

The Journal of Mississippi History

Volume LXXXI

Fall/Winter 2019

No. 3 and No. 4

CONTENTS

Lily Thompson and the Woman Suffrage Movement
in Mississippi 145

By Heather Kuzma

The Mississippi Legislature's Dominance over Budgeting
Pre-Reform 163

By Brian Pugh

Ole Miss's New Deal: Building White Democracy at the
University of Mississippi, 1933-1941 185

By Jack Carey

2019 Mississippi Historical Society Award Winners 221

Program of the 2019 Mississippi Historical Society
Annual Meeting 225

By Jim Barnett

Minutes of the 2019 Mississippi Historical Society
Business Meeting 229

COVER IMAGE — Suffragette Lily Wilkinson Thompson, Courtesy
Tricia Nelson of Copiah County.

Recent Manuscript Accessions to Historic Repositories in Mississippi	235
---	-----

By Mona Vance-Ali

Book Reviews

Hunter, <i>Bound in Wedlock: Slave and Free Black Marriage in the Nineteenth Century</i>	253
--	-----

By Nicol Allen

Meacham, <i>Delta Epiphany: Robert F. Kennedy in Mississippi</i>	255
--	-----

By Andrew Harrison Baker

WGorn, <i>Let the People See: The Story of Emmett Till</i>	256
--	-----

By Ryan Anthony Smith

Walgren, <i>The Ordeal of the Reunion: A New History of Reconstruction</i>	257
--	-----

By Christopher L. Stacey

Clinton, <i>Stepdaughters of History: Southern Women and the American Civil War</i>	259
---	-----

By Minoa D. Uffelman

Strang, <i>Frontiers of Science: Imperialism and Natural Knowledge in the Gulf South Borderlands, 1500-1850</i>	261
---	-----

By Ian Varga

Miller, <i>Vicksburg, Grant's Campaign that Broke the Confederacy</i>	262
---	-----

By Clay Williams

The Journal of Mississippi History (ISSN 0022-2771) is published quarterly by the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, 200 North St., Jackson, MS 39201, in cooperation with the Mississippi Historical Society as a benefit of Mississippi Historical Society membership. Annual memberships begin at \$35. Back issues of the *Journal* sell for \$7.50 and up through the Mississippi Museum Store; call 601-576-6921 to check availability. *The Journal of Mississippi History* is a juried journal. Each article is reviewed by a specialist scholar before publication. Periodicals paid at Jackson, Mississippi. Postmaster: Send address changes to the Mississippi Historical Society, P.O. Box 571, Jackson, MS 39205-0571. Email journal@mdah.ms.gov.

© 2019 Mississippi Historical Society, Jackson, Miss.

The Mississippi Department of Archives and History and the Mississippi Historical Society disclaim any responsibility for statements made by contributors.

Lily Thompson and the Woman Suffrage Movement in Mississippi

by Heather Kuzma

In 2020, the United States is celebrating one hundred years of the federal amendment allowing women to vote. Many years prior to the adoption of the amendment, Mississippi was home to woman suffrage supporters with an organized movement statewide by 1897. The movement emphasized reform as its main purpose but utilized white supremacy as a tool to achieve this goal. Lily Wilkinson Thompson, one of the outspoken voices of the statewide movement, was a driving force behind the efforts in Jackson and helped create an organized and successful faction of the Mississippi woman suffrage movement.

Lily Wilkinson Thompson

Lily Gabrielle Wilkinson was born in Crystal Springs, Mississippi, on March 9, 1867. She was the daughter of William Clemments and Gabrielle Flowers (Barnes) Wilkinson.¹ Her father was an immigrant from Ireland who worked as a merchant. Her mother was a native Mississippian.² Lily attended Whitworth College in Brookhaven, Mississippi, graduating in 1884. On February 18, 1891, at age twenty-three, she married Charles H. Thompson in Grenada, Mississippi.³ During the first years of their marriage, the couple lived in Copiah County while Charles worked as a traveling salesman.⁴

By 1910, Charles was working as an insurance agent in Jackson, Mississippi. The Thompsons set up residence in Jackson with their

¹ "Thompson, Lily Wilkinson," In *Who's Who of America: A Biographical Dictionary of Contemporary Women of the United States and Canada, 1914-1915*, edited by John William Leonard. (New York: American Commonwealth Company, 1914), 813.

² 1800 U.S. census, Crystal Springs, Copiah County, Mississippi, population schedule, roll 646; page 253A; Enumeration District 026; digital image, Ancestry.com.

³ "Thompson, Lily Wilkinson," *Who's Who of America*, 813.

⁴ 1900 U.S. census, Beat 5, Copiah, Mississippi, population schedule, page 9; Enumeration District 0047; FHL microfilm 1240806; digital image, Ancestry.com.

HEATHER KUZMA has a master's in art and museum studies from Georgetown University. She has worked in museums, historical societies, and archives in the Midwest and Southeast. Kuzma currently lives in Lexington, Kentucky and conducts independent research.

four surviving children, James Wilkinson (b. 1894), Primrose (b. 1896), Cynthia (b.1904) and Sarah Summers (b. 1907).⁵ Upon moving to Jackson, Lily Thompson became an active member of the Jackson community. She served in leadership roles in several organizations including the United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Chaminade Club.⁶ She was an especially active member in the local and state suffrage movement, a cause she supported even when living in Copiah County.⁷ Thompson was an avid writer on many topics and used her communications skills to further the suffrage cause.⁸

The Mississippi Woman Suffrage Movement

The Mississippi woman suffrage movement first organized state-wide as the Mississippi Woman Suffrage Association (MWSA) in 1897. The movement lost strength in the following years and the statewide organization took a hiatus from organized meetings until 1906.⁹ Early in the history of the organization, Nellie Nugent Somerville, the state president at the inception of the MWSA in 1897 and again from 1908 until Thompson assumed the role in 1912, wrote a pamphlet detailing the goals and reasons behind the suffrage movement in Mississippi. She stated, "The keyword of the Mississippi Woman Suffrage Association is Service . . . the Mississippi suffragists work for the ballot by taking an active interest in the upbuilding of their State, especially in education, in philanthropy and in the great work of sanitation and prevention of disease."¹⁰ Along with reform in education and healthcare, the Mississippi suffragists worked toward safeguarding children and increasing opportunities for women. Somerville mentions this feminist agenda in her pamphlet when she discusses the importance of having women

⁵ 1910 U.S. census, Jackson Ward 1, Hinds, Mississippi, population schedule, roll T624_742, page 10B, Enumeration District 0017, FHL microfilm 1374755, digital image, Ancestry.com.

⁶ "Thompson, Lily Wilkinson," *Who's Who of America*, 813.

⁷ *Report of the Organization of the Mississippi Woman Suffrage Association*, Meridian, Mississippi, May 5, 1897, Lily Thompson Collection, Special Collections, University of Mississippi Libraries, Oxford, Mississippi, <http://clio.lib.olemiss.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/suffrage/id/6/rec/19>.

⁸ "Thompson, Lily Wilkinson," *Who's Who of America*, 813.

⁹ "Mississippi." In *History of Woman Suffrage Vol. VI*, edited by Ida Husted Harper, 326-341, (New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association, 1922), 326-327.

¹⁰ Nellie Nugent Somerville, *How Mississippi Women Work for the Vote*, Lily Thompson Collection, Special Collections, University of Mississippi Libraries, Oxford, Mississippi, <http://clio.lib.olemiss.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/suffrage/id/117/rec/10>.

in leadership roles. Two of these agendas include women serving on boards of public institutions as well as requiring women physicians in insane asylums.¹¹ Aside from the ultimate goal of woman suffrage, the Mississippi woman suffrage movement also emphasized other causes in hopes that they would not only lead to woman suffrage, but also the general advancement of women.

Even with this seemingly benevolent agenda, one cannot overlook the undertone of white supremacy that permeated the woman suffrage movement throughout the South. Marjorie Spruill Wheeler writes of this phenomenon in her book *New Women of the New South* stating, "From the 1890s until approximately 1910, the argument that the enfranchisement of women (with qualifications that would in effect restrict the suffrage to white women) would restore white supremacy without the risks involved with disenfranchising blacks was central to the strategy of Southern suffragists."¹² The movement in Mississippi was not immune to these sentiments. In Somerville's article, she cites postwar changes as one reason Mississippi women desired the vote. She wrote, "Was not the war caused by politics? Was not the horror of reconstruction a game of politics? So Southern women pondered as they were forced to take the places of their own slaves."¹³ This can also be seen through the cooperation of the MWSA and the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC), an organization that worked to uphold prewar Southern ideals. Many of the leaders of the MWSA including Somerville were members of the UDC.¹⁴ Thompson served in the leadership of both organizations. In 1912, the MWSA voiced a desire to join forces with other women's organizations to work towards women-focused legislation. The MWSA eventually allied with both the Federation of Women's Clubs and the UDC.¹⁵ Unfortunately, the southern woman suffrage movement worked for a marginalized community while putting down another. Wheeler explains that "despite their indignation at the powerlessness and degradation implicit in their own disenfranchised state, many supported and none challenged the movement to restore white political supremacy."¹⁶

¹¹ Somerville, *How Mississippi Women Work for the Vote*.

¹² Marjorie Spruill Wheeler, *New Women of the New South: The Leaders of the Woman Suffrage Movement in the Southern States*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), xv.

¹³ Somerville, *How Mississippi Women Work for the Vote*.

¹⁴ Wheeler, *New Women of the New South*, 109.

¹⁵ "Mississippi," *History of Woman Suffrage*, 330.

¹⁶ Wheeler, *New Women of the New South*, xv.

It is unfortunate that the movement took this contradictory stance as it taints its success in reforming other aspects of southern society.

Thompson's Leadership Role in the MWSA

Thompson was a founding member and leader of the MWSA. At the birth of the statewide organization in 1897, Thompson served as corresponding secretary alongside the president, Somerville, and vice president, Belle Kearney.¹⁷ Not only was Thompson involved at the beginning of the organization, but she was also present for its rebirth. In 1906 former vice president Kearney called for a meeting to reorganize the MWSA after a six-year hiatus. Thompson attended the meeting via telephone. Others participating included Hala Hammond Butt, who had served as president during the hiatus, Mrs. Edward Sloan, Dr. Delia Randal, and Somerville. These six women breathed new life into the organization and elected the new board with Kearney as president, Somerville vice president, and Thompson as treasurer. Thompson assumed the role of superintendent of the press the following year. It would be her longest running position with the MWSA.¹⁸ Somerville believed that utilization of the press was integral to the success of the movement stating, "The importance of the press cannot be overestimated."¹⁹ Thompson was charged with this task and was successful in building the presence of the MWSA in the press.

As superintendent of the press, Thompson published many articles in local newspapers. When Thompson was first elected to the role, she wrote to most of the editors in the state and was successful in convincing twenty-one of those editors to discuss suffrage in their papers.²⁰ In one of her early articles published in September 1907, she wrote:

As long as Mississippi women have access to the tax list, and the penitentiary, may they not justly have access to the polls? Would not the ballot in the hands of women af-

¹⁷ *Report of the Organization of the Mississippi Woman Suffrage Association.*

¹⁸ "Mississippi," *History of Woman Suffrage*, 326-327.

¹⁹ Nellie Nugent Somerville, *Mississippi Woman Suffrage Association: Address of the President*, Flora, Mississippi, April 10, 1912, Lily Thompson Collection, Special Collections, University of Mississippi Libraries, Oxford, Mississippi; <http://clio.lib.olemiss.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/suffrage/id/129/rec/10>

²⁰ "Mississippi," *History of Woman Suffrage*, 327.

ford them the quickest, quietest, most dignified method of effecting legislation, for is not an ounce of voting worth a pound of petitioning? ²¹

Utilizing her relationship with the press, Thompson attempted to distribute information regarding the woman suffrage movement to as many Mississippians as possible.

Moving up the ranks of the MWSA, Thompson was elected vice president in 1908 with Kearney serving as president. Thompson's involvement with the press continued, however, even with her increased leadership role in the suffrage association. In 1912, Thompson was elected president of the MWSA following Somerville's tenure. Thompson declined re-election in 1913 citing demands at home. Annie Kinkead Dent followed Thompson as president. ²² Even as Thompson stepped down from her leadership role, she continued to be an outspoken leader for the cause. She joined other suffrage activists including Somerville, Kearney, and Dent to speak to the Mississippi House of Representatives on January 22, 1914. ²³ Of the women who spoke that day, Kate Power of the *Jackson Daily News* wrote, "England may prefer her brand of suffragists, but it is with our own gently-bred ladies in the lead that the South will ere long achieve the ends for which she aims." ²⁴ Although Thompson focused her efforts on the movement in Jackson in the following years, she melded her state and local roles by serving as MWSA district president for Jackson. ²⁵ As the suffrage amendment became a possibility, Thompson worked with the MWSA's Ratification Committee created in 1919. Under the leadership of the Ratification Committee chairman, Janie Turner Saunders, Thompson took responsibility for the Jackson press and wrote prolifically in support of ratification until

²¹ "Women Are Wanting a Say," *The Lexington Advertiser*, September 20, 1907, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84024271/1907-09-20/ed-1/seq-2/>.

²² "Mississippi," *History of Woman Suffrage*, 328-332.

²³ Ibid, 336.

²⁴ Kate Power, "Woman's Suffrage and the Solons," *The Lexington Advertiser*, January 23, 1914, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84024271/1914-01-23/ed-1/seq-3/>.

²⁵ *Ballots for Both: Thirteenth Annual Convention of Mississippi Woman Suffrage Association*, Court House, Starkville, April 13-14, 1917; Lily Thompson Collection, Special Collections, University of Mississippi Libraries, Oxford, Mississippi; <http://clio.lib.olemiss.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/suffrage/id/121/rec/1>.

the amendment was adopted nationally.²⁶

Although Thompson was a pioneer and leader of the state suffrage movement, it was her efforts which created an organized and significant movement in Mississippi's capital, Jackson. Such a city, where much of the legislative efforts and statewide events took place, called for a dedicated group of local activists. Under Thompson's direction such an organization became a reality.

Jackson and the Equity League

Even prior to the creation of a state suffrage association, Thompson was involved in suffrage activities at the local level. At the first state suffrage convention in 1897, Thompson was representing her home town of Crystal Springs.²⁷ By 1910, Thompson was writing a weekly column in the *Jackson Daily News*.²⁸ Thompson described this paper as having "the largest circulation of any paper in the state."²⁹ At this time, Thompson became very active in supporting the local suffrage movement in Jackson. After serving as president of the MWSA from 1912-1913, Thompson left the leadership of the state association and focused her efforts on the movement in Jackson.

At Thompson's suggestion, the woman suffrage supporters of Jackson met to create an organized group.³⁰ Although Jackson already had many dedicated suffragists, the city did not boast an organized group that gathered at regular meetings. Named groups of suffragists were present in surrounding states such as the Era Club in New Orleans and in Mississippi such as the Civic Improvement Club of Greenville.³¹ Thompson recognized this deficiency, and in 1911, called for the woman suffrage supporters of Jackson to gather in hopes of forming a more formal organization. A meeting to these ends was held in October 1911. At the following meeting in November, the first officers were elected. Thompson was cho-

²⁶ "Mississippi," *History of Woman Suffrage*, 337.

²⁷ *Report of the Organization of the Mississippi Woman Suffrage Association*.

²⁸ "Mississippi," *History of Woman Suffrage*, 329.

²⁹ *Sixth Annual Report of the Mississippi Woman Suffrage Association 1910*, Lily Thompson Collection, Special Collections, University of Mississippi Libraries, Oxford, Mississippi; <http://clio.lib.olemiss.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/suffrage/id/77/rec/23>, 18.

³⁰ *Equity League Minutes 1911-1914*. Lily Thompson Collection, Special Collections, University of Mississippi Libraries, Oxford, Mississippi; <http://clio.lib.olemiss.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/suffrage/id/243>.

³¹ Somerville, *How Mississippi Women Work for the Vote*.

sen president with Mrs. C. C. Warren serving as vice president, Elizabeth Richardson serving as secretary, and Mrs. V. R. Howie as treasurer.³²

In 1912, with Thompson serving as state president of the Mississippi Woman Suffrage Association, she did not resume her role as president of the Jackson organization. One of the last actions before Thompson left her post was the adoption of a constitution on May 17, 1912. Under the leadership of Mrs. E. J. Edmonds, 1912 was a significant year for the organization. Not only did the organization adopt a constitution, but on June 4, 1912, during the same meeting at which Edmonds was elected president, the organization was named the Equity League.³³

As an auxiliary of the MWSA, the Equity League raised funds for and awareness of the movement while supporting the mission of the state organization. The MWSA advocated for active local groups to support the state organization. During Thompson's MWSA presidency, she addressed the importance of local involvement to the success of the MWSA by emphasizing the success of the Equity League. In her presidential address in April 1913, she stated, "The Equity League of Jackson held its initial meeting about a year and a half ago with the charmed number of three present and at the next meeting there were six; at the next twelve, and today the enrolled membership is over two hundred."³⁴ Thompson was proud to emphasize that the club she had organized was successful in bringing people to the cause. The Equity League membership was active in Jackson but, like Thompson, many members also served in leadership roles of the MWSA further melding both organizations. Aside from increasing membership, the Equity League also worked hard raising funds, spreading the movement's agenda in the press, and supporting legislative efforts.

The Equity League: Host of Major Suffrage Events

Thompson and her fellow Equity League members undertook the planning and execution of many of the major suffrage events that

³² *Equity League Minutes 1915-1916*. Lily Thompson Collection, Special Collections, University of Mississippi Libraries, Oxford, Mississippi; <http://clio.lib.olemiss.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/suffrage/id/176/rec/7>.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ *Minutes of the Ninth Annual Convention: Mississippi Woman Suffrage Association*, Jackson, Mississippi, April 15-17, 1913; Lily Thompson Collection, Special Collections, University of Mississippi Libraries, Oxford, Mississippi; <http://clio.lib.olemiss.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/suffrage/id/109/rec/12>, 15.

occurred in the state by raising funds and support. Possibly this was due to the mere fact that they were based in the capital city, but the success of these events was definitely due to the dedication and leadership of the Equity League members. Like all Mississippi suffragists, the Equity League spread its message through positive events and newspaper articles. As stated earlier, one of the main goals of the Mississippi suffrage movement was to earn the vote by "taking an active interest in upbuilding of their State".³⁵ Therefore, the Equity League worked in its community promoting a positive image that would draw people to the suffrage movement. With these events, the League hoped to gain support for the cause as well as to raise funds.

In 1912, the official fundraising events of the Equity League began when it held its first Motion Picture Benefit cooperating with Mr. and Mrs. H. A. Carleton, proprietors of the local theater, the Dixie.³⁶ Motion picture benefits continued to be a favorite fundraiser of the League, which held several others including the suffrage play "Your Girl and Mine" at the Istrione theater in 1915.³⁷

With assistance from Thompson as state president of the Mississippi Woman Suffrage Association, the League established a suffrage headquarters at the Mississippi State Fair for the first time in 1912.³⁸ Other than funds collected by Thompson in her role as state president, the League took charge of the entire operation including planning, raising funds, and staffing. In her speech at the state convention that year, Thompson discussed the issue of funds stating, "Many difficulties loomed in the way, the most terrifying being the ogre of no funds, but at the last good fairies appeared to wave with magic wands."³⁹ Without the support of the Equity League this first appearance at the Mississippi State Fair would not have happened. The Equity League pulled off a successful event gaining support for the cause as well as raising a large amount of funds. During the fair, several hundred names of suffragists were collected and after expenses were paid, the League made a profit of forty dollars.⁴⁰ Thompson was very enthusiastic about the outcome

³⁵ Somerville, *How Mississippi Women Work for the Vote*.

³⁶ *Equity League Minutes, 1911-1914*.

³⁷ *Equity League Minutes, 1914-1915*. Lily Thompson Collection, Special Collections, University of Mississippi Libraries, Oxford, Mississippi;

<http://clio.lib.olemiss.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/suffrage/id/286/rec/6>.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ *Minutes of the Ninth Annual Convention: Mississippi Woman Suffrage Association*, 13.

⁴⁰ *Equity League Minutes, 1914-1915*.

of the fair stating, "The value of this enterprise is too apparent to be questioned."⁴¹ The first appearance of the suffrage movement at the state fair was a success and would be repeated for years to come.

In 1913, the Mississippi Woman Suffrage Association state convention was held in Jackson with Thompson presiding. The event took place in the senate chamber of the State Capitol and was coordinated by the Equity League. This convention was a great success with the largest turnout in the history of the association.⁴² The president of the Equity League, Mrs. E. T. Edmonds, spoke along with Thompson who gave the MWSA presidential address.⁴³ The election of officers for the following year took place at the convention. At this convention, Thompson refused reelection to focus on demands at home solidifying her continued involvement with the movement in Jackson.⁴⁴

When Thompson declined reelection as state president in 1913, she was able to turn her focus on the flourishing suffrage movement in Jackson. That year was again busy for the Equity League. In 1913, the Mississippi suffrage movement was represented in a parade in Washington, DC. The League provided funding for a float and a purple and gold banner carried in the parade.⁴⁵ Mrs. Harmon Thompson, an Equity League member who was residing in Washington with her husband, managed the arrangements.⁴⁶ Meridian native Fannie May Witherspoon, the daughter of a Mississippi congressman, rode on the float carrying the banner with a gentleman from Mississippi, Mr. Gibbs.⁴⁷ Participation in the parade was applauded by the MWSA as "... a new and splendid opportunity to show its colors."⁴⁸ Presence at such an event brought the Mississippi suffrage movement to the national stage. This occasion was not Mississippi's first interaction with the national suffrage movement. Although southern suffragists recognized themselves as different from their east coast counterparts, the Mississippi suffragists were supportive of the national movement. In her departing 1912 MWSA presidential address, Somerville was careful to make this distinction stating, "Many southern suffragists desire some kind of southern fed-

⁴¹ *Minutes of the Ninth Annual Convention: Mississippi Woman Suffrage Association*, 13.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 3.

⁴³ "Mississippi," *History of Woman Suffrage*, 331.

⁴⁴ *Minutes of the Ninth Annual Convention: Mississippi Woman Suffrage Association*, 11.

⁴⁵ *Equity League Minutes, 1914-1915*.

⁴⁶ *Equity League Minutes, 1911-1914*.

⁴⁷ "Mississippi," *History of Woman Suffrage*, 330.

⁴⁸ *Minutes of the Ninth Annual Convention: Mississippi Woman Suffrage Association*, 13.

eration, tho not in any sense against the National.”⁴⁹ As early as 1901, speakers from the National American Woman Suffrage Association such as Carrie Chapman Catt gave speeches around the state, a tradition that would continue throughout the life of the movement.⁵⁰ Mississippi suffragists worked hard to represent the state at national conventions, sending a representative as early as 1899.⁵¹ In 1911, five of the board members from the MWSA including the president, Somerville, and Equity League member, Sarah S. Wilkinson, attended the National convention in Louisville, Kentucky.⁵² Each following year that the MWSA was active, a member was elected to attend the national convention. The MWSA and the Equity League were long in correspondence with the suffragists of other states and abroad. The Equity League was often sent tokens of support for their efforts at state fairs including pennants sent from California and Kansas to be displayed at the fair in 1912. The Equity League also extended its support to the suffragists in other states including a letter sent by Thompson to Ohio in 1912 in support of the upcoming election.⁵³ Not only were the suffragists of Mississippi working with the national movement, but correspondence from Europe was also being received by the MWSA. In addressing this cooperation, Thompson stated, “This friendly intercourse of suffragists all over the world is one of the pleasant signs of the swift acceleration of the movement.”⁵⁴ In 1915, Mississippi was represented in the leadership of the National American Woman Suffrage Association when Somerville was elected vice president.⁵⁵ The MWSA and the Equity League worked with suffragists from all over in support of woman suffrage.

Along with supplying funds for events such as the parade, the Equity League’s continuing fundraising efforts brought in significant

⁴⁹ Nellie Nugent Somerville. *Mississippi Woman Suffrage Association: Address of the President*, Flora, Mississippi, April 10, 1912.

⁵⁰ “Mississippi,” *History of Woman Suffrage*, 326.

⁵¹ *Minutes of the Second Annual Convention of the Mississippi Woman Suffrage Association*, Clarksdale, Mississippi, April 5-6, 1899; Lily Thompson Collection, Special Collections, University of Mississippi Libraries, Oxford, Mississippi; <http://clio.lib.olemiss.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/suffrage/id/50/rec/13>, 10.

⁵² Lily Wilkinson Thompson. “Suffrage for Women,” *Jackson Daily News*, October 21, 1911, p. 2.

⁵³ *Equity League Minutes*, 1911-1914.

⁵⁴ Lily Wilkinson Thompson and Ella Biggs, *Third Quarterly Report: Mississippi Woman Suffrage Association*, 1912-1913, Lily Thompson Collection, Special Collections, University of Mississippi Libraries, Oxford, Mississippi; <http://clio.lib.olemiss.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/suffrage/id/141/rec/3>.

⁵⁵ *Equity League Minutes*, 1914-1915.

revenue for the state association. In 1913, the Equity League's success was reflected in the MWSA treasurer's report at the state convention. The Equity League was credited with bringing in \$70.80 with only the \$83.00 dues collected from members throughout the state being a larger revenue source.⁵⁶ It was indeed a successful year for the Equity League.

The MWSA state convention was again held in Jackson in 1914. Similar to the previous year, the group gathered in the senate chamber of the State Capitol. The Equity League acted as the host—planning and executing the events.⁵⁷ One of the members of the state legislature, Representative Norman Albert (N. A.) Mott from Yazoo County, spoke on the final day of the convention.⁵⁸ Mott had long been a supporter of suffrage, publishing articles supplied by the MWSA in the newspaper he edited.⁵⁹ The year of the convention his support was evident because he had presented a suffrage measure at the legislative session earlier that year.⁶⁰

In 1915, Thompson hosted Dr. Anna Shaw, a leader in the national suffrage movement, when she came to Jackson to deliver a speech. The speech was coordinated by the Equity League and scheduled to coincide with Shaw's address at the MWSA state convention in Greenville. Shaw arrived in Jackson on April 4, 1915. She spent that evening in the Thompsons' home. Shaw's address took place the following evening in the House of Representatives' chamber, a venue that was filled almost beyond capacity. Thompson boasted that this audience "was composed of the most prominent, the most intellectual, the most cultivated and influential of Jackson's citizens." Shaw was accompanied on the stand by her hostess, Thompson, as well as Frederick Sullens, editor of the *Jackson Daily News*. Joining them were Mrs. J. W. Tucker, former president of the Equity League; Mrs. Ella O. Biggs, current president of the Equity League; Mrs. Carleton, treasurer of the Equity League; and Dr. E. T. Edmonds, pastor of the First Christian Church. Mrs. Carleton opened the event by leading the crowd in singing "America" after which Dr. Edmonds offered a prayer. Thompson presented Sullens with a speech

⁵⁶ *Minutes of the Ninth Annual Convention: Mississippi Woman Suffrage Association*, 23.

⁵⁷ "A Program Issued by the Suffragists," *Jackson Daily News*, May 19, 1914, p. 5.

⁵⁸ "Suffragettes Begin Meeting At Jackson Today," *The Hattiesburg News*, May 26, 1914, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn87065167/1914-05-26/ed-1/seq-1/>.

⁵⁹ "Mississippi," *History of Woman Suffrage*, 330-331.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, 336.

praising the Mississippi press and Sullens's work with the *Jackson Daily News* in particular.⁶¹ The *Jackson Daily News* was very supportive of the suffrage movement, and Thompson had worked closely with Sullens for many years.⁶² Following Thompson, Sullens introduced Shaw—praising both the woman and her cause. Of Shaw's almost two-hour speech, Thompson recounted "Dr. Shaw captivated her hearers and held them spell bound . . . She created a profound impression."⁶³ Thompson saw Shaw's visit as a resounding achievement for the Equity League. She wrote: "In every way Dr. Shaw's initial visit to Jackson was a brilliant success and for bringing her here, the cause of woman suffrage owes a lasting debt of gratitude to the Equity League."⁶⁴ With the work of Jackson's suffrage supporters and the Equity League, Jackson welcomed one of the biggest names in the national suffrage movement and hosted the national leader with great success.

In the fall of 1915, the Equity League for the first time coordinated a suffrage section in the parade marking the opening day of the Mississippi State Fair. The group was preceded by a banner which read "Women Vote in 12 States. Why not in Mississippi?" The two women carrying the banner were followed by four women wearing white with yellow sashes. Thompson was among the women who marched. The original plan for the parade was for twelve women to march representing each state in which women could currently vote. Unfortunately, only six women were able to march. Even so, the Equity League was pleased with how the section was received.⁶⁵

Following the parade, the Equity League again represented the suffrage movement at the Mississippi State Fair under the management of Mrs. J. W. Tucker. Many women and girls worked throughout the fair to distribute literature and "Votes for Women" badges. It was estimated that five thousand badges were pinned, an accomplishment that made the Equity League quite proud.⁶⁶

One ongoing project of the Equity League was to collect enrollment cards. These cards read, "I believe in the right of suffrage for women, and I hereby enroll myself as a member of the Mississippi Woman Suffrage

⁶¹ *Equity League Minutes, 1914-1915.*

⁶² "Mississippi," *History of Woman Suffrage*, 329.

⁶³ *Equity League Minutes, 1914-1915.*

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ *Equity League Minutes, 1915-1916.*

Association.”⁶⁷ Those who signed the cards showed their support for the movement without being dues-paying members. The Equity League members worked hard to gather signatures on the cards and even held contests.⁶⁸ Often, these cards were collected at events such as the state fair.⁶⁹ During her MWSA presidential speech, Thompson discussed the cards. She said, “I regard the signing of these cards of utmost importance . . . next year the definite aim be not to double or thribble [sic] the enrollment membership but to at least quadruple it.”⁷⁰ These cards were a way to calculate how many supporters the movement had, and collecting the cards at events provided a means to monitor the success of the event in gaining new supporters. By the end of 1915, the League had collected around 231 enrollment cards.⁷¹

After the United States entered World War I in 1917, the state suffrage organization turned its efforts towards supporting the war.⁷² In 1918, the Equity League again hosted the MWSA for a one-day convention in Jackson at the state house, but no convention was held in 1919.⁷³ Even so, the call for woman suffrage was not unheard. In the following year, a federal amendment was on the horizon, and efforts redoubled with much of the work falling to local organizations such as the Equity League.

The Equity League: Relationship with the Press

Following Thompson’s lead, the Equity League played an active role in presswork. By 1913, the Equity League had assumed responsibility for editing a column in the *Jackson Daily News*. Under the editorship of Fred Sullens, the newspaper was an advocate for the suffrage movement, publishing the Equity League column as well as other suffrage news. Having a column in one of the major newspapers in Mississippi was seen as a triumph by the Equity League and the MWSA.⁷⁴ This relationship continued and is exhibited by Sullens’s presence and par-

⁶⁷ *Equity League Minutes, 1914-1915*.

⁶⁸ *Equity League Minutes, 1911-1914*.

⁶⁹ *Equity League Minutes, 1914-1915*.

⁷⁰ *Minutes of the Ninth Annual Convention: Mississippi Woman Suffrage Association*, 13.

⁷¹ *Equity League Minutes, 1914-1915*.

⁷² “Mississippi,” *History of Woman Suffrage*, 333.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 333-334.

⁷⁴ *Minutes of the Ninth Annual Convention: Mississippi Woman Suffrage Association*, 27.

ticipation in events hosted by the Equity League.⁷⁵ The cozy relationship with the press allowed the Equity League to reach a broad audience. The organization could educate and rally supporters of their cause on a regular basis, not just at one-time events. Thompson had long been an advocate for the use of the press to further the movement, and the active involvement of the Equity League in such endeavors enhanced her efforts.

The Equity League: Supporters of Women's Rights Legislation

From the early days of the woman suffrage movement in Mississippi, the reasoning behind gaining suffrage for women was to give women the ability to actively support certain causes. The movement cited health and education as being in the forefront of its political agenda.⁷⁶ For years, the women of Mississippi, through their clubs and organizations, had passively participated in politics by urging the men in leadership roles to support agendas that were important to them. Therefore, it was not out of the question that women could appeal to their male representatives and be heard, but without the vote women felt removed from fully participating in the political realm that made decisions which affected their lives. Referring to the Mississippi movement, Nellie Nugent Somerville wrote:

The Mississippi suffragist . . . believes the best and quickest way to uplift the State is to give women the ballot, substituting direct power for indirect influence. We believe the majority of Mississippi men will admit the justice of our position, but not the expedience. While patiently waiting for them to come to our point of view we will lend a hand in the upbuilding of our state.⁷⁷

In Mississippi, politics was not unknown to women, but their success without a vote may have worked to their detriment in convincing skeptics and even supporters that women required the vote. As the suffragists who called the state capital home, it often fell on the Equity League to coordinate supporters and lobby legislators when legislation important to women and the suffrage movement was on the table.

⁷⁵ *Equity League Minutes 1914-1915*.

⁷⁶ Somerville, *How Mississippi Women Work for the Vote*.

⁷⁷ *Ibid*.

The Equity League was called to action in this respect in 1914 when a bill important to the suffrage movement was submitted in the Mississippi House of Representatives. The bill, introduced by N. A. Mott, sought an amendment to the Mississippi Constitution giving the right to vote to the women of the state.⁷⁸ Such a bill had been called for by Thompson in her presidential speech the year previously.⁷⁹ The Equity League promoted the bill to legislators and gathered crowds to pack the galleries when the bill was discussed. During one such discussion on January 22, 1914, referred to as the 'suffrage hearing' by the Equity League, six women spoke before the legislature in joint session. As referenced earlier, Thompson was among these women. Unfortunately, the bill failed, and no amendment was made to the state constitution.

Although not as significant as the 1914 legislation, the suffragists of Mississippi continued to work for women's rights when they lobbied in 1915 for legislation that would allow women to serve as leaders of educational institutions. In 1916, the suffragists were successful when a resolution was brought before the legislature that would have made women eligible to serve in leadership positions of state educational facilities. Somerville, past president of the MWSA, and Mrs. J. W. Tucker, a longtime member and leader of the Equity League, were present for the debate at the state capitol. The debate turned toward women's involvement in politics generally and therefore to the suffrage question. The argument became heated, pointing out the controversial nature of the suffrage question in Mississippi. One senator questioned: "Don't you think women would purify politics?" The reply: "Would a hog purify a wallow?"⁸⁰ This exchange verified that not all Mississippians were as amenable to woman suffrage as Somerville had hoped when she wrote, "... the public attitude toward woman suffrage is not so much a hostile one as it is interrogative."⁸¹ Although opposition was openly expressed, there was never an organized opposition to the suffrage movement in Mississippi.⁸²

The Equity League continued to work in Jackson supporting legisla-

⁷⁸ "Mississippi," *History of Woman Suffrage*, 336.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 331.

⁸⁰ "Miller Speaks Hastily," *The Columbus Commercial*, March 23, 1916, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn87065028/1916-03-23/ed-1/seq-2/>.

⁸¹ Somerville, *How Mississippi Women Work for the Vote*.

⁸² "Mississippi," *History of Woman Suffrage*, 335.

tion that aligned with the suffragists' mission. While the state suffrage association was busy with war work in 1918, a bill that again would have amended the state constitution in its favor was introduced. With the state association occupied, the Equity League worked in Jackson to gain support. Unfortunately, the vote resulted in a tie, and again the measure failed.⁸³ Even without a victory gaining women the vote, the suffragists saw the success of much legislation that supported their mission of "upbuilding the state." Working together with other women's clubs and organizations, bills were passed that increased the age of consent and improved child labor restrictions, for example.⁸⁴

The Equity League: A Final Push to Ratification

As witnessed with the reaction to the 1916 bill allowing women to serve as leaders of educational institutions, the woman suffrage issue was a topic of heated discussion in Mississippi politics. Even so, the topic became an even hotter issue when the federal amendment became a possibility. In 1918, the national and state suffrage associations sent out a joint letter urging the suffragists of the state to intensify their efforts as a federal amendment was on the horizon. The MWSA president, Marion Bankston Trotter, admitted, "For lack of a perfected suffrage organization in Mississippi we must depend on individual effort . . . In towns where there are suffrage leagues . . . the requests can be more perfectly carried out."⁸⁵ Thus, the Equity League was called to action. At this time, Thompson, who was serving as MWSA district president for Jackson, was the link between the local Jackson effort and the state, working to achieve the same goal.⁸⁶

Throughout the years, the Equity League stayed positive believing that the hard work invested in each event brought more support to the cause. Despite these efforts, Mississippi as a state did not adopt suffrage for women until the federal amendment allowed all American women to vote. This failure was disappointing for many of the supporters of the movement including Thompson who worked ardently both in Jackson and with the state organization to encourage Mississippi to support

⁸³ Ibid, 336-337.

⁸⁴ Ibid, 337.

⁸⁵ Marion Bankston Trotter, "To the Suffragists of Mississippi," Lily Thompson Collection, Special Collections, University of Mississippi, Oxford, Mississippi; <http://clio.lib.olemiss.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/suffrage/id/287/rec/17>.

⁸⁶ *Ballots for Both: Thirteenth Annual Convention of Mississippi Woman Suffrage Association.*

ratification. The *Jackson Daily News*, the newspaper most supportive of the movement in Jackson, expressed the anticlimactic victory in an article titled “Didn’t Celebrate Suffrage.” The article printed August 29, 1920, reads, “Jackson was probably the only one of the larger cities of Mississippi that didn’t celebrate the granting of suffrage to women on Saturday by the ringing of bells and blowing of whistles.”⁸⁷ Although the women of Mississippi could now vote, it was not due to the support of their state – an outcome that was likely bittersweet to Thompson and her fellow suffragists. It is clear in the Mississippi chapter of *History of Woman Suffrage: 1900-1920* (a chapter to which Thompson was the main contributor) that the women of Mississippi were disappointed with the outcome: “Thus was banished forever the dream of Mississippi suffragists that the women would receive the ballot from the men of this great state.”⁸⁸

The Thompson Family

Not only was Thompson involved in the woman suffrage movement, but her family also took part. In November 1907, the Thompsons hosted a five-day conference at their home. Mr. Thompson was one of only three men in attendance. Their children also took active roles. Thompson’s daughters were often present at meetings supporting their mother and providing entertainment. At the state convention in 1913, Thompson’s daughter, Sarah Summers, read a statement titled “Equal Suffrage Baby” to the audience. Primrose Thompson also participated in this meeting serving as an usher and presenting a “Votes for Women” apron to the keynote speaker, Mrs. Royden Douglass.⁸⁹ Aside from Thompson’s immediate family, enrollment records of the Equity League mention many Wilkinsons and Thompsons—extended family members.⁹⁰

After the Amendment

Thompson was dedicated to preserving the history of Mississippi’s woman suffrage movement. This interest began as early as 1910 when as superintendent of the press she worked on a statement regarding

⁸⁷ “Didn’t Celebrate Suffrage,” *Jackson Daily News*, August 29, 1920, p. 7.

⁸⁸ “Mississippi,” *History of Woman Suffrage*, 341.

⁸⁹ *Minutes of the Ninth Annual Convention: Mississippi Woman Suffrage Association*, 4, 9.

⁹⁰ *Equity Minutes, 1915-1916*.

the history of the movement for the Mississippi Department of Archives and History.⁹¹ She continued this mission by contributing much to the Mississippi chapter in *History of Woman Suffrage, Vol. VI* (pp. 326-341) published in 1922.⁹² Thompson passed away in 1942.⁹³ Over the years, Thompson worked to preserve the movement's history by gathering papers, minutes, and other memorabilia relating to the movement. In 1958, this collection was donated to the University of Mississippi by Mrs. DuAine Morgan.⁹⁴ In celebration of the 90th anniversary of the suffrage amendment, the university made many of these items accessible online at <http://clio.lib.olemiss.edu/cdm/landingpage/collection/suffrage>. The finding aid for this collection quotes Thompson: "Original articles are of immense value. Mississippi people are interested in what Mississippi men and women think on the question, rather than what is being done elsewhere."⁹⁵ This statement accurately reflects Thompson's dedication to presswork throughout the movement and her passion for preserving suffrage history through text. Without her leadership and hard work, the Mississippi suffrage movement, especially in Jackson, would not have been as substantial.

⁹¹ *Sixth Annual Report of the Mississippi Woman Suffrage Association 1910*, 19.

⁹² "Mississippi," *History of Woman Suffrage*, 326.

⁹³ "Lily Thompson," *U.S., Find A Grave Index, 1600s-Current* [database on-line]. Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2012.

⁹⁴ *Finding Aid for the Lily Thompson Collection (MUM00446)*, Special Collections, University of Mississippi Libraries, Oxford, Mississippi; https://olemiss.edu/depts/general_library/archives/finding_aids/MUM00446.html.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

The Mississippi Legislature's Dominance over Budgeting Pre-Reform

by Brian Pugh

The Mississippi Legislature dominated the budget process for just over one hundred years following the end of Reconstruction in 1877, with the exception of a few decades in the early- to mid-twentieth century. The legislature did not control the budget process by giving itself blatant authority; instead, it controlled the budget process by weakening the influence of the executive branch of government. Mississippi governors lack the constitutional and statutory budgetary powers of chief executives in many other states. The Mississippi Legislature has allowed the governor to be a part of the budget preparation and proposal phase since the early 1900s, but it has rarely paid attention to the executive budget recommendation (EBR).

The legislature established the Commission of Budget and Accounting in 1955 to replace the Budget Commission, an executive commission created in 1932 that gave itself control over the budget process. The old Budget Commission had no legislators serving on it, while the new five-member Commission of Budget and Accounting was made up of four legislators and the governor. Today's budget process consists of two budget recommendations sent to the full legislative body, one sent by the governor and the other by the Joint Legislative Budget Committee (JLBC), which the legislature established in 1984. Historically, the latter budget recommendation has been used as the starting point for deliberation on appropriations when the legislative session begins. The JLBC membership currently consists of fourteen individuals, and they are all legislators except the lieutenant governor, an executive branch official who presides over the senate.

BRIAN PUGH is executive director of the Stennis Center for Public Service in Starkville. He previously served as deputy executive director of the Mississippi Department of Finance and Administration, as fiscal policy advisor and director of finance for the Office of the Governor, and as a legislative budget analyst for the Legislative Budget Office. This article is an excerpt from his forthcoming book Chaos and Compromise: The Evolution of the Mississippi Budgeting Process.

Executive Involvement

The legislature gave the executive branch of government the authority to submit a budget recommendation when it approved Senate Bill (S.B.) 356 on March 27, 1918.¹ The senate bill empowered and directed the governor to prepare and submit to the legislature a budget for handling the state's affairs for the biennial period (today the legislature meets annually, and an annual budget is submitted). State agencies that were supported in whole or in part by state funds were required to submit to the governor's office a detailed estimate of expenditures necessary for the biennial period, along with an explanation of the changes compared to the previous year's appropriation. The governor was given the authority to revise the estimates submitted by the agencies and offer his own recommendation to the legislature.

S.B. 356 gave the governor the responsibility to evaluate planned expenditures to make sure they did not exceed anticipated revenue. The governor also had to provide detailed revenue sources for all of his recommended expenditures. In addition, the law mandated that the governor include as part of the budget an official statement by the auditor of public accounts. The auditor of public accounts was then directed to furnish an official budget document consisting of the state income from all sources and expenses, as well as disbursements, for all purposes as shown by the books in the auditor's office for each of the two preceding years. Finally, a detailed statement of the bonded and other indebtedness of the state had to be submitted, along with the revenue and expenditure statement, to show a true picture of the state's financial condition. The governor's budget had to be mailed to each member of the legislature ten days prior to the convening of the legislative session; the governor then had to present the budget on the first day of the session. For thirty-seven years after the passage of S.B. 356—1918 through 1955—the Mississippi budget was prepared by the executive branch and submitted to the legislative branch for consideration.²

Governor Theodore G. Bilbo was in office when S.B. 356 passed, and he was the first governor to submit an executive budget under that act. Bilbo was a very controversial governor, but he found ways to get the legislature to support his fiscal agenda. Bilbo believed that

¹ General Laws of Mississippi of 1918, Ch. 225.

² General Laws of Mississippi of 1918, Ch. 225; General Laws of Mississippi of 1932, Ch. 120; General Laws of Mississippi of 1952, Ch. 320.

the rich should pay more taxes and that the poor should pay less. In his inaugural address to the legislature in 1916, Bilbo explained that the remedy for the state's poor financial situation was "a complete revision of our whole fiscal system under which . . . the tax burden is not only not equal and uniform, as provided in the Constitution, but falls heaviest on those least able to bear it, and in its imposition is grossly unjust, unequal and inequitable."³ He inherited a large budget deficit when he entered office and was successful in recommending several tax measures to correct the situation.

Jackson Daily News editor Fred Sullens, a huge opponent of Bilbo, begrudgingly admitted that "we must give the devil his due and frankly admit that Theodore's administration has been one of substantial achievements."⁴ Eliciting positive words from Bilbo's editorial antagonist, Sullens, was no small feat. It was quite apparent that Sullens was no fan of Bilbo, describing him as "a pimp and frequenter of lewd houses." Bilbo's response to Sullens showed that the resentment was mutual when he retorted that Sullens "is a degenerate by birth, a carpetbagger by inheritance, a liar by instinct, an assassin of character by practice, and a coward by nature!"⁵ Bilbo proved to be both a filthy-mouthed orator as well as a governor who could balance a budget, at least during his first term (1916-1920). Bilbo later was elected to a second term (1928-1932) and had little budget success, leaving office with a huge budget deficit.

Bilbo accomplished his fiscal agenda during his first term while having a less-than-stellar relationship with many members of the legislature. Prior to becoming governor in 1916, a youthful Senator Bilbo was accused by fellow senators of taking bribes and was nearly expelled from the Mississippi Senate. The hearing to expel Bilbo was held on April 14, 1910, and the senate fell only one vote short of the two-thirds majority required to dismiss him, with a final tally of 28 to 15. The senate asked Bilbo to resign after they failed to remove him, but he refused. After Bilbo's refusal to resign, a resolution was adopted by a margin of 25 to 1 condemning his acceptance of a bribe and calling him

³ Nannie Pitts McLemore, "The Progressive Era" in *A History of Mississippi*. Vol. 2 (Hattiesburg, Mississippi: University and College Press of Mississippi, 1973), 61.

⁴ David Sansing, *Mississippi Governors, Soldiers, Statesmen, Scholars, Scoundrels* (Oxford, Mississippi: The Nautilus Publishing Company, 2016).

⁵ Erle Johnston, "A White Suit and Red Necktie" in *Politics: Mississippi Style*. (Forest, Mississippi: Lake Harbor Publishers, 1993), 5.

“unfit to sit with honest, upright men.”⁶

During his first gubernatorial term, Bilbo was successful in getting the legislature to support his fiscal agenda to raise taxes on the rich, but the legislature did not fund his entire budget request. With Bilbo as with other governors, the final budget approved by the legislature, in most cases, was significantly different from what the governor had recommended. Legislatures in other states rarely ever approve executive budgets in their entirety, either, without some modifications.

Martin S. (Mike) Conner was inaugurated as governor of Mississippi on January 19, 1932, during the worst economic depression in American history. Governor Conner was fully aware that he could not dig Mississippi out of the financial crisis alone and knew that it would take a collaborative effort with the legislature. He acknowledged in his inaugural address the grim reality of the disruption in the state economy that he and the members of the legislature had to confront:

We assume our duties when men are shaken with doubt and with fear, and many are wondering if our very civilization is about to crumble. The problems presented to us by this unprecedented, worldwide condition demand for their solution sane minds, clear vision, and courageous hearts . . . In our deliberations here we must speak frankly and act justly.⁷

Conner became familiar with the state's revenue problems when he served as Speaker of the House and had to work with Lieutenant Governor Lee Russell, who was thought to have “run the Senate for Bilbo.”⁸ Then-Speaker Conner and Russell did not get along well. “Despite their personal animosity, Conner and Russell served on a special committee between the 1916 and the 1918 legislative sessions with Alfred Stone, Bilbo's appointee to the new tax commission. Bringing national experts to Jackson, they sought ways to end Mississippi's chronic shortage of tax revenue . . .”⁹ Although Conner prided himself on his commitment

⁶ Ibid, 4.

⁷ David Sansing, *Mississippi Governors, Soldiers, Statesmen, Scholars, Scoundrels* (Oxford, Mississippi: The Nautilus Publishing Company, 2016), 173.

⁸ Dennis J. Mitchell, “War, Depression, and Environmental Restoration” in *A New History of Mississippi* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2014), 312.

⁹ Ibid.

to fiscal responsibility, he understood that drastic measures had to be taken to overcome the state's financial crisis.

Governor Conner inherited a bankrupt treasury and a \$13 million deficit from Bilbo's second term. The "Bilbo administration had bequeathed to its successors a near-empty treasury with a balance of only \$1,326."¹⁰ Conner proposed a three percent sales tax to the legislature to eliminate the deficit.¹¹ Conner did not hide his thoughts of what would happen should the legislature fail to pass a tax increase. He explained:

If you will enact a three percent tax upon sales, together with other revenue measures . . . I am prepared to accept full responsibility for the result . . . If you fail to adopt this program or neglect to make provisions for other suitable and fair means, and as a result, the state's obligations are not met, its credit not restored . . . I warn you now, in all kindness of spirit, and give notice to the people of Mississippi, that I decline to share the responsibility which will be yours."¹²

Connor knew that he would have to get support from key legislative leaders to enact the sales tax. He solicited help from four of the most influential legislators—Speaker of the House Thomas L. Bailey, and representatives Walter Sillers, Laurence Kennedy, and Joseph George, who were known as the "Big Four"—to essentially guarantee that the act would pass. Conner's relationship with members of the Big Four went back to his days as a legislator. "Sillers joined Conner and Bailey to form a clique to run the House of Representatives" before eventually bequeathing "the speakership to Bailey when he resigned to run for governor."¹³ Conner's relationship with the Big Four proved advantageous

¹⁰ J. Oliver Emmerich, "Collapse and Recovery" in *A History of Mississippi*. Vol. 2 (Hattiesburg, Mississippi: University and College Press of Mississippi, 1973), 97.

¹¹ David Sansing, "A Democratic University" in *The University of Mississippi, A Sesquicentennial History* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 1999), 198.

¹² J. Oliver Emmerich, "Collapse and Recovery" in *A History of Mississippi*. Vol. 2 (Hattiesburg, Mississippi: University and College Press of Mississippi, 1973), 103.

¹³ Dennis J. Mitchell, "War, Depression, and Environmental Restoration" in *A New History of Mississippi* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2014), 322. Governor Martin Conner resigned as Speaker of the House to run for governor and was defeated in 1923 and 1927 before finally winning the gubernatorial election in 1931.

in getting the tax increase passed.

The Emergency Revenue Act of 1932 was the “most spectacular fight during [the 1932 legislative] session,” and it became law with the passage of House Bill (H.B.) 328.¹⁴ “By a change of one vote the Emergency Revenue Act was passed and signed into law by Governor Conner on April 26, 1932. It provided for a 2 percent retail sales tax.”¹⁵ With the enactment of the sales tax, Mississippi became one of the first states in the nation to pass a sales tax. The tax increase eventually fixed the revenue problem, and when Conner left office in 1936, the state had a \$3 million surplus.¹⁶ Alfred Holt Stone, chairman of the State Tax Commission, was responsible for the administration of the sales tax, and he stated that “[t]he first six months of operation in Mississippi has resulted in the collection of revenues to the amount of \$1,173,721 . . . We have gone far enough, however, to justify the statement that the administration of the law has been satisfactory.”¹⁷ Conner contributed a great deal to the efforts of returning Mississippi to solvency during the Great Depression, but the state “could not have approached even partial success without the aid of the federal government.”¹⁸

Budget Commission

The financial crisis caused by the Great Depression, along with a critical report on Mississippi government issued by the Brookings Institution, led to legislation being passed to address the fiscal problems.¹⁹ The legislative reaction to the financial crisis and critical report resulted in the passage of H.B. 205 on May 5, 1932, that created the Budget Commission, which was charged with promoting economy and

¹⁴ J. Oliver Emmerich, “Collapse and Recovery” in *A History of Mississippi*. Vol. 2 (Hattiesburg, Mississippi: University and College Press of Mississippi, 1973), 102. Mississippi House of Representatives, *House Journal* 1932, p. 786.

¹⁵ J. Oliver Emmerich, “Collapse and Recovery” in *A History of Mississippi*. Vol. 2 (Hattiesburg, Mississippi: University and College Press of Mississippi, 1973), 104.

¹⁶ David Sansing, *Mississippi Governors, Soldiers, Statesmen, Scholars, Scoundrels* (Oxford, Mississippi: The Nautilus Publishing Company, 2016), 174.

¹⁷ J. Oliver Emmerich, “Collapse and Recovery” in *A History of Mississippi*. Vol. 2 (Hattiesburg, Mississippi: University and College Press of Mississippi, 1973), 104.

¹⁸ Westley F. Busbee, “The Depression Years” in *Mississippi: A History*. 2nd ed. (Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell, 2015), 240.

¹⁹ Edward J. Clynch, “Mississippi’s Taxing and Spending: Have Things Really Changed?” in *Mississippi Government and Politics, Modernizers versus Traditionalists* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1992).

efficiency in the management of the state's finances.²⁰ The legislation designated the governor as ex-officio director of the Budget Commission and the chairman of the State Tax Commission as the assistant director. The assistant director was given the duty of preparing and submitting to the governor a balanced state budget, consisting of all expenditures and revenue, for consideration every other year. The necessary clerical assistance needed to prepare the budget was provided by employees of the governor and the State Tax Commission's office without extra compensation. The attorney general was required to provide any necessary legal advice or services that the Budget Commission might need.

Governor Conner was the first director of the Budget Commission, and Alfred Holt Stone was the first assistant director since he chaired the State Tax Commission.²¹ Although the governor was responsible for appointing the chairman of the State Tax Commission, once he made his appointment, the chairman would serve six years in that position, outlasting the governor's four-year term.²² The State Tax Commission, like other state agencies, was heavily influenced by the legislature because it was dependent on the legislature for its appropriation. Knowing that the governor could not dismiss him after he was appointed, Stone was probably more likely to be loyal to the legislature because governors would come and go, while legislative leaders, who were involved in the budget process, were often there for a much longer period of time. Furthermore, the governor did not decide how much funding the State Tax Commission would receive because funding levels for agencies were determined by the legislature.

The structural make-up of the Budget Commission was clearly established to be an executive agency. However, agencies sometimes got confused when trying to determine who made some of the budget deci-

²⁰ General Laws of Mississippi of 1932, Ch. 120.

²¹ Alfred Holt Stone was 79 when he was reappointed to an unprecedented fourth term as Mississippi's Tax Commissioner in April 1950, making him one of the oldest officeholders in Mississippi's history. Hollandsworth, James G. "Alfred Holt Stone (1870-1955): His Unique Collection of Reading Material About People of African Descent," in *Mississippi History Now*. <http://mshistorynow.mdah.state.ms.us/articles/264/alfred-holt-stone-1870-1955-his-unique-collection-of-reading-material-about-people-of-african-descent> (accessed on February 19, 2019).

²² Until the Mississippi Constitution of 1890 was amended in 1986, governors served four-year terms and were ineligible for immediate succession, while members of the State Tax Commission served six-year terms. Kirk Fordice was the first governor elected to successive terms when he was reelected for a second term in 1995, and he served for a total of eight years. The only other governor in the 20th century, prior to Fordice, who served more than four consecutive years was Fielding Wright (1946-1952) because he filled the vacated governor's seat after the death of Thomas Bailey who died in office in 1946.

sions that were recommended to the legislature because some agencies believed that legislators had indirect involvement and influence over the Budget Commission. This claim was debatable, but confusion with regard to the status of the commission was undeniably evident. An article published in *The Clarion-Ledger* in June 1953 alluded to confusion concerning the Budget Commission when it explained that the commission "is considered something of an arm of the executive department on the one hand and of the legislature on the other."²³ H.B. 205 required the assistant director to submit a balanced state budget, and he was given the authority to demand any information or records from state entities that might be necessary for preparing the state budget. The legislature gave the assistant director supervision over every state agency and/or department that was supported in whole or in part by the state. This was done to secure uniformity and accuracy of accounts and efficient conduct of the state's financial affairs, according to the legislation.

The state budget was prepared by the assistant director and staff under the governor's instructions. Governors operating under H.B. 205 could have elected to be more involved in the budgeting process because they had the option to accept or reject the prepared budget recommendation, but in most cases, they simply endorsed the assistant director's plan.²⁴ The assistant director's influence basically ended at the conclusion of the budget preparation and proposal phase because the legislature did not have to seek assistance from the Budget Commission after receiving its recommendation.

One power given to the Budget Commission that went beyond the budget preparation and proposal phase was the ability to allow state agencies to exceed their appropriation during emergencies. The legislature could deal with emergencies if it was in session, but this authority allowed the Budget Commission to address emergencies occurring at any time. During such emergencies, the governor had to justify his reasons for approving excess spending, and the commission had authority to limit the time and prescribe the conditions under which the emergencies applied.

In 1952, the legislature passed S.B. 613, which amended the statute

²³ "Ellis Becomes New Building Director," in the *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, June 3, 1953.

²⁴ Edward J. Clynn, "Mississippi's Taxing and Spending: Have Things Really Changed?" in *Mississippi Government and Politics: Modernizers versus Traditionalists* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1992).

pertaining to the Budget Commission.²⁵ The duties of the Budget Commission did not change; it was still charged with promoting economy and efficiency in the management of the state's finances. The purpose of amending the statute was to clarify and prescribe the methods of employing and fixing salaries of the personnel of the commission. The legislation gave significant power to the executive branch by giving the governor the authority to appoint an executive secretary who would be responsible for carrying out the provisions of all laws pertaining to the Budget Commission and running the Budget Commission office. The governor was not only given the authority to appoint the secretary, but he was also in charge of setting the secretary's salary.

Prior to the passage of S.B. 613, the staff of the State Tax Commission was responsible for most of the administrative work needed to formulate a state budget. But the amended statute now allowed the new executive secretary to employ his own staff, who were subject to dismissal by the secretary with the governor's approval. Altering the method of hiring the staff assured allegiance to the governor and took away all the power that was previously held by the chairman of the State Tax Commission while serving as assistant director of the Budget Commission.

Mississippi Commission of Budget and Accounting

The executive-centered Budget Commission was abolished in 1955 when the legislature passed H.B. 177 to create the Mississippi Commission of Budget and Accounting, which totally changed the budget process by transforming it into a legislatively-dominated one.²⁶ The legislature made it clear that budget decisions were best decided by members of the legislature since eighty percent of the new commission's members were legislators themselves.

The Commission of Budget and Accounting consisted of the governor serving as ex-officio chairman and four legislators. Governor Hugh White served as the first chairman of the commission, and the remaining members of the commission were the following legislators: J. O. (Click) Clark, president pro tempore of the Senate; Senator Earl Evans Jr., chairman of the Senate Finance Committee; Representative

²⁵ General Laws of Mississippi of 1952, Ch. 320.

²⁶ General Laws of Mississippi of the Extraordinary Session of 1955, Ch. 24.

H. Tyler Holmes, chairman of the House Appropriations Committee; and Representative Hilton Waits, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee. The commission was later expanded to eleven members, and the additional six members were all legislators except the lieutenant governor, who presides over the senate.

Having members of the executive and legislative branches of government serving on the same commission that controlled both the budget preparation and proposal phase and other budgeting functions was very uncommon, in other states as well as in Mississippi. Prior to the creation of the new commission, Mississippi was similar to other states and allowed the executive branch to submit a budget recommendation to the legislature, and then the legislature accepted some of the recommendations while also rejecting others. It seemed odd that the legislature would want to be involved in recommending a budget to itself, and this new method was clearly outside the norm of other states. Charles Hills of *The Clarion-Ledger* explained that the legislative “act as adopted by both houses . . . has created a far-reaching system of checking state operational costs and estimating of new budgets.”²⁷

One could easily interpret the creation of the Commission of Budget and Accounting as legislative overreach, but Governor Hugh White did not seem to see it that way. When asked by reporters about his opinion of the bill and if he would sign it, White explained that he had not yet read the act and must study the bill before deciding to sign it or not. Although he admitted to not having read the bill, he indicated that he was fairly certain that he would sign it and create the new commission. White concluded to the reporters that he had not yet made his decision, but “[I] understand, however, that the act is a good one.”²⁸

Similar to the Budget Commission, the Commission of Budget and Accounting controlled spending authority and management of all state agencies, departments, and institutions. The new commission, like the previous one, was required to submit to the legislature an overall balanced budget of the entire expenditures and revenue of the state for each biennium. The commission had to submit the budget prior to the first day of December before the legislature convened for the legislative session. Although some of the authority was the same as the Budget Commission, the Commission of Budget and Accounting was given much

²⁷ Charles M. Hills, “Affairs of State,” in the *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, March 28, 1955.

²⁸ Ibid.

greater duties.

The Commission of Budget and Accounting's business and day-to-day operations were administered by an executive secretary who was appointed by the commission and served at the will and pleasure of the commission. The legislation also gave the secretary the authority to appoint a staff. The secretary was required to consult with the Senate Finance Committee, the House Ways and Means Committee, and House Appropriations Committee whenever those committees needed assistance during the legislative session. The staff responsible for administrative support that was needed to create the budget recommendation answered directly to the secretary.

The commission selected W. R. Carbrey of Columbia, Mississippi, as the first executive secretary of the Commission of Budget and Accounting; prior to being appointed, Carbrey had served as executive secretary of the Budget Commission.²⁹ Soon after his appointment to the newly created commission, Carbrey fell ill and Frank W. Ellis Jr. (serving as acting secretary) and Joe B. Keith (chief accountant) had to "perform immediate initial preparation for the setting up of the new budget."³⁰ Carbrey eventually resigned the executive secretary position in 1956, and the commission named Ellis to replace him.

Ellis was quite candid about the Commission of Budget and Accounting's influence on the legislature. Agencies were rarely ever thrilled about the commission's recommendations and were accustomed to appealing to the legislature to get their way. Ellis explained that most agency heads end up going to the legislature "either to say how glad [they are] or how mad [they are]" and went on to add that "history shows that the legislature usually accepts the recommendations of the [. . .] commission."³¹ The reason that the legislature generally took the advice of the commission was due to the makeup of the commission. Most of the legislators serving on the commission were experienced legislative leaders and usually more knowledgeable on budgeting matters, which is why their legislative peers were more likely to accept their recommendation. Additionally, the full legislative body dealt with many issues throughout the legislative session and simply had no time to review all of the agency requests, therefore making them quite dependent on their

²⁹ The *Jackson Clarion-Ledger* and the *Columbian-Progress*, May 27, 1955. The *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, June 9, 1953.

³⁰ The *Jackson Clarion-Ledger* and the *Columbian-Progress*, May 27, 1955.

³¹ Tim Parker, The *Delta Democrat-Times*, Greenville, Mississippi, July 15, 1957.

legislative colleagues who were members of the commission. Governor J. P. Coleman, chairman of the commission, explained in 1957 how he did not see any prospects for salary increases for state employees and went on to mention that some agencies might have to cut their budgets. It was not uncommon for governors to make premature, broad statements pertaining to budget increases or decreases, similar to the statement made by Coleman, knowing that the final decision would be left up the legislature.

The commission's first biennial report clearly showed that the legislature listened to the Commission of Budget and Accounting more so than it had to the Budget Commission. The executive budget recommendation (EBR) submitted by the Budget Commission for the 1954-1956 biennial period was \$137,251,000, and the final amount approved by the legislature was \$168,030,877, a difference of \$30,779,877 or a whopping twenty-two percent. The Commission of Budget and Accounting submitted its first recommendation for the 1956-1958 biennial period for \$183,003,897, and the final amount approved by the legislature was \$186,125,587, a difference of only \$3,121,690 or slightly less than two percent.³²

The commission had its critics, especially when it came to revenue estimating. Three years after the creation of the commission, State Auditor Boyd Golding thought that the commission did a very poor job of anticipating incoming revenue. Golding explained that the auditor's office handles all of the "incoming money" and "outgoing money" and is in a "better position" to determine the financial picture of the state. Furthermore, Golding stated that the commission and its predecessor, for the past decade, has "consistently missed" its revenue estimates, and he predicted that the general fund would be depleted by July 1, 1958, although the state will actually have a surplus of "around \$28 million."³³

Today, a professional revenue estimating committee consisting of the state economist, who is employed at the University Research Center, and professional staff members of the Department of Revenue (previously known as the State Tax Commission), predicts revenue estimates for the upcoming fiscal year and makes a recommendation to the legislature

³² Biennial Report of the State Budget Commission from July 1, 1955 through June 30, 1957.

³³ "Golding Says Budgeteers Find Figures By Motions," in the *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, May 2, 1958.

and governor to be jointly adopted.³⁴ The revenue estimate is then used as a starting point for the legislative budget recommendation (LBR) and EBR. Although Mississippi law gives revenue estimating authority to the University Research Center and the Department of Revenue only, three other agencies assist in this process: the Legislative Budget Office (LBO), the Office of the State Treasurer, and the Department of Finance and Administration (DFA). It is ironic that the agencies that informally assist with revenue-estimating today do not include the Office of the State Auditor, which was quite critical of the revenue estimating process in 1958.³⁵

Legislative Encroachment on Executive Functions

Mississippi's budget process consists of three formal phases: budget preparation and proposal, legislative budget approval, and budget execution. Budget proposal and control are both responsibilities of the executive branch in most states, and the legislatures are responsible for the approval phase. With the creation of the Commission of Budget and Accounting, Mississippi became unique because the legislative branch of government was now involved in all three phases of the budget process. There is also an informal fourth phase, the review/reporting phase, which will not be discussed because it is not mandatory for all Mississippi agencies.³⁶

First, the commission was in charge of the budget preparation and proposal phase because agencies had to submit their budget requests to the commission, and the commission then submitted a budget recommendation to the full legislative body. Second, Mississippi statutes and judicial decisions give the legislature the sole responsibility for adopting budgets and appropriating funds, which is still the case today. The legislative approval phase is best explained as a time when it is

³⁴ Mississippi Code of 1972, *Annotated*, Sections 27-103-125, 27-103-139, 27-103-211, and 27-104-13, available at <http://www.lexisnexis.com>. The law does not specify which professional staffers from the Department of Revenue are to assist the revenue estimating committee, so that decision is made by the State Tax Commissioner. The revenue estimating committee makes a recommendation to the Joint Legislative Budget Committee (not the entire legislature) and governor to be jointly adopted.

³⁵ "Golding Says Budgeteers Find Figures By Motions," in the *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, May 2, 1958.

³⁶ The reviews and reports stage involves various people looking at a budget year to see what can be learned, and producing required and perhaps optional reports in connection with or independent of reviews. Parties internal and external to an organization conduct reviews.

the executive branch's job to "step back and leave it in the hands of the legislature."³⁷ Finally, the budget control component of the budget execution phase, which was by far the most controversial in Mississippi, had extensive legislative involvement because legislators were serving as board members for key executive branch agencies and participated in the control and administration of agency programs. Additionally, the commission itself, which was also dominated by legislators, exercised budget control functions over executive agencies. The executive agencies that were dominated by legislative members were in violation of the state constitution's separation of powers. Because of legislative influence over the budget process, agency directors who were selected by boards and commissions (and non-legislative members of those boards) were more likely to take their cues from . . . legislative board members.³⁸

Legislative Power Weakened

It was clear that the Commission of Budget and Accounting held a substantial amount of power over the budget process because it was heavily involved with the preparation and control of the budget. Although the executive branch was annoyed with legislative domination over the process, it recognized the rights granted by law for the legislature to be a part of the preparation and approval phases. However, legislative involvement in the budget control component of the budget execution phase was beginning to draw negative attention because most spending decisions were decided at this phase, allowing the legislature to function "as a de facto quasi-parliamentary system with state agencies responsible to the legislature."³⁹ In the early 1980s, a total of thirty-six legislators were serving on the Commission of Budget and Accounting and eight executive boards and commissions that were directly responsible for implementing government services to citizens of Mississippi. The constitutionality of legislators serving on executive boards and commissions was eventually challenged when Attorney General Bill Allain filed suit on April 7, 1982, to have the legislators removed from

³⁷ Dall W. Forsythe, "Memos to the Governor: An Introduction to State Budgeting," 2nd ed. (Georgetown University Press, Washington D.C., 2004), 65.

³⁸ Edward J. Clynn, "Mississippi's Taxing and Spending: Have Things Really Changed?" in *Mississippi Government and Politics, Modernizers versus Traditionalists* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), 178.

³⁹ Ibid.

those boards.

Hinds County Circuit Court

Judge Charles Barber of the Circuit Court of the First Judicial District of Hinds County heard the “separation of powers” case for three days in November 1982 with testimony from Attorney General Allain and Ed Brunini, the Jackson attorney representing the legislators. Oddly enough, the legislators never denied the fact that the constitution clearly separates the powers of government among the three branches of government. Brunini explained to Judge Barber that there is “no such thing as the schoolboy notion of a complete separation of powers” because each case has to be viewed “in its own situation.” Allain responded that the legislators are “not even denying that these are executive boards. They just keep talking about this blending, this melding of responsibilities. Their idea of cooperation is that there should be a member of the legislature sitting right up there with you [pointing to Judge Barber] . . . When do you start this blending . . . Where are you going to stop?” implying that the legislature will next start interfering with judicial functions.⁴⁰ On February 3, 1983, Judge Barber declared the controverted statutes unconstitutional to the extent they authorized legislators to sit on the executive boards. Furthermore, Judge Barber’s order removed legislators from executive boards and commissions, with the exception of Representative Charles Young (who served on the Board of Corrections before he became a legislator), and ousted them from the legislature (legislators never actually vacated their legislative seats).⁴¹ The court’s final judgment was to become effective on January 1, 1984.

Supreme Court

The thirty-six legislators appealed the verdict to the Mississippi Supreme Court, and they were taken by surprise when all nine justices

⁴⁰ Cliff Treysens, “Allain’s Legislators Suit Is Heard,” the *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, November 16, 1982.

⁴¹ According to House legislative attorney, Ronny Frith, Charles Young was not ousted from the legislature because he was already serving on the Board of Corrections before he became a member of the legislature. Because the other legislators became members of the executive boards and commissions after they were in the legislature, they vacated their office in the legislature by accepting their appointments in the executive branch. Mississippi Constitution of 1890 (Section 2).

joined in a unanimous opinion on November 23, 1983, that upheld the lower court's decision. The case, *Alexander v. State of Mississippi by and Through Allain* (1983), was concerned with the rights and prerogatives of the executive and legislative branches of state government. The separation of powers lawsuit was taken to the supreme court for an interpretation of Article I, Sections 1 and 2 of the Mississippi Constitution of 1890. The two debatable sections in need of clarification were:

“Section 1. The powers of government of the state of Mississippi shall be divided into three distinct departments, and each of them confided to a separate magistracy, to-wit: those which are legislative to one, those which are judicial to another, and those which are executive to another.

Section 2. No one person or collection of persons, being one or belonging to one of these departments, shall exercise any power properly belonging to either of the others . . .”⁴²

The Mississippi Supreme Court's sentiment for upholding the lower court's verdict was not surprising based on Chief Justice Neville Patterson's simple opening paragraph of his opinion describing the situation. He explained that “[i]n broad terms the issue presented is whether Article I, Sections 1 and 2 should be interpreted faithfully . . . or whether it should be interpreted loosely so that efficiency in government through permissive overlapping of departmental functions becomes paramount to the written word.”⁴³

The supreme court declared that a loose interpretation of the Mississippi Constitution, for the sake of efficiency, is clearly a violation of the law and gave the legislature seven months, until July 1, 1984, to remove its members from the boards and commissions in the executive branch. The supreme court's separation of powers decision gave the executive branch authority over the budget control, while the legislature continued to control the budget proposal and legislative approval phases in the budget process. Although the separation of powers lawsuit made it clear that the governor was responsible for budget control, the legislature still would be able to influence and control agencies indirectly

⁴² *Alexander v. State of Mississippi By and Through Allain*, 441 So. 2d 1329 (Miss. 1983).

⁴³ *Ibid.*

in this phase because they could always retaliate against disobedient agencies by providing less funding in the next fiscal year.

The Final Budget Proposal by the Commission of Budget and Accounting

The Commission of Budget and Accounting submitted its final budget proposal to the legislature in the fall of 1983 for the 1984 session. This particular budget proposal was not only unique in the fact that it was the last one ever to be submitted by the soon-to-be obsolete commission, but it was also peculiar because the commission elected to present two budgets for the legislature's consideration. The law at that time required the commission to prepare a balanced budget in which the general fund expenditures could not exceed the estimated revenues.⁴⁴ Because of the sluggish economy at the time, the commission was forced to reduce budgets by over \$240 million from legislative appropriations since FY 1981 in order to comply with the law requiring a balanced budget. The commission explained that "[t]hese funding reductions, taken to maintain a balanced budget, have seriously eroded the state's ability to provide basic essential services that the citizens of Mississippi need and deserve."⁴⁵ The commission decided that it wanted to recommend the appropriation of more funds than the anticipated revenue would cover, so it submitted a balanced budget and an alternate, unbalanced budget. A statute that has since been repealed allowed the commission, at the time, to propose an alternative budget that was approximately \$68 million higher than the anticipated revenue estimate.⁴⁶ The commission felt that it fulfilled its statutory obligation by adopting the balanced budget, in which the general fund expenditures and revenues both totaled \$1.36 billion. However, the alternate budget totaling \$1.43

⁴⁴ Mississippi Code of 1972, *Annotated*, Section 27-103-13 (repealed). The successor provision for the Legislative Budget Office is found in Section 27-103-113, available at <http://www.lexisnexis.com>.

⁴⁵ Commission of Budget and Accounting. State of Mississippi Budget Report for FY July 1, 1984 to June 30, 1985.

⁴⁶ Mississippi Code of 1972, *Annotated*, Section 27-103-27 (repealed). The last sentence of the paragraph of the referenced section was used by the Commission of Budget and Accounting in 1984 to propose an alternative budget. The sentence read "the commission may recommend additional taxes or sources of revenue if in its judgment such additional funds are necessary to adequately support the functions of the state government." The successor provision for the Legislative Budget Office is found in Section 27-103-125, available at <http://www.lexisnexis.com>.

billion was the commission's preferred budget.

The alternate budget proposal was used in a way to recommend additional funding that could only come from the legislature and not the commission. It was a consensus among the committee members that the estimated revenue that would be collected during the next fiscal year would not adequately support the essential functions of state government. The commission felt that the alternate budget was necessary because it believed that the functions of state government would be severely harmed under the commission's statutorily required budget of \$1.36 billion. The alternate budget did not include any new programs, and it was intended to provide the same level of services as provided in FY 1984.⁴⁷

Mississippi Administrative Reorganization Act of 1984

The supreme court's decision in the *Alexander* case temporarily set the legislature back in the budget process. The court's order to remove the legislature from the budget control component of the budget execution phase instantly increased the executive branch's power in the budget process. The legislature responded to the supreme court's decision by passing S.B. 3050 during the 1984 legislative session, a 350-page bill that removed all legislators from all executive branch boards and commissions, while simultaneously consolidating a number of agencies under the governor's office.⁴⁸ That act, known as the Mississippi Administrative Reorganization Act of 1984, abolished the Commission of Budget and Accounting and created the Joint Legislative Budget Committee (JLBC) to make recommendations regarding budget making to the entire legislative body and the state Fiscal Management Board (FMB) to carry out budget control. The JLBC and FMB were both responsible for the budget preparation and proposal phase. The creation of the FMB, which was composed of the governor and two other members appointed by the governor with the advice and consent of the senate, enhanced the power of the governor in the budget process. The governor was made chairman of the board, and no board action could be valid without the governor's approval along with one other member,⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Commission of Budget and Accounting. State of Mississippi Budget Report for FY July 1, 1984 to June 30, 1985.

⁴⁸ General Laws of Mississippi of 1984, Ch. 488.

⁴⁹ General Laws of Mississippi of 1984, Ch. 488, Section 75.

which basically gave the governor veto power over FMB actions. The governor also was given the authority to hire the FMB director and six analysts, which strengthened his control over FMB actions. In addition to implementing the budget through budget control, the FMB was also given the responsibility of producing an EBR.⁵⁰

The FMB was given jurisdiction over the functions of state government that were previously under the Commission of Budget and Accounting, placing them under a Bureau of Budget and Fiscal Management and a Bureau of Administration. The Bureau of Budget and Fiscal Management consisted of the following three divisions: budget, fiscal management, and bond advisory. The divisions that made up the Bureau of Administration included purchasing, insurance, and administrative. The reorganization act also centralized and placed a number of governmental units within the Office of the Governor that were not previously there.⁵¹

The legislature preserved as much power as possible by establishing a legislative budget process and creating JLBC to administer the process. The JLBC consisted of the lieutenant governor and the same legislative members that made up the constitutionally infirm Commission of Budget and Accounting and excluded the governor. The JLBC consisted of eleven members when first established and was later increased to fourteen members in 1999. The initial JLBC members, post reorganization, consisted of the following: Brad Dye, lieutenant governor; Thomas L. Brooks, president pro tempore of the Senate; Bob Montgomery, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee; Glenn Deweese, chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee; Senator Robert L. Crook; C. B. (Buddy) Newman, Speaker of the House of Representatives; F. Edwin Perry, chairman of the House Appropriations Committee; H. L. Meridith, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee; Representative Ted J. Millette; and Representative James C. Simpson. The JLBC was now responsible for producing a legislative budget proposal that was completely independent of the executive budget produced by the FMB.

The JLBC employed a professional staff, called the Legislative Budget Office (LBO), consisting of a director and seven analysts. Bobby Greenlee was selected by JLBC to serve as the director of LBO, and

⁵⁰ General Laws of Mississippi of 1984, Ch. 488, Section 76. Clynych, Edward J. "Mississippi's Taxing and Spending: Have Things Really Changed?" in *Mississippi Government and Politics: Modernizers versus Traditionalists* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), 179.

⁵¹ General Laws of Mississippi of 1984, Ch. 488, Section 76.

a many of the budget analysts on his new staff previously served as analysts for the Commission of Budget and Accounting. Other budget analysts who had previously worked for the Commission of Budget and Accounting went to work for FMB after the commission was dissolved. When Jim Cofer served as the director of the Commission of Budget and Accounting, Greenlee had served as one of the deputy directors. The duties of LBO included providing fiscal support necessary to enable JLBC and the legislature to adopt a balanced state budget. In order for LBO staff to assist JLBC in adopting a state budget, it was necessary for LBO analysts to work closely with state agencies to understand their budget needs. Prior to making a staff recommendation to JLBC, Greenlee explained that his staff “worked with the 175 state agencies presenting budget proposals and came up with recommendations.”⁵² The JLBC then reviewed the staff recommendation, made changes, and then made their own recommendation based on information compiled and analyzed by their staff. The JLBC proposal was known as the legislative budget recommendation (LBR), which was one of the two budget proposals presented to the full legislative body. The other budget proposal was the executive budget recommendation (EBR), recommended by FMB. Having the two budget recommendations proposed for the 1985 legislative session was the first time that competing recommendations had ever been made in Mississippi’s history.⁵³ Although the legislature increased the executive involvement in the budget process substantially in S.B. 3050, legislative leaders were intentional in drafting the bill in a way to preserve the legislature’s dominance over the budget preparation and proposal phase. Governor Bill Allain was the first governor post reorganization to present a budget proposal, and his passive approach to his recommendation was likely because he thought that the “legislature would disregard his budget.”⁵⁴ Allain was correct in his assumption that legislators would place little emphasis on his executive budget and that they would pay more attention to the budget prepared by the JLBC.

Prior to the passage of the reorganization act, the Commission of Budget and Accounting, which consisted of legislative leaders and the

⁵² Peggy Austin, “Two Government Units Arrive at Budget Proposals,” *Jackson Daily News*, November 28, 1984.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Edward J. Clynych, “Mississippi’s Taxing and Spending: Have Things Really Changed?” in *Mississippi Government and Politics: Modernizers versus Traditionalists* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), 180.

governor, adopted an annual general fund revenue estimate that was used as a starting point for the budget recommendation, and the commission also adopted the final revenue estimate (known as the “sine die estimate”) that was used to build the next fiscal year’s budget during the legislative session. A year after the reorganization act was passed, the legislature passed a law specifying that the legislature’s sine die estimate was the official state estimate.⁵⁵ Although the law gave sole authority to the legislative branch—more specifically the Legislative Budget Office—for adopting the sine die estimate, the state fiscal officer, under the guidance of the governor, was given the responsibility of reducing budgets if revenue estimates failed to meet projections.⁵⁶

The legislature would not have abolished the powerful Commission of Budget and Accounting if it had not been forced to do so by the courts. Legislation has been passed in the years following the 1984 supreme court decision that tweaked the budget process, but none was on the scale of the Mississippi Administrative Reorganization Act of 1984. The legislative branch enjoyed many years of budget domination before the constitutionality of legislators serving on executive boards and commissions was challenged, and although some budget powers were lost, the legislature was the one charged with coming up with a solution to the problem. The legislature passed S.B. 3050 in 1984, which satisfied the court’s separation of powers issue while simultaneously preserving as much legislative power as legally allowed. Although the legislative branch fared well post reorganization, many legislators were not happy that they were forced to reorganize the budget process in the first place. The reorganization act remains the most drastic change to the budget process to this day, and while it was a small setback for the legislative branch at the time, the legislature has continued to find ways to keep the upper hand over the process.

No individual was more affected by the Mississippi Administrative Reorganization Act of 1984 than Bill Allain. Allain was the attorney general who brought the suit against the legislators who were serving on executive boards and commissions, which resulted in the demise of the Commission of Budget and Accounting. Allain was ironically elected governor a few weeks before the Mississippi Supreme Court rendered its decision that upheld the Hinds County Circuit Court’s earlier decision

⁵⁵ General Laws of Mississippi of 1985, Ch. 525, Section 7. The current provision is found in Mississippi Code of 1972, *Annotated*, Section 27-104-13.

⁵⁶ Mississippi Code of 1972, *Annotated*, Section 27-104-13.

declaring the practice of legislators serving on executive boards and commissions as an unconstitutional violation of separation of powers. The supreme court's decision on November 28, 1983, made Allain the first governor to serve under the reorganization act.

Ole Miss's New Deal: Building White Democracy at the University of Mississippi, 1933-1941

by Jack Carey

On the afternoon of September 19, 1936, three thousand spectators sat in the “sulky humidity” of a beaming sun” and watched the University of Mississippi’s football team defeat the visiting team from Union University in Jackson, Tennessee, 45-0.¹ The game was the first that the football team at the University of Mississippi played as the “Ole Miss Rebels.” Commentators at the university were unable to resist the play of words made possible by a game that saw the Rebels maul a squad from Union; one account described the game as a reenactment of the Battle of Bull Run.² On New Year’s Day of 1936, the team played against Catholic University in the prestigious Orange Bowl in Miami.³ The decade prior to World War II when the university’s football team became the Ole Miss Rebels was one of success and increasing prominence.

On November 29, 1941, twenty-eight thousand spectators packed the university’s Hemingway Stadium to watch Ole Miss play a “brilliantly bitter game” against Mississippi State for the Southeastern Conference championship.⁴ Although that day ended with a loss to the rivals from Starkville, the university community would remember the pre-World War II years as a “‘Golden Era’ of Ole Miss football.”⁵

While Ole Miss was becoming the Rebels, the University of Mississippi was benefiting from the largesse of the federal government. Through President Franklin D. Roosevelt’s New Deal, the university received well over \$1.25 million in direct aid between 1933 and 1941. Federal money paid for the football stadium that fans packed to watch

¹ Memphis *Commercial Appeal*, September 20, 1936, section II, p. 1.

² *Ole Miss*, Volume XLI, 1937, 194.

³ Lawrence Wells, *Ole Miss Football* (Oxford, MS: Sports Yearbook Company, 1980), 50-51.

⁴ Memphis *Commercial Appeal*, November 30, 1941, section I, p. 1.

⁵ *Ole Miss*, Volume LI, 1947, 283.

JACK CAREY is an instructor in the Department of American Studies at the University of Alabama. He received a bachelor’s degree in history from the University of Georgia. At the University of Mississippi, he earned an M.A. and Ph.D., with a specialization in the intellectual and cultural history of the South.

the Rebels play. It also paid for a swimming pool, a student union, an astronomical observatory, dormitories, faculty cottages, and over a dozen fraternity and sorority houses. In other ways, federal money remade the university's campus by funding maintenance projects, providing for landscaping, and paving roads and walkways. Beyond these and additional construction projects, the New Deal employed students whose poverty otherwise would have forced them to suspend their studies and expanded the university's clerical and research staffs.⁶

This article treats Ole Miss's New Deal benefits as a case study in the ways white southerners strengthened Jim Crow by using federal money and programs to design a future that combined the expansion of white democracy with the exclusion of African Americans. Ole Miss's use of the New Deal is one example of what historian Jason Morgan Ward has called the "long segregationist movement." Ward has argued that the white supremacists who defended "white democracy" against challenges to segregation were doing more than resorting to "knee-jerk insurgency"; instead, they were engaging in a "carefully constructed political project" to protect "a racial worldview and a political order."⁷ Though this article responds to Ward's call for a "new periodization that complicates the linear narrative of scholarship that dates organized segregationist opposition from the 1950s," it breaks with two components of Ward's argument.⁸ First, in describing the worldview of white supremacists, Ward writes of "longstanding anxieties" and "intertwined fears of social equality and political parity."⁹ In other words, his thesis is a narrative of defensive white supremacists imagining the future through their fears, not their aspirations—a story of politicians and policymakers who sought to use the Democratic Party to take "refuge,"

⁶ According to Davis Douglas Buchanan, Jr., federal money used in the construction project alone at the University under the New Deal surpassed \$1,250,000. Buchanan's calculations do not include aid that students at the University received through FERA and NYA programs. Buchanan's study of federal spending at the University under the New Deal based its numbers on a combination of local reports and university records; Davis Douglas Buchanan, Jr., "A Million Dollars in Concrete and Steel: Federal Aid to the University of Mississippi in the New Deal Era," (Master's thesis, University of Mississippi, 1997), 25-75. For the years 1935-1940 alone, David Sansing cites "more than a million dollars" in federal money coming to the university; David G. Sansing, *The University of Mississippi: A Sesquicentennial History* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1999), 252.

⁷ Jason Morgan Ward, *Defending White Democracy: The Making of a Segregationist Movement and the Remaking of Racial Politics, 1936-1965* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 2.

⁸ Ibid, 5-6.

⁹ Ibid, 4, 7.

and to make use of “resistance politics” in their “struggle to defend the color line” and the “segregated status quo.”¹⁰ Second, Ward portrays the New Deal as a period of “racially charged confrontations” between southern and national Democrats that called into question the “mythical permanency” of white supremacy and “fueled southern unease with the changes, rumored and real, taking place around them.”¹¹ Ward’s analysis of the meaning of the New Deal for white supremacists adheres to ones made in other influential works. Glenda Gilmore, for example, has argued that the New Deal represented a pivot when white supremacists who had attempted to extend and export segregation in the 1910s and 1920s retreated and “circled their wagons to defend Jim Crow.”¹²

This article, however, tells the story of white supremacists’ enthusiastic embrace of the New Deal as a mechanism to build up white democracy; it is not a story about anxiety, defensiveness, or preservation. Instead of trying to shelter or protect segregation against external threats, students and administrators at the University of Mississippi sought to build a greater university that served a broader white community and moved beyond the problems of exclusivity and class tension of the institution’s past. In this vision, white supremacists confidently harnessed the New Deal for what it made possible, as opposed to fearing it for what it threatened to challenge. This article thus follows Ira Katznelson in thinking of the New Deal as an era when southerners “did more than defend the racial status quo” and, indeed, “fortified Jim Crow.”¹³ Operating from a position of security and safety, Katznelson argues that southern New Dealers seized “a golden opportunity” and “almost giddily propelled the New Deal’s radical economic policies, a program that offered the South the chance to escape its colonized sta-

¹⁰ Ibid, 2, 4, 6.

¹¹ Ibid, 28.

¹² Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore, *Defying Dixie: The Radical Roots of Civil Rights, 1919-1950* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2008), 6. Other key works that have emphasized the extent to which the New Deal represented an early threat to Jim Crow include: Patricia Sullivan, *Days of Hope: Race and Democracy in the New Deal Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), chapter 2; Harvard Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks: The Emergence of Civil Rights as a National Issue* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), chapter 5; John Egerton, *Speak Now against the Day: The Generation before the Civil Rights Movement in the South* (New York: Knopf, 1994), 104-120; and Kari Frederickson, *The Dixiecrat Revolt and the End of the Solid South, 1932-1968* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), chapter 1.

¹³ Ira Katznelson, *Fear Itself: The New Deal and the Origins of Our Time* (New York: Liveright, 2013), 163.

tus while keeping its racial order safe.”¹⁴ As the position of southerners in Congress became increasingly significant strategically, the region “became the self-conscious arbiter of what could, and what could not, become law.”¹⁵ If, as Ward suggests, some forward-thinking white supremacists looked with concern at the possible racial implications of some New Deal policies, Katznelson’s work demonstrates that the political realities of the era offered countervailing evidence that white southerners were the masters of their own futures when it came to the making of federal policy on race and economics. By enabling southerners to build up opportunities for whites, the New Deal strengthened white democracy and put further socio-economic distance between white and black southerners.

This article uses the interpretive lens developed by Jason Scott Smith to connect the physical development of the university to the emergence of a new set of ideas about funding the institution and to the alteration and expansion of the university’s identity. Smith has argued that the public works programs of the New Deal “revolutionized the priorities of the American state” by “radically transforming the physical landscape, political system, and economy of the United States.” The benefits of the new physical nation that the New Deal built enabled reformers to construct “the intellectual scaffolding to justify the federal government’s investment in public works.” The “far-reaching federal efforts” necessary to fund public works and “the long-term impact of the infrastructure itself” legitimized, both “intellectually and physically,” a new kind of state and a new form of economic development.¹⁶ In the South, a region that lagged behind the rest of the nation in indexes of economic development such as mileage of paved roads, public health, and the availability of electricity, the kind of revolution that Smith describes on a national scale was particularly impactful. As Gavin Wright has noted, New Deal programs that built up the South not only carried “immediate effects,” but they also “set the stage” for the region’s “rapid economic growth during and after World War II.”¹⁷ As much as the

¹⁴ Ibid, 158.

¹⁵ Ibid, 192.

¹⁶ Jason Scott Smith, *Building New Deal Liberalism: The Political Economy of Public Works, 1933-1956*

(New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), quotations from 1, 136, 3.

¹⁷ Gavin Wright, “The New Deal and the Modernization of the South,” *Federal History*, 2 (January 2010), 72.

public works revolution pointed toward a new future of development and building, New Deal programs adhered to and even strengthened existing “gendered and racial boundaries.” Thus as public works projects built up a new nation physically and the New Deal opened new worlds of possibility for millions of white, male Americans, some traditional hierarchies remained intact or became more firmly established.¹⁸

On a smaller scale, Ole Miss’s New Deal provides an example of an institution building itself into one that was more modern and more democratic in its appeal and service to a larger percentage of the white population, but also more firmly connected and committed to white supremacy. Nearly twenty years ago, Charles W. Eagles commented on the “asymmetry” and “imbalance” of civil rights scholarship which has “assumed that little remains to be learned about the segregationists or that they are simply too unattractive or unimportant to warrant examination.”¹⁹ This article is an attempt to provide one example of how segregationists built worlds they deemed worth protecting. Only by taking seriously the future that the building of segregationist institutions like the University of Mississippi seemed to make possible can scholars understand the intensity of white opposition to the dismantling of Jim Crow.

In 1928, Governor Theodore G. “The Man” Bilbo announced an ambitious plan to remove the University of Mississippi from its decaying campus in Oxford and to build a

greater institution in Jackson. Bilbo’s plan failed and eventually led to a damaging imbroglio between The Man and the university’s faculty, but the controversy made plain the need for the modernization of the state university.²⁰ One salutary effect of the affair was a special legislative appropriation of \$1.6 million that the institution received in 1928. Within a year, the university had begun planning and constructing a hospital, a gravel well, a new building for the law school, an enlarged cafeteria, a gymnasium, a dormitory for women, and six dormitories for

¹⁸ Smith, *Building New Deal Liberalism*, 15.

¹⁹ Charles W. Eagles, “Toward New Histories of the Civil Rights Era,” *Journal of Southern History*, 66 (November 2000), 842.

²⁰ For the best discussion of Bilbo’s plan and the controversies involved in it, see Hardy Poindexter Graham, “Bilbo and the University of Mississippi, 1928-1932,” (M.A. thesis, University of Mississippi, 1965). Of the voluminous and often sensational commentary that the controversy generated at the time, the best analysis is Clarence E. Cason, “The Mississippi Imbroglio,” *Virginia Quarterly Review*, VII (Spring 1931), 229-240.

male students.²¹ While the boom in building that followed the special appropriation allowed for the expansion and improvement of the physical plant at Oxford, the necessity of such projects demonstrated how severely the state had neglected its university over the years. Even after the new construction of 1928 and 1929, the university lacked buildings for the departments of engineering, physics, biology, geology, music, journalism, commerce, pharmacy, and art. The new dormitories still could not accommodate all of the university's students, and faculty requests for housing frequently went unmet.²² In a 1929 report to the state legislature, Chancellor Alfred Hume wrote that the difficulty of securing reliable funding from the state had created a physical plant that was both practically insufficient and aesthetically unappealing. Decades of meager legislative appropriations had prevented the university from acquiring "the physical equipment commensurate with the growth and development of the institution." Irregular funding led to the planning, suspension, and resumption of construction and landscaping projects over a number of years and under different architects and builders. The result was a campus that Hume gingerly described as "lacking somewhat in complete harmony and a thoroughly orderly and satisfactory arrangement."²³

The onset of the Great Depression did not threaten to close the University of Mississippi. It ensured there would be no more special appropriations from the state legislature, though, and led to dramatic reductions in annual funding. For the fiscal year beginning on July 1, 1932, for example, legislative appropriations to Mississippi's institutions of higher learning declined by forty-two percent from the previous term. At the university, these cutbacks cost two faculty members their jobs and led to a twenty-five percent decrease in salaries for employees of the institution. Faculty took on heavier teaching loads as unfilled positions stayed vacant, and the university was only able to continue offering certain courses by enlarging their size and by hiring inexperienced and low-paid instructors and graduate students to teach the classes. Some courses and programs did not survive the cuts in funding.²⁴

²¹ *Biennial Report of the University of Mississippi to the Legislature of the State and to the Board of Trustees of the State University and Colleges, July 1, 1927 to July 1, 1929* (July, 1929), 10; hereinafter cited as *Biennial Report*.

²² *Ibid.*, 54-55.

²³ *Ibid.*, 10-11.

²⁴ *Biennial Report*, 1933, pp. 6, 9, 49.

Broad patterns of underfunding and inefficiency in Mississippi's system of higher education added to the negative effects of dramatic reductions in state appropriations. In

1933, the state's Board of Trustees for State Institutions of Higher Learning remarked with alarm that some buildings on Mississippi's public campuses had "stood for twenty years without a coat of outside paint and thousands of dollars will be necessary to restore property that could have been preserved with a few hundred dollars if applied where first needed." Given that earlier deficiencies in funding and maintenance had led to such a situation, the reduced Depression-era appropriations were plainly insufficient "to take care of any appreciable part of badly needed repairs and renovations." The trustees also remarked with regret upon "all the confusion caused by the present method" of allocating funds and noted that inconsistencies in how the state legislature used fiscal and calendar years had created a system by which, technically, all state-supported institutions of learning would either have to close on New Year's Day of each year or "violate the law daily until the Legislature makes the new biennial appropriation."²⁵

These patterns in the history and character of state funding for the University of Mississippi provide an essential context for understanding the significance of the New Deal specifically and federal money more generally to the institution. By the onset of the Great Depression, the university was an institution whose campus displayed physical evidence of the negative effects of chronic underfunding and irregular patterns of appropriations. Money from the federal government would mean several important things for the university. First, it provided immediate funding for a university in need of basic maintenance and construction. Second, it brought relief for a population of students whose poverty threatened to suspend their education. Third, because New Deal programs required matching funds, the promise of federal money spurred an often reluctant state legislature to allocate money to an institution it had insufficiently and irregularly funded in the past.

New Deal money first came to the University of Mississippi through the Civil Works Administration (CWA). In November 1933, Chancellor Alfred Hume presented the Board of Trustees with a plan composed by John L. Gainey, the university's business manager, to acquire and use CWA funds on campus. Though Gainey's plan brought a relatively small

²⁵ Ibid, 14.

initial allotment to the university, it established important patterns in how the university sought federal money and primed trustees and the state legislature to allocate more funds to the institution. Hume used Gainey's plan, which included a detailed accounting of how the university would spend the money to make repairs to the physical plant and to beautify the campus, to ensure the institution received its "proper share" of federal money. Importantly, this established a pattern that tied the pursuit of funding to planning for the future of the institution and used the promise of federal money to compel the state to make appropriations. The strategy worked, and the university received \$16,000. Half of that sum came directly from the CWA; half of it came from a matching allocation by the state.

Between December 1933 and February 1934, the CWA employed approximately seventy-five men on the university's grounds. Some \$12,000 of the total \$16,000 went directly to hiring workers.²⁶ Wages for laborers began at forty cents an hour, and workers could not work more than thirty hours per week.²⁷ The workers were a mixed group of students from the university, unemployed people from surrounding Lafayette County, and unemployed veterans of the U.S. armed forces.²⁸

The crews of unskilled workers accomplished a variety of basic but badly-needed projects. One such task involved the painting of a large number of buildings. From the Lyceum, the university's antebellum administration building, down to its laundry facility, structures across campus received their first coatings of paint in "many years."²⁹ Workers used thirty-six gallons of paint on the columns of the Lyceum alone.³⁰

²⁶ University (Miss.) *Mississippian*, December 16, 1933, p. 1.; Buchanan, "A Million Dollars in Concrete and Steel," 27.

²⁷ University (Miss.) *Mississippian*, January 13, 1934, p. 1.

²⁸ The precise composition of the laborers is unclear. Various articles in the *Mississippian* identified veterans, students, and the unemployed population of Lafayette County as preferred groups in the hiring of workers. Enough veterans worked on the project that the American Legion post of Lafayette County passed a resolution honoring the local supervisors of the program for giving veterans "first choice" in the hiring process. For that reference to the American Legion resolution, see: "Many Improvements Are Made on Campus by CWA Workmen," University (Miss.) *Mississippian*, January 13, 1934, p. 1. For a reference to the unemployed of Lafayette County as a preferred group in hiring, see: University (Miss.) *Mississippian*, December 9, 1933, p. 1. For a reference to students as a preferred group in hiring, see: University (Miss.) *Mississippian*, December 16, 1933, p. 1.

²⁹ University (Miss.) *Mississippian*, December 9, 1933, p. 1.; Quotation from University (Miss.) *Mississippian*, January 13, 1934, p. 1.

³⁰ University (Miss.) *Mississippian*, February 3, 1934.

Basic repairs brought a number of neglected buildings into serviceable condition.³¹ Work on the laundry included adding floor space that increased the facility's capacity and erecting separate rooms for dry cleaning and pressing. The expansion of this particular facility led the *Mississippian*, the university's student newspaper, to boast that the campus now housed "one of the most modern and best equipped laundries of any school in the South." The removal of two decrepit structures, an abandoned kitchen and pump house, eliminated two unsightly buildings from the campus and opened space for new construction projects.³²

The most visible effect of CWA work at the university was the beautification of the campus. The planting of 1,800 shrubs fundamentally altered the appearance and atmosphere of the university. Much of this beautification occurred in the areas in front of the hospital, the building for the graduate school, the cafeteria, the gymnasium, and the new dormitories that the university had built with the 1928 special appropriation. Planting this new area of the campus made it more aesthetically pleasing and more effectively integrated it with the older sections around the Lyceum. When CWA projects at the university concluded in February 1934, the *Mississippian* remarked that the workers had produced "a very different and much more scenic campus."³³ This early stage of New Deal activity at the school represented a key phase in the process of transforming the University of Mississippi from a place where even the chancellor worried about the aesthetic qualities of its campus to a place whose scenic landscaping would become a defining feature of its self-image and national reputation.

A parting benefit from the CWA came early in the spring of 1934 when the Mississippi legislature matched \$200,000 in CWA funding in a package to repair public buildings across the state. The State Repair Commission allocated \$100,000 of that money to Mississippi's institutions of higher learning. Later that spring, the legislature matched a Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) grant of \$65,000 for repairs to the buildings of the state's colleges and university. All told, the Board of Trustees for State Institutions of Higher Learning was able to allocate \$230,000 for building repairs at Mississippi's colleges

³¹ University (Miss.) *Mississippian*, December 9, 1933, p. 1; University (Miss.) *Mississippian*, February 3, 1934, p. 1.

³² University (Miss.) *Mississippian*, January 13, 1934, p. 1; University (Miss.) *Mississippian*, September 22, 1934, p. 8.

³³ University (Miss.) *Mississippian*, February 3, 1934.

and university during the spring and summer of 1934 alone.³⁴ Over the summer of 1934, the University of Mississippi benefited tremendously from its share of this round of funding. Buildings that earlier CWA work had left untouched or only minimally improved now received thorough overhauls. The renovation of Ricks Hall, the women's dormitory, included the painting of floors, the re-plastering of walls, and the addition of closets to individual rooms. The *Mississippian* made particular note of this final component of the renovations; the absence of closets had apparently made life "extremely inconvenient" for its past inhabitants. Workers renovated one male dormitory "from top to bottom." A number of classroom buildings received new floors and fresh coats of paint, and workers converted several structures into living quarters for faculty and staff. By the beginning of classes in the fall of 1934, the *Mississippian* could note that "at the present time every building on the campus is in an excellent state of repairs."³⁵

Beyond its role in funding repairs and stimulating spending by the legislature, FERA enabled students in need of financial assistance to remain at the university and helped to build up the institution's workforce. Beginning in February 1934, FERA grants made part-time employment available to students at the university. FERA wages paid thirty cents per hour, and an eligible student could earn up to \$20 in an individual month and up to \$15 on a monthly average.³⁶ By October 1934, FERA monthly grants of \$1,965 funded the employment of 153 students at the university. The 116 male and 37 female students employed under FERA grants were engaged in a wide range of activities.³⁷ Under Lee Baggett, the university's supervisor of buildings and grounds, FERA students worked "as carpenters, masons and general handy men." Others performed clerical work in various departments and offices and assisted faculty in grading and research. In the university's dining halls, students served as "cashiers, clerks, and waiters."³⁸

Although both the CWA and FERA operated on campus for relatively brief periods, the two programs had significant effects for the University of Mississippi. On one level, CWA and FERA projects began the process of turning a dilapidated campus into a picturesque one. On another

³⁴ *Biennial Report*, 1935, p. 9.

³⁵ University (Miss.) *Mississippian*, September 22, 1934, p. 1.

³⁶ *Ibid*, February 17, 1934, p. 1.

³⁷ *Ibid*, October 6, 1934, p. 5.

³⁸ *Ibid*, September 29, 1934, p. 3.

level, the process through which officials at the university sought and acquired federal money established important patterns that enabled the institution to use the promise of matching funds to prime the state legislature and the board of trustees to allocate higher and more regular levels of support. Perhaps most importantly, by taking advantage of federal programs to put students to work, the university was able both to maintain enrollment numbers and to bind students and the institution together in projects that mutually benefited both the student workers and the university.

Beginning in the fall term of 1935, the university used funding from the National Youth Administration (NYA) to expand its work-study programs. Dr. William Lee Kennon, chairman of the Faculty Committee for Student Employment and the local administrator for the NYA, reported that the university received 1,800 initial applications for 175 positions when the NYA began operations on campus. That applications (1,800) far exceeded the number of students enrolled at the university (roughly 1,300) suggested the dire economic circumstances of the time as well as the strong desire for opportunities in higher education among the communities surrounding the Oxford campus. NYA funding not only presented students with a chance to work their way through college, but it also offered Chancellor Alfred Benjamin Butts (1935-1946) an opportunity to continue to use federal funds, as Chancellor Alfred Hume had, to put students to work "doing things which the University has needed for some time but has been unable to afford."³⁹ The NYA, which operated continuously at the institution until the program folded in 1943, benefited countless students and every department at the university. In the 1936-1937 school year, for example, 175 undergraduate students and five graduate students held NYA positions. NYA wages were thirty cents an hour; monthly earnings ranged from \$10 to \$20 and had an average of \$12.50. Twenty of the students employed that year worked at the university's YMCA; another fifteen worked at the library. The schools of medicine, law, pharmacy, education, engineering, and music each employed between six and ten students; each department within the college of liberal arts employed between three and six students.⁴⁰ For the 1940-1941 school year, over \$20,000 in NYA allocations provided employment for 16 percent of the university's 1,449 students. Those

³⁹ Ibid, October 5, 1935, p. 1

⁴⁰ Ibid, September 19, 1936, p. 12.

238 students came from sixty of Mississippi's counties, nine states, and Puerto Rico. Men and women received NYA employment in equal proportions; 159 of the university's 1,024 male students, or 15.5 percent, and 69 of its 425 female students, or 16.2 percent, worked NYA jobs. In addition to serving in every academic and administrative department at the university, that year's NYA workers assisted the band and the baseball and basketball teams; performed maintenance work on the grounds; prepared and served food in the cafeterias; and helped write and edit the law journal, yearbook, and campus newspaper. All told, NYA funds provided for student workers in fifty divisions and sub-divisions at the university.⁴¹

NYA funding positively affected every department at the university, and it was essential for the students who received it. In many cases, students employed through the program applied their paychecks directly to tuition and fees.⁴² Of the 238 students receiving NYA employment in the 1940-1941 school year, eighty-nine percent came from families with combined annual incomes of less than \$2,000; 131 of those students came from families with annual incomes below \$1,000. Thirteen NYA students, none of whom was over twenty-four-years old, came from families unable to offer any financial support for their educations. Only twenty-five students receiving NYA funding came from households with annual incomes exceeding \$2,500; those students received funding only after securing special approval from an NYA official by satisfactorily demonstrating that they could not remain at the university without federal aid. Several of these cases involved students who came from large families or from households enduring severe economic hardships due to illnesses or unexpected financial reverses. The thirty-nine students from Lafayette County who received NYA funding represented 27 percent of the university's enrollment from its home county.⁴³ For these students, many of whom came from families who had moved to the county while they put multiple children through college, NYA employment meant a chance to endure through the Depression while securing an education that could provide for a more prosperous future. These statistics suggest that NYA funding kept students at the uni-

⁴¹ William Lee Kennon, *Preliminary Report on the National Youth Administration in the University of Mississippi for the Session 1940-1941* (University, MS: National Youth Administration, 1941), 3-9.

⁴² University (Miss.) *Mississippian*, January 9, 1937, p. 1.

⁴³ Kennon, *Preliminary Report on the National Youth Administration*, 3-5.

versity who otherwise would have faced great difficulties in continuing their educations. What was more, the students who worked NYA jobs for one of the various departments at the university represented a very different socio-economic profile from the one traditionally associated with the University of Mississippi.

The university benefited from NYA students beyond the work they performed for the institution. Students receiving NYA funds consistently outperformed the overall student body academically. In the fall of 1940, for example, the grade-point average for NYA students was a full 40 percent higher than the grade-point average for the university as a whole. Close to 40 percent of NYA students that semester amassed grade-point averages that earned them the status of distinction, honor roll, or special distinction. NYA students accounted for a quarter of the perfect grade-point averages earned at the university that semester. Four of the eight Taylor Medals the university awarded in 1941 for excellence in special fields went to NYA students. The President of the Associated Student Body was an NYA student, and students receiving NYA aid were members of both of the university's literary societies, its band, chorus, glee club, and numerous other campus organizations.⁴⁴ NYA workers who organized a tutoring program for struggling freshmen literally kept other students in the university while working their own way through the institution.⁴⁵ In short, these programs embodied the promise of the New Deal for students. Through the NYA, the *Mississippian* wrote, "the strong arm of the government has taken a progressive step in its administrative affairs and has thrown the doors of learning open to striving youth."⁴⁶

Plainly, the NYA not only kept students in school who otherwise would have had to suspend their studies; it employed and assisted students who made positive contributions to the institution and earned strong marks academically. This invaluable program was truly an experiment in "cooperative undertaking" that taught quite different lessons about "service" than membership in a Greek-letter society or a course of study designed to cultivate character in the sons of the state's elite.⁴⁷ The NYA was a program, then, with key implications regarding whom the university educated and how it served the state. Federal

⁴⁴ Ibid, 5, 10.

⁴⁵ University (Miss.) *Mississippian*, November 16, 1935, p. 2.

⁴⁶ Ibid, November 9, 1935, p. 2

⁴⁷ Ibid, October 5, 1935, p. 1.

support for students whose families would have been unable to pay their way through college democratized who could come to and remain at the university, and the work that NYA students did at the university pointed toward new ideas about the meaning of service, leadership, and higher education.

If the NYA student worker seemed to represent a new type at the University of Mississippi, no figure more neatly embodied traditional stereotypes about the institution's student body than the fraternity man. However large a role fraternities may have played in the ways Mississippians imagined the university socially and historically, Greek organizations had a limited physical and spatial presence on its campus until the New Deal. For a period during the antebellum era, the university's administration had banned fraternities, and the societies had existed only as *sub-rosa* organizations with no official houses, lodges, or meeting spaces on campus. Between 1912 and 1926, state anti-fraternity laws again forced the organizations underground. Even before the legislative action of 1912, only the Delta Psi and Sigma Chi fraternities had erected meeting houses on the campus. In 1934, Chancellor Alfred Hume announced a tentative set of regulations that would have permitted the construction of meeting houses under the supervision of the university. Under this plan, houses could serve as the site for meetings, initiations, and social functions, but not as living quarters for fraternity members.⁴⁸ As late as September 1935, though, only the Sigma Alpha Epsilon fraternity had built a lodge under this arrangement.⁴⁹ While the Sigma Chi fraternity had begun the early phases of planning a house, no plans existed for thirteen other available lots on campus.⁵⁰

The availability of New Deal money made the building of fraternity and sorority houses at the University of Mississippi possible, and the institution's need for housing made such construction a necessity. In March 1936, the university announced that the Public Works Administration (PWA) would build campus houses for eight fraternities and two sororities. Under the arrangement, the houses could not exceed \$5,000

⁴⁸ University (Miss.) *Mississippian*, October 13, 1934, p. 2; That five of the sixteen members of the Interfraternity Council and two of the twenty-one members of the Pan-Hellenic Council for the 1940-1941 school year were NYA students further complicates the neat dichotomy between Greeks and non-Greeks at the university and undermines the idea that Greek organizations, at least by the era of the New Deal, served to reinforce rigid class lines between students and the university. Kennon, *Preliminary Report on the National Youth Administration*, 11.

⁴⁹ University (Miss.) *Mississippian*, September 21, 1935, p. 1.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, March 16, 1935, p. 8.

in cost, and each Greek-letter organization had to provide \$3,000 of its own funding before becoming eligible for PWA aid. Each house came with a twenty-five year lease on its lot. The construction of this initial group of houses, which went to the Chi Omega and Phi Mu sororities and the Sigma Nu, Delta Tau Delta, Kappa Alpha, Sigma Chi, Pi Kappa Alpha, Kappa Sigma, and Delta Kappa Epsilon fraternities, represented the first step in establishing fraternity and sorority “rows” at the university.⁵¹ All of the new houses, the *Mississippian* assured readers, were “either English or colonial” in design, and none showed “modernistic strains.”⁵² Befitting the style and arrangement of the homes, the university named its new fraternity row “Lamar Road” in honor of L. Q. C. Lamar, “the greatest of all Mississippians to be identified with the University.”⁵³ Inside the Sigma Alpha Epsilon house, guests could admire a portrait of Lamar that his daughter-in-law had painted in 1899.⁵⁴

The PWA sorority houses occupied a separate space on campus, but the structures on “Sorority Circle” largely resembled the stately fraternity houses—if in a more feminine form. The Kappa Delta house, colonial in style, featured “slender columns and green shutters.” A red porch ran along the west and north sides of Delta Delta Delta’s white-brick early colonial house. The most notable feature of Phi Mu’s two-story English cottage was a “luxurious sun parlor.” The women of the Chi Omega sorority could enjoy an “exceptionally high-ceilinged living room” in their Middle English house. A white picket fence surrounded the front yard of the Delta Zeta house, and green shutters adorned the white brick of the colonial structure. The women of the Delta Gamma sorority worked with contractors to design a home to “follow antebellum or late colonial lines.”⁵⁵

Greek organizations raised their share of the money through a combination of methods. Some borrowed money from their national organizations, some received donations from alumni, and some borrowed substantial amounts directly from the university.⁵⁶ The combination of PWA grants and various forms of Greek funding allowed the university

⁵¹ Ibid, March 14, 1936, p. 4.

⁵² Ibid, September 19, 1936, p. 1.

⁵³ Ibid, October 17, 1936, p. 5.

⁵⁴ Lamar had been a charter member of the university’s SAE chapter. University (Miss.)

Mississippian, September 21, 1935, p. 1.

⁵⁵ University (Miss.) *Mississippian*, May 1, 1937, p. 8.

⁵⁶ Ibid, April 18, 1936, p. 1.

to add \$100,000 worth of housing in 1936 and 1937 alone.⁵⁷ By 1938, fourteen fraternity houses and six sorority houses stood on the university's campus.⁵⁸ "Greeks, Greeks, Greeks," the *Mississippian* marveled, "from every quarter they come, fraternity 'eds and co-eds.'" Taken together, the newspaper concluded with approval that "the entire unit on 'Fraternity Row' . . . and 'Sorority Circle' is a thing of beauty."⁵⁹ As early as the first semester of the existence of the Greek houses, campus organizations announced plans for a decoration contest among the fraternities and sororities in advance of the football game against Mississippi State. Almost before the paint was dry on the houses, students at the University of Mississippi were celebrating the institution's "unique setting of fraternity and sorority houses."⁶⁰ Tri Delta's display, which won the sorority category, included a cow with the name "State" signed on it.⁶¹ Old jokes, apparently, accelerated the invention of new traditions.

The construction of fraternity and sorority rows at a university that had seen intense anti-Greek activity and even banned the organizations from campus in two separate eras may have seemed an odd use of PWA funding, but insufficient housing was a problem so longstanding at the university that it necessitated and justified any number of measures. The housing shortage had reached a point of crisis in late August 1934 when a fire destroyed Gordon Hall, a three-story, one-hundred-room building that was the university's largest dormitory.⁶² For the 1934 fall term, the university filled "every available" room on campus and converted unused portions of several buildings into living quarters. Forty-four students in the school of medicine took rooms in the new hospital on campus. Sixty-two athletes lived in sections of the gymnasium; eight members of the football team bunked in the field house next to the playing field. Twenty-six undergraduates lived in converted lecture halls and laboratories in the old biology building.⁶³

Throughout the last year of Chancellor Alfred Hume's tenure (the 1934-1935 school year) and Chancellor Alfred Butts's first year in office (the 1935-1936 school year), the university attempted unsuccessfully to

⁵⁷ *Biennial Report*, 1937, p. 27.

⁵⁸ *Oxford* (Miss.) *Eagle*, July 21, 1938.

⁵⁹ University (Miss.) *Mississippian*, September 18, 1937, p. 9

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, November 12, 1937, p. 1.

⁶¹ *Ibid*, December 4, 1937, p. 1.

⁶² *Biennial Report*, 1935, p. 46.

⁶³ University (Miss.) *Mississippian*, September 29, 1934, p. 4.

convince the state legislature to replace Gordon Hall and the bed-space that had burned with it.⁶⁴ From the time of his appointment, Butts repeatedly identified the lack of housing at the university as the primary impediment to increasing enrollment at the institution.⁶⁵ Relief for the university's housing shortage ultimately came through a series of PWA projects. In addition to the Greek houses constructed between 1936 and 1938, the PWA built six new dormitories at the university in the spring and summer of 1938.⁶⁶ Funding for the dorms came in a PWA package of \$438,181. Of the PWA money, \$197,181 was an outright grant, and \$241,000 was a low-interest loan that the university could repay with housing fees it charged students to occupy the new rooms.⁶⁷ Plans called for the construction of four dormitories for male students with the capacity to house 288 students and two dormitories for females with space for 158 students.⁶⁸ In September 1938, students moved into the new dorms, which the *Oxford Eagle* described as "ultra modern."⁶⁹ The *Mississippian* gushed that the living quarters featured "the latest and most modern in campus room equipment" and made special note of the maple furniture that adorned the individual rooms and the hardwood and tile that lined the floors, baths, and showers of the halls.⁷⁰

The modern dormitories that the PWA built were part of a larger project to "add impressiveness" to the university's campus.⁷¹ In addition to the new dormitories, PWA money built a student union building that housed eleven offices, four guest bedrooms, three auditoriums, a post office, a grill, a dancehall, a game room, a beauty parlor, and a barber shop. The union's main lobby and several other rooms contained stone and marble fireplaces. The building's south end opened to a terrace furnished with umbrellas and porch furniture.⁷² When the union opened in the spring of 1939, its total cost exceeded \$100,000. A direct PWA grant provided for at least thirty-five percent of the funding. The university

⁶⁴ *Biennial Report*, 1935, p. 46; *Biennial Report*, 1937, p. 25.

⁶⁵ *Oxford (Miss.) Eagle*, June 24, 1937.

⁶⁶ University (Miss.) *Mississippian*, October 17, 1936, p. 1; *Ibid*, October 24, 1936, p. 12. The headline in the *Mississippian* incorrectly identified the PWA as the WPA, but the text of the article referred to the correct organization.

⁶⁷ *Oxford (Miss.) Eagle*, September 2, 1937; *Biennial Report*, 1939, p. 21.

⁶⁸ University (Miss.) *Mississippian*, September 18, 1937, p. 1.

⁶⁹ *Oxford (Miss.) Eagle*, September 22, 1938.

⁷⁰ University (Miss.) *Mississippian*, July 8, 1938, p. 1.

⁷¹ *Ibid*, October 14, 1939, p. 5.

⁷² *Ibid*, May 13, 1939, p. 5.

also paid some of the costs through the sale of timber from its holdings in South Mississippi. Some \$35,000 in funding came from the estate of Rush C. Weir, a businessman from Vaiden, Mississippi, who bequeathed over \$100,000 to the university and for whom the trustees named the union building.⁷³

Another result of the university's courting of federal money was an outdoor swimming pool. Nearly \$15,000 from the Works Progress Administration (WPA) went to the construction of the \$23,000 pool, which reached depths ranging from three to ten feet and was capable of accommodating 750 swimmers at a time. A boardwalk surrounded the pool, and construction included a refreshment stand and extensive landscaping of the area between the gymnasium and the pool. The WPA initially put up \$13,000 for the project, with the university contributing \$7,000 of its own money. The pool was open to students, faculty, and staff at the university, as well as white members of the public who paid a small fee. Supervision and maintenance of the facility fell to the university's athletic department.⁷⁴ Poor weather conditions delayed construction of the pool through March and April of 1936.⁷⁵ When the pool finally opened in the summer of 1936, its total cost had risen to \$23,296.40, with the university paying \$8,442.01 for the project and the WPA's portion coming to 14,854.39.⁷⁶ Two hundred sixteen feet long and ninety feet wide, equipped with steel diving boards and a chlorination and filtration system, the pool was "one of the most modern in the state."⁷⁷

At first glance, clear differences separated the erection of badly-needed campus housing from the construction of expensive luxuries like a modern swimming pool and an ample student union building. All of these projects, though, were part of a larger plan to boost enrollment at the University of Mississippi through the promotion of the institution. Enrollment at the university declined, improved, and then plateaued in the era of the Depression and the New Deal. During the 1928-1929 school year, 1,162 students attended the university's regular sessions.⁷⁸ Between 1929 and 1933, the combined effects of the Depression and an accreditation crisis that followed the Bilbo imbroglio caused enrollment

⁷³ Ibid, October 14, 1939, p. 1.

⁷⁴ Ibid, January 11, 1936, p. 1; *Biennial Report*, 1937, p. 27.

⁷⁵ Ibid, April 18, 1936, p. 1.

⁷⁶ *Biennial Report*, 1937, p. 27.

⁷⁷ University (Miss.) *Mississippian*, September 19, 1936, p. 10.

⁷⁸ *Biennial Report*, 1929, p. 9.

to plummet below 800 students. Beginning with the 1933-1934 session, which coincided with the increased availability of federal money to assist students whose families could not afford their tuition and the early stages of the restoration of the university's reputation, enrollment began to climb until it settled around 1,400 for the duration of the 1930s.⁷⁹

From the time he became chancellor on July 1, 1935, Alfred Butts identified increased enrollment as the key index of the health of the institution and the best way to guarantee that the university served the people of Mississippi. Butts repeatedly pleaded with trustees to pressure the state legislature to allocate more money for campus housing. In 1937, he urged the state to give "earnest attention" to the inadequate housing at the university and called the lack of dormitories "one of the outstanding needs" of the institution.⁸⁰ Once the PWA dormitories enabled the university to house its existing students, Butts warned the trustees that annual allocations from the State Building Commission were "far from adequate" and that the university was having difficulty keeping older dormitories "in a state of preservation and in a livable condition."⁸¹ Even when arrangements with the PWA permitted the building of enough dormitories to solve the immediate housing shortage, Butts expressed frustration that the state would not fund building projects capable of increasing the university's enrollment capacity. Before a meeting of the Oxford Junior Chamber of Commerce in June 1937, Butts encouraged attendees to prod the state to make allocations during the 1938 legislative session that would allow the university to build for a greater future. "Give us the facilities," the chancellor urged, "and we'll have 1700 students at the University within a year; 2000 students within five years."⁸²

Butts's frustration with the refusal of the state legislature to replace Gordon Hall or to make allocations that went beyond the matching funds required by PWA grants was a product of a basic reality: the university could not enroll more students if it could not physically house them. In this way, constructing housing was about building up the university's future, not merely ensuring it could function in the present. Projects

⁷⁹ For annual enrollment figures and general trends in these years, see the annual University of Mississippi, *Bulletin of the University of Mississippi*, for 1928-1941, Special Collections, J. D. Williams Library, University of Mississippi.

⁸⁰ *Biennial Report*, 1937, p. 25.

⁸¹ *Biennial Report*, 1941, p. 30.

⁸² *Oxford (Miss.) Eagle*, June 24, 1937.

like the student union and the swimming pool did not literally produce spaces to house students, but their construction was part of an active campaign to “sell” the university and to make it more appealing to prospective students.⁸³ In the spring of 1938, the university formed a faculty committee on high school publicity and launched an aggressive plan to increase enrollment by reaching out to towns and schools throughout Mississippi. More than 7,000 white graduating high school seniors received bulletins outlining the advantages of the university and highlighting its recent expansion and upgrades. Campus organizations sent speakers to schools throughout the state, and the Omicron Delta Kappa society produced a short publicity film, “Ole Miss,” to be shown in every town throughout the state. Fifty newspapers in the state received weekly copies of a bulletin titled, “Your University,” which provided updates on various developments on campus. The *Mississippian* challenged every student at the university to “boost the school to your neighbors and friends at home” and to encourage five graduating high school seniors in their hometown to come to Ole Miss.⁸⁴

On November 12, 1938, the university held its first “high school day.” The event brought 2,500 high school students from across Mississippi and from several counties in Tennessee and Arkansas to the Oxford campus on the day of the football game between Ole Miss and Sewanee. The day began with an assembly that featured addresses from Chancellor Butts, the head coach of the football team, the captain of the football team, and the president of the Associated Student Body. Following the football game, interested students could attend open houses on Fraternity Row or a tea hosted by the Pan-Hellenic society. A theatrical performance and a dance provided evening entertainment.⁸⁵ The *Mississippian* pronounced the event a “big success” and reported that all attendees “went away with a smile and a good word for the University of Mississippi.”⁸⁶ It was, after all, an opportunity to show that Ole Miss was “the friendliest school in the country.”⁸⁷

High school day and the campaign that led up to it were the creations of an institution in the process of developing modern techniques for marketing and publicity. The selling of the University of Mississippi

⁸³ University (Miss.) *Mississippian*, October 8, 1938, p. 3.

⁸⁴ Ibid, March 5, 1938, p. 1; Ibid, April 9, 1938, p. 3; Ibid, May 21, 1938, p. 1

⁸⁵ Ibid, November 12, 1938, p. 1.

⁸⁶ Ibid, November 19, 1938, p. 3.

⁸⁷ Ibid, November 12, 1938, p. 3.

to prospective students marked an important shift in the history of the institution. Reaching out directly to towns and schools throughout the state inverted the old process whereby local communities sent off their young people to an unfamiliar and remote campus with which they had limited direct contact and about which they had only vague ideas. Now the university, in the form of touring speakers or various forms of media, brought itself to the people of the state, or invited students to make themselves at home on the Oxford campus. This program enabled the university to promote itself by pointing—literally—to the concrete buildings and material benefits it could offer to prospective students, not the spiritual or abstract atmosphere of an exclusive and mysterious campus. Increasingly, Ole Miss was opening its doors to a larger number of white Mississippians.

While recruitment programs brought larger numbers of high school students to campus each year, and publicity campaigns kept interested citizens all over the state informed about developments in Oxford, the Ole Miss Rebels were becoming the embodiment of the institution for many Mississippians—and for a growing number of people outside the state. The name “Rebels” had emerged from a process with the explicit purpose of increasing publicity for the university’s football team. During the spring of 1936, the *Mississippian* acknowledged that “the Flood” and “the Red and Blue” had failed to gain wide usage among journalists, lamented that the university’s football team “has no real nickname with which to be properly identified,” and announced a contest for a new nickname. In remarking upon the high expectations for the university’s football squad in the fall of 1936, the paper emphasized the urgency of efforts to “publicize the team” and noted that the selection of a “name to catch the public eye and fancy” had become “essential.”⁸⁸ After two weeks of “insufficient interest” in the contest, the *Mississippian* issued a second call for submissions. In addition to re-issuing its call for nicknames, the paper announced the formation of a “South-wide” selection committee. The committee included three members of the university’s alumni association; the outgoing and incoming presidents of the student government; Ed Walker, the head coach of the football team; C. R. “Tex” Nelson, the captain of 1935 football team; William Hemingway, the chairman of the university’s athletic committee; and sportswriters from newspapers in Jackson, Meridian, Memphis, New Orleans, Nashville,

⁸⁸ Ibid, May 2, 1936, p. 5.

and Atlanta.⁸⁹

In this second round of solicitation, Ben Guider, an alumnus of the university from Vicksburg, suggested “Rebels” as the nickname for the school’s football team. In addition to its “short, musical, inspiring, [and] simple” style, Guider wrote, the name carried the effect of calling “to mind the glories of the Old South and that historic struggle of the Civil War in which the State of Mississippi took so noble and outstanding part, and for which every Mississippian should feel proud.” Sportswriters from across the South apparently shared Guider’s logic; an overwhelming majority of those who responded to a questionnaire from the university chose the name from a list of possibilities that included “Raiders,” “Stonewalls,” and “Confederates.” After approval by the university’s athletic committee and its chancellor, “Rebels” became the official nickname for the school’s athletic teams in July 1936.⁹⁰ In announcing the new nickname, the *Mississippian* pointed to its “news value” and predicted that Rebels would “prove a valuable whip” in attracting attention to the university’s football team. It was a name “suggestive of a spirit native to the old south and particularly to Mississippi,” one which “not only catches the sportswriters’ [sic] eye but also the eye of every sport fan.” Because Rebels possessed “local color,” it would “enhance national interest” in the institution.⁹¹ Just as the Congressional realities of the era made southern Democrats a much-watched group within the Democratic Party and the New Deal coalition, an athletic team from the Deep South held special appeal to sports fans across the nation. The following spring, a goateed cartoon of an antebellum gentleman called “Colonel Rebel” made his debut on the cover of the university’s yearbook.⁹²

Selecting a catchier nickname was one way to use athletics to boost the university’s profile, but an ambitious national schedule represented a more aggressive attempt at attracting publicity through the football squad. Between 1933 and 1938, the university’s football team played three times in Washington, DC, three times in Milwaukee, three times in New Orleans, twice in Philadelphia, twice in St. Louis, and twice in Miami. The 1936 season alone took the Rebels to six states and the District of Columbia. Nine off-campus engagements, including road games

⁸⁹ Ibid, May 19, 1936, p. 1.

⁹⁰ Ibid, September 19, 1936, p. 7; Ibid, October 24, 1936, p. 1; Sorrels and Cavagnaro, *Ole Miss Rebels*, 107-109.

⁹¹ University (Miss.) *Mississippian*, September 26, 1936, p. 3.

⁹² *Ole Miss*, Volume XLI, 1937.

at Tulane, Temple, George Washington, Marquette, and the University of Miami, contributed heavily to the 11,000 miles of train travel the team logged that season.⁹³ On September 30, 1937, two planes carried thirty-three players, coaches, and trainers from Memphis to Philadelphia for a game with Temple, making the Ole Miss Rebels among the first college football teams to travel by air to a contest.⁹⁴ George Boehler, the assistant coach and trainer who arranged the flights, calculated that flying the squad out on a Thursday and back on a Sunday was more efficient than traveling by train and paying for meals and lodging over the course of a week. "Travel by air," Boehler commented, "is definitely a thing of the future for football teams."⁹⁵ In a playful blend of new ideas and old animosities, the *Mississippian* praised its Rebels and called air travel a "fitting entrance for a progressive team, returning to seek victory and prestige among the doubtful Yankees."⁹⁶ There were several reasons that the University of Mississippi arranged for 11,000-mile seasons on the road, week-long train trips, and airline flights for its football teams. The most basic was that the schedules made the school money. Billy Gates, the sports editor for the *Mississippian*, explained the team's heavy road schedule for 1936 by noting that the share of gate receipts from games played as the visitor in front of crowds numbering in the tens of thousands would bring in more money than hosting games in front of small groups in Oxford. Ole Miss, Gates wrote, needed "all the money a terrific alien card can bring."⁹⁷ In response to comments from students at Mississippi State that officials at the University of Mississippi were "losing the real point of the game in an effort to fill their athletic coffer," the *Mississippian* wrote, "[c]ollege football is a business proposition as well as an entertaining feature of university life." The university, the paper concluded, would "profit in more ways than one" from such an ambitious schedule.⁹⁸ A national schedule also allowed alumni who had moved out of Mississippi or surrounding sections of the Deep South to reconnect with their university and former classmates. During the football team's trip to play Marquette during the 1935 season, for example, alumni living in Chicago; Iowa City; Evanston, Illinois; and Madison,

⁹³ University (Miss.) *Mississippian*, September 19, 1936, p. 7.

⁹⁴ *Ibid*, September 18, 1937, p. 5.

⁹⁵ *Ibid*, October 2, 1937, p. 6.

⁹⁶ *Ibid*, October 2, 1937, p. 3.

⁹⁷ *Ibid*, September 26, 1936, p. 6.

⁹⁸ *Ibid*, October 3, 1936, p. 3.

Wisconsin met in Milwaukee, gathered behind the Ole Miss bench, and shouted for the alma mater to "Give 'em Hell."⁹⁹

Beyond the direct monetary benefits of gate receipts or the connections with far-flung alumni that a national schedule offered, sending the football team on the road to play established powers brought publicity and name recognition to the university. When the athletic committee secured an invitation for the 1935 squad to play Catholic University in the Orange Bowl on New Year's Day of 1936, the *Mississippian* wrote with pride that the team had assumed a position as the "cynosure of the football eyes of America."¹⁰⁰ An appearance on such a prominent stage promised to "mean more to the school than any appropriation ever could" by providing "favorable advertisement" for the university.¹⁰¹ Even when Ole Miss lost games, as it did in that Orange Bowl and in many of its intersectional contests between 1933 and 1938, it won when it traveled by moving the university "into the national spotlight of sport fans."¹⁰² By squaring off the Rebels with national opponents, in other words, the University of Mississippi was affirming its ties to the rest of the nation, not engaging in another act of civil war with feared or hated outsiders.

To play more favorable schedules and to host more games in Oxford, the university had to expand and upgrade its athletic facilities. Beginning in the fall of 1934, New Deal money played a direct role in the promotion and building up of Ole Miss's football team. That October, William Hemingway, chairman of the university's athletics committee, secured funds from the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) to begin the process of converting a dusty campus football field into a modern stadium. First, the construction of "a heavy wire fence . . . of the most modern type" made it "impossible for one to enter the field other than through the gates." Second, FERA workers built walkways to and from the football field and the bleachers that alleviated the problems of "dust or mud" making playing conditions difficult and negatively affecting the experience of fans. FERA workers also erected a press box made of pine, tin, and brick above the bleachers that surrounded the field. This was a "most needed addition," as visiting reporters had found it "especially distasteful . . . to write up games without shelter or necessary materials." What was more, a modern press box, equipped with

⁹⁹ Ibid, November 2, 1935, p. 4.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, December 14, 1935, p. 1.

¹⁰¹ Ibid, December 4, 1935, p. 3.

¹⁰² Ibid, October 2, 1937, p. 3.

“wires direct to Western Union,” ensured “that no time will be lost in dispatching details of games.”¹⁰³ Fred Glass, the editor of the *Mississippian*, called the construction of the press box “one of the wisest moves that could be made in the interest of the University.” According to Glass, Ole Miss received “less publicity than perhaps any university in the South.” The student editor attributed the “near hostility on the part of various newspapermen” to the lack of appropriate facilities at the institution. A press box that would make covering games at the university more convenient for regional dailies, Glass assured the administration, “will more than repay the cost of its construction in additional publicity for the University.”¹⁰⁴

The early allotment of FERA funds for upgrades to the football field was only an opening sequence in a larger series of federal aid to the Rebel athletic program. In November 1936, Congressman Wall Doxey assisted Chancellor Butts in securing funds from the Works Progress Administration (WPA) to build a planned \$54,000 concrete football stadium at the university.¹⁰⁵ Delays in approval at the state level meant that construction on Hemingway Stadium did not begin until the following summer. Work continued throughout the 1937 football season.¹⁰⁶ The WPA provided \$37,500 for the stadium, and the university’s athletic committee contributed an additional \$12,500 to the project. The initial phase of construction involved the clearing of ground, the removal of 2,400 existing bleachers, and building concrete grandstands capable of seating 9,500 spectators.¹⁰⁷ By Thanksgiving of 1937, workers had completed two concrete sections with a seating capacity of 2,400 and erected wooden bleachers capable of holding an additional 19,600 spectators.¹⁰⁸ On May 11, 1938, the university received an additional grant of \$28,348 from the WPA.¹⁰⁹ Before workers had completed the new concrete stands on the stadium’s west side, a third grant in January of 1939 provided funds necessary to build identical stands on the stadium’s east side. This grant brought the total sum of WPA aid for the stadium to \$72,908. WPA

¹⁰³ Ibid, October 27, 1934, p. 1; Ibid, November 3, 1934, p. 6.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, October 6, 1934, p. 2.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, November 21, 1936, p. 1.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, October 23, 1937, p. 6.

¹⁰⁷ *Oxford Eagle*, July 22, 1937; Chancellor Butts and the university’s athletic committee began working in October 1936 to secure WPA funding for the stadium project. University (Miss.) *Mississippian*, October 24, 1936, p. 12.

¹⁰⁸ University (Miss.) *Mississippian*, October 30, 1937, p. 4.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, May 21, 1938, p. 1.

aid also provided for the construction of a sprinkler system underneath the football field, a new practice field for the football team, a baseball diamond, and several tennis courts. When workers completed the east side stands in 1941, Hemingway Stadium had a permanent seating capacity of over 19,000 and temporary room for several thousand more spectators.¹¹⁰ Thus when 28,000 spectators overflowed Hemingway Stadium a week before the attack on Pearl Harbor to watch Ole Miss and Mississippi State square off for the Southeastern Conference championship, they were occupying a monument to the benefits derived from the federal government.

No person who walked the University of Mississippi's campus during the era of the New Deal could have ignored the material benefits and physical changes that federal programs brought to the institution. But the university underwent a transformation of expectations and ideas during this era that extended beyond the overhaul and expansion of its physical plant. As early as September 1933, leading students at the university spoke of "our 'New Deal' here on the campus" and called for the "undivided support and enthusiastic cooperation of the student body" in the pursuit of a "University of Mississippi like we have dreamed of and desired—a competent and sympathetic administration, the official respect of the state and South, a beautiful and well-equipped institution, a growing student body, and above all a cheerful spirit of optimism and determination that will overcome any obstacles."¹¹¹ A year later, Fred Glass of the *Mississippian* described the campus as "imbued with a new spirit of optimism and self-confidence unequal in the history of the institution."¹¹² Throughout the era, students watched their campus transform so rapidly as to make it possible "to look ahead and see a real change."¹¹³ The continuous development of campus and the stacking of projects had the effect of producing tangible evidence that the university had "reached a new era of progress" and entered the "topmost point in its existence." More importantly, the New Deal created an expectation that more programs and more building were coming—that the university, in other words, was "still marching forward to even higher standards."¹¹⁴ New Deal projects made the development of the University of Missis-

¹¹⁰ Ibid, February 11, 1939, p. 1; Ibid, May 9, 1941.

¹¹¹ Ibid, September 23, 1933, p. 2.

¹¹² Ibid, October 27, 1934, p. 2.

¹¹³ Ibid, May 18, 1935, p. 2.

¹¹⁴ Ibid, July 8, 1938, p. 1.

ssippi material and tangible; the future of the institution was becoming something to see, touch, and experience.

Students at the University of Mississippi were loyal Democrats and enthusiastic New Dealers. Beyond championing funding that directly benefited their institution, several editors of the *Mississippian* promoted New Deal programs “foreign to [the university’s] local interests.”¹¹⁵ Following the 1934 midterm elections, the *Mississippian* cheered the Democratic landslide as “the most convincing display of confidence that has as yet been evidenced by the American people in Roosevelt and the New Deal.” The paper attributed the poor performance of the Republicans “to the fact that they have not issued a constructive idea or plan during the past two years.” In contrast, the Democrats had “gone forward” and responded to the nation’s desire for “aggressive, inspired leadership.”¹¹⁶ In advance of the 1936 presidential election, a poll found that 82 percent of students at the university favored President Franklin D. Roosevelt over his challengers.¹¹⁷ The *Mississippian* explained the wide support that Roosevelt enjoyed at the university and among college students nationally by stating that “the youth of today is liberal in its thinking.” The experience of living through the Depression and observing the benefits of aggressive public assistance and development, the paper concluded, had convinced young white Americans of the necessity of “a government that will be able to take care of the needs of its people.”¹¹⁸

The embrace of the New Deal and the championing of ambitious and innovative expansions of government programs kept students at the University of Mississippi in step with the political leaders of their state. In 1934, Theodore G. Bilbo won election to the U.S. Senate by pledging to support Roosevelt and the New Deal. Once in Washington, Bilbo, in the words of Chester M. Morgan, “backed the president faithfully” and “marched on with enthusiasm” “as a loyal soldier in the New Deal army.” Bilbo’s voting record on relief spending, labor legislation, public housing, and additional programs of social and economic welfare made him one of the strongest and most reliable supporters of the New Deal.¹¹⁹ His support for the New Deal may have been notable for its

¹¹⁵ Ibid, October 20, 1934, p. 3.

¹¹⁶ Ibid, November 10, 1934, p. 2.

¹¹⁷ Ibid, October 24, 1936, p. 1.

¹¹⁸ Ibid, November 7, 1936, p. 3.

¹¹⁹ Chester M. Morgan, *Redneck Liberal: Theodore G. Bilbo and the New Deal* (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 1985), 57-77; 161-185; quotations from 161 and 185.

tenacity and endurance, but Mississippi's congressional delegation as a whole offered reliable and prominent support for Roosevelt's programs. A 1937 biographical sketch described Pat Harrison, the state's senior U.S. Senator, as the "right hand man of President Franklin D. Roosevelt" and boasted of Harrison's role in the creation of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, the passage of the Social Security Act, and the winning of appropriations for secondary education and a number of public works programs.¹²⁰ Congressman John Elliot Rankin of Tupelo and the state's first district was likewise "a firm administration man."¹²¹ In 1936, a staggering 97 percent of voters in Mississippi voiced their support for the New Deal by backing Roosevelt.¹²²

At the state level, politicians experimented with New Deal-style programs. Under the first administration of Governor Hugh L. White (1936-1940), Mississippi enacted an aggressive plan of economic development known as Balance Agriculture With Industry (BAWI). Under BAWI, a state industrial commission oversaw the public financing of manufacturing plants throughout Mississippi with the intent of developing the state's local communities through outside investment. Twelve firms ultimately came to Mississippi under BAWI. Though only two of the new plants—the Ingalls Shipyard in Pascagoula and the Armstrong Tire and Rubber Company in Natchez—brought high-wage, heavy-industry jobs to the state, BAWI improved the economic prospects for depressed local communities and enhanced rates of consumption and tax revenues throughout the state. Connie L. Lester has referred to BAWI as a "home-grown New Deal" and notes that the program "mimicked New Deal initiatives" by creating a two-tiered system of state sponsorship and local operation. More broadly, the ambitious plan adhered to the spirit of the New Deal by moving Mississippi towards state-sponsored development and central planning. BAWI reflected a "breathtaking change in attitude," as " [f]or the first time in the state's history, Mississippi actively sought and accepted responsibility for economic growth and the general welfare of its citizens."¹²³

¹²⁰ W. H. Grayson, "Pat Harrison," *The New Mississippi: A Magazine Dedicated to the Achievements of the New Administration* (Jackson, MS: Bedford F. Pace, 1937), 16.

¹²¹ "John Elliot Rankin," *The New Mississippi: A Magazine Dedicated to the Achievements of the New Administration* (Jackson, MS: Bedford F. Pace, 1937), 81.

¹²² Katznelson, *Fear Itself*, 165.

¹²³ Connie L. Lester, "Balancing Agriculture with Industry: Capital, Labor, and the Public Good in Mississippi's Home-Grown New Deal," *Journal of Mississippi History*, LVII, no. 3 (Fall 2008), 235-263; quotations from 235, 237, 247, and 262.

During White's administration, communities across Mississippi attempted to sell and market themselves in ways that resembled the publicity project at the state university in Oxford. The unifying theme of municipal promotion was the modernity of the state's local places and their potential for future development. The city of Gulfport pointed to its brand new \$1.5 million pier, forty-mile seawall, \$350,000 recreation center, and \$885,000 yarn mill in explaining why its citizens were "highly optimistic over the future development" of the city.¹²⁴ Boosters for Laurel advertised their community as one that had made the "transition from a primitive wilderness into a thriving city of 25,000 people in a comparatively few short years" and assured potential investors that "Laurel is looking just as far down the future's path as possible."¹²⁵ In Brookhaven, "a thriving and wide-awake industrial center," citizens believed in "doing things now, instead of trying to live up to their past reputation."¹²⁶ Meridian, which advertised itself as "the commercial hub of eastern Mississippi and western Alabama," boasted that it had "made more industrial, agricultural and commercial growth in the years of 1934, 1935, and 1936 than during the entire preceding quarter of a century!"¹²⁷ The expansion of natural gas and electric services and the recent construction of "schools, academies, churches, paved thoroughfares, new sand beaches, and seawalls" ensured that Biloxi, "a city of progress," was "truly up-to-date in every respect."¹²⁸ In Hattiesburg, where the population had increased from 8,000 to 21,000 between 1900 and 1937, the chamber of commerce conceded that "[t]here may be somewhere in these United States a more desirable place to live," but concluded, "if that be true, then a beneficent providence has thoughtfully hidden such a place from the ken of man!"¹²⁹

As Mississippi's congressional delegation enthusiastically supported

¹²⁴ M. P. Smith, "Port of Gulfport: Mississippi's 'Gateway to the Seven Seas,'" *The New Mississippi: A Magazine Dedicated to the Achievements of the New Administration* (Jackson, MS: Bedford F. Pace, 1937), 48.

¹²⁵ "Laurel and Jones County," *The New Mississippi: A Magazine Dedicated to the Achievements of the New Administration* (Jackson, MS: Bedford F. Pace, 1937), 58-59.

¹²⁶ "Brookhaven," *The New Mississippi: A Magazine Dedicated to the Achievements of the New Administration* (Jackson, MS: Bedford F. Pace, 1937), 61.

¹²⁷ "City of Meridian, An Ably Managed Municipality," *The New Mississippi: A Magazine Dedicated to the Achievements of the New Administration* (Jackson, MS: Bedford F. Pace, 1937), 66.

¹²⁸ "Biloxi—City of Paradise and Progress," *The New Mississippi: A Magazine Dedicated to the Achievements of the New Administration* (Jackson, MS: Bedford F. Pace, 1937), 73-74.

¹²⁹ "Hattiesburg and Progress Are Synonymous," *The New Mississippi: A Magazine Dedicated to the Achievements of the New Administration* (Jackson, MS: Bedford F. Pace, 1937), 77.

an expansive federal program with dramatic implications for the nation's physical landscape, political system, and economy; its state government embraced a new role in the planning of the economy and the promotion of public welfare; and its local communities imagined unlimited economic development and growth, one old idea remained safely protected from challenge or alteration: that Mississippi was and would remain a white man's country.¹³⁰ At the state level, BAWI officials blocked black Mississippians from the overwhelming majority of new industrial jobs. Advertisements from local communities and promotional materials from chambers of commerce did not count African Americans when they compiled statistics of available laborers. When Armstrong Tire and Rubber Company hired a small number of black workers at its Natchez plant, the industrial commission sought assurances from the firm that it would set wages for African Americans well below the wages for white workers. As Connie Lester has noted, BAWI regulations "intended to sustain . . . Mississippi's finely crafted racial" arrangements. Even in communities where BAWI plants modernized the local economy, black Mississippians "would continue to provide cheap agricultural labor in a sharecropping system built on white supremacy."¹³¹ Experiments in economic development were safe—desirable, in fact—so long as they elevated white Mississippians while keeping African Americans in their special place in the state.

On the national level, the support that Bilbo and other Democrats from the South offered to the New Deal granted tremendous leverage to proponents of white supremacy. As Ira Katznelson has demonstrated, southern Democrats held votes that Roosevelt (and later Harry Truman) simply could not lose if they wanted to pass domestic or international legislation. "The Jim Crow South," in Katznelson's words, "was the one collaborator America's democracy could not do without."¹³² The Democratic South used this position to great effect—not merely in protecting white supremacy, but in strengthening its structural basis. For Roosevelt's first term and into the early years of his second, southern

¹³⁰ This phrase, of course, borrows from Ulrich B. Phillips, "The Central Theme of Southern History," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 34, No. 1 (Oct. 1928), 31. As Katznelson notes, it is not insignificant that Phillips wrote his famous essay late in the 1920s and that his thesis "expressed the era's common sense across the ideological and racial spectrum." Katznelson, *Fear Itself*, 136-138.

¹³¹ Lester, "Balancing Agriculture with Industry," 238, 258.

¹³² Katznelson, *Fear Itself*, 95.

Democrats felt confident that “economic policies crafted in Washington might transform [the South]’s desperate plight without endangering Jim Crow.” In other words, for a time it was possible to support the New Deal fully, bring home federal money to states and congressional districts, and not worry that federal policies would alter the region’s racial arrangements. Even after the second half of the 1930s, when anxieties increased regarding the potential effects of labor legislation and other programs on racial hierarchies, southern Democrats used “strategic voting behavior” and temporary “coalitions” to block or alter laws that might have undermined white supremacy.¹³³ Whether supporting or blocking federal legislation, segregationists took an active and commanding role in securing the rigidity of the color line.

Because state policies barred African Americans from holding BAWI positions and congressional voting behavior blocked federal legislation from undermining Jim Crow, it became possible for Mississippians to imagine that economic development and aggressively forward-thinking planning could proceed without altering existing racial arrangements. On a smaller scale, a similar pattern emerged at the University of Mississippi. During the course of Ole Miss’s New Deal, administrators worked with federal and state officials to find innovative means of funding and building up the university, and students at the institution heralded the coming of a new era and celebrated all forms of material progress on campus. In various ways, the university community embraced new ideas for the future during this era. Ideas about white supremacy, however, underwent no such alteration.

A telling example of the strengthening of the old racial ways came in September 1936, when the university responded to a crisis involving a cherished figure named James E. Ivy. Known on the campus as “Blind Jim,” Ivy was a black man who had been born in Alabama in 1872 and had come to north Mississippi in the 1890s. He lost his sight permanently after an accident while painting a bridge over the Tallahatchie River in 1894. Beginning in 1896, Ivy made a living by selling candy and peanuts to students on the university’s campus. His booming voice made him famous for his cheers and yells at sporting events, and Ivy became a

¹³³ Ibid, 156-194; quotations on 161 and 194.

beloved figure at the university.¹³⁴ On September 26, 1936, the *Mississippian* announced that the “loveable old Negro,” a “vital part of this institution for many years,” was in danger of losing his home through foreclosure and called on students and alumni to raise money to assist Ivy.¹³⁵ Subsequent notes in the paper explained that “the old ‘darkey’” was \$450 behind on a two-year-old loan that he had used to build “a one-room shanty” on the outskirts of Oxford. The *Mississippian* reminded students and alumni that “Jim is an integral part of the university.”¹³⁶

Aid to Ivy came from a variety of sources. Fifty-five black cafeteria workers, the employees with whom Ivy ate lunch each day, pooled money from their paychecks for him.¹³⁷ Students contributed a small sum as well. The overwhelming majority of the money came from alumni of the university. In announcing that the university community had paid off Ivy’s debt, the *Mississippian* described Ivy as a “faithful negro,” free of “troubles,” and now holding “in his trembling hands for the first in over three years” the “deed of trust on his humble dwelling.”¹³⁸ The *Jackson Daily News* described Ivy as a “harmless, inoffensive, lovable old darkey, loyal unto death to the team, and always the most enthusiastic rooter for any form of sport, whether the home boys were winning or losing.” The paper explained that, while Ivy had “borrowed beyond his ability” and possessed “no way to pay” his mortgage, he “didn’t worry much,” as he “felt sure white folks would come to his rescue.” For the *Jackson Daily News*, the saving of Ivy’s home was evidence of a basic truth that “while folks who dwell above the Mason and Dixon line” would never understand: “Down here we love our Negroes and our Negroes love us. We are willing and ready to go to the limit for them and they are ready and willing to do the same thing for us.”¹³⁹

On one level, the language and images in the coverage of the Ivy affair were notable for the cartoonish and paternalistic tropes that newspapers used to discuss Ivy and his white saviors. More significantly,

¹³⁴ For discussions of Ivy, his background, and his significance at the university, see: Anthony James, “Paternalism’s Demise: Blind Jim Ivy and Ole Miss, 1896-1955,” *Mississippi Folklife*, Volume 28, No. 1 (Winter/Spring 1995), 17-24; Charles W. Eagles, *The Price of Defiance: James Meredith and the Integration of Ole Miss* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 43-48; Sansing, *The University of Mississippi*, 275-276.

¹³⁵ University (Miss.) *Mississippian*, September 26, 1936, p. 3.

¹³⁶ University (Miss.) *Mississippian*, October 17, 1936, p. 6; *Ibid*, October 24, 1936, p. 3.

¹³⁷ *Ibid*, October 24, 1936, p. 1.

¹³⁸ *Ibid*, November 21, 1936, p. 3.

¹³⁹ *Jackson Daily News*, November 17, 1936, p. 6.

though, the affair revealed that the New Deal had actually strengthened the old racial ways by putting further distance between white and black southerners. Consider, for example, the different living conditions that distinguished students at the University of Mississippi from Jim Ivy or the other African American employees with whom he took his noon meal each day. Thanks to the New Deal, students walked a scenic and beautified campus, one undergoing continuous expansion and filled with newly built and freshly renovated buildings and classrooms. Some lived in PWA-built dormitories that featured maple furniture, hardwood floors, and tiled showers; others occupied PWA-built fraternity and sorority houses that included such amenities as sun parlors. For entertainment, students could swim in a brand-new, two-hundred-foot pool or play in the game room of the new student union. Ivy, by contrast, occupied a small lot on the outskirts of town and lived in what the *Mississippian* referred to variously as a “shack” or a “one-room shanty.”¹⁴⁰ For entertainment, none of these new facilities would have been available to Ivy or any African Americans who worked at the university. Throughout the state, bowling alleys, roller rinks, and tennis courts were for whites only. Until World War II, not a single swimming pool existed in Mississippi that was open to blacks.¹⁴¹

In April 1937, a feature in the *Mississippian* reported on the summer destinations of students at the university. Some planned to vacation in England, Scotland, Mexico, Pasadena, California, and Chautauqua, New York. Others had accepted scholarships for summer study at institutions including the University of Virginia. The feature concluded with a description of the summer plans of an African American woman who worked in one of the campus's dormitories: “And Isom Hall’s Jetty said, punctuating her remarks with gum as she made a bed,” the passage began, “‘T’s gwine work, But Ah hopes to git a month off and ef Ah do den Ah’s gwine play ‘round a little. Ah’s gwine pick cotton an’ wuk my garden an’ raise chickens an’ enjoy mysef. Ah’s gwine com’ back to wuk.”¹⁴² Ivy, Jetty, and other black presences at the university may have played, as students and alumni put it, “an integral part” in life on the campus, but it was a circumscribed and limited part. Although “an entirely new student body passed through the portals of this institution every four

¹⁴⁰ University (Miss.) *Mississippian*, October 17, 1936, p. 6; *Ibid.*, October 24, 1936, p. 1.

¹⁴¹ Neil R. McMillen, *Dark Journey: Black Mississippians in the Age of Jim Crow* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 10-11.

¹⁴² University (Miss.) *Mississippian*, April 24, 1937, p. 5.

years,” the *Mississippian* noted, figures like Ivy and Jetty remained “here all the time.”¹⁴³ As the university modernized, built itself up, and opened its doors to a wider community of white Mississippians—in other words, as it became a laboratory for white democracy—stories about Blind Jim Ivy’s shanty or Jetty’s chickens indexed white progress against black immobility. Ambitious programs for expansion and experimental forms of development threatened nothing so long as white supremacy appeared secure. In the halls of Congress, white Mississippians could observe southern politicians who had achieved mastery and control of federal policy regarding race. At home, an ambitious plan for diversifying the state’s economy was underway and had secured guarantees that outside investors would do nothing to upset or alter Mississippi’s racial ways in hiring or compensation. And at the university in Oxford, white students occupied sparkling new dormitories and attended class on a growing campus, black men who depended on the charity of white folks peddled peanuts and candies and shared witticisms with freshmen, and black maids chewed gum while they contentedly changed linens. The New Deal had opened new possibilities for the University of Mississippi and made possible the building of a more democratic and more economically prosperous future. It had not, however, imperiled the state’s most important and most cherished founding myth. If experience was any lesson, no reasonable observer of life at the University of Mississippi would have imagined that more federal money and more ambitious expansion would endanger the white democracy that had become integral to the institution’s identity and future.

In revealing the future that segregation seemed to make possible for one community of white southerners, this article suggests two areas that historians might explore throughout the larger Jim Crow South. First, scholars might investigate what southern universities developed, not just what they represented. Even institutions like the University of Mississippi, one which as a cultural symbol has seemed to embody the past-obsessed and tradition-bound South, have served as mechanisms for social mobility and sites for the production of knowledge. Second, given that the segregationists who built institutions like the University of Mississippi did so with their eyes and minds on the future, scholars might investigate the interior dynamics of Jim Crow by examining what it seemed to make possible, not by explaining how it responded to

¹⁴³ “Help Blind Jim,” *Mississippian*, September 26, 1936, p. 3.

external threats. Invented traditions and violent acts of reaction may not have prevented the desegregation of the South, but they apparently have succeeded in presenting Jim Crow as a fixed order to be defended, not an expansive project in development. If white supremacists and segregationists built a world designed to fulfill their aspirations, perhaps contemporary historians can tell fuller stories about the southern past by recovering the futures that the region's planners envisioned.

Awards Presented at the 2019 Mississippi Historical Society Annual Meeting



James F. Barnett Jr. accepts the Dunbar Rowland Award from Lance Harris.

The Mississippi Historical Society named the best Mississippi history book of 2018, announced the recipient of its lifetime achievement award, honored the history teacher of the year, and presented other awards at its annual meeting, held February 28–March 2, 2019, in Natchez.

James F. Barnett Jr. won the Dunbar Rowland Award, given in recognition of his major contributions to the study and interpretation of Mississippi history. Barnett joined the Mississippi Department of Archives and History in 1981 as site administrator of the Grand Village of the Natchez Indians. He became the first director of the newly established Historic Properties Division in 1982. During his tenure, Barnett helped oversee the reconstruction of the Coker House, a significant landmark property on the Champion Hill Battlefield, and was actively involved in the nomination of the “Forks of the Road” Slave Market site in Natchez to the National Register of Historic Places. Barnett authored *The Natchez Indians: A History to 1735* (2007), *Mississippi’s Natchez Indians* (2013), and the *Beyond Control: The Mississippi River’s New Channel to the Gulf of Mexico* (2017).

Resisting Equality: The Citizens’ Council, 1954-1989, by Millsaps College



*Erin Kempker (right) presents the McLemore Prize to Stephanie R. Rolph for her book *Resisting Equality: The Citizens' Council, 1954-1989*.*

professor of history Stephanie R. Rolph, was awarded the McLemore Prize for best Mississippi history book of 2018. The book, published by Louisiana State University Press, examines the creation of the Citizens' Council and its efforts to oppose desegregation.

"Dr. Rolph's analysis of the Citizens' Council drew from an impressive range of archival collections. In telling this history, she found and reviewed sources like Council-sponsored radio programming that had been untapped by previous historians," said Kempker. "Dr. Rolph extended her study into the 1970s and 80s and demonstrated how the Council nationalized and even internationalized their 'messages of grievance,' which impressed the McLemore Committee members."

Bruce Mize, West Point High School, received the John K. Betterworth Award, presented annually to an outstanding history teacher. Mize, an award-winning instructor, has taught social studies at West Point High School for ten years. Previously, Mize taught at Gentry High School, Mississippi Virtual Public Schools, and Columbus High School. Mize has served as president of the Mississippi Council for Social Studies and has written seven publications related to pedagogy.

Ben Wynne, history professor at the University of North Georgia, won the William E. "Bill" Atkinson Award for Mississippi Civil War His-



*Ben Wynne accepts the Atkinson Award from Susannah Ural for his book
The Man Who Punched Jefferson Davis.*

tory for his book *The Man Who Punched Jefferson Davis: The Political Life of Henry Stuart Foote, Southern Unionist*.

Charles Dollar, a retired historian and archivist, won the Willie D. Halsell Prize for the best article published in the *Journal of Mississippi History* the previous year for his article, "Florence Latimer Mars: A Courageous Voice Against Racial Injustice in Neshoba County, Mississippi (1923–2006)".

The Yalobusha County Historical Society received the Frank E. Everett Jr. Award for outstanding contributions to the preservation and interpretation of Mississippi history. Marc LaFrancis won the Elbert R. Hilliard Oral History Award for his Mississippi World War II veterans oral history project.

Awards of Merit were presented to Sam Brookes, Jackson, for his outstanding work returning Native American artifacts from Ohio to the state of Mississippi; Mark LaFrancis, Robert Morgan, and Darrell White of the Natchez Association for the Preservation of African American History and Culture for their documentary "The Parchman Ordeal"; Stone County Economic Development Partnership for their use of historical markers to interpret and preserve history; Tom Watts for restoring the Thomas Hinds family cemetery in Jefferson County; and Heather Wilcox for the Mt. Olive Cemetery Project in Hinds County.



The Yalobusha County Historical Society receives the Frank E. Everett Jr. Award for best local historical society from Will Bowlin.



Charles M. Dollar receives the Willie D. Halsell Prize for best article in the Journal of Mississippi History from Will Bowlin.

Program of the 2019 Mississippi Historical Society Annual Meeting

by Jim Barnett

The Mississippi Historical Society (MHS) held its annual meeting February 28-March 2, 2019, in Natchez at the Convention Center and Grand Hotel. The program began on Thursday afternoon, February 28, with a meeting of the Federation of Mississippi Historical Societies and a reception at the Historic Natchez Foundation. Afterward, MHS members and guests attended a house tour and dinner at the Monmouth Inn and Restaurant.

The program sessions began on Friday, March 1, with a welcome by Page Ogden, president, MHS; Darryl V. Grennell, mayor of Natchez; and Katie Blount, director, Mississippi Department of Archives and History (MDAH).

The morning program began with concurrent sessions. Kathleen Bond, superintendent, Natchez National Historical Park, moderated presentations on Protection, Development, and Expansion of Natchez Area Sites. Bond discussed the Fort Rosalie Site. Other sites discussed were the Grand Village of the Natchez Indians, by its site director Lance Harris, and the White Earth Concession, by Jessica Crawford, southeastern regional director, The Archaeological Conservancy. In addition, Carter Burns, executive director, Historic Natchez Foundation, moderated presentations on the National Register Designation of the Wharlest and Exerlena Jackson House. Presenters were Bill Gatlin, author of the house's National Register nomination; Darryl Grennell, mayor of Natchez; and Stanley Nelson, editor of the *Concordia Sentinel* and author of *Devils Walking: Klan Murders Along the Mississippi in the 1960s*.

Concurrent sessions followed the morning break. Frederick Briuer, retired research archaeologist and director, Center for Cultural Site Preservation Technology, U.S. Army Engineer Research and Development Center, Vicksburg, moderated presentations on the French Fort Saint Pierre Tercentenary. Presenters were Nancy Bell, executive director, Vicksburg Foundation for Historic Preservation; Gail Buzhardt, retired teacher, author, and historian; Max Garriott, retired teacher, musician, and composer; and Lisa Marie Malischke,



*2018 MHS President Page Ogden (right) passes the gavel to
2019 MHS President Chuck Westmoreland.*

professor of anthropology, Mercyhurst University, Erie, PA. In addition, Rebecca Tuuri, assistant professor of history, University of Southern Mississippi, moderated presentations on Club Women's Work as Politics. Presenters were Kaimara Herron, M.A. student, University of Mississippi; Daniella Kawa, M.A. student, University of Southern Mississippi; and Anna-Morgan Leonards, Ph.D. candidate in history, Tulane University.

Chuck Westmoreland, vice president, MHS, presided over the luncheon. Jim Barnett, retired division director, MDAH, delivered the invocation. Rex Jones, documentary filmmaker, Southern Documentary Project, University of Mississippi, presented a film titled "Preview of Hurricane Camille Documentary" to mark the 50th anniversary of the devastating 1969 hurricane.

Concurrent with the luncheon, Al Wheat and Shira Muroff, both of MDAH, conducted a teacher workshop on how to incorporate National History Day into the classroom.

Following the luncheon, Charles Sullivan, professor emeritus and archivist, Mississippi Gulf Coast Community College, and Da-

vid Thornton, president, Live Oak Films, presented a program titled “Building the Old Spanish Trail: The Story of a Modern American Highway from Mobile to New Orleans.”

Afternoon activities continued with a downtown walking tour through the Old Spanish Quarter, with stops at the Mississippi River, the William Johnson House, and Stratton Chapel gallery of historic photographs. Kathleen Bond led the tour, along with staff members of the Natchez National Historical Park.

The MHS President’s Reception coincided with annual Krewe of Phoenix Mardi Gras Parade. Society members watched the parade from the balconies of the Natchez Convention Center.

The evening banquet followed the parade, with Page Ogden, president of the MHS presiding. Stuart Rockoff, executive director, Mississippi Humanities Council, led the invocation. Banquet speaker and McLemore Prize Winner Stephanie R. Rolph, associate professor of history, Millsaps College, discussed her award-winning book *Resisting Equality: The Citizens’ Council, 1954-1989*.

On Saturday, March 2, the MHS board meeting and annual business meeting were held at the Natchez Grand Hotel. For the final



The Mount Olive Cemetery Project receives an Award of Merit for outstanding work to restore and preserve that previously neglected historic African American cemetery near Jackson State University.

program session, Melody Golding, photographer, artist, and writer, moderated a discussion based on her forthcoming book, *Life Between the Levees: America's Riverboat Pilots*. Presenters were Captain Todd Hundley, Captain Rudy Ward, and Steve Golding, president, Golding Barge Line.

Page Ogden, president, MHS, presided over the awards luncheon. Missy Jones, Mississippi College, delivered the invocation. Incoming president Charles Westmoreland, adjourned the meeting.

The following members of the program committee deserve thanks: Melody Golding, Jessica Crawford, Kathleen Bond, Frederick Bruier, Erin Kempker, Susannah Ural, James Hill, and Otis Pickett. In addition, secretary-treasurer William "Brother" Rogers, MDAH staff, and local arrangement chairs Nancy Hungerford and Janet Sullivan are to be commended for organizing and implementing the many details that made the annual meeting a success.

Mississippi Historical Society

Minutes of the Annual Business Meeting

March 2, 2018

The annual business meeting of the Mississippi Historical Society was held at 9 a.m. on Saturday, March 2, 2018, at the Natchez Grand Hotel, Natchez, Mississippi. Page Ogden, president, Mississippi Historical Society, called the meeting to order and presided.

William “Brother” Rogers, secretary-treasurer, acted as secretary for the meeting. Emma McRaney, assistant to the director, Mississippi Department of Archives and History (MDAH), recorded the minutes.

The following business was transacted:

I. The president called the meeting to order and welcomed everyone in attendance.

II. Elbert Hilliard moved that the minutes of the March 3, 2018, annual business meeting of the Mississippi Historical Society be approved as distributed. The motion was seconded by Stuart Rockoff and unanimously approved.

III. The president presented for the information of the members the financial report for the year ending December 31, 2018. The report is attached at the end of this document.

BANK BALANCES

As of December 31, 2018

Trustmark National Bank

MHS Operating Account	39,954.77
-----------------------	-----------

BanCorpSouth Bank

Mississippi History NOW	4,756.02
Money Market Account	

Origin Bank

Heritage of Mississippi Series	24,088.01
Money Market Account	

Fidelity Investments

Elbert R. Hilliard Oral History Award	4,364.07
Halsell Prize Endowment	8,627.80
John K. Bettersworth Award Fund	4,521.31
William E. Atkinson Mississippi	
Civil War History Award Endowment	11,510.20
Heritage of Mississippi Series	33,895.80
MHS Operating Account	7,693.04
Certificate of Deposit	
Unrestricted	11,823.10
Certificate of Deposit	
Life Membership	46,637.36
Certificate of Deposit	
Adine Wallace Endowment	14,894.97
Certificate of Deposit	
Frank Everett Award	3,703.00
Certificate of Deposit	
Unrestricted	5,233.25
Certificate of Deposit	
Glover Moore Prize Fund	10,909.99

TOTAL	232,612.69
--------------	-------------------

Restricted	121,271.17
Unrestricted	111,341.52

Total	232,612.69
-------	------------

Operating Account

Summary Report 2018

1/1/2018 through 12/31/2018

INCOME

2019 Annual Meeting	2,750.00
---------------------	----------

2018 Annual Meeting	200.00
2018 Contributions	1,813.00
2018 Registration Fees	17,950.00
 Total annual meeting	 22,713.00
 Bettersworth Award Contributions	 600.00
Interest Earned	
Interest Earned	32.45
Glover Moore Prize CD	24.68
Everett Award CD	25.18
Total Interest Earned	82.31
Copyright Royalties	
Journal Of Ms History	22.50
Donations	
Atkinson MS Civil War History Award	600.00
Glover Moore Prize Fund CD	50.00
Total Donations	650.00
 Membership	
College	135.00
Contributing	1,975.00
Corporate	1,100.00
Federation	325.00
Joint	1,520.00
Life - new life members	1,300.00
Patron	600.00
Single	7,860.00
Student	40.00
Supporting	975.00
Total membership	15,830.00
Transfers	93,464.96
Willie D. Halsell Prize: Contributions	200.00
 TOTAL INCOME	 133,562.77
 EXPENSES	
2018 Annual Meeting	20,668.48

2019 Annual Meeting Expense	750.00
Accounting Fees	1,750.00
Atkinson Award Expense	400.00
Bettersworth Award	300.00
Everett Award	300.00
Federation Exp: Newsletter	200.00
Glover Moore Prize	300.00
Grant Awards:	
MS Heritage Trust	1,000.00
History is Lunch	200.00
Journal of Mississippi History	14,117.62
McLemore Prize	700.00
Memberships	30.00
Office Expenses	129.48
Paypal Fee	416.66
Postage	395.97
Riley Prize	500.00
Website Expense	1,768.00
TOTAL EXPENSES	169,979.89
December 31, 2018 Account Balance	
Forward	44,983.17

Mississippi History NOW
Summary Report 2018
1/1/2018 through 12/31/2018

INCOME

Donations	
MS History Now	930.00
Total Donations	930.00
Interest Earned	1.61
Adine Lampton Wallace CD	519.44
Total Interest Earning	521.05
Grants	
MDAH Grant	3,000.00

TOTAL INCOME	4,451.05
---------------------	-----------------

EXPENSES

Author's Fee	750.00
Lesson Plans	750.00
Professional Fees	1,250
Reimbursement of Editor Expenses	35.52
TOTAL EXPENSES	2,785.52

2018 Net Income (Gain)	1,665.53
December 31, 2017 Account Balance	
Forward	3,090.49
December 31, 2018 Account Balance	4,756.02

Heritage of Mississippi Money Market
Summary Report
1/1/2018 through 12/31/2018

INCOME

Interest Earned	169.35
Royalties	1,793.16
TOTAL INCOME	1,962.51

December 31, 2018 Account Balance	
Forward	22,125.50

Recent Manuscript Accessions to Historic Repositories in Mississippi Colleges and Universities and the Mississippi Department of Archives and History

by Mona Vance-Ali

This is the forty-first annual compilation citing manuscript acquisitions to appear in *The Journal of Mississippi History*. The collections listed below were acquired by institutions during 2018-2019. Unless otherwise noted, all collections are open to researchers.

Margaret Walker Center, Jackson State University

Scott-Ford House, Inc. Collection. A digital collection housed on the Center's YouTube page and a product of a partnership between Scott-Ford House, Inc. and the Margaret Walker Center. It is a collection of oral history interviews conducted for the purpose of highlighting the role of African American midwives in Mississippi maternal and infant health care. They are private and not available for public search on YouTube or web browsers, but they can be accessed by links provided by staff of the Center.

Archives & Records Services Division, Mississippi Department of Archives and History

A.P. Dear and Son General Store Ledger. (Z/U/2019.026)
Concerns a general merchandise and farm supplies store in Florence, Rankin County, owned and managed by Allen Preston Dear and one of his sons, likely Walter C. Dear. The ledger records business transactions, however loose material from the ledger included deeds, correspondence, and receipts. Of interest might be letters with the Farm Credit Administration concerning Charles Spence.

Bay Ridge Christian Vocation School Newsletters. (Z/U/2018.071)

MONA VANCE-ALI is an archivist at the Columbus-Lowndes Public Library in Columbus, Mississippi, and a former member of the board of directors of the Mississippi Historical Society.

Includes of two newsletters from the Bay Ridge Christian Vocation School, dated February and March 1959 with content about civil rights and integration near Utica, Hinds County, Mississippi.

Calvin Lowell Wells Jackson History Collection. (Z/U/2019.027) Consists of the contents of 24 binders full of information about buildings and businesses along North State Street and Capitol Street in Jackson, Hinds County. Some of these are articles by local persons, postcards, newspaper clippings, and compiled research.

Campbell Chapel M.B. Church (Port Gibson, Miss.) Papers. (Z/U/2019.012) Consists of materials concerning the Campbell Chapel Missionary Baptist Church in Port Gibson, Claiborne County. Some items concern projects and programs managed by the church or in support of the church.

Cecil Arthur Conrad Collection. (Z/U/2019.015) Contains numerous photographs by Conrad during his U.S. Army military service overseas during World War I. Conrad was a native of Warren County, Mississippi.

Clymathes B. King Papers. Accretion (Z/U/2019.059). Includes her activities in the Mississippi Classroom Teachers Association, the Department of Classroom Teachers, the Jackson Classroom Teachers Association, and her role in the Membership Committee at United Christian Church. Also included is her 1943 autograph book from Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College and a 1966 catalog for Alcorn A & M College.

Crook, Gaddis, and McLaurin Company Ledgers. (Z/U/2018.047) Consists of three large ledgers that record accounts for either a store or company of some kind. R.L. Crook, J.L. Gaddis, Sr., and George C. McLaurin were charter incorporators of Merchants and Planters Bank of Raymond, Hinds County, in 1906; It is likely they are the same persons for these ledgers.

Dabney Family and Burleigh Plantation Papers. (Z/U/2019.039) Consists of Susan Dabney Smedes memory book; photographs of Susan, the Dabney family of Burleigh Plantation, two of the

daughters of Thomas Smith Gregory Dabney, a tintype of Harriett, a household slave of Burleigh, photos of Burleigh, and an old church either in Raymond or on the plantation. Also included correspondence, mostly addressed to Emmaline Dabney. The Dabneys lived in Hinds County on the Burleigh Plantation.

Eugene Beverly Ferris and Family Papers. Accretion (Z/U/2018.001). Consists of one travel diary owned by Eugene Beverly Ferris, I, journaling his European trip from June 30 to July 9, 1928. Notes in the diary may reference content in letters written to Frances and document agricultural practices he references later in published articles. Ferris lived in Warren County, Mississippi.

Ezelle (Miriam Jackson) WCTU Papers. (Z/2375.000/S) Includes papers from the Mississippi Woman's Christian Temperance Union, including leaflets from the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and records especially pertaining to White Ribbon Recruits. Some documentation about legislation for prohibition is included.

Hooper-Word Family Papers. (Z/U/2018.002) Contain the Civil War correspondence of Thomas Foster Hooper to Elmira 'Mila' Word Hooper, both natives of Monroe County, Mississippi. Also included are genealogical files, newspaper clippings, handwritten transcriptions, and printed records.

Howard Kirschenbaum Civil Rights Collection. (Z/U/2018.068) Consists of an unpublished manuscript by Kirschenbaum titled THE MEANING OF MISSISSIPPI: 1965, among SNCC and COFO materials, correspondence and speeches concerning the Moss Point Project of 1964, organizing papers for Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, Long Beach Summer Project, and other projects involving Kirschenbaum.

Knights of Pythias (Mississippi) Records. (Z/U/2019.047) Consists of records from the Knights of Pythias including membership applications, reports, ledgers, meeting minutes, photographs, and other records. Materials concern primarily the Laurel Lodge, however records from lodges throughout Mississippi merged with Laurel in later years.

Lucille Leatherwood White Poetry Papers. (Z/U/2019.003) Includes a handwritten manuscript of poetry titled *The Hidden Spring*, with notations of dates of poetry readings; a composition notebook of rough draft poetry; and correspondence with the Mississippi Poetry Society.

Mississippi Federation of Democratic Women Records. (Z/U/2018.019) Contains photographs, flyers, meeting minutes, correspondence, and usual organizational materials for the Mississippi Federation of Democratic Women, include some county chapters. The state federation and the county federations will continue to contribute to the archival records.

Mississippi Religious Leadership Conference Records. Accretion (Z/U/2019.054). Includes organizational records, particular meeting minutes, meeting agendas, conference material, and supporting correspondence and research for meeting topics.

Monzell Stowers Papers. (Z/U/2018.015) Consists of certificates and photographs concerning his career as one of the first African Americans to serve as supervisor in Scott County, Mississippi.

Nelon Price Davis World War I Postcards. (Z/U/2018.008) Contains correspondence from Price Davis to his father George Whitfield Davis and mother Myrtis Hannah Crisler Davis of Terry, Hinds County, Mississippi, while training in the National Army at Camp Pike, Pulaski County, Arkansas, in 1918 during World War I. Davis never served overseas, however he saw the closure of Camp Pike.

St. Andrew's Episcopal School Records. (Z/U/2019.049) Consists largely of catalogs, commencement programs, newspaper clippings, photographs, and materials concerning fundraising campaigns for campus improvements. Also included are a number of scrapbooks and audio-visual material, as well as some CDs of digital photographs.

The Katrina Project: Hell and High Water Collection. (Z/U/2018.023) Consists materials pertaining to the production and publicity of the play *The Katrina Project: Hell and High Water* by

Michael Marks and MacKenzie Westmoreland, including the play script, photographs, publicity articles and press releases, brochures, and color printouts of some of the oversized publicity materials like pop-up banners. Play was performed in 2006 and 2015.

Thomas Palmer Quarterman WWI Letters. (Z/U/2019.022)

Includes his correspondence to his wife Lillie Lee Guice, both before and during their marriage, while he was overseas serving during the war. There are some letters written between his parents and other family members and possibly some extended family papers in the collection.

Voting Rights Act Collection. (Z/U/2018.014) Consists of interviews, field notes, completed questionnaires from Georgia and Mississippi county attorneys concerning the Voting Rights Act, publications disseminating the findings, various campaign posters and materials, and some papers from John C. Satterfield.

Mississippi State University

Congressman Gregg Harper papers. 100 cubic feet. The Papers of Congressman Gregg Harper. Includes campaign memorabilia, photographs, correspondence, news clippings, books, and other items related to his time in Congress from 2009 to 2019. Of note is his time served as a member of the Joint Library Committee which oversees the Library of Congress and his Chairmanship of the House Administration Committee. The collection is currently closed. Congressional and Political Research Center.

The Frank and Virginia Williams Collection of Lincolniana, Addition. 88 cubic feet. Over 80 boxes of books, manuscripts, documents, speeches, clippings, memorabilia, certificates, and personal materials. Including original Abraham Lincoln manuscripts, legal documents, and speeches. Frank and Virginia Williams Collection of Lincolniana.

Edith Root Grant Souvenir Photograph Album, .50 cubic feet. Photographs of diplomatic trip to Buenos Aires, Argentina, compiled for Edith Root, daughter of Secretary of State Elihu Root, August

14-21, 1906. Edith Root later married Ulysses S. Grant III. Ulysses S. Grant Presidential Library.

Jesse Root Grant correspondence, .33 cubic feet. Three letters written by Jesse Root Grant, father of President Ulysses S. Grant to Thomas Franklin in 1864. Jesse Root Grant to Mr. Thomas Franklin, February 26, 1864; June 28, 1864; September 26, 1864. Ulysses S. Grant Presidential Library.

Julia Grant Souvenir World Tour Photograph Album, .50 cubic feet. Souvenir album of albumen photographs presented to Mrs. Julia Grant by Adam Badeau in 1877 as she and President Grant were on their World Tour. Contains photographs of buildings and sites which the Grants visited throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland from May 27 to October 21, 1877. Ulysses S. Grant Presidential Library.

Noble E. Dawson papers. 1 cubic foot. Correspondence, clippings, transcripts, and scrapbooks related to the relationship between Noble E. Dawson, transcriber and stenographer of President Grant's Memoirs, and Ulysses S. Grant and Julia Grant. Ulysses S. Grant Presidential Library.

Ulysses S. Grant family correspondence, photographs, and West point drawings, .33 cubic feet. Correspondence, photographs, United States Military Academy engineering drawings, reminiscences, and ribbons from President Ulysses S. Grant, Julia Grant, Frederick D. Grant, and Ulysses S. Grant III. Ulysses S. Grant Presidential Library.

Mississippi State University Libraries Special Collections, Manuscripts Division

Augenstein Sheet Music Collection. 8 cu. feet. Approximately 3,000 pieces of sheet music, dating from the 19th and 20th centuries.

Blakenship-Hodnet Collection. 1 cu. foot. Knitted wool blanket and carding tools. Blanket is made from wool from a Mississippi-reared sheep, by a Mississippi craftswoman, who also sheared the sheep and carded the wool herself.

David and Sarah Naugher Collection. 12 cu feet. Farm journals, photographs, correspondence, embroidered linens and other materials from the Naughers, a farm family in Pontotoc, MS.

Domestic Textiles Collection. 2 cu. feet. Aprons, dishtowels, and other linens featuring examples of handwork (embroidery). Mostly Christmas-themed.

G. E. Light Art and artifacts. Approximately 2 cu. feet. A painting, two small sculptures and one framed image from the estate of G.E. Light.

Grace Presbyterian Church Sermons. 16 cu feet. Recordings of sermons from Grace Presbyterian Church, Starkville, MS, 1970s-2018s.

Lt. Col. Rollin S. Armstrong Papers. Approximately 1 cu. foot. World War II letters and uniform jacket from Lt. Col. Rollin S. Armstrong of Natchez, and later of Columbus, MS.

Luke Lampton Image Collection. 2 cu. feet. Postcards and photographs documenting all aspects of life in Mississippi; also photographs of fin de siècle Europe, Native Americans, and other subjects.

McAlpin Family papers. 1 cu. foot. Family letters 1861-1900, documenting the siege of Vicksburg and life on the frontier in Texas and New Mexico.

Minute books, Grand Lodge of Mississippi Knights of Pythias, .66 cu feet. Minutes documenting the activities of the Grand Lodge of the Mississippi Knights of Pythias, 1882-1889.

Mobile and Ohio Railroad Personnel ledger, 1872-1909, .33 cu feet. Records of conduct and dismissal for conductors and other employees. Includes notes on treatment of employees during and after a strike.

Moe Collection Art and Artifacts. Approximately 3 cu. feet. Art

and artifacts related to the Moe Collection of books about Imperial Russia and the Romanovs, including painted eggs, a lacquer box, a nesting (matryoshka) doll, and framed art on paper.

Mosley-Jackson Family Papers. Approximately 19 cu. feet. World War II correspondence from the Mosley and Jackson families of Starkville, MS; WWI correspondence from the McKnight family, also of Starkville; women's correspondence from the early 20th century from the McKnight family; WWII uniforms, WWI-era MSU A&M uniform; photographs, decorative objects, and other records.

Oktoc Garden Club. 4 cu feet. Correspondence, yearbooks, photographs and other records from the Oktoc Garden club, 1920s-1990s. Mississippi State University Libraries Special Collections, Manuscripts Division.

Rev. Dr. Perry Clifton Perkins. 2 cu. feet. Correspondence, sermons, Sunday School notes and other records from Rev. Perkins and his wife.

Randy Bell Collection. 2.66 cu. feet. Recordings of radio news spots, press passes, photographs, correspondence, typewriters and other materials documenting the career of MSU grad Randy Bell.

Sandra Joy Blair Historic Costumes. 3.33 cu feet. Aprons and other historic textiles, including quilted material and handwork (embroidered linens); about six hand-carved wooden ducks; many historic accessories, and other materials.

Sharon Sharlett Music. 2.33 cu. feet. Approximately 109 pieces of sheet music, including both popular and church music, 1881-1871.

William B. Foules Papers. 1 folder. Deeds of sale for enslaved persons in Natchez, MS, 1836 and 1854.

William Garbo Architectural Records. Approximately 24 cu feet. Spec books, correspondence, and architectural drawings documenting the career of landscape architect William Garbo.

Watts Clark Architectural Records. Approximately 45 cu. feet and 500 rolled drawings. Correspondence, spec books and other materials, documenting the career of architect Watts Clark from 1950s-1990s.

Mississippi State University Libraries, University Archives Division

Dean Bunch collection. 6 cu. feet. Photographs, scrapbooks, research material, and publications related to Bunch's work on seed technology on behalf of Mississippi State in Brazil.

Delta Branch Experiment Station collection. 3 cu. feet. Weed control annual reports.

John Calvin Crecink, Sr. Collection. 2 folders. Scrapbook and memorabilia from Mississippi A&M in the 1920s.

Jack Cristil Collection. 19 cu. feet. Awards, media guides/athletic programs, correspondence, press passes, photographs, stat sheets related to Cristil's 58-year career as the voice of the Mississippi State University Bulldogs.

Janos Radvanyi International Institute Collection. 7 cu. feet. Conference papers, photographs, and correspondence from Dr. Janos' Radvanyi, former Hungarian diplomat, who defected to the United States, MSU History professor, and founder of the Center for International Security and Strategic Studies at Mississippi State University.

Zahir Warsi papers. 2 cu. feet. Research materials and publications from former MSU Aerospace Engineering professor.

Beulah Culbertson Archives and Special Collections at Mississippi University for Women

Eckford Family Papers, 1837-1989. 11 linear feet. Contains Martha Oliver Eckford's papers, correspondence, and memorabilia from 1837 to 1989. Eckford was a professor of hygiene at Mississippi State College for Women from 1908 to 1938. She and her three

sisters—Eugenia Eckford Rhoads, Mary Wright Eckford, and Gertrude Estill Eckford—all graduated from the Industrial Institute and College in the early 1900s.

Ellard-Murphree-Pilgreen-Smith Family Papers, 1908-2006. 22 linear feet. Contains letters, diaries, and memorabilia detailing the lives of a rural small-town family from Pittsboro, Mississippi, from 1908 to 2006. Members of this family include Mississippi Senator Sam Hawkins Smith and three Mississippi State College for Women alumni—Christine Smith Faust, Martha Smith Womble, and Bernice Smith.

Department of Archives & Special Collections, University of Mississippi Libraries

Dr. Frank Abel Anderson Collection. 1 box. The collection consists of the papers of the late University of Mississippi Engineering Professor, Dr. Frank Abel Anderson. Collection currently closed to researchers during processing.

Ed Bryant Collection. A Tennessee Republican and University of Mississippi alumnus, Ed Bryant served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1995 to 2003. The collection documents his role as one of the House Managers during the impeachment trial of President Bill Clinton. 6 linear feet. Currently closed to researchers.

Thad Cochran Collection. A Mississippi Republican, Thad Cochran served in the U.S House of Representatives from 1973 to 1978 and the U.S. Senate from 1978 to 2018. He held several leadership positions, including chair of the Senate Republican Conference (1991-1997), chair of the Senate Agriculture Committee 2003-2005, and chair of the Senate Appropriations Committee (2005-2007, 2015-2018). Documenting the entirety of his congressional career, the collection consists of manuscript records, electronic records, publications, recordings, photographs, scrapbooks, and memorabilia. 3,000 linear feet. Closed to researchers until 2033.

Gift of the Hendricks/Larry Brown Collection. 1 folder. Collection of original correspondence from Mississippi author Larry Brown to

author Pete Hendricks.

Sam Lumpkin Collection. A Democrat from Tupelo, Sam Lumpkin served in the Mississippi House of Representatives from 1931 to 1942, rising to the position of Speaker of the House in 1940. In 1948, voters elected him Lieutenant Governor of Mississippi. Donated by the family, the collection includes manuscript documents and photographs documenting Lumpkin's life and political career. Currently closed to researchers.

Hubert H. McAlexander/Marshall County Collection. Accretion. 14 boxes. This collection consists primarily of the research files of Dr. Hubert H. McAlexander relating to the history of Holly Springs, Mississippi and Marshall County. The original collection is open to researchers, while the accretion is currently closed, as it is being processed.

Ray Mabus Collection. A Democrat, Ray Mabus served on the staff of Mississippi Governor William F. Winter. Voters elected him State Auditor (1984-1988) and then Governor (1988-1992). President Bill Clinton appointed Mabus U.S. Ambassador to Saudi Arabia (1994-1996) and President Barack Obama nominated him as U.S. Secretary of the Navy (2009-2017). In 2018-2019, Mabus added substantially to the pre-existing collection of manuscript documents, electronic records, publications, photographs, recordings, and memorabilia that document his life and career. 900 linear feet. Currently closed to researchers.

Magnolia Farms Collection. 4 boxes. This collection contains farm records, deeds and ephemera kept by a Mississippi family from 1840-the middle 20th century. Collection currently closed to researchers.

Mamie and Ellis Nassour Arts & Entertainment Collection. Accretion. The archival component of this collection contains signed Broadway posters, unsigned posters from the stage and screen, theatre publications, and collateral materials related to the entertainment industry.

John E. Rankin Collection. A Mississippi Democrat, John

Rankin served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1921 to 1953. In 2019, the Rankin family donated additional material to the pre-existing collection of manuscript records and photographs documenting his life and career. 500 linear feet. The archives is currently processing the collection and portions are open and available to researchers upon request.

Anne Rapp Collection. Accretion. 15 boxes. This gift contains various documents and ephemeral materials relating to the work of screen writer and author, Anne Rapp. The original collection is open to researchers, while the accretion is currently closed.

Jack Raymond Reed, Sr. Collection. 21 boxes. The collection consists of the papers of the late Tupelo, MS businessman and humanitarian Jack Reed, Sr. Included in the collection are speech drafts, manuscripts, correspondence, photographs, etc. related to the life and work of Jack Reed. This collection is open for research.

Gary Sisco Collection. A Tennessee Republican and University of Mississippi alumnus, Gary Sisco served on the staff of U.S. Senator Howard Baker (1971-1973), acted as campaign manager for Lamar Alexander's gubernatorial race in 1974, worked as Administrative Assistant for U.S. Representative Robin Beard (1975-1977), and served as Secretary of the Senate (1996-2001). During 2018-2019, Sisco contributed additional material to a pre-existing collection documenting his career in politics and government. 33 linear feet. Collection currently closed to researchers.

Orma Smith Collection. A Mississippian, Orma Smith served on the bench of the U.S. District Court for Northern Mississippi from 1968 until 1978 when he assumed senior status which he retained until his death in 1982. In 2019, the Smith family donated additional material to the pre-existing collection. 102 linear feet. The original collection is open to researchers, while the accretion is currently closed.

Tyrone K. Yates/John F. Kennedy Collection. This collection consists primarily of memorabilia, photographs, recordings, and other ephemera related primarily to John F. Kennedy, although other

American politicians are represented. The donor, Judge Tyrone K. Yates has continued to add material to the collection. 9 linear feet. The collection is open to researchers.

Cornell Sidney Franklin Collection. 3 boxes. Franklin, the first husband of Estelle Oldham [later Faulkner], was a native of Columbus, MS and an alumnus of the University of Mississippi. The papers include correspondence from his time in Shanghai, China, as well as numerous photographs (many include images of Estelle and their two children Malcolm and Victoria). Currently closed to researchers during processing.

Oral History Collection of Sam Olden. Olden, a University of Mississippi alumnus from Yazoo City, MS, was a world-traveler and early member of the CIA and diplomatic corps. He later worked for Exxon-Mobil and lived in numerous countries. The 35 hours of film chronicles the story of his life and career. The collection is open to researchers.

Cameron Plantation ledgers. The Cameron Plantation Collection consists of three large ledgers kept by the Canton, MS plantation store, circa 1865-early 20th century. Currently closed to researchers during processing.

Mary Ann Mobley/Gary Collins Family Scrapbooks. This collection consists of the scrapbooks of the former Miss America, University of Mississippi alumna, and actress Mary Ann Mobley. Currently closed to researchers during processing.

The Harriet Tyson Papers. Tyson, a long-time resident of Holly Springs, MS, was a local historian and this collection contains materials related to the history of the town, as well as Marshall County. The collection is open to researchers.

The Natchez Trace Parkway Association Collection. The gift consists of papers and financial information from the 1980s and 1990s related to that organization. Currently closed to researchers during processing.

The William Winter Institute for Racial Reconciliation Collection. Accretion. This collection accretion includes information about various projects, as well as correspondence, audio/visual materials, and ephemera related to the work of the William Winter Institute for Racial Reconciliation. Accretion currently closed to researchers during processing.

Ralph Mitchell Weed Collection. Accretion. 8 boxes. The Mitchell Collection contains family memorabilia related to Ralph Mitchell Weed, World War I and II, and the Weed family of Pontotoc, Mississippi. The original collection is open to researchers, while the accretion is currently closed.

Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi

Dr. John Calvin Berry Papers. M536. 1.5 cubic feet. Dr. John Calvin Berry became USM's first African American faculty member when he accepted the position of instructor of student teaching in 1970. This collection includes family papers, including an essay on his military service, photographs, Church related publications, Kappa Alpha Psi records, professional correspondence and biographies.

Lionel Dyck, Jr. 103d Military Collection. AM19-87. 1.5 cubic feet. This collection chronicles Lionel Dyck, Jr.'s service as Corporal in 328th Medical Battalion of the 103d Infantry Division during World War II. It includes his military papers, correspondence, a scrapbook of photos taken primarily in Nance, U.S. Army publications, patches, medals and uniform, as well as Nazi paraphernalia brought back from Europe. Correspondence includes a detailed account of his war experience.

Papers of Arthur Lavonne Gilmore, Sr. and Arthur Lavonne Gilmore, Jr. AM19-054. .5 cubic feet. These papers of University of Southern Mississippi alum and Hattiesburg American employee, Arthur Lavonne Gilmore, Jr. document the campus and his overseas service during World War II. The papers also contain artifacts from his father's military service in World War I.

Legacy of Dr. Joseph A. Greene, Founding Dean of the College

of Business and Economic Development Papers. Accrual. M586. 1 cubic foot and 1,282 digital files. Joseph A. Greene, graduate of Berea College and the University of Virginia was recruited to develop University of Southern Mississippi's Division of Commerce, founded eight years earlier. This accrual includes photos, family and professional correspondence, the manuscript of *Memoirs: Building the College of Business Administration at the University of Southern Mississippi, 1949-1985*, scrapbooks, and clippings.

Max Grivno Research Collection. Accrual. M507. 81 items. Documents and photographic materials pertaining to the institute of slavery and its aftermath. His research extends to the emergence of the "Lost Cause" narrative of the Progressive era. Recent accessions include postcards and photographs of former slaves and sheet music portraying a nostalgia for the "Old South".

Dr. John D.W. Guice Papers. Accrual. AM19-023. 40 cubic feet. Mississippi native and University of Southern Mississippi (USM) faculty member, Dr. Guice taught courses in American history and served as director of its American Studies program. This accrual includes: documentation of his tenure at USM, 1969-2000, research conducted on James Copeland, Lewis & Clark, and the Natchez State Park; and research for his publication, *Forrest County General Hospital (1952-2002): The Evolution of a Regional Medical Center, A Prophecy Fulfilled* (2002).

Armin D. Lehmann Collection. AM19-088. 2 cubic feet. Materials on Germany during Third Reich, donated in memory of Armin D. Lehmann. Lehmann, known for the documentary, *Eyewitness to History*, was a Hitler youth assigned to the bunker in Berlin as a messenger at the time of Hitler's suicide. He later became a peace activist. The collection consists of 150 "Feldposts", letters from German soldiers, pre- and post-WWII postcards, Nazi propaganda publications, photographs and albums, and sample Nazi documents including Police Registration, "Workforce" appeal, Travel requests, and Personal Surveys. Translations exist for a large percentage of the Feldposts.

Oseola McCarty Papers. Accrual. M442. 1.5 cubic feet. A resident

of Hattiesburg since childhood, Oseola McCarty led a quiet life as a laundress until spending a large portion of her six-figure nest egg, amassed through hard work and frugality, to establish an endowment funding scholarships at the University of Southern Mississippi. She became the first recipient of an honorary doctorate from Southern Miss, which also named a building in her honor. This accrual consists of her financial documents as well as correspondence pertaining to the establishment of her endowment.

Mississippi Historical Collection. Accrual. M587. 82 items. Additions to the collection consist of images and documents tracing Mississippi history from its earliest days to current times, including: documents, publications and photos pertaining to the Jim Crow and Civil Rights era; postcards and photographs of the University of Southern Mississippi, the Hattiesburg area, and the Gulf Coast; and correspondence and documents from the Civil War and Reconstruction eras. Some highlights include four letters written during and immediately following the Civil War; a muster of Union C D 48th "Colored" Infantry Regiment that fought at Vicksburg; and stereoscopes of the Sullivan-Kilrain fight. Acquisitions purchased with funds provided by the Thomas W. and Marilyn M. Culpepper Endowment.

John R. Murray World War II Papers. Digital Accession. AM19-092. 649 files. Letters and photos of John R. Murray who served in the 441st Counter Intelligence Corps during WWII. Prior to his service in Guam, the Philippines, and occupied Japan, he trained at Camp McCain in Grenada County, Mississippi and Fort Belvoir in Virginia. The papers include in excess of 170 letters and postcards that span from Feb 1943 through November 1945 and 150 photos from his time in the Pacific. Additionally, it includes issues of: *The Detonator: Timely News of the Engineers* from April and May, 1943; *87th Division, ACORN* from April and September 1943 and *Life at Camp McCain*.

John L. Pendergrass Papers. AM19-060. 6.0 cubic feet. Mississippi native, Vietnam veteran, and recently retired ophthalmologist, Dr. Pendergrass is also known for competing in

international triathlons. This collection is comprised of research and manuscript materials accumulated in the course of writing two books regarding his athletic competitions: *Against the Odds: The Adventures of a Man in His Sixties Competing in Six of the World's Toughest Triathlons across Six Continents* (2013) and *Racing Back to Vietnam: A Journey in War and Peace* (2017). The latter publication is his account of returning to Vietnam to compete in an Ironman competition forty-five years after he served in a US Air Force medical unit. The book recounts his tour of duty, which included flying on fifty-four bombing missions in the backseat of an F-4 Phantom jet, and his reflections upon his return to Vietnam.

Imogene Purvis Reeves Scrapbooks. AM20-012. 1.5 cubic feet. Seven scrapbooks compiled by lifetime Laurel resident chronicling milestones in the lives of Laurel and Ellisville families from circa 1950-2013. Clippings include engagement and anniversary announcements, birth notices, and local news. Some coverage of national news stories and celebrities.

Peter Rogers Collection. Accrual. M567. 15 galleys. Hattiesburg native and University of Southern Mississippi alum, Peter Rogers, established the New York City advertising company, Peter Rogers Associates, in 1974. The company became a fixture in the luxury product advertising market, most notably with the campaign, "What Becomes a Legend Most?" In 2009, he was inducted into the USM School of Mass Communication and Journalism Hall of Fame. This accrual consists of fifteen galleys that pertain primarily to the "What Becomes a Legend Most?" and "Danskins are Not Just for Dancing" advertising campaigns.

I.E. Rouse Library at William Carey University

Clarence Dickinson Special Collection. 98 linear feet and over 1600 books. Contains the papers, music, manuscripts, furniture, art works and personal belongings of Clarence Dickinson, as well as those of his wife and partner, Dr. Helen Adell Dickinson. Dr. Dickinson was a prominent concert organist in the United States and Europe, and a composer of numerous organ pieces and choral anthems. Dickinson

was the founder of the School of Sacred Music at Union Theological Seminary. Dr. Helen Dickinson was the first woman to receive a PhD from Heidelberg University in Germany. She was a well-known lyricist, translator, and art historian who frequently lectured for classes at Union Seminary. Together the Dickinsons wrote hundreds of chorales and anthems for church choirs, and many of their works are still in the music libraries of churches all over the United States and Canada.

BOOK REVIEWS

Bound in Wedlock: Slave and Free Black Marriage in the Nineteenth Century.

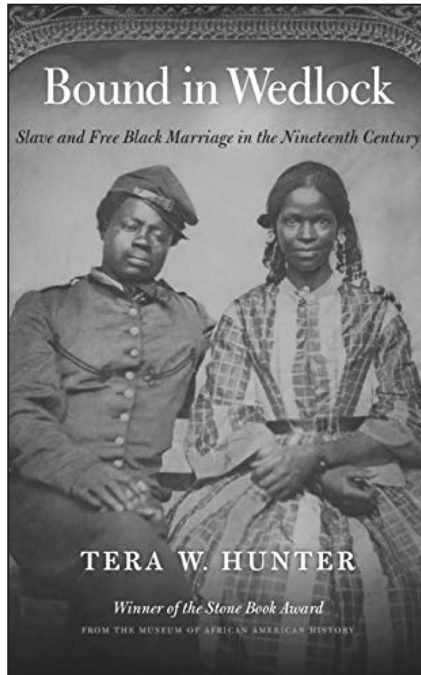
By Tera W. Hunter.

(Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2017. 404 pp. \$29.95, cloth. ISBN: 9780674045712.)

Slavery not only challenged family formation for African Americans but it made a stable, secure family life difficult, if not impossible. Slave marriages had neither legal standing nor protection from the abuses and restrictions imposed on them by enslavers. The allowance of marriage and granting marriage rights became tools for enslavers to further control black bodies. In *Bound in Wedlock: Slaves and Free Black Marriages in the Nineteenth Century*, historian Tera W. Hunter examines the complexities embedded within enslaved marriages. Hunter describes how African Americans pushed back against white plantation owners' interference—even nullification—and fought to hold their families together. She does this by illuminating the connections between various notions of freedom and how marriage was intrinsically tied to that elusive concept.

Hunter traces these relationships and struggles starting at enslavement and concluding with the Civil War and Reconstruction.

Hunter notes that through perseverance, African Americans “created meaningful bonds of wedlock” that demonstrated “the power of marriage to challenge our understanding of what slavery wrought . . . and what freedom has rendered” (21-22). Hunter claims that, through the lens of marriage, a vision of triumph over adversity can be found.



By showcasing the various types of associations, Hunter is able to illuminate how the enslaved negotiated their space and defined their own relationships. By exploring complex classifications of relationships under slavery, Hunter creates a nuanced description of the lasting effects enslavement created on African Americans in a post-Civil War society. During

enslavement, African Americans utilized the bonds of marriage to hold family units together, avoid unwanted sexual relationships, and to create stability. These relationships were a way for the enslaved to resist their enslavers and control their space.

Hunter also highlights the hypocrisies tied to race and gender in the antebellum South. For example, double standards abounded as liaisons between white male enslavers and the female enslaved did not result in divorce at the request of the enslavers' wives. However, if a white female enslaver was accused of a sexual relationship with an enslaved male, divorce was immediately granted at the husband's request. These instances show that white males controlled the definition of marriage and other relationships to suit their own agenda.

Through the war years and Reconstruction, the author shows how military camps and the federal government offered hope for new liberties and rights to wedded African Americans. The term "marriage under the flag" characterized the complex relationships between the nation and the newly freed people. In order to maintain white racial superiority, the camps and government policy instituted policies that made it impossible for African Americans to succeed. At the end of the war, African Americans aimed to mend trauma, suffering, and the pain caused by separation and sought out formal marriage as the solution. Many African Americans believed that a legal form of marriage would afford them new rights and liberties. Unfortunately, this dream went unfulfilled.

Freed people were legally allowed

to get married and yet they were still subjected to racialized restrictions. Once African Americans gained their freedom, whites continued to use the laws concerning marriage to further control and oppress the African American race. The inequality of marriage rights can be seen through the actions of the Freedman's Bureau. One such action was demonstrated by attempts to force African Americans into monogamous marriages as outlined by "middle class Christian" ideals. By creating and applying a white definition of marriage to African Americans, whites were able to extend their legal control over them. This can be seen in the disproportionate prosecutions of African American in crimes that pertained to bigamy, fornication, and adultery.

Hunter shows how notions of respectability helped foster African American beliefs in a "bourgeois marriage model" that would promote racial progress. The author points out that this monolithic view of marriage was a product of white value systems that aimed to denigrate those who did not comply. Hunter notes that this type of marriage does not consider the legacy of enslavement and how the enslaved defied white traditions and created something of their own. *Bound in Wedlock* is a fascinating read that is well written and researched. This book is an exceptional piece that ushers the reader through decades of African American struggle by bringing to life the people who challenged and resisted both slavery and white supremacy.

Nicol Allen

*Southern Illinois University-
Edwardsville*

Delta Epiphany: Robert F. Kennedy in Mississippi.

By Ellen B. Meacham. (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2018. Acknowledgements, source notes, bibliography, about the photographers, index, Pp. xi, 293. \$28 cloth. ISBN 9781496817457.)

The civil rights era and President Lyndon B. Johnson's "War on Poverty" held cruel ironies for black residents of the Mississippi Delta. The widespread adoption of labor-saving agricultural machinery, fertilizers, and pesticides reduced the need for African American workers in the Delta's cottonfields, and gains from the civil rights movement were slow to arrive because of fierce resistance by many white Mississippians. Programs meant to help economically depressed residents in the Delta could not meet the need of poor residents due to the opposition of state leaders and an inadequate understanding of the realities of Delta life by national leaders. Scholars, including James C. Cobb in his *The Most Southern Place on Earth: The Mississippi Delta and the Roots of Regional Identity* (1994), have examined the glaring disparities between wealth and poverty in the Mississippi Delta and a host of other books detail the civil rights movement in the Magnolia state's most famous region.

In *Delta Epiphany*, Ellen B. Meacham tells a story in which poverty, civil rights, and national politics intersect. She is not the first writer to discuss Robert F. Kennedy's 1967 trip to the Mississippi Delta to examine the living conditions of poor black residents and its impact on his

political career. Many view it as an important moment in the younger Kennedy's political development that may have influenced his decision to run for president in 1968. Meacham concurs with this assessment and adds further evidence. Her principal contribution, however, is explaining the impact of the trip on Kennedy without losing sight of the Mississippians he met. The author contends that other accounts use suffering Delta residents as "little more than stock characters in a poverty backdrop for Kennedy, the main hero in a morality play" (xiii).

The Delta residents Kennedy met on his trip were indeed the victims of extreme poverty. Meacham's focus, as was Kennedy's, is on the children who wore tattered clothing, had little food to eat, and inadequate shelter. Although John F. Kennedy made a famous tour of Appalachia and Robert F. Kennedy had gotten a close-up view of inner city and rural poverty in New York, Mississippi's impact was jarring. The children that Kennedy encountered made a particularly lasting impression on him as he advocated new policies and made his 1968 run for the White House. Meacham interviewed a number of the children that Kennedy met in the Mississippi Delta. Their vivid memories of childhood despair adds to the power of the narrative. Photographs of Kennedy surveying conditions and meeting families, including one collection found buried in a closet, are also included. Meacham traces the stories of several children into adulthood and details the lasting consequences of childhood poverty.

This work also demonstrates a

mature understanding of the political context of Kennedy's trip. The desegregation of the University of Mississippi in 1962 and the Kennedy administration's role in that event made Robert Kennedy suspect among many white Mississippians. Leaders in the state's civil rights movement also distrusted Kennedy. Meacham details the enthusiasm of many black Mississippians for Kennedy and the softening impact of his visit on some critics within the civil rights movement. Marian Wright, who later married one of Kennedy's aides, was particularly moved by the compassion showed by the late senator. As Meacham deftly explains, political considerations also blunted the impact of Kennedy's poverty alleviation efforts. Members of the state's congressional delegation, particularly U.S. Representative Jamie Whitten, helped thwart Kennedy's efforts.

Meacham's argument is ultimately convincing. Through copious research, she has documented the impact of the Mississippi Delta on Kennedy and demonstrated that it played a major role in his emerging focus on poverty and the decision to seek the presidency. The people of the Delta and their struggles are brought to life through superb narrative writing. A memorable conclusion taps into perhaps the most important challenge of southern historiography: continuity versus change. In the Mississippi Delta, much has changed since 1967 but much has also remained the same. *Delta Epiphany* is a well-researched and exceptionally well-written book. Meacham situates Kennedy's visit to Mississippi in its local context without

losing sight of the larger picture.

Andrew Harrison Baker
Auburn University

Let the People See: The Story of Emmett Till. By Elliott J. Gorn. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018. Acknowledgements, source notes, bibliography, index, Pp. xi, 400. \$27.95 hardcover. ISBN: 9780199335122.)

At a June 29, 2019, Chicago White Sox game, a scoreboard graphic appeared noting famous Chicagoans. The feature is customary at games to note those who hail from the Windy City, but that night's lineup was strange. Flanked on either side by game show host Pat Sajak and actor/director Orson Welles was Emmett Till, the victim of a violent lynching that took place 650 miles south of Guaranteed Rate Field. The White Sox organization later apologized, admitting that including Till's photo was "poor form." The *Chicago Tribune* included in its story about the blunder minor details about Till's murder: that Till was lynched by two men in Money, Mississippi, that Carolyn Bryant lied about her encounter with Till at Bryant's Grocery and Meat Market, and that the event was a seminal moment in the long Civil Rights Movement.

These events are what most people know about Till's lynching, which has periodically been thrust back into the news since his death sixty-four years ago. Elliott J. Gorn's new book, *Let the People See*, is the most comprehensive and accessible volume on the Till lynching, its impact on the movement for civil rights, and—in

particular—how Till's death has been remembered and misremembered. Gorn's work, along with Timothy Tyson's *The Blood of Emmett Till*, among others, draws on new evidence released by the FBI in 2005. *Let the People See* does not radically alter the narrative, but it does ask readers to reconsider the murder's impact at the time, particularly among potentially sympathetic whites, and how this story has been remembered since. The now-famous images of Till's open casket funeral were only released in African American publications at the time. Most whites did not see these horrifying pictures until decades after Till's death—among whites, the Till lynching was not the major turning point in the civil rights struggle that many later believed it was. Only when the clips from the documentary *Eyes on the Prize* were shown on *Today* in 1985 were whites exposed to Till's story on a large scale.

On the other hand, millions of African Americans saw the images in 1955 in publications like *Jet* and *The Chicago Defender*, and Till's murder reverberated in the African American community. The lynching unified both urban and rural blacks as Till was a Chicago native murdered in the rural Deep South. The black press continued to cover the trial and aftermath of the lynching well into the late 1950s, long after the white press had forgotten about Till. Gorn argues that without persistent black journalists the true story of Till's murder would have never come to light. Future freedom fighters like Rosa Parks and Malcolm X invoked images of Till's murder to illustrate the brutality of racial violence and the apathy of

whites. What whites never cared to see, black leaders never forgot.

Gorn's book is divided into four parts. In "Murder," Gorn vividly reconstructs the cultural and political world that Till entered when he traveled to the Mississippi Delta. "Trial" and "Verdict" recount the events that led to the acquittal of the two white men charged in Till's death. In "Memory," the most rewarding section of the book, Gorn shows how Till's lynching has been utilized by civil rights advocates to further their cause and how Till's murder became one of most consequential crimes in American history. Scholars and novice historians alike will benefit from this work, and it would be a great addition to a syllabus on twentieth-century American history. But, at this particular moment in our history, the general public should read it as well.

Ryan Anthony Smith
University of Arkansas

The Ordeal of the Reunion: A New History of Reconstruction. By Mark Wahlgren Summers. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014. 528 pp., 21 halftones, notes, bibl., index. \$40.00 cloth. ISBN: 978-1-4696-1757-2.)

Although Mark Wahlgren Summers makes no pretensions to write *the* history of Reconstruction, *The Ordeal of the Reunion: A New History of Reconstruction* provides a detailed political history of Reconstruction within the context of a nation's rapid growth in the late nineteenth century. Organized thematically and chronologically and recognizing the existence

of other studies that examine race, labor, and class, this book surveys Reconstruction through the prism of politics, including foreign policy and westward expansion. The author argues that binding the Union together within republican, civil governments without slavery and avoiding another large-scale military conflict became the hallmark and success of Reconstruction, not its failure: "The place of blacks in the new order must change, but the essence of republic, federal and not consolidated, must not" (13). Summers also compresses the oft-referenced Reconstruction chronology, claiming that the Election of 1876 was merely symbolic in its final denouement for Reconstruction. Most reconstructed state governments showed weaknesses by 1868 and were well on their way to collapsing by 1873.

Southern Republican governments existed on tenuous political coalitions consisting of four groups: freedmen, former unionists, Carpet-baggers, and Scalawags. These groups had little chance of succeeding in creating lasting republican forms of governments which could withstand terrorism from white supremacists because, besides freedmen, no one group was serious about creating institutions and a political culture based on racial equality. Drawing upon post-revisionist literature of the conservative nature of Reconstruction, Summers reminds readers that "Black and Tan" governments were mostly white. Economically, the new constitutions "were ones that business interests could live with and, across the rest of the country, had been living with for years" (133). These groups also differed on other key issues, like

the disfranchisement of former rebels and integration of public facilities. The never-ending violence from white supremacist groups like the Ku Klux Klan also undermined Republican attempts to create a bi-racial political order in the South.

Federal military occupation was not so much a new policy, but a continuation of a preexisting one to facilitate the creation of republican governments. Summers claims that military occupation was "pretty mild stuff" (109). Furthermore, the federal government withdrew most troops from the region by 1868. The continuing presence of the federal military still raised the specter of a tyrannical central authority, North and South. The expense and possible lack of civil authority in lieu of federal troops further galvanized political opposition to Republicans. The presence of troops also failed to diminish organized political violence against blacks. Federal district commanders showed considerable restraint and cooperated with southern governments. Federal troops acted mostly in a reactionary manner to the significant outbreaks of violence, particularly in Louisiana. Despite the limited impact and effect of a federal military presence in the South, their mere existence and re-appearance of troops in the wake of the bloodiest outbreaks of violence further eroded support for Republican governments.

Although Summers gives heavy attention to politics, several chapters cover westward expansion, foreign policy, and corruption. The author's political focus provides a fresh analysis of domestic and foreign policies which had nothing to do directly

with Reconstruction, but ended up shaping it nonetheless. Settling the "Trans-Mississippi" west was far more lucrative for corporate interests and capital yet expensive for the federal government. American Indians, rather than former plantation owners, had their lands confiscated and the federal government subsidized the rapid settlement and development of the West. The conquest of the West brought with it more opportunities for public corruption. Despite the desires of nationalists like William K. Seward to enact an expansionist overseas foreign policy, the costs of settling the Trans-Mississippi and reconstructing the South tempered ambitions. Summers writes, "All the government's impulses were toward retrenchment: lower taxes, tighter spending" (211). The Panic of 1873 and growing concerns over public corruption dampened the remaining political will for reconstructing the South. Furthermore, federalism and the enshrinement of states' rights, which codified institutional racism and the relegation of blacks to second-class citizenship, allowed states to stretch their powers to champion reforms in other areas, such as women's rights, Prohibition, public education (for blacks and whites), institutional reform, and public health initiatives.

Summers's book solidifies the post-revisionist treatment Reconstruction continues to get by reexamining politics and other topics in late nineteenth-century history.

Christopher L. Stacey
*Louisiana State University-
 Alexandria*

Stepdaughters of History: Southern Women and the American Civil War. By Catherine Clinton. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2016. \$48.00 hardback. ISBN: 978807164570.)

Catherine Clinton's *Stepdaughters of History* examines the varied and complex roles of women during the Civil War. Region, class, race, and willingness to expand or transgress traditional gender roles determined women's behavior throughout the war. As one of the leading scholars of the Civil War era, Catherine Clinton has dedicated her professional life to researching and telling the neglected stories of women of the period. *Stepdaughters of History* is a sweeping overview of scholarship and a thoughtful meditation of topics and subjects that need further research.

Clinton's vast experience and collaboration with eminent scholars uniquely qualify her to describe a half century of Civil War scholarship. Unlike a traditional monograph in history, *Stepdaughters* is written in first person. The chapters in this book are expanded articles of Clinton's lectures at Louisiana State University's Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History. She is a skilled and talented writer, and *Stepdaughters* is a joy to read.

Stepdaughters has three insightful chapters that each focus on different groups of women: privileged southern white women; white women who transgressed traditional gender roles; and women of color. The first chapter, "Band of Sisters," describes white elite women of letters who conspired to promote the myth of the Lost

Cause through their various genres of writing. Featured in this section are Augusta Jane Evans, Sallie Picket, Winnie Davie, Sarah Morgan, and perhaps the most famous American woman diarist, Mary Boykin Chestnut. As Chestnut struggled for years to edit her journal for publication it became a "form of hybrid" with "Perhaps the layers of meanings were too fluid to fix on the page" (37). Unable to complete it before she died, Chestnut entrusted her manuscript to a friend, Isabella B. Martin, who faithfully edited and pursued publication for years until the massive tome was finally printed. Collectively this "Band of Sisters" successfully created the mythical Confederate account of the Civil War that has endured even into the twenty-first century.

Chapter Two, "Impermissible Patriots," focuses on women who went outside of traditional gender roles. Loreta Janeta Velaques, for example, dressed as a man to fight and wrote a memoir describing her gender-bending daring exploits. Spies Rose O'Neal Greenhow and Belle Boyd provided southern partisans with valuable purloined information. Yet, because they stepped outside of southern society's traditional roles for women, critics have tainted their successful clandestine methods by assuming they broke societal rules of purity and impugned their reputations with accusations of sexual impropriety. Most of these rebellious women suffered from such accusations that implied they must have used sex to obtain secrets because no reputable woman could have gotten men to reveal secrets without it. Whether warranted or not, accusations of sexual impropriety against

these transgressing women were all too common.

The last chapter, "Mammy by Any Other Name," is a fascinating exploration of the African American women's experiences and how popular culture engaged issues of race and gender. Clinton examines nurse Susie King Taylor and Harriet Tubman, whose Underground Railroad activities are chronicled in scores of books for young and old alike. Clinton, who wrote a biography of Tubman, chronicles her lesser known role as Union army scout. Again, bringing a personal touch to her essays, Clinton recalls how she was shocked when she once heard someone describe Tubman as a mammy. Clinton delves into the etymology of the word mammy and the enduring power the image holds on the American psyche. Intrigued by images of the southern slave mammy in gift shops in Ireland, where Clinton taught for several years, she asked experts in other fields to find the elusive history of this phenomena. In *Stepdaughters*, Clinton reaches no conclusion about the origin of the mammy archetype. Regardless, knowing the history of African American women is an essential key to understanding the period. Clinton offers a clarion call for scholars to uncover stories of women of color. The nature of source material makes this a challenge because most African Americans were denied education and few written sources exist by black women. Historians, however, must be creative in unearthing black stepdaughters of southern history.

Stepdaughters of History will appeal to all audiences, from the general reader to the specialist. It will be a perfect book for the classroom because

it can serve as a primer on more than a century and a half of Civil War historiography.

Minoa D. Uffelman

Austin Peay State University

Frontiers of Science: Imperialism and Natural Knowledge in the Gulf South Borderlands, 1500-1850. By Cameron B. Strang. (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2018. Acknowledgements, illustrations, index. Pp. vii, 357. \$39.95 Cloth. ISBN: 9781469640471.)

Northeastern philosophers and associations, such as Benjamin Franklin and the Smithsonian Institution, often dominate the history of early American science. As Cameron B. Strang reveals, however, in *Frontiers of Science: Imperialism and Natural Knowledge in the Gulf South Borderlands, 1500-1850*, the Gulf South also contributed significantly to natural knowledge in America. Strang insists that historians can no longer ignore the way southern naturalists, native peoples, and slaves helped transformed natural science. Consisting of the present states of Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, the Gulf South from 1500 to 1850 was a borderland and battleground between imperial powers, including the French, Spanish, and eventually Americans. Strang argues that the Gulf South's violent, imperial nature affected how natural philosophers produced and disseminated their scholarship. He focuses particularly on "encounters," defined as personal interactions between individuals and their surrounding environment, soci-

ety, and cultures. These encounters, he argues, "shaped the production, circulation, and application of natural knowledge" in these contested borderlands (12).

The book consists of a series of case studies about individual naturalists or natural philosophers such as William Dunbar of Mississippi. Strang also examines various methods of analyzing the natural world, such as the collection of scalps to study natives during the Second Seminole War. Collectively, the case studies demonstrate the diverse ways locals in the Gulf South produced knowledge and subsequently constructed how others perceived the region in relation to its position as an imperial borderland. For instance, in the first chapter, Strang emphasizes the role natives played in knowledge production, highlighting how early settlers, particularly missionaries, competed with native chiefs as authorities on knowledge of the Gulf South. Additionally, Europeans exchanged goods with Native Americans for specimens of local flora or fauna, thus establishing an imperial network of knowledge dissemination. Strang pays special attention to the importance of local knowledge, namely the dependence on native peoples or settlers to distribute knowledge from the colonies to imperial centers. Furthermore, Chapter Two explains how the Spanish Empire relied upon local peoples, both natives and plantation owners, for information on natural resources, such as the utility of indigenous minerals and trees.

Frontiers of Science presents a narrative of gradual American encroachment and domination of

the Gulf South as the new nation overcame its imperial rivals, but it also highlights resistance to this expansion. Strang writes how enslaved people played crucial roles in the astronomical surveying teams on the Spanish-American border by clearing foliage or carrying astronomical instruments. Enslaved people also assisted with important geological surveys, such as those led by T.A. Conrad in the early nineteenth century. Individuals such as Thomas Power (a naturalist who conducted research in the South with Spanish support) also spied on the United States for Spain. Finally, Sprang points to the role of violence in the production of knowledge, particularly between Americans and natives. As American naturalists of that time debated whether natives were intellectually inferior to whites and formulated new theories on race, they relied on both ethnographic studies and physical samples from the Second Seminole War. American officers collected scalps from combatant Seminoles and sent them north to well-known phrenologists and craniologists for analysis. Thus, the violent practice of scalping, borrowed from the Seminoles, contributed to how American intellectuals understood indigenous peoples.

Frontiers of Science contributes to the underdeveloped historiography of American science in the South. The author rightfully reminds historians of science of the unacknowledged roles of natives and slaves as producers and distributors of knowledge. A few of Strang's case studies seem disconnected from this argument. For example Rush Nutt, an eccentric philosopher and critic

of structured religions, who appears exceptional, but whose broader contribution to natural philosophy is unclear. Despite its title, only one chapter deals with events prior to the eighteenth century, while the balance of the book generally focuses on the nineteenth century. For scholars of Mississippi's history, the state appears most notably in Chapter Three with a discussion of William Dunbar and his presence in Natchez, but Mississippi is not as prominent as Louisiana and Florida. Nonetheless, any scholar of the colonial or antebellum South or American science will appreciate this book for illuminating how violence, local peoples, and imperialism shaped the production of knowledge in the Gulf South.

Ian Varga

Florida State University

Vicksburg, Grant's Campaign that Broke the Confederacy. By Donald L. Miller. (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2019. Notes, illustrations, index. Pp. 663. \$35.00.)

Military historian J. F. C. Fuller wrote, "Vicksburg, and not Gettysburg, was the crisis of the Confederacy." (483) The Vicksburg campaign during the Civil War has been the subject of many studies and its importance to the conflict has been debated for years. Author Donald Miller has joined the conversation with his account that focuses on the Union perspective of capturing the Confederacy's key bastion along the Mississippi River.

Miller, the John Henry MacCracken Professor of History

Emeritus at Lafayette College, is most known for his works on World War II. He is a self-proclaimed late entrant to Civil War studies, but with Vicksburg, you would never know it. Miller has produced a solid, well-written narrative that covers the complexity of the Vicksburg campaign, which in the author's mind, began in 1861 with Ulysses S. Grant in Cairo, Illinois. Miller relates early maneuvers such as Grant capturing Paducah, Kentucky, and fighting at Belmont, Missouri, which all contributed to either the eventual capture of Vicksburg or helped forge Grant into the winning general he would one day become. Readers trace Union armies and naval actions at Forts Henry and Donelson, Shiloh, Memphis, New Orleans, Iuka, and Corinth as part of the larger strategic endeavor to capture Vicksburg. Miller covers these campaigns expertly without ever getting too detailed and bogging down the reader, a skill unfortunately not all historians possess.

Following these initial episodes, Grant's attempts to capture the city met with many failures over five months in late 1862 and early 1863. His overland railroad campaign was stymied by Confederate cavalry and his trusted lieutenant William T. Sherman met defeat north of the city at Chickasaw Bayou. These reverses were followed by more setbacks as Grant attempted five different maneuvers through bayous and rivers to try to find a way to get his army into position to assault the city. Each attempt failed and left the army as well as the country to wonder if mighty Vicksburg would ever fall.

But eventually, Grant devised the winning strategy by sending his army south of the city and crossing the river in one of the most daring strategic military movements ever made. In eighteen days, his men marched 200 miles, won five battles to bottle up the main Confederate force in Vicksburg from which they would not escape. Miller emphasizes that Vicksburg only fell when there was joint army/navy cooperation because the city always seemed to withstand any challenge whenever the two military arms acted independently. Grant deserves immense credit for the campaign, but it would never have happened without the aid of the Union Navy led by David Dixon Porter.

Besides covering the basic military tactical maneuverings, Miller also emphasizes other important elements of this campaign to tell a more complete story. Miller devotes space to the struggles to supply the army, as well as, the deadly sickness that killed hundreds of Union soldiers forced to camp near swamps and rivers during the spring and summer. Miller also stressed the hardships suffered by white southerners caught in the Union army's wake or trapped in Vicksburg during the siege. Finally, Miller accentuates the massive social upheaval that the Union troop movements caused as hundreds and thousands of slaves broke away from captivity to follow the Union soldiers.

Miller also avoids a common mistake that many writers fall under when writing about a historic figure whom they obviously respect. Many writers fall into the trap of "hero worship" and fail to point out their subject's failures and weaknesses.

For example, Miller discusses Grant's mistakes at Fort Donelson and Shiloh and even heavily criticizes Grant for failing to call a truce to allow his dead, who had fallen in front of the Confederate trenches after the failed assaults on Vicksburg on May 19 and 22, to be buried. He also examines the many occasions when Grant may, or may not, have overindulged in alcohol during the campaign. Miller objectively lists the evidence in these instances and indicates that in many cases, the facts seem to indicate Grant's guilt.

All in all, Miller has written a superb overview aimed at a general audience, which this reviewer would recommend to anyone seeking one book to learn about the Vicksburg campaign. Although 500 pages, it never feels like it, and his prose style makes it an easy page-turner. The book's fault is that there is not enough information on the Confederate perspective, which would have aided the reader in getting a more complete understanding of the campaign from both sides. Miller is to be commended for this work, and this reviewer hopes that he does not end his Civil War interest with Vicksburg, but that he will choose to explore other aspects of our nation's most important conflict.

Clay Williams
Mississippi Department
of Archives and History

JOIN THE MISSISSIPPI HISTORICAL SOCIETY

and receive the

Journal of Mississippi History

plus the

Mississippi History Newsletter

Join or renew dues online at www.mississippihistory.org
or complete the form below.

First name	Middle initial	Last name
Mailing Address		Apt/Suite #
City	State	Zip code
email address		

Annual Dues (Add \$10 for all foreign subscriptions.)

- \$35 Individual
- \$50 Family
- \$75 Supporting
- \$100 Corporate
- \$200 Patron
- \$500 Lifetime

Mail completed form and check (made payable to Mississippi Historical Society) to Mississippi Historical Society, P.O. Box 571, Jackson, MS 39205-0571.

NOTE TO PROSPECTIVE CONTRIBUTORS

Initial submissions should be made to editor Dennis J. Mitchell, dmitchell@meridian.msstate.edu or P.O. Box 571, Jackson, MS 39205-0571. Preferred manuscript length is 25–40 pages (double-spaced), exclusive of footnotes. The *Journal* encourages the inclusion of illustrations—photographs, drawings, maps, tables—that enhance the essay.

The Chicago Manual of Style (latest edition) should be followed, with some exceptions (primarily dates: the *Journal* prefers “December 1, 1866,” to Chicago’s “1 December 1866”).

For more information contact *Journal of Mississippi History* editor Dennis J. Mitchell at dmitchell@meridian.msstate.edu or 601-479-6293.

UNIVERSITY PRESS OF MISSISSIPPI



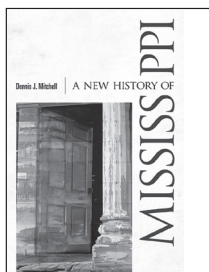
The Mississippi Encyclopedia

Senior editors Ted Ownby and Charles Reagan Wilson
Associate editors

Ann J. Abadie,
Odie Lindsey, and
James G. Thomas, Jr.

An A-to-Z compendium of people, places, and events in Mississippi from prehistoric times to today

\$70

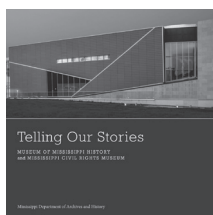


A New History of Mississippi

Dennis J. Mitchell

The first comprehensive history of the state in nearly four decades

\$40



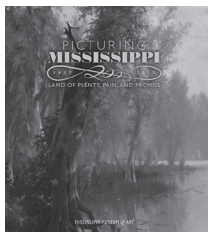
Telling Our Stories

Museum of Mississippi History and Mississippi Civil Rights Museum

Mississippi Department of Archives and History

The definitive guide to two state-of-the-art museums—the Museum of Mississippi History and the Mississippi Civil Rights Museum, which both opened in December 2017, in celebration of the state's bicentennial

\$25



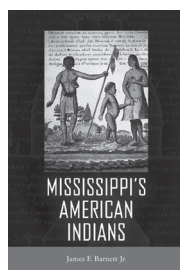
Picturing Mississippi, 1817-2017

Land of Plenty, Pain, and Promise

Mississippi Museum of Art

A collection of essays that explore the current state of the history of art in Mississippi

\$39.95



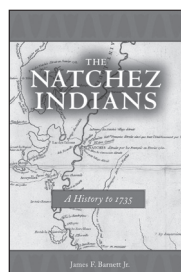
Mississippi's

American Indians

James F. Barnett Jr.

The full story of the state's once thriving and diverse American Indian population

\$40



The Natchez Indians

A History to 1735

James F. Barnett Jr.

The most complete and detailed examination of a vanished tribe

\$28

ALSO AVAILABLE AS EBOOKS



www.upress.state.ms.us • 800-737-7788



The Southern Quarterly

Published by The University of Southern Mississippi since 1962, *The Southern Quarterly: A Journal of Arts & Letters in the South* is a scholarly journal devoted to the interdisciplinary study of Southern arts and culture, including literature, history, anthropology, and the traditional arts.

TO SUBSCRIBE:

Individuals \$40/year

Institutions \$70/year

Send article, poem, photo essay,
or interview submissions through
aquila.usm.edu/soq.



CONTACT:

The Editor, SoQ

118 College Drive #5078

Hattiesburg, MS 39406

SouthernQuarterly@gmail.com



THE UNIVERSITY OF
**SOUTHERN
MISSISSIPPI.**