

Chapter 11

Modern Mississippi, 1971 to the Present

Chapter Preview

PEOPLE

Carroll Waller, Dwight D. Eisenhower, Barry Goldwater, Lyndon B. Johnson, Prentiss Walker, James O. Eastland, Haley Barbour, Cliff Finch, Trent Lott, Thad Cochran, Evelyn Gandy, William Winter, William Allain, Ray Mabus, Barack Obama, Kirk Fordice, Ronnie Musgrove, Phil Bryant, Barbara and Edward Blackmon, Reuben Anderson, Fred L. Banks Jr., James E. Graves Jr., Leslie D. King, Mike Espy, Bennie Thompson, James Hardy

PLACES

governor's mansion, Evelyn Gandy Parkway, Canton, Blue Springs

TERMS

Capitol Street Gang, National Historic Landmark, Dimes for the Mansion, *de jure* segregation, *de facto* segregation, Education Reform Act, Mississippi Prepaid Affordable College Tuition (MPACT) plan, Mississippi Affordable College Savings (MACS) plan, tort, alderman, legislative reapportionment, injunction

Above: Beginning with the Democrats for Eisenhower movement in 1952, Mississippi made a gradual transition from a Democratic to a Republican state, culminating in the historic election of 2011 with the victory of Governor Phil Bryant (seen here at his inauguration in 2012), the election of a Republican lieutenant governor, Tate Reeves, and Republican majorities in both chambers of the legislature for the first time since Reconstruction.



In the early 1970s, a group of young progressive southern governors attracted national attention. Among this new breed of southern politicians were Reubin Askew of Florida, Dale Bumpers of Arkansas, Jimmy Carter of Georgia, and Bill Waller of Mississippi. The civil rights crisis of the 1960s had run its course, and court-ordered changes had transformed Mississippi and the South. Elected at a crucial time in the state's history, Governor Bill Waller, with his constructive leadership, helped chart a new direction for Mississippi.

The most significant political developments in Mississippi during the 1970s were the reapportionment of the state legislature, the emergence of the Republican Party, and the increasing number of black public officials. By the first decade of the twenty-first century, the Republican Party had become the state's dominant political party. Mississippi would also have more black elected public officials than any other state in America.

Signs of the Times

EXPANSION

In 1980, the population of Mississippi was 2,520,638, and the U.S. population was 226,545,805. In 2010, Mississippi's population was 2,967,297, and the U.S. population was 308,745,538.

ARCHITECTURE

When the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center in New York City were completed in 1972 and 1973, they were the world's tallest buildings. The entire world remembers the day they were destroyed in terrorist attacks—September 11, 2001.

ENTERTAINMENT

Star Wars was released in 1977, followed by two sequels in the 1980s and three prequels beginning in 1999. The first *Indiana Jones* movie was released in 1981. 3-D movies, first seen in the 1950s, made a comeback in the 1980s and 1990s with IMAX movies and movies at Disney venues. Movies like *Avatar* brought 3-D into the twenty-first century. Reality television got its start in 1992 with MTV's *The Real World*, but it was the 2000 debut of *Survivor* that launched the reality show era. Popular talent contests like *American Idol* have given viewers a chance to participate by voting for their favorites.

INVENTIONS

The personal computer was launched in the 1970s and 1980s. Leading makers were Apple and IBM. Apple continued its innovations with the iPod, iPhone, and iPad. Introduced in the 1970s, early cellular telephones were large and bulky. Today more than 85 percent of adults and 75 percent of teens own a cell phone. The way we read changed in 2007 when Amazon released the first Kindle e-reader.

TRANSPORTATION

The minivan made its debut in 1983, and the SUV began to surpass the station wagon in the 1990s. Twenty-first century innovations like hybrid cars and plug-in electric cars combat the cost of gasoline.

EXPLORATION

America's exploration of Mars began with the soft landing of a Viking module in 1976. The first two Mars Exploration Rovers landed on the planet in 2004. NASA's space shuttle program began with the launch of *Columbia* in 1981 and ended with the last flight of *Atlantis* in 2011. In August 2011, NASA launched its *Juno* spacecraft bound for the planet Jupiter.

Figure 27 Timeline: 1971-2012



<p>1973 Governor Waller vetoed appropriation for the State Sovereignty Commission</p> <p>1972 Bill Waller began service as Mississippi's governor</p> <p>Republicans Trent Lott and Thad Cochran elected to U.S. House</p>	<p>1975 Governor's mansion restored and designated National Historic Landmark</p> <p>1976 Evelyn Gandy became Mississippi's first woman lieutenant governor</p> <p>1978 Thad Cochran became our first Republican elected to U.S. Senate since Reconstruction</p> <p>1982 Governor William F. Winter's Education Reform Act passed</p>	<p>1988 Counties allowed to choose between beat and county unit system</p> <p>1997 MPACT plan began</p> <p>1999 MPACT plan began</p>	<p>2001 Mississippi voters voted to keep the current state flag</p> <p>MACS plan began</p> <p>2005 Hurricane Katrina devastated the Gulf Coast</p> <p>2008 First debate in the 2008 presidential campaign took place at Ole Miss</p>	<p>2011 Record flooding on the Mississippi River</p> <p>Phil Bryant elected governor</p> <p>Republicans won control of state House and Senate</p>
--	---	---	---	--

1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010
<p>1973 Paris Peace Accords signed, but fighting continued in Vietnam</p>	<p>1975 Fall of Saigon to North Vietnamese marked end of Vietnam War</p>			<p>1991 U.S.-led coalition of troops in "Operation Desert Storm" defeated Iraqi forces in Kuwait</p>	<p>1996 Olympic Games held in Atlanta, Georgia</p>	<p>2001 World Trade Center and Pentagon hit by planes hijacked by al-Qaeda terrorists "Operation Enduring Freedom" began in Afghanistan</p>	<p>2003 "Operation Iraqi Freedom" began</p>	<p>2011 Osama bin Laden killed in Pakistan by U.S. Navy Seals</p> <p>All U.S. troops removed from Iraq</p>

MUSIC

Music of the 1990s went in many directions: heavy metal, grunge bands, alternative rock, boy bands, hip hop, and the ever-popular country music.

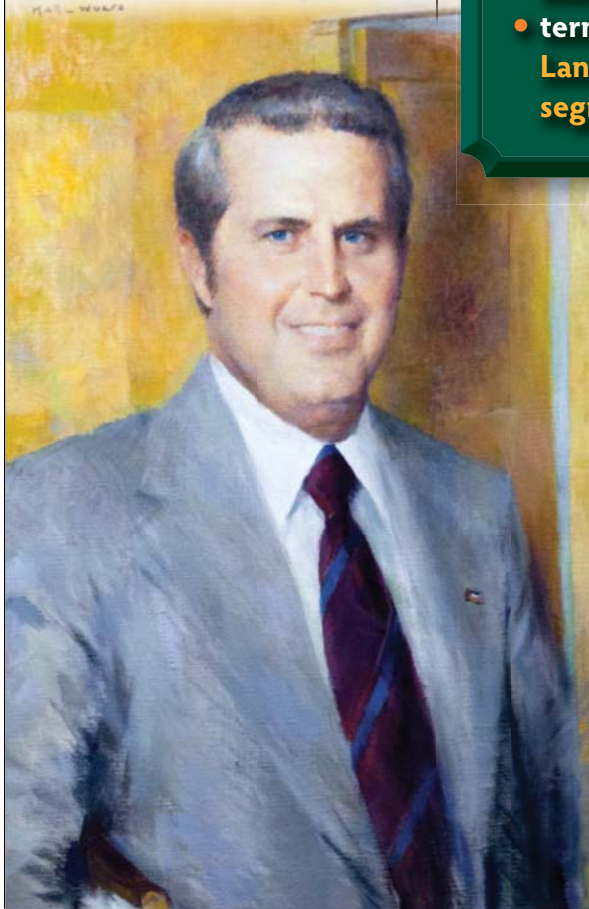
LITERATURE

Harry Potter was "born" in 1997 with the first novel by J. K. Rowling. The final book in the series, *Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows*, was published in 2007.

Section 1

Administration of Bill Waller, 1972-1976

Below: The election of Bill Waller, who as a young district attorney had vigorously prosecuted Byron De La Beckwith for the murder of Medgar Evers, was an indication of the progress Mississippi had made in race relations. Another indication of that progress was the fact that Waller's opponent in the general election was Charles Evers, brother of Medgar Evers, who had been elected mayor of Fayette in 1969.



As you read, look for

- the unusual competition in the general election of 1971;
- the successful efforts to restore the governor's mansion;
- achievements of Governor Bill Waller in the fields of governmental and educational reform, highway construction, and job creation;
- political gains by blacks during the Waller administration;
- terms: **Capitol Street Gang**, **National Historic Landmark**, **Dimes for the Mansion**, *de jure* segregation, *de facto* segregation.

During the 1971 Democratic primary, Bill Waller identified himself with small farmers and blue collar workers, and he openly courted the support of African Americans. He promised to break up the **Capitol Street Gang**, which he identified as a small group of powerful politicians and Jackson businessmen who had dominated the state legislature since the early 1950s. He also promised “to move Mississippi out of the horse and buggy era into the modern age.” After defeating Charles Sullivan in the Democratic primary, which was a major political upset, Bill Waller would face an unprecedented challenge in the general election.

The 1971 General Election

Conducted in an atmosphere of excitement and enthusiasm, the 1971 general election campaign produced the largest voter turnout in the state's history. Charles Evers, the brother of Medgar Evers, ran for governor as an independent candidate. This was the first time in the state's history

that a black candidate conducted a statewide campaign for governor. Evers had run unsuccessfully for Congress in Mississippi's Fourth Congressional District in 1968. He was elected mayor of Fayette in 1969. You will remember from Chapter 10 that Bill Waller was the district attorney who prosecuted Byron De La Beckwith for the murder of Medgar Evers. Neither candidate resorted to negative campaigning, and the 1971 general election was free of the bitterness and racism that many had anticipated. Bill Waller won the general election by a vote of 601,222 to 172,762.

Restoration of the Governor's Mansion

The restoration of Mississippi's historic governor's mansion and its designation as a **National Historic Landmark** (a nationally significant historic place designated by the U.S. Department of the Interior) was a popular achievement of Governor Waller's administration. Before the Civil War, governors and their families lived in the original mansion. Shortly after the war, a small family cottage was built on the north lawn. During a major renovation in 1908, the family cottage was replaced by a two-story family annex that was similar in shape and size to the historic section. By 1971, both the family annex and the historic section of the governor's mansion were considered unsafe, and Governor John Bell Williams and his family moved from the mansion.

In several speeches during the 1971 campaign for governor, Carroll Waller (the candidate's wife) discussed the history of the mansion and asked the people of Mississippi to help save and restore this "historic home of our heritage." In 1972, at the request of Governor Waller, the legislature appropriated \$1 million to repair and restore the governor's mansion.

To keep the people informed about the progress of the restoration, Carroll Waller wrote an article, "News From the Mansion," that appeared in newspapers across the state. She also wanted to involve Mississippi schoolchildren in the restoration project. With a fundraising program called **Dimes for the Mansion**, she visited schools around the state and invited the children to donate dimes to the mansion project.

At a grand ceremony on June 8, 1975, celebrating the reopening of the mansion, Mrs. Waller announced that the U.S. Department of the Interior had officially designated the governor's mansion a National Historic Landmark. More than two thousand visitors attended the reopening ceremony and toured the mansion.



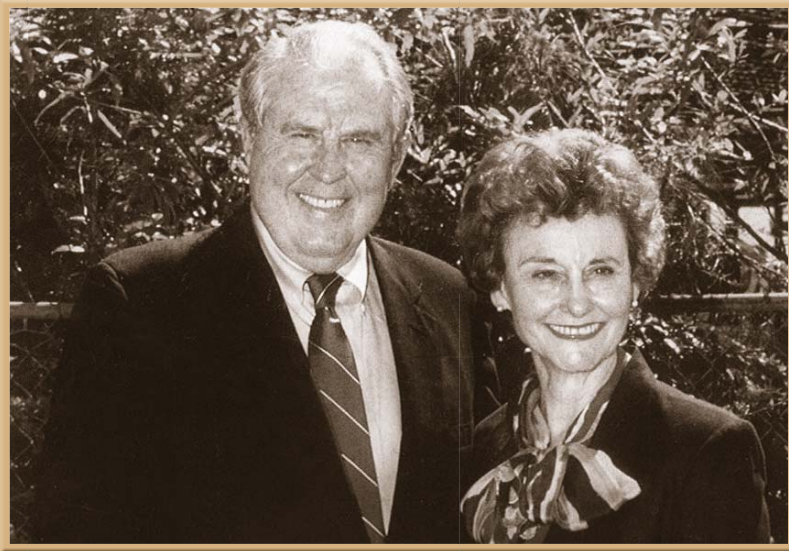
Something Extra!

The governor's mansion (above) is one of thirty-eight National Historic Landmarks located in Mississippi. Jackson's Old State Capitol and Eudora Welty House are also on the list.

Governmental Reorganization and Reform

Another important accomplishment of Governor Waller's administration was the separation of the tax collecting responsibilities from the law enforcement duties of the county sheriff. That change, which created two separate offices and allowed sheriffs to succeed themselves, improved the quality of law enforcement in Mississippi and professionalized the office of sheriff. Governor Waller also upgraded and modernized the state crime laboratory and secured funding for a new Highway Patrol headquarters building.

Governor Waller integrated the Highway Patrol and appointed blacks to boards, commissions, and other state agencies. For the first time in almost a century, blacks actively participated in the affairs of state. There had been no *de jure segregation* (segregation based on laws) since the passage of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution. However, Mississippi and other southern states had maintained a *de facto* racial segregation in public schools and other public facilities. *De facto segregation* means that segregation was maintained not by law but by rigid enforcement of local customs and traditions.



Above: Bill Waller is shown with his wife Carroll, who, as Mississippi's first lady, coordinated the effort to restore the governor's mansion.

Something Extra!

Bill Waller Jr., son of the governor, was elected to the Mississippi Supreme Court in 1996. In 2009, he became the court's chief justice.

Appointment of African Americans

Midway through his administration, Governor Waller had appointed blacks to almost one-fourth of Mississippi's boards and agencies. He appointed the first black state trooper and directed the Mississippi Highway Patrol to recruit additional black patrolmen. He appointed Gwen Loper to the Board of Mental Health. She was the first black woman to serve on a state board. Other African American appointments included Dr. Albert Lott, a Brookhaven physician and member of the local school board, to the Select Committee on Higher Education and Cleve McDowell, the first black student admitted to the Ole Miss Law School, to the State Penitentiary Board. Marvin Morgan, a *cum laude* (with distinction) graduate of Alcorn State University, was appointed to the Board of Public Welfare, and Dr. A. L. Johnson, president of Prentiss Institute, was named to the Probation and Parole Board. Perhaps the most prestigious African American appointed by Governor Waller was Dr. Robert Harrison to the Board of Trustees of State Institutions of Higher Learning. Dr. Harrison was the first black to serve on the College Board.

Veto of the Sovereignty Commission Appropriation

One of Governor Waller's enduring legacies was his 1973 veto of the appropriation for the State Sovereignty Commission. That veto, in effect, abolished the commission. Governor Waller declared that the Sovereignty

Commission, which had supported *de facto* racial segregation even after the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, served no useful purpose. After his veto, Governor Waller recommended that the funds appropriated to the Sovereignty Commission be allocated to a new public relations department to promote tourism in Mississippi.

Achievements of the Waller Administration

As the first of Mississippi's new breed of governors, Bill Waller compiled a remarkable record of achievement. He initiated a \$600 million highway construction program and completed the Mississippi portion of Interstate Highways 55 and 20. Funding for public education increased by 64 percent, and Mississippi schoolteachers received the largest pay increase in the state's history up to that time. Governor Waller also promoted the establishment of a School of Dentistry at The University of Mississippi School of Medicine, and a College of Architecture and a School of Veterinary Medicine at Mississippi State University. He also established a State Department of Mental Health.

During the Waller administration, more than 54,000 new jobs were added, and per capita income increased by 43 percent. The Mississippi Film Commission was created during this time, and by 1975 Mississippi ranked second only to California in movie production. Governor Waller also created the Office of Minority Business Enterprise, the first of its kind in the nation, and established a Minority Council that met monthly with the governor to address issues related to the state's minority population. Many years after Governor Waller left office, the editor of a Mississippi newspaper wrote, "It can be argued that the most significant new era in Mississippi politics began that day in 1972 when Bill Waller took office."



Above: Although Governor Waller vetoed the budget appropriation for the Sovereignty Commission in 1973, it was not officially shut down until 1977. In this photograph, Elbert Hilliard, director of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, is sealing the records of the commission. The records were supposed to remain sealed for fifty years, but as a result of lawsuits, they were unsealed, with some exceptions, in 1998.

Reviewing the Section

1. Define in sentence form: Capitol Street Gang, National Historic Landmark, Dimes for the Mansion.
2. What is the difference between *de jure* and *de facto* racial segregation?
3. What were some of Governor Bill Waller's achievements in the field of education?

Section 2

The Emergence of the Republican Party

Below: Barry Goldwater was the Republican candidate for president in the 1964 election, running against the Democratic candidate, President Lyndon B. Johnson. Goldwater's vote against the Civil Rights Act of 1964 won him the Deep South, including Mississippi, but Johnson swept the rest of the country except for Goldwater's home state of Arizona. It was another indication that the South would no longer be the Democratic stronghold it had been since Reconstruction.



As you read, look for

- how the Republican Party grew to become a powerful force in Mississippi politics;
- the historic elections of Republicans Prentiss Walker to the U.S. House, Thad Cochran and Trent Lott to the U.S. Senate, and Kirk Fordice to the governorship;
- the varied achievements of governors of modern Mississippi;
- terms: **Education Reform Act, Mississippi Prepaid Affordable College Tuition (MPACT) plan, Mississippi Affordable College Savings (MACS) plan, tort.**

Most Mississippians who supported the Dixiecrat Party in the 1948 presidential election eventually switched to the Republican Party. During the presidential election of 1952, a small group of prominent Mississippi Democrats formed an organization called Democrats for Eisenhower and supported General Dwight D. Eisenhower, the Republican nominee for president. Although he did not receive a majority of Mississippi's votes, General Eisenhower received 112,966 votes in Mississippi and was elected president of the United States. From that small beginning, the Republican Party gradually became Mississippi's dominant political party.

The 1964 Presidential Election

The presidential election of 1964 had a significant effect on the revival of the Republican Party in Mississippi. In that election, Barry Goldwater, a Republican senator from Arizona, ran against Lyndon B. Johnson, who had become president when John F. Kennedy was assassinated in 1963. President Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which fundamentally changed race relations in America. This made President Johnson extremely unpopular in the South. Senator Goldwater, who had opposed the Civil Rights Act, de-



feated President Johnson in Mississippi by 356,512 to 52,616 votes. Although Goldwater received 87.1 percent of the votes cast in Mississippi, he lost the presidential race to Lyndon B. Johnson. Since 1964, the Democratic Party's presidential candidate has carried Mississippi only once. In 1976, Mississippi voted for President Jimmy Carter.

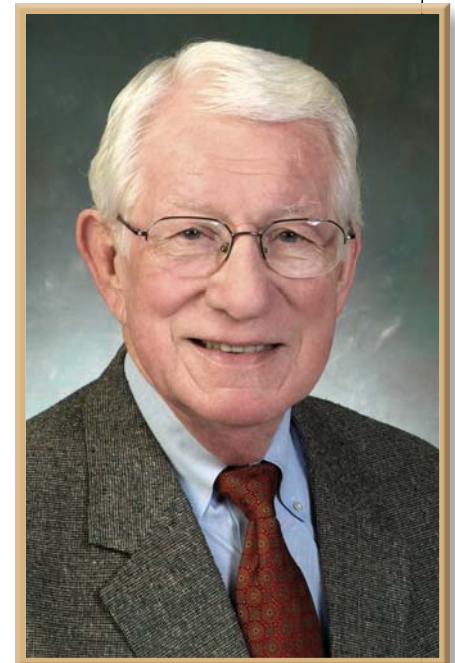
Goldwater's sweep of Mississippi also carried one Republican congressman into office. Prentiss Walker was elected in the Fourth Congressional District, defeating Arthur Winstead, who had held that seat since 1943. In 1966, Prentiss Walker ran against Mississippi's senior U.S. Senator James O. Eastland. Although Walker received 105,652 votes, Senator Eastland was reelected.

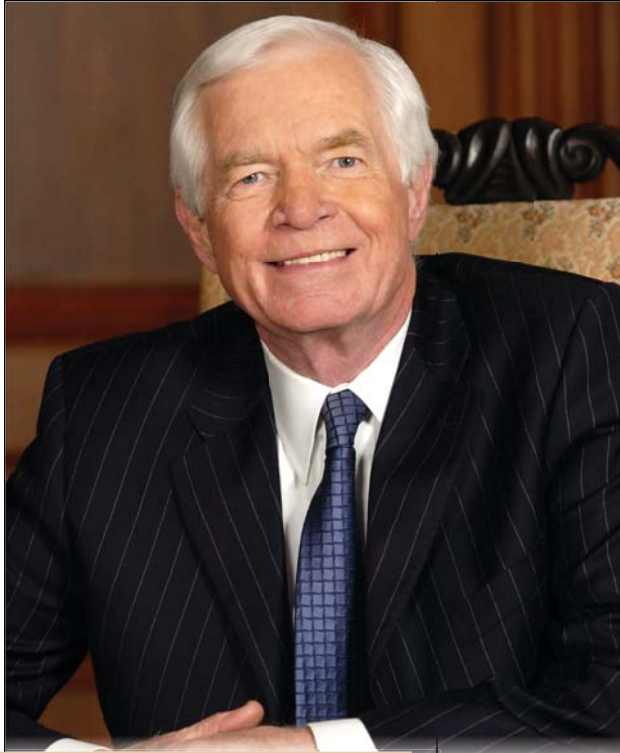
Clarke Reed, Rubel Phillips, and Gil Carmichael

Three of the major players in the revival of the Republican Party in Mississippi were Clarke Reed, Rubel Phillips, and Gil Carmichael. In 1966, Clarke Reed of Greenville became the chairman of the Republican Party in Mississippi. Under his leadership, the Republican Party enjoyed unprecedented growth in Mississippi. His protégé Haley Barbour was elected governor of Mississippi in 2003 and reelected in 2007.

Rubel Phillips ran for governor in 1963 and 1967. On both occasions, this former Democratic officeholder was often called a scalawag by Democratic politicians and newspapers. (You remember that we discussed scalawags in Chapter 6.) Rubel Phillips conducted two strong statewide campaigns and made the Republican Party a political force that the Democrats could no longer ignore.

Above: President Lyndon Johnson signs the 1964 Civil Rights Act as Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., standing directly behind him, looks on.
Below: Republican Gil Carmichael ran unsuccessfully for the U.S. Senate and for governor twice.





Gil Carmichael, a Meridian businessman, was never elected to public office in Mississippi, but he made the Republican Party popular and respectable among the state's electorate. In 1972, Carmichael ran a strong race against U.S. Senator James O. Eastland. Although he lost that election, many political observers predicted that Carmichael would defeat Democrat Cliff Finch in the gubernatorial campaign of 1975. Carmichael received 319,932 votes and carried 16 of Mississippi's 82 counties, but he narrowly lost the election to Finch. Carmichael ran unsuccessfully for governor again in 1979.

The Election of Trent Lott and Thad Cochran

The turning point in the development of the Republican Party in Mississippi was the presidential election of 1972. Richard Nixon, the Republican candidate, carried the state over the Democratic candidate, George McGovern. Two Republican congressmen, Trent Lott and Thad Cochran, were also elected in 1972. Trent Lott was

elected to the seat in the Fifth Congressional District that had been held by William Colmer since 1933. Congressman Lott served in the U.S. House of Representatives until his election to the U.S. Senate in 1988. Senator Lott later served as majority leader of the U.S. Senate. He retired from the Senate in 2007. Congressman Roger Wicker was appointed to fill his unexpired term, and was elected to a full term in the Senate in 2008. Thad Cochran was elected in the Fourth Congressional District in 1972. Cochran was reelected in 1974 and 1976. In 1978, Cochran was elected to the United States Senate and is currently serving as Mississippi's senior senator.

Something Extra!

After each U.S. Census (every ten years), Congress is reapportioned, and the 435 seats in the U.S. House of Representatives are redistributed among the 50 states corresponding to shifts in population. Back in 1930, Mississippi had 8 congressional districts. Now, because population in other states has increased compared to ours, we have 4 representatives.



Top: In 1972, Thad Cochran, a Republican, was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives, representing Mississippi's Fourth Congressional District. He was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1978. **Above:** Trent Lott, also a Republican, was elected to represent Mississippi's Fifth Congressional District in 1972. He was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1988, eventually being chosen as majority leader in 1996.

Loyalists and Regulars

A major indication of the new order in Mississippi politics was the reconciliation and merger of the two wings of the Mississippi Democratic Party. Since the civil rights days of the 1960s, the rivalry between loyalists and regulars had weakened the Democratic Party, and had caused many Democrats to switch to the Republican Party. Both factions realized that only by resolving

their differences and merging the two organizations could they effectively meet the new Republican challenge. The two factions unified in time for the gubernatorial election of 1975.

Administration of Cliff Finch, 1976-1980

In 1975, Democrat Cliff Finch organized a strong coalition of blacks and working class whites. To dramatize his concern for Mississippi's working people, he spent one day a week during the late stages of his campaign performing jobs that were associated with ordinary working men and women. He sacked groceries in supermarkets and drove bulldozers at construction sites. He took a sack lunch with him on those special workdays. Finch won the Democratic nomination and then, in the general election, narrowly defeated Republican Gil Carmichael and Henry Kirksey, a black independent candidate.

Shortly before his term expired, Governor Finch entered the presidential election of 1980. He ran in the New Hampshire primary but did not gain much support and withdrew from the campaign soon after that primary. After leaving office, Governor Finch returned to Batesville and practiced law until his death on April 22, 1986.

Lieutenant Governor Evelyn Gandy, 1976-1980

Mississippi's most popular and successful woman politician was Evelyn Gandy, a 1943 graduate of The University of Mississippi School of Law. She was the first woman editor of the *Mississippi Law Journal* and the first woman president of the law school student body. Gandy was elected to the state legislature in 1947. She was elected state treasurer in 1959 and insurance commissioner in 1971. Her highest political achievement was winning the race for lieutenant governor in 1975. In 1979 and 1983, she ran for governor but was defeated by William Winter and William Allain. Following her second defeat for governor, Evelyn Gandy retired from politics and practiced law in Hattiesburg. The Evelyn Gandy Parkway in Forrest County was dedicated in her honor in 2006. Evelyn Gandy died at the age of eighty-seven on December 23, 2007.

The 1978 Senatorial Campaign

In 1978, Mississippi voters were given an opportunity to fill a United States Senate vacancy for the first time in more than thirty years. The vacancy was created when Mississippi's senior senator, James O. Eastland, retired after thirty-seven years in the Senate. Senator Eastland had served as chairman of the Judiciary Committee for many years. During the last few years of his career, he had served as *president pro tempore* (the "president for a time," who presides over the U.S. Senate in the absence of the vice president).

The senatorial campaign attracted a large field of candidates from both the Democratic and Republican parties. The Democratic candidates included Cliff Finch, the sitting governor; former governor Bill Waller; former lieutenant governor Charles Sullivan; and Maurice Dantin, an unsuccessful candi-



Above: With the slogan "the working man's friend," Cliff Finch enlisted the support of working-class blacks and whites to win the 1975 governor's race.

Something Extra!

The president pro tempore is elected by the Senate and is, by custom, the senator of the majority party with the longest record of continuous service.

date for governor in 1975. The two Republican candidates were Congressman Thad Cochran and State Senator Charles Pickering. Governor Cliff Finch and Maurice Dantin won spots in the Democratic runoff primary. Dantin won the Democratic primary and faced Thad Cochran, the Republican primary winner, in the general election on November 7, 1978. Charles Evers and Henry Kirksey ran as independent candidates in the general election. Thad Cochran was elected and became the first Republican to serve in the United States Senate from Mississippi since Blanche K. Bruce, whose term expired in 1881.

Election of Republicans to Local Offices

Until 1979, most Republican efforts were at the state or district level. In the 1979 general state election, however, many Republicans were elected to county and municipal offices. The surest sign that the Republican Party was a full-fledged political party was that, in several races, including the governor's campaign, more than one Republican ran for the same office. Leon Bramlett, a former chairman of the Democratic State Executive Committee, switched parties and ran for the Republican Party's nomination for governor. Bramlett was narrowly defeated by Gil Carmichael in the Republican primary. Gil Carmichael received 263,703 votes in the 1979 general election but lost to William Winter, who received 410,620 votes.

Administration of William Winter, 1980-1984

In 1947, while he was still in law school, William Winter was elected to the state legislature. He conducted his first statewide campaign in 1959 when he was elected state tax collector, a position he held until the office was abolished on his recommendation in 1964. He was then elected state treasurer.

Winter was elected lieutenant governor in 1971. While serving as lieutenant governor, he received the Margaret Dixon Freedom of Information Award from the Louisiana-Mississippi Associated Press for his continuing effort to open up the political process to both the general public and the press.

William Winter was elected to the state's highest office in 1979. His administration was marked by an efficiency and a lack of controversy rarely seen in Mississippi politics. Among the most notable pieces of legislation passed during his administration were a strict DUI (driving under the influence) law and an open records law. For all of William Winter's many

Below: William Winter is one of Mississippi's most respected former governors. The major achievement of his term was the Education Reform Act, passed in 1982, which was praised around the country. After his term in office, he taught at The University of Mississippi Law School.



contributions to the state of Mississippi, he is best remembered for the **Education Reform Act** of 1982, the most significant educational legislation enacted in Mississippi since the establishment of its public school system in 1870. After the legislature failed to enact his educational reforms during the regular session in 1982, Governor Winter called a special session. Under the authority given him by the 1890 Constitution, Governor Winter restricted the legislation that could be introduced in that special session to education bills.

Before the special session, Governor Winter and several of his aides conducted local hearings throughout the state. Those meetings generated strong grassroots support for Governor Winter's educational reforms. A public kindergarten is the cornerstone of that law, which has been heralded throughout the nation as a model of progressive educational legislation.

After his term as governor, William Winter became Mississippi's *elder statesman* (a retired statesman who unofficially advises current leaders). In addition to his political career, Governor Winter has been active in academics and other areas of public service. He has been president of the Mississippi Association of Mental Health and vice president of the national association.

He is also an author, historian, and distinguished professor. In 1989, Governor Winter held the Jamie L. Whitten Chair of Law and Government in The University of Mississippi Law School. The William Winter Professorship of History, an endowed chair in The University of Mississippi's history department, was established to honor one of the university's most distinguished alumni. The Mississippi Department of Archives and History building in Jackson is named in honor of the long-time president of the department's Board of Trustees. The Center for Racial Reconciliation at The University of Mississippi is also named in honor of Governor Winter.

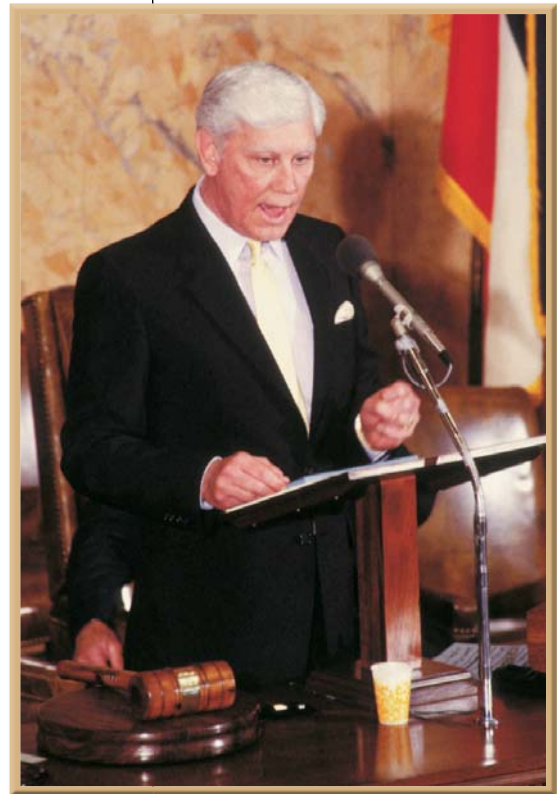
Administration of William Allain, 1984-1988

In 1979, William (Bill) Allain was elected Mississippi's attorney general. Two of his most notable achievements as attorney general were the prevention of a utility rate increase and the exclusion of Mississippi as a nuclear waste site. In his successful campaign for governor in 1983, Allain carried seventy-four of the state's eighty-two counties.

Governor Allain strongly supported constitutional reform. Shortly after he took office, he appointed a 350-member commission to study the state's 1890 constitution. After a thorough review of the existing constitution, the commission drafted a new document and Governor Allain recommended its adoption. The new constitution was not adopted, but a constitutional amendment allowing the governor to succeed himself was passed near the end of his term, with his strong support. Governor Allain considered running for reelection but eventually decided not to seek a second term. After leaving office in January 1988, Governor Allain resumed the practice of law in Jackson.

Something Extra!

William Winter was awarded the 2008 Profile in Courage Award by the John F. Kennedy Library Foundation. The Profile in Courage Award is the nation's most prestigious honor for elected public servants.



Above: During William Allain's term in office, a constitutional amendment was passed allowing a governor to succeed himself, but Allain decided not to run for a second term.



Something Extra!

Raymond Edwin (Ray) Mabus (above) was awarded a *summa cum laude* bachelor's degree from The University of Mississippi, a master's degree from Johns Hopkins University, and a *magna cum laude* degree from Harvard Law School. He had held a Fulbright Scholarship and a Woodrow Wilson Fellowship, and he served for two years in the U.S. Navy aboard a guided missile cruiser.

Administration of Ray Mabus, 1988-1992

In 1983, Ray Mabus was elected state auditor in his first campaign for public office. As auditor, Mabus was a highly visible and often controversial public figure. He vigorously enforced the state's financial documentation laws and held public officials to a strict accounting for the expenditure of state funds.

In 1987, while not yet forty years old, Ray Mabus was elected governor on the slogan, "Mississippi Will Never Be Last Again." The campaign was long and vigorous. After emerging as the Democratic nominee, Mabus overcame strong opposition from Republican Jack Reed in the general election.

Ray Mabus was the nation's youngest governor when he was inaugurated on January 12, 1988, but he had compiled an impressive record of academic achievements and public service. As legal counsel to Governor William Winter, he was instrumental in drafting the DUI law, the open records law, and the Education Reform Act of 1982.

Among Governor Mabus's most significant achievements were a reorganization of the executive branch, although it was less comprehensive than he had proposed; a law providing for the unit system of county government; and B.E.S.T. (Better Education for Success Tomorrow), a comprehensive education reform program. For his support for education, *Fortune* magazine named Mabus one of the top ten education governors in the nation.

Because of the gubernatorial succession amendment ratified in 1987, Governor Mabus was eligible for a second term. However, his effort to become the first governor to serve two successive terms in over one hundred years was not successful. Governor Mabus won the Democratic nomination but lost to Republican Kirk Fordice in the 1991 general election.

In 1994, President Bill Clinton appointed Governor Mabus ambassador to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, where he served until 1996. On May 19, 2009, President Barack Obama appointed him secretary of the Navy. In June 2010, President Obama directed Secretary Mabus to prepare a long-term recovery plan for the Gulf of Mexico in the aftermath of the massive oil spill. In September 2010, Secretary Mabus filed a plan titled “America’s Gulf Coast: A Long-Term Recovery Plan After the Deepwater Horizon Oil Spill” that received broad bipartisan support. Among Secretary Mabus’s many awards are the Martin Luther King Social Responsibility Award and the Mississippi Association of Educators’ Friend of Education Award.

Administration of Kirk Fordice, 1992-2000

The continuous growth of the Republican Party during the 1980s culminated in the 1991 election of Governor Kirk Fordice. Governor Fordice’s election was an historic event because he was the first Republican governor of Mississippi since the resignation of Governor Adelbert Ames in 1876. Governor Fordice made history again in 1995 when he became the first governor to succeed himself since 1890. During Governor Fordice’s two terms in office, many Democratic politicians switched to the Republican Party.

Mississippi College Savings Plans

During Governor Fordice’s first administration, Mississippi established two college savings plans that are maintained and administered by the Office of the State Treasurer. The **Mississippi Prepaid Affordable College Tuition (MPACT) plan** allows parents and/or grandparents to establish an account in the name of a future college student and lock in the cost of college tuition at the time the account is established. If college tuition is increased before the student’s admission, the student will pay only the tuition cost at the time of enrollment in the plan. A monthly installment, determined by the age of the student, will be paid into the student’s account. When the student enters a college or university, the MPACT funds will be disbursed by the state treasurer’s office to the college for the first semester, and for each semester afterwards until the student graduates. Students will have four years to complete a bachelor’s degree. MPACT funds can be used for both in-state and out-of-state colleges and universities.

Mississippi also offers a **Mississippi Affordable College Savings (MACS) plan**. The MACS is similar to the MPACT plan but allows the parents or grandparents to deposit additional funds into the student’s account to defray other qualified expenses such as textbooks and supplies, and certain room and board costs. Parents and grandparents may choose to participate in either or both of these college savings plans. Contributions to both plans are deductible from state income taxes.



Above: Kirk Fordice was the first Republican to be elected governor of Mississippi since the end of Reconstruction in 1876 and the first Mississippi governor to succeed himself in office since 1890.



Above: Ronnie Musgrove, a Democrat, was the first governor in Mississippi history to be elected by the state legislature, after neither he nor any of his three opponents won a majority in the general election.

Administration of Ronnie Musgrove, 2000-2004

Following eight years in the Mississippi Senate from 1988 to 1996, and a four-year term as lieutenant governor from 1996 to 2000, Ronnie Musgrove was elected governor under circumstances unique in Mississippi history. Neither Musgrove, a Democrat, nor Mike Parker, a Republican, received a majority of votes in the November 1999 general election. Under the terms of the 1890 Constitution, the legislature was required to elect the governor. In a special vote on January 4, 2000, the Mississippi legislature elected Musgrove as the state's sixty-second governor.

Governor Musgrove presided over one of the largest economic development projects in the state's history. Soon after his inauguration, he began a program called Advan-

tage Mississippi Initiative (AMI) to expand the state's economy and to bring new jobs to Mississippi. The AMI program was highly successful. In 2003, it brought the Nissan automobile plant that employs about 4,700 workers to Canton. Governor Musgrove's AMI program was also instrumental in bringing the Toyota automobile plant to Blue Springs in Union County that opened in the fall of 2011.

In 2001, Governor Musgrove signed into law a bill requiring that the words "In God We Trust" be displayed in all public school classrooms, auditoriums, and cafeterias. Governor Musgrove will perhaps be best remembered as the governor who appointed a commission to study the issue of a new state flag. The commission's study and recommendations are featured at the end of this section.

After losing a reelection campaign to Haley Barbour in 2003, and a special election for U.S. senator to Roger Wicker in 2008, Governor Musgrove resumed his law practice. Since leaving office, Governor Musgrove has also held visiting professorships—in the political science department at The University of Mississippi and at the Mississippi College School of Law.

Administration of Haley Barbour, 2004-2012

Governor Haley Barbour had served as chairman of the Republican National Committee from 1993 to 1997. In 2003, Barbour was elected

Mississippi's second Republican governor since Reconstruction. Governor Barbour is a descendent of Walter Leake, Mississippi's third governor, and Louis LeFleur, the French trader who established LeFleur's Bluff (later named Jackson) on the Pearl River.

During his first term, Governor Barbour signed one of the most comprehensive tort reform laws in the nation. A **tort** is an action that wrongly harms someone but is not a crime; it is dealt with in a civil court. Governor Barbour also actively pursued the development of alternative fuel sources and was instrumental in attracting the KiOr Corporation, a Texas-based biofuel company, to build several plants in Mississippi. This will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

Governor Barbour distinguished himself by his handling of the recovery and rebuilding program following the devastation of the Gulf Coast caused by Hurricane Katrina on August 29, 2005. For his leadership after Katrina, Governor Barbour received the Thomas Jefferson Freedom Award presented by the bipartisan American Legislative Exchange Council. In 2006, Governor Barbour was awarded the Gulf Guardian Award presented by the Environmental Protection Agency for his work in rebuilding and protecting the Gulf Coast ecosystems. Governor Barbour was also named Governor of the Year in 2006 by the prestigious national journal *Governing*. Governor Barbour was reelected in 2007 and spent most of his effort and energy attempting to rebuild Mississippi's economy following the national economic downturn.

The 2011 General Election

In the historic general election of 2011, the Republican Party gained a majority in both houses of the state legislature and elected the governor and lieutenant governor and all but one of the other statewide offices. Attorney General Jim Hood was the only Democrat elected to a statewide office.

The 2011 election was historic in the number of women elected to public office. For the first time in Mississippi history, two women were elected to statewide office in the same election: Republicans Lynn Fitch as treasurer and Cindy Hyde-Smith as commissioner of agriculture and commerce. Eight women were elected to the state Senate and twenty-one to the state House of Representatives. This election was also historic because the Democratic candidate, Hattiesburg Major Johnny L. Dupree, was the first African American ever nominated for governor by a major political party.

Of the three initiatives on the ballot, two passed: the requirement of a photographic identification to vote and the protection of private property from eminent domain on behalf of private corporations. But the "personhood" initiative, declaring that "The term 'person' or 'persons' shall include every human being from the moment of fertilization," was defeated.



Above: Haley Barbour was the second Republican elected governor since Reconstruction, and also the second to succeed himself in office.

Something Extra!

In 2009, Haley Barbour became national chairman of the Republican Governors Association.

Reviewing the Section

1. Define in sentence form: Education Reform Act, Mississippi Prepaid Affordable College Tuition (MPACT) plan, tort.
2. Why was Thad Cochran's election to the U.S. Senate an historic event?
3. Under what unusual circumstances was Ronnie Musgrove elected governor?

Of Special Interest

The Past in the Present

An example of the long reach of history, of the past in the present, is the lingering controversy over the Confederate battle flag. An icon designed and adopted in 1862 and added to the state flag in 1894, an issue in a state-wide referendum in 2001, the battle flag is still a subject of current letters to the editor.

Flags are powerful symbols that can stir up deep emotions. The Confederate battle flag, the banner under which thousands of southern soldiers marched into battle during America's Civil War, is a symbol that has been swept up in the passions of modern politics and racial discord.

Although America is not yet a race-neutral society, and full racial justice is still a goal and not a fact, the civil rights movement was one of America's great legal, social, and cultural successes. The movement overturned virtually all of the nation's racially discriminatory laws and opened new avenues of power and influence to African Americans. After achieving a fundamental and substantive change in American race relations, many African Americans eventually turned their attention to the symbols and icons of racial discord, which are the *vestiges* (traces, remains) and residue of southern resistance to racial equality.

In 1894, a new state flag was adopted by the Mississippi legislature. The designer of that flag included the Confederate battle flag in the *canton corner* (upper corner, or quarter, next to the flagstaff) "to perpetuate



Above: The current Mississippi state flag was adopted in 1894 to replace the flag adopted in 1861, after secession.

in a legal and lasting way that dear battle flag under which so many of our people had so gloriously fought!"

In the 1970s, the prominence of the battle flag at high school and college sporting events prompted a discomfort and eventually a deep resentment among blacks. In their recent memory, the Confederate flag was identified with the KKK, the Citizens' Council, and hate groups that perpetrated heinous crimes against blacks and hoisted the Rebel flag as a symbol of their belief in white supremacy. As the Confederate flag was becoming increasingly associated with the advocates of white supremacy, historical organizations and southern heritage groups were unable to separate or distinguish the historical character of the battle flag or protect and insulate it from the political agenda of its modern bearers.



Above: Governor Musgrove's flag commission proposed a new flag with a canton corner consisting of an outer ring of thirteen stars representing the original colonies and an inner ring of six stars, representing the six nations to have held sovereignty over Mississippi (the Indian nations, France, Spain, Great Britain, the United States, and the Confederate States). The large central star represents Mississippi. Together, the twenty stars represent Mississippi's rank as the twentieth state. **Above right:** This bumper sticker promoted the new flag, which was soundly defeated by voters.



The simmering public controversy over the Rebel flag exploded at The University of Mississippi in 1983 when John Hawkins, the first Ole Miss black cheerleader, announced that he would not wave or distribute Rebel flags at Ole Miss football games. Friends and foes of the flag engaged in a public discussion about southern history and heritage, about race and slavery, and about the actual and alleged causes of the Civil War. That impassioned discourse produced more heat than light.

The Mississippi state flag, with its prominent display of the Confederate battle flag, eventually became a symbol that stirred deep passions and the power of memory. When the Confederate battle flag resurfaced as a southern symbol of resistance to the civil rights movement in the 1960s, the passions that gave it life in the 1860s were rekindled.

Amidst this tumult, Aaron Henry, a member of the state legislature and president of the Mississippi Conference of the NAACP, introduced a bill in 1988 to remove the Confederate icon from the state flag. Neither that bill, nor any of the others he introduced in 1990, 1992, and 1993, were ever brought to the floor for a vote.

Following the failure of those bills, the Mississippi NAACP filed a lawsuit on April 19, 1993, seeking "an injunction against any future purchases, displays, maintenance or expenditures of

state funds on the State Flag." After slowly winding its way through the judicial process, the flag issue was addressed by the Mississippi Supreme Court. On May 4, 2000, the court ruled that the display of an icon, whatever emotional response it may prompt, was not under the *purview* (authority, responsibility) of the court. The issue of the design of the state flag, the court ruled, was a political matter and should be resolved by the people. Following this ruling, Governor Ronnie Musgrove, Lieutenant Governor Amy Tuck, and Speaker of the House of Representatives Tim Ford appointed a seventeen-member commission to consider the issue of an official state flag.

After a lengthy study, the flag commission recommended that the decision about maintaining the 1894 state flag or the adoption of a new flag be determined by popular vote. On April 17, 2001, the people of Mississippi voted 494,323 (64.4 percent) to 273,359 (35.6 percent) in favor of the 1894 state flag. After this referendum, the supporters of the 1894 state flag declared that the flag issue was now resolved, and that any further action or discussion of the state flag was unnecessary. Only time will tell when the long reach of history will bring the past back into the present.

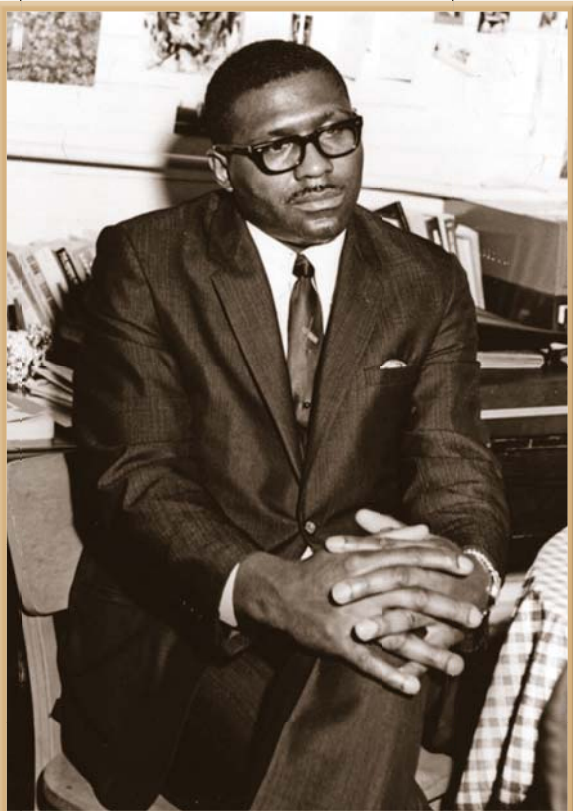
Section 3

Black Public Officials

Below: In 1967, Robert G. Clark became the first African American to be elected to the Mississippi legislature since 1894. He served for many years as chairman of the House Education Committee and in January 1992 was elected speaker pro tempore. At the time of his retirement in 2003, he was the longest-serving member of the Mississippi House of Representatives.

As you read, look for

- how two court-ordered reapportionment plans in the 1960s altered the composition of the Mississippi legislature;
- the accomplishments of black local officials, state legislators and judges, and U.S. congresspersons;
- how a presidential debate at Ole Miss in 2008 highlighted the civil rights strides made at that institution and in our nation;
- terms: **alderman**, **legislative reapportionment**, **injunction**.



Before the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the only black public officials in Mississippi were the mayor and **aldermen** (members of city legislative bodies) of Mound Bayou, an all-black town in Bolivar County. The voting requirements of the Mississippi Constitution of 1890 made it extremely difficult for African Americans to vote. If they could not vote, blacks could not run and be elected to public office. All of that changed when President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act on August 6, 1965.

In the first election after the Voting Rights Act was passed, 108 blacks ran for public office in Mississippi and 22 were elected. You will remember from Chapter 10 that Robert G. Clark was elected to the state legislature in 1967. The number of black public officials increased to 129 in 1972, to 210 in 1976, and to 387 in 1980.

Before 1980, all of Mississippi's black public officials, except for Robert Clark, were elected at the local level. A court-ordered legislative reapportionment plan in 1979 resulted in the election of 17 African Americans to the state legislature. The number of black public officials has increased dramatically during the last 3 decades. Mississippi now has more black public officials than any other state in America.

Legislative Reapportionment

The Mississippi legislature adopted two court-ordered reapportionment plans in the 1960s and 1970s that dramatically altered the composition of the legislative body. **Legislative reapportionment** is the reallocation of seats in the state legislature to counties and districts throughout the state. In the seventy years from 1890 to 1960, a major population shift occurred as urban areas throughout the state—and south Mississippi in particular—experienced significant population increases. During those seventy years, the legislature was never reapportioned. The urban counties complained that they were underrepresented in the legislature. They also claimed that they paid a much larger share of taxes than rural counties, and that representatives from rural areas determined how those taxes were spent.

In 1963, residents of Harrison County, with support from other urban counties, filed suit in federal court seeking an **injunction** (a court order requiring one to do, or refrain from doing, a specific act) to force legislative reapportionment in Mississippi. Harrison County won its suit, and a legislative reapportionment was conducted for the first time since 1890. That reapportionment dramatically changed the makeup of the Mississippi legislature. The urban counties were allocated more seats, and control of the legislature shifted from rural counties to urban counties. In 1979, another legislative reapportionment would result in the election of more African Americans to the Mississippi legislature.

Connor v. Johnson/Conner v. Finch

Two years after the urban counties filed suit, Peggy Connor and other members of the FDP filed a suit against Governor Paul B. Johnson, asking the federal court to reapportion the Mississippi legislature. The case was originally cited as *Connor v. Johnson*, but its name was changed as successive governors were named to the suit. In 1979, after fourteen years of legal wrangling and delays, a federal court ruled in *Connor v. Governor Cliff Finch* that African Americans were not fairly represented in the Mississippi legislature. The federal court ordered a reapportionment plan that would give blacks a fair chance to win election to the state legislature.

Blacks Elected to the Legislature after 1979

In the first election following the *Connor v. Finch* decision, 2 African Americans were elected to the 52-member state Senate, and 15 were elected to the 122-member House of Representatives.

Figure 28 Legislative Apportionment, 1890 to 1960

1890

County	Population	Representatives in State Legislature
Noxubee	27,338	3
Harrison	12,481	1½

1960

County	Population	Representatives in State Legislature
Noxubee	16,826	3
Harrison	119,489	1½



Above: Peggy Jean Connor was the executive secretary of the FDP in 1965 when the suit that eventually became *Connor v. Finch* was first filed.



Above: Edward Blackmon has represented Madison and Yazoo Counties in the Mississippi legislature since 1984. His wife Barbara served in the state Senate from 1992 to 2004. They are the only married couple to have served in the state legislature at the same time.

Something Extra!

Barbara Blackmon was the Democratic candidate for lieutenant governor in 2003, but she lost to the Republican candidate. That was the governor's race in which Republican Haley Barbour defeated the Democrat, Governor Ronnie Musgrove.

Figure 29 African Americans Elected to the Mississippi Legislature in 1979

Senators	Counties Represented
Douglas L. Anderson	Hinds
Henry J. Kirksey	Hinds
Representatives	Counties Represented
Fred L. Banks Jr.	Hinds
Horace L. Buckley	Hinds
Credell Calhoun	Hinds
Robert G. Clark	Holmes
Tyrone Ellis	Noxubee and Okitbbeh
Hillman Frazier	Hinds
Isiah Fredericks	Harrison
David L. Green	Wilkinson, Amite
Clayton Henderson	Tunica and Quitman
Aaron Henry	Coahoma
Leslie D. King	Washington
Barney J. Scoby	Adams
Charles B. Shepard	Claiborne and Jefferson
Percy Watson	Forrest
Charles L. Young	Lauderdale

The number of blacks in the state legislature gradually increased during the next 3 decades. In 1987, there were 2 African Americans in the state Senate and 22 in the House of Representatives. By 2010, the number of black legislators had increased to 12 in the Senate and to 37 in the House.

Mr. And Mrs. Blackmon

Senator Barbara Blackmon and Representative Edward Blackmon were the only husband and wife to serve in the Mississippi legislature at the same time. Barbara Blackmon served in the state Senate from 1992 until 2004, representing Humphreys, Madison, and Yazoo Counties. Edward Blackmon, who represented Madison and Yazoo Counties in the state House of Representatives, served in the House in 1979-1980 and has served continuously since 1984.

Black Judicial Officials

African Americans who have served on the Mississippi State Supreme Court include Reuben Anderson, who served from 1985 to 1990, Fred L. Banks Jr., who served from 1991 to 2001, and James E. Graves Jr. Judge Graves served on the state Supreme Court from 1991 to 2011. On January 10, 2010, President Barack Obama nominated Graves to serve as judge of the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. The United States Senate confirmed Judge Graves's appointment on February 14, 2011. On February 23, 2011, Governor Haley Barbour appointed Judge Leslie D. King, a member of the Mississippi Court of Appeals, to the Mississippi State Supreme Court to fill the vacancy created by Judge Graves's Fifth Circuit appointment. Judge Tyree Irving is currently serving on the Mississippi Court of Appeals.



Black Congressmen

Mike Espy was one of Mississippi's most popular and highly visible African American politicians. Espy was assistant state attorney general from 1984 to 1985. In 1986, Espy was elected to the U.S. Congress from the Second Congressional District. In 1992, President Bill Clinton appointed Espy secretary of agriculture. After his career in Washington, Espy came back to Mississippi to practice law.

Congressman Bennie Thompson has been one of the most important and influential members of the U.S. Congress. Congressman Thompson served as an alderman and mayor of Bolton, his hometown, before his election to the Board of Supervisors of Hinds County. Thompson was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1993 when Mike Espy resigned. He has been re-elected ten times and is a member of the Congressional Black Caucus. Congressman Thompson served as chairman of the Committee on Homeland Security from January 4, 2007, to January 3, 2011. When the Democrats lost control of the House of Representatives in the 2010 congressional elections, he was succeeded by Republican Congressman Peter King of New York. Bennie Thompson is the only Democratic congressman from Mississippi.

In 2010, the Republican Party regained control of the United States House of Representatives, which they lost in the 2006 election. During that sweeping victory, Democratic congressman Travis Childers lost in the First Congressional District to Republican Alan Nunnelee, and Democrat Gene Taylor lost the Fourth Congressional District to Steven Palazzo.



Top: Judge James E. Graves Jr. served on the Mississippi Supreme Court until his appointment to the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in 2011. **Above:** In 1986, Mike Espy became the first African American elected to Congress from Mississippi since Reconstruction. In 1992, President Clinton nominated him to be secretary of agriculture.

Something Extra!

With thirty-nine years of continuous public service, Bennie Thompson is the longest-serving African American elected official in the state of Mississippi.

Figure 30 Black Public Officials in Southern States, 2002

State	Number of Black Public Officials
Mississippi	950
Alabama	757
Louisiana	739
Georgia	640
South Carolina	547
Arkansas	535
North Carolina	523
Texas	466
Florida	275
Virginia	248
Tennessee	195



Above: Bennie Thompson from Bolton has served ten terms in the U.S. House of Representatives. From 2007 to 2011, he was chairman of the Committee on Homeland Security.

The Most Black Public Officials in the Country

According to the most recent census figures and other documents, Mississippi has more black public officials than any other state in the nation. The number of black public officials in Mississippi increased from 6 in 1964; to 29 in 1968; to 129 in 1972; to 210 in 1976; to 387 in 1980; to 600 in 1988; and to 950 in 2002. Of the 950 black public officials, 46 were in the legislature, 646 held county and municipal offices, 121 were law enforcement officers, and 137 were education officials. In 2010, the number of African Americans in the state legislature had increased from 46 to 50, with 13 in the state Senate and 37 in the House of Representatives.

The 2008 Presidential Debate

The 2008 presidential election was an epic event in American history. For the first time in our nation's history, an African American was elected president. One of the highlights of that election was the first presidential debate on September 26, 2008, at The University of Mississippi in Oxford. When The University of Mississippi was notified that it would host the first debate, Chancellor Robert Khayat said, "We are honored . . .

to host such an important event. . . . The footsteps of American history have passed through our campus several times . . . and they have found their way here again.” Some of those footsteps were made by General Ulysses S. Grant in 1862 and by James Howard Meredith in 1962. They were also made by Dr. James Hardy of The University of Mississippi Medical School, who performed the first human lung transplant in 1963 and the first heart transplant in 1964.

In the 2008 presidential election, the Democratic candidate was Illinois Senator Barack Obama. The Republican candidate was Arizona Senator John McCain. McCain’s grandfather was born in Carroll County and attended The University of Mississippi for two years before transferring to the U.S. Naval Academy. On the day of the debate, hundreds of reporters and *pundits* (commentators or critics) came to Oxford to cover the debate and to measure the progress at Ole Miss since the Meredith crisis. That progress was evident in the fact that, only a few months after the United States elected Barack Obama president, the students at Ole Miss elected Artair Rogers, an African American, president of the student body.

Both Ole Miss and Mississippi have made enormous progress since the 1960s. There is still prejudice and poverty in Mississippi, and there are still acts of injustice and even violence. But those acts are no longer sanctioned by the state, and discrimination is no longer an official state policy. There are no laws on our books that discriminate against any of Mississippi’s citizens, and our constitution has been purged of unfair voting provisions. Those changes have made it possible for our state to make progress in other areas, especially in the economy. In the next chapter, we will study the economic change and progress Mississippi has made since World War II.



Above: Above: Forty-six years after James Meredith was admitted to Ole Miss, the university was the site of the first 2008 presidential debate between John McCain, the grandson of a former Ole Miss student, and Barack Obama, the first African American presidential candidate of a major party. John McCain was a Republican senator from Arizona, and Barack Obama was a Democratic senator from Illinois.

Reviewing the Section

1. Define in sentence form: alderman, legislative reapportionment, injunction.
2. How did the U.S. Supreme Court rule in the *Connor v. Finch* case?
3. According to census figures and other documents, how does Mississippi compare with other states in the number of black public officials?

Something Extra!

Dr. James Hardy performed that first human lung transplant at the University Medical Center on the same night that Medgar Evers died in the hospital's emergency room.

Chapter Review

Chapter Summary

Section 1 Administration of Bill Waller, 1972-1976

- In the 1971 general election, Charles Evers was the first black candidate for governor. Bill Waller was overwhelmingly elected.
- Governor Waller and his wife restored the governor's mansion and had it designated a National Historic Landmark.
- Waller made many improvements in law enforcement, appointed blacks to boards and agencies, and vetoed funds for the State Sovereignty Commission.
- Waller initiated a highway construction program, increased education funding, promoted professional education, and established a State Department of Mental Health.

Section 2 The Emergence of the Republican Party

- Beginning with Barry Goldwater in 1964, Mississippi has voted for every Republican presidential candidate except Jimmy Carter in 1976.
- In 1972, Republicans Trent Lott and Thad Cochran were elected to the U.S. House of Representatives. Both later became U.S. senators.
- Democrat Cliff Finch won the governorship in 1975 by performing jobs associated with working people during his campaign.
- Evelyn Gandy served as a state legislator, treasurer, insurance commissioner, and lieutenant governor. She ran for governor twice but was defeated.
- Thad Cochran became the first Mississippi Republican U.S. senator since 1881.
- Governor William Winter is best remembered for the Education Reform Act of 1982.
- Governor William Allain's proposed new constitution was not adopted, but an amendment allowing a second term for a governor was passed.

- Governor Ray Mabus reorganized the executive branch and introduced the unit system of county government and education reform. He later became an ambassador, secretary of the Navy, and director of a recovery plan after the 2010 Gulf oil spill.
- In 1991, Kirk Fordice became the first Republican Mississippi governor since 1876. In 1995, he became the first governor to succeed himself since 1890.
- The MPACT and MACS plans allow for prepayment of college tuition and expenses at current rates.
- Governor Haley Barbour distinguished himself in the recovery from Hurricane Katrina.

Section 3 Black Public Officials

- After the 1965 Voting Rights Act, 108 blacks ran for public office in Mississippi and 22 were elected. The numbers kept increasing.
- The 1963 reapportionment shifted the legislature's makeup from rural to urban counties.
- The 1979 U.S. Supreme Court ruling in *Connor v. Finch* declared that African Americans were not fairly represented in the Mississippi legislature. Afterwards, the numbers of black legislators increased.
- Several blacks have served on the state Supreme Court and Court of Appeals. Justice James E. Graves Jr. serves on the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals.
- Mike Espy was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives and later appointed U.S. secretary of agriculture. Bennie Thompson began serving in the U.S. House in 1993.
- According to many sources, Mississippi has more black public officials than any other state.
- In September 2008, the first debate of the presidential race took place at The University of Mississippi—between Barack Obama and John McCain.

Activities for Learning

Understanding the Facts

1. What two sections of the governor's mansion were renovated in the early 1970s?
2. What two responsibilities of the county sheriff were separated during the Waller administration?
3. In which presidential election did a majority of Mississippians first vote for a Republican candidate?
4. Which Mississippi senator served as the majority leader in the U.S. Senate?
5. To what high state office was Evelyn Gandy elected?
6. List the governmental offices and positions held by Ray Mabus, in both the state and federal government, from 1983 to 2010.
7. What development led to more blacks serving in the Mississippi state legislature?
8. What distinction do Barbara and Edward Blackmon hold in the Mississippi legislature?
9. To what federal court was James E. Graves Jr. appointed?

Developing Critical Thinking

1. Why was the 1971 gubernatorial election unique?
2. Compare and contrast the gubernatorial elections involving Kirk Fordice and Ronnie Musgrove.

Exploring Mississippi on the Internet

1. Go to www.npr.org/2011/11/07/142095757/win-or-lose-dupree-makes-history-in-mississippi. Read the article about Mississippi's 2011 gubernatorial election. What was historic about this campaign?

2. Go to www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=1718439. Listen to an interview of former Governor William Winter. What event in his life turned him against segregation? How did William Winter change Mississippi's education system?

Building 21st-Century Skills: Creating a Bar Graph

A bar graph is a diagram where numerical values are represented by the height or length of thick lines, or bars. The purpose of a bar graph is to present and compare factual information in a visual format. To create this graph, you will need colored pencils, graph paper, and a ruler.

First, create a title for your graph based on the data (or facts) you are comparing. You will use the data found in Figure 30 (page 314), so select a title with this in mind. The second step is to create an X (the vertical line) and Y (horizontal line) axis for your graph. In this graph, the X axis will show a number range and the Y axis will list the southern states. Suggestion: list the states in alphabetical order. The third step is to label the X axis ("Number of Public Officials") and Y axis ("Southern States"). The next step is to place a zero (0) at the bottom of the X axis and a slightly larger number (1,000) than the largest number (950) found in your data near the top. Also label the 200, 400, 600, and 800 levels. The final step is to enter the data for each state onto your graph, and create your bars representing the number of black public officials in each state.