

Academic Agitators in Mississippi:

**Advancing the Cause of Racial Equality at Millsaps College and Tougaloo
College**

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Abstract:

“Academic Agitators” represents the first stage of a four-year project which examines the involvement of college professors and administrators in the Southern civil rights movement in three active Southern civil rights states -- Mississippi, Tennessee, and Georgia. Based on archival research and in-depth interviews conducted in summer and fall 1999, the present exploratory study examines how and why university faculty and administrators at two private Mississippi colleges became involved in the struggle for racial justice between the years, 1954-1971. Preliminary findings suggest varied reasons for faculty and administrative involvement, including having both a fundamental belief in racial justice and a social network that supported such beliefs. Respondents differed in their strategies to combat segregation by participating in direct action protests, teaching classroom materials and participating in on-campus lectures that challenged the Mississippi status quo, educating their white peers, sending their children to desegregated public schools, and attending integrated events. Faculty protest strategies largely depended upon the degree to which their university administration and personal social network supported their activism.

INTRODUCTION

Few people would recognize the individuals in this study as civil rights pioneers; their stories have largely gone untold. They were not national leaders, nor did they all participate in the sit-ins and marches that characterized the Southern civil rights movement. They came from different family backgrounds, regions, and disciplines, but they all shared the common culture of the academy. All were associated with Millsaps and Tougaloo Colleges, who for a multiplicity of both personal and professional reasons, attempted to change the segregated world around them. All acted out of a personal moral code which condemned segregation and also couched their arguments and actions in the time-honored tradition of academic freedom. While many scholars have explored the contributions of college students, national leaders, and ordinary people,ⁱ nowhere is there a systematic exploration of the civil rights involvement of college professors and administrators. How did these men and women, most of whom were previously unaware of the extent of segregation’s pernicious effects, become involved in the struggle for civil rights in the racially charged atmosphere of the South? Which protest strategies did they adopt and what dangers did they face? Through an analysis of archival and interview data from Millsaps and Tougaloo Colleges, “Academic Agitators” seeks to answer these questions. In doing so, the paper explores the tensions that faculty and administrators alike faced as they attempted to balance the ideals of racial justice and academic freedom against the political demands of students, alumni, and other external pressures.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

According to historian, Steven Lawson (1991), civil rights scholarship has undergone three phases of development--biographical studies, institutional studies, and grassroots studies. Most sociological research on the civil rights movement falls in the second phase and attempts to understand the movement’s organizational dynamics as well as its recruitment and participation patterns.ⁱⁱ One prominent theme in this literature is the importance of social networks in activist recruitment and participation. These works suggest that stronger, more extensive social ties to other social movement participants as well as supportive social ties to salient non-participants are important in determining likelihood of

participation.ⁱⁱⁱ In other words, participants compared to nonparticipants are significantly more likely to know others involved in the movement and to have parents, friends, and religious group members who were supportive of their involvement. Thus, supportive social ties to those within and outside a social movement act as facilitators that encourage individuals to follow through on their strongly-held beliefs by participating in a social movement. Whether people are drawn to participate in high profile or less publicly visible types of activism, social networks influence recruitment and activist experiences. Once involved in a social movement, these social networks, or what Jo Freeman refers to as “cooptable networks,” serve as nurturing groups that offer participants invaluable resources including emotional and financial support as well as communication networks.^{iv}

More recent sociological research encourages scholars to pay more attention to differences among activists involved in the same social movement.^v McAdam’s (1992) findings suggest that factors such as gender often significantly affected recruitment processes into and activist experiences in Freedom Summer. Echoing this argument, Jenny Irons (1998) argues that scholars must also take into account the role that race played in the recruitment and activist experiences of women in the Mississippi civil rights movement.

The present research is guided by these previous findings and attempts to fill existing gaps in civil rights and social movement scholarship. McAdam and Paulsen’s (1993) research on the importance of social ties in activist recruitment and Freeman’s (1973) work on the significance of cooptable networks provide a valuable framework for evaluating faculty and administrator recruitment and participation in the struggle for racial justice. Moreover, we contend that universities represent an important context for analysis of integration struggles because academics have access to different types of strategies and resources than do actors in other contexts.^{vi} Our research extends the recent scholarship on variations in activist experiences within the same movement by focusing on how academic position and school affiliation affect such experiences. Moreover, we suggest that less publicly visible activists and “high profile” activists are both drawn into the movement by strong ideological beliefs and salient social ties. Although in this paper, we will not directly explore how gender and race may impact these patterns due to the limitations of our sample, we will most assuredly examine their effects in our future work. Finally, our findings will help flesh out variations in civil rights activist experiences by focusing on groups previously ignored in the literature and by examining their less visible forms of activism.

METHODOLOGIES

The findings of this study are based on a combination of archival research and in-depth interviews conducted from summer 1999 through winter of 2000. The archival research explores a variety of primary sources at the Mississippi Department of Archives and History and at both Millsaps’ and Tougaloo’s archives, including faculty and Board of Trustee meeting minutes, presidential reports and correspondence letters, private papers of faculty and administrators, and newspapers. Each of the archives allowed the researcher to make photo-copies of salient papers and records which were then chronologically arranged, placed into folders, then, the contents of each were analyzed and compared to the interview data. Such data

allowed for a full consideration of the institutional responses to civil rights activity as well as an exploration of outside factors which affected faculty, administrative, and institutional responses to the civil rights movement.

In addition to the archival data, in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted. Our interview sampling design combined two types of non-probability sampling strategies, snowball and purposive techniques. We employed a purposive strategy at the institutional level. Because we wanted to assure a wide range of institutional contexts and experiences, we chose four institutional types to target which include the state's public flagship college, the largest historically black public college, a private black university, and a private white institution. The current paper, which represents the first stage of the four year research project, presents preliminary findings from the two private universities in Mississippi: Millsaps College and Tougaloo College.

At the individual level, we utilized snowball sampling to contact respondents. This strategy enabled us to ask each respondent for names and phone numbers of former colleagues who fit our criteria for possible inclusion in the study. The respondents in this study were asked a list of preset questions and follow-up questions. A total of eight in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted by Maria Lowe from summer 1999 through winter 2000.^{vii} The interview schedule focused on the respondents' familial, educational, regional, and religious background; reasons for becoming interested in the struggle for racial justice; types of on- and off-campus activism in which the respondent participated; and, institutional and external responses to their strategies. Interviews were audio-taped and professionally transcribed; the interview data were then analyzed, placed into thematic categories, and compared to the archival data. The interviews played a key role in exploring the motivations, actions, personal philosophies, and consequences of faculty and administrator actions. Such data allowed for the exploration of self-definition and self-reflection in ways that are often impossible to ascertain from archival records alone. By blending these two methodologies, we hope to have capitalized on their individual strengths and mitigated their weaknesses, thus creating a more nuanced understanding of the civil rights movement.

Interviewees include current and former faculty members, administrators, and students at Millsaps and Tougaloo Colleges. The preliminary sample consists of seven white men and one white woman ranging in age from 58 to 79. Seven of the eight were born and raised in Mississippi; the other respondent, a native of Massachusetts, arrived in Mississippi in 1953. All were raised in middle-class Methodist homes. This is a highly educated group with each respondent having acquired their undergraduate degrees -- seven of the eight did so in Mississippi. Their graduate work took them to universities outside the state including Boston University, Duke, and Vanderbilt. All eventually received a master's degree and six had obtained a Ph.D. The Millsaps interviewees include two sociologists, a philosophy professor, religion professor, an historian, a student, and the school chaplain. The Tougaloo respondent was the chaplain and dean of students.^{viii} At the time of the interviews, three respondents had already retired and five were still currently employed as either college faculty or administrators (Please see Table 1 in the appendix for additional respondent demographic information).

The sample includes Robert Bergmark, a retired Millsaps philosophy professor who is the only non-native Mississippian in the current study. Frances Coker, a Jackson native, Millsaps alumnus, and retired Millsaps sociology professor, is the only woman in the present study. Don Fortenberry from Summit Mississippi is a Millsaps alumnus and the current Millsaps Chaplain. William Jones, a Southwestern University professor and administrator, hails from Meridian, MS. and is a Millsaps alumnus. Edwin (Ed) King, a Millsaps alumnus, grew up in Vicksburg, Mississippi, and represents the only Tougaloo respondent in the present study. He served as Tougaloo's chaplain and dean of students from 1962 to 1967 and presently teaches in the school of health-related professions at the University of Mississippi Medical Center. Thomas Wiley (TW) Lewis, a native of Columbus, Mississippi, is a Millsaps alumnus and a retired Millsaps religion professor. George Maddox from McComb, Mississippi, is also a Millsaps alumnus. He was a sociology professor at Millsaps in the late 1950s and then moved to Duke Medical Center. Finally, Charles Sallis, a native of Trenton, Mississippi is a Millsaps history professor.

The two universities included in this sample are both private liberal arts colleges situated in Jackson, Mississippi approximately seven miles apart. Millsaps College, founded by the Methodist Church in 1890, is a private, predominantly white, national liberal arts college. Until it integrated in 1965, at the beginning of President Benjamin Graves' presidency, Millsaps was an all-white college. Tougaloo College, founded in 1869 by the American Missionary Association, is an historically black private liberal arts college. During the 1950s and 1960s, most faculty and administrators at Tougaloo were white and most students were black. In comparison to Millsaps, Tougaloo faculty were more regionally and religiously diverse. In 1965, the same year that Millsaps became integrated, Tougaloo appointed its first black president, George Owens. Tougaloo was also much more supportive of civil rights involvement than Millsaps, but at both schools, only a minority of the faculty were involved in civil rights activities.^{ix}

FINDINGS ^x

We have divided the findings section into five thematic categories: socialization background, racial awakening, social networks in the struggle for racial justice, strategies employed, and reactions to these actions from administrators and those outside the two universities. Due to the fact that there are more interviews with Millsaps than Tougaloo faculty, the findings will focus more on the former school and its members. However, because the Tougaloo campus was such a critical site for civil rights activism in the Jackson, Mississippi area, preliminary findings on Tougaloo are important to an understanding of the Millsaps case.

SOCIALIZATION BACKGROUND

I was born in Mississippi. I grew up in a Jim Crow society. It's ingrained. Your preacher, your editor, your policeman, your momma, your daddy, your teacher....they didn't sit you down and say, 'Now, let me give you ten points here to remember.' Rather, the messages were implicit and they were constant.^{xi}

Charles Sallis' compelling description of the Jim Crow Mississippi of his youth resonated with the childhood memories of other native white Mississippians in this study. Their stories are infused with the

practices, customs, and beliefs that maintained this *closed society*^{xiii} of their formative years. Explaining the effects of growing up in such a rigidly segregated society, Don Fortenberry explained, “At that time, there was such a totally pervasive mind set that it affected the way you saw everything and the way you did everything.”^{xiii} This mentality was so successful that by the time most native white Mississippians in the study had reached their early adulthood, they recalled only having regular contact with, and knowledge of, an eclipsed group of black adults -- limited to those who were “yard men, maids, uneducated, and poor.”^{xiv}

Such limited knowledge of blacks – created and maintained by rigid segregation practices and sweeping censorship norms -- served to promote an overly simplistic and uni-dimensional view of blacks, which in turn, reinforced among whites the implicit belief that blacks were not inherently as talented and intelligent as their white counterparts. The system of segregation, with its myriad rituals and mantras, successfully diverted attention away from itself as the reason for black “inferiority” and redirected it towards blacks themselves, thus reversing the causal relationship between the two in the minds of most white Mississippians. As a result, few whites realized that segregation was the culprit of black subordination. Reflecting on his own beliefs growing up in Mississippi, Charles Sallis confessed, “When I left Mississippi at the age of 22, I was, what I now call, a “benign bigot.” In other words, I honestly believed blacks were inferior....but I wasn’t mean about it.” This pervasive mindset – that blacks were innately inferior to whites – bolstered Mississippi’s closed society by propelling the belief that segregation was necessary, natural, and unavoidable. As T.W. Lewis, a Columbus, Mississippi native indicated, “When I was growing up, there were no discussions in my parents’ and others’ minds that the segregated system would change,” revealed T.W. Lewis, a Columbus, MS. native. “It was one of those eternal facts of life that I grew up never questioning.”

Yet, perhaps because of their specific Methodist upbringing and middle class background, most interviewees said they were discouraged by their families from being openly mean and hostile towards blacks, such as using the racial epithet, “nigger.” As Charles Sallis recalled, “I did not believe in integration. I wasn’t vicious about it, and my father worked for the government and at home we never used that awful word. And my father and mother always said that we ought to do right by blacks. They ought to be treated right, in conversations, and such.” However, these benevolent sentiments neither called into question nor challenged the existing segregated racial order, as T.W. Lewis explained: “I was an only child and I remember my grandfather coming to visit us and he would always have some devotion at the table and if there was a maid in the house, or a cook, he would always insist on her coming in and sitting down during the devotion. It was still paternalistic, but it did not strike me as demeaning.” Such childhood messages would lay the ideological groundwork for the respondents’ later racial awakening. Reflecting on the confluence of his childhood lessons, Lewis stated, “The influence of my parents, who were very gentle people, and the Methodist Church, helped shape my values and prepared me for what would be a real sea change in my perception of the social scene.”

Many of their early childhood stories resonated with the idea, “noblesse oblige” – a type of middle class paternalism that emphasizes acting honorably to those who are less fortunate. “To do right by blacks”

meant to limit the brutality of segregation while keeping the pillars of the system intact. This mindset was not an attempt to change the status quo, rather it served to make oppressive conditions somewhat more tolerable. Combined with a Methodist “social creed” which emphasized social amelioration as an integral part of one’s faith, these mutually-reinforcing philosophies informed and guided their future pro-integrationist strategies.

RACIAL AWAKENING

Before these prospective faculty members and college administrators could act to oppose Mississippi’s segregated system, they first had to become aware of the extent to which it permeated their culture and their social perceptions. Given the significance of such a realization, these native white Mississippians could readily pinpoint the exact moment in which their previous ideological façade began to crumble. This awareness was cultivated by a number of mutually-reinforcing experiences in their early adulthood. Some became aware of the pervasiveness of segregation in all-white college classrooms where they were exposed to ideas by respected professors who challenged their previous racial assumptions. A few reached such conclusions after interacting with educated blacks at integrated gatherings at such Jackson locales as Tougaloo and Millsaps Colleges. Others left the state before they could begin to fully comprehend the magnitude of Mississippi’s segregated system.

Four of the seven native Mississippians became aware of segregation’s pervasive effects while students at Millsaps College. Both in and out of the classroom, a small group of Millsaps faculty – including English professor Marguerite Goodman, Sociology professor Vernon Wharton, and History professor James Ferguson -- had for years exposed their students to new ideas which served to increase their understanding of segregation’s harmful effects. William Jones, a Millsaps student in the late 1940s, recalled, “The single best course I took in terms of social and moral development was a course in Southern history taught by Dr. James Ferguson. Among other things, he taught us how, after Reconstruction, the Bourbons in the South contrived to set up the system in such a way that it kept the blacks out. I was suddenly confronted with all of this information from a very respected professor whom I admired.” Nearly two decades later, Frances Coker, a nontraditional Millsaps student who had gone back in the late 1950s to finish her degree at Millsaps, experienced a similar epiphany in Ferguson’s Southern History class where she finally “began to understand the system – where it came from, how it operated, and how it was being challenged.” Her awareness led her to embrace an integrationist perspective for the first time in her life. She said that such a position “went with my religion which I was very serious about and so all of that coalesced – my friends, my academic experiences, and my religion.” George Maddox, a World War II veteran, recalled, “Frank and open discussions of integration and its implications were not my experience until my college days. At Millsaps, discussions of the New South were part of the landscape since faculty leadership by that time were pretty much into building the New South--and teaching at Tougaloo.” Whether it was because of their course material, their willingness to discuss controversial issues openly, their moral guidance, or a combination of these reasons, Millsaps professors were crucial in helping these, and many other, native Mississippians see the world around them, and their place in it, in a different light.

In addition to these classroom experiences, four respondents also had their first encounters with educated blacks. Most of these interracial interactions occurred at Tougaloo College under the guidance of the chair of Tougaloo's Sociology Department, Dr. Ernst Borinksi -- a Jewish scholar, Holocaust refugee, and noted pro-integrationist. T.W. Lewis recalled the impact of his visits to Tougaloo where he attended an integrated Mississippi Collegiate Fellowship meeting with a good friend and "for the first time I encountered blacks my age who were not in the educational or intellectual range comparable to the blacks to whom I had been previously exposed. And this was a shock. This is where I began to perceive what the system had denied blacks." For the four respondents who had such encounters, all were accompanied by a close friend or spouse and all discussed the importance of these events in helping shape their personal commitment to integration.

Other interviewees pointed to the importance of leaving Mississippi in helping to sharpen their awareness and understanding of the state's segregated system. After graduating from Mississippi State University in 1956 at the age of 22, Charles Sallis entered the Army as a self-described "benign bigot." However, while there, he experienced something he had never been exposed to before: among his peers were blacks who had been educated in the North and among his superiors was a talented black tank artillery instructor. For Sallis, this experience was like St. Paul's awakening on the road to Damascus. Questioning his previous racial views, Sallis realized for the first time in his life that it was the segregated system of his home state that worked to subordinate and victimize blacks as a group.

George Maddox also discussed a riveting Army event that deeply affected the way he viewed racial relations in his home state of Mississippi.^{xv} However, unlike Charles Sallis, George Maddox was not so much surprised by the ability of his black Army colleagues as he was by the harsh treatment they received upon returning to their still-segregated home state. He recalled, "Then having served in both Europe and the Pacific during WWII, I experienced at the end of the war Truman's presidential decree integrating the services racially. Our regiment was integrated and we returned on a troopship integrated. When we arrived at Camp Shelby, a white officer at the foot of the steps said, "Niggers this way, white boys that way." It was as though I was struck in the face. As the literature suggests, World War II had a significant impact on the South and on Southern war veterans' views of racial relations. Leaving the state and serving in a desegregated Army had provided Sallis and Maddox with poignant lessons. Perhaps the most significant being their new, more complete understanding of the unmitigated cruelty associated with Mississippi's segregated system. in a desegregated Army had provided Sallis and Maddox with poignant lessons. Perhaps the most significant being their new, more complete understanding of the unmitigated cruelty associated with Mississippi's segregated system.

Distance from Mississippi also proved life-changing for Don Fortenberry. However, instead of going into the Army like Sallis and Maddox, he left the state in order to attend Duke University's Divinity School. Although he had not been particularly drawn to civil rights issues as a Millsaps undergraduate, Fortenberry remarked,

When I got to Duke, one of the first things that I became aware of was that a graduate of Millsaps, he was a professor of ethics in Duke's Medical School and was very much involved in the civil rights movement in North Carolina. And that really pulled me in a different way because when I was in Mississippi, I was around so many people who were so anxious about it; it was hard to do things that you knew would simply upset all of these people. But at Duke, the distance allowed me to openly think about this and develop a whole different sense of who I wanted to be in the context of this issue.

While the two schools had similar demographics, Duke provided Fortenberry with something Millsaps could not -- breathing room to sift through his ideas and feelings about integration without feeling the immediate threat of upsetting his loved ones back home. When he later returned to Mississippi, Fortenberry had developed an identity that was profoundly different and inextricably linked with the civil rights struggle. Although he was still concerned about disturbing his parents, he did not let it stop him from engaging in his gentle, behind-the-scenes brand of civil rights activism. Even if people left Mississippi simply to go to another Southern state, their departure was still significant in that it afforded them a wider lens with which to view Mississippi, the South's quintessential closed society.

When they became aware of segregation and its crippling effects, respondents understood how morally bankrupt the system was. "It was obvious that segregation was wrong," stated T.W. Lewis. "You just know segregation is wrong because it is." Acting on such convictions was, as George Maddox called, "a philosophic, religious, and ethical imperative," yet doing so in Mississippi, particularly post-*Brown vs. Board of Education*, would most assuredly incite the violent wrath of segregationists. However, as Ed King explained, Mississippi is exactly where the battle had to be fought because as long as it "was the model for slavery and segregation, you could have change in Virginia and Maryland, and it would not gradually seep down to Mississippi. If you did not face the monster in the worst place, the dragon in the cave, then the dragon would come back out of the cave and spread, and other places in the South could always have hope that as long as Mississippi is unchanged, we can revive it." Discussing the magnitude of danger that the academic agitators would face in helping to slay the dragon, Charles Sallis explained what lay ahead:

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, anybody who just said, 'Let's talk about integration,' or someone who wrote a letter to the editor would be set up as a target. You didn't find many professors here who went around carrying banners or that sort of thing. Rather, they were likely to work very diligently, very quietly, and very consistently to bring about change. And I think that they were very heroic because in that day and time, there was a reign of terror, a closed society, and anybody who stepped outside the norm put him or herself and their family members in a position of criticism, condemnation, and the potential threat.

Indeed, Ed King described this period in Mississippi history as a time in which "decent people were unable to do the tiniest things. I saw white teachers driven out of Millsaps and Ole Miss. I saw educated blacks driven off."^{xvi} In such a hostile climate, what would propel these academics to act on their commitment to racial justice? As the sociological literature on activist recruitment and participation suggests, social ties to supportive participants and nonparticipants would provide the answers.

Social Networks and the Academic Umbrella in the Climate of Terror

In order to begin and then continue to act on their integrationist beliefs, these academic agitators would come to rely on their supportive social networks to shield them from danger and guide their actions. Many found such a group among a small cadre of dedicated colleagues and friends, most of whom were native Mississippians. Many of these people had been working quietly and diligently to challenge the state's segregation laws as early as the 1930s. When George Maddox arrived on Millsaps' campus in June, 1946 to begin his undergraduate career, he found a group of Millsaps and Tougaloo faculty that would be instrumental in his own civil rights involvement. He recalled,

Literally, my first weekend on the Millsaps Campus, I saw a notice and attended a meeting in Murrah Hall organized by Mrs. William Goodman, Sr, Professor of English at Millsaps, to discuss pro-integration activities to promote the New South. Belatedly I found that a number of Millsaps faculty had been teaching gratis at Tougaloo for years, faculty members such as Vernon Wharton, a sociologist and James Ferguson, an historian.

Similarly, Robert Bergmark explained the importance of finding a supportive group of like-minded faculty members in 1953. Although Bergmark didn't go to Millsaps as "a missionary intending to change the status quo," he did find a group of native Mississippians challenging segregation by holding integrated meetings on campus. According to him, "Some of the leading people on the faculty were having integrated meetings on campus that I felt a moral obligation to be a part of."

This group of faculty consisted of "the most prestigious members of the faculty"^{xvii} who for many years had been teaching night courses at Tougaloo.^{xviii} These were not fringe members of the faculty, they were faculty leaders who had garnered the respect of their colleagues, administrators, and students in part because of their personal commitment to racial justice. Guided by their consciences and supported by their small social-political network, this small group of academics worked to bring about racial integration in their university and larger communities.

Although they faced danger and scorn for their actions, they also realized that the university setting afforded them resources that other activists were not likely to enjoy, such as relative job security in an environment ideally based on intellectual curiosity and academic freedom. The academy also provided faculty with more frequent interactions with non-Mississippians, easier access to information and social networks outside the state, and an annual extended break during which they could leave the state when they "just had to get out of it all."^{xix} Given such resources, it is, at first glance, surprising that more faculty did not become involved in the movement. Their relative access to job protection also begs the question of why the respondents did not more readily participate in the more public and dangerous forms of civil rights activism. However, not all faculty supported integration; some were in fact avid segregationists. Others who may have been supportive, might not have been willing to take the risks associated with civil rights involvement.

The Millsaps and Tougaloo respondents realized that teaching at a private university afforded them some additional protection that their colleagues at public universities were not likely to enjoy.^{xx} Tougaloo professors received active support and protection from their college president and their board of trustees. Ed King said that during the presidency of Dr. A. D. Beittel (1960-1964), the university even

“encouraged people to work in the movement.” As will be discussed in greater detail momentarily, because the institution viewed civil rights participation as an important component of teaching and learning, not a single member of the Tougaloo faculty was threatened or fired for their involvement in the movement.^{xxi}

None of the Millsaps faculty members reported ever feeling threatened by the administration because of their pro-integrationist actions, statements, or writings. Acknowledging the extraordinary job protection that his academic position afforded him, Charles Sallis remarked, “I was tenured. And so I could be someone who could say something and not fear that the next morning I would be fired. Whereas, anyone else out there could lose a job or be threatened with that.” Similarly, Frances Coker commented, “As a faculty member, I had a lot more freedom to participate in the movement, because I wasn't going to lose my job at Millsaps for going to Tougaloo, for instance.” In fact, all of the Millsaps faculty deeply appreciated the extent to which the Millsaps administration honored the importance of academic freedom in such a politically charged climate. Moreover, the administration even shielded its faculty from threatening calls and letters. Robert Bergmark remembered: “Whatever telephone calls came in, whatever letters came in, they simply handled it, and did not then expect me to act differently.”

And while it is true that the university setting afforded them some protection, as I will discuss momentarily, Tougaloo and Millsaps faculty were never completely insulated from threats and harassment. For more than two decades, these academic agitators and their families faced such imminent danger from the larger Jackson community with amazing courage and dignity.

PROTEST STRATEGIES

The protest strategies of these faculty members were informed by the academy's unique resources as well as the support of their administrators and their own social networks. These strategies took myriad forms ranging from attending integrated meetings to providing their students with an open classroom to keeping the issue of racial justice in the public dialogue.

Attending Integrated Events:

One of the most significant, symbolic, and dangerous forms of protest was sponsoring or participating in interracial events. While some faculty, like Frances Coker and George Maddox, had such get-togethers in their homes, most attended interracial functions at Tougaloo College. Regardless of the location, these gatherings were important because they served to bring people together who supported integration, rekindle their ties to one another, and strengthen their commitment to racial justice. These supportive networks and opportunities for rejuvenation served as life lines for these academic agitators.

As early as the 1930s, there had been an informal relationship which allowed for interracial meetings on both campuses between Millsaps and Tougaloo faculty and students.^{xxii} Such meetings were possible, according to Ed King, because before 1954, “the segregated society was so firm that you could have such eccentricities [as the occasional low-profile integrated meeting]. You could have exceptions because nobody really thought change would occur in this century.”^{xxiii} However, after the 1954 Supreme Court decision, there was a systematic crackdown of such events by segregationists because these gatherings were now seen as a direct threat to the segregated life that organizations like the Mississippi

State Sovereignty Commission and the White Citizens' Council were desperately trying to salvage. In addition to the Supreme Court decision, the 1957 integration of Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas also increased segregationists' fear that school integration was imminent. George Maddox explained, "Little Rock had occurred and everything changed. Meetings between Millsaps and Tougaloo students that had been routine were covered by the media." At this time, Millsaps faculty felt pressured to stop having such meetings on their campus for fear of retributions by the White Citizens' Council against themselves and the university. Bergmark stated that during this period, the climate at Millsaps "felt constrained; there were some things you knew that if you did or said those things, there would be serious repercussions, that probably wouldn't produce anything worthwhile." Thus, Tougaloo College began to function as the one piece of turf in Mississippi where people could meet in inter-racial groups in *relative* safety." Yet, segregationists tried to stop these white sojourners in myriad ways. Millsaps professors and other whites who ventured to Tougaloo campus were monitored, harassed, and threatened because they were considered to be traitors to their race for even setting foot on the black campus. To enter the campus gate, one had to endure a gauntlet of parked cars, that more than likely, carried members of the Sovereignty Commission and others who meticulously recorded the license plate numbers of each car that passed onto the Tougaloo campus.^{xxiv} Such constant surveillance was extremely intimidating to whites who wanted to visit the campus because, as Frances Coker described, "If someone in the white community found out you went to Tougaloo, you could lose your job; you could lose your business; you could lose anything if you were perceived as just fraternizing with blacks." According to T.W. Lewis, such a discovery was a distinct possibility because, "It seemed like there were eyes and ears everywhere. You just never knew if your phone was bugged and who was watching with very severe consequences and repercussions."

While such threats were clearly on the minds of the respondents, they did not preclude their Tougaloo campus visits.^{xxv} Respondents described Tougaloo as the intellectual center and cultural mecca of the Jackson integrationist movement. The regular Tougaloo event most fondly remembered was the monthly Wednesday night "Social Science Forums." These meetings were organized by Tougaloo sociology professor, Dr. Ernst Borinski, who most considered to be a dominant figure among pro-integrationists in Mississippi.^{xxvi} The Wednesday night gatherings brought nationally recognized speakers to Tougaloo, such as the 1950 Nobel Peace Prize Laureate, Ralph Bunche. About a dozen locally-supportive whites, many of whom were Millsaps faculty, attended these discussions. Under Borinski's leadership, Tougaloo's Social Science lab became the self-proclaimed epicenter for challenges to Mississippi's Jim Crow society. Describing the importance of Borinski and his regular gatherings to the Jackson integrationist movement, John Salter remembered that Borinski "always played a very significant role in getting people together, and sowing the seeds of discontent, in his very kindly and professional way."

Tougaloo also became the cultural mecca of the Mississippi movement because it attracted pro-integrationist entertainers like Joan Baez, Pete Seeger, Bob Dylan, and others who refused to perform at segregated venues -- which meant that Tougaloo was possibly the only place in Mississippi where they

could perform. Such events served to reenergize oftentimes beleaguered movement participants. In addition to international diplomats and entertainers, the campus welcomed civil rights movement leaders and front-line demonstrators such as Martin Luther King, Jr, Malcolm X, Fannie Lou Hamer, and the 1961 Freedom Riders. Because of such guests and events, Ed King described Tougaloo as “the intellectual center and backbone of the movement.”

Such a haven in a racially-charged environment provided people with an opportunity to be “human” again during an extremely reactionary and tumultuous time. As Bergmark recalled, “Going out to Tougaloo was like going back to the United States....At Tougaloo, you just felt freer and the air was a little sweeter. It was just a little easier to deal with life out on the Tougaloo campus.” Their interactions and experiences at Tougaloo’s interracial events offered participants a spiritual and communal respite and served to reinforce their commitment to the movement by reminding them that there were kindred spirits both in and outside of Mississippi. Such knowledge gave them strength, direction, and courage to continue facing “the dragon in the cave.”^{xxxvii}

Academic Strategies:

Many of their strategies occurred on campus and included voicing racial concerns to the administration and trustees in order to “keep their feet to the fire”^{xxxviii} and organizing and participating in on-campus dialogues on race relations. One carefully employed strategy involved providing students with a classroom in which they could engage in open and honest discussions of ideas. The faculty respondents knew how important their roles as professors were in their students’ social and moral development. Nevertheless, respondents were quick to state that they did not “use the lectern as a pulpit” and they “never told students *what* to think.”^{xxxix} Rather, like their own mentors had so effectively done, they provided options and opened up learning opportunities for their students. As Frances Coker said, “I had a mission to teach students basic fairness and concern for others and an interest in cultures different from Mississippi.” Ironically, despite the political ramifications of their academic strategies, most viewed them primarily as academic and not political acts. Tougaloo faculty, however, were less likely to make such distinctions and more likely to actively “encourage our student to work in the movement.”^{xxx} In fact, the Tougaloo College catalogs in the early and mid 1960s stated,

Always alert to the needs of the citizen, the activities of the faculty and student body have been directed to the furthering of the goals judged to be most important at the time. In the present decade these activities have led personnel of the College to associate themselves with civil rights movements as they developed: sit-ins, freedom riders, protests, marches, freedom schools, head-start programs, tutoring of school children and many others.^{xxxi}

True to this philosophy, Tougaloo, more than any other university in Mississippi, viewed civil rights participation as an important educational experience, and they accepted students who had been previously kicked out of their universities due to their civil rights activities.^{xxxii} Ed King remarked that when Beittel was President, “Tougaloo was a college which encouraged and supported student involvement. Beittel, Ernst Borinski, and Dean A. A. Branch, people like this, thought that being involved in the movement could be a learning experience for students if you tied it in to everything else including physics.”

Officials at Millsaps, however, utilized a completely different approach to civil rights. After 1954 and through the 1960s, Millsaps' presidents did not publicly acknowledge the relationship between the two universities but for the most part allowed it to continue in a relatively clandestine manner. In 1958, all of Jackson would become aware of this institutional cross-fertilization. In March of that year, Millsaps' Christian Council, a group of Millsaps students and faculty led by then student Ed King and professors Bergmark and Maddox, organized a series of lectures, including one given by Dr. Borinski on the topic of "A Christianity and Race Relations." During his presentation, Borinski unequivocally contended that racial segregation violated Christian doctrine and was, therefore, unchristian. That same week, Maddox took his Millsaps students to Tougaloo where there was an integrated audience that discussed racial segregation.^{xxxiii} Both incidents were covered extensively in the Jackson newspaper which printed a letter from the president of Jackson's Citizens' Council, Ellis Wright to Millsaps president, Dr. Ellis Finger, demanding to know where Millsaps stood on the issue of integration. The letter read, "The Citizens= Councils and patriotic public officials are engaged in a life and death struggle for our very existence." Wright condemned Millsaps College for "undermining everything we are fighting for. I tell you frankly and without rancor that the time has come for a showdown....Either you and your faculty are for segregation, or you are for integration." Mr. Wright went on to demand that President Finger, "make known which position you and every member of your faculty support, so that widespread public doubt will be ended."^{xxxiv}

In his public response, Dr. Finger cancelled a lecture by Glenn Smiley, field secretary for the Friendship of Reconciliation, and stated that although the Borinski lecture and Maddox Tougaloo trip were regrettable, he supported academic freedom, would not let outsiders dictate how he should run the college, and was only answerable to the Millsaps Board.^{xxxv} Days later, the Board issued a public statement echoing Finger's adherence to the principle of academic freedom while at the same time also reaffirming that "segregation always has been, and is now, the policy of Millsaps College. There is no thought, purpose, or intention on the part of those in charge of its affairs to change this policy."^{xxxvi} This incident highlights the extent to which Dr. Finger was forced to act as a mediator between the faculty's concern for academic freedom and the Board's concern for social acceptance. Thus, Dr. Finger both defended the right for faculty involvement in interracial gatherings while expressing the board's distaste for integration. This precarious balancing act was clearly evident when Finger assured Maddox that we would not be fired despite some board members' desire for his removal.^{xxxvii}

As the above story suggests, university presidents who defended their faculty's right to academic freedom also became the focus of scorn and contempt from angered alumni, political and religious leaders, and groups such as the White Citizens' Council. Thus, one of the primary roles of these university administrators was to be able to balance their university's competing constituencies -- an important though extremely difficult task. Because Millsaps had such a minimal endowment, it was particularly vulnerable to the fear that donors would cease to contribute to the university if the college integrated or publicly supported integration. Dr. Finger found himself caught in the middle. As Robert Bergmark explained, he

“was a morally decent man. He knew it wasn’t strategically possible to integrate Millsaps at the time. He was caught; he knew what had to be done, but saw no way to do it in the present state of things.”

In contrast to President Finger, Dr. A.D. Beittel, Tougaloo’s president from 1960-1964, was able to much more openly and actively supportive of the civil rights movement. Beittel’s involvement took book personal and institutional forms and was extremely unusual for any Southern college president. As John Dittmer remarked, “I bet Dr. A.D. Beittel was the most militant, pro-civil rights college president in the country.”^{xxxviii} He was a member of numerous civil rights organizations and was involved in direct action protests. For example, Beittel along with Tougaloo faculty Lois Chaffee, Ed King, and John Salter participated in one of the most famous Jackson direct action protests: the May 28, 1963, Jackson Woolworth lunch counter sit-ins. When the sit-in turned violent and police refused to protect the protestors, Beittel escorted the bloodied protesters out of the store, through the mob, and back to the safety of the Tougaloo campus. However, Beittel’s involvement came at a price. In April 1964, less than a year later, the Board, under pressure from the Sovereignty Commission, asked Beittel to resign because of his association with, and strong support of, the movement.^{xxxix} According to Tougaloo History professor Clarice Campbell, the Board’s decision came as a shock to Beittel.^{xl} In fact, one respondent argued that Beittel’s fate was probably sealed when he became so closely associated with the 1963 Woolworth sit in.^{xli} Thus illustrating the cost a president incurred when he could no longer balance the conflicting demands of his constituencies.

Other Direct Action Protest:

Few respondents repeatedly participated in the direct action protests usually associated with the civil rights movement. Of the eight respondents, only two engaged in such forms of protest on multiple occasions. Two additional interviewees, all Millsaps faculty, recalled participating in one direct action event. Tougaloo Chaplain and Dean of Students, Ed King was, by far, the most deeply involved respondent in the civil rights movement. He repeatedly participated in the most dangerous and visible forms of protests including attempts to integrate lunch counters, churches, and Millsaps events. He was a member and organizer of numerous civil rights organizations. He stood on the steps next to the speakers at the 1963 March on Washington, delivered the concluding prayer at James Chaney’s funeral after CORE’s Dave Dennis’ electrifying oration, and ran as the Lieutenant Governor of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party in 1964. Perhaps the only other Tougaloo faculty so directly involved in the movement was sociologist John Salter. However, by the end of the 1963 spring semester, Salter and his family left Mississippi for the safety of Arizona because of repeated attacks against their home.

Compared to their Tougaloo counterparts, Millsaps faculty did not, by and large, participate as readily or visibly in the civil rights movement. The Millsaps administration was not as openly supportive of such actions as the Tougaloo administration and many of the Millsaps faculty simply did not choose to demonstrate their support of the movement in such ways. However, one notable exception was the protest after the city police killed two young Jackson State College students. On Saturday, May 14, 1970, the day after the killings, approximately one-third of the Millsaps student body dressed in their finest clothes and

led a silent march to the governor's mansion. Three Millsaps professors, Drs. Bergmark, Lewis, and Sallis, participated in the march. Although this was a student-led march, some faculty elected to participate as a show of solidarity and to protect students from potential trouble. Although only a handful of Millsaps faculty accompanied students during their protest march, on May 19th, the Millsaps faculty passed a resolution expressing "its condemnation of the excessive force of law enforcement officers which resulted in the death of Philip Gibbs and James Earl Green on the campus of Jackson State College last week."^{xlii} Moreover, the Millsaps march scenario suggests an additional important activist role for faculty -- that of "protector" of or "counselor" to their students who were involved in civil rights activities. In fact, seven respondents saw themselves functioning in such a capacity with their students.

BACKLASH AGAINST THE ACADEMIC AGITATORS & THEIR STRENGTHENING RESOLVE

All those who participated in the civil rights movement put themselves and their families at risk. The more visible their forms of protest, the more severe the backlash they faced. The interviewees in this study experienced a range of reactions from losing friends and angering family to receiving bomb threats and having their families run out of the state. For example, because of his pro-integrationist involvement, George Maddox not only lost a number of friends because they felt he had betrayed them, but he and his family also "received threatening phone calls around the clock. We could no longer leave our children at home and the police made it clear they had no sympathy." In part because of this pressure, Maddox eventually made the decision to leave the state permanently.

Of the seven respondents who lived in Mississippi after the 1954 *Brown* decision, four were directly threatened or attacked for their active participation in the civil rights movement. For his pro-integrationist actions, T.W. Lewis recounted how he and his family were terrorized by phone calls, hang-ups, and home surveillance. When local police refused to assist him, he and his wife kept watch at night. He recalled,

We lived on a corner, so I sat at the window in the bathroom and looked out on the side of the street, with my wife watching the front street. My daughter was in the room next to me. I had a pistol and I realized that if I saw someone coming across the yard, I would have used that pistol.

In addition, some of his Millsaps colleagues sat outside and monitored Lewis's house with shotguns in hand for the next year.^{xliii} Such threats of violence were solely in response to the involvement in such nontraditional forms of protest as organizing on-campus lectures that involved critiques of segregation or participating in interracial meetings at Tougaloo. Although most faculty experienced threats of violence for such actions, those more directly involved in traditional forms of civil rights protest -- such as leading group marches and attempting to integrate public venues -- were assaulted and jailed.

Ed King was involved in many visible forms of direct action protest, and consequently segregationists responded by targeting him with extreme violence and harassment. He was jailed, assaulted, and his parents were run out of the state in 1960 by the White Citizens' Council and the Sovereignty Commission.^{xliv} Frances Coker remembered "He experienced the full brunt of the backlash not only because he was leading all of these marches, but also because he was a Southerner. A native

Mississippian....they thought that he should have known better than that. I can't understand how Ed survived.”

Under such pressures -- the fear for personal safety and the safety of one's family, the surveillance and the harassment, and the distrust of others -- many moderate and liberal whites dropped out of the movement and left Mississippi. Among the seven respondents who were in Mississippi after 1954, one left the state permanently while another left every summer for eight years because she had “to get out of it.”^{xlv}

Facing such hostile conditions, why did those who had left the state choose to return and why did those who chose to stay, continue their pro-integrationist involvement? They did so because “they felt that obligated to help Mississippi integrate peacefully.”^{xlvi} For example, Robert Bergmark related how he would “periodically look around to see if there's some other place to go, either for the children's sake or the whole family's sake, but Millsaps always seemed to be the better place to be. When you looked for need, there was need here.” These faculty members believed their strength lay not so much in direct action protest, but rather in helping to keep public dialogue going among white Mississippians who were having difficulty dealing with the changes that were unfolding in the late 1960s and early 1970s. For example, Don Fortenberry related how he sat at a nearby coffee shop during the Jackson State murder protest and “helped these people who I knew, think through the protest because they were very upset about that and they needed guidance....There was an attempt to keep the discussion of integration very quiet as though if you didn't talk about it, it would go away. So I saw my role as keeping the public dialogue going. I tried to find ways to help people come to grips with change that was happening.” When reflecting on her brand of civil rights activism, Frances Coker explained, “I was a white female Southerner who did what I could with where I was. I wasn't one to lead marches, rather I worked on those whites I knew. I didn't see my job as being a leader to blacks, they had their own leaders. My job was to be an advocate for what I felt could be handled by the people whom I knew.” Although not nearly as newsworthy and dangerous as some of the other forms of activism, their actions were important in assuaging resistance among some members of the white community. These academic agitators used their privilege and their access to the middle class white community to help lay the groundwork for a wider acceptance of integration among whites.

While most of the respondents' strategies were not as visible as those we have come to associate with the civil rights movement, these academic agitators nonetheless worked “very diligently, very quietly, and very consistently to bring about change”^{xlvii} in an extremely reactionary climate. Most were native Mississippians who had been involved in helping Mississippi integrate peacefully for over two decades. As John Salter stated, “The people who were born and raised here in Mississippi in this awful atmosphere who were in various ways able to break through that, I would say would be the real heroes. These are the people who functioned in courageous ways at a time when it wasn't very popular to do that.” Yet perhaps because the respondents have measured their actions against those more visible, recognized, and traditional forms of civil rights protest, six of the eight did not consider themselves civil rights activists. Robert Bergmark, explained, “I really didn't consider myself an activist. If I had been an activist, I would have gone to

prison, and I never saw that that would serve any real purpose. If Ed King is an activist, then I'm not an activist.”

Conclusion and Significance:

In this exploratory paper, based on archival research and in-depth interviews, we have sought to identify and explain the motivations, strategies, and actions of a previously ignored group -- faculty members and college administrators involved in the civil rights movement. The current work has examined the involvement of a small and homogenous group of Millsaps and Tougaloo faculty members and administrators who became involved in the Mississippi's civil rights struggle in the 1950s and 1960s. All were whites who were raised in middle class Methodist homes where they were exposed to beliefs and values that would lay the groundwork for their eventual personal commitment to racial justice. Their experiences in college, the Army, and at integrated meetings proved pivotal for calling into question the legitimacy of segregation.

By the time these respondents became faculty members, they found and joined a small group of like-minded academic activists, akin to Freeman's "cooptable network," who used numerous strategies to promote the New South. This social network proved an invaluable "moral" compass for these academic agitators by reaffirming their beliefs in racial justice, guiding their strategies, and providing a protective milieu for their integrationist discussions and actions. Their strategies, informed by the academy's unique resources, largely depended upon the degree to which their university administration and their social network supported their activism. For Robert Bergmark and George Maddox, this meant organizing lectures on the topic of integration and attending integrated events at Tougaloo and elsewhere. For some, like Don Fortenberry and Frances Coker, their strategies were likely to entail more subtle behind-the-scenes ways that belied their own earlier understandings of the racial order. For Ed King, unlike most other respondents, it meant risking his life repeatedly in visible and dangerous forms of direct action protest. Perhaps because most respondents did not rely on traditional forms of direct action protest, they did not label themselves as activists. This finding suggests the importance of including multiple indicators of activism particularly when measuring nontraditional forms of activist participation.

Although the academy provided them with resources, the most important of which was job security and an umbrella of protection that others in Mississippi did not have, these faculty members and administrators, still faced dangers for working towards an integrated society in such a racially charged environment. Some were threatened for attempting to do the simplest things like visiting a black college campus or organizing a lecture on the topic of racial integration. Others faced ostracism by their family, friends, and colleagues. Yet they persisted in their struggles. Although their fight for integration was, at times, dangerous and exhausting, it also provided its own intrinsic rewards. Taken together, their myriad actions helped to usher in the beginning of a new era in Mississippi.

Our findings support and extend the scholarship on civil rights involvement and participation in numerous ways. This study provides additional empirical support for the importance of social networks in activist recruitment by showing that such networks were important in the recruitment and participation of

university professors and administrators in the civil rights movement.^{xlviii} As the research continues, we will be able to flesh out the nuances of this relationship exploring whether such inter-institutional social networks that existed between Tougaloo and Millsaps also operated at other schools. Furthermore, we hope to explore the importance of “outsiders” – people like Drs. Ernst Borinski and A.D. Beittel -- in the development and maintenance of such networks. Did their “outsider” status help them become active in the integrationist struggle and take leadership positions within their social networks?

Our research suggests that characteristics such as religion, race, academic position, and one’s campus climate may affect the recruitment and participation experiences of activists within the same movement. For instance, most respondents discussed the importance of their religious beliefs in the eventual development of their pro-integrationist understandings and actions. These white interviewees did not become involved in the movement because of their own experiences with racial oppression, rather their religious and moral beliefs as well as their interactions with like-minded colleagues influenced their decision. Such findings support Irons’ (1998) claim that white women joined the civil rights movement, not because of any personal experience with oppression or fear, but because they wanted to help others based on their religious convictions. Moreover, the findings suggest that institutional channels such as college and religious networks were *the* central mechanism for civil rights involvement among our study’s respondents. In subsequent stages of the project, we will explore whether such patterns existed for black and women academicians as well.

We recognize that our current research has a number of limitations, the most significant being the small and homogeneous sample. Therefore, our present findings must be seen as tentative and preliminary. Moreover, our research does not focus on distinguishing between activists and nonactivists which precludes an accurate assessment of causality. Finally, the current paper focuses more on the individual and small group level and only peripherally includes an institutional-level analysis. However, these problems are temporary and will be resolved as our research continues. We strongly believe that our ongoing research will continue to offer a compelling contribution to the growing field of civil rights and social movement scholarship.

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Academic Agitators in Mississippi: Advancing the Cause of Racial Equality at Millsaps and Tougaloo
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Table 1: Respondents' Characteristics

	Inst. affiliation position, 1st year	Hometown	Religious Background	Type of CRM activities	Educ background	Self-labeled activist
Robert Bergmark	Millsaps, Philosophy Prof., 1953	Boston, Massachusetts	Methodist	*open classroom *direct action (2) *AAUP *campus lectures *integrated meetings *mentor to students	Emory, AB Boston, Ph.D.	No
Frances Coker	Millsaps, Sociology Prof., 1967	Jackson, MS	Methodist	*open classroom *AAUP *integrated meetings *white liaison *sent children to integrated public schools *mentor to students	Millsaps, BA Illinois Institute of Tech.	No
Don Fortenberry	Millsaps Chaplain, '75	Summit, MS.	Methodist	*white liaison *community service *mentor to students	Millsaps, BA Duke, Ph.D.	No
Edwin (Ed) King	Tougaloo Chaplain & Dean, '62-'67	Vicksburg, MS	Methodist	*direct action (multiple) *campus lectures *integrated meetings *mentor to students	Millsaps, BA Boston, Ph.D.	Yes
Bill Jones	Millsaps, Alumnus '50	Meridian, MS	Methodist	*integrated intercollegiate gatherings	Millsaps, BA Emory, BD Vanderbilt, Ph.D.	No
ThomasWiley (TW) Lewis	Millsaps, Religion Professor, 1964	Columbus, MS	Methodist	*open classroom *AAUP *direct action (1) *integrated meetings *sent children to integrated public schools *mentor to students	Millsaps, BA SMU, BD Drew, Ph.D.	No
George Maddox	Millsaps, Sociology Professor, 1952-54, '57-59	McComb, MS	Methodist	*integrated meetings *campus lectures *classroom *mentor to students	Millsaps, BA Boston, MA Mich. State, Ph.D.	Yes
Charles Sallis	Millsaps, History professor, 1968	Trenton, MS.	Methodist	*open classroom *AAUP *direct action (1) *integrated meetings *sent children to integrated schools *mentor to students *research	Miss State, BA U of Ky, Ph.D.	No

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- ⁱ See Dittmer 1994; Irons 1998; McAdam 1986, 1992; Morris 1981 and 1984; Payne 1995; and, Robnett 1991.
- ⁱⁱ See Freeman 1973; Irons 1998; McAdam 1986 and 1992; McAdam and Paulsen 1993; Morris 1981 and 1984; Snow et al. 1980.
- ⁱⁱⁱ See McAdam 1986 and 1992 and McAdam and Paulsen 1993.
- ^{iv} Freeman 1973.
- ^v McAdam 1992; Irons 1998.
- ^{vi} In our future work, we will explore the extent to which universities may have operated as “local movement centers” (see Morris 1984).
- ^{vii} One interview was conducted through email correspondence. All respondents have given their consent to use their actual identities.
- ^{viii} We have supplemented the Tougaloo interview with interviews conducted by John Jones of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History of Drs. Ernst Borinski, John Dittmer, and John Salter in the early 1980s. We have also included an interview with Dr. A.D. Beittel conducted in 1965 by Gordon Henderson of the Oral History Project, Millsaps College Archives.
- ^{ix} John Salter, Interview with John Jones, 6 January 1981, Mississippi Department of Archives and History and George Maddox, Interview with Maria Lowe, January 2000.
- ^x Interview data from each respondent will be footnoted the first time it is referenced in the paper. Subsequent quotes from respondents will not be referenced unless the source is unclear in the text or the quote is from a different a source than the interview.
- ^{xi} Charles Sallis, Interview with Maria Lowe, Jackson, Mississippi, October 1999.
- ^{xii} Silver, James. 1964. *Mississippi: The Closed Society*. New York, Harcourt, Brace & World.
- ^{xiii} Don Fortenberry, Interview with Maria Lowe, Jackson, Mississippi, October 1999.
- ^{xiv} Coker and Sallis Interviews. T.W. Lewis, Interview with Maria Lowe, Jackson, Mississippi, October 1999.
- ^{xv} George Maddox, Email Interviews with Maria Lowe, January 2000.
- ^{xvi} Ed King, Interview with Maria Lowe, Jackson, Mississippi, October 1999.
- ^{xvii} Lewis Interview.
- ^{xviii} Ibid.
- ^{xix} Coker Interview.
- ^{xx} Faculty members at private institutions seem to have had more leeway in their actions, while those at public universities, such as Ole Miss, found it more difficult to navigate between the demands of conservative state politicians, vocal alumni, and concerned administrators and Board members.
- ^{xxi} King Interview; John Salter, Interview with John Jones, 6 January 1981, Mississippi Department of Archives and History; Dittmer, John. Interview with John Jones, 21 August 1980, Mississippi Department of Archives and History. A.D. Beittel, Interview with Gordon Henderson, 2 June 1965, Oral History Project, Millsaps College Archives.
- ^{xxii} John Salter, Interview with John Jones, 6 January 1981, Mississippi Department of Archives and History.
- ^{xxiii} King Interview.
- ^{xxiv} Coker Interview.
- ^{xxv} One respondent, William Jones, had already left the state to do missionary work in Chile. Don

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- Fortenberry left the state in 1962 to begin his graduate work at Duke Divinity School.
- ^{xxvi} Maddox Interview. Joyce Ladner, Interview with Maria Lowe, Washington D.C., March 2000.
- ^{xxvii} King Interview.
- ^{xxviii} Bergmark Interview.
- ^{xxix} Maddox and Bergmark Interviews.
- ^{xxx} King Interview.
- ^{xxxi} Tougaloo College Catalog, 1966-1967. Page 4. Tougaloo archive. College Catalog boxes.
- ^{xxxii} Dorie and Joyce Ladner, for instance, were kicked out of Jackson State University for their civil rights involvement.
- ^{xxxiii} George Maddox viewed such acts as attending interracial events as examples of direct action protest.
- ^{xxxiv} March 7, 1958 letter from Ellis W. Wright, President of the Jackson Citizens' Council to Dr. Ellis Finger, President of Millsaps. Millsaps Archives. A 1.4 Administrative Records. Box 24. *Controversy on Christian Council Program*, March 1958.
- ^{xxxv} Correspondence letters. Millsaps Archives. A 1.4 Administrative Records. Box 24. *Controversy on Christian Council Program*, March 1958 and King Interview.
- ^{xxxvi} Ibid.
- ^{xxxvii} Maddox Interview.
- ^{xxxviii} Dittmer, John. Interview with John Jones, 21 August 1980, Mississippi Department of Archives and History.
- ^{xxxix} Dittmer (1994).
- ^{xl} Campbell, Clarice T. 1997. *Civil Rights Chronicle: Letters from the South*. "April 25, 1964 letter." p. 208.
- ^{xli} King Interview.
- ^{xlii} The vote included 34 yeas, 14 nays, and 5 absentias. May 19, 1970 faculty meeting minutes and addendum. Millsaps Archives. B-1 Faculty meetings minutes, memos, and reports 1952-1970.
- ^{xliii} Lewis Interview.
- ^{xliv} Bergmark, Coker, Fortenberry, Lewis, Sallis Interviews.
- ^{xlvi} Coker Interview.
- ^{xlvi} King Interview.
- ^{xlvi} Sallis Interview.
- ^{xlvi} See Snow et al. 1980; McAdam, 1986, 1992; McAdam and Paulsen 1993.