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INSTANT SCHOOLS: THE FRENZIED FORMATION AND EARLY DAYS OF THE
MISSISSIPPI PRIVATE SCHOOL ASSOCIATION

A Dissertation
presented in partial fulfillment of requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the Department of Education
The University of Mississippi

By

E. Gray Flora IV

May 2020

ABSTRACT

The founding leadership of the Mississippi Private School Association (MPSA) used individual experience and extensive networking via the Citizens' Council along with the community's belief and desire to maintain white-only schools to create a coalition of quickly formed but well-resourced private schools. This political and social clout afforded them the ability to create a large, powerful organization almost "instantly" during a pivotal moment of southern educational history. Scholar Kenneth T. Andrews called the establishment of all-white academies in Mississippi, "a countermovement strategy that flowed out of the prior history of organized white resistance to the civil-rights movement."¹ The significance of this narrative lies in timing and ambitious, aggressive scope of the organization. In the fall of 1964 there were nine private day schools in Mississippi that were not affiliated with either the military or the Catholic Church. The MPSA officially formed in 1968 and by 1972 the organization had an enrollment of 30,515 students spread across 110+ schools in four states.

Not only is the organization's rapid growth significant in the understanding of reactions to the Civil Rights movement, but also the roots and style of its leadership. The individuals that founded the MPSA and sat on the executive committee were seasoned organization builders that utilized their networks and experiences as influential members of the Citizens Council to quickly buttress the MPSA. Because these Mississippi leaders believed that forcible integration of their segregated schools by the United States government was imminent, they organized an

¹ Andrews, Kenneth T. 2002. Movement-countermovement dynamics and the emergence of new institutions: The case of "white flight" schools in Mississippi. *Social Forces* 80 (3) (03/01): 911-36.

association of private schools that would allow white Mississippians to take ownership of all local education processes and norms. By providing a legitimate alternative to the state's public schools that was fully accredited, comparable with resources, including a full slate of extracurricular activities, these men were able to drastically mitigate against the equity for all children that was intended when K-12 education in Mississippi was integrated.

DEDICATION

To Mississippi. This is my love letter to you. Love is complicated. You are complex, triumphant, and sad. In almost any situation, I think the best way to treat someone you love is to be honest with them. This is me attempting to do that.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

MPSA	Mississippi Private School Association
NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
SISA	Southern Independent School Association

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To Eden, you are the *love* of my life and being known by you fills me with a mixture of gratitude, pride, and awe that I wish every human could experience. To Vee and Bradshaw, this side of Heaven, there is absolutely nothing I love more than being your dad. Both of you make me so proud. The three of you make me feel like the richest man to ever walk the earth. I love each of you so much. I carry you in my heart always.

To my parents (Gray & Laurie), siblings (Kennedy, Lilla & David), and grandparents (Ernest Gray & Norma; Peggy & Moody), I recognize this project is difficult at times because, in many ways, it is a small part of *our* story. But I am in a position to try to tell it *only* because of the love and encouragement you all have filled me with my entire life. I am so grateful to each of you making space for and loving me so well. Mom, your servant's heart is a legacy I hope to pass on. Dad and my late grandfather, Gray Flora, Jr.: I only read books and love history because you two are my heroes and you both love(d) those things. I am truly blessed amongst sons, grandsons, and brothers.

To my niece and nephew Ann Scott and Walker Jones, November 26th 2013 was one of the best days of my life. This world has been a better place ever since that day. Thank you for filling my family's life with so much joy.

To my dissertation chair, Dr. Amy Wells Dolan, thank you for encouragement and contagious inquisitiveness. It has inspired and sustained me throughout this journey. To the esteemed academics that agreed to be a part of my committee: Dr. Phillis George, you have shown more patience and kindness to me than any professor ever has on my journey. I am

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Dr. Julie Reuben, thank you for seeing potential in this project early on. I am in awe of you as a teacher and a scholar. Dr. Christopher Loss, in all our interactions I was struck by your amazing ability to strongly critique my writing while simultaneously instilling confidence in me. Thank you for encouraging me to take on scholarly pursuits. Thank you to Dr. Shane Blanton for the documents. I hope I have done them justice.

Dr. Stephen Monroe took a chance on me and allowed me to work full time while pursuing this project, I am so grateful to him for letting me pursue my dream. To every Grove Scholar I have had the esteemed privilege of watching thrive at the University of Mississippi, thank you for sharing your life with me. Johnny & Ev Barrett, my “second parents,” the two of you personify true friendship to me and mine. Mrs. Ev thank you for encouraging me to pursue higher education.

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Dissertation Overview

E. Gray Flora IV

Introduction

Increased automation and production in factories all over United States throughout the 1950s and early 1960s resulted in a growth in economic prosperity for many Americans. More readily accessible goods and services gave rise to the phrase “consumer era” and consumption became a staple of an American capitalistic society. This new culture was defined by product brand identity, slick, archetypal advertising campaigns, and instant gratification.² Inventions like instant coffee and the accessibility of the television started to enter the American consciousness around this time. A byproduct of this time of increased convenience and broader brand awareness was the concept of business franchising. According to the Museum of American History, Behring Center, “Franchising increased after 1950 and offered Americans the opportunity to own a small business. Franchises were also a good deal for parent companies, shifting much of the risk to proprietors while requiring them to adhere to certain standards for branding and service.”³ Beginning in Mississippi in the mid-1960s, the concept of instant products and the ambition of franchising was permeating the K-12 education system.

Throughout American history, the delivery of education to the country’s youth has seen many iterations, expansions, and exclusions. By the early twentieth century it appeared that, for the most part, the country had settled into a local, public tradition of K-12 education. However, the 1950s produced a disruption into what many considered the established law of the land when the Supreme Court ruled in *Brown v. The Board of Education of Topeka* (1954) case that racial

² Cross, Gary S. *An All-Consuming Century: Why Commercialism Won in Modern America*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2000.

³ “Consumer Era.” National Museum of American History. Museum of American History, Behring Center, January 10, 2017. <https://americanhistory.si.edu/highlights-guide-consumer>.

segregation in schools was unconstitutional⁴. This led Americans to consider, most for the first time, the method in which their children received schooling. During this era a group of Mississippians began to lay the ground work for what would become a large, private education organization that still exists today: the Mississippi Private School Association (MPSA; known today as the Mississippi Association of Independent Schools).

The purpose of this historical case study is to explore the genesis and early evolution of the Mississippi Private School Association. The goal is to know more about the association's unfolding story of leadership, enrollment, and identity within the state's government-supported system of education. In curating this narrative, the researcher relies on historical documents and secondary sources to reveal how the organization formed and quickly evolved within Mississippi's educational landscape. Presently, there is very little literature that focuses specifically upon the founding of the MPSA. The hope is that this project will make a substantial contribution to the understanding of the MPSA, as well as spark a conversation about how an ostensibly "private" organization takes shape in the public sphere and, at least initially, used "public" resources for private benefit.

Purpose

A better understanding of how a significant, unprecedented organization like the MPSA came to exist is important because it can assist in making meaning of Mississippi's contemporary educational landscape, as well as, lead to more research on the MPSA's role, both socially and economically. The expedited nature in which the MPSA was created and grew or developed during a time when other parts of American society acquiesced to, at least tacitly, moving on from school segregation is important to examine closely, particularly at this current moment

⁴Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483.

when re-segregation appears to be taking place briskly in schools all over the country⁵. While the organization's rapid growth is of great interest in and of itself, the professional background of its founding leadership is also of great import when put into the context of the broader Civil Rights Movement that was taking place during the MPSA's early days. This project will demonstrate that the people who founded the MPSA were seasoned organization builders that utilized their networks and experience as influential members of the Citizens Council to swiftly grow the MPSA.

Significance of Study

The significance of this narrative lies in the timing and ambitious, aggressively vast scope of the organization. In 1964, just before the federal government was set to enforce the desegregation of the state's public schools, a group of Mississippi members of the Citizens Council utilized their resources and sureness in the white community's desire for segregation to maintain white-only primary and secondary schools in Mississippi. During a crucial moment in American education history, their political maneuvering launched a large, statewide, and well-resourced public education alternative in an exceptionally short amount of time.

The broader timing of this organizing movement is also significant when put into the greater context of education integrational efforts of public life in the state of Mississippi. In the mid-to-late 1960s, the MPSA was forming in the shadows of some significant setbacks in the Citizens' Council's drive to preserve segregation. A costly victory for the Civil Rights movement came in the form of the admission and graduation of James Meredith from the University of Mississippi in 1963. In the fall of 1962, Meredith became the first African-American to enroll at the University of Mississippi. Gradually, African-Americans began to enroll at the University of

⁵ Rosiek, Jerry, and Kathy Kinslow. *Resegregation as curriculum: The meaning of the new racial segregation in US public schools*. Routledge, 2015.

Mississippi following in Meredith's harrowing footsteps. It is well chronicled that Meredith's entry into the university was marked by the armed force occupation of campus, a subsequent riot, and unspeakable turmoil, but it did lead to gradual integration at public universities across the south⁶.

The reality that it was possible for southerners to begrudgingly accept integration loomed large on Citizens' Council leaders as evidenced by the following quote in Michael Fuquay's article *Civil Rights and the Private School Movement in Mississippi, 1964-1971*, "resistance [to integration] in Mississippi relied heavily, and as it turns out fatally, on the ability of elected officials to provide the political and social space in which "local control" could operate free from outside interference."⁷ William J. Simmons, a traditional Mississippi bellwether was quoted during the Meredith admissions saga as saying that Mr. Meredith would remain at the University of Mississippi, "only as long as the Kennedy Administration is willing to keep him there by force of arms."⁸ However, once the tear gas ceased and most of the U.S. Marshalls left campus, Meredith remained. This project argues, amongst other things, that Simmons, editor of the Citizens' Council's publication *The Citizen*, likely saw that if drastic action was not taken immediately to preserve segregation, integration would be resentfully accepted in secondary schools just as it had been at the state's flagship institution, the University of Mississippi, in the case of Meredith.

Why the MPSA?

⁶ Doyle, William. *An American Insurrection: James Meredith and the Battle of Oxford, Mississippi, 1962*. 1st Anchor Books ed. New York: Anchor Books, 2003.

⁷ Fuquay, Michael W. "Civil Rights and the Private School Movement in Mississippi, 1964 - 1971." *History of Education Quarterly* 42, no. 2 (2002): 161.

⁸ William Simmons, "Victory at Oxford," *The Citizen*, v. 6 (September 1962), 2-4.

All across the south, private schools sprang up once the *Brown* decision began to be more sternly enforced⁹. For example, four years after *Brown v Board of Education* in 1959 Prince Edward County, Virginia's school board closed all of its schools thus appropriating no state funds for public schooling in the county. That same year, the same community organizers instrumental in closing the public schools established Prince Edward Academy, an independent, private school open to white students only.¹⁰

What makes Mississippi and the MPSA unique is that while other states like Virginia established independent private schools, Mississippi's were organized and interconnected to each other through the structure of the MPSA put forth via William J. Simmons and others with Citizens' Council ties. It is impossible to tell the story of the MPSA without featuring Simmons prominently. Once described as "Dixieland apartheid's number-one organization man," Simmons was notorious for his leadership as an administrator in the Citizens' Council.¹¹ Even in the states most rural areas, this unity made the MPSA attractive to people of like mind from border states. Evidence of Mississippi's zeal for creating a whole new category for K-12 education can be found in the following statistics. In the fall of 1964 there were nine private day schools in Mississippi that were not affiliated with either the military or the Catholic Church.¹² In contrast, the MPSA officially formed in 1968 and by 1972 the organization boasted an enrollment of 30,515 students spread across over 110 schools in four states. Not only is the organization's rapid growth significant for understanding of reactions to the Civil Rights

⁹ *Brown v. Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483.

¹⁰ Brookover, Wilbur B. "Education in Prince Edward County, Virginia, 1953-1993." *The Journal of Negro Education* 62, no. 2 (1993): 149-61. Doi:10.2307/2295190.

¹¹ Medley, Kate. "William J. Simmons." Mississippi Encyclopedia. Center for Study of Southern Culture, July 11, 2017. <http://mississippiencyclopedia.org/entries/william-j-simmons/>.

¹² Carroll, Terry Doyle. 1981. Mississippi private education: An historical, descriptive, and normative study. Ph.D., The University of Southern Mississippi. P.119.

movement, but also the roots and style of its founding leadership. By providing white Mississippians a legitimate alternative to public schools, these men and women were able to diffuse the significance of federal government efforts to integrate schools and life across the south.

The MPSA's Impact on Mississippi Higher Education

Historical records indicate an established partnership with the several Mississippi colleges to create a teacher placement program for teachers to transition from higher education into educator positions at MPSA schools¹³. Early meeting minutes of the MPSA founders also indicate that there was controversy surrounding the MPSA's attempt to partner with Mississippi State University to use the institution's facilities to host a sports championship¹⁴. The MPSA's intended official use of the University's public facility resulted in the Mississippi chapter of the NAACP filing a lawsuit. This study seeks to explore new ground on what the insertion of the MPSA did to possibly change the relationships state universities had with public high schools who had traditionally enrolled a large number of students at the University of Mississippi and Mississippi State University prior to the MPSA's creation, as well as, the governing body of all public institutions, the Institutions of Higher Learning.

Research Questions

Unequivocally, the umbrella question is: what is the emergent story of the formation and early development of the MPSA? It would be difficult to say that the growth of the MPSA was anything short of frenzied. But were there any restrictions put on that growth? For example, how did early MPSA schools define their mission and vision? How seriously did Mississippi leaders perceive the forcible threat of integration of Mississippi schools by the United States

¹³ The minutes of the Mississippi Private School Association, February 8, 1972. In private possession of the MPSA. Shared with E. Gray Flora IV, October 17th, 2014.

¹⁴ *Ibids*.

government? The original MPSA schools were founded during the time Mississippi was being forced to integrate the state's public school system, approximately eight years after *Brown v Board of Education*. What were some events and actions that contributed to so many white Mississippians giving up on public education and starting the MPSA?

This study will look not only at the organization's rapid growth, but also at the roots of its leadership. The men and women who founded the MPSA were well-connected, shrewd businessmen who, through their ties to the white Citizens' Council, developed the ability to effectively organize grassroots movements. This begs the question, how did the MPSA grow so large, so quickly, and for what purpose? How does the MPSA compare to other segregationist schools or associations in the south? Other questions that are also important to ask: how did state government help the MPSA's cause? What was the nature of the relationship among MPSA schools and the association and Mississippi's institutions of higher education?

Interpretive Framework

The research for this qualitative project has been conducted using principles and guidelines most closely associated with the pragmatism method found in social science's interpretive framework.¹⁵ Specifically the interpretive framework of Massive Resistance¹⁶ is heavily relied upon for the project. To fully grasp how the organization came to exist it is important to identify and attempt to understand how those driving the MPSA's insurgence were justifying its necessity in the moment, as well as, with the benefit of hindsight, what might be diagnosed as the primitive impetus for the organization's prolific and expedient creation and expansion?

¹⁵ Creswell, John W. *Qualitative Inquiry & Research Design: Choosing among Five Approaches*. 3rd ed. Los Angeles: SAGE Publications, 2013.

¹⁶ Bartley, Numan V. *The Rise of Massive Resistance: Race and Politics in the South during the 1950's*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1969.

The more temperate narrative that those attempting to preserve segregation would recite to the public is that groups like the Citizen's Council were advocating for the preservation of 'local government control.' Time and time again we see 'local control' and 'states' rights' serve as catch-all phrase for the continued segregation of public life in the Deep South, especially when it comes to education.¹⁷ In *Resisting Equality* author Stephanie Rolph (2018) suggested that a strong desire to maintain states' rights, at its root, existed as a byproduct of, "The paranoia about government power among both southern traditionalists and their conservative peers reflected both groups' identification of a moment of historical trauma that directly shaped their evaluation of government interventions."¹⁸ Historian Glenn Feldman (2013) identified this trauma as "Reconstruction Syndrome."¹⁹ However, Meredith's enrollment and the subsequent integration in other public spheres caused Citizen's Council leaders began to see the inevitability of *Brown* being enforced in public schools in the Deep South.²⁰ Evidently, this reality served as a motivator for the Citizen's Council to maintain 'local control' and to take steps to privatize K-12 education in Mississippi.

This project argues that what the eventual founders of the MPSA were describing as preservation of 'local control' actually fits deftly into the broader Massive Resistance framework that was being executed with varying degrees for success throughout the south prior to the establishment of the MPSA. Massive resistance was a strategy first declared by United States Senator Harry F. Byrd, Sr. from Virginia in partnership with his brother-in-law, state Democrat Representative James M. Thomson, to unite white politicians and leaders in Virginia in a

¹⁷ Dittmer, John. *Local People: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Mississippi*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006. p. 143.

¹⁸ Rolph, Stephanie R. *Resisting Equality: The Citizens Council, 1954-1989*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2018. P.21.

¹⁹ *Ibids*.

²⁰ Bartley, Numan V. *The Rise of Massive Resistance: Race and Politics in the South during the 1950's*.

campaign of new state laws and policies to prevent public school desegregation after the *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision in 1954.²¹

Historical Context Surrounding the Founding and Development of MPSA

As time moves us further away from the Civil Rights era, it is important that works of history try to help people understand, from as many different perspectives as possible, the mindset of American citizens during this period of tumult. Historical narrative, statistics, and geography can all be helpful in capturing the sentiment in Mississippi during the MPSA's early days. Fuquay (2002) is the only scholarship that focuses directly on the founding of the MPSA and will be referenced throughout the project, however, there are a great deal of secondary sources that can be used to describe the context around the founders of the MPSA and their work.

Methodology

A qualitative, historical analysis is the best way to describe the methodological approach of this study. Much of the research used for the project is from documents acquired and subsequently owned by the researcher. Initially, the researcher contacted the current director of MPSA (now known as the Mississippi Association of Independent Schools), Dr. Shane Blanton and informed him of the researcher's intention to study the origins of the organization. Dr. Blanton told the researcher of the existence of meeting minutes that had recently been digitized. He asked the researcher if he would like to have the documents, the researcher promptly accepted. The 223 pages of documents came into the researcher's private possession on October 17, 2014 via document transfer through electronic mail.

²¹ Gates, Robbins L. *The Making of Massive Resistance: Virginia's Politics of Public School Desegregation, 1954-1956*. University of North Carolina Press, 1964. P. 28-29.

No documents that have ever been made public yield more information about the formal establishment of the MPSA. As previously mentioned, other aspects of the project compile various strands of scholarship to provide context for the time in which the MPSA was founded, but actual internal documents that have not previously been released publically make up most of the primary resources used for this project. The aim of the project is not only to reveal the facts in the initial MPSA meeting minutes obtained by the researcher, but also attempt to tell a narrative story of what led to the formation and rapid growth of the organization. The arc of the narrative story will focus on the key figures and matters that were of great import to those in charge of the MPSA at the time of its founding, particularly the executive committee members. Once the project is submitted to the dissertation committee, the documents in sole possession of the researcher will be donated to the archives at the University of Mississippi Library.

Data Sources

The researcher has compiled the most relevant and detailed collection of primary source material to date on the founding days of the MPSA. The document analysis method is being employed to connect original source material with other related scholarly work to better understand the circumstances surrounding the founding and early years of the MPSA. Similarly, observation tools will be utilized to analyze if the initial research questions can be answered based upon the documents acquired by the researcher that were not previously in circulation and the secondary sources that reference the MPSA or have other notable connections to the topic. Put together, the project seeks to cover new ground as it pertains to depth and breadth of the MPSA's formation and its connection to the broader massive resistance efforts related to the preservation of segregation in southern society.

Michael Fuquay (2002) *Civil Rights and the Private School Movement in Mississippi, 1964-1971* is a broad historical study that views the southern private school movement and the Mississippi movement in particular through the lens of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and its effect on the prior ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education*²². The article puts forth three primary arguments. First, that the private school movement was heavily influenced by the work of the Citizens Council and some of the same actors. The argument is especially aligned with this study's assertion that the leadership of the MPSA is historically significant and not at all separate from the Council's underlying intentions when forming the organization. Second, the author contends that the primary purpose of the Mississippi academies was to insulate white youth in the state from a federal culture that had increasingly less patience for any type of segregation. Finally, Fuquay suggests that these private schools played a significant role in the shaping of modern conservatism in Mississippi that spread beyond education into all forms of public life.

Outside of Fuquay (2002), there are two academic manuscripts that yield the most specific information on the early MPSA. The first is Margaret Rose Gladney's 1974 dissertation "I'll Take My Stand: The Southern Segregation Academy Movement." The manuscript analyzes the private school movement as it was unfolding. Her project is chockfull of interviews and first person accounts of the primitive period of private education after *Brown* until 1973. In her work Gladney asserted, "The history of the segregation academy movement reveals more than a dramatic increase in the number of private schools throughout the South. The development of state and regional organizations indicates both an actual and a potential strengthening of the segregationist philosophy."²³

²² Fuquay, Michael W. "Civil Rights and the Private School Movement in Mississippi, 1964 - 1971. (2002).

²³ Gladney, Margaret Rose. "I'll Take My Stand: The Southern Segregation Academy Movement." PhD diss., University of New Mexico, 1974. P. 82.

Secondly, Kenneth Andrews' (2002), *Movement-Countermovement Dynamics and the Emergence of New Institutions: The Case of "White Flight" Schools in Mississippi* explores the early years of the private school movement.²⁴ This source provides facts and figures about the dramatic increase in private schools in Mississippi for the period of time my study explores. It also helps give context to the idea of white resistance to the integration of public schools. The study provided an analytic history of civil rights and school desegregation conflicts in Mississippi for me, and employed the ordinary least squares models to examine county-level variation in local support for private academies during this period. The analysis showed that the formation of academies occurred as a response to desegregation based on three factors: (a) the presence of a credible threat that desegregation would be implemented (implicitly signaling the "success" of the movement); (b) when African-Americans had the organizational capacity to make claims and voice protest within newly desegregated schools; and (c) when whites had the organizational capacity to resist desegregation. All three of the author's determinations lend credence to my interest in uncovering the organizational skills and tactical thinking that were utilized to grow the MPSA at such a rapid pace.

Several other scholarly works produce relevant information for this study. In his 1973 Rhodes Scholar thesis at Worcester College at Oxford University *White Flight from Desegregation in Mississippi*,²⁵ Luther Munford (1973) provided imperative statistics regarding the prevalence of MPSA schools in various counties after the 1969 *Alexander v. Holmes County Board of Education*²⁶ order to immediately desegregate public schools. He set forth evidence

²⁴ Andrews, Kenneth T. "Movement-Countermovement Dynamics and the Emergence of New Institutions: The Case of "White Flight" Schools in Mississippi." *Social Forces* 80, no. 3 (2002): 911-936.

²⁵ Munford, Luther. "White Flight from Desegregation in Mississippi." *Equity and Excellence in Education* 11, no. 3 (1973): 12-26.

²⁶ *Alexander v. Holmes County Board of Education* 396 U.S. 19 (1969).

showing that the higher population of African-Americans citizens per county the more likely the county was to host an MPSA school. The author also gave insight into where he believed the federal government missed the mark when attempting to integrate Mississippi public schools. Rather than trying to ensure that blacks and whites mixed in schools, the author claimed, those charged with integrating the schools only set out to eliminate the “racial identity” of each public school rather than ensuring that the schools’ population was actually diverse in its composition. Meaning Munford claimed the goal of the federal government was to try and eliminate any perceived inequities in K-12 public schools, rather than truly integrate them along racial lines. This is an especially important point when considering what drove the founders of the MPSA to establish the organization. Had the policy been implemented differently, resources allocated equally and schools that were truly integrated without any type of gerrymandering, it is entirely possible that the public appetite for private schools would not have been as strong and therefore not allowed for the MPSA to grow at such a rapid pace.

In 1969 the MPSA was starting to gain serious momentum throughout the state. In the Delta county of Leflore, a school that would eventually become part of the MPSA, Pillow Academy, had already been established. Also in 1969, H.A. Curtis partnered with the Leflore county school district to study the districts’ achievement record as part of a federal planning grant sponsored by the U.S. Department of Education.²⁷ This study examined student bodies in each of two Leflore County schools in rural Mississippi (one school practically all black and the other mostly white). The two student bodies were compared on the basis of their academic achievement in principal subject matter areas. The analysis and results of the study were presented for each school

²⁷ Curtis, Hazen A. and Leflore County School District, Greenwood, MS. Pupil Achievement-Comparison of Two Schools, Leflore County School District, Mississippi. Reports of Consultants and Advisory Specialists Under Planning Grant, Title III, Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (1969).

separately, and the assumption was made and supported that achievement patterns of the two schools were indeed different due to differing pupil backgrounds. The report concluded with a broad general summary of each school separately and a section for utilizing test results that may be equally applicable to both schools. Median achievement tables were presented for each school, followed by general recommendations. The ‘white’ school district graded out significantly higher than the all black school. It is relevant to this study because it serves as evidence that in Mississippi the concept of “separate, but equal” was not what was actually being executed in schools²⁸

A few years earlier, James Leeson partnered with Robert F. Campbell and Tom Flake to produce *A Statistical Summary, State by State, of School Segregation-Desegregation in the Southern and Border Area from 1954 to the Present* for Southern Education Reporting Service (1969)²⁹. This report provided data that indicated the status of desegregation in each southern and border state, including the rate of desegregation in public schools (arranged by school district), public colleges and universities, and special schools, status of faculty desegregation, and the number of students from different ethnic groups in the schools. The report also includes the comprehensive desegregation statistics on the South as a whole, a description of the status of desegregation since 1954, and finally a statistical summary of developments since 1954. These statistics are extremely helpful in telling the story of the shifting demographics in American public education using raw numbers.

²⁸ Curtis, Hazen A. and Leflore County School District, Greenwood, MS. Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (1969).

²⁹ Southern Education Reporting Service. "Statistical Summary, State by State, of School Segregation-Desegregation in the Southern and Border Area from 1954 to the Present." Statistical Summary, State by State, of School Segregation-Desegregation in the Southern and Border Area from 1954 to the Present (1964).

Based on the preceding sources and other readings, there appears to be two persistent themes in the Deep South's opposition to integration: First, claims that federal involvement violated school choice. Second, the implication that most African-Americans were happy with their plight and preferred that schools stay segregated. W.A. Bender's (1956) *Status of Educational Desegregation in Mississippi* provided critical insight into how African-Americans actually felt about school integration as it was happening. The article also delved deeply into the psychology and sociology behind how many white Mississippians had been brought up to view themselves wholly superior to African Americans, both intellectually and socially. The author contended that southern attitudes on the biological differences between blacks and whites held by many were akin to religious truth taught in southern places of worship³⁰.

Conlon and Kimenyi (1991) "Attitudes Towards Race and Poverty in the Demand for Private Education: The Case of Mississippi" contrasted the notion that all Mississippians were content with their plight prior to federal government interference. Conlon and Kimenyi explained that, "Most studies of the demand for private education have treated "white flight" as a response to the proportion of the population that is black in a particular area. The present article, by contrast, considers the possibility that this flight may be from poverty rather than race."³¹ The authors' contention is an important source because it couches the justification of the MPSA's creation in terms of poverty as opposed to race. However, in the late 1960s and 70s in Mississippi, it is difficult to separate socioeconomic status and race. Clearly there were throngs of poor white citizens in Mississippi during this time, there is, however, no other research showing that these schools in Mississippi were created to separate along socioeconomic lines.

³⁰ Bender, Wm A. "The Status of Educational Desegregation in Mississippi." *The Journal of Negro Education* 25, no. 3 (1956): 285-288.

³¹ Conlon, John R. and Mwangi S. Kimenyi. "Attitudes Towards Race and Poverty in the Demand for Private Education: The Case of Mississippi." *The Review of Black Political Economy* 20, no. 2 (1991): 5-22.

Data Analysis

In order for this study to be effective, the researcher must properly synthesize and extrapolate meaning from documents that have never before been analyzed. While the researcher compiled the most relevant and detailed collection of source material on the MPSA to date, a full complement of secondary sources and research material was not always readily accessible. With the goal of synthesizing the documents that would allow for maximum scrutiny, the researcher went through the documents in order to compile a set of detailed lists of what is contained in these meeting minutes and other sourcing that helps give the meeting minute's their proper context. The documents were reviewed for a second time with a focus on connecting the major themes in each and how they aligned with the conceptual framework. The researcher then pulled illustrative quotations that supported the conceptual framework themes and research questions related to the genesis and formative years of the MPSA and how the founders were able to, almost overnight, replicate the offerings of the state's public school system in academics and extracurricular activities. The researcher performed a document analysis utilizing the examination of public records and meeting minutes held in the private possession of the researcher.

Researcher Bias

The researcher, along with his siblings, attended for twelve years and ultimately graduated from an MPSA school in a segregated community. Each of the researchers' own parents were, in separate communities, removed from their public schools by their parents during their 5th grade year and transferred to MPSA schools where they ultimately graduated. The researcher acknowledges his own experience with MPSA as formative in some of his hypothesis and the ultimate source for his curiosity about the subject, but academic training and sharp editors will enable the researcher to take a fair, critical stance. It is also possible that the

researcher bias includes a personal history shaped by the segregated schooling the researcher experienced.

Limitations

The limitations of this study are mainly the lack of available scholarship on the MPSA, particularly after 1972. However, that limitation is also a galvanizing motivation to produce new research on the subject. Clearly, there is a belief on behalf of the researcher that the preservation of racial segregation was the dominant reason for the creation of the MPSA and that the founders' involvement with the Citizens' Council informed their views on race in public and private life. And thus, it is important that checks are put into place, in the form of trusted readers and counsel, to ensure the researcher's assumptions do not influence the final work. While the meeting minutes are very informative, a limitation that should be acknowledged is the likelihood that many decisions and conversations happened outside the official, documented record.

Summary

As previously stated, a better understanding of the emergence of a significant, unprecedented organization like the MPSA is important because it can assist in making meaning of Mississippi's contemporary educational landscape, as well as, inform its' future. In the fall of 1964 there were nine private day schools in Mississippi that were not affiliated with either the military or the Catholic Church. The MPSA officially formed in 1968 and by 1972 the organization had an enrollment of 30,515 students spread across more than 110 schools in four states. The people who founded the MPSA appear to have been seasoned organization builders who utilized their networks to cultivate influential members of the Citizens' Council with the goal of growing the MPSA.

Currently minimal scholarship exists that focuses exclusively on the founding of the MPSA and its early days of operation. More clarity on the role the MPSA played in the educational and social realm of Mississippi could be important to the future of education and policy in the state. The analysis of the materials available to the researcher found that there was significant overlap in individuals who were deeply involved in the formation and rapid growth of the MPSA and the leadership of the Mississippi chapters of the Citizen's Council prior to and during the time period in which the MPSA was created. The original meeting minutes obtained by the researcher paint a picture of the motivation for the organization's creation that has not been previously discussed in the academy. Because of direct quotations discovered in the MPSA meeting minutes by the researcher, it can be definitively concluded that the MPSA was founded as an implicit reaction to the forced federal integration of the state's public schools, and African-Americans and other students or faculty of color were not allowed to be enrolled or employed at any MPSA institution.

Organization of the Dissertation

This dissertation is tentatively slated to be organized in a traditional narrative structure. The end of this overview will be followed immediately by chapter 1 that covers the uniqueness of the MPSA's connection to Mississippi's Citizens' Council chapters. The intent for the remaining chapters is to cover the MPSA's attempt seek public funds for its own private good, and the formation of the MPSA's accreditation model, and the organization's dealings with the Mississippi chapter of the NAACP, respectively. The final chapter will summarize my findings and interpretation of the events, bringing together salient points and asking questions about the significance of this case study. I will also attempt to identify future opportunities for research, policy, and practice to the extent possible.

Chapter I

The White Citizens' Council and the Initiatives Supported

One of the primary ways that a lag in *Brown* enforcement benefited staunch segregationists was it allowed like minds, who often already enjoyed a great deal of socioeconomic capital, to construct organized defiance and stand up to the federal government. The Citizen's Council's work best illustrates how determined most white Southerners were to maintain a segregated society. With good reason, historian Neil McMillen called the state of Mississippi "The Mother of the Movement" that became the Citizens' Council.³² The Citizens' Council was founded in 1954 in the Mississippi Delta city of Indianola shortly after the *Brown* decision was handed down. The origins of the Citizen's Council can be traced to an unremarkable, angry letter by a Delta farmer named Robert "Tut" Patterson. His inspiration for writing the letter came when he learned of cases being heard by the Supreme Court that could potentially alter traditional southern social customs pertaining to race relations.³³ Once the letter was composed, Patterson, well liked throughout Mississippi for his accomplishments both as a football player at Mississippi State University and a World War II paratrooper, distributed his letter to likeminded citizens all over the state. The letter called for total white solidarity amongst Mississippians to guard against the shame that he predicted would come if their way of life was infiltrated by communism, mongrelization, and federal agitators.³⁴

³² McMillen, Neil R. 1994. *The Citizens' Council: Organized Resistance to the Second Reconstruction, 1954-64*. Illini books ed. ed. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. P. 17-19

³³ Ibid

³⁴ Ibid.

Initially, Patterson's plea gained little momentum. The *Brown* ruling changed that and shortly thereafter Patterson found a champion in attorney Tom P. Brady. The two met shortly after Brady gave a speech he called "Black Monday" to the Greenwood, MS chapter of the Sons of the American Revolution. The speech galvanized many listeners to take seriously the threats of a major change to the Mississippi caste system they had always known. The two men quickly converted the "Black Monday" speech into a pamphlet and distributed it to respectable professionals throughout the Mississippi Delta. Enthusiasm for the ethos the Delta gentlemen espoused was well received throughout the region. Subsequently, on July 14, 1956, the inaugural meeting of the Citizens' Council was held and by the time Mississippi Governor Hugh L. White addressed the Mississippi joint legislative session early in September, 1954, there were already seventeen counties with local Citizens' Council organizations.^{35 36} In her book *Resisting Equality*, Dr. Stephanie Rolph (2018) explained, "The Council's identity as a Delta-born organization is critical to understanding the first years of its existence. The organization's objectives in those first years reflected the threat that school desegregation and voting access represented in an area of the state where whites were in the minority."³⁷ Indeed, finding ways for whites to conserve power in areas with large black populations was paramount to the success of Citizens' Councils' values.

Although the organization was thought by some to be little more than the Ku Klux Klan in street clothes,³⁸ the Council "...had been trying since its inception to fight off the stigma attached to segregationist organizations due to the violent reputation of other groups like the Ku

³⁵ Anthony, Paul, "Pro-Segregation Groups' History and Trends," *New South*, 12 (January, 1957), 5.

³⁶ McMillen, Neil R. *The Citizens' Council: Organized Resistance to the Second Reconstruction, 1944-64*. University of Illinois Press, 1994.

³⁷ Rolph, Stephanie Renee. *Resisting Equality: The Citizens' Council, 1944-1989*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2018.

³⁸ *Ibids*.

Klux Klan.”³⁹ The early members felt that by distributing what in their mind was ‘correct and vital information’ they could warn Mississippians about the imminent threat to their state and its customs. Initially, the Council message was spread without any big sweeping gestures. Simple person-person word of mouth was used to organize the movement. As Rolph revealed, white Mississippians were mobilized “...through personal connection, building a community of resistance from the ground up through white solidarity...Within six weeks [of starting], seventeen chapters existed in Mississippi, products of Council ambassadors who went from town to town, meeting with community leaders face-to face about their objectives.”⁴⁰ This would not be the last time that organizations would be established in communities all over Mississippi to resist a pending enforcement of federal government standards. As their cause spread, the Council encouraged local chapters and their leaders in counties all over the state, be as politically active as possible, and encourage concurring citizens to congregate, organize, and persevere. All across Mississippi, politicians spoke at large gatherings of white citizens to convey the simple message of the Citizens Council: organized resistance would be the only way to avoid integration of Mississippi’s public schools.⁴¹

Having a laundry list of well-known Mississippi lawmakers and lobbyists speak at early meetings is strong evidence of the imposing organizational capacity and influence wielded by the organization still in an embryonic stage. These titans of local and state government included state legislator Fred Jones of Sunflower county, Jackson, MS mayor Allen C. Thompson, and Governor Ross Barnett’s top advisor, Dr. M. Ney Williams just to name a few. Each Citizen Council advocate brought with them a message of solidarity to the counties, cities, and school

³⁹ Walton, Laura Richardson. 2006. Segregationist spin: The Use of the Public Relations by the Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission and the White Citizens' Council, 1954--1973. Ph.D., The University of Southern Mississippi

⁴⁰ Rolph, Stephanie Renee. *Resisting Equality: The Citizens' Council, 1954-1989.*, 2018. p.32.

⁴¹ Walton, Laura Richardson. 2006. Segregationist spin. P.65

districts in Mississippi, lending credibility to the idea that there was power in their numbers and that, if committed to the cause, the Citizens' Council could thwart racial integration. The message of the Citizens' Council, first crafted in Mississippi, resonated with people in other states. For example, with the encouragement of Council member and notorious political figure Leander Perez, known as the 'boss of the Delta,' a bill was passed in the Louisiana state legislature that mandated racial segregation in nearly every aspect of public life.⁴² The Council caught on quickly in Alabama and by early 1956, the movement's activity within the state was directed from four regional organizations centered in Montgomery, Birmingham, Tuscaloosa, and Mobile. The most prominent Council member in Alabama was a Macon county man named Sam Engelhardt who was elected to state senate after he publically campaigned as white supremacist with a strong desire to prevent school integration. When the Supreme Court handed down the *Brown* decision in 1954, Engelhardt had already introduced three bills constructed to maintain segregation in Alabama schools. McMillen called Engelhardt, "one of the most effective obstacles to desegregation in the Deep South."⁴³

How Business Was Done

Rather than using the tactic of violence and intimidation, the Citizens' Council in Mississippi and elsewhere exploited resources readily at the disposal of whites of the era: power, money, influence, and propaganda. At first, this was done almost entirely in the shadows and without applying any of the available marketing tactics. However, that changed as leaders in the African-American community began to garner regional and nation attention around their claims that Mississippi whites were resisting what the laws of America had decreed. Leaders such as

⁴² Reporting Civil Rights. Vol. 137-138. New York: Library of America, 2003.

⁴³ McMillen, Neil R. 1994. *The Citizens' Council: Organized Resistance to the Second Reconstruction, 1954-64*. Illini books ed. ed. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. P. 47.

Medgar Evers, who served as president of the Regional Council of Negro Leadership, were shining a spotlight on the inequities of segregation.⁴⁴ Rolph declared, "The true catalyst for drawing the organization [the Citizens' Council] out of the shadows...was the call for desegregation coming from black activists in the state [Mississippi]."⁴⁵ Using commonplace public relations tactics such as flyers, newsletters, and word of mouth, the Council spread their message about the harmful effects of integration.

One of the best examples of how the Council exploited their power to squelch activism for integration came in Yazoo City, MS in 1955. Less than a year after the organization's formation the small city known as "the gateway to the Delta" had amassed a Citizens' Council membership roll of close to 1,500 members. The city's newspaper, *The Herald*, had this to say about the Council's influence in their town, "from the very first this community's outstanding citizens have been members."⁴⁶ The same publication, in 1955, published a full-page Citizens' Council advertisement with a list of fifty-three names that had signed an NAACP sponsored petition supporting desegregation.⁴⁷ According to McMillen, "The list was also printed on large cardboard placards which were displayed in many of the community's stores, the bank, and even cotton fields surrounding the city...economic sanctions followed [for those who had signed] and within a matter of weeks the petitioner's ranks were reduced to a half dozen."⁴⁸ According to Rolph, those who were outed by this newspaper advertisement, "... lost their jobs and received threatening phone calls. Wholesale distributors denied deliveries to black store owners, two of

⁴⁴ Nossiter, Adam. *Of Long Memory: Mississippi and the Murder of Medgar Evers*. Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley, 1994.

⁴⁵ Rolph, Stephanie Renee. *Resisting Equality: The Citizens' Council, 1954-1989*, 2018.

⁴⁶ Yazoo City *Herald*, August 8, 1957.

⁴⁷ McMillen. *The Citizens' Council: Organized resistance to the second reconstruction*. P.211.

⁴⁸ *Ibids*.

whom went out of business as a result.”⁴⁹ This use of the local news publication to spotlight those who favored integration was also employed by council chapters in Vicksburg, Clarksdale, Jackson, and Natchez.⁵⁰ These tactics exemplify the audacity of the Citizens Council to use intimidation, business boycotts, and social outcasting as tools of repression for anyone, black or white, that was in any way seen as sympathetic to desegregation of any kind.

As literature detailing the rallying cries of the Council made their way to local meetings throughout the state, it became clear that the Citizens’ Councils values could have a broader and even more influential circulation by forming an official publication. So in 1955, *The Citizens’ Council* became the organization’s banner; proclaiming the values of the southern way of life and staunch opposition to federal government intervention into issues of race, education, and local politics, something they felt was best left to the local officials and citizenry. However, national journalists that came to Mississippi in 1955 after the murders of Reverend George Lee in Belzoni, MS and Emmett Till in Money, MS saw the Citizens’ Council as much more than a group of politically aligned citizens. According to Rolph, Dan Wakefield of *The Nation* attributed the Council as the nucleus that shored up support of every sector of white society, especially local governmental affairs and services.⁵¹ It would make sense for the organization’s own publication to try and counter bad press from national outlets like *The Nation* or the New York *Daily News*, however, Rolph argued the publication doubled down on their ideology. She claimed that even as the eyes of nation kept a closer watch on Mississippi, *The Citizens’ Council*, “...was a siren call to racists. Its articles, editorials, and cartoons embraced the tenets of racial hierarchy and minstrelsy.”⁵² The publication was not just a celebration of the cause, but also

⁴⁹ Rolph, Stephanie Renee. *Resisting Equality: The Citizens' Council, 1954-1989*. 2018. p.47.

⁵⁰ Rolph, Stephanie Renee. *Resisting Equality: The Citizens' Council, 1954-1989*. 2018. p.49.

⁵¹ *Ibids*

⁵² *Ibids*.

served as an effective recruiting tool from which new members and sympathizers could extract talking points.⁵³ The publication framed instances of crime, poverty, and communism as direct results of “race mixing” and equality rhetoric.

Having a well-circulated newspaper was another way the Council could distance themselves from any affiliation with the outwardly devious and often criminal Ku Klux Klan. However, there are many links between the Council’s work and bloodshed. In his book, *I’ve Got the Light of Freedom: The Organizing Tradition and the Mississippi Freedom Struggle*, Charles Payne summarized, “Despite the official disclaimers, violence often followed in the wake of Council intimidation campaigns.”⁵⁴ The white Citizens’ Council was soon able to amass great political power in Mississippi and beyond. By 1962, it was estimated that at least 1 out of every four members of the U.S. Congress had an affiliation with the Citizens’ Council.⁵⁵

Simmons’ Law

The founder and editor of *The Citizens’ Council* was man named William J. Simmons. Born on a family farm in Utica, Mississippi in 1916, Simmons and his family moved to the State Capitol of Jackson when he started grade school. After spending part of his youth studying French literature amongst other subjects at Institute of Touraine in Tours, France, he logged a few years in Washington D.C. as a federal government employee in the department of World Trade Intelligence. Next, he toiled for a time, in oil and gas in Louisiana. Feeling the call to home, Simmons came back to Jackson and dedicated his professional energy to maintaining segregation in Mississippi. He found his niche advocating for the cause of the Citizens’ Council. He traveled the country speaking about its values, as well as, editing and publishing the

⁵³ Walton, Laura Richardson. 2006. Segregationist spin. P. 45.

⁵⁴ Payne, Charles M. *I’ve Got the Light of Freedom: The Organizing Tradition and the Mississippi Freedom Struggle*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.p.34-35.

⁵⁵ McMillen. *The Citizens’ Council: Organized resistance to the second reconstruction* p. 39

aforementioned newspaper, which had the aim of gaining new Citizens' Council members, calling attention to the "dangers" of integration, and securing financial contributions. According to Rolph, in contrast to founder Robert Patterson's, "... rural planter sensibilities, Simmons brought a business approach to the Council's work, eventually occupying a suite of offices in Downtown Jackson where political leaders and local law enforcement could regularly be found."⁵⁶ For Simmons, the Citizens' Council was established as a reaction to the threat of what some called the new South, as he put it, "we set out to organize a pressure group that would be a counterbalance to the NAACP."⁵⁷

Through his publication, speaking engagements, and activism, Simmons and other connected Mississippi businessmen and politicians set forth the five clear agenda items for the work of the Citizens' Council in Mississippi: First, oppose race mixing; second, avoid violence; third, maintain and restore legal segregation; fourth, defend states' rights; fifth, correct the court and the congress.⁵⁸ As a result of his travels and experiences, Simmons also developed what was known as "Simmons' Law," which stated, "One's enthusiasm for integration increases with the square of the distance from the problem itself."⁵⁹ The quotation articulates Simmons' belief that anyone who was not in favor of integration at the time was simply not in close enough proximity to large pockets of people of color. This mindset goes a long way towards capturing the urgency that many white Mississippians felt about what they perceived as the imminent threat the federal government was posing to their way of life.

⁵⁶ Rolph, Stephanie Renee. *Resisting Equality: The Citizens' Council, 1954-1989*. 2018. p.47.

⁵⁷ Caudill, Orley B., Oral history with Mr. William J. Simmons, Mississippi Oral History Program of the University of Southern Mississippi., McCain Library and Archives, The University of Southern Mississippi.

⁵⁸ *Ibids.*

⁵⁹ *Ibids.*

Chapter II

Massive Resistance Illustrated

How It All Began

In 1954, the way Americans conceptualized school forever changed with the ruling in the *Brown vs. The Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* case. The ruling claimed state laws that created separate public schools for blacks and whites were unconstitutional and should be rectified, with all deliberate speed, throughout the country.⁶⁰ The Supreme Court's decision appeared to call for a new education landscape in which black and white children would go to school together and have an equal chance to achieve the American dream. Despite a unanimous decision by the Court, many American school districts and states vehemently opposed the ruling. Even though all the Justices agreed, scholar Charles J. Ogletree, Jr. claimed that the Court's, "reluctance to take a more forceful position on ending segregation immediately played into the hands of integrations' opponents."⁶¹ The Supreme Court's delay in implementing standards for *Brown* gave southern whites the ability to organize defiance in a way that made it difficult, if not impossible, for schools to comply with the Court's decision. The numerous protests that ensued demanding that *Brown* actually be put into practice were early seeds of organized resistance that contributed to the Civil Rights Movement in the years to come.⁶²

⁶⁰ O'Brine, Christopher Rashard, and William Allan Kritsonis. 2008. Segregation through brown vs. the board of education: A setback or landmark case. Online Submission (01/01)

⁶¹ Ogletree, Charles J. 2004. *All Deliberate Speed: Reflections on the First Half Century of Brown v. Board of Education*. 1st ed. ed. New York: W.W. Norton. P.11.

⁶² *Ibids*.

This struggle for equality looked different depending on the region of the country. But the time period after the Second World War proved to be especially disorienting for the south in ways that were unique, but still interrelated to *Brown*. During this time, industrialization and urbanization were slowly chipping away at the 'Planter class' in the south and the lines of the region's imbedded class system was beginning to blur. Many men were also coming back from the War after serving in integrated regiments and forming the types of bonds, with people of a different race, which can only be forged in combat. As is often the case with any group experiencing multidirectional change, those in power in the south began to feel a sense of loss which appears to have caused many to go into full preservation mode and disagree, sometimes violently, with the federal government.

In his book *The Deep South Says "Never,"* John B. Martin (1957) suggested that southerners may have been more willing to accept desegregation if it was forcefully implemented immediately following the *Brown* ruling, "Some people think the court should have ordered immediate compliance instead of waiting a year. To have done so would have risked violence. In retrospect, however, it appears that it might have succeeded: the South was then resigned, emboldened to preserve their customs. Certainly the one-year grace period was when resistance rallied, for no governor, senator, legislature, or the President offered leadership in implementing the decision peaceably."⁶³ It has been said that time is humans' most precious asset and, thanks to the phrase "all deliberate speed," time was on the side of organized, cunning segregationists in southern states, Mississippi in particular.

Massive Resistance

⁶³ Martin, John Bartlow, 1915-1987. 1957. *The Deep South Says "Never."*. Vol. 220. New York: Ballantine Books. P.171-2

Responding to the growing social, economic, psychological, and political disposition of the mid 1950s, United States Senator Harry F. Byrd from Virginia coined the phrase "massive resistance" as his recommendation for the proper response of Southern states to the *Brown* decision, as well as, the resistance of federal involvement in what he and my other southerners saw as 'state affairs' such as education and measures of citizen equality, i.e. voting rights and land ownership.⁶⁴ In 1956, many states famously came together to create what would be informally known as the *Southern Manifesto*, a document signed by politicians stretching from Florida to Virginia opposing racial integration in public places.⁶⁵ Mississippi supported this manifesto, but as time passed, many signatory states began to fall in line with federal orders. Yet in Mississippi, many whites, strengthened and organized by the year of maneuvering they had before *Brown* was to be enforced, openly and furtively took steps to maintain segregation and white supremacy.⁶⁶

Numan V. Bartley's 1969 book *The Rise of Massive Resistance* contains a chapter entitled 'The Rationale of Massive Resistance.' He distilled the basis for the movement in the chapter's lead paragraph, "In the simplest sense, perhaps, southern segregationists merely sought to put society back together in its accustomed pattern, rejecting and suppressing the social and ideological aspects of change."⁶⁷ It is true that southern conservatism of the time placed a premium on order, status, and decorum that rivaled 19th century England, in fact, massive resistance as a strategy was an expression of a mindset of fundamental distrust of democracy itself. While the massive resistance dogma drew attention as it pertained to resisting integration

⁶⁴ Thomas, William G., III. "Television News of The Civil Rights Era 1950-1970." *The Geography of Slavery*. 2005. <http://www2.vcdh.virginia.edu/civilrightstv/glossary/glossary.html>.

⁶⁵ Driver, Justin. 2014. Supremacies and the Southern Manifesto. *Texas Law Review* 92 (5) (04): 1053-135

⁶⁶ *Ibids*.

⁶⁷ Bartley, Numan V. *The Rise of Massive Resistance: Race and Politics in the South during the 1950's*. 1969. p.237.

of schooling and other social settings, Bartley argued that the ultimate motivating fear of staunch segregationists was interracial marriage. He imparted the following logic for the typical southern segregationists, “Negroes were inferior; they were either the product of a separate and less complete evolutionary process or simply inferior by nature. Given this assumption, the possibility of racial intermarriage was frightening.”⁶⁸ Indeed, to understand the dedicated southern segregationists’ mindset toward integration it to recognize that, in their minds, the intermingling of races was not viewed as matter of preference, but as an integral biological linchpin.

Massive Resistance, while coined in Virginia, was being employed throughout the American south. In *The White South and The Red Menace*, George Lewis (2004) helpfully framed the threat of communist takeover as a mechanism for stoking the distrust that southerners typically have about “outsiders.” “Communists fitted the southern perception of “outsiders” perfectly and were depicted as intent on bringing racial tumult to the region to rival that wrought by Reconstruction.”⁶⁹ Indeed, massive resistance often looked like suggesting anything that would upset the status quo was orchestrated by communist sympathizers. Lewis purported that expressing clear anticommunist views was important for massive resistance leaders in order that they might be viewed as distinctly ‘American.’ Lewis claimed that this labeling was an important part of massive resistance for two distinct reasons, “First, the majority of white southerners believed that their region alone was the last bastion of the pure, white Anglo-Saxon Protestant values upon which, it was claimed, the nation had been founded... Second, the link between integrationists and un-Americans was strengthened by Truman’s attorney general, the Texan

⁶⁸ Bartley, Numan V. *The Rise of Massive Resistance: Race and Politics in the South during the 1950's*. 1969. p.238.

⁶⁹ Lewis, George. *The White South and the Red Menace: Segregationists, Anticommunism, and Massive Resistance, 1945-1965*. Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2004. p.15.

Tom Clark.”⁷⁰ When Clark took over the U.S. Justice Department in 1945 he made a list that circulated throughout the country of causes he deemed to be “subversive” or not in America’s best interest. Many of the organizations that found themselves on Mr. Clark’s list were advocating for African-Americans to have full, equal rights.⁷¹

The penultimate event of the massive resistance era took place in Little Rock, Arkansas in 1957, specifically at Central High School. During this time, larger cities in Tennessee and North Carolina had already begun the process of admitting African-Americans into traditionally white public schools. Arkansas had joined Virginia and others in defiance of the federal courts ruling in the *Brown* case. Arkansas Governor Orval Faubus bluntly declared that, “the Supreme Court decision is not the law of the land.”⁷² Nine young African-American students were set to enroll and begin classes at Central High along with approximately 1,900 white classmates. However, protests and intimidation mounted on the school’s grounds leading to legal issues that forced the school board to request the nine students delay enrolling out of safety concerns. The students eventually were admitted under the protection of the 101st Airborne Division by order of President Dwight D. Eisenhower. While these brave students did not escape without emotional and physical trauma, they persisted.⁷³ Rolph claimed the integration of Central High School proved the ultimate unsustainability of the massive resistance framework, “Once Eisenhower had, however belatedly, sent federal troops to Little Rock to desegregate Central High in 1957, it was clear that there would be no total victory for proponents of continued southern segregation.”⁷⁴ Little Rock Central High School was a test case of massive resistance ideology

⁷⁰ Lewis, George. *The White South and the Red Menace: Segregationists*, 2004.

⁷¹ *Ibids*.

⁷² Bartley, Numan V. *The Rise of Massive Resistance: Race and Politics in the South during the 1950's*. 1969.p.265.

⁷³ Beals, Melba. *Warriors Don't Cry: The Searing Memoir of the Battle to Integrate Little Rock's Central High*. New York: Simon Pulse, 2007.

⁷⁴ Rolph, Stephanie R. *Resisting Equality: The Citizens Council, 1954-1989*. 2018.p.56.

and, put simply, it failed. By 1959 the movement had collapsed and in its place came less overt and even more carefully choreographed efforts to preserve segregation, particularly in K-12 education.

Forced School Integration Loomed

By the mid-1960s the promises of the *Brown vs. The Board of Education* decision had yet to be realized deep in the American south where an overwhelming majority of public schools in the state remained segregated. With some private schools already forming, there was considerable suspicion that tighter segregation enforcement of Mississippi's education system was fast approaching. Those that were part of the private school movement correctly anticipated the sea change that would come in Mississippi K-12 public education when in the summer of 1969 the federal appeals court asked the US Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) to produce desegregation plans for thirty-three school districts in Mississippi. The 1964 Civil Rights Act formally ordered HEW to draw up desegregation plans for the districts. For obvious reasons, this proved to be an exceedingly difficult task and both HEW and the Justice Department asked the Courts for extensions until December 1st claiming that the plans would result in confusion and setbacks.⁷⁵ Their request was granted and it was the first time the federal government had supported a desegregation delay in the federal courts. The Fifth Circuit court granted Mississippi the delay with no specific date for implementing the desegregation plans.⁷⁶

Later that same year, the Supreme Court heard the case of *Alexander v. The Holmes County Board of Education*. According to *American Public School Law*, the Mississippi schools remained under segregated conditions contrary to the applicable decisions of the Supreme

⁷⁵ Woodward, Bob, and Scott Armstrong. 1979. *The Brethren: Inside the Supreme Court*. New York: Simon and Schuster

⁷⁶ *Ibids*.

Court.⁷⁷ The decision in this case determined that the previous dicta of “all deliberate speed” for desegregation was no longer constitutionally permissible. The court then ruled that the dual school systems based on race must be abolished immediately and in their place a unitary public school system should exist.⁷⁸ While the wheels of the MPSA were already in motion prior to the Supreme Court’s ruling, the decision in the *Alexander* case coincided with a precipitous spike in the formation of and the enrollment of large quantities of white Mississippians migrating to private schools. The evidence suggests that once the *Alexander* case was decided and it became clear that statewide school integration would be enforced, citizens from counties all over Mississippi did what was necessary to quickly wash their hands of the American public education system.

Laying The Groundwork

Organized, cunning outfits like the Citizen’s Council and The Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission, an organization overseen by the governor to protect the, so called, sovereignty of the state from interference by the federal government, managed to maintain segregation in Mississippi’s public K-12 schools into the late 1960s. This discrimination persisted despite such monumental Civil Rights’ events as James Meredith’s integration of the University of Mississippi and the Freedom Summer of 1964. However, with the same anticipation that prompted Robert Patterson to start the Citizens Council in 1954 prior to the announcement of the *Brown* ruling, Simmons and some of his contemporaries felt that a ruling to fully enforce the integration of all Mississippi schools was imminent. Their suspicion prompted the creation of Citizens Council Schools in 1964, motivated by the idea that private schools

⁷⁷ Alexander, Kern, and M. D. Alexander. 1985. *American Public School Law*. 2nd ed. St. Paul: West Pub. Co. p.424

⁷⁸ Lord, J. Dennis, and John C. Catau. 1976. School Desegregation, Busing, and Suburban Migration. *Urban Education* 11 (3) (October 01): 277.

would keep white children away from, what Council members referred to as, the disaster that would befall with racial integration.⁷⁹

White Mississippians felt that they had much to lose if schools were integrated. It is perhaps easy to dismiss the majority of white Mississippians at that time as people who simply hated anyone different, and while there is veracity to that argument, it is important to consider the additional justifications asserted for their actions at that time. Research has revealed three primary motives. First, Mississippi of the 1950s and 60s had a substantial black population, as Simmons' made reference to earlier, that whites feared, if mobilized, would be able to overthrow the firmly entrenched white, local government.⁸⁰ Luther Munford's (1973)

Integrated education identified a pattern in Mississippi: the blacker the county the poorer and less educated the black population was and the richer and more educated the white population was. Whites felt especially threatened because they felt they would be overwhelmed by the number of black people, but also by a population with different standards.⁸¹ Secondly, there was a fear that in spite of the separate but equal promise of *Plessy vs Ferguson* (1896), whites estimated that black children of the same age were several grades behind their children in school and that integration would threaten the white children's educational attainment.⁸² Third, the concept of creating private, Council schools was also keeping with the values of many white Mississippians who believed in having as little federal government interference as possible, a mindset that can be traced back to before the Civil War.

⁷⁹ Carroll. Mississippi Private Education: A Historical, Descriptive, and Normative Study. P.119.

⁸⁰ Munford, Luther. 1973. White flight from desegregation in Mississippi. *Integrated education*. 11 (05):p.23.

⁸¹ Munford, Luther. 1973. White flight from desegregation in Mississippi. *Integrated education*. 11 (05):p.18.

⁸² Lishman, Marvin Wayne. 1989. A Historical and Status Survey of the Member Schools of the Mississippi Private School Association from 1974-1989. Ph.D., The University of Mississippi.

Despite a lot of enthusiasm, many citizens were skeptical as to how large numbers of private schools that were not military, boarding, or affiliated with the Catholic Church could function in Mississippi. Indeed, forming a new type of private school would entail a great deal of fiscal, administrative, and legal creativity. William J. Simmons was well aware that a pivot to private education would be met with considerable skepticism. But by utilizing the networks and propaganda machine that the Citizens Council had already established, he believed, white Mississippians would be able to see his vision for how they could maintain segregation despite federal intervention. Regarding the popular sentiment of white citizens during the early days of what would become the MPSA, Mr. Simmons explained that, “it was an article of faith that private schools just wouldn't work because the traditional private schools, most of which were boarding schools, were on the decline. But this was a whole new approach. And the idea was to apply business principles and, in effect, mass production or operating on a larger scale, higher volume basis, than the traditional private schools. And without the overhead.”⁸³ Simmons knew that the same missionary-esque passion that had helped spread the message of Citizens’ Council would need to be applied to the establishment of a large network of private schools in order to receive buy-in across Mississippi.

Despite the trepidation of some, in March of 1964 the Citizens Council formed a committee with the expressed purpose of establishing a private school option for white students and families. Once the committee of Council members formed, it was decided that it would serve two primary purposes. First, establish a private school in the state capital of Jackson. Secondly, developing operational intelligence and a viable plan for establishing and sustaining a new type of private school because the Council felt spreading this model to other communities in the state

⁸³ Caudill., Oral history with Mr. William J. Simmons, p.74

would be critically important should integration of public schools be enforced in the years to come.⁸⁴

Because there was virtually no road map for starting a private school such as this in the Deep South, the members of the committee traveled to Farmville, Virginia to tour Prince Edward Academy in hopes of obtaining some strategies to accomplish their ambitious plans. In 1959, Prince Edward County became a part of the national conversation because it was seen as the last bastion of massive resistance in the “solid south.” According to Robbins L. Gates (1964), “Rather than face a court order to desegregate by a certain date, the white citizens of that county chose to abandon public schools...white children began attendance at what purported to be private schools; Negro parents were advised that their only recourse was to establish private schools for Negroes.”⁸⁵ Prince Edward Academy, was by and large an entity created with the leadership of two men, Robert Edward Taylor, Sr. and Dr. Ray A. Moore.⁸⁶⁸⁷ Moore, a decorated veteran, accomplished physician, and elder at College Presbyterian Church,⁸⁸ was the leader of Prince Edward county school board that voted to cease operations rather than integrate schools.⁸⁹ Once the public schools were closed, Taylor, a member of the choir at St. John’s Episcopal Church and owner of manufacturing company that built homes, schools, and commercial buildings, established and took the leadership post of the Prince Edward School foundation that

⁸⁴ Lishman A Historical and Status Survey of the Mississippi Private School Association from 1974-1989

⁸⁵ Gates, Robbins L., 1964, *The Making of Massive Resistance: Virginia's Politics of Public School Desegregation, 1954-1956*.

⁸⁶ Green, Kristen. “How Segregation Still Haunts Prince Edward County.” The Atlantic. Atlantic Media Company, August 3, 2015. <https://www.theatlantic.com/national/archive/2015/08/segregation-prince-edward-county/400256/>.

⁸⁷ Baker, Donald P. “Closed.” The Washington Post. WP Company, March 4, 2001. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/lifestyle/magazine/2001/03/04/closed/327020e7-afb0-43ec-9c43-2b6bcbbc7b57/>.

⁸⁸ Published 9:05 am Tuesday, August 10. “Dr. Ray A. Moore, 83 Local Physician Dies Sunday.” Farmville, May 30, 2015. <https://www.farmvilleherald.com/2010/08/dr-ray-a-moore-83-local-physician-dies-sunday/>.

⁸⁹ Baker, Donald P. “Closed.” The Washington Post. WP Company, March 4, 2001

produced Prince Edward Academy.⁹⁰ It was documented that the representatives from the MPSA felt that the trip to Prince Edward Academy was productive, however they believed the majority of the working operations for how to run a private school would come from on the ground experience in Jackson.⁹¹

Building a Private School Coalition

A great deal of the momentum that would eventually turn into the growth of the private school movement in Mississippi came from the very publication that Simmons' edited, *The Citizen Council*, which circulated to Council groups all over the country. A book entitled *Citizens Councils and Private Education* also emerged at this time giving even more credibility to the movement.⁹² In "Civil Rights and the Private School Movement in Mississippi, 1964-1971," author Michael W. Fuquay (2002) contended that private schools may be the understated legacy of the white Citizens' Council, "Undertaken at a time when most contemporary observers and historians believed their movement was rapidly declining into irrelevance, the private school system created by the Citizens' Councils may well be their most significant and last endeavor."⁹³

As the Council's new venture into private education gained traction, state government money was used to subsidize the schools. Receiving this state money coupled with the fact that the Council Schools were admitting students and becoming fully operational gave white Mississippians, regardless of their views on integration, some demonstrative proof that private schools could emerge as a legitimate option in the no-so-distant future. Reflecting back on the early days of Council Schools, Simmons explained the dichotomy that he and his constituents

⁹⁰ "Robert Edward Taylor, Sr (1919-2007) - Find A..." Find A Grave. Accessed November 25, 2019. <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/17338260/robert-edward-taylor>.

⁹¹ Carroll. Mississippi Private Education: A Historical, Descriptive, and Normative study. P.118.

⁹² Carroll. Mississippi Private Education: A Historical, Descriptive, and Normative study. P.119.

⁹³ Fuquay, Michael W. "Civil Rights and the Private School Movement in Mississippi, 1964 - 1971." History of Education Quarterly 42, no. 2 (2002): 159; 180; 180.

faced as they tried to rally their fellow Mississippians to take steps like forming private schools to combat integration, “we first began to organize a private school because we realized that, the direction that things were taking, with the passage of the Civil Rights Act, that local school boards had been superseded by the federal government and that all the local school boards could do was raise taxes and that was it.”⁹⁴

Simmons was keenly aware that his contemporaries reviled few things more than having to surrender local control of any entity to the federal government. As local school boards around the state became increasingly less powerful, Simmons and others of his ilk saw an opportunity to grow the Council School model to other areas of the state by capitalizing on Mississippian’s notorious distrust of the federal government and the belief that the majority of whites in the state wanted to preserve segregated education. If anyone nationally or locally was skeptical about the desire for and feasibility of private schools in Mississippi, a report in 1966 would seem to leave little doubt that citizens in counties all over the state were serious about maintaining segregation even if it meant changing secondary education in Mississippi forever. Jim Lesson of the *Southern Education Report* claimed that the, “expanding movement of private schools in the South have grown directly out of increased pressure by the federal government for student and teacher desegregation in public school classrooms.”⁹⁵ According to Lesson, “In Mississippi, the state has issued charters to 61 new private schools since...Congress passed the Civil Rights Act requiring school desegregation...and the Mississippi Legislature authorized [private school] tuition grants.”⁹⁶ Applying for charters and authorizing tuition grants appears to reveal the

⁹⁴ Caudill., Oral history with Mr. William J. Simmons, p.45

⁹⁵ Lesson, Jim. 1966. *Private Schools Continue to Increase in the South*. “Southern Education Report” Volume 2, Number 4, November 1966. P.22

⁹⁶ *Ibids*.

anticipation that many Mississippians had that the federal government was about to intervene and limit each district and school boards' local control to enforce desegregation.

Based largely on the Council schools' success, there was enough interest to call an exploratory meeting of concerned citizens from all over Mississippi, including William Simmons. The meeting took place on January 11th, 1966 at the Robert E. Lee Hotel in downtown Jackson, MS. The topic was the NAACP and private school expansion. Reflecting back, Mr. Simmons, who presided over the meeting, offered that "the reason for the initial meeting was to defend the court action the NAACP brought against the grant-in-aid given to students of private schools by the state of Mississippi."⁹⁷

The action that Simmons' was referring to was an attempt made by the Mississippi Legislature "to encourage the education of all children of Mississippi, by supporting private schools with funds from the Educational Finance Commission."⁹⁸ The allocation formula billed \$180.00 per child initially, and later increased to \$240.00 per child. These state contributions gave the newly formed schools a significant amount of operations money and in a few cases, covered 90% of student tuition.⁹⁹ It is important to keep in mind that the money given to the private schools did not decrease the amount of money allocated for public education. However, due to the NAACP's challenge to private school tuition grants, Simmons and his Citizens' Council allies had to step up efforts to promote private schools, increase revenue, and thereby distance themselves from the American public education system.

G.J. Cain, head of the Mississippi Education and Finance commission, was also in attendance at that small gathering. According to the meeting minutes, Cain gave attendees details

⁹⁷ The minutes of the Organizational Meeting of the Mississippi Private School Association. In private possession of the MPSA. Shared with E. Gray Flora IV, October 17th, 2014.

⁹⁸ Lishman A Historical and Status Survey of the Mississippi Private School Association from 1974-1989. P.33.

⁹⁹ *Ibids*.

on what was happening to private schools in the state, both their progress and their underlying issues respective to tuition assistance for private schools and waivers for state and local taxes.¹⁰⁰ Having a state government official speak at such a small meeting is indicative of the clout of some of those involved in the Citizens Council. These early meetings show the commitment of private school leaders to be agile in anticipating threats to maintaining segregation. In the next two years, private schools began forming around the state as the inevitability of federally forced school integration became increasingly real to white Mississippians.

At the January meeting, representatives from twenty-five private, independent, Christian schools with a total enrollment of 1,736 pupils met to discuss a legal action brought on by the Mississippi chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). The lawsuit alleged that the grant-in-aid given by the State of Mississippi to assist in the formation and operation of segregated private schools was in violation of the Constitution. After much deliberation and hand-wringing, the meeting adjourned with an agreement that a smaller, executive committee would reconvene on the 28th of the month to fine tune a legal strategy. Members of that executive committee included G.J. Cain – the son of a state higher education administrator, William J. Simmons – publisher of the preeminent Citizen’s Council publication, *The Citizens’ Council*, and Robert Carson – a member of the Delta gentry from Marks¹⁰¹. In the executive session, the committee decided to retain the services of three prominent Mississippi attorneys – Semmes Luckett, Hardy Lott, and Earl Thomas. Twenty-one schools contributed to the attorney’s \$10,000 retainer¹⁰². James Graeber, also of Marks, served as the liaison between the lawyers and the schools. The legal action taken by the NAACP lagged

¹⁰⁰ The minutes of the Organizational Meeting of the MPSA, January 1968.

¹⁰¹ Report of Organizational Meeting of the Mississippi Private School Association January 20, 1968. In private possession of the MPSA. Shared with the author, October 17th, 2014.

¹⁰² *Ibids*.

for several years, but immediately it served as galvanizing influence for those in charge of the first of several of what *Newsweek* would eventually call “Instant Schools”¹⁰³ to formally come together and seek strength in numbers.

¹⁰³ “Instant Schools,” *Newsweek* 75 (January 26, 1970): p.59.

Chapter III

An Association Takes Root

January 20, 1968

Beginning in the 1964-65 school year, approximately 600 students were enrolled in newly-formed private schools. The next year enrollment increased to 1,736; the following year that number swelled to 3,197, and by 1967-68 students enrolled had surpassed 4,500 students across the state.¹⁰⁴ As a point of reference, in Noxubee County, MS white student enrollment in public schools plunged from 829 in 1967 to just 71 in 1968, the same year Central Academy was founded in the county seat of Macon.¹⁰⁵

Roused by the NAACP's legal action, the first formal meeting of the Mississippi Private School Association (MPSA) commenced at LeFleur's Convention Center in Downtown Jackson, MS. The minutes of this first meeting were kept by Mrs. Ed Russell¹⁰⁶. William J. "Bill" Simmons opened the meeting with a welcome to all the delegates and stated that 41 non-profit educational organizations from around Mississippi were invited to send a representative to this meeting and 32 had replied and were in attendance on that day. After the group recited the pledge of allegiance and had an opening prayer led by Reverend Bill Carr, Mr. Simmons recommended that it would be in order to elect officers and directors so that the MPSA could be operational. Simmons then made the suggestion that a chairmen and secretary be elected to serve

¹⁰⁴ Carroll. Mississippi Private Education: An Historical, Descriptive, and Normative study.

¹⁰⁵ Swartz, David R. "'Mista Mid-Nights': Mennonites and Race in Mississippi." *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 78, no. 4 (2004): 469.

¹⁰⁶ MPSA minutes. January 20, 1968

a temporary term during the installation process of the new association. Mr. Simmons's own personal secretary, Mrs. Ed Russell was unanimously appointed secretary and Robert Carson the representative from County Day School in Marks, MS was appointed chairman.¹⁰⁷

Once these elections were made official, the newly appointed chairman called upon Mr. G.J. Cain of Jackson who was employed by the Mississippi State Educational Finance Commission to inform those in attendance about the plight of Mississippi private schools, both their progress and their problems, thus far. Cain stated that one of the main problems private schools around the state had been facing was that of buildings, "most schools had started in churches, but about 15 or 20 had since built their own schools."¹⁰⁸ He emphasized that, going forward, there was dire need for a systematic way of financing buildings.

According to Cain, at the time of the meeting, only three private schools were not accredited. He then brought out a map of the state with a pin on the location of every new private school. According to the meeting minutes, this was done to illustrate what he saw as an opportunity ahead and a way to "emphasize the growth of the movement."¹⁰⁹ Cain also stressed the importance of creating some policy surrounding a retirement plans for teachers in these newly formed private schools. He suggested that the current legislation pertaining to Mississippi teachers' retirement fund not simply be amended to include teachers at private schools, but be completely changed, "to include all teachers interchangeably, so that it mattered not if they went from public to private school and vice versa."¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ MPSA minutes. January 20, 1968

¹⁰⁸ *Ibids.*

¹⁰⁹ *Ibids.*

¹¹⁰ *Ibids.*

Mr. Earl Edwards of Cruger-Tchula Academy, a school that had opened in 1963 and boasted full state accreditation,¹¹¹ gave a presentation on issues and obstacles unique to private, independent schools that he believed could be alleviated by the forming of an association. He was formally known as Colonel Earl W. Edwards, a graduate of Mississippi State University, who served in the U.S. Army from 1939-1962. He was a veteran of World War II serving in the 22nd Infantry Regiment landing at Utah Beach in France and fighting in Belgium, Luxembourg, and Germany.¹¹² He offered eight suggestions that he hoped would persuade those in attendance that forming an association was needed. The first was accreditation which he knew was important in the minds of the patrons. Accreditation of an elementary school was not difficult but that of a private high school in Mississippi was much more challenging because there were only two choices: (a) to use the present agency¹¹³ for this purpose or (b) to form their own accrediting agency. The advantage of using present agencies was that they were well-known, whereas a new one would have to be established.

Secondly, Mr. Edwards believed the National Accreditation Association would not recognize the new schools if they refused to merge with the “Negro Association.”¹¹⁴ Third, Mr. Edwards stressed that athletics would be very important to the legitimacy of the association. In most of the existing schools, the 7th and 8th grades were small in size— at that age boys want to play football and if the cost of playing is integration—and he believed that many would integrate to pursue athletics if a viable, segregated option was not available. Fourth, it was recommended

¹¹¹ Carroll. Mississippi Private Education: An Historical, Descriptive, and Normative study. P.118.

¹¹² Earl W. Edwards Papers, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.

¹¹³ The Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (SACS)

¹¹⁴ MPSA minutes January 20, 1968

that it would be beneficial to have someone to represent the association to the state legislature. Because of the extensive network of power and authority in Mississippi backing the association via the Citizens' Council, legislative influence was not difficult to secure. Attempts to influence the state legislature would play out later that same year when a bill was passed appropriating \$240 per child in vouchers for private school tuition. This act was eventually struck down at the federal level as unconstitutional, but before the ruling the bill galvanized citizens across the state to start new schools with the incentive of state revenue serving as a financial anchor.¹¹⁵

Fifth on Edward's list was the matter of upcoming elections. Edwards urged those in attendance to ask politicians, where they stand on each issue that affects the association and report back on any politicians that did not appear to sympathetic to their cause. Sixth, Mr. Edwards explained that if an association was formed it could assist in forming new schools throughout the south. Seventh, a formal association could do a better job assuring school employees have competitive teacher retirement benefits. Lastly, Mr. Edwards felt that forming an association would be a useful forum for the sharing of knowledge and common practices.¹¹⁶

The next topic discussed in the association's first meeting was the current state and national legal landscape as it pertained to the private schools movement. Mr. Bo Gwinn, an attorney from Greenwood, MS, was asked by Carson to give an update on a lawsuit brought by "the NAACP on behalf of 23 negroes versus Mississippi" which claimed that any public monies going to support private schools was unconstitutional.¹¹⁷ Gwinn explained that there was no formal update on the Mississippi suit. He could, however, refresh those in attendance on the genesis of the lawsuit facing private schools in Mississippi. He mentioned the suit originated in

¹¹⁵ Carroll, Terry Doyle. Mississippi Private Education: An Historical, Descriptive, and Normative Study 1981.

¹¹⁶ MPSA minutes. January 20, 1968.

¹¹⁷ *Ibids*.

Holmes County, MS in February of 1966 and noted that Judges Cox, Coleman, and Russell had taken the case on depositions. Mr. Gwinn told the group that in the second half of 1967, Justice Department attorneys dispersed throughout Mississippi and took depositions from all over the state regarding the charges. He then described the provision under which the NAACP was claiming that current private schools in Mississippi should not be receiving state funding. Their argument was based on a statute in Virginia which read: (1) There must be no State involvement and (2) it is a crime for a State official to intervene and (3) the preponderance of support is not from tuition grants. The Virginia statutes were held up as constitutional.¹¹⁸ Mr. Gwinn explained that this litigation, if upheld by the courts, would deter the new organization's plan to seek state assistance for their schools.

After Mr. Gwinn finished speaking, Ed Cates, the recently elected City Commissioner of Jackson and trusted adviser to former Mississippi Governor Ross Barnett, addressed the group and proclaimed that the people of Mississippi had earned the right to private education.¹¹⁹ He suggested additional aid could possibly be granted to patrons of private schools in the form of some sort of tax benefit. Mr. Cates' involvement in these early meetings is yet another example of the kind of the powerful, well-connected individuals the MPSA utilized from its beginning. He claimed, "Although a private school was 'new animal'—tax exemption was not, citing exemptions since 1848."¹²⁰

Next, Mr. Carson put a rhetorical question before the group, "Where are we going?" He then explained that a smaller group of school representatives had met at Pillow Academy in

¹¹⁸ MPSA minutes. January 20, 1968.

¹¹⁹ *Ibids.*

¹²⁰ *Ibids.*

Greenwood, MS the previous week to construct the skeleton of an MPSA constitution and charter of incorporation. The seven institutional representatives in attendance were:

- 1) Dr. Medford Evans
- 2) Mr. Bob Hardeman
- 3) Mr. John Huff
- 4) Mr. Lee King
- 5) Mr. Jack Olson
- 6) Mr. Frank Wynn
- 7) Mr. Ben Yandell

Attorney Dan H. Shell of Jackson was also in attendance in the Delta that day to consult on the legal matters pertaining to forming an association. The gentleman left the meeting with a draft of by-laws and incorporation language. A copy of their work was distributed to the broader group for review at this first official meeting. After the copies were passed out to all the delegates, Dr. Medford Evans pointed out that, “in reviewing the by-laws, that the schools are members – not individuals.”¹²¹

After the lunch hour, the delegates had the option of attending one of the following three separate discussions. Mr. Edwards conducted a general discussion. Mr. Bo Gwinn and Mr. Ed Cates presided over a conversation on legal matters germane to private schools. Finally, those interested in joining the organization’s constitutional commission could meet to discuss what the commission entailed. After these discussions, the entire group came back together and ultimately reached an agreement to set up a legal fund that would protect the interests of the MPSA moving forward. After some rousing discussion, there were a few ratifications to the

¹²¹ MPSA minutes January 20, 1968.

original draft of the MPSA constitution and an agreement was reached stating new schools that wish to join the association would have until March 31, 1968 to apply if they wanted to be considered a charter member of the organization. James Graeber reminded that the group still owed \$2,134.00 in legal fees related to the business of incorporating. The meeting was then adjourned with the next formal meeting set to take place on April 20th.¹²²

March 12, 1968

In his role as temporary secretary, William J. Simmons sent out a report on the January organizational meeting to interested parties around the state. This report revealed details that were not explicit in the inaugural meeting minutes. First, he revealed that there was at least one legal point that remained unresolved: whether or not a non-profit corporation could themselves become members of another non-profit corporation or whether Mississippi law limited membership in non-profit corporations to actual individuals.¹²³ Simmons admitted that this question remained unresolved but that interested parties would be nominated for membership after an answer was confirmed. The minutes for the January meeting also alluded to the need for each organization to nominate a director. The March report revealed the names and organizations, spread all across the state that made up the inaugural members of the MPSA:

- 1) Mr. M.O. Weatherly, Benton County Educational Foundation, Ashland, MS (Benton County)
- 2) Mr. Jack Chatham, Claiborne County Educational Foundation, Lorman, MS (Jefferson County)
- 3) Dr. Medford Evans, Council School Foundation, Jackson, MS (Hinds County)
- 4) Mr. Robert K. O'Reilly, Cruger-Tchula Academy, Cruger, MS (Holmes County)

¹²² MPSA minutes January 20, 1968.

¹²³ Report of Organizational Meeting of the Mississippi Private School Association, March 12, 1968. In private possession of the MPSA. Shared with the author, October 17th, 2014.

- 5) Mr. Frank Drake, East Holmes Academy, West, MS (Holmes County)
- 6) Dr. John E. Lindley, Jefferson Davis Academy, Meridian, MS (Lauderdale County)
- 7) Mr. Jim True, Harrison County Private School, Gulfport, MS (Harrison County)¹²⁴

**Ashland is on the Tennessee border and Gulfport sits at the foot of the Gulf of Mexico*

The report revealed that the original constitution and bylaws required a membership of \$500 that could be paid in installments of \$125 which, today, would be installments of \$931.59 with a total of \$3,726.36.¹²⁵ At the time of Simmons' writing, five schools had paid their membership fees in full: Lamar School Foundation, Meridian; Cruger-Tchula Academy; Indianola Educational Foundation; Council School Foundation, Jackson; Pillow Academy, Greenwood. Simmons also made it known that members present at the meeting were encouraged to spread the word, "If you know of any other school that should be included, please let me know."¹²⁶

April 20, 1968

The MPSA officially convened for the second time at LeFleur's Convention Center in Jackson, MS. Twelve new organizations from different counties in Mississippi were on hand and represented by an elected delegate with full power to vote on all matters.¹²⁷ This gave the MPSA a total of 19 charter members:

- 1) Benton County Education Foundation, Ashland
- 2) Central Holmes Academy, Lexington
- 3) Citizens Educational Foundation, Vicksburg
- 4) Claiborne Education Foundation, Lorman

¹²⁴ MPSA Report, March 1968

¹²⁵ The Inflation Calculator. Accessed April 8, 2020. <https://westegg.com/inflation/infl.cgi>.

¹²⁶ MPSA Report, March 1968.

¹²⁷ The minutes of the Mississippi Private School Association, April 20, 1968. In private possession of the MPSA. Shared with E. Gray Flora IV, October 17th, 2014.

- 5) Copiah Educational Foundation, Crystal Springs
- 6) Council School Foundation, Jackson
- 7) Cruger-Tchula Academy, Cruger
- 8) East Holmes Academy, West
- 9) Forrest County School Foundation, Hattiesburg
- 10) Harrison County Private School, Gulfport
- 11) Indianola Educational Foundation, Indianola
- 12) Jefferson Davis Academy, Meridian
- 13) Lamar School Foundation, Meridian
- 14) Pillow Academy, Greenwood
- 15) Quitman County Educational Foundation, Marks
- 16) Rebul Academy, Learned
- 17) Sharkey-Issaquena Academy, Rolling Fork
- 18) Shaw Educational Foundation, Shaw
- 19) Walnut Hills School, Vicksburg¹²⁸

After the new Charter members were announced, Acting Secretary Simmons asked for the approval of ten new directors which brought the total number of directors to sixteen. These directors served as delegates for their school foundation and held full voting power for their school within the non-profit association, due the aforementioned legality that prevented the non-profit foundations (schools) from affiliation with another non-profit (the MPSA). The following new directors were approved at this meeting:

- 1) Mr. A. M. McLemore, Copiah Educational Foundation

¹²⁸ MPSA minutes. April 20, 1968.

- 2) Mr. Bob Hardeman, Greenwood LeFlore Educational Foundation
- 3) Mr. Dan Coit, Lamar School Foundation, Meridian
- 4) Mr. Glenn A. Cain, Indianola Educational Foundation, Inc.
- 5) Mr. R. A. Carson, Quitman County Educational Foundation
- 6) Mr. W. H. Greer, Rebul Academy, Learned
- 7) Mr. Arthur H. Choate, Sharkey-Issaquena Academy Foundation
- 8) Mr. Lee Bizzell, Shaw Educational Foundation
- 9) Mrs. Good S. Lee, Walnut Hills School, Vicksburn

**Mr. W.F. Waterer replaced Mr. Robert K. O'Reilly as director of Cruger- Tchula Academy¹²⁹*

Temporary president Robert Carson called on Mr. Ed Cates to update those present on proposed legislation to secure tax relief for parents paying tuition for their children's education. Cates informed the schools involved in the legislation that once the bill proposal was assigned a number they should, "have citizens contact their legislators on behalf of their school foundations to support the bill." Cates emphasized that it was important that once a number was provided for the aforementioned bill proposal, it was very important that each MPSA delegate contact their legislator and encourage them to support the legislation.¹³⁰

Mr. J. Dudley Buford, an attorney with the law firm Satterfield, Shell, Williams, and Buford, reported on discussions with the Attorney General, Joseph Turner Patterson, to approve the MPSA's charter of incorporation.¹³¹ After some deliberation, Buford advised that the MPSA no longer pursue the charter and instead explore one of the following alternatives: operate as an unincorporated association or continue moving towards the process of incorporation with

¹²⁹ MPSA minutes. April 20, 1968.

¹³⁰ *Ibids.*

¹³¹ *Ibids.*

individual persons as members. The two alternatives were brought to a vote and the majority ruled that the MPSA henceforth operate as an unincorporated association meaning the previously listed delegates were in fact the technical members of the MPSA and not the actual schools. Buford insisted that the action to have delegates be the members of MPSA would, “not necessitate any change whatsoever in the by-laws other than the substitution of ‘association’ for ‘corporation.’”¹³² Buford also recommended that the association secure liability insurance.¹³³

With the organizational structure more firmly in place, Dr. Medford Evans, chairman of the constitution and by-laws committee presided over the election of the first permanent officers of the MPSA. Carson and Simmons retained their previously held posts, while Glenn A. Cain of Indianola (a scholarship would later be named in his honor at Jackson Academy) was elected Vice-President and Jackson’s Dr. Medford Evans, who held a PhD from Yale, appointed Treasurer. This new leadership team, henceforth known as the executive committee, was given full power to act on the association’s behalf in all instances and also agreed that they would meet monthly. During the course of this meeting it was also decided that several standing committees should form to deal directly with particular issues that the MPSA would need to be conscious of moving forward if they were to establish their schools as a sound, legitimate option to integrated public schools.. In addition to officer elections, there was discussion about quickly forming standing committees comprised of delegates to work on the following issues: teacher retirement plans, legal and legislative affairs, accreditation and academic standards, interscholastic and athletic competition, and public relations.¹³⁴

Saturday, May 17 1968

¹³² MPSA minutes. April 20, 1968.

¹³³ *Ibids.*

¹³⁴ *Ibids.*

Shortly after this second official meeting, the newly appointed executive committee met on a Saturday in the director's room of the Mississippi Power and Light Company in Indianola, MS. All executive members were in attendance. At this gathering, it was determined that in order move the organization towards fully operational status more data was needed. The following questionnaire was sent out to each member school:

PLEASE COMPLETE AND RETURN THIS FORM BY MAY 31, 1968

Mail to: Mississippi Private School Association
315 Plaza Building
Jackson, Mississippi

Name of School _____

Address _____

Name and address of correspondent to whom mail should be sent _____

Enrollment by grades as of May 1, 1968

1st	4th	7th	10th
2nd	5th	8th	11th
3rd	6th	9th	12th

Number of grades anticipated next year _____

Enrollment anticipated for next year _____

	<u>Full Time</u>	<u>Part Time</u>
Number of classroom teachers	_____	_____
Number of administrative personnel	_____	_____

What extra curricular activities did you participate in this year?

Will you have summer school? _____

Are you accredited at this time by the Mississippi Accrediting Commission? _____

Names of persons (faculty or directors) from your school who would be interested in working on MPSA committees in the following fields:

Academic program _____

Saturday, June 15 1968

The next meeting of the MPSA took place at 10 a.m. CST at LeFleur's Convention Center in Jackson. It was reported that, although the organization was still technically unincorporated, an official MPSA bank account had been established and contained \$2,350.00 which came from the dues paid by each member¹³⁵. Secretary Simmons then reported on work being done by the legislation committee on the MPSA's behalf. Simmons claimed that there was a good chance that both the tax credit bill (No. 810) and the bill to increase the amount of the state tuition grant (No. 114) would pass. This would allow for the evolving private schools to save money on operating costs and assist families with tuition. Although there would be some minor modifications to each of the bills, he anticipated that the efforts of the legislation committee had been effective. Once again, it was encouraged that each member contact their legislator and asked them to support the bill now that they bills had been assigned a number.

As mentioned in the previous gathering, dialogue about forming committees made of delegates from different MPSA charter member schools was discussed at length. Next, after some deliberation, the group agreed to move forward in forming five committees: legal and legislative affairs, accreditation and academic standards, interscholastic and athletic competition, public relations, and teacher-retirement.¹³⁶ Other notable action from the meeting included a vote and approval of a surety bond for Treasurer Dr. Medford Evans in the amount \$10,000. It was also agreed that moving forward, the annual meeting of the MPSA would take place on the last Friday in February.¹³⁷

Schools Blossomed and Ambitions Grew

¹³⁵ The minutes of the Mississippi Private School Association, June 15, 1968. In private possession of the MPSA. Shared with E. Gray Flora IV, October 17th, 2014.

¹³⁶ MPSA minutes. June 15, 1968.

¹³⁷ *Ibids*.

Early in 1969, the MPSA came into the year with, according to the Treasurer's report, a total of \$2,606.63 of cash on hand. So far, the only expenses that had been accrued were \$25 paid to a bond with Brickell Insurance Agency, \$6.40 paid toward bank charges, and \$28.25 for letterhead provided by Hederman Brothers printing company.¹³⁸ Prior to the MPSA's annual meeting to take place on the last Friday in February, the executive committee sent out correspondence to all that might attend letting them know of the activities that were planned. Most notably, the MPSA would host an outside speaker, Dr. Henry E. Garrett, who, according to the correspondence, was "the internationally famous psychologist and strong supporter of private education,"¹³⁹ After Dr. Garrett's remarks, the plan was to hold group meetings that would separate attendees into the following categories: (a) board of directors, (b) administrators, (c) elementary teachers, (d) high school teachers, and (e) coaches.¹⁴⁰

February, 28 1969

The 2nd annual meeting of MPSA was held at 10 a.m. on Friday at LeFleur's convention Center in Jackson. With several schools now fully operational, the leadership committee felt it important that teachers and other employees attend this meeting in Jackson. They urged each school to cancel class on that day so all employees attend the meeting and meet their colleagues. All schools complied and with everyone gathered at the LeFleur Center, the leadership team announced that there were now 20 private schools operating in the Mississippi that could claim membership in the MPSA, with an additional nine schools in attendance hoping to secure membership. Those nine interested schools were:

¹³⁸ The minutes of the Mississippi Private School Association, January 21, 1969. In private possession of the MPSA. Shared with E. Gray Flora IV, October 17th, 2014.

¹³⁹ The minutes of the Mississippi Private School Association, January 30, 1969. In private possession of the MPSA. Shared with E. Gray Flora IV, October 17th, 2014.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibids*.

- 1) Marshall County Educational Foundation, Holly Springs
- 2) Noxubee Educational Foundation, Macon
- 3) Oak Hill Academy, West Point
- 4) Pines Academy, Wiggins
- 5) Tunica Institute of Learning, Tunica
- 6) Unified Private School of Lucedale
- 7) Houston Academy, Houston
- 8) Brandon Academy, Brandon
- 9) North Delta School, Inc., Senatobia

Of the member schools, there was a reported total enrollment of 2,562 students, 179 full-time faculty members, and four part-time workers.¹⁴¹ It was later brought to the attention of the attendees that four schools did not formally report their enrollment data. Even despite the incomplete data, William J. Simmons claimed that the 2,562 figure, “represents approximately ½ of all children attending private schools in Mississippi.”¹⁴² The other half of Mississippi children attending private schools were enrolled at either parochial or boarding institutions.

While the continued growth and interest in the MPSA from around the state was considered positive by all in attendance, there was some news that likely disappointed the opportunistic leaders of the MPSA. Mr. Dan H. Shell, now the association’s official attorney, announced that a recent ruling in the 5th circuit court of appeals would have a substantial impact on private schools both already in the MPSA and those who were considering membership. Shell stated that the present laws providing tuition assistance for parents of children attending private

¹⁴¹ The minutes of the Mississippi Private School Association, February 28, 1969. In private possession of the MPSA. Shared with E. Gray Flora IV, October 17th, 2014.

¹⁴² *Ibids.*

schools would be continued for the balance of the school year but would not be available in the years to come because the Federal Court had ruled them unconstitutional.¹⁴³ This new ruling meant that any child in Mississippi that wanted to attend a private school, be it in the MPSA or otherwise, would be responsible for paying their tuition in its entirety. For the newly formed schools that were still developing their fiscal structure, it would mean they would have to start back at the beginning as it pertained to how they thought about cost to the consumer.

The February meeting also allowed the newly minted committees an opportunity to report on their findings and recommend strategies for moving forward. The first group up was the accreditation committee, Colonel Earl Edwards gave their report. He revealed that MPSA member, Mr. G.J. Cain, had been appointed a member of the Mississippi Accrediting Commission (MAC). Up to that point, the MAC had been the default accreditor used by all of the schools now a part of the MPSA. Mr. Cain acknowledged that because the private school movement and the MPSA itself was relatively new in the state that it was not feasible for the MPSA to have their own accreditation body at this time, but conditions could change in the future.¹⁴⁴ In closing, Edwards informed the group that Cain's appointment was the first time a representative from a private school that was not affiliated with the Catholic Church had been appointed to the Mississippi Accrediting Commission.¹⁴⁵

The next group to bring forth their recommendations was the interscholastic activities committee chaired by Bill Davis. Davis began his remarks by encouraging all member schools to begin to cultivate activities in areas such as "choral festivals, debating contests, and track and field meets"¹⁴⁶ Davis reported that the committee had spent most of their time focusing on

¹⁴³ MPSA minutes. February 28 1968

¹⁴⁴ *Ibids.*

¹⁴⁵ *Ibids.*

¹⁴⁶ *Ibids.*

athletics, and he felt, at this time, that the MPSA schools who were currently members of the Mississippi High School Athletic Association (the body organized for the state's public schools) should remain members. However, it was the committee's recommendation that the MPSA immediately establish "rules governing age, residence, number of years in school, etc. for students participating in athletics."¹⁴⁷ He then specifically addressed the representatives of MPSA schools in attendance who were currently fielding athletic teams and requested that they help the MPSA by coordinating their athletic schedules in the future.

Next, Judge Oscar LeBarr, who chaired the teacher retirement committee, indicated that several insurance firms were very interested in accommodating the MPSA but specific bids had yet to be extended, however, along with 2 other insurance companies, "Mr. Eugene Hall of Lamar Life Insurance Company was present at the meeting and Judge LeBarr asked him to discuss the programs available."¹⁴⁸ LeBarr also announced that the committee was investigating the possibility of a change in state law which would allow a teacher to move from public to private schools in the state without the loss of benefits from their public school package. The fact that this small group of schools had access to knowledge that would allow them to anticipate changes in state laws speaks to the extraordinary connections the MPSA held.

Analysis

The meeting minutes immediately delve into a topic mentioned frequently throughout the entirety of the acquired meeting minutes: teacher benefits, especially retirement. David Nevin and Robert E. Bills' (1976) *The Schools That Fear Built* identified the plight that MPSA schools, from the onset, appeared to be seeking to avoid. The authors had this to say about many southern white teachers of the time, "Most teachers still in public schools would like to get out,

¹⁴⁷ MPSA minutes. February 28 1968

¹⁴⁸ *Ibids.*

but they can't afford the salary cut or to lose the retirement rights they've built up."¹⁴⁹ At the beginning of the meeting minutes, active Citizens' Council member, Mr. G. J. Cain has a lot to say regarding teacher's retiring packages.¹⁵⁰ Cain would certainly be conversant on such matters considering, at the time, he was the ranking member of the Mississippi State Educational Finance Commission. In the meeting he suggested drastic changes to teacher retirement plans to accommodate the new private schools. Specifically, Cain was suggested that a new rule might be created to allow teachers that had previously taught in public schools to transfer to MPSA without hindering or slowing the process of their own retirement pensions. Such an amendment would give new MPSA schools a lot of leverage in recruiting teachers. This attention to detail and boldness when it comes to attempting to turn on its head the way schools teachers were compensated displays the early ambition of those organizing the MPSA, as well as, the sincere belief that if the organization's offerings did not mirror those of public schools in every way, white teachers and students could decide to stay-put and consequently integrate the state's public schools.

During the time he had on the floor, Cain also discussed the issues that many upstart private schools were facing in terms of facilities. Cain made reference to the fact that many schools meeting in churches, something that Natalie G. Adams and James H. Adams' (2018) *Just Trying to Have School: The Struggle of Desegregation in Mississippi*, claimed was, "...not a deterrent in most communities, as local white churches offered to house the academies until more permanent facilities were secured."¹⁵¹ As a matter of fact, the school operated by Robert A.

¹⁴⁹ Nevin, David, 1927. *The Schools that Fear Built: Segregationist Academies in the South*. United States: 1976.p.54.

¹⁵⁰ *The Northside Sun*. Jackson, Mississippi, May 16, 1974.

¹⁵¹ Adams, Natalie G. and James Harold Adams. *Just Trying to have School: The Struggle for Desegregation in Mississippi*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2018.p.193.

Carson in Marks, MS was already operating in Marks Presbyterian Church and, according to Adams and Adams, by 1970 some sixteen Baptist churches partnered to house an all-white school in the city of Natchez alone.¹⁵²

The issues that Colonel Earl Edwards of Cruger-Tchula Academy outlined in the first meeting are critical for understanding the motivations for the forming of the MPSA. They also show the foresight of the group gathered at this inaugural meeting. His second point serves as clear evidence of a belief amongst the group that abandoning the public schools would be met with resistance that would likely be overwhelming if not properly managed. The third point illustrates a prevailing awareness that the speed with which the MPSA grew was critical, otherwise, Mr. Edwards and others feared that many whites students, “will integrate.”¹⁵³ The group anticipated that the demand for private schools would escalate once the federal government enforced public school integration if there was some proof that a comprehensive private school option could work. Federal enforcement was coming and these men and women wanted to be prepared.

The lawsuit brought by the NAACP discussed after Colonel Edwards spoke appears to be the *Alexander v. Holmes County Board of Education* 396 U.S. 19 (1969) case.¹⁵⁴ This case ultimately ended with a Supreme Court ruling that stated, “the obligation of every school district is to terminate dual school systems at once and to operate now and hereafter only unitary schools.”¹⁵⁵ MPSA leaders were shrewd to anticipate that this ruling would have a significant effect on enrolment in their schools if they could present a viable alternative once dual school

¹⁵² Adams and Adams Just Trying to have School: The Struggle for Desegregation in Mississippi. 2018. P.193.

¹⁵³ MPSA minutes. January 20, 1968.

¹⁵⁴ "Alexander v. Holmes County Board of Education." Oyez. Accessed December 4, 2019. <https://www.oyez.org/cases/1969/632>.

¹⁵⁵ Woodward, Bob; Armstrong, Scott (1979). The Brethren. Simon & Schuster. ISBN 0-671-24110-9.p.55.

systems were eliminated. In the totality meeting minutes there are five allusions to this case and the NAACP in general. Numan Bartley's (1969) *The Rise of Massive Resistance* captured the outlook that these men shared about the NAACP and the threat they felt because of the organization's activism. Bartley claimed that white 'massive resisters' firmly believed that, "The ultimate aim and goal of NAACP leaders in the present segregation fight is the complete intermingling of the races in housing, schools, churches, public parks, public swimming pools, and even in marriage."¹⁵⁶ It is reasonable to believe and was ultimately Bartley's contention, that the root of the desire for segregation amongst white men was that going to school together would make interracial marriages exceedingly more likely to occur which would result in interracial children.

Although MPSA leaders believed white families wanted to avoid sending their children to integrated schools, they also felt that the average white citizen could only go so far to avoid it. MPSA leaders thought that parents would only leave the public schools if the private alternatives were accredited, offered extracurricular activities, particularly sports, and other educational opportunities commensurate with what was offered at a typical public school. Some schools in Mississippi did integrate and sports, a way of life in the South, did bring many integrated schools together. *Just Trying to Have School* (2018) gave many examples of how, "coming together on the football field created a symbolic space for blacks and whites to forge new interracial identities, discover shared interests and passions, and unify around a common cause."¹⁵⁷

Getting qualified teachers, they realized, required offering employees a competitive benefits packages. MPSA leaders recognized that they would have to quickly help new private

¹⁵⁶ Bartley, Numan V. *The Rise of Massive Resistance: Race and Politics in the South during the 1950's*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1969.p.238.

¹⁵⁷ Adams and Adams *Just Trying to have School: The Struggle for Desegregation in Mississippi*. 2018.p.194.

schools meet the abovementioned criteria in order to succeed. During the course of these initial meetings, it was evident there were many obstacles to rapidly establishing a network of locally controlled, privately operated, and partially state-funded schools throughout the state. One anonymous school official even gave a quote to *Newsweek*, saying, “We’ve had a private school system all along, but the state supported it. Now we have to find private support for it.”¹⁵⁸

However, most of the men who were early members of the MPSA had a great deal of experience in building consensus and getting things done all over the state. After all, the leaders of the organization, especially William J. Simmons, had the deepest of ties to the Citizens’ Council. Other confirmed members of the Citizens Council present during these meetings were Mr. G.J. Cain, Mr. J. Dudley Buford, Dr. Medford Evans, and Mr. Dan H. Shell.¹⁵⁹ It should be noted that at no point in the initial meeting records of 1968 is it ever explicitly stated that MPSA was formed to avoid racial integration. But, as the group continued to meet, more insight into the motivations behind formation were revealed.

The reports by all three committees at the February 1969 annual meeting painted a picture of an ambitious organization that was not simply looking to establish itself as an alternative option to public school, but lobbying to create a whole new system for white Mississippians that would preserve segregation. In less than a year of existence, the MPSA had secured a seat on the state’s primary accreditation agency, an unprecedented feat for a representative from a private, non-Catholic school, and already indicated that they would explore creating their own accrediting body in due time (they eventually would). The association was also aggressively establishing the coordination and expansion of extra-curricular offerings for students to rival that of any public school in the state, as well as, attempting to create a pathway

¹⁵⁸ “Instant Schools,” *Newsweek* 75 (January 26, 1970): p.59.

¹⁵⁹ *The Northside Sun*. Jackson, Mississippi, May 16, 1974.

for public school teachers to transition into MPSA schools without the loss of insurance or pension. The formal meetings of the MPSA, inundated with connection-leveraging and careful planning for expansion, strongly suggests that the organization was not one with plans to evolve slowly or organically.

Because the February 1969 meeting was on a much larger scale and had a broader audience than any previous MPSA gathering, the leadership committee decided, in addition to the committee reports, to bring in a speaker. Having an event and a speaker tacked onto the meetings also brought legitimacy to the organization. After an introduction by executive committee secretary William J. Simmons,¹⁶⁰ Dr. Henry E. Garrett gave a speech to the crowded ballroom entitled, “Insanity in Public School Education.” For an organization in the early stages of development, the MPSA recruiting a speaker with the credentials of Garrett is notable. The Virginia native had been President of the American Psychological Association in 1946, Chair of Psychology at Columbia University from 1941 to 1955, and was currently on the faculty at the University of Virginia.¹⁶¹ Other than the title of his speech, there is no documentation of his remarks on that day. But based on his research and commentary from that time period, it is reasonable to infer that Garrett did more than simply support private education, he believed that the emerging notion of mixing races in American public secondary education was, put simply, dangerous.¹⁶²

Andrew S. Winston (1998) offered an explanation for what might have brought Dr. Garrett to Jackson, MS on that day in February of 1969. A few years earlier, Garrett developed a concept he called *equalitarian dogma* claiming that American Jews had spread the notion that

¹⁶⁰ *The Northside Sun*. Jackson, Mississippi, May 16, 1974.

¹⁶¹ Winston, Andrew S. 1998. Science in the Service of the Far Right: Henry E. Garrett, the IAAEE, and the liberty lobby. *Journal of Social Issues* 54 (1) (Spring98): 179.

¹⁶² Garrett, Henry E. *Desegregation: Fact and Hokum*. Richmond, Va: Patrick Henry Press, 1963.

“all races have equal potential for intelligence” through a calculated propaganda campaign.¹⁶³

Garrett commented on numerous occasions that he felt African-Americans, specifically, did not possess the same amount of intellectual capacity as whites. Because it is theorized that the root fear of proponents of segregation was interracial marriage, Garrett’s words resonated with the audience, “racial mixing could be catastrophic and echoed the anti-hybridization stance of many early eugenicists: Racial amalgamation would mean a general lowering of the cultural and intellectual level of the American people.”¹⁶⁴

In fact, the previous year Dr. Garrett had published an article entitled “Science Explains Race Differences” for The White Citizens’ Council monthly journal, *The Citizen*, a publication edited by secretary and original organizer of the MPSA, William J. Simmons.¹⁶⁵ At this point, it may have been natural to speculate as to motives of those forming the MPSA based on their respective backgrounds, professional history, and what is well-documented about the sociopolitical climate at the time in Mississippi. However, having Dr. Garrett speak on the insanity of public education is, to this point, the clearest indicator that the MPSA was formed as a reaction to the pending integration of Mississippi’s public secondary schools and is also evidence of the notorious connections the organization had quickly amassed.

¹⁶³ Winston. *Science in the Service of the Far Right*. P. 184-185.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibids*.

¹⁶⁵ Mehler, Barry. "ISAR - Henry Garrett and the APA." Institute for the Study of Academic Racism. Accessed December 8, 2014. <http://www.ferris.edu/isar/bios/cattell/garrett.htm>.

Chapter IV

The MPSA Carried Momentum into The 1970s

June 13, 1970

The first available document from the year 1970 shows that as of March 2, 1970, the MPSA's account had a balance of \$14,044.36 with expenses that reduced the amount of cash on hand to \$5,226.43.¹⁶⁶ Going into the directors' meeting, the MPSA was focused on carving out its own, self-governed niche in the three main areas (accreditation, interscholastic activities, and teacher benefits). The group's ideas and approaches continued to be refined. For example, the leadership team developed the Academy Athletic Conference (AAC) to organize and regulate MPSA athletics into distinctions: A, AA, and AAA based on school size.¹⁶⁷

According to meeting minutes of that June gathering, it was made clear that any school with membership in the MPSA was required to be a full participant in the AAC and not participate in athletic competition outside of the conference's jurisdiction. Mr. G.J. Cain made the suggestion that the MPSA take the standards of the Mississippi Accrediting Commission (an organization in which he was a member) and select the applicable provisions and operate under those regulations, along with other stated expectations for MPSA schools. He then suggested that he and a few others begin visiting MPSA schools that were not already accredited to ensure their compliance. This process would entail a small committee of MPSA leaders spending the day at

¹⁶⁶ The minutes of the Mississippi Private School Association, March 2, 1970. In private possession of the MPSA. Shared with E. Gray Flora IV, October 17th, 2014.

¹⁶⁷ The minutes of the Mississippi Private School Association, June 13, 1970. In private possession of the MPSA. Shared with E. Gray Flora IV, October 17th, 2014.

the school, asking questions, interviewing personnel, getting a feel for the atmosphere of the school, and providing recommendations and expectations for the school moving forward. This became the genesis for the forming of the MPSA's own accreditation body known today as The Accreditation Commission of the Mississippi Association of Independent Schools. According to the association's website, the commission exists in order, "...to develop, evaluate, and maintain standards that would be used in determining the initial qualifications for accreditation of non-public schools and to provide for systematic evaluation of member schools based on the forementioned standards."¹⁶⁸ Having in-house accreditation gave and continues to give the MPSA schools even more autonomy from state and federal control.¹⁶⁹

Additionally, the board discussed what to do if a student loses a parent and consequently can no longer afford tuition. President Carson reported that he had broached this issue with a representative from the Continental Casualty Company and he felt that the company's representation would be beneficial to member schools. The executive committee approved Carson's motion that a representative from Continental Casualty be put in touch with each MPSA member school in order to present their proposals. Finally, three new schools were elected into membership at the meeting:

- 1) College Hill Academy, Oxford
- 2) Tri-County Academy, Flora
- 3) West Marion Academy, Kokomo¹⁷⁰

January 23, 1971 - The Race Issue

¹⁶⁸ MAIS Accreditation Manual. Section 37-17-9 of the Mississippi Code of 1972 (revised July 1993).

¹⁶⁹ Minutes of the MPSA, June 13, 1970.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibids.*

At 1:00 p.m. on Saturday in a building on East Griffith Street in Jackson, two blocks away from Mississippi's Capitol building, the executive committee of the MPSA met to prepare for the regular annual meeting that would also take place in Jackson Friday, February 26th of that same year. The following members were present: Robert A. Caron, President, W. J. Simmons, Secretary, Dr. G.A. Bynum, Treasurer. Also in attendance was G.J. Cain, Chairman of the newly formed MPSA Accrediting Commission.¹⁷¹ Secretary Simmons reported that, "The first order of business was the matter of the several member schools which have signed an open admissions policy as demanded by the Department of Internal Revenue in order to retain tax exemption. By unanimous agreement [of the MPSA executive committee], it was decided that these schools will remain members of the MPSA until such time as they accept a Negro student or faculty member. At that time they will be asked to resign from the MPSA if they have not done so voluntarily."¹⁷²

¹⁷¹ The minutes of the Mississippi Private School Association, January 23, 1971. In private possession of the MPSA. Shared with E. Gray Flora IV, October 17th, 2014.

¹⁷² MPSA minutes. January 23, 1971

MISSISSIPPI PRIVATE SCHOOL ASSOCIATION EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING
254 EAST GRIFFITH ST., JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI, JANUARY 23, 1971, 1:00 P.M.

The executive committee met at the above described time and place, with the following members present: Robert A. Carson, President, W. J. Simmons, Secretary, Dr. G. A. Bynum, Treasurer. Mr. Glenn A. Cain could not be present.

Also present was G. J. Cain, Chairman of the MPSA Accrediting Commission.

The first order of business was the matter of the several member schools which have signed an open admissions policy as demanded by the Department of Internal Revenue in order to retain tax exemption. By unanimous agreement it was decided that these schools will remain members of MPSA until such time as they accept a Negro student or faculty member. At that time they will be asked to resign from the MPSA if they have not done so voluntarily.

Immediately following this pact, the members of the executive committee agreed that they should begin at once working at the local level to obtain any general tax reductions.¹⁷³

Extraordinary Growth

February 26, 1971

As had become custom, the directors of all the MPSA's member schools gathered in Jackson at LeFleur's Convention Center on a Friday, for the association-wide annual meeting. The treasure's report showed a balance on hand of \$14,044.36 in the MPSA bank account which in 2019 dollars would be \$89,907.08¹⁷⁴. By this time there were a total of 61 private schools that

¹⁷³ MPSA minutes. January 23, 1971

¹⁷⁴ The Inflation Calculator. Accessed April 13, 2020. <https://westegg.com/inflation/infl.cgi>

held membership in the MPSA with a total enrollment of 25,925 students. This meant that between 1969 and 1971 a total of 23,263 students had enrolled in MPSA schools.¹⁷⁵ Other southern states were beginning to take notice of the MPSA's rapid growth; Mr. Charles Wilkinson of Columbia Academy made a motion at the meeting to allow out-of-state applicants be accepted as full members in the MPSA. The motion was accepted and adopted with no lengthy discussion.¹⁷⁶

This meeting also revealed the creation of the MPSA accreditation committee as a formal entity. It was agreed that this new committee would only accredit schools that were members of the MPSA. With the federal Department of Internal Revenue already lurking, Secretary Simmons announced that a letter would soon circulate, presumably to member schools and other friends of the MPSA, seeking contributions for the organization's legal fund. Another notable development that illustrates the notoriety and connections enjoyed by many of the men who organized the MPSA can be found in Simmons' announcement that he had been named president of the Southern Independent School Association, a regional private school organization.

Back in January of 1971, President Robert A. Carson discussed the qualifications for membership in the MPSA, with particular reference to schools that had agreed to a racially nondiscriminatory admissions policy, with the executive committee, a discussion took place but no official action was taken. However, at the annual 1971 meeting in February Mr. Carson again discussed this policy stating that certain schools that had agreed to comply with new requirements of the Internal Revenue Service pertaining to a racially non-discriminatory admissions policy. Carson reiterated that schools should comply with the requirement in writing

¹⁷⁵ The minutes of the Mississippi Private School Association, February 26, 1971. In private possession of the MPSA. Shared with E. Gray Flora IV, October 17th, 2014.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibids*.

because the tax dollars that compliance would reward them would in turn increase the budget for the expansion of the association's various activities.¹⁷⁷ Ordering that all member institutions sign the non-discriminatory policy did not signal a change in MPSA's admission standards. At the Executive Committee meeting, Mr. Carson reinforced to the group that while the IRS policy agreement must be signed by all schools, if a member school accepts an African-American student "At that time they will be asked to resign from the MPSA if they have not already done so voluntarily."¹⁷⁸ According to the minutes, the following schools agreed to comply with the new requirements of the Internal Revenue Service on racially non-discriminatory admissions policy:

- 1) Central Holmes Academy – Lexington, MS
- 2) Copiah Educational Foundation, Inc.—Gallman, MS
- 3) Deer Creek Educational Institute – Arcola, MS
- 4) Lula-Rich Educational Foundation – Clarksdale, MS
- 5) North Delta Schools, Inc. – Crenshaw, MS
- 6) Noxubee Educational Foundation, Inc. – Macon, MS
- 7) Quitman County Educational Foundation – Marks, MS¹⁷⁹

Mr. Carson also recommended that the seven schools that had agreed to comply with the IRS policy should be responsible for contributing more money to the associations' overall operating funds due to the fact that signing the agreement had exposed the schools and by proxy the MPSA

¹⁷⁷ Minutes of the MPSA, February 26, 1971.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibids.*

¹⁷⁹ *Ibids.*

to legal peril.¹⁸⁰ The meeting minutes contained a detailed list of the current 44 member schools and directors, as well as, eighteen entities that had submitted applications for membership.¹⁸¹

MISSISSIPPI PRIVATE SCHOOL ASSOCIATION

ROBERT A. CARSON, PRESIDENT
QUITMAN COUNTY EDUCATION FOUNDATION
HARRIS, MISSISSIPPI 39248
GLENN A. CAIN, VICE-PRESIDENT
INDIANOLA EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION
P. O. BOX 248
INDIANOLA, MISSISSIPPI 38751

W. J. SIMMONS, SECRETARY
COUNCIL SCHOOL FOUNDATION
284 EAST GRIFFITH STREET
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI 39208
GUS A. BYNUM, M.D.
FORREST COUNTY SCHOOL FOUNDATION
715 ARLEDGE STREET
HATTIESBURG, MISSISSIPPI 39401

FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING

February 26, 1971

The fourth annual meeting of the Mississippi Private School Association was held at LeFleur's Convention Center in Jackson, Mississippi on February 26, 1971. The meeting was called to order at 9:30 A.M. by the president, Mr. Robert A. Carson. Mr. Donald Hopper, of Old Hickory Academy, Jackson, Tennessee, gave the invocation.

The secretary, Mr. W. J. Simmons, called the roll of member school organizations, as follows:

School Organization

Director

Adams County Christian School	Absent -- Prentiss Hinson
Benton Academy	Absent -- None
Benton County Education Foundation	Mrs. Otho Hoover
Brandon Educational Foundation	C. J. Harvey
Canton Academic Foundation	L. W. Owens
Carroll Educational Foundation	Absent -- Delbert E. Edward
Central Holmes Academy	Mills Martin
Citizens Educational Foundation	Mrs. Orley Hood
Claiborne Educational Foundation	John Nelson
Clarke Academy	Franklin Slay
Clay County Educational Foundation	Frank Chiles
Columbia Academy	Charles Wilkerson
Columbus Educational Foundation	Absent -- None

¹⁸⁰ Minutes of the MPSA, February 26, 1971.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

MPSA
Fourth Annual Meeting

February 26, 1971
Page 2

Copiah Educational Foundation	Harold Morris
Council School Foundation	Dr. Medford Evans
Cruger-Tchula Academy	W. F. Waterer
East Holmes Academy	Absent -- None
Forrest County School Foundation	Dr. Gus A. Bynum
Franklin Christian Academy	Milton Jordan
Greenwood LeFlore Educational Foundation	R. T. Hardeman
Harrison County Private School Foundation	Absent -- Jim True
Hillcrest Baptist Church School	Absent -- Mrs. Reba Stegall
Indianola Educational Foundation	W. W. Gresham
Lamar School Foundation	Dan Coit
Leske Academy Foundation	Absent -- Joe Sheppard
Leland Academy	Alex Curtis
Lula-Rich Educational Foundation	Thomas M. Luster
Manchester Academy	Henry Bridgforth
Marshall County Educational Foundation	R. A. Harbor
North Delta School, Inc.	Lawrence Meeks
North Sunflower Educational Foundation	Joe Carpenter
Noxubee Educational Foundation	Polk Farrar
Oktibbeha Educational Foundation	John Crawford
Oxford-Lafayette Educational Foundation	Absent -- None
Parents Educational Foundation	Dr. John Lindley
Quitman County Educational Foundation	Ben Yandell
Rebul Academy	Absent -- Alex Trotter
Sharkey-Issaquena Academy Foundation	A. H. Choate

Shaw Educational Foundation	Lee C. Bizzell
Simpson Academy, Inc.	Dr. Wayne Cockrell
Southwest Mississippi Christian Academy	James M. Bain
Tri-County Academy	John Stephenson
Walnut Hills School	Absent -- None
West Marion Academy	Hilton Holmes

The secretary reported that of the 44 members on the roll, 33 were present, constituting a quorum.

The secretary then announced that 18 applications for membership in the Association had been received from the following:

Beat One Educational Foundation Star, Mississippi	Prentiss Christian Schools Prentiss, Mississippi
Calhoun Education Foundation Calhoun City, Mississippi	Scott County Christian Academy Harperville, Mississippi
Central Delta Academy (Inverness First Baptist Church) Inverness, Mississippi	Senatobia Tate Schools, Inc. Senatobia, Mississippi (Magnolia Heights School)
Centreville Academy Centreville, Mississippi	Tate Educational Foundation, Inc. (Hillcrest Academy) Senatobia, Mississippi
Deer Creek Educational Institute Arcola, Mississippi	Wayne County School Foundation Waynesboro, Mississippi
East Lowndes Educational Foundation Steens, Mississippi	West Panola Schools, Inc. Batesville, Mississippi
Humphreys Academy Foundation Belzoni, Mississippi	West Tallahatchie Educational Foundation Tutwiler, Mississippi
Northwest Academy, Inc. Arkabutla, Mississippi	Wilkinson County Christian Academy Woodville, Mississippi
Pioneer Academy Philadelphia Mississippi	Whynot Academy Meridian, Mississippi

The president, Mr. Carson, advised the meeting that member schools

had been asked to visit or vouch for applicant school organizations, and he thereupon received reports concerning the applicants. All were recommended favorably by various member schools, with the exception of Beat One Educational Foundation, which was not known by any delegates present.

Upon motion made, seconded, and unanimously adopted, the following 17 school organizations were elected to membership in the Mississippi Private School Association, with the named directors to represent such schools:

<u>School Organization</u>	<u>Director</u>
Calhoun Education Foundation	Billy Fred White, Pittsboro
Central Delta Academy	D. W. King
Centreville Academy	Not named
Deer Creek Educational Institute, Inc.	R. N. Aldridge, Hollandale
East Lowndes Educational Foundation	Absent - Not Named
Humphreys Academy Foundation	Absent - Not Named
Northwest Academy, Inc.	John Turley
Pioneer Academy	Absent -- Not named
Prentiss Christian Schools	Dr. F. W. Tripp
Scott County Christian Academy	Not named
Senatobia -Tate Schools, Inc.	Not named
Tate Educational Foundation	Norman B. McKenzie
Wayne County School Foundation	Mrs. Patti McInnis
West Panola Schools, Inc.	L. E. Thomas, Jr.
West Tallahatchie Educational Foundation	Ned Mitchell, Sumner
Wilkinson County Christian Academy	Jim Wilkerson
Whynot Academy	Harold Hollingsworth

The president welcomed the new members and advised their elected directors that they would henceforth represent their organizations in all of the proceedings of the MPSA annual meeting.

The following non-member schools were recorded as present:

Benoit Union School
Benoit, Mississippi

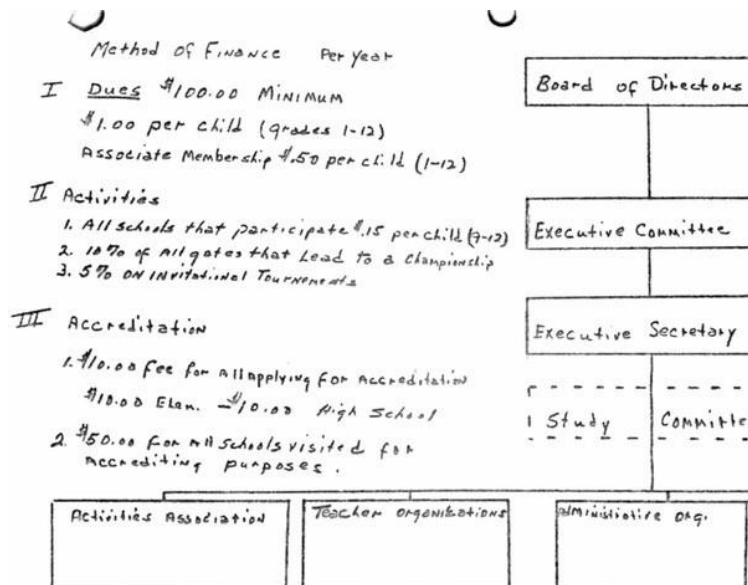
Old Hickory Academy
Jackson, Tennessee

East Rankin Academy
Pelahatchie, Mississippi

Washington School
Greenville, Mississippi

Mississippi Baptist High School
Jackson, Mississippi

Throughout the meeting was considerable discussion was interspersed between agenda items about how the MPSA would function as a governing entity and how funds would be allocated for MPSA-wide extracurricular events. The vision set forth by Vice-President Mr. Glen A. Cain of the Indianola Educational Foundation was presented in the form of the following drawing. He asserted that this chart had been drafted as the result of several meetings by a few MPSA directors in the Mississippi Delta.



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Mr. G.J. Cain (no evidence of relation Glen A. Cain) of the Council School Foundation in Jackson and Chairmen of the MPSA accrediting commission had several difference with Glen A. Cain's and his friends from the Delta's vision, he stated that he felt "...representation on the MPSA board of directors should coincide more closely with the dues basis, that terms of office should be staggered, and that in his opinion the cost of proposed MPSA activities with the Academy Athletic Conference would exceed \$1.00 per student for all members belonging to the MPSA."

Many delegates expressed great hesitation to having the MPSA and Academy Athletic Conference operate separately. Dr. Medford Evans expressed concerns that they were, "setting up a bureaucracy."¹⁸³ However, Mr. Lee C. Bizzell of the Shaw Educational Foundation in Shaw, MS was emphatic that the MPSA should do whatever it takes to offer a full slate of activities because otherwise, "someone else will do it for us."¹⁸⁴ This resulted in a motion by Mr. A. H. Choate of Sharkey Issaquena Academy Foundation that, "all members of the Academy Athletic Conference must be members of the Mississippi Private School Association by January 1, 1972."¹⁸⁵

Another notation from this meeting was the emergence of schools outside of Mississippi. According to the meeting minutes, Mr. Donald Harper of Old Hickory Academy in Jackson, Tennessee spoke about his and other out-of-state institutions' participation in the Academy Athletic conference. According to Harper, there were, "13 participating schools in Arkansas and 10 in Tennessee."¹⁸⁶ Mr. Harper was the lone non-Mississippian present at the meeting and appeared to speak as a representative for all out-of-state institutions. He also commented on Mr.

¹⁸³ Minutes of the MPSA, February 26, 1971.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibids.*

¹⁸⁵ *Ibids.*

¹⁸⁶ *Ibids.*

Glenn Cain's chart and subsequent proposal, saying he and the other out-of-state schools could live with Cain's proposal, but, "...they would prefer to participate fully."¹⁸⁷ Full participation in the MPSA by these out-of-state schools would cause the enrollment to swell to well over 32,000 students.¹⁸⁸ Old Hickory Academy in Jackson, Tennessee, under the leadership of Harper, was officially installed as the first institution to become a full member of the MPSA from outside of Mississippi (others had participated in the Academy Athletic Conference only). According to the minutes, Old Hickory Academy's official participation slated to begin in the fall of 1972.¹⁸⁹ Private schools from Arkansas were also contemplating applying for membership, notably Nathan Bedford Forest Academy in Forest City, Arkansas. A school named for the lieutenant general in the Confederate Army during the American Civil War and the first Grand Wizard (head of movement) of the Ku Klux Klan.

March 22, 1971

Roughly a month after the fourth annual membership meeting, a memorandum was sent by the MPSA executive committee to all member schools and directors. The memorandum discussed the amendment of the organization's By-Laws of Association to revise members' voting power, "...on a basis roughly proportional to dues."¹⁹⁰ The committee then decided on new fees that would be part of association membership. They established dues of \$1.50 per student per annum in addition to the existing \$500 initial membership fee.¹⁹¹ In 2019 dollars, the cost per student would be \$9.60 with the initial membership fee costing each school \$3,200.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁷ Minutes of the MPSA, February 26, 1971.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibids.*

¹⁸⁹ Minutes of the MPSA, March 28, 1971.

¹⁹⁰ The minutes of the Mississippi Private School Association, March 22, 1971. In private possession of the MPSA. Shared with E. Gray Flora IV, October 17th, 2014.

¹⁹¹ Minutes of the MPSA, March 22, 1971.

¹⁹² The Inflation Calculator. Accessed April 13, 2020. <https://westegg.com/inflation/infl.cgi>

This new revenue stream allowed for the creation of an MPSA central office, administrative personnel and staff, and improved interscholastic events. The rapidly growing membership of the organization led the executive committee to redistribute the MPSA Constitution and By-Laws to ensure that member schools were complicit.

April 17, 1971

Less than month later, the MPSA directors met for a “recalled” meeting.¹⁹³ President Robert Carson explained that the business before the body assembled was to receive and act upon recommendations of a study committee, chaired by Dan H. Shell of the Council School Foundation, who had spent the past few weeks considering amendments to the organization’s by-laws. The minutes reflect that 41 member schools were present; enough for a quorum. Several of the directors present unsuccessfully lobbied for a reduction in the \$1.50 fee per-student fee, as well as, the \$500 membership dues. Those in opposition claimed that these high fees would make it more difficult to get schools up and running quickly. The fees collected from the schools would go exclusively to the operation of a central office and to the Academy Activities Commission for interscholastic activities, primarily sports, band, and academic competitions.¹⁹⁴ This meeting also yielded a resolution to create four districts of the MPSA for the purpose of the Academy Activities Commission. The meeting determined that each district must elect one “lay person” and one school administrator to serve on the executive committee. The following were appointed to an executive committee to represent the interests of their respective districts:

- | | |
|-------------|---|
| District I | Mr. Lawrence Meeks, Pillow Academy – lay director
Donald Hopper, Old Hickory Academy – school administrator |
| District II | Mr. Wilburn Hooker, Central Holmes Academy – lay director
Glenn A. Cain, Indianola Academy -- school administrator |

¹⁹³ The minutes of the Mississippi Private School Association, April 17, 1971. In private possession of the MPSA. Shared with E. Gray Flora IV, October 17th, 2014.

¹⁹⁴ Minutes of the MPSA, April 17, 1971.

- District III Mrs. Orley Hood, Council School Foundation – lay director
 Billy V. Cooper, Tri – County Academy, school administrator
- District IV Charles H. Wilkinson, Jr., Columbia Academy, lay director
 Dr. Jim Baxter, Prentiss Christian Schools – school administrator¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁵ The minutes of the Mississippi Private School Association, May 11, 1971. In private possession of the MPSA. Shared with E. Gray Flora IV, October 17th, 2014.

MISSISSIPPI PRIVATE SCHOOL ASSOCIATION

DISTRICT I

Members Voting 4/17/71
To Support New Program

	<u>Enrollment</u>	<u>Location</u>
Benton County Ed. Fdn.	180	Ashland
* Calhoun Ed. Fdn.	127	Calhoun City
Greenwood LeFlore Ed. Fdn.	1,200	Greenwood
Lula-Rich Ed. Fdn.	710	Clarksdale
Marshall County Ed. Fdn.	640	Holly Springs
North Delta School, Inc.	260	Pleasant Grove
North Sunflower County Ed. Fdn.	614	Ruleville
** Northwest Academy, Inc.	238	Arkabutla
Quitman County Ed. Fdn.	500	Marks
Senatobia-Tate Schools, Inc.	273	Senatobia
Shaw Ed. Fdn.	903	Shaw
** Tate Ed. Fdn.	170	Senatobia
West Panola Schools, Inc.	203	Batesville
** West Tallahatchie Ed. Fdn.	<u>180</u>	Tutwiler
Total Enrollment	6,198	

* Reported undecided, but would probably support.

** Not present, or not in meeting when vote taken, but reported by neighbor schools to have voted to support.

Members Not Heard
From Re: New Program

	<u>Enrollment</u>	<u>Location</u>
Clay County Ed. Fdn.	460	West Point
Columbus Ed. Fdn.	350 (A)	Columbus
East Lowndes Ed. Fdn.	220 (A)	Steens
Oxford Lafayette Ed. Fdn.	<u>200 (A)</u>	Oxford
Total Enrollment	<u>1,230</u>	
Grand Total Enrollment	<u>7,428</u>	

(A) Enrollment from accreditation reports.

MISSISSIPPI PRIVATE SCHOOL ASSOCIATION

DISTRICT II

<u>Members Voting 4/17/71 To Support New Program</u>	<u>Enrollment</u>	<u>Location</u>
Canton Academic Fdn.	1,250	Canton
Carroll Ed. Fdn.	304	Carrolton
Central Delta Academy	221	Inverness
* Central Holmes Academy	500	Lexington
Cruger-Tchula Academy	438	Cruger
Deer Creek Ed. Institute, Inc.	392	Arcola
* East Holmes Academy	619	West
** Humphreys Academy Fdn.	436	Belzoni
Indianola Ed. Fdn.	1,200	Indianola
Manchester Academy	557	Yazoo City
Oktibbeha Ed. Fdn.	<u>554</u>	Starkville
Total Enrollment	6,471	

* Reported undecided, but would probably support.

** Not present, but reported by neighbor schools to support.

<u>Members Not Heard From Re: New Program</u>	<u>Enrollment</u>	<u>Location</u>
Benton Academy	125 (Est)	Benton
Leland Academy	380	Leland
Sharkey-Issaquena Academy	<u>666</u>	Rolling Fork
Total Enrollment	<u>1,171</u>	
Grand Total Enrollment	<u>7,642</u>	

MISSISSIPPI PRIVATE SCHOOL ASSOCIATION

DISTRICT III

<u>Members Voting 4/17/71 To Support New Program</u>	<u>Enrollment</u>	<u>Location</u>
Citizens Ed. Fdn.	225	Vicksburg
Council School Fdn.	5,500	Jackson
** Leake Academy Fdn.	452	Madden
Tri-County Academy	<u>440</u>	Flora
Total Enrollment	6,617	

** Not present, but reported by neighbor schools to support.

<u>Members Not Heard From Re: New Program</u>	<u>Enrollment</u>	<u>Location</u>
Brandon Ed. Fdn.	575	Brandon
Noxubee Ed. Fdn.	751	Macon
Pioneer Academy	<u>48</u>	Philadelphia
Total Enrollment	1,374	
Grand Total Enrollment	<u>7,991</u>	

MISSISSIPPI PRIVATE SCHOOL ASSOCIATION

DISTRICT IV

<u>Members Voting 4/17/71 To Support New Program</u>	<u>Enrollment</u>	<u>Location</u>
Centreville Academy, Inc.	410	Centreville
Claiborne Ed. Fdn.	250	Lorman
Clarke Academy	335	Pachuta
Columbia Academy	377	Columbia
Copiah Ed. Fdn.	483	Gallman
Forrest County School Fdn.	270	Hattiesburg
Franklin Christian Academy	491	Roxie
* Lamar School Fdn.	500	Meridian
Parents Ed. & Development Fdn.	368	Meridian
** Prentiss Christian Schools	180	Prentiss
* Rebul Academy, Inc.	441	Learned
Scott County Christian Academy	321	Harperville
Southwest Mississippi Christian Academy	330	Ruth
Wayne County School Fdn.	105	Waynesboro
* West Marion Academy	392	Foxworth
Wilkinson County Christian Academy	406	Woodville
Whynot Academy	<u>390</u>	Meridian
Total Enrollment	6,049	

* Report undecided, but would probably support.

** Not present, but reported by neighbor schools to support.

<u>Members Not Heard From Re: New Program</u>	<u>Enrollment</u>	<u>Location</u>
Adams County Christian School	538	Natchez
Harrison County Private School Fdn.	37 (A)	Long Beach
Hillcrest Baptist Church School	430 (A)	Jackson

MISSISSIPPI PRIVATE SCHOOL ASSOCIATION

DISTRICT IV (continued)

Simpson Academy, Inc.	270	Mendenhall
Walnut Hills School	<u>130</u>	(Est) Vicksburg
Total Enrollment	<u>1,405</u>	
Grand Total Enrollment	<u><u>7,454</u></u>	

(A) Enrollment from accreditation reports.

By-Laws of Association

The following language was agreed upon regarding the MPSA's legal status: "A nonprofit association. The association shall have no capital stock, but shall be a non-share, non-profit membership association without legal existence."¹⁹⁶ In keeping with the theme of local control, the constitution outlines that it, "shall have no powers at all in the internal operation of any school. The power of the Association are limited to:

- Regulation of interscholastic competition, athletics, etc.
- Establishment of standards for membership in the MPSA and self-improvement
- Assistance to all member schools through services (notably speakers and cultural programs)."¹⁹⁷

Perhaps what is most notable about the MPSA's constitution and by-laws is what they do not contain, an official admissions policy on race. Because this contradicts what previous meeting minutes state about the requirement that schools not admit African-American students nor hire African-American faculty members, it further indicated the careful and meticulous effort by the

¹⁹⁶ Mississippi Private School Association Constitution and By-Laws. In private possession of the MPSA. Shared with E. Gray Flora IV, October 17th, 2014.

¹⁹⁷ Mississippi Private School Association Constitution and By-Laws.

association to not blatantly discriminate and jeopardize federal or state tax status. Instead, individual schools were encouraged to hide their discriminatory policies in order to avoid legal and financial consequences. This development is unsurprising as there is a long history around the custom of silence about race and hierarchy in the South.¹⁹⁸

Analysis

These minutes are the first time the founders had discussed addressing hardships of students and families that experience difficulty paying MPSA school tuition. While the specific topic discussed during the preceding exchange was focused on students who become orphaned, it does shed light on the broader conversation about who could afford to attend MPSA schools. Beginning in the mid-1960s, it was not uncommon for poor white students, especially in smaller communities where few if any whites remained in public schools, to pay a discounted tuition rate for private schools or for their tuition to be covered through donations. Adams and Adams (2018) explained how tuition subsidies worked on the local level: “When desegregation was court enforced in the 1960s, many Delta farmers were wealthy enough to financially back the private schools through donations of cash, land, and buildings. They also often paid the tuition of poor whites in their employ.”¹⁹⁹

Prior to the *Alexander* (1969) case, Mississippi was operating dual systems of public education, a system for whites and one for African-Americans. Now that the federal government had intervened, it is reasonable to infer that all of the work that the members and schools in the MPSA had done ostensibly re-created the previous dual public school systems. Only this time, blacks would inhabit the public schools while whites would attend private schools regardless of

¹⁹⁸ Wood, Amy Louise and Charles Reagan Wilson. *The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture: Volume 19: Violence*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011.

¹⁹⁹ Adams, Natalie G. and James Harold Adams. *Just Trying to have School*. University Press of Mississippi, 2018. p.194.

socioeconomic status. At first, the new private schools, flanked by influential Citizens Council members, received generous state grants, by 1968 the state legislature had raised the tuition grants for private schools to nearly \$250 per student. However, by the time this chapter's meeting minutes were recorded, "the federal district court ruled in *Coffey v. State Educational Finance Commission (1969)* these tuition grants unconstitutional."²⁰⁰

As previously presented, G.J. Cain, MPSA executive committee member in 1969, was also employed by the Mississippi State Educational Finance Commission. The abovementioned suggestion that MPSA institutions signed open admissions policy agreements with a nod and a wink, fully understanding that admitting a black pupil or faculty member would result in termination from the MPSA. This agreement clearly recommends that these schools violate the federal government's orders. Signing IRS agreements under less-than-good faith terms was not the only example of white Mississippi citizens thwarting the federal and state government's decrees.

In addition to the agreement to adhere to segregation in defiance of federal obligations, Adams and Adams (2018) claimed that many text books were physically removed from public schools and taken to newly established private academies. These authors of *Just Trying to Have School* interviewed former public high school teacher Richard Brooks of Macon who told a story of disappearing and reappearing text books:

When we came back in August, we saw the books stacked up in the hall. We got new books, but all of a sudden, the books disappeared, and we only got 20 books out of the original 160. All the new books went to the private school [Central Academy]. So I didn't know how it happened or who called in but anyway, the State Department came in, and they wanted to know about the new books and why they were at the private school. And so the principal had to get two fellows to drive a truck to go down there and get the books because the State department guy wouldn't leave. He said, "You're going to have your books back before I leave," and we did. They got all the books on the truck, and some of

²⁰⁰ Coffey v. State Educational Finance Commission, 296 F. Supp. 1389 - Dist. Court, SD Mississippi 1969

them already had names in them. So after that, we didn't any more trouble with the books."²⁰¹

While the story Brooks recalled is an example of state government intervention, Margaret Gladney claimed such occurrences were exceedingly rare. Two dynamics coalesced to strengthen the private school movement, according to Gladney: "The history of the segregation academy movement demonstrates that the success of the new private schools was determined not only by the racial composition of the community involved and the strength of local resistance groups, but also by the failure of local, state, and national leaders in the legislative and executive branches to resist the resisters."²⁰²

Indeed, academies across the south and in the MPSA received de-facto aid from the federal government in the form of tax exempt donations to private schools once direct federal aid was outlawed.²⁰³ The records I have reviewed explicitly reveal this tactic. The MPSA executive committee encouraged schools to secure all possible tax reductions. In this appeal we see not only the savvy and connectedness of those in power in the MPSA, but also the reaffirmation of the long-held Mississippi belief that regulation of every part of civic life, including education, should be controlled locally.

Before the January 1971 meeting, there had only been strong suspicion, due to the leadership's direct ties to the white Citizens' Council and hosting Dr. Henry E. Garrett, that these private schools were intended to be for white students only. While there has been ample scholarship claiming that private schools of the era and organizations like the MPSA were and are still "segregation academies," the minutes from these meetings offer a clear confirmation that

²⁰¹ Adams, Natalie G. and James Harold Adams. *Just Trying to have School*. University Press of Mississippi, 2018. p.197.

²⁰² Gladney, Margaret Rose. "I'll Take My Stand: The Southern Segregation Academy Movement." *ProQuest Dissertations Publishing*, 1974.p.182.

²⁰³ *Ibids*.

the MPSA was motivated to exist and ultimately thrive because of the organization's leaders' belief that white and black students should be educated separately. The general public has always implied that racial segregation was the central cause when the MPSA formed, but the January 1971 meeting minutes verify the motivations of the organizations founders.

Despite the MPSA still being newly operational in the winter of 1971, we see the ambition and determination of those involved to carry out a vision for the southern private school movement that sociologists refer to as "white flight."²⁰⁴ While "white flight" is typically attributed to white citizens who move out of an area, usually an urban center, and migrate to suburbs, in Mississippi it looked a bit different. Because Mississippi was then and still today one of the most rural states in America, there were no suburbs to flee to which made private schools that much more important to the segregation movement. Adams & Adams (2018) cited the previously mentioned work by Luther Munford (1973) that draws a correlation between the white flight to private schools and the racial demographics of school districts named in the *Alexander* (1969) case, all the noted districts by conventional standards would be rural with the exception of Hinds County, "...the regions of the state with the highest percentage of black students experienced the largest exodus of whites from their public schools."²⁰⁵²⁰⁶

Demonstrative support for private schools in Mississippi counties with higher black populations lends credence to Jason Sokol's (2006) argument in *There Goes My Everything*. Writing on the trepidation many southern whites sensed during the Civil Rights Movement,

²⁰⁴ Bogue, Donald J., and Emerson Seim. "COMPONENTS OF POPULATION-CHANGE IN SUBURBAN AND CENTRAL CITY POPULATIONS OF STANDARD METROPOLITAN AREAS-1940 TO 1950." *Rural Sociology* 21, no. 3-4 (1956): 267-275.

²⁰⁵ Munford, Luther. "White Flight from Desegregation in Mississippi." *Equity and Excellence in Education* 11, no. 3 (1973): 12-26.

²⁰⁶ Adams, Natalie G. and James Harold Adams. *Just Trying to have School: The Struggle for Desegregation in Mississippi*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2018. p.194.

Sokol posited, “Often it was not the presence of blacks per se that fueled white fears, but their potential for power—a potential most evident in heavily black areas.”²⁰⁷ Sokol’s research claimed that around the time integration was being enforced in Mississippi approximately 37% of white Mississippians lived in African-American-majority counties.²⁰⁸ The preceding meeting minutes also revealed that rural communities in Arkansas and Tennessee that were similarly situated ultimately joined the MPSA. These cross-state partnerships served as evidence of the notoriety and respect the MPSA had amassed in its brief existence.

The commitment by the seven schools listed in the February 1971 meeting minutes to put in place a racially non-discriminatory admissions policy contrasted with the understanding articulated at the executive committee meeting in January where members agreed that any member school admitting a black student or faculty member would immediately be asked to leave the MPSA if they did not do so voluntarily. Mr. Carson’s suggestions indicated that publically, MPSA schools should adopt the racially non-discriminatory admissions policy and to reap tax benefits that allowed the schools and the MPSA to further interscholastic activities, while ultimately maintaining a “gentleman’s agreement” to not admit black students or faculty. As what can only be described as a deterrent to others, Mr. Carson also recommended that the seven schools that had agreed to comply with the IRS policy should be responsible for contributing more money to the association’s overall operating funds due to the fact that by signing the agreement they had exposed the schools and by proxy the entire MPSA system to legal liability. Taking all of this into consideration, it is reasonable to infer that the MPSA openly

²⁰⁷ Sokol, Jason. *There Goes My Everything: White Southerners in the Age of Civil Rights, 1945-1975*. 1st ed. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2006.p.26.

²⁰⁸ *Ibids*.

accepted its member schools lying to the Internal Revenue Service in order to obtain financial benefits.

The early 1971 meeting minutes also give testament to MPSA founders' intent to create a sustainable, centralized organizational model for years to come. Creating new revenue streams by charging fees per student and annual dues allowed for the establishment of a central office to facilitate the activities of MPSA schools. The urgent speed with which the MPSA built an infrastructure was an effort to attract students; ensuring them they would experience the same amenities available to students in public schools. In the February 1971 meeting minutes we see the phrase "someone else" in reference to the association offering a full slate of activities for students in member schools. It is reasonable to conclude that when Mr. Lee C. Bizzell said this he was referring to public schools in the state. Bizzell's words suggested a degree of urgency to underscore the need to accelerate the implementation of extracurricular activities that would make MPSA schools a more attractive alternative to Mississippi's white students and their families. The 1962 integration of the University of Mississippi, once again, signaled the gradual acceptance of integration by the general public. Almost ten years later as more African-American students slowly started to enroll at the state's flagship institution of higher learning, it was not lost on Mr. Bizzell or other MPSA advocates that if the average white student in Mississippi felt that they would have to sacrifice experiences and activities synonymous with the standard American high school in order to attend an MPSA school, many would likely accept integration, albeit begrudgingly.

Chapter V

Power

With the close of the 1970-71 school year, the MPSA, as an organization, begins to transition from an entity looking to establish its footing, to a nimble, governing body with established norms, running day-to-day operations. As the urgency to establish began to quell, a clearer picture of who in the organization held formal and informal power began to come together. Budgets grew and full-time staff were put in place. The following is a report on the meeting minutes during this period.

May 28, 1971

The newly appointed MPSA executive committee convened for the first time at a new location, 254 East Griffin Street, Jackson, MS, the headquarters of the Council School Foundation. There was significant discussion about the delinquency of dues by several member institutions. The group ultimately concluded that district representatives should write letters to schools in their districts that had not paid their dues. In addition, the following four new schools were unanimously elected for full membership:

Beat One Educational Foundation, Star, MS

East Rankin Development Corp., Pelahatchie, MS

Newton County Academy, Decatur, MS

Old Hickory Academy, Jackson, TN²⁰⁹

²⁰⁹ The minutes of the Mississippi Private School Association, May 28, 1971. In private possession of the MPSA. Shared with E. Gray Flora IV, October 17th, 2014.

The most notable information from the meeting was the decision to appoint an executive secretary that would operate the newly formed MPSA central office. While this meeting did not ultimately reveal the identity of the inaugural person who would serve in the role, the particulars of the budget and salary were voted on and agreed upon. A three-man committee consisting of, “Robert A. Carson, Glenn A. Cain, and William J. Simmons was appointed to select prospective applicants for the position of executive secretary.”²¹⁰ The committee approved a budget totaling \$36,000 with \$18, 000 set aside for the executive secretary’s salary, as well as an office secretary.²¹¹ Also included in the proposed budget would be office rent, equipment, automobile, and travel expenses.²¹²

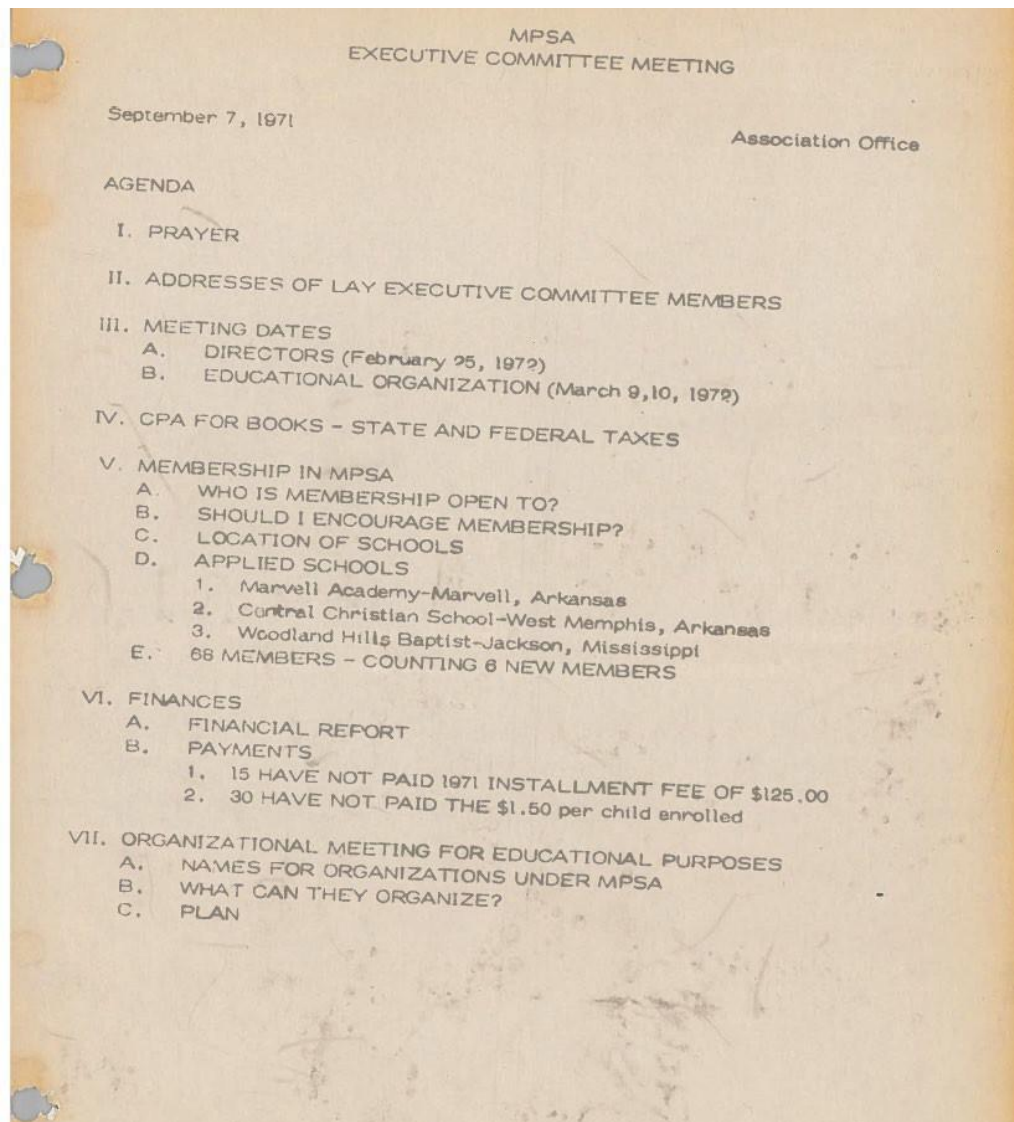
September 7, 1971

The following agenda for the MPSA executive committee meeting from September 7, 1971 was recovered from the MPSA’s central office and is in private possession of the researcher:

²¹⁰ Minutes of the MPSA, May 28, 1971.

²¹¹ This salary is equivalent to \$2752.47 in 2019 dollars according to The Inflation Calculator. Accessed April 8, 2020. <https://westegg.com/inflation/infl.cgi>.

²¹² Minutes of the MPSA, March 28, 1971.



This meeting took place 940 Deposit Guaranty National Bank Building in Jackson. At the time, Deposit Guaranty was the preeminent bank in the state of Mississippi. As the agenda shows, Mr. Robert A. Carson opened the meeting with prayer which would become customary in all executive committee meetings. The meeting minutes revealed that Mr. Glenn A. Cain had been appointed Executive Secretary and thereby became the first MPSA central office employee.

The speedy growth of the MPSA had resulted in, amongst other things, a need for assistance in producing economically advantageous state and federal tax reports. The executive committee voted that executive secretary Cain seek out the service of a certified public

accountant. Mr. Dan H. Shell recommended that Mr. Tom Tann of Jackson be considered.²¹³

Next, there was a discussion about possibly adding more criteria for how a school is vetted and approved for membership. It was decided that any school would need to contact the executive member from the district they were hoping to join before they could begin the application process. The extra layer to the institutional admissions process was agreed upon without an amendment to the by-laws. Many assertions could be made about the extra layer added to the admissions process, however, it unequivocally indicates just how quickly decisions were made by MPSA leaders as they struggled to keep up with demand and operate without precedent.²¹⁴

Next came the approval of the following schools for membership in the MPSA:

Parklane Academy	McComb, MS
Children's Academy	Crystal Springs, MS
Desoto Academy	West Helena, AR
Jackson Preparatory	Jackson, MS ²¹⁵
Mississippi Baptist High School	Jackson, MS ²¹⁶
Washington School	Greenville, MS
Marvell Academy	Marvell, AR
Central (Baptist) Christian School	West Memphis, AR
Woodland Hills Baptist Academy	Jackson, MS

With the induction of the nine schools listed above the roll of official MPSA member schools included 71.²¹⁷ Next, executive secretary Cain next made a motion to conduct a series of

²¹³ The minutes of the Mississippi Private School Association, September 7, 1971. In private possession of the MPSA. Shared with E. Gray Flora IV, October 17th, 2014.

²¹⁴ Minutes of the MPSA, September 7, 1971.

²¹⁵ As of 2018, Jackson Preparatory has the largest enrollment of any MPSA school

²¹⁶ Recommended for Membership by the Council School Foundation

²¹⁷ Minutes of the MPSA, September 7, 1971.

meetings in each of the four MPSA districts for school administrators, teachers, and board members for the purpose of explaining all the services the MPSA provided each school. Discussion occurred about one of the potential services the MPSA would render, the certification of athletic officials to work Academy Athletic Commission games. Those gathered then agreed that any auxiliary professional group outside the executive committee must maintain “MPSA” in its name for continuity purposes.²¹⁸

The discussion then turned the development of a regional organization known as the Southern Independent School Association (SISA), an organization in which Glenn Cain and William J. Simmons figured prominently. In fact, it was announced during the meeting that Simmons had been recently elected president of SISA and Cain had been appointed chairman of the Standards and Accrediting Committee. The intentions of SISA were not discussed further in the meeting, but it is notable to point out that two men so critical to the formation of the MPSA just a few years prior were now working to attain power and organize at the regional level. The meeting closed with the recommendation that the board’s counsel reach out to the Attorney General’s office regarding the status of MPSA teachers’ salaries under the wage-price freeze.²¹⁹ Also, Mr. Jimmy Lear of Indianola Academy was appointed to fill the seat of the executive committee vacated by Glenn A. Cain when he was appointed executive secretary for the Association. Before the meeting was adjourned, Simmons and Carson asked for the record to reflect, “...high commendation of Glenn Cain for the manner in which he had set the office and begun operations.”²²⁰

November 3, 1971

²¹⁸ Minutes of the MPSA, September 7, 1971.

²¹⁹ *Ibids.*

²²⁰ *Ibids.*

The next executive committee meeting which took place at the Deposit Guaranty National Bank was the first meeting Jimmy Lear attended as a member of the committee. The first order of business was set in motion by Mr. Charles H. Wilkinson. He recommended that the due date for payment of the \$1.50 per student dues and \$0.15 cent activity fee per student be changed from July 1 to September 1 of each year. The principal reason articulated for this date change was, "... for the Association to avoid incurring a substantial income tax liability by having its income peaked at the end of the fiscal year."²²¹ This recommendation was adopted and is further evidence of the fiscal savvy that this nascent organization possessed. It also gave member schools more time to determine enrollment. It was then announced that the annual MPSA convention would take place on March 9 & 10 of 1972. William Simmons motioned that in perpetuity the dates of the annual MPSA convention be a holiday at all member schools. The motion passed by unanimous approval. Executive secretary Cain reported that he had traveled to West Helena, AR and met with several interested schools and believed that they would be receiving more Arkansas applications in the near future.

The board then returned to the topic of the newly formed Southern Independent School Association. Simmons announced a SISA meeting was to be held on November 8, 1971 in Atlanta, GA and that the program would consist primarily of presentations by members of the Alabama and Mississippi private school associations. The MPSA executive committee encouraged executive secretary Cain to attend the meeting along with Simmons and Carson and also recommended Cain be appointed "director of Mississippi" on the board of SISA. A motion was made on Cain's appointment as Mississippi representative and unanimously adopted. Next, Simmons discussed the importance of MPSA member schools joining SISA, he stated that

²²¹ The minutes of the Mississippi Private School Association, November 3, 1971. In private possession of the MPSA. Shared with E. Gray Flora IV, October 17th, 2014.

currently twelve MPSA schools had sought membership. After discussion, the executive committee voted to adopt a plan to pay the \$25 dollar per annum cost for each of their member schools to belong to the Southern Independent School Association.²²² A brief executive committee meeting was held one week later on November 9th. The only notable business was the approval of nine institutions as members of the MPSA.²²³ By the close of the second committee meeting of November, the committee had unanimously voted to accept the following twenty-nine institutions as MPSA member schools:

Fayette Academy	Somerville, TN
Tennessee Academy	Brownsville, TN
Greenville Christian School	Greenville, MS
Lee Academy, Inc.	Marianna, AR
Pine Hills Academy	Gloster, MS
Madison-Ridgeland Academy	Madison, MS
Sylvarena Baptist Academy	Bay Springs, MS
Thomas Jefferson Schools	Natchez, MS
Winston Academy	Louisville, MS
Lawrence County Academy	Monticello, MS
Trinity Day School	Natchez, MS
Walthall Academy	Tylertown, MS ²²⁴
Amite Academy	Liberty, MS
Brookhaven Academy	Brookhaven, MS

²²² Minutes of the MPSA, November 3, 1971.

²²³ The minutes of the Mississippi Private School Association, November 9, 1971. In private possession of the MPSA. Shared with E. Gray Flora IV, October 17th, 2014.

²²⁴ Minutes of the MPSA, November 9, 1971.

England Academy	England, AR
Tunica Institute	Tunica, MS
Kemper Academy	DeKalb, MS
Kirk Academy	Grenada, MS
Heidelberg Baptist Academy	Heidelberg, MS
Montgomery-Carroll Academy	Winona, MS
Terry Academy	Terry, MS ²²⁵

January 27, 1972

The first executive committee meeting of 1972 took place at the Deposit Guaranty National Bank building. The meeting records indicated that, for the first time, Mr. G.J. Cain was present under the title ‘chairman of the MPSA Accrediting Commission.’²²⁶ After the opening prayer, G.J. Cain presented the official MPSA accreditation standards (An incomplete version of these standards can be found in Appendix A). Once the committee had reviewed the document, G.J. Cain welcomed “questions on any particular.”²²⁷ Mrs. Orley Hood proposed a question related to article VIII of the document pertaining to the age of children entering first grade. The matter was discussed without any action taken. Next, Dr. James Baxter and Mr. Charles Wilkinson asked more clarifying questions, but no amendments were made. Ultimately, Mr. Wilburn Hooker made a motion that the accreditation standards be adopted and the motion was unanimously passed. There was also debate over the need for the realignment of schools by districts as provided in the by-laws due to the marked increase in member schools during the past year. Agreement was reached that the district officers would separately convene to discuss

²²⁵ Minutes of the MPSA, November 9, 1971.

²²⁶ The minutes of the Mississippi Private School Association, January 27, 1972. In private possession of the MPSA. Shared with E. Gray Flora IV, October 17th, 2014.

²²⁷ Minutes of the MPSA, January 27, 1972.

realignment as per the by-laws.²²⁸ Additionally, Chickasaw Academy of Van Vleet, MS was awarded membership during this meeting.

Perhaps the most notable item was dialogue regarding the annual MPSA Convention. Dr. Max Rafferty had been selected as keynote speaker. At the time, Rafferty was Dean of the school of education at Troy State University in Troy, Alabama.²²⁹ Rafferty had been characterized in *The New York Times* as an, “outspoken antiprogressive educator.”²³⁰ Prior to his appearance at the MPSA convention, he authored two books, *Suffer Little Children* (1963) and *What They Are Doing To Your Children* (1966). Both texts heavily emphasized the need for segregated school environments to ensure the protection and flourishing of white children. In addition to the provocative speaker, the notes from this meeting are also of interest because it is the first time a mention is made of a ticketed banquet to be held as part of the convention. Executive secretary Glenn Cain remarked that the committee should decide who from the general public they should invite to the banquet.²³¹

February 25, 1972

The annual directors meeting for the MPSA was held at the King’s Inn in Jackson, MS. After committee President Carson’s prayer, Executive Secretary Cain called the roll and 45 member school organizations were present which constituted a quorum. Next, the following financial report was distributed to all directors present:

²²⁸ Minutes of the MPSA, January 27, 1972.

²²⁹ Associated Press. “Educator Max Rafferty Dies in Accident.” *The Free-Lance Star*, June 14, 1982. Vol.98; No. 140

²³⁰ Becker, B. (1962, November 8). SCHOOL POST GOES TO CONSERVATIVE; Dr. Rafferty Defeats Liberal in California Contest. *The New York Times*.

²³¹ Minutes of the MPSA, January 27, 1972.

MISSISSIPPI PRIVATE SCHOOL ASSOCIATION
STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

Cash Balance, January 31, 1972 \$ 69,274.14

Receipts:

Accreditation Fees	20.00	
Activities Fund	22.50	
Dues	2,052.50	
Gate Receipts	1,983.80	
Interest Income	-0-	
MPSEA Funds	<u>9,929.00</u>	
		14,382.80
		<u>\$ 83,656.94</u>

Disbursements:

Salaries, gross pay	1,992.00	
less withheld taxes	445.88	
and insurance	<u>1,546.12</u>	
Office Furniture purchased	18.90	
Expenses paid for MPSEA	86.60	
Academy Activities Comm. expenses	232.60	
Accrediting Commission expense	95.00	
Annual meeting Expense (Bd. of Dir.)	305.50	
Executive Secretary's expense	187.71	
General Expense	31.50	
Group insurance	26.37	
Office Supplies and Expense	80.70	
Rent	196.41	
Telephone	158.35	
Postage	200.00	
Accounting Services	<u>35.00</u>	
		<u>3,200.76</u>
		<u>\$ 80,456.18</u>

Cash Balance, February 29, 1972

Checking Account	30,372.86	
Savings Account	<u>50,083.32</u>	
		<u>\$ 80,456.18</u>

At the time of this meeting the association had a savings account with a total of \$50,083.32 which, adjusted for inflation, would be approximately \$307,639.79 in 2019 dollars.²³² The February meeting in 1972 showed an organization, with a healthy reserve fund, that had deliberately grown leaps and bounds from the original meeting of a few men in the Mississippi Delta just four years earlier. Secretary Cain reported that the MPSA had 108 member schools with an additional eight schools requesting membership that if approved would grow the

²³² The Inflation Calculator. Accessed April 8, 2020. <https://westegg.com/inflation/infl.cgi>.

association to 116 member institutions. Cain claimed that as of that day there were 45,000 children represented by the association and 2,262 teachers and administrators. Cain also gave those in attendance an idea of the associations' growth within and immediately beyond state borders, "The geographical area presently covered by the association runs from Pine Bluff, Arkansas to the eastern edge of Lowndes County, Mississippi and from Jackson, TN to the Mississippi Gulf Coast."²³³ An update on the MPSA teachers' convention and banquet was also given. The convention was set for March 9 and 10, 1972 with a banquet being held on the evening of the 9th for which 1,041 tickets had already been purchased. Furthermore, the MPSA's accrediting commission was now sending out representatives all over the Deep South to schools seeking accreditation. At the time of the meeting, 72 separate schools had applied for accreditation.²³⁴

Similar to the practices of many public secondary school districts and post-secondary institutions, the MPSA had established a partnership with several Mississippi universities to create a teacher placement program. Mr. Cain fielded questions from those in attendance about which higher education institutions were 'cooperating' in the teacher placement matter and which were not. Mr. Cain reported on the cooperation level of institutions as follows:

²³³ The minutes of the Mississippi Private School Association, February 18, 1972. In private possession of the MPSA. Shared with E. Gray Flora IV, October 17th, 2014.

²³⁴ Minutes of the MPSA, February 25, 1972.

Mississippi State	-	Very Good
Ole Miss	-	None
Millsaps	-	None
Belhaven	-	Some
William Carey	-	Some
Mississippi College	-	Some
Mississippi Southern	-	None
Delta State	-	Some

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The schools listed are all located in the state of Mississippi, four public, state-funded institutions and four private institutions. At that time and currently, there are four more public, state-funded bachelor's and master's degree awarding institutions not listed: Mississippi College for Women, Jackson State College, Alcorn State College, and Mississippi Valley State College.²³⁶ After the report on the various levels of cooperation by local higher learning institutions, association President Carson suggested that a letter be written to the Chancellor or President of each institution reported upon "...seeking to obtain better cooperation where it was not forthcoming and that if this did not produce cooperation, then the school could look to the Board of Institutions of Higher Learning for some relief."²³⁷ A motion was then made, seconded, and duly carried to the effect that the MPSA go on record and proceed by going to the Board of Trustees of Institutions of Higher Learning and "...seeking assistance in the instances where cooperation was not forthcoming."²³⁸

²³⁵ Minutes of the MPSA, February 25, 1972.

²³⁶ Each of these 4 institutions had their names change from colleges to universities in 1974 to reflect their scholastic offerings. 3 of these institutions are historically African-American institutions.

²³⁷ Minutes of the MPSA, February 25, 1972.

²³⁸ *Ibids.*

As the MPSA grew the challenge of organizing sports and other extracurricular activities also increased. The Academy Activities Commission, announced that the MPSA band competition would be held at Mississippi College, a private, Baptist institution located in Clinton, MS. Hosting MPSA events at public higher learning institutions had not been as seamless for the Activities Commission. Despite the power the MPSA already enjoyed throughout the region, some organizations objected to the ease with which the organization had assimilated into the fabric of the state's educational landscape. An example of this can be found in a lawsuit brought forth by the NAACP against Mississippi State University due to the institution's agreement to host the MPSA basketball championship at their on-campus coliseum. The NAACP claimed that the MPSA should not be permitted to hold the event at a public, state institution of higher education. Rather than contest the NAACP's assertion, it was announced at the February board meeting that the game would be moved to Winston Academy, an MPSA member school in Louisville, MS, and the All-Star contests moved to Jackson Preparatory School in Flowood, MS.²³⁹ The executive secretary ordered that the Academy Activities Commission, operated by the MPSA, no longer use any state-supported facilities for athletic contests.

The conversation advanced to discussion of an issue with the National Collegiate Athletics Association (NCAA) not approving an All-Star football game that was set to take place during the upcoming summer. The reason for the NCAA's disapproval appeared to stem from the Shriners club of Mississippi's involvement in sponsoring the game. Presumably some of the student athletes in the game would be recruited by NCAA-affiliated schools and a violation of NCAA rules could occur as a result. Mr. Cain revealed the MPSA was advised to resubmit their application for the game. They did so and it was subsequently turned down again by the NCAA.

²³⁹ MPSA minutes. February 25, 1972.

Mr. Cain said that, as he saw it, the MPSA had three choices: “either forget about having the game, or put a game on before school is over, or file suit against the NCAA.”²⁴⁰ After what the meeting minutes described as “considerable discussion” about the matter, a motion was made, seconded, and duly carried that the MPSA defer any efforts pertaining to an all-star football game for that year and that they would make every effort to obtain approval for next year, short of litigation.²⁴¹

Next, President Carson announced that the executive committee had voted unanimously to release the names of schools and individuals associated with the MPSA to businesses “legitimately” seeking to provide health insurance and retirement assistance. Despite a lot of discussion dating back to the association’s very first meeting, the MPSA’s benefits package had not been competitive with those offered to teachers in the state’s public schools, but growth of the MPSA had allowed for the offering of more competitive benefits. This provision made it much easier for more teachers, exclusively white, to leave public schools for the MPSA.

The executive committee also voted to pay for each MPSA school to have membership in the Southern Independent School Association, an organization for which William J. Simmons, MPSA Secretary, served as president. Immediately following the announcement of what was essentially to be a partnership between the MPSA and SISA, Mr. Robroy D. Fisher of the Washington School stated he would like to go on record that he felt membership in SISA, “...should be a matter of self-determination for each school.”²⁴² The representative from Indianola Academy agreed and a motion was made, seconded, and passed to reject the actions the executive committee had taken to include all MPSA member schools in the membership roll

²⁴⁰ MPSA minutes. February 25, 1972.

²⁴¹ *Ibids.*

²⁴² *Ibids.*

of Southern Independent School Association.²⁴³ In all the meeting minutes available, this is the first time that the executive committee had been overruled by the member institutions. The executive committee would also change during this dynamic February meeting. The following were elected:

A. Q. Greer of the Marshall County Education Foundation	President
Bob Hardeman of the Greenwood LeFlore Educational Foundation	Vice-President
W.J. Simmons of Council School Foundation of Jackson	Secretary
Dr. G.A. Bynum of the Forrest County Educational Foundation	Treasurer

After these elections, W.J. Simmons, the prolific Citizens' Council forerunner, is the only person who has remained an officer in the MPSA since its inception.²⁴⁴

The meeting closed with a discussion on additional personnel from the central office. Mr. Cain cited the growing need for an additional staff member to organize and lead athletics as the MPSA grew. He reported that, "... this would take the services of at least one additional man and possibly a part-time lady as his secretary."²⁴⁵ A motion was made, seconded, and passed to allow for another central office employee to be hired at the discretion of the Executive Secretary. The meeting minutes closed with the following note, "Comments from the floor were forthcoming as to the desire to see the Mississippi Private School Association become a forceful and aggressive association. No formal action was taken on this observation."²⁴⁶ The most up-to-date financial situation of the association was also distributed to those in attendance at this meeting:

²⁴³ MPSA minutes. February 25, 1972.

²⁴⁴ *Ibids.*

²⁴⁵ *Ibids.*

²⁴⁶ *Ibids.*

MISSISSIPPI PRIVATE SCHOOL ASSOCIATION
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and insurance	<u>1,546.12</u>	
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Telephone	158.35	
Postage	200.00	
Accounting Services	<u>35.00</u>	
		<u>3,200.76</u>
		<u>\$ 80,456.18</u>

Cash Balance, February 29, 1972

Checking Account	30,372.86	
Savings Account	<u>50,083.32</u>	
		<u>\$ 80,456.18</u>

March 16, 1972

This executive committee meeting marked the first meeting led by new President A. Q. Greer. The first order of business was to install Live Oak Academy from Kreole, Mississippi as a member school of the MPSA. At the annual Board of Directors meeting Executive Secretary Cain had requested an additional full-time employee for the MPSA's central office. Mr. Don

Johnson was brought forth to the executive committee. A vote was taken, approved, and the hiring of the second full-time MPSA central office employee was made official. Next, Dr. James Baxter made a motion that the MPSA join the Mississippi Economic Council for the benefit of receiving all legislation. The motion was seconded and passed. According to the meeting minutes, the MPSA needed to enhance legislative relationships, “The Executive Committee felt that some thought and study should go into the subject of our relationship with the legislature. The feeling was that a legislative committee needs to be set up by the MPSA.”²⁴⁷

May 18, 1972

The executive committee convened at its usual locale, the Deposit Guaranty National Bank building. Mr. Glenn Cain reported that, as Dr. James Baxter suggested when they last met, the MPSA had in fact joined the Mississippi Economic Council. Cain stated that, “...Dr. Baxter [it is unclear if it is the same Dr. Baxter that made the initial referral] of the MEC was very liberal and favored compulsory education.”²⁴⁸ These particular meeting minutes are very detailed in some places and very vague on other matters. For example, there is great detail about the need to set up a petty cash account for the association with details of how much should be in it and opinions on the matter from many in attendance. But when the conversation turned to legislation, few details nor the content of legislation is recorded. For example, the minutes ambiguously communicate the overriding concern: “A general discussion of legislation followed. A.Q. Greer observed that there was a need for better communications regarding pending legislation to the member schools.”²⁴⁹

²⁴⁷ The minutes of the Mississippi Private School Association, May 18, 1972. In private possession of the MPSA. Shared with E. Gray Flora IV, October 17th, 2014.

²⁴⁸ *Ibids.*

²⁴⁹ *Ibids.*

Glenn Cain took the floor with some general updates on how the infrastructure of the MPSA was progressing. These updates included the number of elementary and secondary schools that had received accreditation (69 and 67 respectively), progress in major spring sports, plans to add debate, swim meets, and golf for girls to the MPSA's offerings, and finally a forewarning that many schools seemed to be canceling sporting events a bit too casually. Cain recommended that contracts be drafted by attorneys for competing schools to sign so that they might be held more accountable.²⁵⁰ The next order of business was for the executive committee to approve MPSA attorneys' fees. President Greer pronounced that Mr. Dan H. Shell, who had served as the MPSA's counsel since its inception, had billed the association in the amount of \$2,305.00. The motion from Greer to pay the fee in full was seconded and unanimously adopted.²⁵¹

Mr. Burt Young, a representative from Barksdale Bonding and Insurance Company of Jackson and the Crystal Springs Insurance Agency of Crystal Springs, was invited to speak. He gave a presentation that claimed his agencies could offer key improvements to the MPSA teacher benefits package by writing a Public Institutional Program of insurance with a 35% discount for MPSA employees. The only catch was that at least 65% of MPSA member schools must agree in advance to participate. After Young departed, the committee had a discussion and ultimately reached a decision not to vote on the opportunity, seeing that many in attendance felt that even better rates could be obtained locally. The final order of business was a discussion of Mr. Cain's salary. The discussions opened with numerous votes of confidence and appreciation for Mr. Cain. Initially, a proposal was on the floor to increase Cain's salary by \$20,000 annually,

²⁵⁰ MPSA minutes. May 18, 1972.

²⁵¹ *Ibids.*

however the committee ultimately settled on awarding Cain an additional \$1,500 a year in fringe benefits.²⁵²

July 27, 1972

The summer executive committee meeting revealed the findings of an MPSA audit and a detailed discussion of tax strategy. Mr. Thomas M. Tann, CPA, who had been recommended by an executive committee member at a previous meeting, did in fact execute the audit for the association. A copy of the audit was distributed to each committee member and after a discussion about making sure that any school who requested a copy of the audit received one, a motion to approve the document was passed. Below is a copy of the audit cover page:

²⁵² MPSA minutes. May 18, 1972.

MISSISSIPPI PRIVATE SCHOOL ASSOCIATION FINANCIAL REPORT			
August 31, 1972	August, 1972	Total for Year	
Income:			
Accreditation Fees	\$ -0-	\$	-0-
Activities Fees	1,899.70		3,772.81
Dues (\$1.50)	19,108.50		33,041.50
Memberships (\$125.00)	2,500.00		3,375.00
Interest	-0-		-0-
Withheld payroll taxes not remitted	679.46		679.46
Total	\$24,187.66		\$40,868.77
Expenses:			
Activities Expenses	618.79		872.01
Accrediting Expenses	-0-		-0-
Annual Meeting Expenses	-0-		-0-
Automobile Expense	86.56		86.56
Bank Charges	9.41		9.41
Director of Activities Expenses	146.60		250.37
Executive Secretary Expenses	161.43		367.21
Furniture & Equipment Purchased	-0-		-0-
General Expenses	64.25		70.51
Insurance	716.00		716.00
Legal and Audit	465.00		465.00
Office Supplies & Expenses	102.16		102.16
Postage	47.25		94.50
Mailing Machine & Metal Rental	300.00		300.00
Publications	27.69		27.69
Rent	1.60		15.20
Repairs and Maintenance	344.21		688.42
Salaries	-0-		-0-
Taxes and Licenses	3,376.00		6,752.00
Taxes - Payroll	-0-		-0-
Telephone	48.87		195.55
Federal Income Taxes Paid	141.27		291.26
(For 1970-71 and 1971-72)	3,477.92		4,450.41
Withheld taxes and FICA remitted	-0-		379.36
Total	\$10,175.01		\$16,133.62
	\$14,012.65		\$24,735.15
Savings Account: \$38,000.00			
Interest	918.30		
	\$38,918.30		
Memberships paid prior to 1972-73 fiscal year - \$27,850.00			

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A discussion followed regarding tax returns, “Mr. Cain advised that the Association’s attorneys recommended the filing of income tax returns on Form 1120, the regular corporate form, and pay the tax due.²⁵⁴ According to the meeting minutes, the attorneys for the MPSA also advised the committee that, “... membership fees and contributions to the legal funds should be regarded as capital contributions, not taxable to the Association but not deductible by members; membership dues [the attorneys recommended] should be regarded as ordinary income taxable to the

²⁵³ The minutes of the Mississippi Private School Association, July 27, 1972. In private possession of the MPSA. Shared with E. Gray Flora IV, October 17th, 2014.

²⁵⁴ *Ibids*

Association but deductible by members.”²⁵⁵ This talk of intricate tax maneuvering culminated with discussion on whether the MPSA should finally become incorporated. It was decided that Secretary Cain would ask for a recommendation from the legal counsel retained by the MPSA.

The meeting closed with a general report that first included an update from Don Johnson and his attempts to connect with private school association administrators in Alabama and Louisiana to put on athletic events. Johnson also reported he was working diligently on an all-star football game that would be, once again, in partnership with the Shriners.²⁵⁶ Mr. Cain closed the meeting out with a report on his travels to Montgomery, Alabama for a meeting of the Southern Independent School Association Accreditation committee. Mr. Cain, Mississippi representative for the SAIS committee, revealed that, “...the Deep South states were moving ahead on the establishment of standards.”²⁵⁷ This meeting also yielded a budget for the upcoming school term:

²⁵⁵ MPSA minutes. July 27, 1972.

²⁵⁶ *Ibids.*

²⁵⁷ *Ibids.*

BUDGET FOR MPSA 1972-73

Salaries	\$41,000.00
Taxes, Social Security, Employment Tax	1,500.00
Director of Activities Expense Account	1,400.00
Executive Secretary Expense Account	1,400.00
Rent (Office Space)	4,130.00
Parking	576.00
Academy Activities Expenses	3,000.00
Accreditation Expenses	1,000.00
Office Equipment Purchases	2,500.00
Insurance (Cars)	716.00
Legal and Audit Expenses	2,500.00
Office Supplies and Expenses	2,500.00
Postage and Postage Meter Rent	2,100.00
Repairs	500.00
Auto Licenses	200.00
Telephone	2,000.00
Meeting Expenses	500.00
Miscellaneous	1,500.00
TOTAL	\$77,022.00

PROJECTED INCOME MPSA 1972-73

48,000 pupils at \$1.50 each	\$72,000.00
Academy Activities Dues and Gate Percentages	12,000.00
Education Association	4,000.00
TOTAL	\$88,000.00
BALANCE	\$10,978.00

This does not include any of the \$125 membership installment payments

Please look this over and let me know what you think about it.

September 14, 1972

This MPSA Executive Committee meeting saw five new institutions officially inducted as members of the MPSA:

Council Academy	Memphis, Tennessee
Heritage Christian School	Little Rock, Arkansas
Watson Chapel Academy	Pine Bluff, Arkansas

Jackson Academy

Jackson, Mississippi

Clinton Academy

Clinton, Mississippi²⁵⁸

Mr. Cain reported that, at the time of the gathering, ten MPSA member schools were delinquent in their association dues and would be sent a letter from the executive committee outlining the consequences of their delinquency. Finally, a motion was carried out by the committee to recommend that all MPSA schools use Aetna Life and Casualty to handle their retirement programs for employees.²⁵⁹

December 14, 1972

The final executive committee meeting of 1972 was held, once again, at the Deposit Guaranty National Bank building in Jackson. The first order of business was to approve the application for MPSA membership of Pulaski Academy in Little Rock, Arkansas. Secretary Cain then brought to the attention of the committee an idea to develop of foreign studies program for MPSA schools. A motion to form a study committee to deliver a plan for foreign study offerings for all MPSA schools was unanimously accepted.²⁶⁰

Executive secretary Cain next discussed the situation regarding the need for better relations between opposing schools and referees during athletic competition. Cain said that the central office had received numerous complaints about, "...problems arising from the behavior of some fans."²⁶¹ A motion was then adopted that each of the four districts would have a gathering for administrators, board members, and coaches to encourage more civility at sporting

²⁵⁸ The minutes of the Mississippi Private School Association, September 14, 1972. In private possession of the MPSA. Shared with E. Gray Flora IV, October 17th, 2014.

²⁵⁹ *Ibids.*

²⁶⁰ The minutes of the Mississippi Private School Association, December 14, 1972. In private possession of the MPSA. Shared with E. Gray Flora IV, October 17th, 2014.

²⁶¹ *Ibids.*

events. Next, the committee approved a study “dealing with private schools’ conducted by Dr. Douglas MacDonald of the University of Mississippi.

Finally, Mr. Cain announced that he along with A Q. Green and William J. Simmons represented the MPSA at the Southern Independent School Association directors meeting in Atlanta, Georgia five days earlier. Cain encouraged several MPSA schools to apply for the highest accreditation given out by SISA.²⁶² Cain next informed the committee that ad valorem tax statements had been received from the City of Jackson and Hinds County, “... although he had filed an application for tax exemption under the private school category.”²⁶³ He also reported that the Mississippi Private School Educational Foundation (a separate entity) had applied for federal tax exemption under section 501 (c) (6) of the Internal Revenue Code, a professional classification.²⁶⁴ The financial report for the year of 1972 was also distributed:

²⁶² MPSA minutes. December 14, 1972.

²⁶³ *Ibids.*

²⁶⁴ *Ibids.*

MISSISSIPPI PRIVATE SCHOOL ASSOCIATION
FINANCIAL REPORT

November 30, 1972

	<u>November, 1972</u>	<u>Total for Year</u>
Income:		
Accreditation Fees	\$ -0-	\$ -0-
Activities Fees	698.70	7,669.71
Dues (\$1.50)	181.50	72,189.50
Memberships (\$125)	500.00	11,025.00
Interest	-0-	-0-
Withheld payroll taxes not remitted	691.64	691.64
Other income	-0-	4,000.00
Total	\$2,071.84	\$95,575.85
Expenses:		
Activities Expenses (\$320.00 All-Star expense)	1,474.03	3,671.63
Accrediting Expenses	-0-	-0-
Annual Meeting Expenses	-0-	-0-
Automobile Expenses	-0-	201.21
Bank Charges	-0-	9.41
Director of Activities Expenses	181.45	981.11
Executive Secretary Expenses	127.95	901.23
Furniture & Equipment purchased	5.15	398.99
General Expenses	14.50	85.01
Insurance	-0-	716.00
Legal and Audit	-0-	465.00
Office Supplies & Expenses	66.69	458.28
Parking	47.25	236.25
Mailing Machine & Metal Rental	-0-	82.16
Postage	300.00	900.00
Publications	60.00	81.90
Rent	344.21	1,721.05
Repairs & Maintenance	16.38	42.63
Salaries	3,376.00	16,960.00
Taxes and Licenses	-0-	174.17
Taxes - Payroll & Employment	88.87	518.36
Telephone	165.72	907.47
Federal Income Taxes Paid (For 1970-71 and 71-72)	-0-	4,500.63
Withheld taxes & FICA remitted incl. State taxes	602.77	2,451.02
Total	\$6,856.47	\$36,463.51
	<u>-\$4,784.63</u>	<u>\$59,112.34</u>
Savings Account: \$68,000.00		
Interest:	918.30	
	\$68,918.30	

Analysis

The preceding chapter opens at the Council School Foundation headquarters, an offshoot of the Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi (ACCM), in Jackson. By this time the MPSA was well established around the state and beyond. Holding meetings at the ACCM headquarters was evidence that the association was still acting very much in lock step with Citizens' Council ideology. In *Resisting Equality*, Rolph asserts that the Council School Foundation and eventually the MPSA injected considerable energy into the entire Citizens

‘Council movement that had otherwise begun to dissipate. Rolph claimed that William J. Simmons saw K-12 education’s power to preserve the ideals of the original massive resistance movement, “The popularity of private school as option from white students, by Simmons’s estimation, drew in white moderates who had only tolerated the Council before. More importantly, it provided a protected space where white supremacy could thrive.”²⁶⁵

The executive committee agenda from September 1971 that is posted above begins with prayer as its first agenda item. Opening meetings with prayer was a constant from the inception of the association. In contemporary times it appears odd for an organization committed to the preservation of segregation to also be closely aligned with Christianity, however layers of complexity exists in the relationship between integration opposition and Christian faith. In her book *God With Us*, historian Ansley L. Quiros (2018) explains, “It is nearly impossible to discuss race in the South without also discussing religion, and the ways that Christian theology both supported and opposed formal and informal racism.”²⁶⁶ Quiros’ work wades into the ideological quagmire many in leadership against integrated life, including the MPSA’s early leaders, appeared to have to espoused, “...postwar segregationism is properly understood as more than sheer ignorance or hate, but as a complex, enduring theological and political position.”²⁶⁷

The final few meeting minutes in the researcher’s possession contain many references to the Southern Independent School Association (SISA). Relics of the organization, what it did, and who was a part of it are scarce. However, Gladney’s 1974 dissertation, *I’ll Take My Stand* does

²⁶⁵ Rolph, Stephanie Renee. *Resisting Equality: The Citizens' Council, 1954-1989*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2018. P.159.

²⁶⁶ Quiros, Ansley Lillian. *God with Us: Lived Theology and the Freedom Struggle in Americus, Georgia, 1942-1976*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018. P.44.

²⁶⁷ *Ibids*.

contain some information on the regional outfit. According to Gladney, the association was originally called the Independent Private School Association, but by its second meeting in Atlanta, GA in June of 1971 it was known as SISA.²⁶⁸ Gladney cited Louisiana's Claiborne Academy newspaper *Rebel Yell* as containing the organization's mission statement, "to promote the independent school movement on a broad scope for mutual benefit."²⁶⁹ Gladney reported that at its height SISA boasted the following membership breakdown according to states: "Alabama, 65 schools, 22,000 pupils; Georgia, 56 schools, 20,000 pupils; Louisiana, 50 schools, 23,000 pupils; Mississippi, 92 schools, 50,000 pupils; and Virginia, 47 schools, 11,000 pupils."²⁷⁰ Being made president of SISA as well enduring multiple leadership changes on the MPSA executive committee crystalizes the prolific entanglement William J. Simmons had with Mississippi's formal resistance to integrated education. It is not hyperbole to suggest that he became the figured head of segregated education in Mississippi. The existence of SISA also revealed the premium segregationists put on being affiliated and tethered to other similar organizations that held the same beliefs about the need for private education as a reaction to Federal involvement in primary schooling.

The February 1972 meeting notes are the first time in the entirety of the available minutes that a conversation about higher education is recorded. The impetus for bringing up Mississippi's higher education institutions appears to be rooted in frustration over a lack of ease in cooperation with colleges as the MPSA attempted to create a teacher placement pipeline between colleges in the state and the MPSA. This perceived lack of cooperation between MPSA power brokers and the states' Institutions of Higher Learning, also known as 'the College Board,' could possibly be

²⁶⁸ Gladney, Margaret Rose. "I'll Take My Stand: The Southern Segregation Academy Movement." ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 1974. P. 80.

²⁶⁹ Paul Newell, in Claiborne Academy's newspaper, *The Rebel Yell*, November 1971.

²⁷⁰ Gladney, M.R. "I'll Take My Stand: The Southern Segregation Academy Movement." 1974. P. 80.

connected to what David Sansing described in his book *Making Haste Slowly: The Troubled History of Higher Education* as, “a tacit announcement that Mississippi’s closed society was at last open.”²⁷¹

In the previous decade, the College Board, like the rest of Mississippi and including the MPSA, was being guided by a few well-connected and well-resourced men in positions of power. According to Sansing, “At no time in its troubled history has higher education been more directly influenced by the personal philosophy of a few individual [College] board members than it was in the decade of the 1960s.”²⁷² To this day, state law requires that the sitting Governor appoint all College Board members. By the time the MPSA was discussing reaching out to College Board members to help get more of their preferred colleges on board with an MPSA partnership, the composition of the board had undergone significant changes. Robert Harrison, a dentist from Yazoo City had become the board’s first African-American member and Miriam Simmons became the first woman to serve on the IHL board since Reconstruction. The list of colleges that the MPSA wanted to work with is yet another piece of evidence that the association was committed to preserving racial segregation in education seeing as none of the historically black colleges were listed in the minutes.

Several times between 1968 and 1972 the MPSA meeting minutes refer to legal action initiated by the NAACP. While there is no mention of actual case names, it appears that the court case the MPSA leaders were most prominently discussing was *Green v. Connally*.²⁷³ The matter at hand was a complaint by African-American parents in Mississippi that the all-white academies in Mississippi should not be granted tax exemption by the Internal Revenue Service. Once the

²⁷¹ Sansing, David G. *Making Haste Slowly: The Troubled History of Higher Education in Mississippi*. Jackson, Miss: University Press of Mississippi, 1990. P.214.

²⁷² Sansing. *Making Haste Slowly: The Troubled History of Higher Education in Mississippi*, 1990. P.212.

²⁷³ *Green v. Connally*, 330 F. Supp. 1150 (D.D.C.), *aff’d mem. sub nom. Coit v. Green*, 404 U.S. 997 (1971)

ruling was upheld by the Supreme Court, according to Margaret Gladney, 33 private schools in the state of Mississippi had their tax exemptions revoked.²⁷⁴ Gladney also pointed out that this ruling rendered future gifts to academies ineligible for tax exemption, but did not affect gifts made prior to the ruling and those early critical donations allowed so many private schools to become fully operational.²⁷⁵

Randall Balmer, the Mandel family professor in the arts and sciences at Dartmouth College, credited the *Green v. Connally* case and not *Roe v. Wade*, as most assume, with igniting the political ideology known today as the “Religious Right.” Balmer claimed, “The *Green v. Connally* ruling provided a necessary first step: It captured the attention of evangelical leaders, especially as the IRS began sending questionnaires to church-related “segregation academies,” including Jerry Falwell’s [known as the ideology’s founder] own Lynchburg Christian School, inquiring about their racial policies.”²⁷⁶ Balmer’s work reinforced claims previously asserted by Quiros (2018) that it is next to impossible to entangle religiosity and racial discrimination during the Civil Rights era and, at times, segregated education and Christian duty were indistinguishable in the minds of many who led the MPSA in its early days.

²⁷⁴ Gladney, M.R. "I'll Take My Stand: The Southern Segregation Academy Movement." 1974. P. 73-74.

²⁷⁵ *Ibids.*

²⁷⁶ Balmer, Randall. "The Real Origins of the Religious Right." POLITICO Magazine, May 27, 2014. <https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2014/05/religious-right-real-origins-107133#.U4cuc15MkmY>.

Conclusion

In a 1979 interview Robert Patterson, the founder of Citizens' Council, claimed that white Mississippians did not, at least en masse, embrace the integrated society that the Court's decreed. Patterson sardonically asked for proof that white Mississippians were embracing integration, "...why do they all live in the suburbs, and why do they move out of the neighborhood when Negroes move in? And why do they send their children to private school? And why do they manipulate and move to go out to an area that doesn't have many Negroes in it so they can send their child to a virtually all-white school? ...They haven't accepted integration. They've run from it."²⁷⁷ While the laws on the books in Mississippi, by in large, reflect an egalitarian society, it is difficult to contest Mr. Patterson's point. The meteoric rise of the MPSA, it can be argued, has had a sizable impact on how much meaningful interaction white Mississippians and minorities have with each other day in and day out in the decades after *Brown*.

Determined and focused energy on the three main areas (accreditation, interscholastic activities, and teacher benefits) that the MPSA identified shortly after its founding, had, in just four years, helped the MPSA enroll a significant portion of students needing K-12 education. The MPSA also, in effect, managed to recreate the dual school systems for white and black students that the federal government had declared unconstitutional in 1954. Being able to lean on the connections and tactics that helped the Citizens' Council achieve victories against federal government's quest to integrate American society allowed the MPSA to thrive somewhat instantaneously.

²⁷⁷ Howard Raines, "Robert Boyd Patterson Interviewed by Author," *The Citizen* 24, No. 6 (March 1979):16-23, esp.22-23.

While it is well within the rights of all citizens to attend private schools, the MPSA utilized a special brand of political, social, and financial techniques to illicit government and community support for their schools not unlike tactics used by the chapters of the Citizens' Council. In many ways, the MPSA is the Citizen's Council's most enduring legacy. The MPSA emerged and quickly began to educate an overwhelming proportion of white Mississippi students thanks to the work of men and women committed to the cause of segregation. Today in many Mississippi counties, the MPSA school, by its very existence, has created dual school systems in their communities: black students attend the public school and white students attend the private school. In parlance with the consumer age during which the organization was founded, the leaders of MPSA knew that if they did not offer the consumer amenities of the public schools, white students would likely not leave public schools and attend their new schools.

The question remains as to exactly what effect the MPSA has had on the state of Mississippi? Has going to different schools affected the ability of cities and towns in Mississippi to function civically? What, if any, long term economic ramifications has the MPSA had on the state? These and many more questions should be further researched. As a result of knowing this narrative we see that sometimes the agenda of a few can have a drastic impact on future generations and on a place itself. Indeed, the emergent story of the MPSA and its founders centers on a motivation to organize an education apparatus that would closely mirror the scholastic and extracurricular offerings of public schools at the time while also allowing them to keep Mississippi blacks and whites educated separately.

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List of Appendices

Appendix A

MISSISSIPPI PRIVATE SCHOOL

ASSOCIATION ACCREDITING

COMMISSION

S T A N D A R D S

FOR ACCREDITING

PRIVATE SCHOOLS

PRINTED 1972

PART I

FOREWARD

The regulations contained in this bulletin are established by the Mississippi Private School Accrediting Commission and are held to be in compliance with House Bill 476, passed by the 1970 Regular Session of the Mississippi Legislature. These standards are intended to establish criteria that private schools may follow to provide an educational program of quality for their students.

The standards in this bulletin are designed to help schools maintain an adequate educational program and are not to be interpreted as maximum criteria.

Only through the hard work of members of the Accrediting Commission is this bulletin of standards in existence.

ORGANIZATION

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PRESIDENT	A. Q. Greer
VICE-PRESIDENT	R. T. Hardeman
SECRETARY	W. J. Simmons
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ACCREDITING COMMISSION

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R. A. Harbour,	Marshall Academy	Holly Springs

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Dr. G. T. Buckley	East Lowndes Academy	Steens

District III

Dr. J. W. Lee, Jr.	Mississippi College	Clinton
G. J. Cain	Council Bluffs Schools	Jackson

District IV

Dr. James Baxter	Prentiss Christian	Prentiss
Garland White	Franklin Christian	Roxie

The philosophy and objectives of a school will be considered when the applications are on file. Specific procedures are detailed below:

- A. All member schools of MPSA shall receive by October 1 of the school year forms to be completed by November 15 for accreditation. Two copies shall be sent to the Accrediting Commission.
- B. The MPSA Accrediting Commission will meet in the Fall and again in the Spring to consider applications and at other times when called by the Chairman. After the Spring meeting, all schools will be notified of their accreditation status. A school shall not be dropped from the accredited list before the end of that school year. A school that is not accredited by the Commission will receive a letter stating the reasons for nonaccreditation. Copies will be sent to the Principal, (Headmaster, Superintendent, Administrator), and Chairman of the Board of Directors.
- C. Application for accreditation is to be on an annual basis.
- D. It is the responsibility of the head of the school or school system to see that duplicate copies are filled out, certified as correct, and sent to the Accrediting Commission. These

reports are to be signed by the Principal (and Headmaster, Superintendent, or Administrator if the school has both) .

SCHOOL VISITATIONS

Schools that have not been accredited by the MPSA Accrediting Commission shall be visited by an evaluating team before accrediting can be completed.

The Commission may, from time to time, send visiting committees to visit accredited schools to validate the reports from that school.

title Superintendent normally applies to the administrative head of more than one school, each school being headed by a Principal or Headmaster. The title Superintendent normally applies to a person who reports to a Board. In small schools one person may serve in both capacities.

2. The policies of the board of trustees shall be in writing, shall be on file in the superintendent's or headmaster's office, and shall be readily accessible.

3. The board of trustees should hold regular meetings and keep minutes of official action.

4. Each school shall have a written statement of educational philosophy and objectives. Development of these objectives should be based upon the needs of the students. The curriculum of the school should evolve from and implement the philosophy and state objectives of the school.

5. Appropriate guidance services focused upon the growth and development of each student shall be an integral part of the educational program.

6. There should be an organized plan for in-service education in which each school participates. This plan should have as its objective the professional improvement of the teachers and the instructional program.

7. All activities pertaining to the organization, administration, and operation of the educational program within a school district affecting board members, school officials, teachers, and individual schools should be in accord with accepted professional standards.

8. A cumulative record shall be kept for each student who enrolls

9. The school records shall be properly safeguarded.

10. When a pupil transfers to another school:

a. Within the state, Form 1 of the pupil's record is to be mailed to the receiving school (public or private), but the school may retain the record for failure of the student to comply with a contractual obligation.

b. In another state, a copy of Form 2 only should be mailed to the receiving school, and it may also be retained or withheld for like reason.

11. Form 1 of the pupil's record shall be available to teachers and other school officials directly concerned with the pupil's best interest but shall not be available to the general public.

12. Form 2 of the pupil's records is the permanent record and shall always remain with the school. This record shall be kept in a ledger in a fire-proof file or vault.

VI. Transfer of Student and Credits

A. Schools shall not accept students from non-accredited schools without examination, using standardized achievement tests and/or special subject tests.

B. Schools shall not permanently enroll a student who formerly was enrolled in another school within the state until the Cumulative Folder is received from the school from which he transferred showing that he is entitled to re-admission to the school previously attended. Should a cumulative folder become lost or destroyed, it shall be the responsibility of the superintendent or the principal of the school where the student last attended to initiate a new record.

C. A transfer student from out of state is enrolled or denied enrollment on the basis of an official transcript of credits from the last school attended.

D. A student who transfers from out of state must also present a copy of his birth certificate before he can be permanently enrolled.

VII. The School Plant (Standards on site and space apply to new construction.)

A. Adequacy

1. The physical plant of the school and its operation shall safeguard the welfare of those served by it and shall be designed to facilitate offering an educational program adequate to the purpose of the school and its pupils. The design and construction of the school plant shall incorporate provision for flexible use of some school facilities and for future expansion.

2. Regular classrooms shall contain a minimum of 15 square feet of floor space per student enrolled.

3. Classrooms, including libraries, shops, lecture rooms, laboratories, and other areas used for study or classroom instruction shall maintain a minimum lighting level of natural or artificial light with proper diffusion to meet the requirements of the visual tasks. (Refer to American Standard Guide for School Lighting published by Illuminating Engineering Society.)

4. Adequate facilities shall be provided for administrative offices, teachers' workroom, teachers' lounge, assembly rooms, health and physical education, food services, health services, clinic, libraries, laboratories, and other special services, such as guidance.

B. Safety

1. Design and construction of the school plant shall provide for the maximum safety of its occupants. It is recommended that every feasible precaution be taken to provide safety features with respect to corridors, stairs, exits.

F. Maintenance and Operation

1. The school plant shall be kept in such condition as to ensure as nearly as possible under all circumstances, efficiency in meeting the needs of the school. A regular schedule of inspection and maintenance shall be followed to ensure that the buildings and grounds shall be clean and well-kept.

2. Every school shall have adequate space, facilities, and custodial personnel to service and maintain lighting, heating, ventilation, water supply, toilets, and school furniture.

3. Adaptation and arrangement of rooms and the methods of housekeeping shall be such as to ensure that the school environment shall be clean, sanitary, pleasant, and stimulating to the student's growth and development.

G. Equipment

Every classroom shall provide facilities for students and teachers as follows:

1. Individual seats and desks or tables and chairs chosen for comfort and posture.

2. Teacher's desk and filing and storage facilities.

3. Sufficient amount of chalkboard and tackboard -- 16 linear feet of chalkboard and 8 linear feet of tackboard is

considered minimum.

4. Shades or venetian blinds to improve visual comfort and efficiency.

5. Adequate laboratory facilities, equipment, and supplies for courses offered.

VI I I. Environmental Conservation Education

The School should include in the curriculum appropriate units devoted to environmental education. These units should provide students with instruction in conservation and preservation of clean air and water and wise use of our natural resources.

I I. Professional Personnel

A. Principal

1. Minimum Requirements

a. The principal as the professional leader of the school administers and supervises the school. For accreditation purposes the elementary principal shall be a person who is in charge of an attendance unit having at least seven teachers, including the principal.

b. The principal shall have had two years teaching experience in an elementary school and shall hold valid elementary principal certification.

c. The principal of a school containing elementary and secondary grades may hold either elementary or secondary certification provided the school does not include grades beyond the 9th grade level.

d. All professional personnel in schools accredited by the Commission on School Accreditation shall hold valid teaching certificates.

2. Class A Requirements

a. The principal shall hold Class A elementary principal certification.

b. The principal shall devote at least half of each school day to supervision and administration of the elementary school. Schools having more than 12 regular teachers shall have a full-time supervising principal.

3. Class AA Requirements

a. The principal shall hold a Class AA elementary principal's certificate.

b. The principal of the elementary school shall devote full time to administration and supervision of the elementary school and shall have a planned regular system for supervising instruction.

B. Teachers

1. Minimum Requirements

a. The head teacher shall be in charge of a school having fewer than seven teachers including the head teacher. The head teacher must hold a Class A elementary teacher's certificate with two years of teaching experience in the elementary school and have six semester or eight quarter hours of graduate credit in School Administration and Supervision on the elementary level.

b. Ninety percent of all elementary teachers shall hold valid Class A elementary teacher certification.

III. Curriculum

A. Minimum Requirements

1. An organized basal reading program in grades one through six shall be provided. Opportunity shall be provided for self-expression and creativity as well as instruction in the mechanics and skills of the language arts.
2. Understanding of the number system shall be emphasized.
3. Social studies shall be organized to provide learning experiences which will enable students to learn to live and to work in a democratic society and which will promote the understanding of American ideals, heritage, and patriotism.
4. The science program shall be planned and organized to develop in students scientific attitude and knowledge and the ability to use scientific methods.
5. An organized recreational education program for all students in grades one through eight shall be provided. This program may be supervised by a specialist or classroom teacher.
6. Instruction in art which offers opportunity for creative expression in variety of media and for study of the art of the past and present shall be organized.

B. Class A and AA Requirements

1. The school shall have a written course of study developed jointly by teachers and administrators within the school system which will provide a guide for effective instruction in each area of the school curriculum.
2. The school shall show evidence of (1) continuous evaluation of its program to provide its pupils with improving educational opportunities.

IV. Instructional Material and Equipment

A. Audio-Visual

1. Minimum Requirements

a. Maps and globes shall be available in sufficient quantity to implement adequately the social studies curriculum of the school. The following maps and globes are recommended at the appropriate grade level:

(1) Grades 1-3: Beginner's globe, 16"; simplified U.S. map; Mississippi map, and simplified World Map.

- a. Textbooks and recordings to accompany textbooks.
- b. Classroom instruments - rhythm and melody, autoharp, and bells
- c. Records of great masterpieces of past and present and rhythm records.

D. Arts and Crafts

1. Minimum Requirements

The school should make available rolls of all colors of craft paper, tempera paints, and brushes, and lettering pens and crayons.

2. Class A Requirements

The school shall provide finger paints, chalk (colored-soft), water colors, brushes, construction paper, manila drawing paper, newsprint, and poster paper.

3. Class A Requirements: Compliance with minimum and Class A Requirements.

E. Books and Magazines

1. Minimum Requirements

A wide variety of texts in science, reading, social studies, and children's weekly newspapers shall be available. Each student should have a dictionary suitable to his needs.

2. Class A Requirements

A variety of reference and related books, and appropriate magazines shall be available.

3. Class AA Requirements

An atlas, daily newspaper, and an unabridged dictionary shall be available in the school.

F. General Supplies

1. Minimum Requirements

The following supplies should be available: Manuscript charts (1-3), cursive charts (3-6), and a paper cutter at least 15" x 15".

2. Class A Requirements: Compliance with minimum requirements.

3. Class AA Requirements: Compliance with minimum requirements.

B. Class A Requirements

1. The school shall provide six books other than textbooks for each student enrolled in each grade.

2. The elementary school shall spend annually for library materials not less than \$100.00 plus \$1.50 per student enrolled.

C. Class AA Requirements

1. The school shall provide eight books other than textbooks per student enrolled.

2. The elementary school shall spend annually for library materials not less than \$100.00 plus \$2.00 per student enrolled.

3. Schools classified AA shall have a central library supervised by a trained librarian.

VI. Guidance

A. Minimum Requirements

1. The school shall show evidence of implementing guidance services which assist children in personal, social, educational, and emotional adjustments concurrent with their individual rate of growth and development.

2. Each school shall have an adequate testing program. The testing program for grades 1 through 6 shall include a minimum of two scholastic aptitude and two achievement tests. (See Appendix D for suggested testing schedule.)

B. Class A Requirements

1. The school shall provide planned parent-teacher conferences. The minimum testing program shall include reading and scholastic aptitude tests and achievement battery tests. Achievement tests shall be given annually at appropriate levels. The test results shall be used for diagnostic and remedial purposes and recorded in the cumulative record folder. Vocational information should be made available to assist the student in planning for the world of work.

C. Class AA Requirements

1. The school shall make available professional personnel to assist students with individual counseling as needs arise.

VII. Summer School Regulations -- Grades 1-8

A. Minimum Requirements

Only review or remedial work shall be offered for the benefit of elementary students. Any new work shall be offered for enrichment

PART IV
STANDARDS THAT APPLY TO SECONDARY SCHOOLS ONLY

I. Professional Personnel

A. Qualifications for Secondary Principals

1. Minimum Requirements

a. The principal of a secondary school shall hold Class A Certificate or Class A Permit endorsed for the secondary principalship.

b. The principal of a secondary school composed of grades 7 through 9 or any combination thereof, shall hold Class A Certificate or Class A Permit endorsed for either the elementary or the secondary principalship.

2. Class A and Class AA Requirements

a. The principal of a secondary school shall hold Class AA certification endorsed for the secondary principalship.

b. The principal of a secondary school composed of grades 7 through 9 or any combination thereof shall hold Class AA Certificate or Class AA Permit endorsed for either the elementary or the secondary principalship.

8. Qualifications for Teachers

1. Minimum Requirements

a. In grades 10 through 12 the teacher shall hold valid secondary certification endorsed for the field for which he is responsible during the major portion of the school day. A teacher of these grades may teach in an area other than the field of endorsement for a period of time less than the major portion of the school day, provided he has earned at least 12 semester or 16 quarter hours in such field, except as provided in b. immediately below.

b. In grades 10 through 12 the new and/or beginning teachers shall hold valid Class A secondary certification endorsed in the field for which he is responsible during the major portion of the school day. A new and/or beginning teacher of these grades may teach in an area other than the field of endorsement less than the major portion of the school day provided he has earned at least 12 semester or 16 quarter hours in such field.

c. In grades 7 through 9 teachers may hold either elementary or secondary certification but shall have at least 12 semester or 16 quarter hours in each subject taught.

d. Teachers may teach in grades 7 through 12 provided they hold:

<u>SUBJECT</u>	<u>SEMESTER HOURS</u>	<u>QUARTER HOURS</u>
Home Economics	30	40
Industrial Arts	24	32
Journalism (in addition to 18 semester hours in English.)	6	8
Mathematics	18	24
Special courses for mathematics teachers:		
College Algebra and Trigonometry	6	8
Analytical Geometry	6	8
Elective	6	8
Music (6 semester hours or 8 quarter hours needed in area taught.)	24	32
Health and Physical Education (8 semester hours or 12 quarter hours in Health Education and 8 semester hours or 12 quarter hours in Physical Education.)	18	24
Science Special courses for science teachers: (at least 8 semester hours or 12 quarter hours in each subject taught except chemistry, and at least 12 semester or 18 quarter hours in chemistry including organic.)	24	32
Social Studies	24	32
European History	6	8
American History	6	8
Sociology, Economics, Political Science, or Geography	9	12
Electives	3	4
Speech (in addition to 18 semester hours in English.)	12	16

2. Class A Requirements

a. Ninety percent of the teachers shall hold Class A or higher certification. In grades 10 through 12 the teacher shall hold valid secondary certification endorsed for the field for which he is responsible during the major portion of the school day. A teacher of these grades may teach in an area other than the field of endorsement for a period of time less than the major portion of the school day, provided he has earned at least 12 semester or 16 quarter hours in such field, or holds

b. Schools enrolling over 300 students shall employ a minimum of one full-time secretary.

3. Class A Requirements: The school shall employ a minimum of one full-time secretary.

III. School Schedule and Teacher Load

A. School Schedule

1. Minimum Requirements

a. The school day shall have a minimum of six hours of classroom instruction exclusive of lunch period, recess, and activity program period. Schools desiring to operate an experimental or innovative program may apply to operate on a schedule in variance to the standards.

b. Laboratory courses shall meet a minimum of 55 minutes (net time in class exclusive of time for class changes) per day or 275 minutes per week.

c. Non-laboratory courses shall meet a minimum of 45 minutes (net time in class exclusive of time for class changes) per day or 225 minutes per week.

d. A unit of credit is defined as a successfully completed course of five standard period per week (or the equivalent throughout the school year). The unit has both time and content value.

2. Class A Requirements: Compliance with minimum requirements.

3. Class A Requirements: Compliance with minimum requirements.

B. Teacher Load

1. Minimum Requirements

a. The student professional staff ratio shall not exceed thirty to one.

b. No teacher shall teach more than 750 student periods each week or 150 student periods in one day. (Exception to this may be in typing, physical education, band, and chorus. The Commission may approve exceptions for experimental programs.)

c. No teacher shall be required to teach in more than two major subject matter fields.

d. No teacher shall teach more than five one-hour or six forty-five minute classes per day. If there is a combination, the maximum is five periods daily.

2. Class A Requirements

Each teacher shall have one unassigned teaching period each day.

(3) The principal of a high school who wishes to sponsor a foreign study tour group submits a request for approval by May 1, in any year that credit is sought. The application must include the name of the schools the student(s) will attend, an outline of the courses to be taught, the number of hours to be spent in classrooms, the field trips which will be complement to the courses, and other data that would be helpful to the principal in evaluating the application, including the name of the organization that will plan and supervise the program.

2. Class A Requirements

a. In order to obtain A Classification a school must provide the following curricular opportunities on an organized basis: Business Education, health and physical education, music, and/or art.

b. The school should provide one or more exploratory experiences for grades seven and eight.

c. The minimum number of units a school shall offer each year is twenty eight.

d. The school shall have a written course of study developed by the school staff which will provide a guide for effective instruction in each area of the school curriculum. A copy of the school courses study shall be on file and available at all time for inspection by the Commission on School Accreditation.

3. Class AA Requirements

a. In order to obtain AA Classification a school must provide the following curricular opportunities: two units in foreign language, senior level mathematics, (in addition to Algebra I and II and geometry.

b. The school shall supply evidence that provision are made to meet the needs of gifted students.

c. The school shall provide two or more exploratory experiences for grades seven and/or eight.

d. The minimum number of units a school shall offer each year is thirty.

e. The school shall show evidence of continuous evaluation of curriculum content and method in light of recent educational research.

8. Subjects Accepted Toward Graduation

(See Appendix A for listing)

C. Limitations on Credits

1. Students shall be allowed to earn no more than five and one-half units during any one regular session. This limitation includes units earned in music, band, health, physical education, and safety.

B. Class A Requirements

The minimum annual expenditure for instructional supplies and materials, excluding the school library, shall be \$350.00 or \$3.50 per student enrolled, whichever is greater. (Items considered to be equipment are to be excluded.)

C. Class AA Requirements

The minimum annual expenditure for instructional supplies and materials, excluding the school library, shall be \$400.00 or \$4.00 per student enrolled, whichever is greater. (Items considered to be equipment are to be excluded.)

LIBRARY

A. Minimum Requirements

1. The librarian must have met the requirements for certification in the library profession (exceptions may be made provided the proposed librarian has a minimum of twelve semester or sixteen quarter hours in library science and continues to earn at least six semester or eight quarter hours each year until certification has been obtained.)

2. A secondary school must provide at least a half-time librarian. A full-time librarian must be provided secondary schools (grades 7-12) with an enrollment of 250 or more students.

3. A full-time assistant to the librarian shall be employed when the enrollment reaches 1,000 or more.

4. The minimum annual expenditure for library books and periodicals shall be \$250.00 plus \$2 per student enrolled in school.

5. Library Materials

a. The library shall have a minimum of 500 usable and acceptable library books or an average of four books per student, whichever is greater. The collection shall consist of books selected to meet curriculum and recreational needs and adapted to the reading ability and individual needs of students. These shall be books exclusive of government documents, multiple texts, pamphlets, and volumes which are worn out and out dated. The collection should be well-balanced and systematically selected for wide coverage of subjects, types of materials, and variety of content. It should not contain more than one-third of its titles in fiction.

b. There shall be one or more approved encyclopedias (Americana*, Britannica**, Collier's**, Encyclopedia International*, Grolier Universal***, World Book*, Merit Students Encyclopedia*, (*Recommended for Grades 7-12, **recommended for grades 9-12, ***recommended for grades 7-12, supplementary only.)

B. Class A Requirements

1. Meet minimum requirements for expenditures.
2. The library shall have a minimum of 1,000 usable and acceptable library books or an average of five books per student, whichever is greater.

C. Class AA Requirements

1. Meet minimum requirements for expenditures.
2. The library should have a minimum of 1,500 usable and acceptable library books or an average of six books per student, whichever is greater.

PART V

I. Graduation Requirements

A. The minimum number of units to be required for graduation is sixteen. Twelve of these units should be in the areas of English, mathematics, science, history, social sciences, business education, and foreign languages. A student must take English each year but may be graduated with three units. A school shall not deliver a diploma, signed or unsigned, or any substitute for a diploma, to a student who fails to meet the requirements for graduation.

B. Specific units to be required for graduation include three in English, one in American History, one-half in American Government (the nature and threat of communism must be taught as a part of American Government), one-half in civics (state government), one-half in Mississippi history, one in mathematics, and one in science. Mississippi History is recommended for ninth grade level with civics (state government as a companion course. (House Bill 459, Section 6216-02, Mississippi Law Code of 1964). Schools may waive the requirement of one-half unit in Mississippi History and State Government for students beyond the ninth grade who transfer to a Mississippi school from another state.

C. At least two units of the last four units of work shall be earned in residence at the high school before the school may grant a diploma. The high school where the last residence is done will be the school authorized to grant the diploma. (Two units is interpreted as a semester of work.)

I I. Correspondence Courses

Two units of correspondence may be accepted toward graduation if done in a university in Mississippi that offers secondary school correspondence courses. The University of Southern Mississippi and Mississippi State University offers such courses. Special approval may be obtained to enroll in courses through the University of Nebraska or other colleges and universities accredited by the regional accrediting associations when a particular course or courses are not available through a Mississippi university.

APPENDIX A

SUBJECTS TAUGHT FOR CREDIT

<u>SUBJECT</u>	<u>CREDIT</u>
<u>Business Education</u>	
Bookkeeping	
Bookkeeping II	
Sec. Office Practices	
Coop. Work Exp. Bus. Office Education	2
Coop. Work Exp. Bus. Office Education II	2
Office Machines	1/2
Intensive Bus. & Off. Education	1-1/2
Clerical Office Practice	
Recordkeeping	
Shorthand Shorthand II	
Gen. Bus: Introduction to	1 / 2
Gen. Bus: Introduction to	
Advanced Gen. Business	1 / 2
Advanced Gen. Business	
Business Arithmetic	1 / 2
Business Communications	1/2
Business Communications	
Business Law	1/2
Business Organ. & Mgt.	1/2
Consumer Economics	1 / 2
Consumer Mathematics	1/2
Economic Geography	1/2
Salesmanship	
Data Processing	

Speech 11

Discussion & Debate (Forensics) 1/2

Public Speaking 1/2

Dramatics 1/2

READING

Reading, Development 1/2

Reading, Development

Reading, Remedial, Jr. High 0

Reading, Remedial, High 1/2

Reading, Remedial, High

JOURNALISM

Journalism, Non-credit 0

Journalism 1/2

Journalism

Journalism 11 1/2

 FOREIGN LANGUAGES

French, Non-credit 0

French, Grade 7 0

French, Grade 8 0

French

French 11

French 111

French IV

German, non-credit 0

German

German II

German 111 1

German IV 1

Latin, Non-credit 0

HOME ECONOMICS
(NON-VOCATIONAL)

Home Ee., Non-credit	0
Home Ee., Grade 7	0
Home Ee., Grade 8	0
Home Ee.	
Home Ee. I I	
Home Ee. I I I	
Home Ee. IV	
Family LifeEducation	

INDUSTRIAL ARTS

Indus. Arts, Non-credit	0
Indus. Arts, Handicrafts 7	0
Indus. Arts Comp. Gen. 7	0
Indus. Arts Comp. Gen. 8	

Plane Geometry	
Unified Geometry	
Solid Geometry	1/2
Trigonometry	1/2
Coordinate Geometry	1/2
Probability	1/2
Elementary Functions	1/2
Senior Math (Fused, Advanced)	1/2
Senior Math (Fused, Advanced)	
Computer Math	1/2
Computer Math	
Algebra 11	1/2

SCIENCE

Biology	
Biology, Advanced	
Marine Biology	1/2
Marine Biology	
Chemistry	
Chemistry, Advanced	
Geology	
Science, Grade 7 (General)	0
Science, Grade 8 (General)	0
Science, Grade 9 (General)	
Science, Grade 7 (Life)	0
Science, Grade 8 (Earth & Space)	0
Science, Grade 9 (Physical)	

Advanced Science

Physics

Physics, Advanced

FINE ARTS
(Credit course 1/2 unit per year)

ART

Art, Non-credit	0
Art, Grade 7	0
Art, Grade 8	0
Art	1/2
Art 11	1/2
Art 111	1/2
Art IV	1/2
Ceramics	1/2
Art, Commercial	1/2
Art Apprec./Art History	1/2

HUMANITIES

Humanities, Non-credit	0
Humanities	1/2
Humanities	
General Arts, (Courses combining several subject areas)	0
General Arts, Grade 8	0
General Arts, Grade 9	

MUSIC
(Credit courses 1/2 unit per year)

Music, Non-credit	0
General Music, Grade 7	0
General Music, Grade 8	0

	1 /2
General Music	
General Music II	1 /2
General Music II I	1/2

Boys' Chorus, Grade 9	1/2
Boys' Chorus, Grade 10	1/2
Boys' Chorus, Grade 11	1/2
Boys' Chorus, Grade 12	1/2
Girls' Chorus, Grade 9	1/2
Girls' Chorus, Grade 10	1/2
Girls' Chorus, Grade 11	1/2
Girls' Chorus, Grade 12	1/2

GROUP GUIDANCE

Group Guidance, Gen.Non-credit	0
Group Guidance	0
Group Guidance I I	0
Group Guidance I I I	0
Occ. Orientation	0
Occ. Orientation	
Occ. Orientation I I	

PHYSICAL & HEALTH EDUCATION

(Credit Health & P.E. and ROTC Courses 1/2 unit per year)

Health & P.E., Non-credit	0
Health & P.E., Comb. Boys	1/2
Health & P.E., Comb. Girls	1/2
Health & P.E., Comb. Boys (Seasonal Athletics)	1/2
Health & P.E., Comb. Girls (Seasonal Athletics)	1/2
Health & P.E., Grade 7 Boys	0
Health & P.E., Grade 7 Girls	0
Health & P.E., Grade 8 Boys	0
Health & P.E., Grade 8 Girls	0

VITA

EDUCATION

THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI

Doctor of Philosophy, Higher Education

Oxford, MS

May 2020 (Expected)

Dissertation: *Instant Schools: The Frenzied Formation and Early Days of the Mississippi Private School Association.*

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Master of Education, Special Studies in Education

Cambridge, MA

May 2015

VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY

Master of Education, Higher Education Administration: Institutional Advancement & Student Affairs

Nashville, TN

May 2011

Awards: Horace Hill Dean's Scholarship
Chancellor Charles Scott & Judge Edward Scott Scholarship

THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI

Bachelor of Arts, Double Major: English and Sociology

Oxford, MS

May 2007

Awards: Recipient of Chancellor's Leadership Scholarship

EXPERIENCE

THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI

Director, Grove Scholars

Oxford, MS

June 16 – Present

- Oversee the budget, development, and stewardship of scholarship program that serves 45+ traditionally underserved Mississippi students pursuing degrees in STEM fields at the University of Mississippi.
- Manage and organize program budget to make strategic decisions on best ways to serve students in program.
- Develop curriculum and programming for students to ensure exposure to scholastic and professional opportunities ensuring retention and academic success throughout the entire academic year.
- Organize summer academic enrichment program for each new class of first-year Grove Scholars.
- Supervise a graduate student to serve as math tutor for all Grove Scholars.
- Cultivate donor relationships, including increasing a donor's annual gifts and planning strategy to grow donor base with current donor as catalyst.
- Plan and host social and professional development events on and off campus.
- Created an internship program designed to create equity for Grove Scholars.
- Developed and lead a Faculty Fellows program consisting of five UM STEM faculty members.
- Mentor and advise 50+ students as they pursue degrees in STEM-related fields (in addition to 80+ FASTrack students annually).

Senior Academic Mentor, FASTrack

August 2018 – Present

- Serve in a leadership role on FASTrack assessment and planning team.
- Represent and advocate for FASTrack in meetings across campus.
- Develop policy for how Academic Mentors care for students and work with partners
- Serve as signatory and make budget decisions on university accounts.
- Maintain all previously held responsibilities in both FASTrack and Grove Scholars.

Academic Mentor, FASTrack

July 2015 – July 2018

- Provide one-on-one support to help 80+ first-year students manage time, develop effective study skills, and balance schoolwork with other activities.
- Teach two sections of EDHE 105 and one section of EDHE 101 each academic year.
- Interact with professors, staff, and parents to ensure that each student has access to resources and opportunities to thrive.
- Create and organize events focusing on a variety of topics, including financial literacy, student employment opportunities, and resume construction.
- Recruit, train, and supervise FASTrack graduate assistant.
- Brokered partnership with the University of Mississippi's Clinic for Outreach and Personal Enrichment (COPE) to provide free counseling and wellness enhancement for all FASTrack students.
- Created and oversee program to connect FASTrack students to work-study jobs on campus.
- Track student absences, grades, and degree progression.

Project Coordinator, North Mississippi VISTA Project

July 2015 – August 2016

- Created and implemented a comprehensive VISTA professional development program.
- Supervised 12 VISTAs across north Mississippi + 1 VISTA leader.
- Responsible for all human resource decisions.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Cambridge, MA

Board of Freshman Advisers

July 2014 – June 2015

- Advised Harvard first-year students on curriculum, requirements, course selection, leadership goals, career aspirations, summer opportunities, and extracurricular interests.
- Served as a sounding board for students' ideas and a link between students and further resources.

Harvard Graduate School of Education Student Ambassador

- Led tours of Harvard Graduate School of Education (HGSE).
- Facilitated workshops for perspective students.
- Served on panels for perspective and admitted students.

TENNESSEE HIGHER EDUCATION COMMISSION, Office of P-16 Initiatives

Nashville, TN

Outreach Specialist

February 2013 – July 2014

- Designed college access and success curriculum for K – 12 educators using CollegeforTN.org resources centered on career exploration, college access and financial aid and assisted teachers/counselors in integrating CollegeforTN.org resources into existing curriculum.
- Developed and implemented outreach activities focused on increasing usage of CollegeforTN.
- Assisted the Commission in outreach activities, including presenting at conferences, schools and/or community meetings.
- Designed and conducted trainings and presentations on CollegeforTN.org resources across

Tennessee in a variety of settings including, high schools, middle schools, elementary schools, conferences, businesses, career centers, and higher education institutions.

- Developed relationships and maintained regular contact with K – 12 educators including school counselors, college access professionals and other agencies with similar missions with the intention of increasing CollegeforTN.org implementation statewide.
- In partnership with other staff, prepared presentations, handouts, and other materials to promote state-wide web portal usage, financial literacy, college access, etc.

OASIS COLLEGE CONNECTION, OASIS CENTER

Nashville, TN

College Access and Success Mentor

July 2011 – February 2013

- Counseled 100+ Nashville-area high school students and families on goals and college choice options.
- Presented to students and community groups on college access, options, and success.
- Advocated on behalf of low-income, first generation students with postsecondary institutions.
- Provided admissions application assistance including: application reviews, transcript submission, and essay assistance.
- Collaborated with other state and community resources to ensure success of each individual student.
- Evaluated and maintained data on student matriculation, enrollment, and retention.

VANDERBILT CENTER FOR STUDENT PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Nashville, TN

Graduate Intern

August 2009 – May 2011

- Identified organizational needs and worked to improve the strategy of Career Center Teams including Communications Team, Employer Relationship Strategy Team, and Internship Development Team.
- Led events such as open houses, industry career days, and forums serving 300+ students.
- Supervised and managed 17 undergraduate student workers.
- Advised students discerning career goals and navigating employment opportunities through one-on-one coaching assessments.
- Delivered presentations to groups on Vanderbilt's campus communicating the VCSPD's resources.
- Conducted outreach to the leadership staff of Parents and Families Office and The Office of The Commons.

REFORMED UNIVERSITY FELLOWSHIP, UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

Charlottesville, VA

Campus Intern

June 2007 – May 2009

- Organized special events for organizations that reached 300+ students including service projects in New Orleans, LA, and Rural Virginia and various social functions throughout the semester.
- Mentored and advised students in a variety of ways as they adjust to college life.
- Raised over \$80,000 to support RUF through letter-writing campaign, personal visits, and speaking engagements.

ACTIVITIES & PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS

NASPA -STUDENT AFFAIRS PROFESSIONAL IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Member of Region III

August 2018 – Present

- Selected as a solo presenter at Regional conference and National Conferences

OXFORD, MS TOURISM COUNCIL, Board Member

Festival Committee: Partnership Committee Chair

August 2016 –August 2019

Treasurer

September 2019 – Present

- Establish, promote and develop Oxford, MS, as a tourist destination, while enhancing the quality of life in Oxford.
- Assess and approve budget and spending expenditures.
- Serve on city-wide committees; chair partnerships committee.

JOBS FOR LIFE EAST NASHVILLE

Instructor

2011 - 2013

- Led 8-10 East Nashville residents through curriculum designed to empower students through community resources and support in an effort to find meaningful employment.
- Counseled students in one-on-one and group settings regarding roadblocks and barriers to finding sustainable work.
- Developed relationships with community resources and business owners in East Nashville to provide mock interviews and career conversations activities for students.

CENTER FOR NONPROFIT MANAGEMENT, YOUNG NONPROFIT PROFESSIONALS

Member

2012 – 2013

- Participated in events that provided members exposure to different nonprofit initiatives in Nashville.
- Networked with members of the greater Nashville community to help better understand the needs of Nashville.

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

NASPA First-generation Student Success Conference

“Grove Scholars: Serving High-Need Students for Four Years Beyond A Scholarship” Orlando, FL June 17, 2019

NASPA-AL Drive-In Conference

“Grove Scholars: Serving High-Need Students for Four Years Beyond A Scholarship” Birmingham, AL January 25, 2019

Tennessee College Access and Success Conference

“*Redefining College Access and Success: Oasis College Mentor Corps*” Nashville, TN October 31, 2011.

Tennessee College Access and Success Conference

“*Collaboration, Collaboration, Collaboration: The evolving partnership between Oasis College Connection and the Martha O’Bryan Center*” Franklin, TN October 22, 2012.

Tennessee College Access and Success Conference

“*An Educator’s Guide to Implementing CollegeForTN.org*” Chattanooga, TN November 4, 2013.