Segregation and the South

Thomas P. Brady

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Address by

JUDGE TOM P. BRADY
of Brookhaven, Mississippi

Delivered to the

COMMONWEALTH CLUB
OF CALIFORNIA
at San Francisco
on OCTOBER 4, 1957

The Commonwealth Club has been addressed by seven United States Presidents beginning with Theodore Roosevelt, and by many of the distinguished leaders of this and other nations.

This address was broadcast over 14 California Radio Stations
Judge Tom P. Brady

The author of the book "Black Monday" is a past Vice President of the Mississippi Bar Association, and is now serving his second term as Circuit Judge of the 14th Judicial District of Mississippi.

Judge Brady was born in 1903 in Brookhaven, Mississippi, and has lived there all his life. For the past 20 years he has practiced law in Brookhaven. He was graduated from Lawrenceville Preparatory School, Lawrenceville, New Jersey; received his B. A. degree at Yale University, and his law degree at the University of Mississippi. He taught sociology at the University for two years. These facts are shown in "Who's Who in the South and Southwest."

Judge Brady has been one of the South's foremost spokesmen for states' rights and racial integrity and is famous for his scholarly, dignified presentation of "The Case for the South."
It is indeed an honor to be invited to address the distinguished membership and guests of the renowned Commonwealth Club of California.

I have been invited to speak on SEGREGATION AND THE SOUTH, and I have been requested to do in twenty-seven minutes that which cannot adequately be done in several hours. I will do my best to present the case for the South and I know you will give me a fair hearing. I shall try to be objective, but if I fail in this regard, I assure you that I can and will be truthful. I earnestly hope that no one will be offended. I shall remember that I am your guest, but let me assure you, I will not sacrifice truth on the altar of courtesy.

Integration is defined by Webster: “To bring together the parts of; to give the sum total of; V. I. to pass from a complex and unstable state to one relatively simple and stable.” It means, therefore, a blending or flowing together.

Segregation is defined by Webster: “To separate or set apart from the others or from the rest; to isolate.” It is essential that you realize that in the twelve Southern States, segregation means something quite different from what it means in the other States. In the South, segregation is something more than a definition in a dictionary. It is something more than securing the Negro's block vote. Segregation in the South is a way of life. It is the means whereby we live in social peace, order and security. It is the guarantee whereby our wives and children are afforded the common decency and protection which is essential if any harmonious relationship is to exist between two different races. Segregation exists not merely because we prefer it, but because we must maintain it. Self preservation, the first law of life requires that we do so. It is our shield and buckler—our refuge, our fortress. It is the first commandment and not the last.

Ninety-eight per cent of both races prefer segregation. Integration is urged by the NAACP, a few Southern mulattoes, Northern Communist-front organizations and left-wing labor groups who would use the unsuspecting Negro as their tool. It does not work
any economic hardship nor deprive the Negro of any of his constitutional rights.

I want you to distinctly understand that the South does not hate the Negro. I dare say you know little, if anything about the true Southern Negro. Among the finest characters I have ever known are Negroes. There is a great deal of genuine affection and understanding between the races. We have lived harmoniously together with a minimum of violence and bloodshed. We have nurtured the Negro, taught him, provided for him, educated him and endeavored to make of him a worthwhile citizen. The Negro has made great strides and the Southern white man is largely responsible for these advancements. In Mississippi, and in other Southern States, Negroes who have desired to do so have become well educated and wealthy. Millionaires are included in this group. This group has among its numbers doctors, lawyers, teachers, business men, insurance executives, merchants and plantation owners. There is no field of economic endeavor which has been barred to the Negro. It is only in the social sphere that the barrier is raised.

There are many reasons why the Southerner must refuse to permit integration with the Negro in the social planes of our life. Time will not permit analysis of all of them, but the basic ones can be enumerated. First, the high percentage of Negroes in the South is of gravest importance, and constitutes one reason. The national average which the Negro bears to the white man in America is only 10%. In Mississippi, however, it is 45.3%, in Georgia and South Carolina it is 38.8%. The great State of California has but 4.4%. The State of New York, that yearns so for the welfare of the Negro in Mississippi, has but 6.2%; New Jersey 6.6%; Pennsylvania 6.1%, and Oregon has but eight-tenths of one per cent. Montana and Nevada have two-tenths of one per cent and South Dakota has one hundredth of one per cent, or 275 Negroes. In the States of New York, Illinois and Pennsylvania and New Jersey, where so much turmoil and strife have arisen over the desegregation of the public schools, where mass demonstrations of violence have taken place, just as they have in Tennessee and Arkansas, if these States had 45.3% of their population Negro, I shudder to think what violent clashes would have taken place between the Negroes and whites. If, in San Francisco
County, California, as in many counties in Mississippi and other Southern States, the Negroes outnumbered the whites five and six to one, I wonder how willing you would be to have complete educational and social integration.

There is, as every honest socialist knows, a distinct correlation between the degree of segregation of the races and the numerical strength of the Negro. The reason is obvious. If in the South the Negro was permitted, as he is in some Northern States, to obtain the ballot by simply reaching 21 years of age, it would mean that no qualified white man in many counties throughout the South could ever hold public office. It would also mean that in the halls of Congress, seats now held by competent white representatives would be held by ignorant, incompetent Negroes.

While I regret that I must do so, I must nevertheless comment upon some of the intellectual and moral aspects of the reason why the South must remain socially segregated. The average vocabulary of the Negro in the South consists of approximately 650 words. I hesitate to estimate the I. Q. of the average Negro of the South, since the Federal Government refused to give me the results of the intelligence tests given in World War II and in the Korean conflict. The NAACP objected to the furnishing of this information. I can, however, safely say that based upon the tests which are available from World War I, and from personal experience, there is a vast gulf of difference between the I. Q. of the Negro of the South, as well as in America, and the average white man. It is because of an inherent deficiency in mental ability, of psychological and temperamental inadequacy. It is because of indifference and natural indolence on the part of the Negro. All the races of the earth started out at approximately the same time in God's calendar, but of all the races that have been on this earth, the Negro race is the only race that lacked mental ability and the imagination to put its dreams, hopes and thoughts in writing. The Negro is the only race that was unable to invent even picture writing.

An exhaustive study of the program and results of integration in the schools of Washington, D. C., which the NAACP and other left wing groups fostering integration said would be a model for the rest of the United
States to follow, clearly reveals that the average white student who was integrated in the classroom with the Negro has been retarded two to three years in his educational progress. Therefore, it is not to the best interest of America that the white children, particularly in certain congested sections, be retarded three years in their educational advancement. Never forget that the left-wing socialist groups are forever grading down, never grading up the intelligence, the industry and the genius of this country! They wish to equalize, thereby reducing to a low minimum the intelligence of America. There is certainly less than one per cent of the white people of the South who would ever agree to marry a Negro. Miscegenation has largely taken place, I am glad to say, North of the Mason-Dixon line, and whatever laxity which has heretofore existed in Southern mores permitting clandestine relations between Negroes and whites has almost entirely disappeared. The rule is now hard and adamant. This is taboo in the South! We presently do not fear miscegenation.

The main objection to social integration of the races in our schools or elsewhere by Southerners is for moral reasons. I again repeat, there are exceptions to the rule, and among the finest citizens I have known are numbered Negroes. They are, however, exceptions. In a remarkable treatise, "WHERE IS THE REIGN OF TERROR?" by Representative John Bell Williams of Mississippi, published in the Congressional Record on school integration in Washington, it is succinctly shown that the white boys and girls of Washington were subjected to unspeakable vulgarity, immorality and filth. The truth is often brutal, but I must speak it! As revealed in this exhaustive study, objectively made, the white children of Washington, D.C. were retarded two to three years in their educational advancement. The obscenity, vulgarity, immorality and brutality which came about requires the constant maintenance of policemen in the halls and corridors of many of the schools. Obscene pictures and notes were placed on the desks of white girls by Negroes. The radiators, stairs and halls were utilized as rest room urinals by Negroes. The carrying of concealed weapons, the vicious aggravated assaults, the actual rape and attempted rape of white girls and even teachers are some of the results found in this model example of what integration in our high
schools can produce. Make no mistake about this, the Southern fathers and mothers are not going to permit their daughters to be humiliated or insulted by Negroes, or by anyone else! They are not going to permit their daughters to have to resist the lewd advances of Negro boys. They are not going to permit their sons and daughters to be subjected to the abysmal vulgarity of Negro children who are urged to take every possible advantage of the white children. Possibly, I cannot speak for the South, but I can speak for Mississippi, and I tell you this, we have already, by constitutional amendment, authorized our legislature as other Southern States will do, to abolish the public schools if the Negro and white children are ever integrated therein. Make no mistake about it, we will abolish our public school system and establish private schools for our white children, and we will still provide and see that the Negro is educated separately. It will cost dearly, but we will do it.

Few isolated assaults with deadly weapons have taken place in either white or colored schools in Mississippi. Such assaults are numerous in Washington, Chicago, New York and other cities where the Negro and white children have been integrated.

The Negro, in so far as sex is concerned, is not immoral, he is simply non-moral. He merely follows his natural instincts. The pregnancies and illegitimate births which have occurred in schools in Washington are not abnormal, they are merely astounding! The high percentage of venereal diseases among the Negro children is tragic. In the South, we have not and do not punish the Negro except in rare instances for desertion, illegitimacy or bigamy. To have two or more common law wives along with a legal wife is not unusual for Negro men. The white race is now on the verge of forever abolishing incest. The Negro is still far behind. In the South, we punish the Negro for incest and there are now on my Docket, as is frequently the case, indictments against Negroes who have begotten children by their daughters. We cannot count for nought the natural indolence and indifference of the Negro's nature. We cannot disregard his utter disregard for the laws relating to theft. We cannot overlook his proclivity for drunkenness and dope addiction. We cannot overlook his natural tendency to immorality and violence.
and subject our children to the terrible con­sequences resulting from such traits through integration. In California, the Negro consti­tutes 4.4 per cent of your total population, yet 19 per cent of all crimes committed in California were commited by Negroes. In the State of New York, the Negro constitutes only 6.2 per cent of the total population, and yet 40.1 per cent of the prison population of New Y o r k is Negro. In Mississippi, the Negro constitutes 45.3 per cent of the popu­lation and commits 73.4 per cent of the crimes. In the District of Columbia, the Negro's mecca of America, according to the 1950 census, the Negro constituted 35 per cent of the total population, and the Negro prison population is 70 per cent, or twice the ratio of Negro population to that of white population. This is a national disgrace. The District of Co­lumbia has more Negro convicts than either Louisiana, or Mississippi, Arkansas, Alabama, Florida, Texas, Kentucky, or Maryland.

Experienced Southern officials and hon­est sociologists with experience on the sub­ject, point to the presence of segregation as one of the principal contributions to the low incidence of crime in the Southern States. "They are firm in the conviction that segre­gation serves as a restraint on the exercise of imagined license, which the Negro con­fuses with liberty."

The most completely integrated city in America is our national capitol. Let us see what integration has produced for the citi­zens of Washington where, since 1940, the Negro population has increased by 186,000 and the white population has increased by 9,000. Since the last census of 1950, it is es­timated that Negroes compose almost 45% of Washington's adult population, and 71 per cent of the public school population. Yes, the Supreme Court's order to stop discrimina­tion and to embrace the Negro race was issu­ed from a city which had already tried it with what result. In 1955, as disclosed by the Honorable Evetts Haley of Texas, of every seven murders committed in Washington, six were by Negroes. Of every eight cases of rape, seven were committed by Negroes. Of every five burglaries, four were commit­ted by Negroes. Of every twenty juvenile crimes, nineteen were committed by Neg­roes. Of every forty-one cases of vener­eal diseases, forty were Negroes. Deseg­regation has come home to roost. It comes
with ironic justice to roost in the city of the Supreme Court itself—Washington, D. C.

Segregation is but one distinguishing characteristic of the South, it has other attributes. The South is the citadel of conservatism. It is a bastion for constitutional government. For years Mississippi and the entire South have been gravely concerned over the socialist trend of our Federal Government. Beginning with the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt, the South viewed with alarm the birth of the welfare state, and the growth of the 130 odd Communist-front organizations which nourish it. The South has constantly disapproved the prodigal give-away program to the Communist and socialist countries abroad. It resented the competing by the Federal Government with private industry. It deplored the tolerance shown the Communist and left-wing groups in America. None of these stimuli, however, were sufficient to precipitate a genuine "grass roots" movement, but Mississippi, South Carolina and Louisiana did boldly cry protest in 1948, when these States walked out of the National Democratic Convention in Philadelphia, organized the States' Rights Party, nominated and voted for Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi as its presidential and vice presidential nominees. The conservative constitutional people of the United States had an opportunity then to vote for two men who were bitterly opposed to the gradual socialization of America and the destruction of the sovereign rights and powers of the forty-eight states by a totalitarian inclined Federal Government. Our stand provoked only ridicule and abuse. It was only when the Supreme Court of the United States, on May 17, 1954, handed down the infamous Black Monday decision that the people of the South realized that the "die was cast", that the "Rubicon had been crossed", and that they had no alternative except to organize completely and resist the ultimate result of that illegal, sociological and unconstitutional decision.

Thus it was the Citizens' Councils were born. It is the medium whereby the South proposes to and will nullify this illegal decision. The Citizens' Council is the counterpart of the old New England Town Meeting. Membership, however, is selected and restricted. The Citizens' Council is a good
cross-section of that City or County it represents. Among its members are lawyers, doctors, ministers, industrialists, merchants, employees, farmers, plantation owners and laborers. Jews, Catholics and Protestants alike become members when they subscribe to an oath of non-violence and pledge to support in every legal way possible the maintenance of segregation and preservation of the rights of the States of this Union. We have no Ku Klux Klans in Mississippi, no John Kaspers, and we want none. The Klan is negligible in the South.

There are in Mississippi 362 Councils with approximately 85,000 members. Throughout the South, there are more than 300,000 Council members. Each Council is completely autonomous and has obtained from the State a Charter. There is moreover, in each State a board of directors which represents every Council in that State; and there is a south-wide co-ordinating agency in which eleven of the twelve Southern States are represented, known as the Citizens' Council of America.

The Citizens' Council paper has a circulation of 65,000. It is sent into every State of the Union and is placed on the desk of every State Legislator and important public official. Every high school library receives it. Every member of Congress and the personnel of many Federal Agencies likewise receive this paper.

Primarily, the Councils are dedicated to the preservation of segregation and the sovereign rights of the States of this Union. They are opposed to the communizing and socializing of our labor organizations, churches and schools. The Citizens' Councils are determined to do everything within their power to prevent the broadening of the powers of the executive branch of our Government, and the usurpation by the judiciary of powers vested solely in Congress. They are determined to resist the enormous and unwarranted pressure which is brought to bear on both major political parties and on all branches of our Government by the left-wing minority groups. The Councils will resist to the bitter end the purposed welfare state and its destruction of the obligations and liberties of the citizens of this country. Above all, the Councils are dedicated to non-violence and have prevented lynchings and mob action in the South. The Councils firmly believe that within the confines of the true constitution
of this Government and within the Constitu­
tions of the respective States, an orderly,
peaceful and legal means exist whereby these
objectives can be secured and maintained.

Though there are many fac­ets to the
movement to completely integrate the Neg­
ro in the South, the basic cause we know is
of world wide Communist origin and design.
In 1910 four white persons and one Negro
founded the NAACP in New York City.
They were Wm. M. Walling, a Russian-train­
ed revolutionary; Mary Ovington White,
and Oswald Garrison Villard, a socialist and
descendant of a Civil War Abolitionist; Dr.
Henry Moskowitz; and W. E. B. DuBois,
its present Negro "Honorary Chairman" with
not less than 72 citations of Communist,
Communist-front and subversive activities
entered against his name.

The president, executive secretary, spec­
cial counsel and chairman of the board of di­
rectors of the NAACP; eleven of its twenty
eight vice presidents, its treasurer, twenty
eight of its forty seven directors—and many
other associates are cited in the files of the
Un-American Activities Committee or design­
nated by the Attorney General as affiliated
with or participating in Communist, Commu­
nist-front, fellow-traveling, or subversive or­
ganizations.

We realize that the drive for complete
integration of the races in the South is but
a small segment in the over-all plan to first
socialize and then communize America. Posi­
tive proof of this can be found in the Com­
munist Party's National platform adopted
on May 25, 1928, which included every de­
mand for Negroes which is now found in
TARGET FOR 1963, a pamphlet published
by the NAACP in 1956, giving its program
and objectives. The Communist have decided
that every adult Negro in the South shall
be franchised so that the Negroes will hold
a large number of the seats in the State
Legislatures and will occupy the Southern
seats in Congress. The report of the National
Committee of the Communist Party of Oc­
tober 5, 1955, concluded with this advice:
"Pass civil rights legislation! End segrega­
tion! Full equality for the Negro people—
now!"

The February number of the Red maga­
zine, PARTY VOICE, said, "Victory would
mean desegregation, majority rule and Negro
representation. Victory would mean the re-
placement of the Dixiecrat delegations to State and National Legislature by spokesman for the Negro people, labor and poor farmers."

What would happen to the country if the twenty-four Southern United States Senators were replaced by ignorant Negro and Communist labor leaders. I cannot help but wonder how the rights of Californians and the people of all the States would fare if the seats of the United States Senate which have been filled by men such as Cordell Hull, James F. Byrnes, Walter George, Harry Byrd, Bankhead, Thurmond, Ellender, Lyndon Johnson and James Eastland were usurped by Communist Negroes or labor leaders. What would happen to this country if the hundred odd Southern members of the House of Representatives of Congress were replaced by Angelo Herndons and Reverend Kings. It is a fact that Communist sympathizers and left-wing organizers, founded the NAACP and largely control it. It is indisputable that the Communist groups have infiltrated some of the labor unions, our colleges and our churches, and are all chanting for integration. A war is being waged by them to capture the American mind. The South above all other sections of the country has stubbornly resisted and fought these groups which are communizing our Government. The NAACP knows this, labor knows this, and the Communists know this, and we are, therefore, the target of their resentment and unending hate. We have grown accustomed to the misrepresentation, vituperation and abuse that is daily heaped upon us by Northern left-wing news media and vote hungry socialist politicians. We can take it, because we are waiting for that day, and believe that it is not far distant, when conservative Americans will unite and all constitutional, liberty loving citizens in this country will rise up in our defense and join hands with us in waging our lonely fight to protect and preserve America from Godless Communism!

A. Phillip Randolph, a Negro and a vice president of the AFL-CIO, and director of the NAACP, outlined the methods to be used in organizing the white and the Negroes in unsegregated unions in the South in his publication, THE MESSENGER. He wrote, "The time is ripe for a great mass movement among the Negroes, revolution must come; we mean a complete change in the organiza-
tion of society, the capitalist system must go and it's going must be hastened by the workers themselves; a bullet is sometimes more convincing than a hundred prayers, sermons, protests and petitions; we are especially thankful for the Russian Revolution—the greatest achievement of the Twentieth Century."

Two of the Communist aims calculated to destroy the conservative South have been accomplished. First, the infamous illegal Black Monday decision of May 17, 1954 outlawing segregation in the schools. The second great victory for the Communist is the Civil Rights Bill recently enacted by Congress on August 29, 1957. This bill inaugurates a Second Reconstruction Era in the South. As Congressman William Colmer has said, it will affect, however, not only the South because the sovereign rights of every State in the Union have been violated. This iniquitous act, like a loaded pistol, is aimed at the South which has contributed so much to the foundation and perpetuation of our Republic. "It is not the South, the Democratic Party or the Republican Party which will suffer the most. The real victim in the tragedy which was concluded will be the Republic itself, for once the trigger is pulled, the freedom and basic rights of all sections of this country will be further curtailed. The powerful arm of an already powerful Federal Government will be further stretched out into every metropolitan center into every town and hamlet of this great country, North, South, East and West, for the further regimentation of our citizens. This could well be the final step next to achieve the goal of the true proponents of this legislation—the complete destruction of the sovereignty of the States and the centralization of all power of the people in one strong centralized Government under the dome of the capitol in Washington." As R. Carter Pittman of Georgia has written in his splendid booklet "The Broken Constitution," "As we in the South once more pass into our garden of Gethsemane, thence to bear our social judicial cross, we plead with our brothers to the North and to the West not to let their sympathy and understanding be limited by latitude or longitude." We will fight the good fight, we will run the straight race, we shall not resort to violence. We condemn and deplore these sporadic acts of violence which have occurred in the South and in the North. We will fight
within the confines and powers of our respective State Constitutions and the Constitution of the United States.

If this country is to be saved from Communism, as Carter Pittman has said, "It must be saved by the white people of the South and West. We did not ask for this burden, but we will bear it. Our Yankee friends to the North and East may not want to be saved, but they should be saved too, and also the white and the Negro race. Let it be known, however, that we in the South do not intend to obey men, however exalted their seats or black their robes or hearts. We intend to obey the laws of God and to obey the laws of this country which are made in accordance with our Constitution. We will live as free men, or die as becomes the descendants of those who died that we might live in the freedom to be different, with the liberty to be left alone." Finally, so that there may be no vestige of doubt in your mind how we feel regarding segregation, I now fervently say, "Dum vivamus tum segregabimur et post mortem—Deo volente, etiam nunc sic erit," which literally translated means, "As long as we live, so long shall we be segregated, and after death, God willing, thus it will still be! Though you may not agree with what I have said, it is indeed a great honor and sacred right for you to have permitted me to say it.

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