

# **The Rise of MASSIVE RESISTANCE**

**Race and Politics in the  
South During the 1950's**

**Numan V. Bartley**

**With a New Preface  
by the Author**

# Rise Of Massive Resistance Race And Politics In The South During The 1950s

**David John Mays**



## **Rise Of Massive Resistance Race And Politics In The South During The 1950s:**

*The Rise of Massive Resistance* Numan V. Bartley, 1999-07-01 Originally published in 1969 *The Rise of Massive Resistance* was the first scholarly work to deal decisively with the politics of southern resistance to public school integration. Today it remains one of the most important books on the subject. For this thirtieth anniversary edition Numan Bartley has included a new preface in which he reflects on his reasons for writing the book and why it has stood the test of time. Bartley gives a step by step account of opposition to school desegregation in each southern state during the 1950s and clarifies the attitudes underlying massive resistance by examining the roles played by such southern leaders as James F. Byrnes, Harry Flood Byrd, James O. Eastland, Orval E. Faubus, Claude Pepper, Estes Kefauver, Richard B. Russell, Herman Talmadge, Big Jim Folsom, and Earl K. Long. He also closely analyzes the attitudes of the Eisenhower administration and national leaders toward the South and explores the activities of the Citizens Councils, the Ku Klux Klan, and other local groups that emerged to defend the southern way of life. His closing Critical Essay on Authorities still forms an excellent guide to primary and secondary sources on opposition to *Brown v. Board of Education*.

*The Role of Ideas in the Civil Rights South*, With essays by Tony Badger, David L. Chappell, Elizabeth Jacoway, Richard H. King, Ralph E. Luker, Charles Marsh, Keith D. Miller, Linda Reed, and Lauren F. Winner. In the 1950s and 1960s the American South was in upheaval. Brilliant thinkers and writers joined on the ground activists to challenge segregation and the South's long established Jim Crow society. The men and women who opposed them waged a war of words in favor of the status quo. The essays in *The Role of Ideas in the Civil Rights South* examine the interplay of thought and action in a complex and turbulent moment in American history. Written by scholars in history, English, and religious studies, these essays explore ideas about religion, freedom, race, liberalism, and conservatism. When people challenged authority or defended it, what ideas did they uphold? What were their moral and intellectual standards? What language did they use and what sources did they cite? What issues did they feel needed explaining? What issues did they take for granted and what issues did they avoid? Leading scholars investigate the wide range of conceptions, interpretations, and responses to the whirlwind of change. Some of the essays concentrate on intellectuals who were systematic thinkers who published their work to be studied, analyzed, and used. Four essays center on the ideas of Martin Luther King Jr., surely the most influential southern intellectual in the 1950s and 1960s. Other essays analyze the thoughts of people such as civil rights activist Fannie Lou Hamer and segregationist politician Jim Johnson who never saw themselves as intellectuals. The civil rights movement set the agenda for thought and action in the 1950s and 1960s. *The Role of Ideas in the Civil Rights South* begins by examining ideas prominent in the movement. It then studies the ideas of white moderates in the South, white conservatives, and African Americans who did not join the movement. Particular emphases include the relationship between theology and political life, the national and international contexts of southern thought, and the variety of southern intellectual interests. Ted Ownby is a professor of history and southern studies at the University of Mississippi. His

books include *American Dreams in Mississippi* Consumers Poverty and Culture 1830 1998 1999 and *Subduing Satan Religion Recreation and Manhood in the Rural South* 1865 1920 1990      *Race, Reason, and Massive Resistance* David John Mays, 2008 These private writings by a prominent white southern lawyer offer insight into his state's embrace of massive white resistance following the 1954 *Brown v Board of Education* ruling David J Mays of Richmond Virginia was a highly regarded attorney a Pulitzer Prize winning biographer and a member of his city's political and social elite He was also a diarist for most of his adult life This volume comprises diary excerpts from the years 1954 to 1959 For much of this time Mays was counsel to the commission chaired by state senator Garland Gray that was charged with formulating Virginia's response to federal mandates concerning the integration of public schools Later Mays was involved in litigation triggered by that response Mays chronicled the state's bitter and divisive shift away from the Gray Commission's proposal that school integration questions be settled at the local level Instead Virginia's arch segregationists led by U S senator Harry F Byrd championed a monolithic defiance of integration at the highest state and federal levels Many leading Virginians of the time appear in Mays's diary along with details of their roles in the battle against desegregation as it was fought in the media courts polls and government back rooms Mays's own racial attitudes were hardly progressive yet his temperament and legal training put a relatively moderate public face on them As James R Sweeney notes Mays's differences with extremists were about means more than ends about not the morality of Jim Crow but the best tactics for defending it      *Communists and Perverts under the Palms* Stacy Braukman, 2012-03-01 In 1956 state Senator Charley Johns was appointed the chairman of the newly formed Florida Legislative Investigation Committee now remembered as the Johns Committee This group was charged with the task of unearthing communist tendencies homosexual persuasions and anything they saw as subversive behavior in academic institutions throughout Florida With the cooperation of law enforcement the committee interrogated and spied on countless individuals including civil rights activists college students public school teachers and university faculty and administrators Today the actions of the Johns Committee are easily dismissed as homophobic and bigoted *Communists and Perverts under the Palms* reveals how the creation of the committee was a logical and unsurprising result of historic societal anxieties about race sexuality obscenity and liberalism Stacy Braukman illustrates how the responses to those societal anxieties particularly the Johns Committee laid the foundation for the resurgence of conservatism in the 1960s Braukman is considered and nuanced in her stance refusing a blanket condemnation of the extremism of a committee whose influence even decades after its dissolution continues to be felt in the culture wars of today      **Richmond's Priests and Prophets** Douglas E. Thompson, 2017-06-06 Explores the ways in which white Christian leaders in Richmond Virginia navigated the shifting legal and political battles around desegregation even as members of their congregations struggled with their own understanding of a segregated society Douglas E Thompson's *Richmond's Priests and Prophets Race Religion and Social Change in the Civil Rights Era* presents a compelling study of religious leaders' impact on the political progression

of Richmond Virginia during the time of desegregation Scrutinizing this city as an entry point into white Christians struggles with segregation during the 1950s Thompson analyzes the internal tensions between ministers the members of their churches and an evolving world In the mid twentieth century American South white Christians were challenged repeatedly by new ideas and social criteria Neighborhood demographics were shifting public schools were beginning to integrate and ministers influence was expanding Although many pastors supported the transition into desegregated society the social pressure to keep life divided along racial lines placed Richmond s ministers on a collision course with forces inside their own congregations Thompson reveals that to navigate the ideals of Christianity within a complex historical setting white religious leaders adopted priestly and prophetic roles Moreover the author argues that until now the historiography has not viewed white Christian churches with the nuance necessary to understand their diverse reactions to desegregation His approach reveals the ways in which desegregationists attempted to change their communities minds while also demonstrating why change came so slowly highlighting the deeply emotional and intellectual dilemma of many southerners whose worldview was fundamentally structured by race and class hierarchies

**The New South, 1945-1980** Numan V. Bartley,1995 First published in 1955 to wide acclaim T Harry Williams P G T Beauregard is universally regarded as the first authoritative portrait of the Confederacy s always dramatic often perplexing general Chicago Tribune Chivalric arrogant and of exotic Creole Louisiana origin Beauregard participated in every phase of the Civil War from its beginning to its end He rigidly adhered to principles of war derived from his studies of Jomini and Napoleon and yet many of his battle plans were rejected by his superiors who regarded him as excitable unreliable and contentious After the war Beauregard was almost the only prominent Confederate general who adapted successfully to the New South running railroads and later supervising the notorious Louisiana Lottery This paradox of a man who fought gallantly to defend the Old South and then helped industrialize it is the fascinating subject of Williams superb biography

Sport and Protest in the Black Atlantic Michael J. Gennaro,Brian M. McGowan,2022-11-02 This is the first book to focus on race sport protest and the Black Atlantic It brings together innovative scholarship on African African American Afro European Afro Brazilian and Afro Caribbean sports in a manner that speaks effectively to the diversity of the African diaspora its history and culture The book explores the history of sports including baseball basketball boxing football rugby cricket and track and field athletics to show athlete and fan protests in sport intersected with discourses of nationalism self fashioning gender and masculinity leisure and play challenges of underdevelopment and the idea of progress It shows how sport in the African diaspora is a crucially important lens through which to understand the challenges changes and continuities of Black Atlantic history the history of protest and racism This is fascinating reading for anybody with an interest in sport history social and cultural history post imperial history and decolonization or the sociology of sport race and political protest

*From Slavery to Civil Rights* Hilary McLaughlin-Stonham,2020 As a window into New Orleans society *From Slavery to Civil Rights* chronicles segregation on the

streetcars of New Orleans over two centuries and discovers the impact of local and national events on a segregated system that was at times both surprisingly rigid and elastic over the period

**Southern Liberal Journalists and the Issue of Race, 1920-1944** John T. Kneebone, 2018-06-15 Before the Civil Rights movement southern liberal journalists played a crucial role in shaping southern thought on race and racism John Kneebone presents a richly detailed intellectual history of southern racial liberalism between World War I and World War II by examining the works of five leading southern journalists Gerald W Johnson Baltimore Evening Sun George Fort Milton Chattanooga News Virginus Dabney Richmond Times Dispatch Hodding Carter Greenville Miss Delta Democrat Times and Ralph McGill Atlanta Constitution The South's leading liberal journalists came from varied backgrounds and lived in different regions of the South but all had one characteristic in common as public advocates of southern liberalism each spoke as a southerner with deep roots in the southern past Yet their editorials were not intended solely for local audiences they wrote essays for national and regional journals of opinion as well and each of these men published important books on the South and its history Through their writings they gained reputations throughout the country as articulate spokesmen for southern liberalism Their essays editorials books and letters provide rich and abundant sources for studying the changing patterns of southern liberal thought in the critical years from the 1920s to the 1940s Moreover these journalists were members of southern liberal organizations Will W Alexander's Commission on Interracial Cooperation the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching the Southern Policy Committee the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and the Southern Regional Council and so they helped devise the reform programs that they in turn publicized While they believed that social and economic change in the modern South required reform of race relations the journalists felt that these reforms could be accommodated within the framework of racial segregation The protests of blacks against segregation during World War II challenged that way of thinking and created a crisis for southern liberals Kneebone analyzes this crisis and the disconnection between the southern liberalism of the 1920s and 1930s and the Civil Rights movement Originally published in 1985 A UNC Press Enduring Edition UNC Press Enduring Editions use the latest in digital technology to make available again books from our distinguished backlist that were previously out of print These editions are published unaltered from the original and are presented in affordable paperback formats bringing readers both historical and cultural value

**The Past, Present, and Future of Southern Politics** Seth C. McKee, 2012-09-01 The apparent partisan stability of contemporary southern politics belies a complex and dynamic process that makes it doubtful one party can persist as the dominant force in the most diverse region of the United States This truly ain't your daddy's Dixie This article appears in the Fall 2012 issue of Southern Cultures The full issue is also available as an ebook Southern Cultures is published quarterly spring summer fall winter by the University of North Carolina Press The journal is sponsored by the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill's Center for the Study of the American South

**We Are Not Yet Equal** Carol Anderson, Tonya Bolden, 2020-08-06 This young adult adaptation of the New York Times bestselling White Rage is essential

antiracist reading for teens An NAACP Image Award finalist A Kirkus Reviews Best Book of the Year A NYPL Best Book for Teens History texts often teach that the United States has made a straight line of progress toward Black equality The reality is more complex milestones like the end of slavery school integration and equal voting rights have all been met with racist legal and political maneuverings meant to limit that progress We Are Not Yet Equal examines five of these moments The end of the Civil War and Reconstruction was greeted with Jim Crow laws the promise of new opportunities in the North during the Great Migration was limited when blacks were physically blocked from moving away from the South the Supreme Court's landmark 1954 Brown v Board of Education decision was met with the shutting down of public schools throughout the South the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Voting Rights Act of 1965 led to laws that disenfranchised millions of African American voters and a War on Drugs that disproportionately targeted blacks and the election of President Obama led to an outburst of violence including the death of Black teen Michael Brown in Ferguson Missouri as well as the election of Donald Trump Including photographs and archival imagery and extra context backmatter and resources specifically for teens this book provides essential history to help work for an equal future Children and Youth During the Civil War Era James Marten,2012 The Civil War is a much plumbed area of scholarship so much so that at times it seems there is no further work to be done in the field However the experience of children and youth during that tumultuous time remains a relatively unexplored facet of the conflict Children and Youth during the Civil War Era seeks a deeper investigation into the historical record by and giving voice and context to their struggles and victories during this critical period in American history Prominent historians and rising scholars explore issues important to both the Civil War era and to the history of children and youth including the experience of orphans drummer boys and young soldiers on the front lines and even the impact of the war on the games children played in this collection Each essay places the history of children and youth in the context of the sectional conflict while in turn shedding new light on the sectional conflict by viewing it through the lens of children and youth A much needed multi faceted historical account Children and Youth during the Civil War Era touches on some of the most important historiographical issues with which historians of children and youth and of the Civil War home front have grappled over the last few years An Epitaph for Little Rock John A. Kirk,2010 This collection of essays mines the Arkansas Historical Quarterly from the 1960s to the present to form a body of work that represents some of the finest scholarship on the crisis from distinguished southern historians Numan V Bartley Neil R McMillen Tony A Freyer Roy Reed David L Chappell Lorraine Gates Schuyler John A Kirk Azza Salama Layton and Ben F Johnson III A comprehensive array of topics are explored including the state regional national and international dimensions of the crisis as well as local white and black responses to events gender issues politics and law Introduced with an informative historiographical essay from John A Kirk An Epitaph for Little Rock is essential reading on this defining moment in America's civil rights struggle The Life and Death of the Solid South Dewey W. Grantham,2021-10-21 Southern style politics was one of those peculiar institutions

that differentiated the South from other American regions This system long referred to as the Solid South embodied a distinctive regional culture and was perpetuated through an undemocratic distribution of power and a structure based on disfranchisement malapportioned legislatures and one party politics It was the mechanism that determined who would govern in the states and localities and in national politics it was the means through which the South's politicians defended their region's special interests and political autonomy The history of this remarkable institution can be traced in the gradual rise long persistence and ultimate decline of the Democratic Party dominance in the land below the Potomac and the Ohio This is the story that Dewey W Grantham tells in his fresh and authoritative account of the South's modern political experience The distillation of many years of research and reflection is both a synthesis of the extensive literature on politics in the recent South and a challenging reinterpretation of the region's political history

### **The South in Modern America**

Dewey W. Grantham, 2001-07-01 The South in Modern America is a lively and illuminating account of the Southern experience since the end of Reconstruction In the twentieth century as in the nineteenth the South has been the region most sharply at odds with the rest of the nation No other part of the country has as clear cut a sectional image The interplay between the South the North and the rest of the nation represents a rich and instructive part of the United States history illustrating much of the nation's conflict and tension the way it has tried to reconcile divergent issues and its struggles to realize its historical ideals In this new treatment of modern Southern history Dewey W Grantham illuminates the features that make the South a distinctive region while clarifying how it has converged socially and politically with the rest of the country during this century

"A Visible Company of Professionals" Carol F. Karpinski, 2008 African American educators shaped a role for themselves in the larger civil rights movement by striving for inclusion on equal footing in the National Education Association NEA This book explores the relationship between the NEA the nation's largest teacher organization and the predominately black American Teachers Association and illustrates how African American educators helped to redefine the NEA's core ideology to include the support of policies practice and politics that promoted educational equity for children and educators who have been historically marginalized Examining heated debates in African American communities and in the NEA and the immediate and long term effects of inclusion on educators and public school children this book reveals teacher associations as something more than labor unions and educators as activists for educational equity while it documents the perils disappointments and advantages of professional cohesion The book's documentation of leadership in particularly challenging settings fills a void in literature for teacher preparation and educational leadership programs

**New Orleans on Parade** J. Mark Souther, 2013-10-07 New Orleans on Parade tells the story of the Big Easy in the twentieth century In this urban biography J Mark Souther explores the Crescent City's architecture music food and alcohol folklore and spiritualism Mardi Gras festivities and illicit sex commerce in revealing how New Orleans became a city that parades itself to visitors and residents alike Stagnant between the Civil War and World War II a period of great expansion



nationally New Orleans unintentionally preserved its distinctive physical appearance and culture Though business civic and government leaders tried to pursue conventional modernization in the 1940s competition from other Sunbelt cities as well as a national economic shift from production to consumption gradually led them to seize on tourism as the growth engine for future prosperity giving rise to a veritable gumbo of sensory attractions A trend in historic preservation and the influence of outsiders helped fan this newfound identity and the city's residents learned to embrace rather than disdain their past A growing reliance on the tourist trade fundamentally affected social relations in New Orleans African Americans were cast as actors who shaped the culture that made tourism possible while at the same time they were exploited by the local power structure As black leaders influence increased the white elite attempted to keep its traditions including racial inequality intact and race and class issues often lay at the heart of controversies over progress Once the most tolerant diverse city in the South and the nation New Orleans came to lag behind the rest of the country in pursuing racial equity Souther traces the ascendancy of tourism in New Orleans through the final decades of the twentieth century and beyond examining the 1984 World's Fair the collapse of Louisiana's oil industry in the eighties and the devastating blow dealt by Hurricane Katrina in 2005 Narrated in a lively style and resting on a bedrock of research New Orleans on Parade is a landmark book that allows readers to fully understand the image making of the Big Easy

**White Flight** Kevin M. Kruse, 2013-07-11 During the civil rights era Atlanta thought of itself as The City Too Busy to Hate a rare place in the South where the races lived and thrived together Over the course of the 1960s and 1970s however so many whites fled the city for the suburbs that Atlanta earned a new nickname The City Too Busy Moving to Hate In this reappraisal of racial politics in modern America Kevin Kruse explains the causes and consequences of white flight in Atlanta and elsewhere Seeking to understand segregationists on their own terms White Flight moves past simple stereotypes to explore the meaning of white resistance In the end Kruse finds that segregationist resistance which failed to stop the civil rights movement nevertheless managed to preserve the world of segregation and even perfect it in subtler and stronger forms Challenging the conventional wisdom that white flight meant nothing more than a literal movement of whites to the suburbs this book argues that it represented a more important transformation in the political ideology of those involved In a provocative revision of postwar American history Kruse demonstrates that traditional elements of modern conservatism such as hostility to the federal government and faith in free enterprise underwent important transformations during the postwar struggle over segregation Likewise white resistance gave birth to several new conservative causes like the tax revolt tuition vouchers and privatization of public services Tracing the journey of southern conservatives from white supremacy to white suburbia Kruse locates the origins of modern American politics Some images inside the book are unavailable due to digital copyright restrictions

Mighty Peculiar Elections Randy Sanders, 2007-10-01 In 1970 four racially moderate Democrats won governors seats in the American South Dale Bumpers in Arkansas Reubin Askew in Florida John West in South Carolina and Jimmy Carter in Georgia In Mighty Peculiar

Elections Randy Sanders explores these campaigns and shows that while each reflected aspects of its state's unique history and political idiosyncrasies taken together they signaled changes in attitudes and the politics of race in the South as well as the nation as a whole. Most southerners by 1970 had come to realize the futility of overt opposition to federal civil rights policies and no longer wanted to hear political candidates singing the refrains of white supremacy. Bumpers won Arkansas's Democratic primary over former Governor Orval Faubus who had symbolized southern intransigence since 1957 when he ordered the state militia to prevent school integration at Central High School in Little Rock. Askew defeated Florida's Republican incumbent governor Claude Kirk who seized a school district during the campaign in order to thwart a court-ordered school desegregation plan. Similarly West ran against Republican Albert Watson who spewed fiery anti-integration rhetoric and Carter succeeded Lester Maddox who had established and maintained his hard-line segregationist reputation by autographing ax handles mementos of the weapon he used years earlier to prevent blacks from entering his restaurant. None of the victors in 1970 talked much about civil rights during their campaigns; they all downplayed, evaded, or finessed racial issues when those topics arose. Sanders describes how the successful candidates carefully shaped their campaigns, rejecting the rhetoric of resistance without uttering strong words in favor of desegregation. A shared campaign strategy of new populism emerged among these candidates: a strategy that promoted the interests of common folk but relied primarily on image and style rather than issues to attract support. The candidates also perceived the diminishing power of party loyalty, political machines, and power brokers that controlled large groups of voters and began to appeal directly to the electorate through television, employing effective strategies that emphasized their best qualities. The cool images of reasoned calm played well on television and prevailed over the hot pictures of frenzied defiance. Using archival materials, media records, personal papers, and interviews, Sanders shows that although these elections did not mark a total transformation of southern politics, they did suggest a subtle shift in the balance of power away from those who continued to roar the rhetoric of racism and resistance towards those who espoused a more moderate position. By focusing on one moment in a period of great political change, *Mighty Peculiar Elections* shines a spotlight on the evolving racial attitudes of the New South.

[A Companion to 20th-Century America](#) Stephen J. Whitfield, 2008-04-15 *A Companion to 20th Century America* is an authoritative survey of the most important topics and themes of twentieth-century American history and historiography. Contains 29 original essays by leading scholars, each assessing the past and current state of American scholarship. Includes thematic essays covering topics such as religion, ethnicity, conservatism, foreign policy, and the media, as well as essays covering major time periods. Identifies and discusses the most influential literature in the field and suggests new avenues of research as the century has drawn to a close.

## Decoding **Rise Of Massive Resistance Race And Politics In The South During The 1950s**: Revealing the Captivating Potential of Verbal Expression

In a time characterized by interconnectedness and an insatiable thirst for knowledge, the captivating potential of verbal expression has emerged as a formidable force. Its ability to evoke sentiments, stimulate introspection, and incite profound transformations is genuinely awe-inspiring. Within the pages of "**Rise Of Massive Resistance Race And Politics In The South During The 1950s**," a mesmerizing literary creation penned by a celebrated wordsmith, readers attempt an enlightening odyssey, unraveling the intricate significance of language and its enduring impact on our lives. In this appraisal, we shall explore the book's central themes, evaluate its distinctive writing style, and gauge its pervasive influence on the hearts and minds of its readership.

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### **Rise Of Massive Resistance Race And Politics In The South During The 1950s Introduction**

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