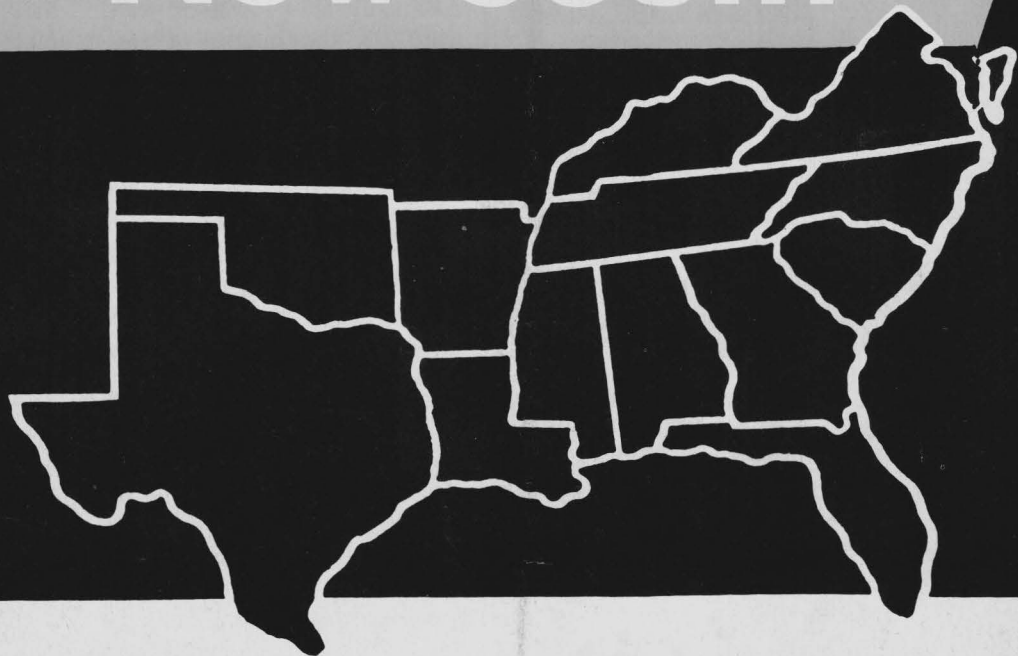


New South



MISSISSIPPI

OCTOBER

1962

Strictly Subjective

By MARGARET LONG

New South

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I know a young pastor in an Albany church who, in the Negro uprising, agonized and prayed over whether to say his religious and human piece for equal rights and lose his church, or whether to stay, speak carefully and eventually lead his flock to Christian truth. In the course of his conflict with his conscience and his congregation, he turned down a free and promising church position in a more enlightened community, because he felt that his racist parishioners needed his witness and persuasions. I admire his realism, mission and sacrifice, and I do hope the light he has brought to some of his people is spreading its beams brighter about the congregation.

One cringes to consider the shame and frustration of frightened Mississippians who believe in God or man and have not dared to speak during the voter registration efforts of persecuted Negroes in the last year, the fascist "law and order" of the Freedom Ride and the insane defiance which inspired the Mississippi riot. Indeed, many of us were abashed at the belated and half-hearted call of business leaders after the battle for obedience to law and business as usual. It is only by recalling the cowed silence of, for instance, many Georgians before their University crisis in 1960, that we can remember the fear, fever and confusion of conscience which paralyzed most of us.

Still, and all, it is possible in the South for a man to be what he is, speak what he believes and stand up to segregationist hatred, as our Rabbi Charles Mantinband has stoutly demonstrated for 15 or 16 years in darkest Alabama and Mississippi.

This stance requires love, wisdom, humor and valor, with which the rabbi

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"They Know They're Niggers"*

With military suppression of the Oxford insurrection and restoration of peace to Mississippi, long silent voices of "moderation" rose in regretful tones there to deplore the fatal defiance and call for loyalty to the United States Government and decrees of its highest court.

Mississippi, no longer fevered with the delusion of its state sovereignty, was once again secured as a state of the Union. And on the riot-wrecked campus of the University a few students and teachers moved with gestures of welcome and commendation to James Meredith himself, the 29-year-old Negro whose admission to the school inspired a night-long fight between a mob and federal force. The principles of federal sovereignty and of Negro rights to equal public education seemed established.

But in the long Mississippi Delta and eastward, where the blue sky is low and the rich earth and half the people are black, white Mississippians still fight in old Deep South style the push of Negro neighbors to register to vote. They still oppose this 15-month effort with guns from country ambush, evictions from jobs and homes, false arrests, misapplication of local law, huge fines and long jail sentences, police and private beatings on city streets and country roads, and with threats, insults and the deep dread which white anger calls up in subjected Negroes.

Two Negroes are dead, one a voter registration leader killed by a state

representative and another whose body was found stone-weighted in a river bed, unidentified and unexplained. Two young girls, innocent of voting activity, were shot from a passing car and gravely injured, one of whom may be crippled for life.

The broken jaws, black eyes, cracked ribs and split heads of Negroes and friendly whites incident to this resistance are not susceptible to accurate count from newspaper clippings, court testimony, first-hand accounts and news releases from Negro organizations working in small-town and plantation Mississippi. Nor are the lost jobs and homes, property damage, loan and mortgage foreclosures, warnings and other means of tireless terrorization so long and expertly perfected in deepest Dixie. This account has no statistics, either, on the number of literate Negroes rejected at registrars' offices, while registrars assist whites to answer Mississippi's perennially peculiar literacy tests.

Whatever lessons in loyalty, law and prudence Alabama and South Carolina may be absorbing from the federal victory at Oxford, white patriots of the Mississippi Delta seem undaunted by their cohorts' recent defeat in battle with the United States.

The latest word of their dedicated resistance to Negro franchisement, as **NEW SOUTH** goes to press, is the arrest of the Rev. Jeff Surney in Cleveland, a few days after the quelled insurrection at Ole Miss, on four charges of passing bad checks six and eight months ago. Mr. Surney recently moved his family from Ruleville, being

*Police Chief George Guy of McComb.

evicted from his home and farm tenancy and otherwise economically squeezed out of the community by white neighbors displeased with his wife's and son's assistance in the voter campaign, and not satisfied with young Mr. Surney's arrest, fine and jail sentence for vote activity.

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee first moved into Mississippi to work with National Association for the Advancement of Colored People members in the state to instruct, encourage and accompany Negroes to vote, a year ago last August.

This descent evoked traditional Deep South response which involved four beatings for Robert Moses, SNCC registration leader, many arrests of SNCC workers and their local Negro friends, long jail sentences and expulsion from high school for demonstrating students, white attacks on Negroes unprotected by police and the killing of a Negro farmer by a state legislator. Violence and harassment included an attack on John Hardy with a pistol butt by the registrar at Tylertown, an incident which recently reached the Supreme Court in a Justice Department suit to enjoin Registrar Woods from such intimidations of citizens trying to vote. The high court upheld the Justice Department injunction. This white resistance in 1961 is recorded in part in *NEW SOUTH* of October 1961 and in more vivid detail in *REVOLUTION IN MISSISSIPPI* by Tom Hayden, a report of Students for Democratic Society.

The staunch spirit which inspires Mississippi's war on Negro franchise is eloquently expressed in Mr. Hayden's interview with Police Chief George Guy of McComb, who explained the tax free benevolence which whites accord Negroes and that "They know they're niggers; they know their

place."

This brief resume of Delta vigilance in 1961 against threats to its ancient social and political arrangements, cannot describe in full the most regionally colorful aspects of Mississippi resistance to change: the flexible use of local and state law to punish Negroes asserting their rights; the richly colloquial expressions of race hatred, insult and warnings from individual white supremacists, from courthouse and police officials and from the bench of local and state courts, and the loyal rapport of indigenous FBI agents with fellow Mississippi authorities, a sympathy of feeling which has frequently frustrated both Negroes aspiring to citizenship and the Justice Department attempting to protect them.

The Voter Education Project, a southwide drive to register southern Negroes to vote and to supply the Southern Regional Council with research information on registration patterns and problems, opened shop in Atlanta last April and granted funds to Mississippi voting workers in the NAACP, Congress of Racial Equality, SNCC and other indigenous groups. After three months, at the suggestion of VEP Director Wiley A. Branton, these organizations pooled their efforts and risks in a statewide vote promotion union, The Council of Federated Organizations, operating mainly in the Delta, and chose Aaron E. Henry as president and Mr. Moses as director.

This reinforcement and coordination of Negro campaigners evoked greater resolve from the embattled whites and inspired louder cries of "communist conspiracy" in the press, on street corners, in courthouses, banks and stores, and all around under the magnolias.

Forrest County Registrar Theron Lynd in Hattiesburg, under Justice De-

partment orders to cease discrimination against Negroes trying to register, late in April rejected 19 more, including four college graduates, and the Justice Department sued him for contempt. A few days later Mr. Lynd's office failed two Negroes who applied and took tests, giving no reason for their failure, and put off two more who came twice to register.

Three white students and one Negro from Oberlin and Coe Colleges, visiting Mississippi to look at race relations, were arrested with white Mississippi attorney William Higgs of Jackson and held without charge for 10 hours at Clarksdale, after they left a political rally for the Rev. Merrill Lindsey, Negro candidate for congress. Mr. Higgs, the only white lawyer in Mississippi who has defended Negro civil rights cases, and legal advisor for Lindsey in his campaign, had accompanied the student visitors on a "mixed" swim on nearby United States government property.

Three young Negroes, Bobby Talbert, W. T. Allen, and Charles Ray McLaurin, and one white man, Peter Stoner, in the voting movement were arrested June 2 in Jackson, the state capitol, while demonstrating for civil rights on the steps of the Jackson Federal Building. They picketed in protest against contempt of court convictions of two young Negroes who sat on the white side of a Hinds County courtroom, against pressures on Campbell College in Jackson and for Negro employment on city buses. The four refused to make \$500 bond set by the police court judge, who postponed their trial, and remained in jail. Several civil rights organizations protested to Washington this city arrest of peaceful picketers on federal property.

July 3, 20-year-old Jesse Lee Harris and 17-year-old LeVaghn Brown of

the Jackson Movement, finished their 40-day jail sentences for contempt of court, occasioned by sitting on the white side of the courtroom during the trial of Mrs. Diane Nash Bevel (for "contributing to delinquency of minors" in her work with young Jackson Negroes). Mr. Harris and Mr. Brown emerged from prison with reports of another form of Mississippi war on Negroes, cruel and unusual punishment in prison. Harris said a deputy sheriff taking him from the courtroom to the county jail, called him "a damn nigger" and beat him on the head, and that at the county farm the two were dressed in striped uniforms, where other prisoners were not, and denied association with other prisoners. Both young men said they were beaten several times at the county farm prison. On one occasion a guard named Keith, when he learned Harris had been a sit-in demonstrator, beat Harris with a length of hose while other prisoners held him. Keith, said Harris, later beat him repeatedly with a stick when he was unable to move a log, and sent him to a county "sweat box" for solitary on bread and water for 30 hours. Mr. Brown also was beaten twice with heavy sticks, he said, by a guard named Douglas Wright, who ordered other prisoners to hold him.

A police beating of a 14-year-old boy in Greenwood, Mississippi, where the voter Council has an office, is not ostensibly linked with registration efforts, except by Negro presumption that this was a part of official acts to intimidate, and by rural Deep South tradition of random Negro punishment in times of tension to express the mood of the white community.

Welton McSwine, Jr., who told police "I go to the cotton field all the time and back home," was arrested

and questioned for information on the breaking and entering of a white woman's home in July. This interrogation, conducted in a back cell, included beating the boy with fists and a black jack and a whip-lashing as he lay naked on the floor, he testified. Police interrupted the flogging at a buzzing signal, as SNCC field secretary Samuel Block interprets it from young McSwine's account, to stop the child's screams and turn on a TV set to drown out further cries.

The buzzer sounded as Mr. McSwine, Sr., arrived at the Greenwood jail, after his white employer had called police and asked them to release Welton in his father's custody, Block's report says. Welton said police told him to stop crying, wash his face, dress and go to the courtroom, and that when he entered the wrong room, a policeman struck him on the head, shoved him into the courtroom and directed, "That room, nigger." Mr. McSwine took his son home and to a doctor for treatment of swelling welts on his body, documented by photographs.

What is mildly called "harassment" persisted in the Delta to injure, dismay and deprive, if not daunt, uprising Negroes. The voter campaigners in late summer and fall, in their turn, persisted for ballot rights and representation with a petition to be presented to the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives. The petition asks that the election of Jamie Whitten to congress from the Second District be nullified and that the Negro candidate, Lindsey, be seated in the House, on the grounds that Negroes, if allowed to vote, would have elected him. Promoters of the petition seek 65,000 signatures from voting age Negroes, a number exceeding Whitten's majority over two white opponents.

Mr. Henry, Clarksdale druggist and state president of NAACP, is a spectacular but as yet unintimidated object of "harassment." Last March Mr. Henry was arrested on a "morals" charge and sentenced to six months in jail, a sentence he is presently appealing. Mr. Henry picked up a young white hitchhiker in Clarksville who charged that the NAACP leader talked to him about civil rights and made sexual advances to him. Mr. Henry is also defendant in two libel suits for \$40,000 damages. He protested that the Clarksdale prosecuting attorney and police chief had conspired against him with trumped up morals charges. These two officials sued him for damages, and won a verdict in a jury trial, which Mr. Henry is also appealing. Mrs. Henry, a Coahoma County school teacher for 10 years, was recently fired for her voter activity.

Louis Allen, an Amite County farmer, who witnessed the death of Herbert Lee, a farmer vote leader, at Liberty and said that State Representative E. H. Hurst shot Mr. Lee without provocation, in August suffered a broken jaw, when a deputy sheriff hit him with a flashlight, and a \$25 fine for "aggravated assault" on this officer who broke his jaw in two places. The unfortunate Mr. Allen is also an ardent worker in the drive to register Negroes in McComb and Amite County. He was injured as he walked by the city jail and a woman prisoner called out and asked him to make a phone call for her, whereupon the deputy sheriff attacked him.

Pressures on Negroes stepped up in August and September. After a mass meeting of white people at Ruleville, city officials closed two dry cleaning businesses owned by Negroes, on charges they violated city ordinances.

Mayor Charles M. Dorough of

Ruleville personally dismissed Lenard Davis, 49-year-old sanitation department employe, because, as Mr. Davis quoted His Honor, "your wife's been attending that school," a Council class in registration instruction and non-violence. It would be, the mayor added, "a little difficult for you to find a job here in Ruleville."

The white owner of a bus which Fred Hicks, a Negro, hired to drive field hands to their plantation work, told Mr. Hicks he could no longer use the bus without a commercial license, until his mother withdrew her name from voting rolls.

Mayor Dorrough also notified the Williams Chapel Missionary Baptist Church that free city water and tax exemption were removed because the property, scene of voting meetings, was used for "purposes other than worship services." A few days later a fire insurance company cancelled the church's policy.

August in Greenwood was enlivened by the attempts of 25 Negroes to register, laboring under the glare of a new Mississippi state law which requires that all aspirants to the ballot must wait two weeks for their names to be published in a newspaper, before they can register. Thus fingered, the 25 tried anyway, and awaited the process of registrar's publication of their names and subsequent testing.

The late summer letdown in Greenwood also was relieved by the adventure of Mr. Samuel Block. Three white men accosted Mr. Block in a parking lot and beat him with their fists, inflicting pain and anxiety, but no serious injuries. Mr. Block did not report this attack to police, since spokesmen for the local constabulary already had established their relations with him when they "threatened to knock my

teeth out." He did complain to the FBI, with what results NEW SOUTH is not yet aware. Police Chief Curtis Lary told United Press International he knew nothing of the attack and had never heard of Block.

Mr. Block and two Negro colleagues, Luvaghn Brown and Lawrence Guyot, working late in their Greenwood office, a second-story room on the Negro side of town, received further white attention August 16, the night after Block's beating. An anonymous phone caller, who said he was a White Citizen council member, ordered them to leave town. At midnight, the three saw a police car outside and heard the driver call other cars on his radio. The car drove off, they reported, and a few minutes later they saw three private cars filled with white men cruising around the block. One car stopped and white riders left it and ascended the stairs to the Council office. The three Negroes locked the door, escaped out of a window and fled to a friendly Negro home.

Amite County officers in Liberty on August 22 investigated four white men in two cars on a CBS assignment, the visitors explained, in the company of the ubiquitous Mr. Moses, at the same time that 20 Amite Negroes came to town to register to vote. Five finished their tests, when a power failure closed the courthouse for the day. Deputy Sheriff Daniel Jones, said the newsmen's station wagon windows were covered with black plastic in violation of the law which bans anything but stickers on motor vehicle windows. Driver Harry Etklin pled guilty and paid a \$36 fine, and the party left Liberty.

White night riders on September 5 shot up a Negro section of Carthage, inflicting tremendous terror, formidable property damage and slight and

painful knee injury on one elderly Negro as he lay abed beside his 9-year-old grandson. Gunmen fired volleys into eight homes and a store in the Harmony community. This visitation occurred after Negroes petitioned for school desegregation in Leake County.

Leake County Sheriff D. M. Lloyd said he knew nothing of the gunmen and that as Negroes couldn't identify the marauding cars, "it's hard to work on these things without any leads." Deputy Sheriff Emmett Faulkner surmised that the shooting might have been perpetrated by Negroes to draw attention and sympathy.

Ruleville again erupted into the news with a night-time shooting into the home of Mr. and Mrs. Herman Sisson on September 11. Twenty-year-old Marian Burkes was wounded in her arm and leg by buckshot and 18-year-old Vivian Hilliett was shot in the head. (Both girls were uninvolved in voter registration, and guests of the Sissons. Mrs. Sisson had tried to register to vote.)

Mayor Dorrough surmised, again, that Negro registration workers perpetrated this violent crime. "We think," he said to investigating FBI men, "they did it themselves."

Mr. Moses protested this attack to the Justice Department in Washington, which ordered FBI agents to investigate it. These federal officers apparently conferred with city officials and started their investigation with the questioning of Mr. Moses and other SNCC officials, until Moses informed

them that it was he who had complained and demanded FBI help in apprehending the assailants on the Sisson's home.

Miss Burkes, in precarious condition for several weeks, has recovered with partial use of her leg, in which a bone was shattered by shot. After removal of what officers guessed was a 22 caliber bullet from her head, Miss Hilliett is also out of the hospital and recovered.

Four Negroes fishing in Black River at Goodman discovered the body of a Negro man, weighted with 100 pounds of rocks, September 12. The unknown body, apparently thrown from a bridge, was buried in Potter's field. Police said the Negro had been dead about five days.

Violent disorder disturbed a Negro section of Greenville the night of October 5, during which four white boys injured a 14-year-old Negro boy with a brick thrown from their car. Someone smashed a window with a missile and Negro boys threw pop bottles and beer cans at white boys. Fifteen whites and Negroes were arrested and Police Chief W. C. Burnley threatened a curfew for all teenagers. One hundred Washington countians signed an ad in the *Delta Democrat-Times* calling for an "end of lawlessness and disorder."

After a several-year period of sharecropping and tenant indebtedness to his employer, the loss of two cars, and eviction from his farm work and home, Rev. Jeff Surney, 51, World War II

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SUNDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1962

The South's Pattern of Violence Has Changed

By George McMillan

Special to The Washington Post

AIKEN, S. C.—If there is one thing that characterizes last week's tragic episodes at the University of Mississippi, it is their inevitability. Gov. Ross Barnett warned that there would be violence if Ole Miss were desegregated, and there *was* violence. People who would disagree with Barnett about almost everything else are ready to admit that he is right about the explosive nature of the Mississippian.

And Barnett wasn't the first Southern official to issue such a warning, and to see it come to pass. There has been so much violence in the South recently over the racial issue that the rest of the Nation has almost come to think that some violence may be unavoidable and, in a way, even defensible.

The individual Southerner's violent behavior is often treated as something to be understood, if not tolerated. It is often looked upon as the uncontrollable reflex of a man who is acting out sincere, if bigoted, convictions. Some sociologists have viewed Southern violence as a herd phenomenon and some historians have looked at it as being the logical fruit of a long tradition.

These somewhat generalized attitudes have become the assumptions of both sides in the current racial crisis, of those who want change and of those who are determined to resist change. Both sides take it for granted that violence toward the Negro is a common attribute of white Southerners. If this is a fact, then there are some rough days ahead, the roughest days of the racial crisis.

The segregated ways of other Deep South states, of Alabama and South

Carolina, are certain to be challenged, and the battle is not yet over in Mississippi.

What Can Be Done

IS THERE NOTHING that can be done? Is there no solution to the dispute that has become the Nation's No. 1 social problem and a major impediment in United States international relations? Must the tragedy of Oxford be repeated over and over again in the next decade?

Despite the disheartening prospect implied in these questions, there is a way to meet and prevent violence in Southern racial disputes.

In the first place, the stereotype of the violent Southerner has itself outlived the fact. It is not true. A careful study of Southern violence in the past decade proves that the violence is not spontaneous, it is not uncontrollable, it is not "sincere" and it is not the acting out of some tribal instincts.

Behind an image that has been fixed by a hundred novels, three or four dozen movies, and a thousand social studies, Southern violence has radically altered. Both the outward shape and the functions of violence have changed profoundly. There was a time when whole communities did rise as a man, as in Tulsa, Okla., in 1920. They besieged and then burned the entire Negro section of the city.

Sometimes these holocausts were set off by nothing more than a rumor that the local Negroes were getting uppity. The lawless acts were by no means entirely the work of wool hats or white trash.

There were almost 3000 lynchings between 1861 and 1950, and the "good people" turned out and took charge so often that sociologists have created a category they call "the Bourbon lynchings." It was a time when even the manhunt itself seemed a reasonable and even indispensable type of action for the community, reported John Dollard in his classic study, "Caste and Class" in a Southern town.

Three Southern Groups

BUT HOW COMPLETELY that pattern of violence has changed is apparent from a careful scrutiny of the pattern that underlies today's violence.

When anything happens in the racial situation in the South today, Southerners form themselves into three discernible groups:

I THE HARD CORE. Almost all of the overt acts of violence in the South since 1950 have been led and provoked by a small hard core. This is obviously the case, too, at Oxford, Miss. At Clinton, Tenn., indictments were drawn up for 13; in Little Rock, Ark., the FBI prepared dossiers on 18 or 19; fewer than 20 struck any blows at either Montgomery or Birmingham, Ala., during the Freedom Ride brutalities; an official of the University of Georgia at Athens said that there would have been no trouble there (where in fact riots occurred) "if we could have suspended 15 or 18 students."

The common denominator of the hard core is a shared capacity for hatred and a determination (when it is not a compulsion) to act this hatred out. The shabby literature of bigotry is almost always to be found on their persons, in their cars or in their hotel rooms.

Except for an occasional university student who becomes involved, the hard core group is so low in status that most of its members have none.

An Atlanta detective who is a veteran of the vice squad told me after serving on the special squad that watched the hard core in Atlanta when schools were desegregated there: "I thought I knew the worst of Atlanta but I never dreamed we had an element like this."

Two of the hard core under surveillance in Atlanta were homosexuals. Another had come under police scrutiny only after a prostitute reported to a member of the vice

squad that her "boy friend" had forced her to launder his Klan robe.

Organizations like the Ku Klux Klan are no longer mass movements. It is doubtful if they are even permanent, continuing organizations. The proliferation of "hate" organizations in the South is little more than a collection of letterheads whose small memberships are often nearly identical. The best known of these, the States Rights Party, held a "victory" meeting after the beatings at the Birmingham bus terminal; 50 turned out to find themselves lost in a broom sedge field.

Although there was a relatively small group at the Montgomery bus terminal to meet the Freedom Riders, it nevertheless included men from South Carolina and Georgia as well as Alabama. At Oxford, cars were seen from Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia and Arkansas.

The hard core has become interstate.

The facts support the thesis that there is a small group of violent men in each of the states of the South; how many of them will assemble at any given place and time is dependent only on the amount of police resistance they expect to find. The situation at Oxford last week seems to have offered what to them was the maximum opportunity, an even greater one than Little Rock.

2 "THE ANGRY MOB." If the hard core is not a representative group of Southerners, neither is the crowd that turns out for racial disturbances.

It is a very specialized collection of people. It is seldom a "mob" in the real sense of that word; since 1954 there has almost never been a Southern crowd which was taken over by collective hysteria. There is a distinctly contrived air about almost all racial outbreaks.

And almost all the crowds are made up of two groups of people. On the courthouse lawn at Clinton, in the

streets near Central High at Little Rock, on the steps outside the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church at Montgomery, the crowds were full of people from the country.

At Montgomery they were known to have come from Anniston and Selma; at Clinton, from Oliver Springs; at Little Rock from several places; at Chattanooga, from Soddy-Daisy and Sand Mountain.

These country faces are always, without fail, fleshed out with throngs of teenagers. The night the Freedom Riders and a church full of Negroes were besieged in Montgomery, the crowd outside was almost entirely made up of young people.

"Sunday night's violence was the work of teenagers all the way," reported the Montgomery Journal. "It looked more like a rock and roll convention than a Ku Klux Klan meeting. Many of the girls were dressed in tight shorts and low necked blouses. The boys wore blue jeans and many had duck-tail haircuts."

These same faces were seen on the campus at Ole Miss last week and in Oxford. And they were present at Little Rock, at Clinton—everyplace.

3 THE GOOD PEOPLE, or everybody else. If there is anything that is certain in the South today it is that the surest way to lose caste is to be present at the scene of a racial disturbance or to be in any way identified with violence.

With rare exceptions the communities go on about their business. "In Little Rock with the whole world watching the hour-by-hour developments, the people of Little Rock themselves went

about their business—about 124,500 of the 125,000 of them—and then went home at night and watched it on TV," reports a newsmen there.

The new form which violence now takes in the South suggests its changed function. Violence itself has become a major (and last ditch) weapon in the strategy of the South's resistance.

In the old days the violence was directed at the Negro himself and its purpose was to put him back in his "place."

There is still some of that.

But the purpose of most of the recent violence is to convince public opinion outside the South, the courts, and the executive branch of the Federal Government that no matter how great the moral and legal force behind desegregation, its price in civil chaos is simply going to be too high.

THIS IS THE reason the South, or parts of it, let these irresponsible people act out their callous compulsions.

For it can be stopped at any time. There is no mystique about how to do it. "There is not one single incident of violence in the South that could not have been stopped by the local police if they showed the people that they meant business about preserving law and order," I was told by one police authority in the South.

The phase of violence can everywhere be eliminated, and the threat of it put down with accepted, standard well-established police procedures.

THERE IS NO mystique

about it as Atlanta proved.

The threat to law and order during the period preceding the desegregation of Atlanta's schools potentially was as great as it has been any place in the South. The hard-core group moved into Atlanta from all over the South.

And Atlanta took the job on and solved it with standard, accepted police procedures. With the help of the FBI, Atlanta's police force identified the hard core and put it under closer and closer surveillance as the day for school desegregation approached. Furthermore, the police let the hard core know that they were watching them.

And when D-day arrived, police formed a cordon around the schools, and with adequate warning having been issued, they then arrested any person who did not have legitimate business at the scene.

The hard core did not even show up and the country folks and teen-agers stayed home.

THE DIFFICULTY has been, of course, that other Southern police and public officials have not followed the book for law and order. Many of these people hold public office for the very reason that they convinced the voters they could do the best job of fighting off desegregation. It is not likely that they would assist the process.

It is one of the tragedies of the South today, or of much of it, that the middle

and upper middle class people of the region, including all the usual leadership groups outside politics, are by default giving their political leaders a last chance to solve the racial crisis through violence.

These groups in the South are aware, perhaps better aware than anyone else, that segregation is coming to an end. To one who lives among them it often seems that they would be grateful if someone would come along and break the barrier so that they could take up their normal leadership roles again.

WHETHER THAT is a sufficient motive for a different form of Federal police action is another matter.

But it has become increasingly apparent among those people in the South who are concerned about the deepening crisis in law and order that the Federal Government should assume primary responsibility for preserving the peace wherever Federal court orders are being carried out. "It has every right to do so," said one man who works in the field of race relations, "and I think it has the duty to do so."

It is no longer a question of how to do it. It is no longer a question of whether the South deserves more "time," for there is no time for violence. It is no longer a question of the Federal Government abridging the rights of the Southern people. The point has been reached where most of them need to be protected from the hoodlums and hate-mongers in their midst.

MISSISSIPPI: THE MOOD OF THE DEEP SOUTH

Although Some Voices of Moderation Are Now Heard,
Die-Hard Racists Are as Determined as Ever

By **CLAUDE SITTON**

Special to The New York Times

OXFORD, Miss., Oct 6—A fraternity house on the University of Mississippi campus sits high above a terraced lawn behind breastworks of baled hay. Mock cannon bristle from the gunports and Confederate battle flags flutter overhead.

A sign directed at the troops who restored order at the university proclaimed: "You might take the campus but you'll play hell with the Dekes."

The Delta Kappa Epsilon fortress is no more than a bad joke to the military policemen who roll by in patrolling jeeps. But to others it symbolizes the state's reaction to events surrounding James H. Meredith's enrollment at Ole Miss.

The fact that it was built following a riot that left two dead and approximately 375 injured indicates the relative lack of regret over this sorry affair. It also demonstrates the sullen defiance of Federal authority, which forced compliance with court orders directing the Negro student's admission.

A few whites have publicly conceded responsibility for the violence. Among this group are Oxford's clergymen, who have said all Mississippians must share in the blame.

The ministers and the university chapter of the American Association of University Professors have urged Mississippians to obey the courts.

The Reactions

A greater number of persons have deplored the breakdown

of law and order because of the threat to their own welfare and that of the state. More than 25 business, industrial and professional leaders throughout Mississippi have called for prosecution of the trouble-makers.

But a majority of the state's residents have remained silent or have joined Governor Ross R. Barnett in the hunt for a scapegoat, an easy task in an atmosphere in which fiction is accepted as fact. The Governor has accused the deputy United States marshals who escorted Mr. Meredith onto the campus of starting the riot by precipitate use of tear gas.

An appeal for order has even come from Mr. Barnett, who capped a series of belligerent statements by three times defying the Federal courts before Mr. Meredith was accepted. But his plea has been coupled with further attacks on the court and the surprising remark that "placing Meredith in the University of Mississippi by armed might positively does not integrate the university—it only means that he is illegally at the university, and that the campus and the city of Oxford are occupied by Federal troops."

Student reaction has paralleled that off the campus. A few seem to have been shamed by the behavior of the mob, which included many non-students. The Mississippian, the campus newspaper, has denounced the outbreak and is soliciting funds for a scholarship that will honor one of the victims, Paul Guihard, a correspondent for Agence France Presse.

No Sorrow

But there is no widespread mourning. The election of a home-coming queen was held Thursday. And during the latter part of the week the chief concern has been the threat that today's football game with the University of Houston might be canceled.

There is open hostility to Mr. Meredith among some students. He has been burned in effigy. Foul epithets have been shouted at him. And only a handful of the students has demonstrated any kindness toward the former Air Force sergeant.

Mr. Meredith's admission has aroused emotions here and elsewhere to such a pitch that rational thought seems difficult. The climate created by years of demagoguery and racial bigotry has brought suppression and distortion of fact. As a result, some persons connected only indirectly with the controversy have suffered.

Oxford's Mayor Richard W. Elliott, for example, first called upon state highway patrolmen to put down the rioting that had spread from the campus into the business district. After they had refused, he asked Federal officials to send troops. His action has since drawn this comment from a legislator:

"How could a Mississippian ignore his Governor when he was doing all that was possible to quell a riot started and supported by the Administration in Washington, and who had plenty of manpower to keep order in Oxford regardless of the fact that it was a Kennedy-inspired situation? Sending to Kennedy, our enemy who would mongrelize the Anglo-Saxons of the Southland, to police your town, brings to the fore that you are

a most undesirable citizen of the commonwealth."

Pressure for conformity with the orthodox view at whatever cost is being exerted all along the line. Charles M. Hills, writing in *The Clarion-Ledger* of Jackson warned that "the skal-awags and the moderates are going to crawl out of the walls now." He continued:

The Pressures

"Watch the peace-lovers come to the fore, grab a nigger-neck and start bellowing brotherly love. For us . . . we'll just go on being a bigot, a reactionary, a rebel and lick our wounds till the next fight starts and plan to win somehow. We are licked but not beaten!"

Viewed against this background, it is not surprising that 10,000 Army troops and Federalized National Guardsmen and a small bodyguard of deputy United States marshals are necessary to protect Mr. Meredith. The student's life would be in extreme jeopardy if they were removed. The threat does not lie in further mob violence, which appears unlikely so long as proper precautions are taken. The greatest danger stems from the possibility that a lone man, infected by the cold, unreasoning fury that grips many whites, will slip through the lines and make an attempt to kill the student. This was underscored Thursday when a man, who appeared to be mentally confused, was apprehended at the very door of Mr. Meredith's dormitory.

Federal officials seem to underestimate the intensity of white antagonism, particularly in assessing the long-range outlook. They appear to be overly optimistic about the chances for achieving an atmosphere of nor-

malcy on the campus.

A fatal slip on their part would have far-reaching consequences. If Mississippi's militant white supremacists succeed in their efforts to remove Mr. Meredith from the university, it will encourage further violent resistance to desegregation here and in other Deep South states.

Possible Causes

Moreover, if harm comes to Mr. Meredith, it may well discourage other Negroes who, heartened by his show of bravery, have applied for admission to white public educational institutions.

One girl has an application pending at Ole Miss and another youth has requested application forms.

No one can predict with certainty that these and other Negro students will be attending Ole Miss with Mr. Meredith a year from now. His admission has cleared away the legalistic barriers thrown up by the state. But others undoubtedly will be devised, for there are no indications that Mississippi officials are ready to concede defeat.

The future pace of desegregation is not subject to forecast, although it is no less inevitable here than in other states. Perhaps the over-all situation is best described in the terms used by Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, the Deputy Attorney General, in contending that "considerable progress" had been made this week toward restoring the campus to normal.

"That doesn't mean that I don't think we've got a helluva long way to go," he said. "It will be a long, long time—if ever—before there will be complete acceptance of Meredith as a student."

Crimson White

"For 68 Years the Capstone's Newspaper"

Melvin F. Meyer, Editor

Joseph Stewart, Business Manager

Member of the Associated Collegiate Press

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EDITORIALS

A Bell Rang . . .

If I had a bell,
I'd ring it in the morning,
I'd ring it in the evening,
All over this land.
I'd ring out justice,
I'd ring out freedom,
I'd ring out love for my brother and my sister,
All over this land.

.... American Folk Song.

A bell rang this week in Oxford, Mississippi.

It tolled not the ending of segregation as some had thought it might. Its message was rather the seeming success of Gov. Ross Barnett, who literally "stood in the schoolhouse door" and denied admission to James Meredith, Mississippi Negro.

We are concerned that Meredith did not gain access to the University of Mississippi. We think he should have been admitted.

Morally, there is no justification for his rejection.

Legally, there can be no doubt he is entitled to become a student at Mississippi.

But this is not our prime concern.

James Meredith's rights have been denied before and will, no doubt, be denied again. This is not to suggest that these denials are justified, for they are not. But it is to suggest that he probably has been forced to rationalize his existence in the society to which he was born.

We are more concerned with the precedent that has been set at Oxford, and the trend that may have been established.

People say that Meredith should not be allowed to attend the University of Mississippi if a majority of the people there and throughout the state do not want him.

This argument has frightening implications in terms of where it might lead. Does freedom of speech mean that the majority is to vote to determine whom they wish to hear? Is freedom of religion to be extended only to those persons whose beliefs conform to what the majority has decided is orthodox?

More specifically, if the bigot or the demagogue can muster a majority to turn on the Negro, will he necessarily stop there? Or will he next turn to the Catholic, and the Jew, or the member of any other minority group?

People who have studied prejudice attribute much of it to the necessity of the individual to have a tangible scapegoat upon whom to vent his wrath. The Federal Government makes a mistake and it's because the damn Catholics are in control.

And the sheer necessity of having to have someone to look down upon forces the element closest to that of the Negro to oppose any betterment of the Negro's lot.

P. D. East, editor of the *Petal Paper* and author of the *Magnolia Jungle*, puts it this way. "If I were a Catholic in Mississippi, I'd be worried. If I were a Jew, I'd be scared stiff. If I were a Negro, I would already be gone."

This is our point of prime concern. The basis of the democratic system is equality before the law, and the system is but a mockery if the laws are only to extend to a portion of the citizenry.

Every time the rights of one citizen anywhere are denied, every citizen is harmed.

Every time we trim our legal sail to meet the whirlwinds of the times, the course of the Ship of State is altered, and the destination toward which we have steered for 170 odd years grows more remote.

Bias is a force that strikes at one and all. We have come much too far, and fought far too long, to abandon our democratic system to appease the great god, Expediency.

We lost something American in Oxford this week, and every American citizen is the less for it.

John Donne said: "No man is an island, entire of itself; every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main; . . . I am involved in mankind; and therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee."

There was no need to send to Oxford this week to see what bell rang. It wasn't the bell of justice and freedom; it rang for you and me.

veteran and father of eight young girls, moved his family to Cleveland. Among his economic vicissitudes at the hands of white Ruleville farm and business owners was payment of \$1,370 on a 1957 Pontiac he bought in Greenwood for \$1,100 plus \$500 carrying charges, to have the car repossessed in default of one payment and to lose the \$1,370. A few months' later Mr. Surney's employer bought him a 1954 Ford for \$565, which, in settlement of debts to his employer, Mr. Surney never saw, thus losing \$1,370 and \$565 on two cars, in addition to finishing up the year \$214 in debt by the planter's statement.

Mr. Surney's son, Lawrence, was arrested the last of August for distributing handbills to announce a voter rally without a permit, and was jailed and fined.

The elder Mr. Surney sought twice in August to register to vote at Indianola, and the third time, with a busload of Negro applicants, he was allowed to fill out the form.

On October 18 the Rev. Mr. Surney was arrested in Cleveland by a Justice of the peace, brought to Ruleville and convicted of passing bad checks. He appealed to circuit court and will be tried next March. Mr. Surney is again house-hunting, due to the displeasure of his landlord at this arrest.

"I am gravely concerned," observed VEP Director Branton, who has defended many Negro cases in the Delta and suffered considerable costs and harassment himself, "over the state of justice in Mississippi." —M: L.

Strictly Subjective

Continued from page 2

of B'Nai Israel in Hattiesburg in Southern Mississippi is well endowed. I think Rabbi Mantinband also survives his environs so handsomely, despite his freely and frequently expressed view that all men are equal, because he sees no man as his enemy, not even that city official, Temple constituent or White Citizens Council race-saver who threatens him with violence, damage to his church or removal from Hattiesburg.

I call Rabbi Mantinband ours because he is a venerated and cherished member of the board of the Southern Regional Council and was a chairman of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations. I remember the first time I saw him at our (and my first) annual dinner when he bustled glowing and twinkling up to Mr. Dabbs and Mr. Marion Wright at the head table to fetch "a bit of gossip," which they received with much head-bobbing and laughter. Old as I am, I was drawn like a child to the aura of warmth, moral authority and witty freedom around the brisk and rotund rabbi. He wore a look of old-fashioned goodness which blessed our dinner party with its sheen. I met Mrs. Mantinband with equal pleasure, feeling in her deep eyes and lovely Jewish face—a face frankly and beautifully aging—that same intelligence, grace and valor. And I figured that if you're good enough, you can say and

do what you believe anywhere.

We had an impassioned and humor-sparked panel discussion among authors Louis Lomax and Eric Lincoln and the soft-styled, sharp-edged and regaling Dr. Robert Harris of Vanderbilt. In the course of this exchange on Negro rights and southern recalcitrance they dropped some fierce ironies and reproaches on the "hard core" South which was still behaving like the embattled Confederacy. When the discussion moved to the floor Rabbi Mantinband rose to make eloquent remarks in what sounded to me like cultivated New England accents, but which were really Tidewater Virginia, about the good people, the good feeling and the hidden, oppressed liberalism and humanity in Mississippi. We loved his respect for the silent best of Mississippi, while sharing his grief at its silence and his anger at the dominant bigotry. What shone brightest, though, was the rabbi's, love hope and Mississippi-respecting plea for us to understand his troubled people.

Rabbi Mantinband decided early that "in my personal life there would be no distinction between any of God's children." This resolve became more important in the South if he were "to be worthy of my Jewish heritage." More difficult, he "vowed never to sit in the presence of bigotry and by my silence seem to give assent," a vow which has, in southern Mississippi, necessitated a great deal of dissenting sound from the rabbi, in the pulpit, press and speeches around the state and the South.

He has compared Negro oppressions with prejudice against Jews and their sufferings, an insight scarcely compatible with the attitude of many nicely assimilated Jews in the South, who naturally prefer to ignore anti-Semitic winds which revived with federal court

decisions for Negro justice and segregationist efforts to keep Dixie supremely and separately white.

"The time is past," declared Rabbi Mantinband, "when a Jew dare be neutral on this moral issue."

So, for the Jewish Chautauqua Society he undertook some years ago visits to white and Negro colleges to answer the frequent question, "What can Negro leadership learn from Jewish experience?" upon which members of his congregation asked him to desist from such uneasy discussion. The rabbi said he would speak no more at Negro schools, or white ones either. The Temple board, eager to maintain harmony, asked that the rabbi keep speaking, but not about race, and he replied that he would ignore this problem if his congregation members could persuade the daily press to be silent, also. So, Rabbi Mantinband went his way, and at Yom Kippur preached on the Emmett Till lynching and "what Mississippi has to atone for." He again raised his voice in shame and anger over the unprosecuted lynch murder of Mack Parker in Mississippi.

During the Mantinbands' absence abroad in 1958, the White Citizens Council advised B'Nai Israel to get rid of their "mischief-making rabbi," or "we cannot be responsible for the consequences." But Rabbi Mantinband's friends in the church defeated a petition to oust him. Months later a national foundation gave \$2,500 to the congregation in tribute to the rabbi's "sane approach and wisdom" on race, and when members of B'Nai Israel wanted to decline the gift for fear of reprisals from segregationist neighbors, Rabbi Mantinband assured them that they'd lose the money and their rabbi, too. The congregation voted him support, five to one, and later, life tenure at B'Nai Israel.

The Mantinbands have long welcomed Negro company to their home. When Protestant neighbors inquire who the extraordinary guests are, the good rabbi is wont to reply, "Some Christian friends of mine."

One must wonder at the rabbi's triumphs over so much fear, anger and threats for so many constant years of fidelity to his Jewish heritage and his

loyalty to men black and white, and suspect that if his white Christian colleagues had led, struggled and risked with his Jewish love and courage they might have saved Mississippi from its second Civil War. At any rate, the prevailing of the admirable Rabbi of B'Nai Israel through the dark and silent years should guide them, as he has urged them, "to have more faith in America and its decent citizenry."

Revolution and Violence

The violence that has erupted in parts of the South over Negro-white relationships, that violence with which we dissent most sharply, is *not* due to an undemocratic and static society. It arises from our very participation in a democratic and changing society. No sane person would contend that we have reached perfection here in the United States, but neither would any concerned citizen argue that we have given up struggling toward it. It is this struggle that finds most acute form in the South today. It is this very conviction, that America and the South are not frozen societies forever fixed in their present molds, that makes Negroes demand payment on promissory notes of equality issued long ago, that makes white citizens re-examine the social arrangements by which they live.

We are part of a world-wide experience, for we are undergoing a revolution in the South, economic, social, cultural, spiritual, and no revolution ever took place without a struggle. To borrow a familiar phrase, then, the winds of change are not only blowing across the world, they are ruffling the South. The change is here, not only inevitable but irrevocable. What is not and never has been inevitable is the price we pay for change: the price in bitterness, in violence, in weakened institutions, in distorted traditions. We can see change as an unwanted harvest to be trampled in the fields, or as a seedbed to be cultivated for future nourishment.—*Wilma Dykeman and James Stokely*, "Our changing South: A Challenge," in *WE DISSENT*.

New South

Lamar on Slavery, Citizenship and Suffrage

With their opinions on the rightfulness of slavery unchanged by the events of the war, yet as an enlightened people, accepting what is inevitable, they would not, if they could, again identify their destiny as a people with an institution that stands antagonized so utterly by all the sentiments and living forces of modern civilization. In a word, they regard the new amendments to the constitution which secure to the black race freedom, citizenship, and suffrage, to be not less sacred and inviolable than the original charter as it came from the hands of the fathers. They owe allegiance to the latter; they have pledged their parole of honor to keep the former, and it is the parole of honor of a soldier race.—*from a speech of Representative Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus Lamar of Mississippi in the United States House of Representatives June 8, 1874.*

And in this connection it may surprise some of the readers of this discussion to learn that in 1869 the white people of Mississippi unanimously voted at the polls in favor of ratifying the enfranchising amendment for which Mr. Blaine voted in Congress, believing, as they did, that when once the Negro was made a free man, a property-holder, and a taxpayer, he could not be excluded from the remaining privilege and duty of a citizen, the right and obligation to vote. And I think I can safely say for that people what Mr. Blaine says for himself: that if the question were again submitted to their judgment they 'would vote for Negro suffrage in the light of experience with more confidence than they voted for it in the light of an experiment' . . . and the result is that throughout the South the races vote together; that they have learned where their mutual interest lies; and that whom God has joined all the politicians have failed to keep asunder.—*Senator L. Q. C. Lamar in a symposium on Negro franchise in the North American Review, March 1879.*