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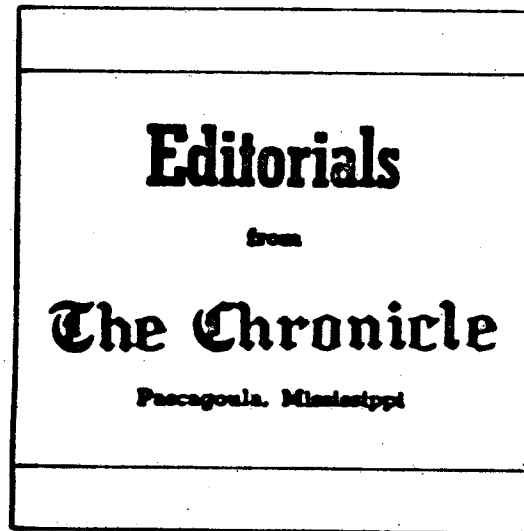
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By

Ira Harkey

Editor and Publisher

Foreword

A bullet through your stupid head

ON THE NIGHT of September 13, 1962, Gov. Ross Barnett of Mississippi broadcast a statewide radio and television message. He announced his defiance of US efforts to obtain admission of Mississippian James Meredith, a Negro, to the University of Mississippi. He vowed that Ole Miss would never be integrated, thrust himself between the nation and the state in a buffer zone he termed "interposition," called upon all Mississippians to resist and demanded the resignations of public officials not eager to follow him in defiance.

THE NEXT DAY, the Pascagoula Chronicle published the state's first editorial expression (p 1) of disapproval of the stand Barnett had adopted. On September 19, when a second editorial (p 2) opposing Barnett appeared, The Chronicle drew sneering notice from a state capital daily as "the only newspaper to oppose the chartered course of Mississippi."

THE TRAGEDY predicted in the Chronicle's first two editorials occurred the night of September 30-October 1 when mobs battled US marshals, soldiers and Mississippi National Guardsmen on the Ole Miss campus after Meredith had been admitted to the university.

DURING the next few weeks, while state leaders,

cheered to the echo by an almost unanimous (and almost hysterical) press, called down blame on every US official from Chief Marshal McShane to the President, the Chronicle said the blame rested with Mississippi's politicians and the jungle of hate they had cultivated.

EARLY IN OCTOBER, a group of Pascagoula area men who had armed themselves and followed their sheriff to Ole Miss the day of the riots, formed a permanent organization, the Jackson County Citizens Emergency Unit. It was organized under sponsorship of the sheriff, who presided at early meetings in the Courthouse, of which he is custodian. The announced purpose of its "action committee" was to "take care of nigger-lovers so that we're not embarrassed like the people of Oxford were."

ITS FIRST TARGET, announced at a meeting attended by a Chronicle reporter, was to be the Chronicle, branded by the sheriff and Unit leaders as the leading "niggerlover," which "ridicules" the governor, calls Negroes "Mr." and "Mrs." and does not identify people by race in its news columns. After discovering the purpose of this organization and after a nighttime pistol shot broke out a two-foot section of the Chronicle's plate glass door, the Chronicle ran a front-page editorial

Governor reaches point of no return

Mississippians are mature enough to recognize the inevitable, to accept it and adapt to it with good enough grace. The political faction that rules them, however, is not.

We had always thought deep down inside that when the moment arrived even Ross Barnett and his blazing advisors would make the best of it.

Instead, the emotional nature of Barnett's address last night left little doubt that he intends to make the worst of it. He will drive Mississippi to chaos.

True, the exact "moment" has not yet arrived. Barnett last night invoked the "doctrine of interposition," attempting to place the sovereignty of the state between state officials and the US government,

thus removing the necessity of their complying with federal orders to admit James Meredith to Ole Miss.

If the governor had stopped there, perhaps there would still be hope that ruin could be avoided. But he went far beyond an invocation of interposition. He called upon officials to defy the United States and he vowed again that Ole Miss would not be integrated. This can mean only one thing, that when interposition is brushed aside in the courts—as the bogus contention surely will — Barnett either will back down or will destroy our educational system. His words last night make it virtually impossible for him to back down.

It is too early yet to attempt an analysis of Barnett's address to

determine what else was in it. This was in it, though: a dangerous use of the century's most inflammatory issue in an attempt to solidify Brand X power in Mississippi. This attempt was proclaimed when he dragged in his whipping boy "the Kennedy administration" and said "the Kennedy administration is lending the power of the federal government to the ruthless demands of . . . agitators."

But it is not "the Kennedy administration" that is making demands upon Mississippi. It is the United States of America, it is democracy itself, it is the whole of humanity. These surely will not back down either. Barnett has asked them to force us to comply. They will, and the process can ruin Mississippi.

Confusing times, dangerous times

A pall of contradiction covers our state as if every one of us had developed schizophrenia.

The newspapers and politicians who hailed Gov. Barnett's address call upon citizens not to resort to violence. "Do they really mean it?" is the question, for these same papers and people have long been advocates of a "fight to the finish" and now they may see just what it is they have raised up. How can we defy the law "to the finish" without resorting to violence?

Then there is the call upon the United States of America not to send marshals into our state to enforce the law. How can we make such a demand without appearing devoid of all sense? Does the burglar announce to the police that he will not observe anti-burgling statutes because they violate his way of life and then expect the

police to issue him an exemption?

Gov. Barnett knows full well how laws are enforced when the lawless are defiant. He himself has sent troops into counties to search out a bottle of whiskey here, to shatter a crap table there. Federal marshals enforce the law except in rebellions which are tended to by troops. How do we think that the United States will enforce the law now? By sending in the Peace Corps? Postmen? Soil conservationists? When orders are ignored, force is applied. Gov. Barnett knows that.

A Sunday editorial in a state capital paper is titled "Future Economic Growth Hinges on State Income Conditioners," as if there will be any growth but of hate, any conditioners but strife, any state income but grief in the turmoil of anarchy we are approaching.

At a lunch meeting Monday at beautiful Longfellow House in Pascagoula a group of local leaders heard a talk by a Mississippi State University official. He spoke on plans the university has for its educational program in Jackson County—as if there will be any education after Ole Miss has been pedlocked or burned down or whatever it is Gov. Barnett has planned for it.

Meanwhile, the first Mississippian to decline Gov. Barnett's invitation to go to jail is judge Sidney Mize of Gulfport. The day after the governor's speech, Mize issued an order directing Ole Miss to admit James Meredith without delay. Mize followed instructions of the federal circuit court of appeals rather than Gov. Barnett's call to suicide.

In a madhouse's din, Mississippi waits. God help Mississippi.

And now at long last a voice for decency

It is heartening that responsible leaders throughout Mississippi are now raising their voices on behalf of law, order and decency in our state. It is pathetic, though, that they waited until it was too late, that they remained mute during the eight years that Mississippi built up its head of hate, that many of those now calling for decency actually abetted that build-up merely by saying nothing.

There is no fun in this instance in saying I told you so. What we said would happen — and what has now happened — is too horrible and the shame is too great to bear taunts from any quarter. We pray, however, that the voices

now calling for order will continue to do so forever and ever.

For eight years, since the 1954 Supreme Court ruling that cast out the separate-but-equal doctrine, our state has heard nothing but violent talk from its leaders. Only one or two politicians, almost no religious leaders and less than a half-handful of newspapers tried to warn of the calamity that was being prepared.

If these few had advocated integration — which they did not — they could not have been cursed more bitterly than they were. So, while the articulate sang their

hate, the inarticulate acted theirs through violence, until Sept. 30's appalling climax of murder, mayhem and destruction that brought to our state a ruin the full extent of which will not become apparent until years have passed.

God help Mississippi, we begged two weeks ago. Now we pray that God will help more and more Mississippians to speak out in behalf of decency, that great majority of Mississippians who abhor violence, who did not turn to violence at the showdown but whose eight years of muteness helped form the climate in which others could be led to commit violence.

You may be next

(This is an editorial)

A terrorist group has been organized in your county. Its first targets are this newspaper and any white persons designated by the group's "action committee" as "nigger-lovers."

The group has been given a quasi-official status because it was sponsored by the chief law enforcement officer of your county.

It will attack the Chronicle initially by "putting pressure" on its advertisers. Only a few of its members are people of any moral or economic standing in the community. The rest can apply pressure only through threats, intimidations and, ultimately, destruction. Among its members are a dozen men whose lives have been dedicated to participation in violence.

Ten days ago the Chronicle called upon the decent element in our county to announce publicly that it wants law and order and to insist that our

officials maintain law and order. We received an immediate response to that appeal—a bullet fired through our front door that night, blasting a two-foot section from the plate glass.

Now this.

If the responsible leaders of our community—the company presidents, club and fraternal heads and Christian churchmen — do not recognize the evil nature of this threat, do not organize immediately—tonight—and notify our sheriff in no uncertain terms that he is leading our county and himself to disaster, they can say goodbye right now to their investments and their hopes and dreams for their future and that of their children.

We are under no illusion that anybody here cares what happens to Ira Harkey. But think long on this: what happens to him can happen to you. You may be next.

If goons threaten you here is what to do

(This is an editorial)

Four Chronicle advertisers report that they have been instructed not to do business with the newspaper. Others may be afraid to report.

This is what the Jackson County Citizens Emergency Unit said it would do — "put the pressure on Chronicle advertisers."

If they continue to advertise, the businessmen reported, the goons said they "will not be responsible for anything that happens to your business."

One strongarm man threatened an advertiser by saying he represented "a union of 300 families" that would boycott the store.

For the reassurance of Chronicle advertisers we offer this:

● Threats of physical violence are illegal and evidence is being gathered that will take care of goons that make such threats.

● There are not 300 families in Jackson County so low in morals that they would condone much less participate in such an attack against anyone. If there are 300 such, their economic status is so depressed that their buying-power is nothing.

● If you are threatened or even talked to about dropping your advertising in the Chronicle, call the Chronicle immediately and give us the name of the goon, his description and a report of what he said.

Decent, law-abiding businessmen of Paspoinat have nothing to fear. Right is on your side, help is coming and we assure you that our community will not be allowed to succumb to dictation by evil elements that would destroy all that is good in our lives.

A drift from reality, for drunks and loons

While an organized group works to destroy the Chronicle, the good people of our community continue to come to the Chronicle asking help for this and that charity, this and that cultural activity, this and that endeavor to further the public interest and welfare.

As we talk with these people and plan how we will editorialize or otherwise help with their projects, in the back of our mind is a report of the latest hate words said about us by our sheriff, such as those he used in his shocking performance at a civil defense meeting Wednesday night.

It makes for a drift from reality, a nightmare, a situation that in a work of fiction would be too fantastic to be believed other than by children, loons and drunks.

We have a wallfull of plaques, certificates and other symbols of awards given the Chronicle over the years for its excellence in all departments of journalism. Our sheriff now has decided that he knows journalism a whole lot better than do the professional journalists who voted us those awards.

He is angry, said the sheriff, because we do not identify people

by race in our news stories. This is not true. We use racial identification and all other physical descriptions of people — white, tall, colored, fat, etc. — when they are pertinent to the story, in fugitive accounts, for example. When the racial tag is not used, usually a name, an address or other facts in the story will indicate a man's race to those readers who want to gloat about his troubles with the police or his death.

Our thinking is that the only local news of Negroes we ever seem to have is police news. Use of the racial adjective would give a false picture of local Negroes as lawbreakers only. This news style has nothing to do with white supremacy or integration. It does no harm. It does perform a kindness. Kindness evidently has no place in the sheriff's journalism text book.

We do not print the truth, is one of the sheriff's criticisms of the Chronicle. It is a false charge. A few months ago the Chronicle carried on its front page a police story that included the name of one of our sons. We did not need to run that story, as we in the past had not used similar stories or, if we did print them, did not

use names of the youngsters involved. We felt now that we had to run this story. "Why did you run that story when it involved your son?" we were asked. "The answer is simple," we reply. "Because he IS our son." We had to run the story or turn into a dishonest editor. A few days after the story appeared we received a tribute from a former newspaperman which warmed our heart to a glow and continues to give us comfort in our present ordeal.

"All newspapers claim they are honest," said that man. "but yours is the only one I know of currently that has proved it. Maintaining integrity takes courage. You have it."

The sheriff is correct to a certain degree, however, in charging that we do not print the truth. We confess there is some truth we have not printed, because we only now have learned it. It concerns the unusual public actions of your sheriff, and the flood of corruption that has engulfed our county during the past two years. Whiskey used to be our only sin. Now, surrounding you, your children and your home, whiskey has been joined by gambling and prostitution. You will soon be able to read about this in the Chronicle.

'Movement designed to destroy a friend . . .'

(This is an editorial)

To the everlasting credit of the Jackson County working man, it remained for a labor leader to make the first public statement in condemnation of the hate group recently organized in your Court-house.

Claude Ramsey of Franklin Creek, president of the Mississippi AFL-CIO, addressed a meeting of the Pascagoula Metal Trades Council last week. He released text of his remarks for publication in the Chronicle today. It follows:

"We are very fortunate in this county in that we have a daily newspaper friendly to our cause. As a result of this friendliness, this newspaper has been the target of our enemies on numerous occasions. Such is the situation today.

"I refer to the Jackson County Citizens Emergency Unit. Our enemies have initiated a movement in our midst designed to destroy this friend. We must not allow this to happen.

"Considering the fact that we have good race relations in this county, it is most difficult to understand the motivating force behind this movement, if it is not being furnished by our enemies.

"I fear that many members of your organizations do not realize that their jobs can depend upon a continuation of good race relations here. Do they realize that one serious race disturbance can terminate the shipbuilding industry in Jackson County?

"I can tell you that the management of Ingalls Shipbuilding Corp. does. I have recently discussed this matter with Mr. James Moran, administrative vice president of Ingalls, and he advises me that they are very much disturbed.

"Mr. Moran has good cause for concern. Practically every ship produced by this company is subsidized to some degree by federal funds. A racial disturbance can cause this company to lose future contracts. It necessarily follows that this in turn would mean the jobs of many of our members.

"My appeal to you is to get the facts before your membership before it is too late.

"It is important that we come to the defense of the Chronicle. It is even more important that we do everything possible to keep this shipyard in operation."

Steaming as before, says the Chronicle

The Chronicle staff will forever be grateful to the hundreds of gentle Jackson countians who quietly offered support to them during the past month.

These people waited in vain for some expression from their political leaders, some word of opposition to the hate group that had been organized under auspices of our sheriff.

But the politicians abdicated their responsibility — chickened out in a more active although less delicate way of putting it — and it was not until Claude Ramsey of Jackson County, head of the state labor federation, issued his statement of last week, that anyone but the Chronicle joined the battle against hate.

Many good people have asked us what have been the effects of the attack on us. We are happy to report that, as of now, the Chronicle is still sailing under a full head

of steam carrying a full cargo of advertising. There was one week, however, when we thought damage had been done. Two customers cancelled their ad contracts, three others we discovered had dropped out so quietly that we had not noticed their going. Last week, the latter three suddenly came back and the former two announced they were on the way back to the pages of the Chronicle. Although we have our opinions, of course, we will never know beyond doubt what exactly caused the drop out.

We do know beyond doubt, however, that just as spite and hate will never build a going concern, spite and hate will not sink an enterprise that is honestly run and supplies a genuine need.

We know something else, too. That Paspoint businessmen and merchants are intelligent enough to realize that when they buy space in the Chronicle they are buying only that — space — plus

the guaranteed paid circulation of the Chronicle. They are not buying the editor of the Chronicle or his opinions. Any more than when we buy a suit from Thad Brumfield, a shirt from Gordon Breat or an auto from Ralph Weaver or Jim Harvey, we expect Thad Brumfield, Gordon Breat, Jim Harvey and Ralph Weaver henceforth to agree with us on matters political and economic and to alter the policies of their businesses to conform with our ideas of proper management.

If and when the Chronicle starts selling its opinions, the customers will pay a heck of a lot more for them than they now pay for ad space.

But enough of that. We started out here to write a thank-you note to Chronicle readers and advertisers and we will now get to the point:

Thank you, Chronicle readers and advertisers.

Perfectly capable of closing Ole Miss

Anywhere else in the United States, the suggestion that a state university be closed down for any reason at all would not rise to the level of public discussion. Such a suggestion could not originate outside a lunatic academy.

But in our state, — where the leaders for eight years led us to believe we would not be required to obey the same laws that others must obey, whose leaders called out the mobs to let blood in senseless opposition to the will of the nation, where American GIs and marshals are referred to in terms of hate formerly used only for Huns who ravished Belgium in the World War and Japs who tortured prisoners in World War II—in this state we had better discuss the possibility. Now.

For the people who could do and say the things that have been done and said in our state during the past six weeks have proved themselves perfectly capable of closing down a university.

The suggestion has been made that Ole Miss be closed. It has been offered by the same group of false prophets who deluded the people for eight years into believing that we could maintain school segregation in Mississippi while all about us other Southern states were failing in their attempts to prevent integration. Somehow, in the face of all that is sane, they managed to convince most white people that they had a secret unknown to other Southern leaders.

If we now let them convince

us that it is proper to close Ole Miss and destroy a century of cultural advancement, then maybe we do not deserve any better than to be led by owners of grammar-school intellects and of attitudes that most humans left behind somewhere in history.

It is heartening to note a resurgence of manhood on the part of the Ole Miss staff and faculty and the rallying of alumni support to keep the institution going. All alumni, all parents of present students, all Mississippians who care a hang about their state—we will exclude moral and religious considerations here and mention only the economic — all should also rally behind the university and let our leaders know that we do not regard suicide as a solution.

Scapegoats run in short supply

Another scapegoat has been dragged into the arena to be kicked around by the hateists in their continuing campaign to blame all but themselves for the troubles they have caused our state.

Newest target is the Southern Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges that on Wednesday came within an eyelash's width of stripping the accreditation from our public colleges. Only a gentle rebuke was administered when the Association placed us on a kind of probation. But this gift has not gained the Association any points in our hate circles.

"Dictatorial," "arrogant" have been the less abusive adjectives placed on the SASSC by these people, who claim to be astounded at the Association's gall in daring

to consider bouncing our schools from their rolls. What the SASSC was doing was merely the job for which it was organized: seeing that education and not politics is paramount at its member institutions. It cannot exercise a "dictatorial" control over anything, because the association is a voluntary one. Mississippi is free to withdraw if it wishes to do so. But in order to remain in, we play according to the rules every one else observes.

Possibility that our colleges would lose their standing was a consequence foreseen long ago and called to public attention by a few people in our state. In fact, everything that has happened in Mississippi since the governor's teevies appearance Sept. 13 was predictable and was predicted. As each

consequence of their folly comes to pass, however, the hateists shout in mock surprise and gnash their teeth in pretended astonishment.

Successively blamed have been the President, Robert Kennedy, the US Army, federal marshals, the NAACP, integrationists, traitors to our way of life, moderates, do-gooders. Now the SASSC comes to its turn and, as the calendar brings him into view, maybe even Santa Claus will have one hung on him.

There will come a day, however, when the scapegoat supply has been exhausted and the finger will have to be pointed inwardly in the direction where the blame has lain from the beginning.

Opinions personal and fiercely private

The Ole Miss student government evidently has an unassailable right to censure and reprimand the editor of the campus newspaper. After all, she (the editor is a girl) occupies a position voted her by the students, who are in effect her employers. They are also her captive readers, for included in fees they pay is an amount for support of the campus paper.

But in voting a reprimand, the student activities committee of the campus senate exhibited a minus knowledge of what an editor's job is. Sidna Brower was elected to edit the *Mississippian* because a majority of student voters thought her more capable than other can-

didates to get the paper out each day and to handle the mechanics of the job.

They did not by casting a vote also cast a leash around her opinions. This cannot be done. Opinions are personal and fiercely private and no newspaper editor worthy of his salt develops them according to what he believes the majority of his readers would favor. Carried forward logically, that would require the absurdity of an editor's taking a poll every time a thought crossed his mind.

The reprimand action added another streak of corrosion to our state's now unglittering reputation. One of the few bright spots

around Ole Miss during and after the riot was a call for lawfulness issued by editor Brower. A stand for lawfulness in Mississippi was then and is now equated with advocacy of integration. So Miss Brower showed much bravery. The credit she gained Ole Miss in the eyes of Americans is now erased from the ledger of the reprimand from her fellow students.

This mean and shabby action is maybe more than coincidentally akin to things being done by adult hateists whose voices are the only ones heard in our state. They have made us Mississippians incomprehensible to other Americans. Now they have established the anomaly of anti-intellectualism ascendant at a university.

MEC's statement

a service to state

More sober consideration will be accorded the Mississippi Economic Council's recent statement of policy regarding school integration than has been given the words of such do-gooders and muddle-headed liberals as us.

Heart of the statement issued by the council's directors is their belief that Mississippi public schools must remain open and that violence must not be allowed to occur.

"Violence and bloodshed have no place in Mississippi," declared the council. "No responsible citizen or public officer can directly

or by implication approve or condone such actions."

The MEC, said the directors, "recognizes that education for all citizens is indispensable and that education provided by public schools, colleges and universities is essential. The council believes that public schools, colleges and universities must remain open and must maintain their integrity, quality instructional standards and full accreditation."

Evidently hoping to avoid a *tan-of-bricks* response to their appeal from certain state quarters, the MEC directors parted from their realism long enough to weaken the pitch by adding that Mis-

issippians should endure "temporary" integration "with the expectation that the nation will ultimately face reality in constitutional matters."

The nation has faced constitutional reality and there is going to be no about-face on the school question. It is too bad the otherwise hardheaded business leaders of the MEC directorate felt it necessary to nourish the peculiar local delusion that segregation will make a come back.

Their statement nevertheless is a welcome one and by making it the MEC has performed a valuable service to the state of Mississippi.

How many kinds of Christianity?

Well, certainly, the governor's cousin is correct when she complains that the racial attitudes of her native state's leaders make more difficult her job as a missionary in Nigeria.

"You send us out here to preach that Christ died for all men," wrote Antonina Canoneri to a Mississippi Baptist newspaper. "then you make a travesty of our message by refusing to associate with some of them because of the color of their skin."

This is the basic cause of the Mississippi schizophrenia, the incredible disease that allows us to claim that we are at one and the same time Christians and white supremacists, when there are no two attitudes more incompatible than these.

The racists would have you believe that the teachings of Christ, the lessons you learned in Sunday school, are like the Santa Claus

myth, just something to kid around with. The Sermon on the Mount, the brotherhood of men in God, the great philosophy of kindness and compassion, all of this just words to listen to on Sunday and then forget at the door of the church.

Christianity is a white man's fraternity, they impute. There is only one God, but he is God only for certain people, people who look and think like we do. There is a heaven, but there would have to be a sign by the pearly gates that says "All Colored Angels Step to the Rear," where they will find a heaven-annex marked "For Our Colored Patrons Only."

Christianity is a philosophy of tolerance, a philosophy that makes bearable through hope the wretched lives of the unprivileged. It is a philosophy of love and understanding and turn the other cheek. It is a philosophy that makes no sense on a once a week basis, that is barren and futile if shucked at

the door of the church and not carried out into the world and practiced there.

In Mississippi, a person who attempts to carry Christianity out the church door, who dares to practice the Christian virtue of tolerance outside the church, is cursed as a liberal, a leftist, a communist, a niggerlover. Christ was the greatest champion of the underdog the world has ever known. If He were to visit us here, now, by whose side would He stand, beside the brick-throwing, foul-mouthed, destroying, profaning, slaving members of the mob and their "nice-folk" eggheads, or beside the trembling victim of their hate?

There cannot be one answer for Sunday between 11 a.m. and noon and another for the rest of the week. And there cannot be one brand of Christianity for Mississippi and another for Nigeria and the rest of the world.

Race bias a loser in Georgia election

Georgia deserted the fold during 1962, leaving Mississippi and Alabama as the last remaining states in which racial hatred is a sure-thing political asset.

Georgians let it be known by more than three-to-two that they prefer moderate Carl E. Sanders to old-time ranter Marvin Griffin. The gubernatorial primary of late summer was the first since 1908 in which the winner was declared by popular vote, that is in which the winner had to be the man voted for by most of the people.

Since 1908 Georgia had chosen her state leaders under a county-unit system similar to the federal electoral college. The minority man could win under the unit system.

Griffin, a former governor, made himself the hero of the mobs by inflammatory speeches from one end of Georgia to the other. There was a day when the man who "yelled nigger" the loudest was assured of election anywhere in the South. But the people of Georgia in 1962 withdrew their state from that list. For his fire-breathing, old Marv got blamed for inciting several instances of violence and perhaps it was in revulsion that the voters of Georgia — white people, at that — turned against him.

They elected Sanders, a 37-year-old state senator who, in his victory statement, echoed the theme of his campaign: "I want to let it be known," he declared, "that I believe we need to do all possible

to maintain our customs and traditions within the framework of law and order. We shall proceed legally at all times. I will not tolerate violence and disorder." What a contrast this is to the rabid victory pronouncements made by Alabama's new man George Wallace and to the usual blasts emitted in our own state capital.

In Georgia, Old Marv Griffin, if he wishes to stay in public life, will have to temper his vocabulary and find a new pitch. Georgia picked Sanders, joining Arkansas — where Orval Faubus turned moderate and won a fifth term — and South Carolina — where Olin Johnston repelled a bid for his senate seat by racist Gov. Ernest Hollings — as Southern states in which hate is no longer a winner.

28 Methodist ministers solve their dilemma of Christian conscience

We did not make ourselves popular in some circles when we remarked that "I'd rather have been a Jap admiral in the Pacific than be a church minister in the Deep South now." But, then, in what circles have we been popular lately?

What we meant was that we would not care to assume the terrible strain Southern churchmen have suffered in trying to reconcile Christian doctrine with racial discrimination, or worse strain, not trying to reconcile the conflict and pretending that the problem is "political" and thus no proper area for church participation.

Last week 28 Mississippi Methodist ministers came to grips publicly with the problem and reaffirmed their support of the official position of the Methodist church which in 1960 was stated thus: "Our Lord Jesus Christ teaches that all men are brothers. He permits no discrimination because of

race, color or creed."

In a statement published in the Mississippi Methodist Advocate, the 28 ministers said that "as Christian ministers and as native Mississippians, sharing the anguish of all our peoples, we have a particular obligation to speak.

"Confronted with the grave crises precipitated by racial discord within our state in recent months, and the genuine dilemma facing persons of Christian conscience, we are compelled to voice publicly our convictions.

"Thus understanding our mutual involvement in these issues, we bind ourselves together in this expression of our Christian commitment. We speak only for ourselves, though mindful that many others share these affirmations.

"We affirm our faith in the official position of the Methodist

Church on race as set forth in Paragraph 2026 of the 1960 Methodist Discipline: 'Our Lord Jesus Christ teaches that all men are brothers. He permits no discrimination because of race, color or creed.'

"The position of the Methodist church, long held and frequently declared, is an amplification of our Lord's teaching: 'We believe that God is father of all people and races, that Jesus Christ is His son, that all men are brothers and that man is of infinite worth as a child of God.'"

The editor of the Mississippi Methodist Advocate in a note preceding the statement said that he believes the statement expresses "the conviction of the vast majority of the clerical members" of the Methodist Conference.

To the affirmation made by the 28, there is only one remark here called for: amen.

A Mississippi anthropologist takes a scientific look at Putnam's 'Race and Reason'

A 1961 book by a New England businessman is often quoted in Mississippi in an attempt to give scientific basis for denying equal citizenship rights to all Mississippians.

Carlton Putnam in his book "Race and Reason" purports to prove that Negroes should be denied rights and privileges because they are biologically inferior to men of other races. Segregationists, Putnam advises, should base their arguments on this and not on "states rights." Putnam's book has become the bible of the Citizens Councils.

But Putnam's thesis and his lack of training for the task he undertook have now been examined by a man qualified to do so. His study — titled "An Anthropologist's View of 'Race and Reason' — will be published for the first time by the Chronicle. It's author, Dr. Robert L. Randa, professor of anthropology at the University of Mississippi, writes that Putnam "shows no understanding" of the major concepts of the sci-

ence of anthropology and that what he discovered in his year and a half of study "is not a part of the academic world known to my professional colleagues."

In a series of four articles that will appear in the Chronicle next week, Randa says that Putnam's "is the voice of a propagandist and not the method of science." His book does not live up to the claims that it is scientific, balanced or objective. His book is "emotionally keyed," says Randa. "As do others in the anthropological profession at large, I disagree most thoroughly with Putnam's major conclusion and with his manner of presentation."

Randa, a native of Washington, D. C., who has taught at Ole Miss since 1952, dismantles Putnam's arguments that the cultural lag of Africans is due to mental inferiority. Reasons why the peoples of Negro Africa "got off to a slow start in . . . a march toward civilization," Randa writes, can be explained in terms of geography and environment. Racial inferiority

"appears totally unnecessary" in explaining the lag, he says.

Furthermore, writes the Ole Miss scientist, although many investigators have long sought for proof that there are differences in mental capacity among the races, no such proof has ever been advanced. Indeed, investigators have found little or no racial differences of a psychological nature.

Randa's concluding words should be engraved in something more substantial than newspaper print so that they might be forever within the view of racial ranters. "If there actually proves to be differences in the average intellectual capacity of the various races," writes Randa, "we are left with the possibility that the Negro will not be on the bottom of the scale, nor the white race on the top."

Consider that possibility the next time you think you are worthier than the next man because the next man looks different from you.

Anti-learning demagogues:

Push 'em back, w-a-a-y back!

Industry used to move south to take advantage of untapped natural resources, temperate climate, competition-free markets. But most of all it moved south to dip into our large pool of cheap labor.

To these attractions later was added a ladling of socialistic sauce. Communities began building plants for industry, thus assuming industry's greatest investment burden. Such programs as Mississippi's "Balance Agriculture with Industry" project lured many a concern away from its New England home.

Those days, while not gone completely, have passed high noon and are waning on toward sunset. Clodhopper labor no longer is de-

sirable, no longer is even useful. Industry more and more is automated and the people pushing the buttons are skilled technicians, engineers, scientists with advanced college degrees.

Because of this, industry now is moving to states and communities where intellectual resources are available. "Modern technological developments require the most advanced intellectual skills for their conception and progress. Without such skills, industry of today cannot compete or even begin. Thus, the concentration of modern industry in close proximity to the high scientific skills in graduate schools is not surprising."

The words in quotation marks

are from a recent edition of Tulane University's "Dimension Education," a feature published on the Chronicle's editorial page every Monday. This one was titled "Education: key to industry" and it discussed the "obvious" relationship between high-level industry and high-level educational institutions.

We bring it up again in order to point out that this stage in the technological advance of US society is not the time for Mississippi to allow politicians to cripple its educational institutions. Our campuses must be posted off-limits to demagogues of all echelons, or the furnaces will grow cold all over Mississippi.

The honorable road for South Carolina

The hour is about to strike for South Carolina, as it has in the past for Tennessee, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana and Mississippi. A Negro has been ordered accepted as a student by Clemson College.

What will happen in South Carolina depends almost totally upon what her governor says and does just before Harvey Gantt, 19-year-old architectural student, shows up at the Clemson campus.

If Gov. Donald Russell — who by the way is a native of Mississippi — announces that he expects law and order to prevail and that he intends to see that they do,

the law and order will prevail and Gantt will quietly be assimilated on campus as have hundreds of Negroes at dozens of formerly white Southern colleges over the past decade.

If, however, Gov. Russell even so much as says he fears that violence will occur, then violence he will have. Such an admission would be taken by the mobs as a call to arms, for if a governor truly intended that the peace be kept he could have no fear of its being breached. It goes without saying, of course, that any gubernatorial talk at all about "fighting to the last ditch," "giving our all to preserve our way of life," and

any screams of "never!" will recreate an Ole Miss holocaust at Clemson.

So far it appears that Russell will act the part of a gentleman determined that his state will accept the inevitable with honor, if without joy.

Russell's statements have been greatly in contrast to the war cries and blood-thirsty shrieks emitting from the "little judge" that poor Alabama has put in her statehouse. South Carolina may come through its crisis unscathed. Alabama is in training to break Mississippi's record for the free-style collegiate blood-let.

The End

THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI

University, Mississippi

October 1, 1962

Office of the President

TO : All Ole Miss Students

FROM : L. L. Love

By order of the administrative officers of the University,
all firearms of any sort are to be removed from the campus im-
mediately and turned in to the Department of Public Safety.

Please cooperate to the fullest.

L. L. Love

L. L. Love
Dean of Students

THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI
Division of Student Personnel
University, Mississippi

October 9, 1962

Office of the Dean

*No identity
to report
make to
Student*

TO : Residents of The Village
FROM : L. L. Love
SUBJECT : Firearms

It has become absolutely necessary to insist that students dispose of all firearms they may have in their possession.

The firearms may be removed from the campus or checked with the Department of Public Safety.

The deadline for compliance is 6:00 p.m. Thursday, October 11.

The consequences will be very serious for any student discovered with firearms after the time mentioned above. I regret the necessity of sending this notice.

L. L. Love
L. L. Love
Dean

DOZIER
Like Street

Oxford, Mississippi
October 10, 1962

Dr. J. D. Williams, Chancellor
University of Mississippi
University, Mississippi

Dear Chancellor Williams:

I am attaching the names of the seven students involved in the riot a week ago Sunday night, together with a summary of the facts which can be established by our best evidence. Most of these were among those apprehended and detained. I am still reviewing the files to see whether or not other names can be added, but at this point I am doubtful of more than their mere presence on the scene.

I am also securing various photographs taken that evening and the following morning. I already know that some of these photographs are sufficiently clear to permit identification of students and show them actually involved in acts of violence. All such photographs will be turned over to you for whatever action the University may wish to take.

I do not know what investigation the University itself has made of the incident. A number of members of the faculty, as well as students, observed the activities of the evening and can, I feel sure, provide you with appropriate identification of students actually involved in the violence. I assume that you already are receiving such information or that you plan to take steps of your own in this connection.

- 2 -

Chancellor Williams
Oct. 10, 1962

We will, of course, attempt to assist you in identifying the persons who in the future may irritate or induce violence of the type which occurred Monday evening at the cafeteria. If, however, the campus police and other officials continue to be on the scene, I am sure that they, with their superior knowledge of student personnel, will be able to provide you with even more information in this connection.

If I can be of further assistance to you, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Nicholas B. Katzenbach
Deputy Attorney General

Encl.

The following is a report with respect to some of the students who were apprehended on September 30 and October 1, 1962, together with a summary of the activities in which they engaged during this period. Each of the allegations summarized herein can be established by competent testimony. Evidence with respect to some other students apprehended is still in the process of being checked out.

John Thomas Jenkins, 129 School Street, Clarksdale, Mississippi.

According to SP 4 Spencer, U.S.A., this individual on the night of September 30—October 1 yelled obscenities, threats and insults at a group of United States Marshals in the dormitory area and also menaced them with a length of pipe which he was holding in his hand. When Spencer emerged from behind a bush where he had been observing Jenkins, Jenkins attempted to club him with the piece of pipe. Spencer dodged the blow and detained Jenkins with the help of a U.S. Marshal after a struggle.

John William Seals.

Leading participant in riot who apparently had with him a twenty-gauge shotgun; left the campus on October 2 immediately after being contacted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and had not returned as of October 5. Stated to his roommate, James Mangiafico, that he was in the "front lines" and sustained a blow on the head in a struggle with a Federal Marshal. Shotgun shells found in this individual's room were similar to expended shells found in the area fronting the Lyceum.

Steve T. Mistilis, 201 Price.

Positively identified as one of the active rioters, seen during the riot swinging a four-foot two-by-four club.

Clyde Millerson Owen, Jr., S. A. Fraternity House.

Arrested by Marshals during the rioting on Sunday evening September 30, 1962, in a group of young men some of whom had thrown Molotov cocktails at U.S. Border Patrol. While the Marshals who apprehended Owen are unable to identify that he personally threw a Molotov cocktail, they can testify that he was in a group engaged in this activity and that he fled to avoid arrest.

Bonnie Spencer Roberts, Labauve Dormitory.

Roberts was in the front line of the crowd on Sunday evening prior to 8 p.m. He shouted obscene and insulting remarks at the Marshals and Army truckdrivers, and was one of the active instigators of the riot which followed. He was apprehended the following morning, and claims that he did not participate the prior evening and is the victim of mistaken identity.

James Franklin ~~Robert~~ ^{Robert}.

Shouted obscenities and insults at Marshals early on evening of September 30, 1962, and again at about 10:55 a.m. on October 1, 1962. According to Deputy U.S. Marshal Maurice J. Craickshank, was one of the worst agitators in the mob and one who cursed and spat at him as well as others.

Edward J. Borvath.

Arrested by Marshals near Lyceum at approximately 11:30 p.m., September 30, at the height of the riot. Claims he was blinded by tear gas and thought he was running away from the riot.

Student Judicial Council



October 11, 1962

Mr. John Thomas Jenkins
Box 2128
University, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Jenkins:

You have been referred to the Student Judicial Council on the charge of participating in the demonstration which occurred Sunday evening - Monday morning, September 30 - October 1.

The allegations made by the United States Department of Justice are quoted below:

John Thomas Jenkins, 220 School Street, Clarksdale

According to IP 4 Spencer, U.S.A., this individual on the night of September 30 - October 1 yelled obscenities, threats and insults at a group of United States Marshals in the dormitory area and also assaulted them with a length of pipe which he was holding in his hand. When Spencer emerged from behind a bush where he had been observing Jenkins, Jenkins attempted to club him with the piece of pipe. Spencer seized the blow and detained Jenkins with the help of a U.S. Marshal after a struggle.

The hearing on this matter will be held on Thursday, October 18, 1962, at 2:00 PM in the Board Room at the Lyman Building. Your presence will

Student Judicial Council



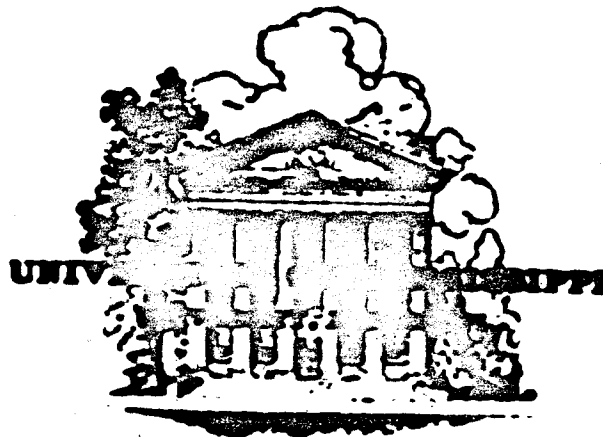
be expected at this hearing. If you have any questions, call me at 824-3778 or come by SUW 2-8 or the Judicial Council office in the Student Union Building.

Sincerely yours,

Jack Lynch
Chairman

Jack

Student Judicial Council



October 11, 1958

Mr. James Franklin Stewart
Room 2-63
University, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Stewart:

You have been referred to the Student Judicial Council on the charge of participating in the demonstration which occurred Tuesday evening - Sunday morning, September 30 - October 1.

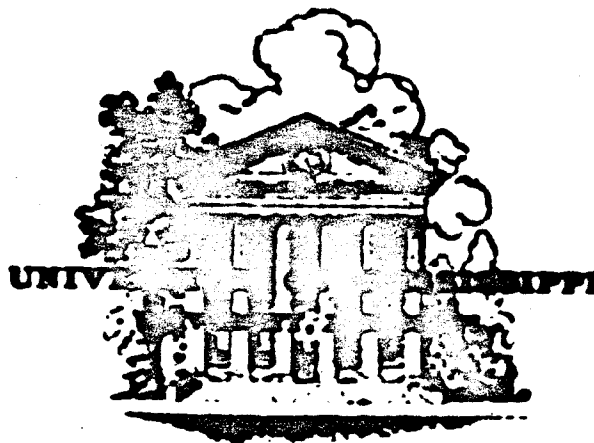
The allegations made by the United States Department of Justice are quoted below:

James Franklin Stewart,

Shouted obscenities and insults at Marshals early on evening of September 30, 1958, and again at about 10:00 A.M. on October 1, 1958. According to Deputy U. S. Marshal Maurice J. Grunickbank, was one of the worst agitators in the mob and one who cursed and spat at him as well as others.

The hearing on this matter will be held on Friday, October 19, 1958, at 9:00 PM in the Board Room of the Lyman Building. Your presence will

Student Judicial Council



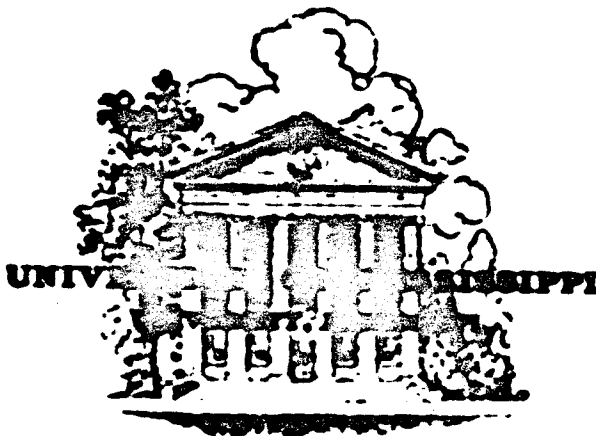
Be expected at this hearing. If you have any questions, call us at 224-3779 or come by Barr 2-8 or the Judicial Council office in the Student Union Building.

Sincerely yours,

Jack Lynch
Chairman

Jack

Student Judicial Council



October 11, 1962

Mr. John William Scale
Box 678
University, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Scale:

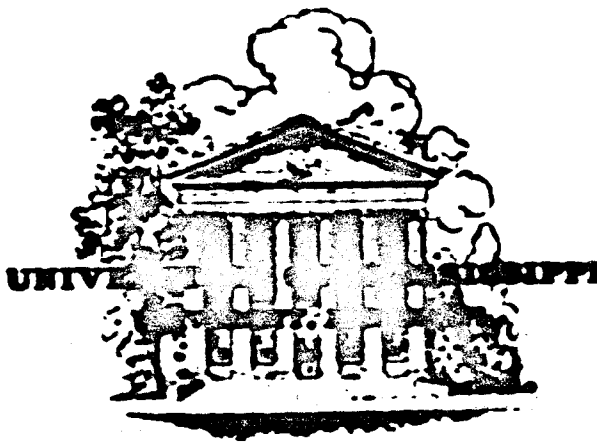
You have been referred to the Student Judicial Council on the charge of participating in the demonstration which occurred Sunday evening - Monday morning, September 30 - October 1.

The allegations made by the United States Department of Justice are quoted below:

John William Scale,

Leading participant in riot who apparently had with him a .44-gauge shotgun; left the campus on October 2 in a motor vehicle after being contacted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and had not returned as of October 5. Stated to his roommate, James Hargrave, that he was in the "front line" and sustained a blow on the head in a struggle with a Federal Marshal. Shotgun shells found in this individual's room were similar to expended shells found in the area fronting the Lyman.

The hearing on this matter will be held on Thursday, October 18, 1962, at 5:00 PM in the Board Room of the Lyman Building. Your presence will

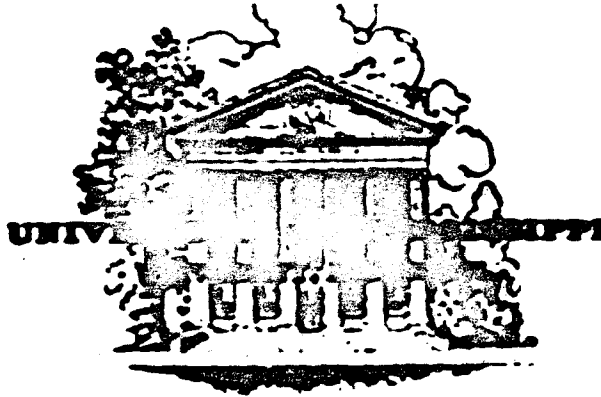


be expected at this hearing. If you have any questions, call us at 224-1779 or come by Room 2-6 of the Judicial Council office in the Student Union Building.

Sincerely yours,

Jack Lynch
Chairman

Jack



October 11, 1962

Mr. Clyde Wilkerson Owsa, Jr.
Box 2025
University, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Owsa:

You have been referred to the Student Judicial Council on the charge of participating in the demonstration which occurred Sunday evening - Monday morning, September 30, - October 1.

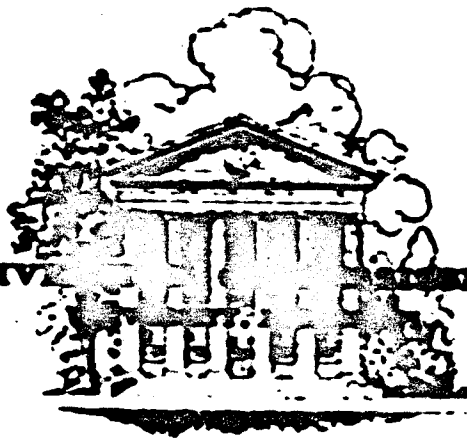
The allegations made by the United States Department of Justice are quoted below:

Clyde Wilkerson Owsa, Jr., S.A. Fraternity House

Arrested by Marshals during the rioting on Sunday evening September 30, 1962, is a group of young men, some of whom had thrown Molotov cocktails at U. S. Border Patrol. While the Marshals who apprehended Owsa are unable to identify that he personally threw a Molotov cocktail, they can testify that he was in a group engaged in this activity and that he fled to avoid arrest.

The hearing on this matter will be held on Thursday, October 18, 1962, at 4:00 PM in the Board Room at the Lyceum Building. Your presence will

UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI

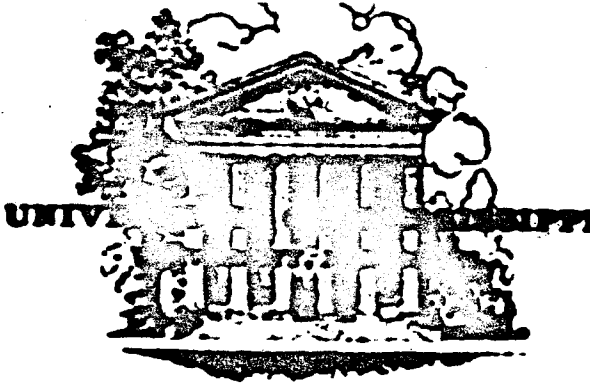


be expected at this hearing. If you have any questions, call me at 800-4770 or come by Barr 2-6 or the Judicial Council office in the Student Union Building.

Sincerely yours,

Jack Lynch
Chairman

Jack



October 11, 1952

Mr. Dennis Spencer Roberts
Box 222
University, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Roberts:

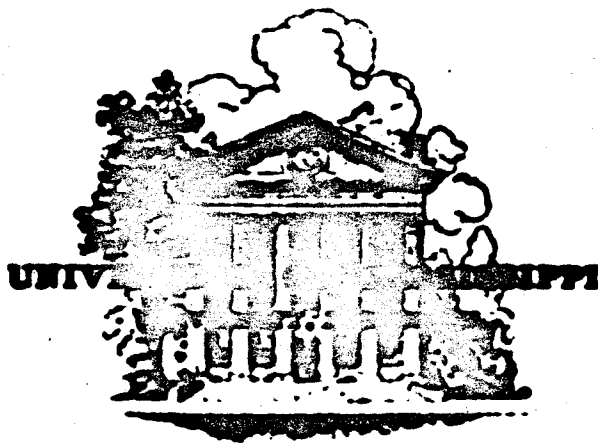
You have been referred to the Student Judicial Council on the charge of participating in the demonstration which occurred Sunday evening - Sunday morning, September 30 - October 1.

The allegations made by the United States Department of Justice are quoted below:

Dennis Spencer Roberts, Laborer Auxiliary

Roberts was in the front line of the crowd on Sunday evening prior to 8 p.m. He shouted obscenities and insulting remarks at the Marshals and Army truck drivers, and was one of the active instigators of the riot which followed. He was apprehended the following morning, and claims that he did not participate the prior evening and is the victim of mistaken identity.

The hearing on this matter will be held on Friday, October 19, 1952, at 2:00 PM in the Board Room at the Lyman Building. Your presence will



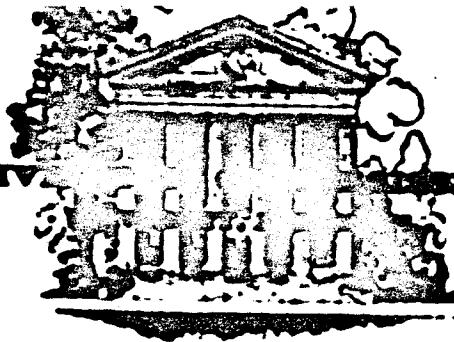
be expected at this hearing. If you have any questions, call me at 556-1779 or come by East B-6 or the Judicial Council office in the Student Union Building.

Sincerely yours,

Jack Lynch
Chairman

Jack

UNIV MISSISSIPPI



October 11, 1958

Mr. Edward J. Horvath
Box 1748
University, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Horvath:

You have been referred to the Student Judicial Council on the charge of participating in the demonstration which occurred Sunday evening - Sunday morning, September 30 - October 1.

The allegations made by the United States Department of Justice are quoted below:

Edward J. Horvath,

Arrested by Marshals near Lyceum at approximately 11:30 p.m., September 30, at the height of the riot. Claims he was blinded by tear gas and thought he was running away from the riot.

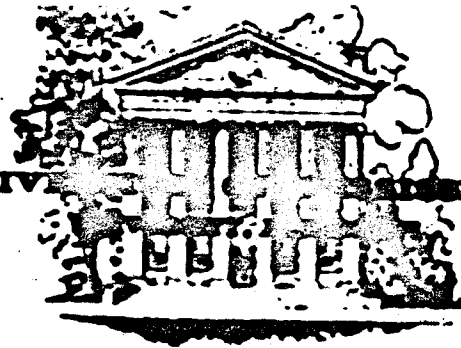
The hearing on this matter will be held on Friday, October 19, 1958, at 6:00 PM in the Board Room of the Lyceum Building. Your presence will be expected at this hearing. If you have any question, call me at 223-1779 or come by Barr 5-3 or the Judicial Council office in the Student Union Building.

Sincerely yours,

Jack Lynch
Chairman

Jack

UNIV MISSISSIPPI



October 11, 1962

Mr. Nicholas S. Ratschbach
U.S. Deputy Attorney General
Henry Hotel
Oxford, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Ratschbach:

The Student Judicial Council has had referred by Dean L. L. Love the names of six students who were charged with "participating in the demonstration which occurred Sunday evening - Monday morning, September 30 - October 1."

These students have been notified by letter from the Council that they are to appear for a preliminary hearing on their particular involvement in the incident. A carbon copy of each letter is enclosed.

We of the Council would like to know if you have any additional evidence concerning the charges against these students. We would like to ask also that the witnesses involved and mentioned in each particular case be asked to appear at the time so indicated in the letter to the accused.

The members of the Council will be glad to cooperate with you in any way that we can. If you have any questions about the operation of the Student Judicial Council, I will be glad to talk with you.

Sincerely yours,

Jack Lynch
Chairman

2-1

Charlie Luper Clark.

Arrested by Marshals on October 1, 1962. Positively identified by Robert O. Thornton, Senior Patrol Inspector, U.S. Border Patrol, Jacksonville, Florida, and Edward G. Woods, Border Patrol Pilot, Savannah, Georgia, among others, as one of the leading agitators and participants in the riot. Inspector Thornton states that Clark was in the crowd at the airport on September 30 when the Marshals arrived; that he repeatedly shouted obscenities and insults. Thereafter, Inspector Thornton saw Clark on numerous occasions during the events leading to the riot and throughout the rioting, and states that he saw Clark throwing bottles and rocks in attacks made by the mob upon the Marshals.

Tommy Wayne Scott.

Admits throwing rocks at U.S. Marshals at approximately 9:30 p.m., September 30, 1962.

James F. DeLibauch.

Was observed throwing Coke bottles at U.S. Marshals during the riot of September 30-October 1, 1962, by Deputy United States Marshal Paul E. Pongrace, Pittsburg, Pennsylvania.

Oxford, Mississippi
October 11, 1962

Dr. J. D. Williams, Chancellor
University of Mississippi
University, Mississippi

Dear Chancellor Williams:

I am sending you herewith three additional names of students who were involved in the riot a week ago Sunday night. As before, the attached list includes a summary of the facts which can be established by competent evidence.

I expect to be able to send you further names and photographs tomorrow or Monday.

If I can be of any further assistance to you, please do not hesitate to let me know.

Sincerely,

Nicholas deB. Katzenbach
Deputy Attorney General

Enclosure

Oct 12, 1962
6PM

OFFICIAL NOTICE

The University of Mississippi Administrative officials deplore the violence which has recently occurred on the Ole Miss campus. In order to preserve and maintain the maximum effectiveness of the educational program of the University, the administration hereby serves notice that such conduct must cease immediately.

More specifically, there must be no inciting to riot, no damage to property or to persons, no public use of obscene and abusive language, and no other acts of the same general order. Violation of this regulation will bring immediate and drastic disciplinary action.

At the same time, the administration recognizes and expresses its gratitude to the vast majority of students who have conducted themselves in a responsible and mature manner.

L. L. Love, Dean
Division of Student Personnel

Anson H. Sheldon, Jr.

On September 29, 1962, at the Heidelberg Hotel in Jackson, Mississippi, this individual was one of the leaders in a group of young men who, by force and threats of force, took from Charles Moore, a photographer for Life magazine, a roll of film containing photographs of a student demonstration which had occurred in front of the hotel.

During the riot which occurred on September 30, 1962, this individual approached Dan McCoy, a freelance photographer then representing Newsweek magazine, at 8:45 p.m., on University Avenue approximately thirty yards from the Confederate monument. Sheldon demanded that McCoy surrender his camera but McCoy refused. Sheldon then forced the camera from McCoy's possession. He held the straps of the camera in his hand, slammed the face of the camera against the surface of the road several times, then handed the smashed camera back to McCoy. At this time a convoy of Border Patrol automobiles carrying United States Marshals began passing the location en route to the Lyceum building. Sheldon again took possession of the camera and in doing so struck McCoy several times with his fists. He again held the camera by the attached shoulder strap and smashed it repeatedly against the automobiles passing in the street.

The above incident was witnessed in its entirety by, among others, Donald J. Underwood, a reporter for Life magazine, and Special Agent Robert F. Pickard of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

John B. Walker.

On the morning of Thursday, October 11, 1962, in front of the Graduate building, this individual engaged in jeering and catcalling directed at James Meredith and the persons accompanying him. This individual was at the time wearing the uniform of an Air Force Cadet. Upon being approached by Lt. Henry T. Gallagher, who wished to question him, this individual directed at Lt. Gallagher an insulting and obscene gesture.

For your information, the incident recounted above has been reported to the Commanding Officer of the Air Force ROTC and may be made the subject of disciplinary action by him.

Oxford, Mississippi
October 15, 1962

Dr. J. D. Williams, Chancellor
University of Mississippi
University, Mississippi

Dear Chancellor Williams:

Pursuant to instructions from Mr. Katzenbach, I am sending you herewith two additional names of students who were involved in the riot of September 30-October 1, or whose activities are otherwise of concern. As before, the names are accompanied by a summary of facts which we believe can be established by competent evidence.

We have obtained further information regarding Tommy Wayne Scott, whose name was reported to you in Mr. Katzenbach's letter of October 11. This individual was observed during the riot by Inspector Daniel F. Pursglove of Mialeah, Florida, and Hugh B. Stevens of Asheville, North Carolina, breaking the windows of two United States Border Patrol automobiles.

Upon further investigation, it appears that the witness who supplied the name of Steve T. Mistilis, reported to you in Mr. Katzenbach's letter of October 10, 1962, was mistaken as to the name of the individual whose activities he observed. At the present time we have no derogatory information whatever as to Steve T. Mistilis. This confirms our prior advice to you to the same effect.

Additional names and other information will be supplied to you as evidence is developed.

If there is any way in which I can be of assistance to you, please do not hesitate to let me know.

Sincerely,

Enclosure

Robert A. Schlei

Assistant Attorney General