squad appalled Mississippi's segregationists.[85]

Newspapers and their deliberate omissions of the integrated nature of the competition formed an integral part of the story. Once public knowledge, the backlash spread like wildfire. Fredrick Sullen, editor of the prominent *Jackson Daily News* expressed his outrage that Jones County would face an integrated squad. He referred to it as "the most unfortunate thing to happen in connection with the segregation question since that infamous ruling of the United States Supreme Court was rendered," in reference to *Brown*.[86] The widespread condemnation in a dominant

[82] Francoise N. Hamlin, "Collision and Collusion: Local Activism, Local Agency, and Flexible Alliances," in Ted Ownby (ed.), *The Civil Rights Movement in Mississippi* (University Press of Mississippi: Jackson, 2013), p.46.
[83] Charles W. Eagles, *The Price of Defiance: James Meredith and the Integration of Ole Miss* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), pp. 333-4. For the "Never, No, Never" chant, see also: Derek Catsam, ""Sic 'Em, White Folks!": Football, Massive Resistance and the Integration of Ole Miss," *Sport History Review* Vol. 40 (2009), p.88.
[84] Russell J. Henderson, "The 1963 Mississippi State University Basketball Controversy and the Repeal of the Unwritten Law: "Something more than the game will be lost,"" *The journal of Southern History,* Vol. 63, No. 4 (1997), p.827.
[85] Jason A. Peterson. '"They Deserve a Stinging Defeat": How Mississippi Newspapers' Coverage of the 1955 Junior Rose Bowl Protected the Closed Society', *American Journalism*, Vol. 29. No. 2 (2012), p.93. See also: James W. Silver, "Mississippi: The Closed Society," *The Journal of Southern History,* Vol. 30, No.1 (1964) p.3.
[86]Peterson. '"They Deserve a Stinging Defeat,"" pp. 99-100, 108.

Mississippian newspaper fuelled popular objections to desegregation and aided in the recruitment for the Massive Resistance cause.

Governor J.P. Coleman was quoted in the *Jackson Daily News* stating, "If the game were played in Mississippi, there would be a definite violation of public policy of this state." Crucially, however, an integrated squad did not break any laws but did undermine Jim Crow practices. [87] Henderson noted that after the Jones County defeat to Compton, Mississippi legislators adopted an unwritten law that prohibited competing against integrated teams at college level.[88] This demonstrates the insecure nature of Massive Resistance. Mississippians were so unwilling to lose to an integrated team, they compromised their own opportunities for success.

This fear over the infiltration of sport continued throughout the 1950s and 1960s. On 25 November, 1961, the *Jackson Daily News* ran a segment on the deterioration of American pastime sports due to the influx of ethnic minority sportsmen. It predicted that "the same group that killed boxing and is dooming baseball will soon take over professional football and it, too, will perish for lack of appreciation"[89] This portrays the fear over the desegregation of society as it was predicted that desegregating sport would cause a chain reaction throughout the rest of society. This played on old fears of the end of modern civilisation publically emphasised by the WCC.

However, the 1960s also witnessed a shift in attitudes as the unwritten law Mississippi sport teams abided by had far wider implications than the Junior Rose Bowl. Henderson noted it was also prevalent at Mississippi State University (MSU) and hampered potential achievements through their refusal to participate in integrated competitions. The basketball team were prohibited by the College Board to compete in the National Collegiate Athletic Association due to the integrated nature of the tournament. However, a combination of changing attitudes and refusal to compromise any further

[87] Ibid: p.93-4, 100.
[88] Henderson, "The 1963 Mississippi State University Basketball Controversy," p.829.
[89] James M. Ward, (ed.) "Boxing Gone, Baseball Next?" *Jackson Daily News* (1961) in *Citizens' Council Collection, Archives and Special Collections, University of Mississippi Libraries* [http://clio.lib.olemiss.edu/utils/getfile/collection/citizens/id/1141/filename/1141.pdfpage]

opportunities signalled a shift in the University's stance by 1963. Head coach, James H. McCarthy encouraged the public to support the team in accepting the bid to compete in the 1963 tournament. Massive Resistance had limited white opportunities as well as black. Incensed by this, the public inundated college officials, politicians and Governor Ross Barnett with pleas to allow the team to compete. MSU officially accepted the bid to compete on March 2, 1963.[90]

Although well supported by the public, the decision exasperated Billy Mitts and B.W. Lawson, state senator and former state senator respectively. An injunction was served on March 13, prior to the scheduled departure of the team for the game, preventing them from leaving the state. Legalities were once again exploited to justify the injunction which the Supreme Court officially ruled was unconstitutional. MSU successfully evaded state officials and competed in the tournament. Although they lost to the integrated Loyola team, the game had far wider implications than just the score on the board.[91] It demonstrated that the self-imposed restrictions Mississippi had placed on itself could no longer be justified. The social and political ramifications of the game on race relations and breaking down racial barriers is still remembered and championed today.

In conclusion, the fight to preserve segregation in public amenities and recreational facilities was just as significant as in the education system. The employment of similar strategic tactics to maintain segregation and prevent federal encroachment was arguably more efficient than the violence and intimidation witnessed in the wade-ins. It is evident that racial tensions were particularly amplified in open waters due to sexual tensions and fear of miscegenation. However, they were also increasingly prevalent in sport as it was feared black sportsmen would outshine their white counterparts. This demonstrates the flawed nature of the supremacist ideology of the time. 'Fear of the unknown' played an integral part in the maintenance of Jim Crow. These fears and preconceptions were further exploited by the prominent segregationist organisations of the period, the MSSC and WCC in maintaining state rights. State resistance of exploiting ambiguities in

[90] Ibid: pp.831-46.
[91] Ibid: pp. 847-52.

legislation was once again adopted and formed a significant function of Massive Resistance. Although some areas witnessed a shift in attitudes as demonstrated in the discussion of the MSU basketball team, this was not unanimous. The longevity of stalling integration even beyond the 1960s indicates how deeply ingrained supremacist ideology was in society.

Chapter 3
A Commitment to Compassionate Care? Desegregating Mississippi's Health Care System

> Only one black physician in the state had been admitted to its medical society. Black patients admitted to hospitals are housed in basements or crowded into the halls. Everything in these hospitals is separate, except the sewage, they allow that to flow together.
>
> C.A. Darden, 1957.[1]

As discussed in the previous chapter, prominent theory of the biological inferiority of black citizens of Mississippi also separated the races in terms of health care, access and employment opportunities in the profession. However, this was not exclusive to Mississippi but more of a Southern issue. Emerging theory in the early 20th Century suggested that the high mortality rate and rising morbidity of black citizens was the result of their inferior biological make-up which amplified tensions in the South.[2] However, it is important to note that resistance in the health care system was different to that documented in the education system and recreational facilities. Although there is no profound organised resistance as witnessed in the previous chapters, resistance developed behind closed doors and in official policies making it more of a professional than a public issue.[3] This contributes to why the literature on the subject is slim. There is a distinct lack of documents accessible to the general public and the absence of prominent integration and segregation battles has left it virtually untouched by historians. Mississippi's hospitals, both private and publically funded, were virtually completely desegregated by the late 1960s. However, there is significant debate over why this was

[1] C.A Darden quoted in David Barton Smith, "The Politics of Racial Disparities: Desegregating the Hospitals in Jackson, Mississippi," *The Milbank Quarterly*, Vol. 83, No. 2 (2005), p.248.
[2]Andrea Patterson, "Germs and Jim Crow: The Impact of Microbiology on Public Health Policies in Progressive Era American South," *Journal of the History of Biology* Vol. 42, No. 3, (2009), pp. 530-1.
[3] E.H. Beardsley, "Good-bye to Jim Crow: The Desegregation of Southern Hospitals, 1945-70," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, Vol. 60, No. 3 (1986), p.367.

the case. Was it simply a commitment to compassionate care that extended beyond racial barriers or the realisation that segregation was too costly and too impractical to continue?[4]

As much as black physicians were disadvantaged in the USA more widely, their options were particularly limited in the South. By 1955 there were only 47 black doctors in Mississippi, the same number as 1945 showing little advancement in opportunities post World War Two.[5] Hospitals and training facilities were still largely segregated in the South. Prospective black medical staff attended separate, segregated institutions and trained in separate facilities.[6] Dr Robert Smith discussed how Mississippi did not provide the training for prospective black physicians. He had to attend Howard University in Washington D.C. to receive his M.D. status.[7] Even in occasions where black doctors were employed in predominantly white institutions, Dr Gilbert R. Mason noted that they were not given the same staff privileges as their white colleagues.[8]

Furthermore, the American Medical Association (AMA), a national body representing the medical profession, was still largely segregated. The AMA adopted tactics, much in the same way as Mississippi's private swimming associations. Membership would only be granted on approval of three white physicians. Hospitals exploited this to keep black physicians off the pay roll. Membership to the AMA was stipulated in the job requirements to ensure that segregation could be covertly maintained.[9] However, lack of opportunities in the system was not limited to medical professionals. The provision of care to black patients was particularly bleak. Smith noted "some hospitals wouldn't admit blacks at all. Others, a dingy, segregated ward."[10]

---

[4] Smith, "The Politics of Racial Disparities," pp.263-4.
[5] Gilbert R. Mason, M.D. and James Patterson Smith, *Beaches, Blood, and Ballots: A Black Doctor's Civil Rights Struggle* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2000), p.37.
[6] Smith, "The Politics of Racial Disparities," p.248.
[7] Harriet Tanzman, "'An Oral History with Robert Smith, M.D.' in The Civil Rights Documentation Project: The Canton, Jackson, and Gulf Coast Movements" *The University of Southern Mississippi Libraries: Digital Collections* (2000) [http://digilib.usm.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/coh/id/11046/rec/4] p.262. Accessed: March 20, 2016.
[8] Mason and Smith, *Beaches, Blood, and Ballots,* p.35.
[9] Tanzman, "'An Oral History with Robert Smith, M.D.,'" p.264.
[10] Ibid.

Despite this, there were some early instances of integration in Mississippi, most notable through the Veterans Administration (V.A.) hospital in Jackson. Incidentally, it was also the site of the first small section of integrated beach accessible to black citizens.[11] The nature of V.A. hospitals as federally funded and administered institutions afforded them some degree of reprieve from the Massive Resistance ranks. As they were federally funded, the state had little authority over their practices. Nevertheless, it is clear that there was resistance to the way the V.A. operated. Legislation in 1954 donated state land in Jackson to build a new facility with federal funds of $15 million. However, once it was recognised that this institution would be integrated, and funds would only be administered under this stipulation, a bill was introduced to withdraw the land.[12]

The MSSC online archive is a rich source of information when establishing the resistance to the V.A. Hospital. Although they were restricted from conducting formal investigations into federal property, there are a number of texts which highlight the arguments for and against supporting the proposed integrated building.[13] Senator Earl Evans Jr., in a letter to Ney Gore the executive director of the MSSC, lobbied for aggressive action into preventing integration of the hospital so as not to appear inconsistent in their fight to preserve segregation.[14] However, in a meeting with the Council of Administration, July 29, 1956, it was detailed that segregation was not always viable in a hospital, veterans who required care should be treated on the basis of need over race. [15] It is evident that there was a conflict between providing non-discriminatory care and protecting state sovereignty.

---

[11] Curtis Austin, "An Oral History with Clemon Perry Jimerson Sr.," *University of Southern Mississippi Libraries: Digital Collections* (2011) [http://digilib.usm.edu/cdm/ref/collection/coh/id/15672] p.4. Accessed: March 13, 2016.

[12] Smith, "The Politics of Racial Disparities," pp.254-5.

[13] Joe T. Patterson, "SCR ID # 2-77-0-11-2-1-1**,** Sovereignty Commission Online", *Mississippi Department of Archives and History* (1956)
[http://mdah.state.ms.us/arrec/digital_archives/sovcom/result.php?image=images/png/cd04/030445.png&otherstuff=2|77|0|11|2|1|1|29905|] pp.1-2. Accessed: February 22, 2016.

[14] Earl Evans, Jr. "SCR ID # 2-77-0-5-1-1-1, Sovereignty Commission Online", *Mississippi Department of Archives and History* (1956)
[http://mdah.state.ms.us/arrec/digital_archives/sovcom/result.php?image=images/png/cd04/030436.png&otherstuff=2|77|0|5|1|1|1|29896|#] pp.1-2. Accessed: February 22, 2016.

[15] "SCR ID # 2-77-0-1-1-1-1, Sovereignty Commission Online", *Mississippi Department of Archives and History* (1958)
[http://mdah.state.ms.us/arrec/digital_archives/sovcom/result.php?image=images/png/cd04/030427.png&otherstuff=2|77|0|1|1|1|1|29887|#] pp.1-3. Accessed: February 22, 2016.

However, it also shows hypocrisy, that Mississippians were willing to allow black Americans to preserve democracy and end injustices through war, but were unwilling to treat them as equals in the health care system.

Despite this, there were also clear discrepancies in the stance from military officials themselves. Even those who were segregationist advocates supported the new V.A. building. A document enclosed in the MSSC files, author unknown, stated that the nature of the building which comprised of separate cubicles and rooms ensured segregation was still viable. It also stipulates that racial attitudes should not compromise the health care of war veterans.[16] By determining that segregation could still be maintained, this was an appeasement to the segregationists to support the V.A. building. Conflictingly, Daniel R. Patterson, State Commander of the Disabled American Veterans organisation argues that integration would negatively affect the patient. He reaffirms the view that treatment should be placed above integration, however, emphasises that treatment of veterans will be compromised in the process.[17]

Federal intervention was evidently a prominent contributory factor for why Massive Resistance was limited in this sense as state rights could not be utilised in federally funded and maintained buildings. Furthermore, the flight of physicians and medical staff to the more integrated North in the 1950s contributes to why there was little prominent black activism in the state. [18] Much in the same way as black educators in the wake of *Brown*, those who did not leave Mississippi were unwilling to openly support integrationist movements for fear of losing their job and social standing. This further supports the notion that Massive Resistance relied on non-activism of black citizens as

[16] "SCR ID # 2-77-0-2-1-1-1, Sovereignty Commission Online", *Mississippi Department of Archives and History*, (1958) [http://mdah.state.ms.us/arrec/digital_archives/sovcom/result.php?image=images/png/cd04/030430.png&otherstuff=2|77|0|2|1|1|1|29890|#] p.1. Accessed: February 22, 2016.

[17] "SCR ID # 2-77-0-3-1-1-1, Sovereignty Commission Online", *Mississippi Department of Archives and History*, (1958) [http://mdah.state.ms.us/arrec/digital_archives/sovcom/result.php?image=images/png/cd04/030431.png&otherstuff=2|77|0|3|1|1|1|29891|] pp.3-4. Accessed: February 23, 2016.

[18] Tanzman, "'An Oral History with Robert Smith, M.D.'" p.265.

much as mobilisation of whites.[19] Robert Smith highlighted the 'Gestapo-like' nature of the MSSC as his integrationist activism with the local NAACP was quickly investigated. Smith was given a formal warning by his liberal employer, under normal circumstances any black physician openly against the status quo would be dismissed from duty.[20]

The oral testimony given by Smith provides a valuable insight into the conditions of state health in the 1960s. He referred to Mississippi as a "third-world country" due to the nature of illnesses present and the lack of access to adequate care. He also demonstrated there was a national consciousness of the situation in Mississippi. Smith recalls a sympathetic white nurse in Cook County hospital in Chicago. The nurse stole basic medical supplies to give to Smith as she was aware of the lack of medical provisions he would have access to on his move down to Mississippi. This indicates that despite an often nationally present segregated health care system, Mississippi was particularly notorious for its below standard health care for black citizens. In this sense it was separate but certainly was not equal.[21]

Despite this, the 1960s also witnessed a rise in activism as more physicians and medical staff were willing to speak out against unfair practices and treatment. The all-encompassing nature of COFO as a collective organisation to improve human rights made it a particularly important organisation in identifying and combating discrimination in the health care system. Their aim was to provide adequate medical care and give advice on available "federal, state and local aid."[22] A report published on disadvantage and difficulty in 1964 but covering the years 1961-2 is particularly

[19] Beardsley, "Good-bye to Jim Crow," p.268.
[20] Tanzman, "'An Oral History with Robert Smith, M.D.'" pp.263-4.

[21] Tanzman, "'An Oral History with Robert Smith, M.D.,'" pp.264-6.
[22] Council of Federated Organizations, "COFO Program (Winter 1964 - Spring 1965)," *University of Southern Mississippi Libraries: Digital Collection* (1964) [http://digilib.usm.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/manu/id/2959/rec/10.] pp.1-2. Accessed: February 28, 2016.

insightful. Rachel Brown collectively analysed the health care services in Mississippi drawing on statistics from a number of counties to identify discrepancies and form a basis for improvement.[23]

Brown identified that of all the unsupervised births in the year 1961, totalling 14,442, only 140 of the women were white. Black citizens had little access to licenced physicians through both cost and discrimination.[24] Even in instances when black women had access to a physician to aid in birth, they were still on the receiving end of racism. Rita Walker provided a personal account of her experience of giving birth. She detailed the lack of adequate medical care and professionalism shown by doctors and medical staff due to her status as a black woman. Further emphasising how even when black citizens had the necessary funds to access more superior care, they were still disadvantaged.[25] It is little surprise that between 1957 and 1962 infant mortality in black children increased. Inferior treatment and disadvantage prevailed from the cradle to the grave. The report identifies that beyond infancy, diseases linked to poverty and deficiencies were identified in school children in school health programmes. Nutrition deficiencies, intestinal parasites and dental issues were among the most prevalent, however, they were identified in both races.[26] This indicates that disadvantage was not explicitly linked to race, poverty was equally interconnected.

Furthermore, the report identifies the number of black medical professionals in comparison to their white counterparts. The use of the 1960 census reveals the continued segregation in the allied health systems. Black medical staff made up just over 6% of total medical staff, and 4% of the total number of physicians. The only instance they were not a severe minority was in midwifery. Of the 919 practicing midwives in the state in 1963, only 10 of these were white women. However, this does not indicate changing attitudes in the segregated health care system. There was no formal

[23] Rachel Brown, "Medical Care and the Mississippi Negro, COFO, 1964," *Brown-Tougaloo Exchange* (1964) [http://cds.library.brown.edu/projects/FreedomNow/do_search_single.php?searchid=10191] pp.1-18. Accessed: November 25, 2015.
[24] Ibid: p.2.
[25] Rita Walker, "Life in Mississippi: Negro Motherhood." *The University of Southern Mississippi Libraries: Digital Collection (*1964)
[http://digilib.usm.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/manu/id/1341/rec/9.] pp.1-2. Accessed: March 3, 2016.
[26] Brown, "Medical Care and the Mississippi Negro," p.8.

method of training to be a midwife, skills were learnt on job and a license was only granted when the staff member was deemed qualified enough.[27] Therefore, it evidently did not carry the same status or respectability as it does today.

However, 1964 also witnessed the formation of the Medical Committee for Human Rights (MCHR). The MCHR was established to provide care to civil rights workers and black Mississippians caught up in the violence of Freedom Summer.[28] Alongside COFO, both organisations sought to tackle prevailing discrepancies and provide an all-encompassing health care system for the population of Mississippi regardless of race, age or class. John Dittmer discussed the importance of MCHR as approximately 100 medical staff flocked to Mississippi to provide invaluable and innovative care. However, their contribution is also largely overlooked due to the constant rotation of staff and their refusal to practice in the public eye.[29]

It is important to note COFO and MCHR were integrated organisations. They relied on participation of both white and black medical staff and volunteers. This demonstrates that resistance in the health care system was not unanimous. Many white medical staff advocated for improved rights of black citizens. One key example of this is Kathleen Dahl, a white registered nurse who also advocated for fair treatment of blacks in hospital. In a document produced in 1964, she details the small allocation of hospital beds in Mississippi hospitals for black patients which were often used to cope with white demand. Dahl stated "negroes distrust their local hospitals and go only when absolutely necessary."[30] This highlights that despite attempts to tackle disadvantage and discrimination, black citizens continued to receive below par care. Furthermore, medical care was

[27] Ibid: pp.4, 13.
[28] Harriet Tanzman, "'An Oral History with Robert Smith, M.D.,'" pp.266.
[29] John Dittmer, *Local People: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Mississippi* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1995), pp.264, 335.
[30] Kathleen Dahl, "Newsletter by Kathy Dahl from Freedom House, Holly Springs, Mississippi," *University of Southern Mississippi Libraries: Digital Collection* (1964) [http://digilib.usm.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/manu/id/1295/rec/8.] Accessed February 28, 2016.

expensive, the lack of opportunities in education and employment contributed to an overall suppression of black rights, limiting their ability to access quality medical treatments.[31]

Despite this, two significant pieces of legislation were implemented in the 1960s to improve access and opportunity in health care. After the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that made segregation unconstitutional, President Lyndon B. Johnson further implemented legislation to improve the quality of health care across America. Medicare and Medicaid were established through the Social Security Amendments of 1965, implemented in 1966 to combat discrepancies in treatment and give access to the elderly and the poor respectively.[32] Although designed to revolutionise health care more widely, it had clear significance in Mississippi due to the below standard of care. The clause that dictated hospitals would receive no federal support if they were not fully integrated had a clear designed impact to completely desegregate hospitals nationally. This ensured that hospitals were virtually desegregated by the late 1960s. However, Smith demonstrated that despite positive federal intervention, the legislation had little impact in Mississippi. In 1966, only 34% of the hospital beds in Jackson were considered desegregated. [33]

In conclusion, resistance in the health care system was profoundly different to resistance discussed in previous chapters. The lack of documents due to patient confidentiality and hospital policy presents difficulties in analysing the depth of resistance. Furthermore, there is little known about the nature of opposition to integration in health care as it did not attract the same attention as more prevalent segregation battles. Hospitals and the medical profession are not as relatable to as resistance in education and recreation. The specialised nature of health ensured that resistance remained a professional issue than a public one. Despite this, the conflict between providing indiscriminate care and maintaining segregation was evidently prevalent. The resistance over the

[31] Ibid
[32] Marilyn Moon, "Health policy 2001: Medicare," *The New England Journal of Medicine,* Vol. 344, No. 12 (2001), p.928. See also: Mary Beth Hamel Et Al, "Medicare at 50 -- Origins and Evolution," *The New England Journal of Medicine,* Vol. 372, No. 5 (2015), pp. 479-80.
[33] Smith, "The Politics of Racial Disparities," p.250.

establishment of an integrated V.A. building is particularly significant. The assurance that segregation would be maintained covertly quell resistance highlights how entitled the Massive Resistance ranks were. However, it is evident that Mississippians were not disadvantaged in the health care system solely on their race. Poverty played a vital part in the prevailing discrepancies in public health as both races suffered from deficiency related diseases. Furthermore, federal intervention was significant in the lack of prominent resistance, however, as demonstrated with the Medicare and Medicaid bills, intervention did not always ensure equality.

Conclusion

It is evident that beyond the perceptions of Mississippian segregationists as thuggish brutes, there was a sophisticated approach to underpin Jim Crow practices and stall integration. One overarching theme of resistance prevalent in all three chapters was the reliance on exploiting ambiguities in legislation. This gave credibility to Massive Resistance and was evidently more effective in stalling federal intervention than violent tactics. As demonstrated in Chapter one, in reference to defying federally mandated schools, violence and intimidation served a purpose in stirring up vitriolic rhetoric, however, the legislation adopted and implemented by the Governors ultimately maintained separate institutions. This was most prominent in the analysis of the Pupil Placement policy as redefining the school borders provided a covert tactic of resistance more successful than open defiance.[1]

Furthermore, there has been an effort to demonstrate the integral part racial theory and fears of miscegenation played in amplifying tensions in Mississippi. Evidently, this was exploited through organisations like the WCC who promoted their segregationist rhetoric to gain further support. However, their importance cannot be overlooked. The belief that black citizens carried sexually transmitted infections and were biological inferiors served a purpose in providing a false pretense for the Massive Resistance ranks to exploit. This dependency to justify practices was most evident in health and close contact settings. However, it was also prevalent in education as black citizens were likened to the termites of society who would go on to cause a complete social disorder.

This dissertation has also sought to identify the limitations of both Massive Resistance and the legislation to overcome it. As evident with the *Brown* and *Brown II* rulings, ambiguities in the legislation to tackle racism were exploited to further preserve it. However, federal intervention to desegregate schools in the 1960s in Mississippi demonstrated the loss of influence state sovereignty

[1] Anders Walker, *The Ghost of Jim Crow: How Southern Moderates Used Brown V Board of Education to Stall the Civil Rights Movement* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp.39-40.

held as centralised enforcement belittled state rights. However, Chapter three demonstrates the limitations of federal intervention itself. David Barton Smith identified that the prominent health care legislation implemented in the 1960s – Medicare and Medicaid- was limited in its success as discrepancies are still present in Mississippi's health care system.[2]

The use of important online archives has greatly aided the dissertation to investigate beyond the available literature. The MSSC archive, in particular, has provided invaluable opportunities to enhance understanding on the topic. Without the publication of this online archive, the dissertation will have been limited in understanding health and recreation issues in great depth. Furthermore, the wealth of oral testimonies has further enhanced analysis on the topic as in-depth and personalised accounts have added a human side to the often mechanically discussed topic.

Although this dissertation has only focused on the period up until the latter half of the 1960s, it is evident that discrimination and discrepancies prevail beyond this period. The Civil Rights Bills and integration legislation did not revolutionise old southern thinking overnight. Ideas of white supremacy and racial integrity are still present in the Deep South today. Therefore, the opportunities to research beyond this topic are abundant. Due to constraints, this dissertation has not discussed every underrepresented sector in depth, but it has aimed to set a president that these sectors are just as important as the more prominent segregation battles. Evidently, there is still a great deal that remains to be explored and until the lessons of the past are learnt, this will prevail far into the future.

[2] David Barton Smith, "The Politics of Racial Disparities: Desegregating the Hospitals in Jackson, Mississippi," *The Milbank Quarterly*, Vol. 83, No. 2 (2005), p.247.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Sovereignty Commission Online

Evans Jr., Earl, "SCR ID # 2-77-0-5-1-1-1, Sovereignty Commission Online", *Mississippi Department of Archives and History* (1956) pp.1-2.
[http://mdah.state.ms.us/arrec/digital_archives/sovcom/result.php?image=images/png/cd04/030436.png&otherstuff=2|77|0|5|1|1|1|29896|#]

Mason, Gilbert R., "SCR ID # 5-4-0-2-1-1-1, Sovereignty Commission Online." *Mississippi Department of Archives and History* (1959)
[http://mdah.state.ms.us/arrec/digital_archives/sovcom/result.php?image=images/png/cd02/011759.png&otherstuff=5|4|0|1|1|1|1|11520|#]

Thomas, Bob, "SCR ID # 5-4-0-51-1-1-1, Sovereignty Commission Online." *Mississippi Department of Archives and History* (1959)
[http://mdah.state.ms.us/arrec/digital_archives/sovcom/result.php?image=images/png/cd02/011869.png&otherstuff=5|4|0|51|1|1|1|]

Van Landingham, Zack J., "SCR ID # 1-23-0-30-1-1-1, Sovereignty Commission Online." *Mississippi Department of Archives and History* (1959)
[http://mdah.state.ms.us/arrec/digital_archives/sovcom/result.php?image=images/png/cd01/001568.png&otherstuff=1|23|0|30|1|1|1|]

Van Landingham, Zack J., "SCR ID # 1-27-0-6-1-1-1**,** Sovereignty Commission Online." *Mississippi Department of Archives and History* (1958), pp.1-37.
[http://mdah.state.ms.us/arrec/digital_archives/sovcom/result.php?image=images/png/cd01/001981.png&otherstuff=1|27|0|6|1|1|1|]

Van Landingham, Zack J. "SCR ID # 2-56-1-11-1-1-1, Sovereignty Commission Online." *Mississippi Department of Archives and History* (1959)
[http://mdah.state.ms.us/arrec/digital_archives/sovcom/result.php?image=images/png/cd03/021448.png&otherstuff=2|56|1|11|1|1|1|20987|#.]

Van Landingham, Zack J. "SCR ID # 5-4-0-1-1-1-1, Sovereignty Commission Online." *Mississippi Department of Archives and History* (1959), pp.1-3.
[http://mdah.state.ms.us/arrec/digital_archives/sovcom/result.php?image=images/png/cd02/011759.png&otherstuff=5|4|0|1|1|1|1|11520|#]

Van Landingham, Zack J. "SCR ID # 5-4-0-12-2-1-1, Sovereignty Commission Online." *Mississippi Department of Archives and History* (1959), pp.1-2.
[http://mdah.state.ms.us/arrec/digital_archives/sovcom/result.php?image=images/png/cd02/011785.png&otherstuff=5|4|0|12|2|1|1|11546|#]

"SCR ID # 2-77-0-1-1-1-1, Sovereignty Commission Online", *Mississippi Department of Archives and History* (1958) pp.1-3.
[http://mdah.state.ms.us/arrec/digital_archives/sovcom/result.php?image=images/png/cd04/030427.png&otherstuff=2|77|0|1|1|1|1|29887|#]

"SCR ID # 2-77-0-2-1-1-1, Sovereignty Commission Online", *Mississippi Department of Archives and History* (1958)
[http://mdah.state.ms.us/arrec/digital_archives/sovcom/result.php?image=images/png/cd04/030430.png&otherstuff=2|77|0|2|1|1|1|29890|#]

"SCR ID # 2-77-0-3-1-1-1, Sovereignty Commission Online", *Mississippi Department of Archives and History* (1958), pp.1-4.
[http://mdah.state.ms.us/arrec/digital_archives/sovcom/result.php?image=images/png/cd04/030431.png&otherstuff=2|77|0|3|1|1|1|29891|]

"SCR ID # 5-4-0-17-1-1-1, Sovereignty Commission Online." *Mississippi Department of Archives and History* (1960)
[http://mdah.state.ms.us/arrec/digital_archives/sovcom/result.php?image=images/png/cd02/011799.png&otherstuff=5|4|0|17|1|1|1|11560|#]

University of Southern Mississippi Archives

Council of Federated Organizations, "COFO Program (Winter 1964 - Spring 1965)," *University of Southern Mississippi Libraries: Digital Collections* (1964), pp.1-2.
[http://digilib.usm.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/manu/id/2959/rec/10.]

Dahl, Kathleen, "Newsletter by Kathy Dahl from Freedom House, Holly Springs, Mississippi." *University of Southern Mississippi Libraries: Digital Collection* (1964), pp.1-3.
[http://digilib.usm.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/manu/id/1295/rec/8.]

"Educational Fund of the Citizens' Council." *The University of Southern Mississippi Libraries: Digital Collection* (Circa 1956)
[http://digilib.usm.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/manu/id/1496/rec/1.]

LEAC, "Legal Educational Advisory Committee Mississippi Legislature, 12 October 1954," *University of Mississippi Libraries Digital Collections: Archives and Special Collections* (1954) pp.1-2.
[http://clio.lib.olemiss.edu/cdm/ref/collection/civ_rights/id/529]

Walker, Rita, "Life in Mississippi: Negro Motherhood," *The University of Southern Mississippi Libraries: Digital Collection (*1964) pp.1-2.
[http://digilib.usm.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/manu/id/1341/rec/9.]

"Medical Committee for Human Rights." *The University of Southern Mississippi Libraries: Digital Collection*. (Circa 1965)
[http://digilib.usm.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/manu/id/4060/rec/15.]

"Statistical Report on Forrest County", *The University of Southern Mississippi Libraries: Digital Collection* (Circa 1964), pp.1-2.
[http://digilib.usm.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/manu/id/660/rec/1]

“Statistics on Education, Housing, Income and Employment, and Health; June 1964,” *The University of Southern Mississippi Libraries: Digital Collection* (1964), pp.1-8.
[http://digilib.usm.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/manu/id/565/rec/16]

Miscellaneous

Brown, Rachel "Medical Care and the Mississippi Negro, COFO, 1964," *Brown-Tougaloo Exchange* (1964), pp.1-18.
[http://cds.library.brown.edu/projects/FreedomNow/do_search_single.php?searchid=10191]

Ward, James M. (ed.), "Boxing Gone, Baseball Next?" *Jackson Daily News* (1961), in *Citizens' Council Collection, Archives and Special Collections, University of Mississippi Libraries*
[http://clio.lib.olemiss.edu/utils/getfile/collection/citizens/id/1141/filename/1141.pdfpage]

"Excerpts from the Platform and Principles (official, White-only) Mississippi State Democratic Party." *Veterans of the Civil Rights Movement - Mississippi State Democratic Party Platform, 1960* (2013 online) [http://www.crmvet.org/docs/msdp60.htm.]

"Governor Barnett's Declaration to the People of Mississippi." *Ole Miss - John F. Kennedy Presidential Library & Museum* (1962) [http://microsites.jfklibrary.org/olemiss/controversy/doc2.html.]

"Holmes v. City of Atlanta, 124 F. Supp. 290 (N.D. Ga. 1954), " *Justia Law* (1954)
[http://law.justia.com/cases/federal/district-courts/FSupp/124/290/1882491/.]

"Plessy v. Ferguson," *LII / Legal Information Institute* (1896)
[https://www.law.cornell.edu/supremecourt/text/163/537.]

"Robert M. Dawson, Jr., Et Al., Appellants, v. Mayor and City Council of Baltimore City Et Al," *Justia Law* (1955) [http://law.justia.com/cases/federal/appellate-courts/F2/220/386/78652/.]

"The Mississippi Legislature – 1964," *Civil Rights Movement Veterans* (1964), pp.1-40.
[http://www.crmvet.org/docs/6406_cofo_ms_leg-rpt.pdf]

"Transcript of American RadioWorks Documentary into Mississippi," *State of Siege: Mississippi Whites and the Civil Rights Movement - American RadioWorks*
[http://americanradioworks.publicradio.org/features/mississippi/transcript.html.]

Autobiographies and Memoirs

Mason, M.D, Gilbert R., and James Patterson Smith., *Beaches, Blood, and Ballots: A Black Doctor's Civil Rights Struggle*. (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2000)

Oral Testimonies

Austin, Curtis, “An Oral History with Clemon Perry Jimerson Sr.,” *University of Southern Mississippi Libraries: Digital Collections* (2011), pp.1-26.
[http://digilib.usm.edu/cdm/ref/collection/coh/id/15672]

Blackside Inc. "Interview with William Simmons." *Eyes on the Prize Interviews* (1985)
[http://digital.wustl.edu/e/eop/eopweb/sim0015.1044.097williamsimmons.html.]

Caudill, Orley B. "Oral History with Mr. William Joel Blass," *The University of Southern Mississippi Libraries: Digital Collections* (1977), pp.1-60.
[http://digilib.usm.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/coh/id/8369]

Katagiri, Yasuhiro, "Oral History with Horace H. Harned, Jr." *The University of Southern Mississippi Libraries: Digital Collections* (1993), pp.1-17.
[http://digilib.usm.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/coh/id/3056.]

Tanzman, Harriet “‘An Oral History with Robert Smith, M.D.’ in The Civil Rights Documentation Project: The Canton, Jackson, and Gulf Coast Movements,” *The University of Southern Mississippi Libraries: Digital Collections* (2000), pp. 253-278.
[http://digilib.usm.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/coh/id/11046/rec/4]

Williams, Donald, "An Oral History with Obie Clark." *Civil Rights Documentation Project, Oral History Transcripts* (1999), pp.1-23. [http://www.blackinformationhighway.com/An Oral History with Obie Clark on Civil_Rights.pdf.]

Secondary Sources

Journal Articles

Beardsley, E.H. “Good-bye to Jim Crow: The Desegregation of Southern Hospitals, 1945-70.” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, Vol. 60, No. 3 (1986), pp.367-386.

Butler, J. Michael, “The Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission and Beach Integration, 1959-1963: A Cotton-patch Gestapo?” *Journal of Southern History*, Vol. 68, No. 1 (2002), pp.107-148.

Catsam, Derek, "“Sic ‘Em, White Folks!”: Football, Massive Resistance and the Integration of Ole Miss." *Sport History Review* Vol. 40 (2009), pp.82-98.

Hamel, Mary Beth, Et Al, "Medicare at 50 -- Origins and Evolution," *The New England Journal of Medicine,* Vol. 372, No. 5 (2015), pp. 479-486.

Henderson, Russell J. “The 1963 Mississippi State University Basketball Controversy and the Repeal of the Unwritten Law: “Something more than the game will be lost,”” *The journal of Southern History,* Vol. 63, No. 4 (1997), pp.827-854.

Moon, Marilyn, “Health Policy 2001: Medicare,” *The New England Journal of Medicine,* Vol. 344, No.12 (2001), pp.928-931.

Patterson, Andrea, “Germs and Jim Crow: The Impact of Microbiology on Public Health Policies in Progressive Era American South,” *Journal of the History of Biology,* Vol. 42, No. 3 (2009) pp. 529–559.

Peterson, Jason A. ““They Deserve a Stinging Defeat”: How Mississippi Newspapers' Coverage of the 1955 Junior Rose Bowl Protected the Closed Society,” *American Journalism*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (2012), pp. 93-123.

Silver, James W, “Mississippi: The Closed Society,” *The Journal of Southern History,* Vol. 30, No. 1 (1964), pp. 3–34.

Smith, David Barton, “The Politics of Racial Disparities: Desegregating the Hospitals in Jackson, Mississippi,” *The Milbank Quarterly*, Vol. 83, No. 2 (2005), pp. 247–269.

Smith, P. Caleb, "Reflections in the Water: Society and Recreational Facilities, a Case Study of Public Swimming Pools in Mississippi." *Southeastern Geographer,* Vol. 52, No. 1 (2012), pp.39-54.

Published Works

Bolton, Charles C., *Hardest Deal of All: The Battle Over School Integration in Mississippi, 1870-1980* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2007)

Dickerson, James, *Dixie's Dirty Secret: The True Story of How the Government, the Media and the Mob Conspired to Combat Integration and the Anti-Vietnam War Movement* (New York: M.E Sharpe, 1998)

Dittmer, John, *Local People: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Mississippi* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1995)

Eagles, Charles W., *The Price of Defiance: James Meredith and the Integration of Ole Miss* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009)

Hamlin, Francoise N., “Collision and Collusion: Local Activism, Local Agency, and Flexible Alliances”, in Ownby, Ted (ed.) *The Civil Rights Movement in Mississippi* (University Press of Mississippi: Jackson, 2013)

Katagiri, Yasuhiro, *The Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission – Civil Rights and States’ Rights* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2001)

Leverenz, David, *Honor Bound: Race and Shame in America* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2012)

Lewis, George, *Massive Resistance: The White Response to the Civil Rights Movement* (London: Hodder Education, 2006)

McMillen, Neil R., *The Citizens' Council: Organized Resistance to the Second Reconstruction, 1954-64* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1971)

Ownby, Ted (ed.) *The Civil Rights Movement in Mississippi* (University Press of Mississippi: Jackson, 2013)

Walker, Anders, *The Ghost of Jim Crow: How Southern Moderates Used Brown V Board of Education to Stall the Civil Rights Movement* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009)

Wilhoit, F.M., *The Politics of Massive Resistance*, (New York: George Braziller, 1973)

Wolcott, Victoria W., *Race, Riots, and Roller Coasters: The Struggle Over Segregated Recreation in America*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012)