

# Ross Barnett and Racism

**Objectives:** Students will examine primary source material to understand racism in Mississippi history. Students will learn that Governor Ross Barnett and his pro-segregation attitudes were symptomatic of white attitudes during the Civil Rights Movement; examine campaign materials and racist propaganda; and analyze how this entrenched racism affected Ross Barnett’s response to James Meredith’s attempts to register at the University of Mississippi.

The *Ross Barnett and Racism* lesson plan is adaptable for grades 8-12.

Curricular Connections		
<b>Social Studies</b>	Mississippi Studies	4b, 6b
	Introduction to World Geography	4b
	U.S. History from Post Reconstruction to the Present	4b, 4c, 7c
	Advanced World Geography	5b
	U.S. Government	5b, 7a, 7c
	Minority Studies	4a
	African American Studies	1c
<b>Common Core Language Arts</b>	Grade 8	RI 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8; SL 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6; L 1, 3, 4, 5; RH 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9
	Grades 9-10	RI 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8; SL 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6; L 1, 3, 4, 5; RH 1, 2, 4, 6, 8, 9
	Grades 11-12	RI 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7; SL 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6; L 1, 3, 4, 5; RH 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9



“I have been able to delve more deeply into information that I want to share with my students and I have been able to create a lesson plan that not only I can use, but also my fellow teachers.”

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**Materials:** *Theodore Bilbo and Ross Barnett; Voluntary Resettlement of American Negroes in Africa*; newspaper article (1); *Theodore Bilbo and Ross Barnett Discussion Guide*; Ross Barnett campaign materials (2); Internet; “Roll with Ross” Campaign Song; *Racism as a Campaign Tool Discussion Guide*; *Ross Barnett and James Meredith Discussion Guide*; *30 for 30: Ghosts of Ole Miss* documentary (available through MDAH’s Mississippi History on Loan program); *30 for 30: Ghosts of Ole Miss Discussion Guide*.

## **Procedures:**

### **Activity One: Theodore Bilbo and Ross Barnett**

1. Distribute and have students read *Theodore Bilbo and Ross Barnett*.
2. Distribute copies of Theodore Bilbo’s speech “Voluntary Resettlement of American Negroes in Africa” to students.
3. Distribute copies of the newspaper article titled “Legal School Advisory Group Told Voluntary Segregation Would Solve Race Problem” to students.
4. Using *Theodore Bilbo and Ross Barnett Discussion Guide*, lead a class discussion about the documents and the viewpoints of Bilbo and Barnett.
5. Teachers may divide the class in half or into groups and give one group Bilbo’s speech and another group the newspaper article quoting Barnett. Students can then summarize the viewpoints of each and discuss.

### **Activity Two: Racism as a Campaign Tool**

1. Distribute copies of Ross Barnett’s two campaign pamphlets to students or project on the overhead.
2. View the 1956 WLBT film clip “Ross Barnett Campaign Speech”
  - Part 1 at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oCuEVlss3Y> (0:22 long)
  - Part 2 at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Br2YpW8Pjqw> (2:40 long)
3. Distribute the “Roll with Ross” Campaign Song and project the “Roll with Ross” campaign song clip from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=888y90wrvic>.
4. Using the *Racism as a Campaign Tool Discussion Guide*, lead a class discussion about Ross Barnett’s stance on segregation and integration using the provided discussion questions.

### **Activity Three: Ross Barnett and James Meredith**

1. View the WLBT film clip “University of Mississippi vs. University of Kentucky Football Game” at [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P2q6\\_XNBG8Y](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P2q6_XNBG8Y) (4:01 long)
2. Lead class in discussion of the University of Mississippi’s integration using the *Ross Barnett and James Meredith Discussion Guide*.
3. Have the class view *ESPN’s 30 for 30: Ghosts of Ole Miss*, a documentary that examines James Meredith’s entry at the University of Mississippi, the ensuing riot on the night of September 30, 1962, and the championship football team that were eyewitnesses to this pivotal moment in civil rights history. Included are interviews with James Meredith, members of the 1962 Ole Miss football team, reporter Dan Rather, and former Mississippi governor William Winter. 51 minutes. This film can be borrowed free of charge from the Mississippi

History on Loan Collection. Go to <http://www.mdah.ms.gov/new/learn/classroom-materials/mississippi-history-on-loan-film-collection/> or contact the Outreach Programs Coordinator at 601-576-6997.

4. Using the *30 for 30: Ghosts of Ole Miss Discussion Guide*, conduct a class discussion about the film.
5. If time allows, students may read William Thompson’s article “Ghosts of Mississippi” online at <http://sports.espn.go.com/espn/eticket/story?page=mississippi62> for additional information about the Ole Miss riot, it’s 1962 football team, and the lasting impact of the school’s desegregation.

**Extension Activities:**

1. Visit the campus of the University of Mississippi to see where James Meredith was admitted and the events of September 1962 took place.
2. Access the Mississippi Department of Archives and History teaching unit *Civil Rights in Mississippi* along with additional lesson plans relating to the Civil Rights Movement available online at <http://www.mdah.ms.gov/new/learn/classroom-materials/lesson-plans-and-teaching-units/>
3. For additional information, access the following articles on the *Mississippi History Now* website:
  - “Theodore Gilmore Bilbo: Thirty-ninth and Forty-third Governor of Mississippi: 1916-1920; 1928-1932” by David G. Sansing, available at <http://www.mshistorynow.mdah.ms.gov/articles/265/index.php?s=extra&id=140>
  - “Ross Robert Barnett: Fifty-third Governor of Mississippi: 1960-1964” by David G. Sansing, available at <http://www.mshistorynow.mdah.ms.gov/articles/265/index.php?s=extra&id=150>

## *Theodore Bilbo and Ross Barnett*

On Sunday, September 30, 1962, James Meredith arrived on the campus of the University of Mississippi (also known by its nickname Ole Miss) to enroll as the first African American student the following day. Meredith's enrollment was a pivotal event in the Civil Rights Movement in Mississippi that capped weeks of drama and caused rioting on the university campus. Mississippi Governor Ross Barnett was the voice of opposition to Meredith's admission to the university.

Ross Barnett had a history of speaking out against integrating African American and white students in public schools, despite the United States Supreme Court's order to do so in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* in 1954. Barnett was one of a long line of Mississippi politicians and leaders who opposed integration. In a 1976 interview for the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Barnett described former governors James K. Vardaman and Theodore Bilbo as "great leaders in segregation of the races in the schools and in the churches."

Ross Barnett ran for governor of Mississippi in 1951 and 1955 before being elected to that office in 1959. Maintaining segregation was one of his campaign platforms. His stance led to a showdown with the United States government and President John F. Kennedy over the admission of James Meredith to Ole Miss.

HILLIARD:	I did my undergraduate work there. Let me ask you this. How would you, speaking of Governor Vardaman, how would you compare Governor Vardaman and Governor Bilbo? You have recollections...
BARNETT:	Well, I remember about both of them they were great leaders in segregaton of the races in the schools and in the churches. And they... Bilbo especially advocated sending all the negroes back to Africa. If you'd advocate that now, they would shoot you..
HILLIARD:	He was reviving the American Colonization Society. In other words.
HOLMES:	1830s and forties.
HILLIARD:	Thirties and forties.
BARNETT:	Yes. He wanted to appropriate enough money.

*An Interview with Ross Barnett July 14, 1976, conducted by historians Elbert Hillard and Hank Holmes. MDAH Archives and Records Services.*

Bilbo, Theodore G.  
Speeches

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*Voluntary Resettlement of American  
Negroes in Africa*

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*Control and Consolidation of  
Agricultural Programs*

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Speeches of  
**Hon. Theodore G. Bilbo**

of Mississippi

in the

**Senate of the United States**

May 10 and 14, 1945

*Not printed  
at Government  
expense*

United States Government Printing Office, Washington : 1945

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SPEECHES  
OF  
**HON. THEODORE G. BILBO**

**Voluntary Resettlement of American  
Negroes in Africa**

*Thursday, May 10, 1945*

Mr. BILBO. Mr. President, the longer I retain my seat in the Senate the less use and virtue do I see in so much talking unless the speaker has a specific and definite objective in mind. That takes care of the filibuster. At times I may speak longer than any other Member of this body, but I can boast of the fact that I do not speak often. It is not my purpose to detain the Senate very long at this time, but I want to be sincere and serious for a few moments while I direct the attention of my colleagues and the attention of the people of our country to a problem of Government that must sooner or later be met and solved, and solved aright and once for all.

I desire to discuss for just a few minutes at this time an impending crisis. I know that some will say that this is not the time, while we are waging the other half of our World War, to mention and discuss race relations in our country. However, I would feel justified in speaking at length on this issue because it is evident to every observant citizen of the Republic that that minority of our population known as the Negro race is very active and persistent in every way imaginable in taking advantage of the war situation to inject the question of race relations into our economic, political, and social life. Books and newspaper and magazine articles are now being written by the hundreds by Negroes and Quislings of the white race in an effort to sponsor and foster legislation to give to the Negro not so much his economic and political rights as social rights, leading inevitably to intermarriage and miscegenation of the white and black races.

For political reasons many people in public life are today quietly submitting and agreeing to the absurd and unreasonable demands of this minority. For fear that they will antagonize the Negro voters many men in public life are supinely submitting to courses of action that will inevitably lead to bloody conflicts between the races.

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I am not speaking prompted by any hate or prejudice against the Negro race, but I am only sounding a note of warning against conditions and results that are bound to follow in the wake of such ill-advised promulgation of theories, ridiculous, senseless, and in violation of all ethnological facts and common horse-sense.

I have recently read a great many books, as well as newspaper articles, the underlying theme and purpose of which is to put over the idea that the only difference betwixt a white man and a Negro is the color of his skin, and that any form of segregation is undemocratic discrimination. In fact, the dean of the anthropological department at Howard University is teaching young Negroes that the white race descended from the Negro race, and they believe it.

These intelligentsia Negroes and nongrophile whites who are advancing such theories are only prying open Pandora's box. This country will soon be reaping a harvest of blood and tears from the planting of the seeds of racial social equality implanted in the American mind through the damnable teachings of Dr. Boaz, of Columbia University.

Today we find many men and women in high political life, as well as in our colleges and universities, who are guilty of promulgating the same doctrines that will bring about strife, riots, and bloodshed in the very near future, when this war is over. Many of these Quislings of the white race are found not alone on the political hustings, but in the pulpits of our country. May the good Lord forgive them, because they do not know what they are doing.

When designing politicians of the pressure groups of minorities in our population beat their breasts and try to browbeat legislatures and the Congress into enacting the un-American and unconstitutional monstrosity known as the F. E. P. C., they are rendering a great disservice to the minorities they would have you believe they seek to serve, as well as a great disservice to our common country. If the F. E. P. C. bill, as drafted by Mrs. NORTON, of the House of Representatives, is passed, and an attempt is made to enforce it in the South, there will be a revolution.

Why have our boys to fight and die on all the battle fronts of the world for the preservation of the good old American

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way, and then let these political planners destroy the very essence of our Constitution, wreck our American free enterprise, and violate the unwritten laws of God and man?

It is really refreshing to find that a great many leaders of some of these minorities are beginning to see the light and understand the proper and only solution of the race question that is growing worse day by day in our common country. In this connection I wish to read the full correspondence which I have recently had with a strong Negro preacher of Savannah, Ga. This Negro's views and convictions give evidence of real statesmanship and leadership, and I invite Senators specially to read his letters and my replies.

This is the first letter which I received from this pastor:

THE SECOND BAPTIST CHURCH,  
Savannah, Ga., May 1, 1945.

Senator BILBO,  
United States Senate Building,  
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Mr. Anderson, the publisher of the Macon (Ga.) Journal tells this story. He has the reputation of making small loans and often out-right gifts to worthy causes and one day he was surprised to look up from his desk into the face of a strange Negro, who asked Mr. Anderson to loan him \$5, whereupon Mr. Anderson asked him why he came to him to borrow \$5, to which the Negro replied, "Well, it is like dis, you were recommended to me by a friend of mine as a man who would let me have this money."

This is exactly the situation in my case \* \* \* except for the money involved. I understand that a bill prepared by you is either in the records of Congress, or was at some time past, submitted. I do not have the information as to the title of the bill, but as I understand it, it was a bill designed to offer to Negroes the opportunity to return to Africa. Negroes will never be the people they should and hope to be until they shall rise by their own boot straps, and make for themselves a country worthy of world recognition. He will forever be a menace to society wherever he is until this is done.

This is a Negro speaking. He is a preacher, and an important one.

I am asking that you reintroduce your bill to Congress and so are millions of others, for I think that while Libya and other provinces formally belonging to Italy will soon after the fall of Germany, become an issue, it would be the logical thing for American Negroes and those from every part of the world to return there and if the great powers would assist in industrializing those parts of the world, the Negro could make a real contribution to civilization.

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You will hear from others in this connection, and it is hoped that you give this your most serious consideration. This is the time for such measure to receive support even from those who opposed it when it was first offered. If I may be of service, I shall be only too glad to do so. Do me the favor of an early answer.

Very truly yours,

LEWIS L. SCOTT.

This church was established in 1802.  
On May 3 I replied as follows:

MAY 3, 1945.

Rev. LEWIS LEWELLYN SCOTT,  
Pastor, Second Baptist Church,  
Savannah, Ga.

DEAR BROTHER SCOTT: It was good of you to write me your letter of May 1—one good Baptist to another. Your observations about the proper thing to do in giving the Negro of America a real chance in life has the ring of real statesmanship on your part.

I have been trying to convince these Washington and northern Negroes that I am the best friend they have because I know their troubles. I know what is in store for them. I know they will continue to be discriminated against for centuries to come and I am trying to do something about it.

A physical separation of the races is the only solution to our impending race frictions and troubles and a physical separation is the only means by which the integrity of both the white and black races can be made safe.

History has proven for 20,000 years that where the white man and the black man have tried to live side by side in the same country total mongrelization finally takes place and that is something that no white man worthy of the name nor any self-respecting Negro wants to see take place.

The only reason we are not willing to do anything about it is that we know it will not happen in our lifetime. We do not seem to care what may happen in the future.

I will take great pleasure in complying with your request by sending you a copy of the bill I introduced published along with the speech that I made on the occasion of its introduction.

Thanking you for writing me and may God bless you in your labors, I am,

Yours truly,

THEODORE G. BILBO,  
United States Senator.

To that letter, on May 7, I received the following reply:

THE SECOND BAPTIST CHURCH,  
Savannah, Ga., May 7, 1945.

Senator THOMAS G. BILBO,  
United States Senate Building,  
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Yours was the most welcome letter I have ever received. It was full of facts and truths, the things which make people strong. My only concern now

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is the next step in the direction toward which a full realization of the program under discussion may be had. I have just completed reading your speech of April 24, 1939, and assure you that it was truly factual. For the protection of the future of your race and mine, a thoughtfully worked-out plan can be made which will modernize and industrialize Africa under the guidance of the United States, to which Negroes may by a gradual process go without disrupting their effort to make themselves into a great race.

The United States owes this debt to the Negro, who will forever be an enigma to the peace of this country, to take the initiative in making possible and profitable his return to his native land. Why cannot Libya and Tunisia, provinces which have been under the heel of Italy, and the disposition of which has not been settled, be given as a protectorate of the United States, and placed in the hands of Negroes? Shall white and black Americans continue to die for the liberation of these lands, and their restoration to their former holders, only to repeat this process every 25 years?

That Negro is asking a good question. I read further from his letter:

Yes, Senator; Americans white and black are great dreamers, idealists, and wishful thinkers, seeing through their prejudices, demanding that the facts be good, and when one attempts to disclose the facts, he is at once labeled a radical, fanatic, and hot-head. The realist must be patient and wait his turn, for time will finally give him a hearing. The time is now.

Mongrelization of the races is as certain the fate of this country as the night follows the day. This or the extermination by one of the other. This may not occur in yours and my times, but unless a program consistent with the one under discussion here is inaugurated it is an eventual certainty.

The writer of this letter is a Negro, and he is above the average.

He then states:

Please understand that my statement is not motivated by some unpleasant personal experience, for I am speaking as a Negro, without regard to anything except the facts. The greater portion of my 44 years of life, I have given this matter careful study, and I entertain no ill-will toward any man, white or black. I therefore ask in the name of God, and your country and mine, give your cooperation to this matter, for you are in position to point out the "ears" who will listen to this plea, and thereby gain for yourself immortal fame, and because you will have rendered a great service to humanity. By this I mean that you are in position to arrange a hearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee or any other agency through which the machinery

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may be set in motion leading to the realization of our aims.

Mr. President, I also call attention to this part of his letter:

I close with apologies to you, for having taken so much of your very valuable time, but finding that you are a Baptist, I felt that I could without running the risk of having an experience of the Negro preacher, who just before winding up his dry 2-hour sermon on a hot Sunday afternoon, called out to Deacon Johnson, requesting him to wake up Deacon Jones who had gone fast asleep, whereupon Deacon Johnson replied, "No sir, brother pastor, you put him to sleep; now you wake him up."

If I may hear from you again in this connection with suggestions and advice, I shall regard this as a great service rendered your race and mine, and so will many who oppose yours and my ideas today.

Very truly yours,

LEWIS L. SCOTT.

To that letter I have just replied, as follows:

MAY 8, 1945.

Rev. LEWIS LEWELLYN SCOTT,  
Pastor Second Baptist Church,  
Savannah, Ga.

DEAR BROTHER SCOTT: Your letter of May 7 received today. To say that I enjoyed your letter is putting it mildly indeed. The more you write the stronger and better you get. If every leader of your race throughout the Nation could have the inspiration that you have and then do something about it, as you are vowing that you will do from now on, it would not take long to solve and settle once for all the ever-perplexing and disturbing race question in our common country.

I am sure that you noted in my speech that I said nothing about deporting the American Negro to his fatherland in Africa. The Negro is as much a citizen of this country as I am. Therefore, the Congress cannot compel any Negro to go to West Africa, the richest country on earth, unless he goes voluntarily.

My proposition is to provide the ways and means for his transportation and then to "grub stake" him for 1 whole year, giving him land, a house, and equipment, so that he will have the time and opportunity to get his feet on the ground in his new home. My bill would further provide that our country shall build roads, schools, and hospitals, and guarantee sanitary conditions for the health of him and his family.

I had two leading Negroes from Chicago to make a personal visit to Liberia and make a first-hand investigation of the great opportunities that await the coming of the American Negro to his fatherland. These two "spies" made a great and glorious report on the "promised land." Just as soon as this war is over we want to start our campaign in dead earnest.

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We can get the land and Uncle Sam has the ships already built.

We have 5,000 ships in our merchant marine now. I am on the committee to provide for their sale, but I am going to fight it. We will need them.

I read further from my reply:

And I believe that God will bless the Negro in his new home. In fact, I have always believed that since God works in mysterious ways his wonders to perform that the Negro was brought to this country, although he came as a slave, to be trained and educated and taught the arts of peace and industry and given the true religion of Christ and His salvation that he might return some day to his fatherland and preach the gospel of salvation, Christianizing and saving the multiplied millions of his race now in darkness and despair in the jungles of the dark continent.

I believe that, too.

My letter concludes as follows:

You have convinced me that you are a far-seeing and brave leader of your people, and I am taking the liberty of publishing our correspondence in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, that all the people of our country, both black and white, can begin to understand the true and only solution to our race problem.

Again let me repeat that physical separation is the only solution. Separation or mongrelization is inevitable—two roads—we can take our choice, and I know that every self-respecting white man and every right-thinking and decent Negro revolts at the idea of mongrelization.

I can assure you that as soon as this horrible World War is over I am going to push the campaign with all my might.

May the good Lord protect you and make you strong and useful for this great work that can be accomplished in your day and generation.

Yours truly,

THEODORE G. BILBO,  
United States Senator.

### Control and Consolidation of Agricultural Programs

Monday, May 14, 1945

Mr. BILBO. Mr. President, all the abuses that have been heaped upon and all the charges made against the so-called New Deal dating from 1933 to the present have not been brought about by the legislation of the Congress in its honest, sincere, and patriotic efforts to bring relief to the unemployed, the bankrupt farmers, closing of banks, failures of industries, and other financial organizations, but in nine cases out of ten the

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troubles endured and criticisms provoked were brought about in or by the administration of these honest, necessary, and righteous laws and measures by the Congress to save a great Nation from absolute chaos and disaster.

The intentions and purposes of the laws enacted by the Congress under the calamitous conditions with which the whole country was confronted were necessary, wholesome, and righteous but the agents and agencies set up under all the letters of the alphabet resulted in abuses of powers conferred along with powers usurped by ill-informed, totally inexperienced, and sometimes vicious, ambitious, and autocratic men and women dealing with free Americans in such a way that will almost justify historians to condemn the era of the New Deal as the era of crackpot and bureaucratic government in free America.

It has been evident to a great many of us that many men and women in the alphabetical-lettered bureaus and agencies set up to administer these necessary and reform laws and measures took advantage of the powers granted and the powers usurped to try with their own pet schemes and wild theories to rule, regiment, dominate, and control the economic, social, and political affairs of the Nation from the great Federal city of Washington on the banks of the historic and beautiful Potomac.

It is then no wonder that millions of the people have justly complained of the autocratic and dictatorial regulations and intimidations that have been resorted to, often in violation of all the sacred and time-honored concepts and principles of the American way. I do not want to be understood as condemning the beneficent, life saving and needed reforms brought about by the efforts of the Congress and the Democratic administration that made the New Deal possible, nor do I want to condemn all the men and women who administered the laws for without the New Deal this country could not have been saved and the people restored to peace and prosperity, with homes, decent living wages and the social standards of the American people raised to the highest levels in the country's long history.

The Republican Party through their mismanagement for 12 years had wrecked the economic life of the country, and the Nation in 1933 was on the brink of ruin and revolution, when the Democratic administration took charge of the

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destiny of the country and verily led the American people out of the slough of despondency into the promised land of peace, safety, happiness, and prosperity. The Democratic administration through the New Deal indeed performed a miracle in thus redeeming and saving our country and its people.

I was and still am a New Dealer, but I have no defense for all the abuses and waste on the part of many designing, ill-informed, un-American, and inexperienced crackpot bureaucrats who nosed their way into Government bureaus and agencies and whose ideas and theories have all along been "the fly in the ointment."

The time has come when there should be a housecleaning. The time has come when many bureaus and agencies should be stripped of the drones that infest them and there should be an abrogation or repeal of any usurped rules, regulations, and powers that have so harassed and bitterly beset a great and free people.

Many million dollars of the people's tax money can be saved by such eliminations, followed by consolidations in the administration of many remedial measures by proper laws of reform and relief. I prophesy that when this global war is over many complex and disturbing conditions will follow in its wake—situations and conditions which will require the highest degree of statesmanship and the application of true American ideals along with a large portion of common horse-sense to adjust and correct these disturbing factors.

In this connection I want to read into the RECORD a letter I received a few days ago from Hon. Charlie McNeil, general manager of the Mississippi Federated Cooperatives. I am not saying that I agree with all the suggestions incorporated in Mr. McNeil's letter, but I am frank to say that to my mind he is thinking along the right lines and his observations are worthy of our careful consideration. I want to specially urge every Member of the Congress to read Mr. McNeil's letter. Here is the letter:

JACKSON, MISS., April 5, 1945.  
Senator THEODORE G. BILBO,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: Thanks for your letter of March 26 in re Senate bill 383, and appreciate your assurance that you would support this bill to the limit.

We are faced with the development of agricultural programs on a post-war basis, and certainly at this time no one can foresee just

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what plans will be developed if Germany surrenders or folds up, which looks at this time as though it might happen in the next few months. I realize that you stand ready at all times to do your utmost for agriculture and the people in Mississippi, and felt that I wanted to express to you our thinking with reference to our post-war problems as they affect agriculture in this State and see if we cannot avoid some of the mistakes that were made during our depression period in the setting up of a multiplicity of agricultural agencies to function in carrying out post-war programs.

We believe from the standpoint of States' rights and real democracy that control of all agricultural programs instituted by the Federal Government where contacts and supervision are to be made directly with the average farmer within a State, should be channeled through our State land-grant college on a mutual working basis under agreements between the Federal Government and such institutions representing the State similar to what exists now in the extension setup.

If all Federal or Federal-State agricultural service programs being carried out at this time in Mississippi should under the various laws be headed up at Mississippi State College, and come under the direction and supervision of the board of trustees and president of the college, it would bring about a much closer working relationship between the various agencies and would eliminate much duplication of effort and make possible a unified State agricultural program.

Also with State and reasonable county control of these programs, it would eliminate much of the bitter attacks which were made from throughout the State on some of these agencies because of the adoption of policies in Washington and the carrying out of these policies in Mississippi by Federal workers regardless of the thinking or attitude of the mass of our average farmers and agricultural workers within the State.

I digress from the reading to remark that in the campaign of 1940 and in the campaign of 1944 a large percentage of the farmers of the Nation voted against the Democratic administration, and the reason is stated right here. What that administration did, and was doing, and is still doing, for the farmers of the United States meant their salvation; it meant their redemption from a state of bankruptcy. But in the administration of the relief measures, the bureaus in Washington carried out the law with a number of agents and people sent into the various States from other States who could not make the proper contacts with the people themselves and did not understand the people of the States where they were sent. As a result, so much friction developed that the people, not-

withstanding their salvation by the administration, were led to vote against the administration which had saved them.

The letter continues:

I feel that the same fundamental principles of States' rights should be safeguarded and respected by the Federal Government when it comes to dealing with agriculture as we are practically unanimously demanding should be respected with reference to Federal appropriations to our schools if and when such laws may be passed. In other words, Senator, I am convinced that the average white man in Mississippi will vote to maintain the principles of States' rights, and even though the programs adopted by groups of farmers throughout this State may not be as perfect as some of the programs developed by experts in Washington, yet we know that such programs developed, giving proper consideration to the local people affected, will have the support of the people affected by such programs.

Recently I have had this experience: In endeavoring to afford relief to two or three hundred thousand people who are dependent upon the naval-stores industry of the South—and it is confined to the South, because that is the only section where the yellow pine tree grows, the tree from which the naval stores are produced—I found in the O. P. A. a section which was trying to work out a ceiling price. That section was composed of men who knew absolutely nothing on earth about the naval-stores business and who refused to call into their consultations and conferences those who were advised and who had spent their lives in the naval-stores business. As a consequence, the O. P. A., in the face of the recommendations of the Agricultural Department, where there were men who knew what the naval-stores business meant to the people and to the Nation, said that they would give no relief to the two or three hundred thousand people who were dependent on this great industry.

The letter continues:

What I am trying to say is that throughout the world the day of dictators seems to be fast passing, and we do not want any dictators set up in Washington to tell the farmers of Mississippi what they must do.

We believe that the program and principles involved in our system of land-grant colleges and extension service is the fundamental program which should be followed with all our agricultural service endeavors, and for this reason not only do we need more appropriations for the extension service but we need to have this system of agricultural education and the dissemination of agricul-

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tural information and the direction of agricultural programs, etc., centered in the agricultural Extension Service, and I am wondering just what it will take to bring about in Washington and possibly the Department of Agriculture the adoption of such a policy that would place the Extension Service and the land grant college program in the position which it should occupy.

I wish to state at this time that our different agricultural agencies are working together in Mississippi in a most satisfactory and harmonious manner, and under the leadership of men like L. I. Jones, T. M. Patterson, Dallas Vandivere, and C. B. Anders and others, we should be able to continue to function harmoniously, but at present the respective agencies are entirely separate and this situation a few years ago, on the part of some of the agencies, was not so harmonious, and in the future a change in Washington of administrators and a change in Mississippi of administrators might bring about a situation that would be most unsatisfactory.

As it was a few years ago. I continue the reading:

Even though all of our present agricultural agencies were to be continued entirely separate as they now are, it would certainly be advantageous from a permanent standpoint if all such agencies were required to work out a mutual Federal-State working agreement through Mississippi State College and have the control of their activities within the state vested in the President of that institution.

Including the trustees.

We have a great need for increased service and educational work in forestry for example, and we will have a Federal forest program, State forestry department, and extension forestry. We also have Federal forests within the State, owned by the Federal Government and administered direct. Isn't it possible and reasonable to conceive of all Federal and State programs in forestry being coordinated and unified so that the greatest good would come to the farmers who are the individuals whom we are trying to help?

Personally I would like to see a considerable sum of money set up for the Extension Service to permit them to put on an assistant county agent in at least 30 or 40 counties, who would be an extension forester and who would have the backing and direction of the county agent who would be his superior officer. I cannot conceive of a program being set up wherein the Federal Government would send a forester into each of the 30 or 40 counties who would work independent of any other agricultural group in Mississippi and more especially independent of our Extension Service.

I have used the forestry program as a concrete illustration, and wish to say that so far as I know there is a very harmonious and close working relationship between all for-

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estry groups within the State, but if Mississippi expects to really develop our forests as we should and to conserve same, we need many men employed in the post-war period to really carry out a forestry program within this State, and we would like to see them employed as Extension men rather than to set up a completely separate forestry service.

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BILBO. I yield.

Mr. LANGER. What is the date of that letter?

Mr. BILBO. The letter is dated April 5.

Mr. LANGER. The measure the Senator mentions has been passed by the Senate?

Mr. BILBO. Yes.

Mr. LANGER. It provides for 3,500 more assistants to these county agents, does it not?

Mr. BILBO. Yes.

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Mr. LANGER. I certainly agree with what the Senator has said. This should have been done a long time ago.

Mr. BILBO. The letter continues:

Please pardon the length of this letter, but unless you and other Senators and Representatives from the deep South get together along with leaders from the Midwest and begin to crystallize and develop a policy and program for agriculture in the post-war period, working with agricultural leaders, I can foresee that the Congress will be flooded with every kind of a wild-eyed, harum-scarum bunch of bills designed to re-create our social order and our economic order, and we will have so many different agricultural agencies with employes running about over the Nation trying to carry out various programs, that we will have chaos and confusion rather than a soundly planned and developed program.

Very truly yours,

CHARLIE McNEIL,  
General Manager.

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SUBJECT FILE

# Legal School Advisory Group Told Voluntary Segregation Would Solve Race Problem

Ross Barnett, Jackson attorney, Monday sent to the Legal Education Advisory Committee recommendations he made that included a suggestion to "encourage colored people to voluntarily attend segregated school in every section of Mississippi."

If this plan cannot be carried out in all counties, Barnett said the committee should consider the adoption of a constitutional amendment providing for the abolition of public schools on a local county option plan.

His letter to the committee: Gentlemen:

If at any time I can be of any service to you, or any member of our law firm, I want you to feel free to call upon us.

I understand that you gentlemen welcome suggestions. Please understand I am not trying to tell you what to do, but may I suggest that you consider the following:

1. Encourage colored people to voluntarily continue to attend segregated schools in every section of Mississippi. In most counties in Mississippi, 100 per cent of the colored people are willing, ready and anxious to continue to attend the segregated schools.

2. Launch a building program in Mississippi to equalize all school plant facilities throughout the state.

If the above plans cannot be carried out in all counties, then may I suggest that you seriously consider the adoption of a constitutional amendment providing for the abolition of public schools on a local county option plan. I suggest the local option plan because I sincerely believe it would be for the best interest of both races. If the white and colored people are required to go to school together, it will ultimately lower the standards of both races.

If we do not maintain segregation in the public schools of Mississippi and throughout the South it will inevitably lead to destruction of our Southern traditions and to the destruction of our American way of life, and if given enough time, will destroy our standards of living, destroy our civilization and our government, which is the greatest ever devised for man's benefit. If segregation of the races is abolished in the Southern states, a mixture of the races would follow. It would follow a mixing of the races socially and inter-marriage between the races, and as a result, there will be a mixed breed of people who will be neither white nor colored. Such a mixed breed cannot be depended upon to make a great people or a great country or a great civilization, but on the other hand, it will inevitably lead to a destruction of our high standards, a destruction of our civilization as we know it, and a destruction of our schools and our churches.

Some misinformed or emotional person will say that it cannot happen to the people of the South. The best way to anticipate what the future holds is to read history and see what has happened in the past. What has happened in the past under a given statement of facts is a good indication of what would happen in the future under the same circumstances. We all know that it did happen to a great civilization of the past, and the only light that we have to guide our footsteps in the future is the history of the past. We all know from history that Egypt was once perhaps one of the greatest nations on the face of the globe and its people had achieved perhaps the highest degree of civilization known to man at that time. Its standards were high, its people were highly cultured, they were refined, they had high ideals. They were honorable and upright and admired the confidence and the respect of the people of the world. 3,000 years B. C. the Egyptians were skilled in mathematics, astronomy, medicine, trade and commerce, architecture, law, art and music. It was a white race in Egypt at that time, but colored people infiltrat-

ed Egypt from the southern part of Africa, and finally there was inter-marriage between the white men and the Negro women, and it was not long thereafter until children were born that were neither white nor colored, and it was then that Egypt started losing its culture, its refinement, its honor, its integrity, its high ideals and high principles and self-respect. It was then that the people began to lose confidence and admiration of the people of Egypt. It was then that Egypt started down the road which finally resulted in its losing its high place among the people of the world, and it ultimately became a helpless nation and an ignorant and dishonorable people without real leadership, without ambition, without courage, and finally resulted in what we might say is a helpless people. Egypt has never recovered. She will never recover because of the mixing of the white race with the colored race.

Certainly this will not happen to the people of the South tomorrow. It will not happen within the next ten years. It didn't happen to Egypt in a short while. It took perhaps more than one hundred years for the white man in Egypt to practically pass out of existence. It might take five hundred years in the United States for a destruction of the white race, or it might take longer than five hundred years, but it will happen if our children are permitted to go to school with the colored people, permitted to play in the parks with the colored people, permitted to go in the swimming pools with the colored people, permitted to eat in the restaurants with the colored people, and permitted to go into the hotels with the colored people. They will soon begin to mix socially and will inter-marry and someday the same situation will probably exist in America that exists in Egypt today. It is recorded history and it is known to people who are now living that a mixing of the races inevitably deteriorates both races. It is especially true that it deteriorates the white man to the common level of the colored man. Seldom is it true that the colored man ever reaches the level of the highly cultured white man. In other words, it is the white man that suffers most of the mixing of the races. Because of such mixture they destroy themselves. Both races always suffer. God made both the white man and the black man. He made one white and one black and we can pass laws and the United States Supreme Court can decide cases until doom's day, but God Almighty gave both the white race and the colored race. We all know that the white man and the colored man have different characteristics, and no law can change them. They do not belong to the same classroom.

I know that we should continue to have segregation in the public schools of Mississippi regardless of any decision of any court, and we are only fooling ourselves when we take the position that a court someday will render a decree that will solve these questions for us without doing anything. That is not true. Each generation has a great responsibility entrusted to it, and each generation should meet that obligation. If we of this generation should follow the line of least resistance and make no effort to solve the question of segregation in Mississippi, our children and our grandchildren will probably not be able to solve it because they perhaps will not have the experiences that we have had.

We have a great heritage in the South, and I for one am willing to help maintain that heritage, and I believe that millions of others throughout the South are willing to do the same thing.

I believe in local self-government. I believe in State's Rights. I admired the leaders of the thirteen original colonies who were reluctant to adopt the Federal Constitution. The reason they were reluctant to adopt the Federal Constitution was because it did not contain the Tenth Amendment giving into the states the rights not already reserved in the Federal Constitution. The leaders of the thirteen original colonies were composed of the Dutch, the Quakers, the English and others. They had different local needs and different local views about many matters and they demanded the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution, which gave unto the states certain rights. This is a responsibility that we all owe to ourselves and to future generations, to keep segregation in the South. You and I and all other American citizens are proud of our heritage and the great traditions that make our beautiful American way of life.

I spoke to an Exchange Club in Chicago during the month of June, and I believe that 90 per cent of the members of that Exchange Club, composed of 210 members, are in favor of segregation in the schools of Chicago, but the trouble with those people in Chicago is that they haven't had the leadership, the courage to stand up and be counted and fight for the things that they knew would be best for the nation. They are having lots of trouble in Chicago today in mixing the races in the parks and swimming pools, schools, restaurants, apartments and other places.

There are not many colored people who want to mix with the white people. They would rather go to separate schools. I believe that 98 per cent of the colored people would rather go to a colored school. There are some few white people who either think it is smart or ultra-intelligent or ultra-religious to advocate the mixing of the races. These people are frustrated and they are letting their emotions rather than their reasoning control their efforts.

Sincerely yours,  
Ross R. Barnett

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## *Theodore Bilbo and Ross Barnett Discussion Guide*

1. Why does Bilbo say in his speech that he feels that he has to speak out about race relations in the midst of World War II?
  - African Americans are taking advantage of the war (in his opinion) to raise the issue of race relations.
  - African Americans and others are publishing articles encouraging civil rights legislation.
  - Many public officials seem to be “submitting and agreeing” to African American demands.
2. What are Bilbo’s arguments against allowing African Americans their rights?
  - Rights will lead to intermarriage and miscegenation between the races.
  - It will bring about “strife, riots, and bloodshed.”
3. What does Bilbo propose as a solution to what he sees as the race relation problem? What does he use to support his argument? Do you think that this solution is practical?
  - The solution would be to move African Americans to Africa once World War II is over.
  - Bilbo reads from several letters from an African American pastor from Georgia who proposes sending African Americans to Africa. His argument is that they are asking to be separated, and it would be good for both races to have a physical separation.
  - Have the class discuss whether Bilbo actually received these letters. In addition, students can discuss whether large numbers of African Americans really want to be sent to a new country in Africa, and why or why not. Students should see that physical separation would mostly benefit whites.
4. *Brown v. Board of Education* ordered integration of schools in 1954. In this article, Ross Barnett proposes three solutions to this order. What are they and do you think they would meet the requirements of the court order?
  - Maintain segregated schools because all African Americans want them; build truly equal schools; abolish the public school system.
  - None of these options meet the *Brown* order to desegregate public schools “with all deliberate speed.”
5. What are Barnett’s arguments in favor of maintaining segregation? How does he support his argument?
  - Integration will destroy the southern and American way of life, destroy the government, the races would mix, and cause the destruction of schools and churches.
6. Compare and contrast Bilbo and Barnett and their beliefs about mixing races.
  - Students should note that both politicians argue that segregation is what African Americans want. They both argue that integration will destroy American society and cause the mixing of races.

Barnett, Ross R.

1959



**THE  
BARNETT  
BOOSTER**



**SUBJECT FILE**

**TO HELP ELECT**

**ROSS BARNETT  
GOVERNOR OF MISSISSIPPI**



MDAH Archives and Records Services.

## INTRODUCTION

A candidate for public office, in some respects, is like an idea. He must be SOLD to the voters by those who know him best, who believe in his sincerity and honesty, and know he has the qualifications to lead our state into great new fields of progress and prosperity.

Enthusiasm is contagious. The more we talk about Ross Barnett and what he can do for Mississippi as Governor, the more people we can convince that Ross Barnett WILL be our next Governor.

There are thousands of voters eager for information. They want to choose honestly and wisely for the best interests of Mississippi.

It is up to US, as Barnett Boosters, to make certain that every voter knows the story of Ross Barnett — his qualifications, his character, his convictions, and what he wants to do for all Mississippians.

We have set as our goal at least one Barnett Booster for every 100 voters. This is an exciting ambition. It has never been accomplished in any previous campaign for governor. But WE can do it!

Every Barnett Booster, to do an effective job, must be FULLY ARMED with information. We must be ready at any time to back up our support of Ross Barnett with GOOD, SOUND REASONS. We must impress on our friends and neighbors that IT MAKES A BIG DIFFERENCE how they vote. Then we must be prepared to tell them why.

On the following pages we have outlined some of the

points which will be helpful in spreading the gospel of Ross Barnett -- who, with our help, will be our next Governor!

Please call on us at state headquarters at any time for literature or other assistance. All of your efforts will be deeply appreciated by Mr. Barnett, and he never forgets his friends. Let's work together for a great victory!

Sincerely,

JOHN E. GREGG

State Campaign Manager

Barnett for Governor

## 1. SEGREGATION

There is no subject which concerns the white citizens of Mississippi more than segregation of the races, particularly because the barriers have been dropped in other states and children of both races are sitting side by side in school, playing on athletic teams together, dancing together and even dating together.

By word and deed, Ross Barnett is the MOST VIGOROUS SEGREGATIONIST in the campaign for governor. Ever since the May, 1954, Black Monday decision of the Supreme Court, he has fought every movement which would relax in any manner the traditional segregation policies of the south. Leading

southern lawyers requested his services to defend the segregationists at Clinton Tenn., who were harassed by a federal court. He has been an active member of the Citizens Councils ever since they were first organized.

Ross Barnett is OPPOSED to the "moderates" who would permit the integrationists a "foot in the door" or give the rest of the nation reasons to believe that Mississippi is ready to be gradually integrated. Ross Barnett has the legal experience, the training, and the strength of mind and body to VIGOROUSLY RESIST any left wing attempts to get Negroes enrolled in white schools.

Dynamic leadership is important in retaining segregation. It takes a man of strong character, with a keen legal brain, and the strength to fight for his convictions. No candidate can offer Mississippi those qualities better than Ross Barnett, who has come to grips in court several times with those people who want to destroy our traditional way of life.

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## 2. HIGHER STANDARDS OF LIVING

Mississippi's per capita income, in spite of all the programs and theories adopted in the past, is still the lowest in the nation. Why? Because Mississippians have not been given the kind of effective leadership to INCREASE THEIR OPPORTUNITIES!

There are no finer citizens in the world than Mississippians. They are intelligent and they are anxious to improve their incomes. All they need is a PROGRAM which will offer

new opportunities.

Ross Barnett is dedicated to this important task. For many years he has advocated production for millions of idle acres in the state — lands that can grow trees for the future if planting crops is not expedient. Agriculture and livestock are still basic sources of Mississippi income. It is more important than ever before that a SOUND PROGRAM be enacted to develop these enterprises because so much of our land is being taken out of production through government control programs.

Farming is Mississippi's basic industry. It is our largest industry and the backbone of our economy. Agriculture must be granted fair and equal treatment by state government. Ross Barnett will do all in his power to encourage farming and see that farmers are treated fairly.

In addition, Ross Barnett has PLEADED for years for an adjustment in income tax schedules which would make Mississippi more inviting to business and industry, to create better jobs and more "take home" pay. Records show that Mississippi's taxes on our earnings are among the highest in the nation. There is little incentive for a job-producing industry to locate in Mississippi if it can enjoy greater tax benefits by locating in a neighboring state.

High federal taxes force an industry to shop for a "good tax climate" in the respective states. Mississippi falls short in any comparison with states around us. We MUST give some considerations to industry to get factories to locate, or spring up, in Mississippi. These considerations will be repaid a THOUSANDFOLD with more jobs, more spendable incomes, more sales tax — and most of all, MORE OPPORTUNITIES for young people who wish to remain in their home state after

graduation from high school or college.

Ross Barnett has a program for the economic development of Mississippi — agriculturally and industrially. He has the leadership to get it enacted and the sound judgment to make sure it is successful. More income for Mississippians! That's another good situation which will develop with Ross Barnett as governor.

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### 3. EDUCATION AND TEACHERS SALARIES

Ross Barnett knows that all advancement, economically and otherwise, is tied directly to our educational opportunities. Greater educational opportunities automatically bring greater economic opportunities. Ross Barnett will work unceasingly until our educational opportunities and our teachers salaries reach that of our NATIONAL AVERAGE. To settle for less will be to deprive our children of their rightful opportunities for a first class livelihood in a first class state.

He will not sit on a big surplus in the State Treasury while our educational needs go begging!

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### 4. MISSISSIPPI'S CONSTITUTION

Certain forces in Mississippi have tried once to throw away Mississippi's sacred constitution and start all over in writing a new document. This would require an expensive constitutional convention, the federal courts would require that the

delegations be composed of ALL races, and some of the sections might be so changed that the DOOR WOULD BE OPEN to gradual integration.

Ross Barnett has fought, and will continue to fight, any proposal to scrap the present constitution. This constitution, written by our farsighted forefathers in 1890, has formed the basis for our state government. It even has withstood attack from those who labeled it "unconstitutional" because of cherished sections which have preserved states' rights and local self-government.

During the years since it was written, the constitution has been amended by the people when justified. Ross Barnett favors continued use of the AMENDMENT PLAN to keep our constitution up to date because the PEOPLE — and not the politicians — can then decide what's best for Mississippi. The politicians who want a constitutional convention are thinking more of perpetuating their own political influence than the welfare of Mississippi. Ross Barnett will fight any attempt on the part of these people to toss aside our present constitution.

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### 5. NO COERCION OF STATE EMPLOYEES

There is unrest and uncertainty among state employees because of "coercive tactics" to make them vote according to directions instead of their own convictions. Faithful servants, building up years of service toward retirement, have been threatened with loss of jobs, or demotions, unless they follow a dictatorial set of recommendations.

To attempt in this manner to build a personal political machine is obnoxious to Missisippians.

Such a policy put many legislators UNDER DIRECT OB-LIGATION to the executive department of the state. The chief executive was maneuvering to build a great POLITICAL MA-CHINE. If he could control the legislators, he could control the laws enacted. He could ram his pet projects through the House and Senate REGARDLESS of whether they were good for Mississippi.

Ross Barnett believes in the constitution of Mississippi, which provides that the Executive, Legislative and Judicial De-partments shall be ENTIRELY SEPARATE. Through appoint-ments to other state jobs, many legislators became "part time" members of the Executive Department, unable to function freely as elected representatives of the people because they became OBLIGATED to the chief executive.

Ross Barnett will not appoint legislators to other state offices for the purpose of controlling their votes. He believes in the separation of the three branches of government. He KNOWS that Mississippi CANNOT MAKE PROGRESS if strings are attached to the votes of any legislators. There will be no intimidation or coercion of legislators when Ross Barnett is governor.

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## 7. THE CHARACTER OF ROSS BARNETT

Every Barnett Booster can be proud of Ross Barnett, the man. He is an active church member and teaches Sunday

Ross Barnett deplors this situation. He has pledged that state employees, while HE is governor, will NEVER be em-barrassed by such tactics. Ross Barnett is OPPOSED to state employees being forced to work for ANY candidates, using taxpayers expense accounts. These people have the same right as other citizens in casting votes for candidates of their choice. They should be free from coercion.

Another thing, Ross Barnett believes in giving promotions to regular state employees when vacancies occur in any de-partment. He is not in favor of bringing in inexperienced "Outsiders" just because those particular persons may have political influence.

Ross Barnett despises the recent habit of appointing out-siders as heads of departments INSTEAD OF CONSIDERING THE FAITHFUL CAREER MEN WHO KNOW MORE ABOUT THE FUNCTIONS OF THE OFFICE! Ross Barnett believes that state government, even down to the clerk level, is a sacred public trust. Those who do a good job for Mississippi should be rewarded with promotions when opportunities develop. That's the way a man runs his own business. That's the way Ross Barnett will run the state's business.

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## 6. NO COERCION OF LEGISLATORS

Over two years ago, Ross Barnett came out strongly against a policy of the present administration which put legislators into jobs with other state departments for the purpose of controlling their votes.

School. He neither drinks nor smokes. He is one of the most outstanding lawyers in Mississippi. He worked his way through school. He has participated in civic programs. He is a veteran of World War I. He has been honored by bar associations and other organizations. He is a splendid Christian citizen, loving husband and father. He is a business man and farmer. In spite of his successes and achievements, he is a humble friend to everybody. He has adopted for himself absolute moral standards. They are characterized by unselfishness, honesty, love of family and fellow man, and devotion to duty.

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#### 8. ONLY ONE AMBITION — GOVERNOR OF MISSISSIPPI

Many candidates for public office seek certain positions to enhance their political influence for other fields of service. A candidate may want the office of governor to strengthen his chances of being elected a United States Senator.

Ross Barnett has only one ambition — to serve as Governor of Mississippi! He asks for the opportunity to be of SERVICE. As governor he will not be influenced by future political ambitions in making his decisions. His only consideration will be the WELFARE of the people of Mississippi! He has no ambitions for any other office. He won't be trying to build a political machine because he has no need of one.

He desires the support of all of us in his campaign for governor. He has a program of progress. THERE'S A BIG DIFFERENCE IN CANDIDATES AND WHAT THEY STAND FOR.

#### LET ME LIVE IN A HOUSE BY THE SIDE OF THE ROAD

By SAM WALTER FOSS

There are hermit souls, that live withdrawn  
In the place of their self-content;

There are souls like start, that dwell apart  
In a fellowship firmament;

There are pioneer souls, that blaze their paths  
Where highways never ran;

But let me live by the side of the road  
And be a friend to man.

Let me live in a house by the side of the road,  
Where the race of men go by;

The men who are good and the men who are bad,  
As good and as bad as I.

I would not sit in the scorner's seat  
Nor hurl the cynic's ban,

Let me live in a house by the side of the road  
And be a friend to man.

I see from my house by the side of the road,  
By the side of the highway of life,

The men who press with the ardor of hope,

**The men who are faint with strife.**

But I turn not away from the smiles nor tears,

Both part of an infinite plan.

Let me live in a house by the side of the road,

And be a friend to man.

I know there are brook-gladdened meadows ahead

And mountains of wearisome heights;

That the road passes on through the long afternoon

And stretches away to the night.

And still I rejoice when the travelers rejoice

And weep with the strangers that moan,

Nor live in my house by the side of the road

Like a man who dwells alone.

Let me live in my house by the side of the road

Where the race of men go by;

They are good, they are bad, they are weak, they are strong,

Wise, foolish; so am I.

Then why should I sit in the scorner's seat

Or hurl the cynic's ban;

Let me live in my house by the side of the road

And be a friend to man.

**SUBJECT FILE**

# ROSS BARNETT A "Friend of Man" Ross

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1959

LET ME LIVE IN A HOUSE  
BY THE SIDE OF THE ROAD

By Sam Walter Foss

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And mountains of weird, some heights,  
The road passes on through the long afternoon  
And still I rejoice when the travelers rejoice  
And weep with them the night that moans,  
Nor live in my house by the side of the road  
Like a man who dwells alone.

Let me live in my house by the side of the road  
Where the race of men go by;  
They are good, they are bad, they are weak, they  
are strong, wise, foolish; so am I.  
Then why should I sit in the scorners' seat  
Or hurl the cynic's ban;  
Let me live in my house by the side of the road  
And be a friend to man.



## DYNAMIC LEADERSHIP TO KEEP SEGREGATION AND IMPROVE OUR STANDARD OF LIVING



## ROSS BARNETT

MISSISSIPPI'S NEXT GOVERNOR

**X** Roll with Ross... he's his own boss!

## IT MAKES A BIG DIFFERENCE HOW YOU VOTE!

### NO COERCION OF LEGISLATORS

Over two years ago, Ross Barnett came out strongly against a policy of the present administration which put legislators into jobs with other state departments for the purpose of controlling their votes. Such a policy put many legislators under direct obligation to the executive department of the state. The chief executive was maneuvering to build a great political machine. If he could control the legislators, he could control the laws enacted. Ross Barnett will not appoint legislators to other state jobs for the purpose of controlling their votes. He believes in the separation of the three branches of government. There will be no intimidation or coercion of legislators when Ross Barnett is governor.

### PLEDGED TO ECONOMIC PROGRESS

Ross Barnett was among the first leaders in the state to advocate a more equitable tax structure to induce MORE INDUSTRY into Mississippi. A few tax considerations will encourage more plants in Mississippi—which, in turn, will mean more jobs, more sales tax and more business. These considerations are needed to put Mississippi in a more competitive position with other states. Ross Barnett will fight for these considerations, and others, which will make Mississippi more attractive to industry. THERE'S A BIG DIFFERENCE!

### VOTE ROSS BARNETT FOR GOVERNOR

If you believe there can be no compromise on the matter of segregation, if you want Mississippi's constitution amended as needed without scrapping it for a constitutional convention, if you believe state employees should have the personal choice rights of other citizens without political coercion, if you want to end coercion of legislators, if you want to see Mississippi progress accelerated in the fields of agriculture and industry, you will vote Ross Barnett for Governor!

### VIGOROUS SEGREGATIONIST

Ever since the May, 1954, decision of the Supreme Court, Ross Barnett has fought every movement to relax in any manner the traditional segregation of the South. He volunteered his services to defend the segregationists at Clinton, Tenn., who were harassed by a federal court because they tried to stop integration of the Clinton School. He has been a member of the Citizens Councils ever since they were organized. Ross Barnett is OPPOSED to "moderation" in any form. THERE'S A BIG DIFFERENCE!

### OPPOSED TO CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

When the present administration tried to ramrod a constitutional convention through the legislature, Ross Barnett spoke out strongly against it. A constitutional convention would toss aside the present document which has been Mississippi's basis for law since 1890. A convention would be a heavy burden on the taxpayers and every section would have to be cleared by the U. S. Supreme Court. The Court already has approved most of the sections of the present constitution. To deliberately throw away the present constitution would "open the door" to sections which might help break our segregation laws. Ross Barnett knows that the constitution can be amended from time to time without the danger and expense of a constitutional convention. THERE'S A BIG DIFFERENCE!

### NO COERCION OF STATE EMPLOYEES

Many faithful state employees are building up retirement funds. Their only interest is doing a good job for Mississippi in their assigned jobs. They should NOT BE coerced into spending their time and taxpayers money to promote the candidacies of any person. Civil servants should be privileged to vote their preference just as other citizens, WITHOUT political pressure. Ross Barnett has pledged that all state employees can expect to be treated fairly, and feel safe in their jobs, when he is governor. THERE'S A BIG DIFFERENCE!

## ROSS BARNETT OFFERS COURAGEOUS LEADERSHIP!

### A Few Highlights in Ross Barnett's Platform

"As a man who has devoted a lifetime preparing himself for this fight, I know that we have ways and means LEGALLY to prevent integration. This is the time when we need ACTION and not words. Already I have battled in federal court to defend segregationists. I have come to grips with the outside agitators. The benefit of my experience, along with my courage and convictions, is at the service of Mississippi."

"Individual rights and freedom of our people must be preserved. We must keep our state and local governments strong to maintain local self-government and southern unity."

"The framers of the Constitution of 1890 provided that the governor may not succeed himself. This means by either person or proxy. I will seek the advice and guidance of all citizens as Governor, but I will BE the governor and not take orders from some outside boss. A dictatorial state machine has no place in Mississippi."

"I have long advocated the development of port facilities and I congratulate the Legislature for taking a step in the right direction in 1958. I will continue to encourage the development of port facilities and waterways so Mississippi can take its rightful place in world commerce. But I will not tolerate any further efforts to make a political football out of this phase of development."

"I fully recognize the financial needs of our local political subdivisions and if some solution is not forthcoming, I shall strive to cause the state to relinquish some of its taxing powers so that our local governments can support themselves."

"I favor fair and equitable administration of the Workmen's Compensation Law so that widows, orphans and deserving claimants can get every cent to which they are entitled under the law. Benefits should be just to provide as much relief as employers can afford for injuries or death sustained on the job. Claims which arise off the job do not come under the law and any loopholes which allow payments of unjust claims should be amended."

"Both employers and employees will get a fair deal during my administration. I will not allow either labor or management to be kicked around and abused while I am Governor."

## ROSS BARNETT OFFERS COURAGEOUS LEADERSHIP!

### A Few Highlights in Ross Barnett's Platform

"I am, and have long been, in sympathy with the problems of the farmer and will do all things in my being to advance the welfare of farmers and farm-land. The Mississippi farmer, in many instances, is being short-changed by unfair treatment. Something is wrong when a few people prosper, while low income and high costs cause a depression among the farmers. I want to assure you that, as your governor, I will work continuously to improve the living and working conditions of the Mississippi farmer to enable him to have a comfortable living for himself and his family."

"Greater educational opportunities automatically bring greater economic opportunities. I favor bringing our educational standards and our teachers' salaries up to the average of the other southern states to give our children the very best opportunities available. I will discontinue the disturbing practice of making the educational profession a 'political whipping boy' by putting pay increases and educational needs on the basis that they cannot be met without additional taxes. I favor giving educational needs and teachers salaries the PRIORITY they deserve in the budget. We must end the practice of putting this important matter at the tail-end of a legislative session."

"I propose that the Cerebral Palsy Hospital School, which has been so wonderfully successful, be expanded into a General Children's Rehabilitation Center for the treatment and aid of ALL types of handicapped children to whom the state is now extending aid. Because of lack of proper facilities, many of our handicapped children have been taken to New Orleans, Mobile, and Memphis. I want facilities for treatment here at home and I pledge my efforts to that end."

"I have great pride in our Mississippi State Highway Patrol. Political considerations have no place in law enforcement and to subject our patrolmen to political influence basically weakens their effectiveness. I will resist any efforts to use the Highway Patrol as a tool of any politician. For efficient operations, hours and working conditions of patrolmen should be on the same general basis as other state departments."

### THE MAIN ISSUE!

This is a struggle for freedom!

The question before the people is this: Will we be free men and women in a free democratic society or will we allow the present dictatorial administration to continue in office?

The people of Mississippi are crying out for a voice in government. They will have it with Ross Barnett in office. That is why we, the people of Mississippi, will elect Ross Barnett by an overwhelming majority on August 4!

### For A Higher Standard of Living

Mississippi's per capita income, in spite of all the programs and theories adopted in the past is still the lowest in the nation. Why? Because Mississippians have not been given the kind of effective leadership to INCREASE THEIR OPPORTUNITIES!

There are no finer citizens in the world than Mississippians. They are intelligent and they are anxious to improve their incomes. All they need is a PROGRAM which will offer new opportunities.

Ross Barnett is dedicated to this important task. For many years he has advocated production for millions of idle acres in the state—lands that can grow trees for the future where planting of crops is not expedient. Agriculture and livestock are still the basic sources of Mississippi income. It is more important than ever before that a SOUND PROGRAM be enacted to develop these enterprises, because so much of our land is being taken out of production through government control programs.

Farming is Mississippi's basic industry. It is our largest industry and the backbone of our economy. Agriculture must be granted fair and equal treatment by state government. Ross Barnett will do all in his power to encourage farming and see that farmers are treated fairly.

## A Personal Word about ROSS BARNETT

Ross Barnett has the respect, admiration and confidence of thousands of friends who know him as a Christian leader, a far-sighted statesman, devoted family man and humble friend.

He is a teetotaler. He is active in the Baptist Church and teaches Sunday School.

He worked his way through school by operating a student barber shop, sawing logs into timber, and selling kitchen ware.

After graduating at Mississippi College, he taught school and coached athletics two years at Pontiac. He enrolled at the University of Mississippi School of Law and graduated with honors—completing a three year course in two calendar years. His scholastic average was one of the highest at the University.

He has practiced law in Jackson since 1926.

In previous campaigns for governor the people of Leake County, where he was born and reared, have given him tremendous majorities.

He is a veteran of World War I and has been a member of the American Legion for 24 years.

Ross Barnett has been honored several times by members of the bar. He served as president of the Mississippi State Bar Association.

In addition to his law practice, he operates a farm in Madison county. He was named by the American Bar Association as a member of its National Agricultural Committee.

He has served as state chairman for the Mississippi Heart Association, for three years was president of the Mississippi College State Alumni Association, he served as president of the Hinds County University Alumni Association, and is now state chairman for the Mississippi Bar Association Committee on Procedural Reforms.

No other man in the governor's race has been so honored or entrusted with responsibilities such as have been vested in Ross Barnett.

IT MAKES A BIG DIFFERENCE HOW YOU VOTE!

## “Roll with Ross” *Campaign Song*

Climb on the wagon, it's rolling along,  
Climb on the wagon, you cannot go wrong,  
Shout from the rooftops this victory song,  
Roll with Ross, roll with Ross, he's his own boss!  
For segregation, one hundred per cent,  
He's not a moderate, like some other gent;  
He'll fight integration, with forceful intent,  
Roll with Ross, roll with Ross, he's his own boss!

Erle Johnson, *I Rolled with Ross!* (Baton Rouge: Moran Publishing Corporation, 1980), 134.

## *Racism as a Campaign Tool Discussion Guide*

1. In examining Ross Barnett's campaign pamphlets, he says on the cover of one that his goal is "To Keep Segregation and Improve our Standard of Living." Is that possible?
  - Students should understand that maintaining a segregated society will prevent investment in Mississippi. In addition, when a significant portion of the population has a substandard education, industries find it difficult to find educated, skilled labor.
2. He claims to be a "vigorous segregationist." What do you think he means when he says he's "opposed to 'moderation'?" Who are the "moderates?"
  - Moderates believed in maintaining segregation but did not outwardly oppose it. White moderate politicians and leaders worked to subvert national court orders and laws by working around them rather than openly defying them. Barnett argues that he is not a moderate, so this means that he will openly defy any attempt by the federal government to force integration on Mississippians.
3. What does Barnett claim his strengths to be in dealing with segregation?
  - As a lawyer, he defended segregationists in Tennessee and is a founding member of the White Citizens Council. He has strong character and will fight for his convictions.
4. One pamphlet describes Ross Barnett's character. Do you think the description of his character is at odds with his stance on segregation?
  - He attends church, teaches Sunday School, and does not drink or smoke. He is a Christian, a businessman, a lawyer, and a veteran. He claims to have "love of family and fellow man." This seems to be at odds with his efforts to maintain segregated schools.
5. Both pamphlets include a poem by Sam Walter Foss that speaks of Barnett being a "friend of man." Examine the poem closely. What does it mean to be a "friend of man?" Why does Barnett include this poem in his campaign literature? Is it ironic that the poem includes the line "Where the race of men go by?" Why or why not?
  - Students should grasp that the majority of Mississippians who were voting at this time were white, so when he claims to be a "friend of man," he's claiming to be a friend of whites, with their interests at heart. Obviously, with its pro-segregation stance, this campaign literature is not meant to appeal to African American voters.
  - Teachers should point out that the line "where the race of men go by" is ironic because it implies that there is only one race—that of man. The rest of the pamphlet is devoted to keeping the races segregated.
6. In Barnett's campaign speech, what does it mean that Barnett speaks of segregation while standing behind a Confederate battle flag? What do you think the flag represents?
  - Students should connect Barnett's stance on maintaining segregation to the Civil War, which was in part about maintaining slavery. The Civil Rights Movement deals with the unfinished business of the Civil War, and white southerners brandish icons from the Civil War era as they mount a resistance.

7. In the speech, who does Barnett accuse of “stabbing” the people of Mississippi?
  - Barnett claims that northerners are interfering with Mississippi’s state sovereignty. He goes as far as to say that they are “stabbing” Mississippi—implying that the federal government is out to destroy the state.
8. The term “moderate” was used in his campaign literature. What is Barnett’s “moderate approach?” Is he using it differently in this speech?
  - Barnett seems to be claiming to be a moderate in this speech. This would mean that he is not openly defying the federal government’s order to integrate schools but instead working within the system to avoid integration. This seems to be an earlier speech, and he may have changed his stance as he moved into a later campaign.
9. Ross Barnett’s campaign song claims “he’s his own boss.” Why does he make this claim? What does this have to do with segregation?
  - Barnett wants white voters to know that he will not answer to anyone outside Mississippi. He wants voters to understand that he will maintain segregated schools.
10. Do you find a common theme in all of Barnett’s campaign materials? What words are used multiple times? Why would this appeal to white Mississippians?
  - Common theme is opposition to segregation.
  - Segregation; moderates.
  - White Mississippians do not want any changes to occur, so Barnett’s claim to maintain the segregated status quo would appeal.

## *Ross Barnett and James Meredith Discussion Guide*

1. Have students note that the students are waving Confederate battle flags in the stands. How is this similar to or different from the other images that you have seen so far?
  - Ross Barnett gave a campaign speech behind a Confederate battle flag. At this point of the film clip, you see large numbers of them. This would imply that his stance against integrating the University among Ole Miss fans.
2. When the honor guard presents the flags, note the three flags. They are the United States flag, the Confederate battle flag, and the honor flag. Ask students what flags they would expect to be presented today. What would be similar or different?
  - In most cases, the American flag and the state flag are presented by the color guard. In this case, the Confederate battle flag is presented, and the state flag is absent. Students could infer that support for a past era is stronger than representing the state government on the football field.

### ***30 for 30: Ghosts of Ole Miss Discussion Guide***

1. Why would it be difficult for a person who lived through these times (white or African American) to relive them? Should people be allowed to leave that night in the past? Why or why not?
2. Why does the narrator choose not to question a family member's name/picture found in the archives?
3. How do the people who tell this story seem to feel about it over fifty years later?
4. Several of the interviewees state that they were raised in a segregated world and it never occurred to them to question it. Do you think this is possible? Why or why not?
5. What does it mean when the narrator says there are some questions Mississippians do not ask because they are not prepared to hear the answer?
6. Why is this an important story for Mississippians today to know and understand?
7. What does the saying, "Yes Mississippi was, but Mississippi is," mean?
8. During his Old Miss football speech, Governor Ross Barnett declared "I love and respect our heritage." The heritage he referred to could have included the Ole Miss students who joined the Confederate Army in 1862 and who were all killed or wounded one year later at the Battle of Gettysburg. It could also refer to the practice of segregation in Mississippi. What heritage should be loved and respected? How can you reconcile symbols, songs, and history that mean different things to different people?
9. Consider the source of this film: An Ole Miss fan who wanted to discuss the story and address the disgraceful actions of that night published the article that served as the basis of the documentary. What clues reveal that his interests were not to disgrace the modern University? How would it have been different if someone who was not fond of the University of Mississippi had written the article or made the film?

**MISSISSIPPI DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY LESSON PLANS**

**TEACHER EVALUATION**

COMPLETE BOTH SIDES AND PLEASE MAIL OR FAX TO THE ADDRESS ON THE NEXT PAGE. THANK YOU!

TEACHER NAME \_\_\_\_\_

SCHOOL NAME & ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

EMAIL (OPTIONAL) \_\_\_\_\_

TOTAL NUMBER OF STUDENTS \_\_\_\_\_ GRADE LEVEL \_\_\_\_\_

LESSON TITLE ***Ross Barnett and Racism*** \_\_\_\_\_

1. In your opinion, did this unit elicit better than average student response; if so, how?
2. Which segments of the unit exceeded your students' attention span?
3. Will this unit be of assistance to you in developing future classroom activities; if so, how?
4. How did this unit add to your earlier teaching on the same subject?
5. Would this teaching unit be handier to use as a:  
\_\_\_ multi-day unit      \_\_\_ multi-week unit      \_\_\_ other
6. Were the activities and lessons appropriate for your students? How?

Please rate the following lesson materials and activities by circling the appropriate number.

4=excellent, 3=good, 2=average, 1=inadequate

<u>Directions and Notes</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
<u>Curricular Connections</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
<u>Student Worksheets</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
<u>Interactive Activities</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
<u>Historic Images</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
<u>References and Resources</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
<u>Activity One: Theodore Bilbo and Ross Barnett</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
<u>Activity Two: Racism as a Campaign Tool</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
<u>Activity Three: Ross Barnett and James Meredith</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
<u>Extension Activities</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
<u>Overall Unit</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>

We would appreciate any additional comments on this teaching unit and any suggestions for improvement. Comments may be entered in the space below.

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