THE MISSISSIPPI WHITE CITIZENS COUNCIL:

1954–1959

A Thesis

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BY

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A prominent Greenwood woman Wednesday blamed a shot fired into her home Tuesday night on the fact that she has been publicly identified as a member of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations. ¹

Mamie Bradley said today she would be willing to testify at the trial of two white men charged with the Mississippi kidnap-slaying of her 14-year-old son because of a purported "wolf whistle." ²

Very few days go by in Mississippi when it isn't possible to pick up the daily paper and read news items resembling those above. The fact that the news in Mississippi is often of a violent nature can be explained by studying the workings and decisions of the South's newest hate organization, the White Citizens Councils. If Booker T. Washington were still alive he would realize the folly of his previous words:

I have referred to this unpleasant part of the history of the South simply for the purpose of calling attention to the great change that has taken place since the days of the "Ku Klux." Today there are no such organizations in the South, and the fact that such ever existed is almost forgotten by both

races. There are few places in the South now where public sentiment would permit such organizations to exist.³

Since 1954 the South has not only seen the revival of the dreaded Ku Klux Klan but also the appearance of the newly formed Citizens Councils. The South remained relatively free from violence, with the exception of numerous lynchings, so long as the Negroes were denied their Constitutional rights under the principle of "separate but equal." The Negro was given his freedom by Lincoln but had to wait ninety years to see the actual process of school integration come into being.

In 1954 the government of the United States, through its judiciary branch, struck the strongest blow for Negro freedom since the Emancipation Proclamation. The Supreme Court of the United States unanimously ruled in the case of Brown vs. Board of Education "that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."⁴

Immediately coinciding with this decision the South began to take steps to insure the retention of the status-quo and the assurance of white supremacy. A movement began to grow steadily, though quietly, and much

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of the nation knew little of what was going on until an Associated Press dispatch, datelined Jackson, Mississippi, September 9, 1954, reported:

White men who want to keep segregation in force are banding into "citizens councils" throughout Mississippi, several legislators said today. The peaceful approach was emphasized by several leaders in Washington County ... but some other legislators from the Delta, and other "black counties" where Negroes outnumber whites, predicted bloodshed. One said, "a few killings" would be the best thing for the state just before the people vote a proposed constitutional amendment empowering the Legislature to abolish public schools. The "few killings" would make certain that the people would approve the amendment and "would save a lot of bloodshed later on," he added. 5

An air of absolute defiance was raised in the South. It appeared as if the base rock of the old Confederacy itself had suddenly been blasted loose. James F. Byrnes, a former justice of the Supreme Court and a confirmed segregationist, stated that "the decision of the Supreme Court must be accepted by the courts of the United States, but not necessarily by the court of public opinion. The people are not the creatures of the Court. The Court is the creature of the people." 6

5 The Atlanta Constitution, September 11, 1954.
Mr. Byrnes then went on to say:

The people of the South are law-abiding. They do not talk or even think of armed resistance. They realize the United States Government has the power to enforce a decision of the Supreme Court. But they believe the decision will close many schools, and think that the Court that ignored the Constitution and rendered the decision should assume the responsibility for its enforcement.  

Mr. Byrnes claims that the people of the South are "law-abiding," but on the issue of school integration many have shown their actions unlawfully, with armed resistance and violence. The Charleston News and Courier points out a prevailing attitude when it argued that the lynching of a suspected murderer was not "mob law." According to the paper's editorialist, "the brute placed himself outside the pale of the law and was dealt with accordingly."  

In Mississippi one need look no further than the brutal killings of Emmett Till and Mack Parker to realize that "law-abiding" obviously means different people. The violence at Little Rock, Arkansas and Clinton, Tennessee speaks for itself. On September 6, 1956, the Clinton Courier-News spoke of the riot at Clinton as follows:

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After a wild and tumultuous weekend, during which a mob took over the town on one night, peace has once again been restored to Clinton and the only disturbance now is the movement about town of the members of the ever alert Tennessee National Guard.

The Guard moved into Clinton Sunday afternoon, relieving 100 members of the Tennessee Highway Patrol who had come to Clinton's rescue about 8 p.m. Saturday. Troops were sleepy eyed after more than 30 hours of duty for most of them.\(^9\)

It is the argument of this paper that the White Citizens Councils have been in the lead in helping to create the attitude of violence that is so evident today in the South. The Citizens Councils and the South are not prepared to face up to the decision of the Supreme Court concerning integration. In the South today you find "more prominent than anything else, the desire to trade coat-and-tie Negroes for barefoot ones."\(^{10}\)

Segregationists throughout the South have resorted to claiming that their social heritage and mores were violated by the court decision. Many Southern leaders have cried daily tears over the fact that they soon will not be able to deny the Negro his vote and his place in society. Senator James Eastland spoke before a Mississippi Council meeting and said that:

\(^{9}\) *Courier-News*, September 6, 1956.

We are about to embark on a great crusade, a crusade to restore Americanism, and return the control of our government to the people.... Generations of Southerners yet unborn will cherish our memory because they will realize that the fight we now wage will have preserved for them their untainted racial heritage, their culture, and the institutions of the Anglo-Saxon race. We of the South have seen the tides rise before. We know what it is to fight. We will carry the fight to victory.\textsuperscript{11}

Harry Ashmore, the Pulitzer prize winning editor of Little Rock, Arkansas, takes a much different view of these events:

The battle cry is not "on to victory" but "not in this generation." This rear guard action has been aptly described by Ralph McGill of the Atlanta Constitution as guerilla fighting among the ruins of the old segregated society; it can be brutal, and it cannot turn back the forces that are reshaping the Southern region in the nation's image.\textsuperscript{12}

The White Citizens Councils have attempted to indoctrinate the Southerner into believing that the Negro is not capable of existing on the moral, educational and social level of the white. The following excerpt typifies their views:

The American Negro was divorced from Africa and saved from savagery. In spite of his basic inferiority, he was forced to do that which he would not do for himself. He was compelled to lay aside


cannibalism, his barbaric savage customs. He was transported from aboriginal ignorance and superstition. He was given a language. A moral standard of values was presented to him, a standard he could never have created for himself and which he does not now appreciate. His soul was quickened. He was introduced to God! And the men of the South, whether you like it or not, were largely responsible for this miracle. 13

Even when some of the leaders of the new hate groups overstep all legal bounds and have finally been stopped by law officials the segregationists protest:

Our fathers bled and died to bring the Constitution which guarantees us Freedom of Speech and Freedom of Assemble. This freedom has been stolen from us by unscrupulous, degenerate leftwingers in our government. Many people have been asleep and dodged the issue. Have you sat leisurely by while John Kasper has led the attack against these illegal actions of the U. S. Supreme Court and Federal Judiciary, particularly with regard to the unlawful ending of segregation in public schools. 14

The Negro in the South has appeared apathetic in his plight. The NAACP and its leaders have practiced the slow and non-violent approach to the integration problem. The younger and more vital Negroes believe, however, that it is time to stop turning the other cheek and to strike back.

13Brady, T. Black Monday (Jackson, 1955), p. 11.
The movement of Negro youth is best typified by the sit-in strikes and non-violent demonstrations that demand an immediate end to discriminatory actions in the South. Since the White Citizens Councils use force and coercion to back up their policies, many Negroes are questioning the old policy of not fighting back. Robert F. Williams, who was fired from the staff of the North Carolina NAACP for advocating a new and more positive approach to the same old problems, stated that:

We live in perilous time in America, and especially in the South. Segregation is an expensive commodity, but liberty and democracy too, have their price. So often the purchase check of democracy must be signed in blood. Someone must be willing to pay the price, despite the scoffs from the Uncle Toms. I am told that patience is commendable and that we must never tire of waiting, yet it is instilled at an early age that men who violently and swiftly rise to oppose tyranny are virtuous examples to emulate. I have been taught by my government to fight, and if I find it necessary I shall do just that. All Negroes must learn to fight back, for nowhere in the annals of history does the record show a people delivered from bondage by patience alone.15

Even in Mississippi a few dare to speak out against the whites.

The Eagle Eye, "America's Greatest Newspaper, Bombarding Segregation and Discrimination," stated in 1956;

15Williams, R. "Can Negroes Afford to be Pacifists?" in New Left. I January, 1960, p. 44.
The Eagle Eye announces with pleasure the death of Fielding Wright, the leader of the demagogue element of politics in the South. Wright, a pro-segregationist lost his battle to maintain segregation with death. Every Negro, and especially all of the citizens of the United States, who believe in democracy, should rejoice in Wright's death.16

Along then with the Citizens Councils, believing in racial integrity and segregation at any price, and those Negroes and whites espousing an end to not only the Councils and the racists but the whole edifice of segregation, we have a third force of so-called "moderates." This group of "moderates" contends that although integration is evident and that it is "the law of the land" it cannot be enforced through force. This group is opposed to the Klans and the Councils but is just as opposed to the sending of troops into Little Rock. Because these "moderates" find themselves forced between the two opposing groups they are condemned by each in its turn.

Men of the calibre of the Pulitzer Prize winning editors Hodding Carter and Harry Ashmore consider themselves in the group of "moderates." William Faulkner is also believed to fall into this category. P. D. East, editor of the Petal Papers, a small newspaper in Petal, Mississippi,

16The Eagle Eye, May 12, 1956.
tells how he is constantly attacked by his native Mississippian
because of his "moderate" stand concerning integration. East
refuses to talk with ladies because the last one he talked with yelled
at him: "You nigger-loving commie, son-of-a-bitch. Somebody ought
to kill you."17

This same group is also damned from the other side. Many
integrationists consider them as bad as the staunch segregationists.
The Negro journalist Carl Rowan refers to this group in the following
manner: "Apparently a 'moderate' is any white Southerner who can prove
that he hasn't lynched any crippled old Negro grandmother during prayer-
meeting hour."18

In this environment of violence and charge and counter-charge one
state stands out because of its violence and history of strong segregation
policies. The state of Mississippi is the state in which the dreaded White
Citizens Councils were formed. Mississippi has the largest number of
Council members of any Southern state. It also has the largest list of
lynchings of any other state in the nation. Here is the state that has
openly defied the courts and says that it will never integrate.

Many people in Mississippi may claim that it is the "most lied about state in the nation," but unfortunately many of the lies turn out to be all too true. For example, it is claimed by many Mississippians that the school facilities are equal for both races. However,

.... in 1940, 44 years after the separate-but-equal doctrine became law, Mississippi's per capita school expenditures were $7.24 per year for colored students and $41.71 for whites. Even by 1952, Mississippi paid its Negro teachers $776 a year; its white teachers, $1191.19

Before anyone can know what the future policies of the people of Mississippi may be, it must be discovered what the present policies of the White Citizens Councils are. The Mississippi Council has made itself a way of life to thousands of people throughout the state. The Councils have become the symbol of "states rights and racial integrity."

In the United States today many groups are defending the principle of segregation, but of all these groups the White Citizens Councils are the largest and the most powerful.

Mississippi is ideal for a study of the Councils because it has only one such group (as compared with five in Florida) and no branch of

19 New York World Telegram and Sun, May 12, 1956.
the Ku Klux Klan. Of all the Southern states Mississippi has long been
singled out as the strongest and most determined to fight off the threats
of integration.

In studying the White Citizens Council in Mississippi, one is
immediately confronted with certain questions. The power of the
Citizens Council in relation to the political structure of the state is
vital. How much of a force is the Council in Mississippi politics?
What are the chances of the Council becoming a political party in the
state? These are questions that must be answered before we can esti-
mate what the political future of the Mississippi Council will be.

It is also necessary to discover what type of a nativist group the
Council is. How does the Council differ from the Klan, or does it?
What type of men run the Citizens Council? What kind of economic
power do they represent? What relationship does money have to the
promotion of rabid segregation policies? Why is the Council so
violently anti-Communist? Does the Council differ from other extreme
right-wing groups in its fear of the so-called "Communist menace?"

The pressure, other than violence, that the Council has used to
enforce the status-quo must be recounted. How effective have the
economic boycotts been? What do the national concerns effected by the boycotts feel about this pressure? What have boycotts of newspapers in the South failed?

The thesis of this study is that the Mississippi White Citizens Council is a group dedicated to keeping the segregated way of life at all costs. This study is partly based on personal experiences and primary sources gathered from the Council. One of its aims is to prove that the Council is not an organization dedicated to legal means or to purely lawful actions. The Mississippi Council is a crypto-pressure group in that it resembles most other pressure groups in the United States but is prepared to go to any extremes to gain its point. A study of the White Citizens Council is important because it shows that the Councils are more than a mere "lunatic fringe" of the population. The Councils have made a place for themselves in the Mississippi scene and will have to be dealt with before any solution of the school integration question, or any other racial problem, can be found.

The argument here is that the White Citizens Council is the dominant and controlling element in the social climate of Mississippi today. Any attempt to understand the politics of that state, its views and policies toward racial integration, and its attitudes toward inter-
governmental relations must take into account the nature and activities of this organization. It will be shown that the Council is a combination of pressure group and vigilante association, acting through both legal and extra-legal channels and appealing to socially acceptable norms and baser human emotions. It is hoped that the study, in presenting the interrelation of fear and violence on the one hand and the usual group tactics of propaganda and persuasion on the other, will cast new light on the cultural context of extremist political activity. In this attempt to identify the true nature and aims of the White Citizens Council, emphasis will be placed on the ways the functions of such a group fit into the social and economic patterns of perhaps the deepest of the states in the Deep South.

Several words on the methods employed in the study are in order. As will be shown below, there is a marked contrast between the image the Council presents to the outside world and the activities and aims of the group as they are viewed by its leadership. In order to penetrate both the exoteric and esoteric nature of the organization, the writer has had to employ methods not normally used in the investigation of social groups. He has had to utilize private documents, interviews with important personages in the Councils, and in some cases his own estimates of its strength and financial backing. Because it is an
organization that views with distrust scholarly investigation (especially
by a non-Southerner), the Council is an especially difficult group to
analyze by standard "outsider" methods. But it is important that it be
studied; hence some of the materials presented below, though of
necessity subject to verification and more impressionistic than would be
desired under better conditions, are presented in the hope that they will
contribute to a realistic picture of the subject.

The analysis that follows is not scientific political science,
especially as understood by followers of the behavioral approaches
utilized by, inter alia, Key, Lasswell and Lazarsfeld. It is description
from a point of view. There are several reasons why this approach has
been preferred to other possibilities. First, as already indicated, the
materials on which the study has had to rely do not lend themselves to
highly rigorous analysis. Rather, this is an effort to bring together pre-
viously unknown or disparate information on the inner life of the Council
in order to paint an accurate picture of its role in the political climate
of a southern state. Second, the writer believes (with C. Wright Mills
and others) that in recent years the social sciences have gone too far in
the direction of rigid hypothesizing and statistical analysis to the
exclusion of methods that bring out the moral issues in social relations
and the larger questions embodied in social phenomena. In the words
of Mills,
To tell them that they can 'really' know social reality only by depending upon a necessarily bureaucratic kind of research is to place a taboo, in the name of Science, upon their efforts to become independent men and substantive thinkers. It is to undermine the confidence of the individual craftsman in his own ability to know reality. It is in effect, to encourage men to fix their social beliefs by reference to the authority of an alien apparatus, and it is, of course, in line with and is reinforced by, the whole bureaucratization of reason in our time.²⁰

It is hoped that the following chapters, while occasionally moralistic in flavor and inelegant in their scientific bearing, nevertheless constitute an honest and informed appraisal of the activities of an intriguing and frightening extremist political group.

CHAPTER II

HISTORY OF THE MISSISSIPPI CITIZENS COUNCILS

The Mississippi Citizens Councils were formed in 1954 immediately following the Supreme Court decision on segregation in the public schools. The Mississippi Councils were the creation of R. B. Patterson and Ellett Lawrence, along with about a dozen other men. Most people have given Patterson credit for the original concept of the group, because soon after the announced decision of the court he mailed out a letter that stated:

I gathered my children and promised them that they would never have to go to school with children of other races against their will, and this is my solemn pledge. If every southerner who feels as I do, and they are in the vast majority, will make this vow, we will defeat this communistic disease that is being thrust upon us... I, for one, would gladly lay down my life to prevent mongrelization.¹

The actual formation of the Council took place in Indianola, Mississippi during July of 1954. The affair was described in the first Annual Report of the Mississippi Council as follows:

In July, 1954, the first Citizens Council was formed in Indianola by 14 men, who met and counselled together on the terrible crisis precipitated by the United States Supreme Court in its Black Monday decision of May 17, 1954. For the first time in American history, racial segregation, the way of regulating the daily activities of tens of millions of American citizens, black and white, in a well-known pattern of familiar and satisfactory conduct, has been declared illegal.2

After the original meeting, the Mississippi Citizens Council had a full year in which to organize before the Supreme Court announced how its previous decision was to be implemented. "During that year of waiting, from May 1954 to May, 1955, the Citizens Council movement enjoyed no spectacular success, for no attempts were made actually to desegregate schools in the Deep South."3 In less than six weeks, however, the organization was established in seventeen nearby counties. Most of the initial work was done in secret, a necessity which Herman Moore explained at one of the early meetings:

There has been no publicity and we suggest to each group that they keep it out of the papers and off the air. The news has trickled out, just as we had expected and hoped it would. The Negroes know that we are organizing, but he does not know what we plan to do. The best thing, we think, is

3Martin, J. B., op. cit., p. 68.
to put him where he has stayed for 40 years and keep him guessing and continue our efforts.  

The Council attempted to organize itself with the help of the leading citizens of each Mississippi community. The editor of the Councils' newspaper, Bill Simmons, has recalled:

The main way Councils were organized was through the service clubs. Patterson or I would go and make a talk to Rotary or Kiwanis or Civitans or Exchange or Lions. We'd tell them what the Council movement is, what fellows were doing in different communities. Invariably the response was favorable.

The Citizens Councils display a strong yearning for respectability. While being dedicated to "States rights and racial integrety," the Council has spent much of its time attempting to justify its mere existence. Thomas R. Waring of the Charleston, South Carolina, News and Courier wrote that the White Citizens Councils were dedicated to the protection of the rank and file Negroes "from the wrath of ruffian white people."

The highest type of leadership has been provided in each community where councils have been formed. We intend to prevent integration legally and thus prevent violence, friction and racial hatred. We intend to carry on the peaceful relations we have had with our colored citizens,

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4 Carter, H. III The South Strikes Back. (New York, 1959), p. 34.
5 Martin, J. B., op. cit., p. 68.
6 Letter from R. B. Patterson to the writer, July 14, 1955.
7 Waring, Thomas R., March 5, 1957.
to help them to help themselves and to try to help instill in them a sense of pride in their race as we have in ours.\textsuperscript{8}

On September 13, 1954, on the floor of the Mississippi House of Representatives, Representative William Sledge of Indianola explained the existence and purpose of the Councils.

The Citizens Councils are a widespread group of local organizations composed of reliable white male citizens who believe that segregation is not discrimination and are organized for the sole purpose of maintaining segregation of the races.

The existence and purpose of each Council is non-secretive; however, there are some operations of the Councils which for obvious reasons cannot be published. Such operations will be legal.

It is not the intent or purpose of the Citizens Councils to be (or to be used as) a political machine.\textsuperscript{9}

By the end of 1954 there were 110 branches in Mississippi with an estimated membership of 25,000 members. The first Council outside of Mississippi was formed in October at Selma, Alabama. The Council continued to grow and Bill Simmons recalls that "there was a turning point in public opinion, a turning from a feeling that 'integration is inevitable' to a determination that 'we ain't going to do it.'"\textsuperscript{10}

\textsuperscript{8}The Citizens Council (Greenwood, 1955), p. 4.
\textsuperscript{9}From a sheet sent out by the Mississippi Council in 1955.
\textsuperscript{10}Martin, J. B., \textit{op. cit.}, p. 72.
Simmons believes that this turning point came in 1955, after a petition campaign by Negroes to comply with the Supreme Court decision was stopped by Council pressure. One of the other Council leaders agrees that "up to the summer of 1955 most people thought the thing would work out. But then it became apparent that this resistance movement was really going somewhere."\(^{11}\)

Hodding Carter, the editor of the *Delta Democrat Times*, noted that at this time he began to really be disturbed over the emergence of the Council. He said that if he "were a Negro or a Jew or even a Catholic" he would be even more concerned. Carter then did say that it was still "uncomfortable enough just to be labeled simply a 'nigger-lover.'"\(^{12}\)

The Citizens Councils are stronger in Mississippi than in any other state. Mississippi also has the largest proportion of Negroes of any state. "To me," Patterson said, "this whole business is simple arithmetic. If there's no Nigras, integration's beautiful. A fine thing. Everybody's for integration—for the other fellow. Resistance to integration is directly proportionate to the Nigra population."\(^{13}\)

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\(^{11}\)Martin, J. B., *op. cit.*, p. 72.


\(^{13}\)Martin, J. B., *Saturday Evening Post*, June 29, 1957, p. 57.
Mississippi in 1950 had a total population of 2,178,914. Of this population, 45.3 per cent, or 986,494, were Negroes. At the same time Ohio had a population of 7,946,629. Yet Ohio had only 513,072 Negroes, or 6.5 per cent.\footnote{From a Council tract entitled "A Crime and Veneral Disease Report." August of 1958.}

The question of the actual membership figures of the Mississippi Citizens Council is debatable. Patterson has claimed different figures of membership conversations with Martin, the press and the writer. It is probable, however, that the figures released for publication are exaggerated to show great grass-roots support for the movement. Just as it is impossible to pinpoint the number of members, so it is difficult to classify the members according to economics. The leaders of the Council may all come from the upper, capitalist class but the full membership crosses class lines. The rich and poor form a cross-section of the membership while the leadership has been taken over by the big businessmen of the various communities.

In 1956 Patterson claimed 60,000 members for the Mississippi Council.\footnote{Annual Report of the Mississippi Council (1956).} In 1957 he said that there were "300 Councils in Mississippi with 80,000 members."\footnote{Annual Report of the Mississippi Council (1957).} The financial affairs of the Council are a closely kept secret. John Bartlow Martin reports, however, that as of
May 1, 1956 the Mississippi Council had on hand $28,000; in May they took in only $4,000 and spent $7,000.\textsuperscript{17} If they had nearly 80,000 members and charged dues of $5.00 a year, it would appear that they were not collecting membership dues very successfully.

Although the statistics are not valid enough to substantiate many fluctuations in number it is probable that the membership varies in accordance with the fear felt by the people of Mississippi. When events take place at Little Rock and riots happen in the South the membership of the Council will most probably remain relatively high. When there is relative calm in the war over integration, then the membership begins to decline or to become relatively stable, another reason why the Council might favor a state of insecurity rather than one of peace and tranquility.

On December 15, 1956, a corporation was chartered in Greenwood, Mississippi. This corporation, known as the Educational Fund of the Citizens Councils, "is a non-profit corporation which issues no capital stock, and whose period of existence is perpetual."\textsuperscript{18}

Among the purposes that the Educational Fund stood for were:

\textsuperscript{17}Martin, J. B., \textit{op. cit.}, p. 58.
\textsuperscript{18}The Educational Fund. (Greenwood, 1957), p. 2.
To encourage the free discussion by the citizens of the United States of those problems upon the solution of which depends the welfare and prosperity of the United States.

To disseminate facts to the citizens of the United States, with reference to the serious problems confronting them; and to encourage the citizens of the United States to solve these problems in a peaceful, lawful and orderly manner.

The goals of the corporation were set out to be:

a) Publish and distribute nationwide factual literature presenting the case for States rights and racial integrity.

b) Initiate a movement to enter the national propaganda media, such as the national press services, television, radio, national publications and the motion picture industry.19

The most important purpose of the Fund was to gain needed funds from the rich industrialists of Mississippi. It was hoped by the leaders that this organization would be ruled tax exempt. The Fund has not, however, been declared exempt and so has failed to draw the large contributions it wanted and needed. Ellett Lawrence stated in the last Annual Report of the Council that "only two individuals have contributed $1,000 or more."20

19 The Educational Fund, op. cit.
The Council may be low on money but it is certainly not lacking in prestige. The Mississippi White Citizens Council has even gained important strength in the legislature of the state. The Speaker of the House of Representatives of Mississippi, Walter Sillers, has described the Citizens Councils as "the greatest forces we have in the battle to save the white race from amalgamation, mongrelization and destruction."21

In order to perpetuate its ideology throughout the South the Council initiated a television and radio series in 1957. This series, known as the Citizens Council Forum, originated in Mississippi but has now spread into Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. The idea behind the programs is to present "the American viewpoint with a Southern accent."22

The Mississippi Council has grown from a mere fourteen men into a large and ominous group of thousands. It has spread from Mississippi throughout the South and even into the North. A branch of the White Citizens Councils was even set up in Detroit, Michigan, by James D. Carter, the younger of Asa Carter, the chief of the Alabama Citizens Council.23

21Carter, J. D., III, op. cit., p. 63.
The Citizens Council of Mississippi sees little to block its future growth. Its growth to date is unfortunate but a fact that must be faced. The expansion of the Council into political, economic and social affairs are points that will be discussed in the following chapters.
CHAPTER III

"WHO'S WHO" OF THE MISSISSIPPI COUNCIL

The Mississippi Citizens Council is a "nativist" group composed of white citizens of that state. The Council is a pressure group interested in insuring the status-quo on the racial scene. It is composed of men who vary as much in their backgrounds as they do in their economic classes.

In order to give the Council statewide support all areas of Mississippi have been infiltrated and representation is evident throughout the state. The Mississippi Citizens Council is supposedly composed of "independent groups located within the towns and counties of our state. The local officers are chairman, vice-chairman, secretary and treasurer."

Along with this organization each Council is to be composed of four committees:

1. Information and Education-

This committee seeks information pertaining to racial problems from all over our nation. It presents to the people within the community the truth about the racial question, thereby nullifying

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1 The Citizens Council, November, 1958, p. 3.
the propaganda from alien influences and pressure groups. Its job is to convince all our people of the advantages of segregation and the dangers of integration.

2. **Political and Elections**

This committee studies candidates for local and state elections and presents their qualifications to the voters.

3. **Membership and Finance**

This committee enlists all patriotic white citizens for membership, thus assuring your local organization of the support of public opinion and also financial means with which to operate.

4. **Legal Advisory**

This committee provides the legal knowledge that will aid us to achieve our aims by constitutional lawful means.²

Although the local branches of the Mississippi Council are considered "independent" units, they are actually under the control of the State Executive Committee and the state officers. The local branches have been set up in order to be the stalking horse of the state organization. The Mississippi Citizens Council is strongly controlled by a central authority—the state officers. From a study of these officers that it can be shown that the Council is run by men of the most ruthless and violent nature.

It is presumed by many people that the basic policy decisions of the Council are formulated with the State Executive Committee. This committee is composed of the leading state officers and meets once a month in Jackson, Mississippi with the express purpose of discussing policy matters. Little, however, if anything, is actually decided by the committee as a whole. The decisions are usually based on proposals set out by the few men that actually control the Council,- R. B. Patterson, Ellett Lawrence and Bill Simmons.

While the power resides in the hands of these three men, none of the students of the Citizens Council movement to date have noted the fact that the power is actually centered in one man. Ellett Lawrence is the man behind the scenes; he is the man who makes the decisions and had controlled the Council from the sidelines since it was formed in 1954.

The only two thorough studies of the Mississippi Council at present are those of Hodding Carter III3 and John Bartlow Martin.4 The problem that both of these men have encountered is that of not being able to learn the true inner workings of the Council.5

3Carter, H. III, op. cit.
4Martin, J. B., op. cit.
5This is a problem that the writer was able to overcome by actually infiltrating the Mississippi Council and working as the secretary of R. B. Patterson. This experience is documented in an article, "Down in Mississippi - The White Citizen Councils," Jewish Forum, Chicago XVIII, Summer 1960, p. 323.
Carter's book is by far the better study of the Council, but it suffers from the fact that although the author is from Mississippi he has not been able to gain the needed inside information concerning the Council. He did have access to his father's newspaper files and to the Council's literature but was hindered in that he was known by the Council to be unsympathetic and therefore was never able to learn of the actual workings of the group.

Martin, on the other hand, completely misjudged the Mississippi Council. His book is little more than an apology for the Council, and a poor one at that. Martin had the advantage of being a well known author when he visited the Council and should have been able to see through the facade, but he obviously never did. During his visit to Mississippi Martin was royally treated by the officials of the Council. Patterson and other leaders related to the writer the great effort they went to in trying to convince Martin that the Council was a legal and totally lawful organization. They attempted to show Martin that the Council was opposed to all violence and that anti-Semitism was not an issue with the members of the group. For example, Patterson claimed that the Mississippi Council had no connection with the death of Emmett Till.
When Martin's articles first appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post* he left the name of Ellett Lawrence conspicuously out. The failure of Martin to include Lawrence in his study was a basic mistake. Both Carter and Martin failed to realize that the real power in the Mississippi Council is not R. B. Patterson but rather Ellett Lawrence. The idea of creating a Citizens Council actually originated with Lawrence, and Patterson only put the wheels into operation. All the money that was originally raised to support this Council came from Lawrence, and he is still the financial pillar of the group. Patterson spends at least two hours a day in conference with Lawrence and no decision is made without the permission of the owner of the Lawrence Printing Company.

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Patterson, in his capacity as public relations man, did a good job convincing Martin that the Council was not a typical Klan type organization. Everything went along fine until Martin met Ellett Lawrence (the only man who is a leader of the Council not mentioned in his study).

Patterson had taken Martin to meet Lawrence on the last day of his visit to Greenwood, Mississippi. When the two men met almost all the public relations work of Patterson was destroyed in a short fiery meeting. After the usual introductions Martin began to press Lawrence on the question of Till's death. He asked Lawrence if he didn't think it was a shame about Till. Lawrence responded that it was a shame - a shame that they hadn't slit open his stomach so that his body wouldn't have risen in the river.

Patterson gasped but before he could change the subject, Martin had asked Lawrence what he thought about the Jews and their influence in the NAACP. Again Lawrence was not subtle and blurted out that he thought the "Jews are just like the niggers - a few of them are all right but as a race they are no damn good."
Lawrence, who lacks even a high school education, has been able to gain power through his ownership of a large printing company that is known throughout the state. He is valuable to the Council not only for his money but for the picture of respectability that he exudes to the outside community. He holds the position of Finance Chairman in the Council and he has easily gained the monopoly on the printing of the Council material. Lawrence is a short, heavy man with a shriveled leg. To protect his weak eyes he wears an old fashioned eye shade, and his persistent puffing resembles the dying gasps of a steam engine, unable to conquer a hill.

The man appearing to lead the Mississippi Council has the impressive title of Executive Secretary but is in actuality little more than a glorified public relations man. R. B. "Tut" Patterson was a "native of Clarksdale, Mississippi, and attended Mississippi State College where he was captain of the football team in 1942. After service in the Army during World War II he had returned to the state and had settled down to farm some land he rented near Indianola."\(^7\) Patterson still lives in a "white frame house several miles outside Indianola, on a plantation which he operates - but doesn't own - in partnership with two other men. A half dozen Negro shacks

\(^7\)Carter, H. III, op. cit., p. 30.
built of unended cypress boards surround his house. 'I'm the only white man within a mile and a half,' he says. I'm completely integrated.'

The other two leaders of the Mississippi Citizens Council movement are W. J. Simmons and Judge Tom Brady, author of *Black Monday*. Simmons edits the monthly newspaper, *The Citizens Council*, and has his office in Jackson, Mississippi. He is a "quiet-spoken, well-dressed, good-looking, intelligent man of forty; he looks like a young city businessman. A rich banker's son, he graduated from Mississippi College in 1937 with honors." After graduating he traveled in Europe and South America. In 1939 he went to France to study French literature at the Sorbonne. After working in France, Simmons journeyed to England where he worked with Oswald Mosley and his fascist movement in London.

Judge Tom P. Brady, who wrote the "the acknowledged inspiration for the Citizens Councils," is a native Mississippian and a graduate of Lawrenceville, Yale and the University of Mississippi Law School. He is a circuit judge and former vice-president of the Mississippi Bar Association.

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10 *Ibid.*.
11 *Ibid.*.
The Mississippi Council has added a woman to its list of leaders. Mrs. Sara McCorkle is now the Director of Women's Activities of the Association of Citizens Councils. Mrs. McCorkle is the mother of four daughters and has the following record of "community service":

She has served as past state President of the American Legion Auxiliary; past state chapeau and past National Chaplain of the Eight and Forty, the Legion's Honor Society; past Worthy Matron of the Eastern Star; present state Vice-President of the National Parliamentarians; State Parliamentarian of the Mississippi B. & P. W.; Home Demonstration Agent and Home Supervisor of the FHA; past chairman of the Citizenship Division of the Mississippi Woman's Cabinet of Public Affairs; and a Christian education worker in her Sunday School.\(^1^2\)

The attempt to enlist the better elements of the community goes along with the philosophy of the Council that "its members wear business suits instead of bedsheets."\(^1^3\) In Jackson, Mississippi the leaders are the "pillars of the community. They are the kind that run the Chamber of Commerce and the Community Chest, serve as officers of churches and do the civic chores in every town worthy of the name.\(^1^4\)

The type of men chosen by the Council to represent it throughout the state are listed by the Citizens Councils Speaker's Bureau. In April,  

\(^1^2\)The Citizens Council, January, 1958.  
\(^1^4\)The Citizens Council, November, 1955.
1956 the Mississippi Council set up a statewide speaker's bureau to "address organizations regarding the Supreme Court Black Monday decision, and its effect upon our Nation."\(^{15}\) The list includes the following members of the upper class representation of the Council:

- Ross Barnett — Lawyer — (now Governor)
- Tom Barrentine — Industrialist
- Mary Cain — Newspaper editor
- G. T. Gillepsie — President Emeritus of Belhaven College
- Garner Lester — Businessman
- Jimmie Morrow — State Representative
- Rev. J. Neal — Baptist Minister
- Glenn Trusty — Former FBI Agent — Businessman
- Fielding Wright — Former Governor of Mississippi\(^{16}\)

With the help of these men the Mississippi Council has attempted to convince the outside world that the men who formed the Council are, in their words, "private, patriotic citizens. While they are molders of public opinion, they take no part in politics as a group. Nor are they led by politicians. But they are forming the kind of parade the politicians are proud to lead once it is on the march."\(^{17}\) This caused the *New York Times* to comment that the "White Citizens Council, because their membership rolls read like a Southern 'Who's Who,' a halo of respectability hovers over them."\(^{18}\)

\(^{15}\)The Citizens Council, May, 1956.  
\(^{16}\)Ibid.  
\(^{17}\)The Citizens Council, November, 1955.  
The leading citizens of a city are contacted to help create a branch whenever it is thought feasible by the state officers. "The leading citizens" are those having the large businesses and the positions of power in the community. This formation was described in the Council's newspaper in August of 1956. "The incentive and the will to organize a Citizens Council must come from within the community itself."19 It seems as if the first step is for one or two or three of the local 'leaders to take it upon themselves to call a meeting of from '5 to 30 or more community leaders, depending upon the size of the community to be covered. A state officer may be invited to attend and explain the policies and work of the Councils and to answer questions.

A temporary chairman is elected, a combination steering and nomination committee is appointed and a date within the next two weeks or so is decided upon for a large community meeting. It has been found most advantageous to have a large board of Directors, say one man from each precinct in the county or area, included in the Council, and the man to be a responsible citizen of good repute, well and favorably known among his neighbors. Care is taken to invite representatives of major business,

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19 The Citizens Council, August, 1956. The following information is taken from this source.
agricultural, labor and industrial interests, as well as representatives of religious and social groups, to membership on the Board of Directors.

A standard of procedure for the organizational meeting is usually followed by the individual Council. Along with an opening prayer, an address by a guest speaker outlining the reasons for the urgency of local, state and regional organizations is given. The local chapter then elects its officers and adopts the by-laws and other needed articles of incorporation.

The Citizens Council is formed locally for the express purpose of:

Developing citizen leadership and interest at home rather than ... depending on any individual or political leader, no matter how able he may be. The vigor and dynamic strength that have made the Citizens Council an effective instrumentality in advancing the cause of individual liberty, Constitutional Government, States Rights and racial honor against fearsome invasions have flowed from the strong surge of local independent opinion not from any State Association.

The purpose of the Citizens Councils is to give tangible form and expression to these basic principles in which we deeply believe, and without the practical application of which, life would not be worth living.20

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Along with the state organization the Mississippi Citizens Council is also aligned with certain other state Councils in an organization known as the Citizens Councils of America. On April 7, 1956, sixty-five delegates from eleven southern states met in New Orleans for the purpose of "uniting the various responsible Citizens Councils and other similar organizations into an inter-state group."\(^{21}\)

It has long been the hope of many of these organizations that a combination of strength could be achieved among the various divergent contingencies in the southern and border states.

To accomplish the twin purposes of strength through unity and strength through local responsibility, it is anticipated that the Citizens Councils of America will be a logical extension of the state-wide Citizens Council Associations now functioning in Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina and Texas; or like the States Rights Council of Georgia or the Patriots of North Carolina, for example, which bear similar relationships to the local town and county groups within their state.\(^ {22}\)

The Citizens Councils of America fulfills its stated purpose of local autonomy much better than either the local or state Councils of the various states involved. Just as the Mississippi Council depends

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\(^{22}\) Ibid.
entirely on the state headquarters for its leadership and incentive, so the Citizens Councils of America retain their complete independence. The only actual bond between these various groups comes from the newspaper, The Citizens Council. After its conception the Citizens Councils of America took over the Mississippi paper and made it the "official publication" of the group. The Editorial Board of the paper lists the leaders of each state organization in the Citizens Councils of America as members.

Outside of serving as a common editorial board there is little contact between the various men who lead the different groups dedicated to segregation. In actuality there is no united front that can stand against the proponents of integration. The men who run the state groups do exactly that - run their own state groups. It is true that the various leaders correspond on occasion and exchange views, but this is the extent of the united Front.\(^23\)

The Mississippi Citizens Council, enjoying as it does the highest membership of any segregationist group, will not jeopardize its position by aligning itself too closely with any other group. The leaders of the Mississippi Council will not allow any other group to help dictate the

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\(^{23}\)Patterson has corresponded with all of the Editorial Board of The Citizens Council. John Kasper and Patterson have also exchanged views through the mail.
terms in Mississippi. Just as Lawrence and Patterson have kept the Klan out of Mississippi so they have only allowed one Council to exist in the state.

The organization of the Mississippi Citizens Council is such that the actual power is placed in the hands of certain chosen leaders of the organization. The Executive Committee is composed of men that are obviously not new to the concept of racism. Leaders such as Lawrence, Brady, Wright and Mary Cain also belong to that group of Mississippi businessmen that have amassed considerable economic gain as a consequence of the exploitation of Negro workers of factory and farm. Lawrence owns one of the largest printing companies in Mississippi, Brady is a lawyer and holds interests in many business concerns in Mississippi. Wright is a funeral director and holds property in the Delta. Mary Cain has a newspaper and numerable farms. Along with these obvious interests each of the above also has much outside property (farms, apartments, business concerns in the Negro portions of the various Mississippi towns.)

The leaders of the Council will never allow the Negro to gain his rights because to do this would be to deprive them of their profits and full control of the Negro people. Thus the Council usefully serves these people in maintaining economic as well as social and psychic
superiority over the Negro. The Council is organized to perpetuate the control of the state by these men in the Citizens Council. The Council was organized to fight off change and so long as they remain in power they will continue their attempts to retain the status-quo. The next chapter deals with the attempt of the Council to mold the minds of the citizens of Mississippi.
CHAPTER IV

PUBLICATIONS

The "literature" or propaganda that is distributed throughout the state and the South by the Mississippi White Citizens Council is of a three-fold nature. First there is that literature published by the Mississippi Council and sent to its members. Secondly, there are the periodicals, newspapers, tracts and pamphlets that are sent to the Mississippi Council from the other Councils and right-wing organizations throughout this country. The third group deals with the official organ of the Citizens Councils of America - a newspaper known by the original name of The Citizens Council.

Judge Tom Brady, in his book Black Monday, not only helped form the Mississippi Council but also helped create the concept for the brand of propaganda that the Council would issue in the future. The very first mailing from the Mississippi Council included Black Monday (at a cost of one dollar.) The honorable judge began Black Monday with the following:
You can dress a chimpanzee, housebreak him, and teach him to use a knife and fork, but it will take countless generations of evolutionary development, if ever, before you can convince him that a caterpillar or a cockroach is not a delicacy. Likewise the social, political, economic and religious preferences of the negro remain close to the caterpillar and the cockroach.¹

Using this book as its "Bible," the Mississippi White Citizens Council set out to develop its own typical brand of propaganda and to distribute this throughout the South. By using the printing company owned by Ellett Lawrence, the Finance Chairman of the Council, it was easy to publish the needed pamphlets and tracts. Of course, Lawrence published these at "little or no profit."

The first pamphlet issued by the Council, which was then located in Winona, Mississippi, was entitled The Citizens Council. Along with outlining the functions and goals of the Citizens Councils, this pamphlet made it clear that "the Citizens Council is the South's answer to the mongrelizers. We will not be integrated."²

After this beginning the Lawrence Printing Company saw not only a political duty but a financial interest, and pamphlet after pamphlet was

¹Brady, Tom, op. cit., p. 12.
distributed throughout the length and breadth of Mississippi. The business of publishing through the Lawrence Printing Company has proven to be quite profitable for Lawrence. The business had prospered so that Lawrence now refuses to have the company's name placed on any pamphlets for fear that the fact he has a monopoly on the business will be discovered.

As the pamphlets rolled off the assembly line in Greenwood, three major themes became evident. The first theme was that the whole conception of integration was nothing but a plot by the communists to mongrelize all the whites. The second theme concerned itself with attempting to tie the NAACP to a plot to subvert America. The Council also dealt with showing how the Supreme Court's decision could be evaded and how support for their cause of refusal to integrate was akin to the traditions of Christian and Jew alike.

Pamphlets

1) An address by Senator James Eastland, before the statewide convention of the Association of Citizens Councils of Mississippi on December 1, 1955, was reprinted as a pamphlet under the title of We've Reached the Era of Judicial Tyranny. This pamphlet began the era of the "red scare" for the Mississippi Council.
Time will not permit me to list the organizations and groups who back, support, cooperate with and direct the NAACP. In general, they are church groups, radical organizations, labor organizations and liberal groups of all shades of Red. They run from the blood red of the Communist Party to the almost equally Red of the National Council of Churches of the U.S.A.  

The next pamphlet was published by Lawrence at his "own personal expense." Accepting the "red scare" he called on the South, and especially Council members, to Help Save America. He cited certain examples of the plot by designating his chapter headings:

- Communist Negro Drive
- Marxists in New Deal
- Racial Propaganda
- UN Favors Rewriting U.S. Textbooks
- UNESCO Sponsors Pro-Negro Propaganda
- Supreme Court Fooled
- Court Influenced by Red Propaganda

In 1958-1959 the Educational Fund of the Mississippi Council sponsored a statewide scholarship contest. This contest was presented in a pamphlet entitled Statewide Scholarship Contest for Mississippi High School Students. Two five hundred dollar scholarships were offered for the winning essay on any of the following subjects:

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3Eastland, J. *We've Reached the Era of Judicial Tyranny.* (Greenwood, 1955), p. 5.

4Lawrence, E. *Help Save America.* (Greenwood, 1955).
a) Why I believe in social separation of the races of mankind.

b) Subversion in racial unrest.

c) Why the preservation of States Rights is important to every American.

d) Why separate schools should be maintained for the white and Negro races.  

2) **The NAACP Legislative Scoreboard** and the **Ugly Truth About the NAACP** left little doubt about the feeling of the Council concerning the NAACP. The **Ugly Truth** was written by the Attorney General of Georgia, Eugene Cook, and is a calculated attack on the NAACP. He refers to the "subversive designs behind the current crusade of the mis-named National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and its fellow-traveling fronts." According to Cook, the membership of the NAACP is led by "South-hating white people with long records of affinity for, affiliation with, and participation in Communist, Communist-front, fellow-traveling and subversive organizations, activities and causes."  

After exposing the "threat" and "saving America" the Council devoted two pamphlets to reprinting speeches made by John Bell Williams

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5 *Statewide Scholarship Contest for Mississippi High School Students.* (Greenwood, 1958), p. 2.  
6 *The NAACP Legislative Scoreboard* (Greenwood, 1958).  
FAMOUS ENTERTAINER AND ATHLETE
TO SPEAK

Dr. P.D.O. Monk, M.D., Ph.D.,
D.D.T., National Vice Chairman
of the NAAACP. will address our
local Chapter soon. The title
of his address will be Equality,
Integration and the Future. Dr.
Monk is one of the Nation's
leading "Modern Authorities" on
psychology, sociology, anthro-
pology and philosophy.

A typical example of the propaganda sent out by the Mississippi
White Citizens Councils.
(D-Miss.) in the United States House of Representatives. They were entitled *Where Is the Reign of Terror?* and *Interposition, the Barrier Against Tyranny*.

The resolving of this crisis does not call for complacency, timidity or cowardice. It will call for taxing new reservoirs of courage, and will demand sacrifices that will test the strength of our convictions. In the face of the Supreme Court's brazen usurpation of authority, its flagrant disregard of Constitutional limitations, its willful flaunting of judicial precedents, its wanton contempt for the doctrine of state decisis and recognized principals of established law, we must resort to drastic measures if we are to preserve the structure of our Republic. This will mean suffering and sacrifices on the part of liberty-loving Americans, and it means seizing the offensive from the conscienceless self-seeking elements who seek to destroy our Republic.  

3) The religious pamphlets attempted to convince people that the Citizens Councils and religion were each fighting for supremacy of the white man. The Council published *A Jewish View on Segregation*, *Conflicting Views on Segregation*, 10 and *A Christian's View on Segregation*. 11 The Jewish author (anonymous) in *A Jewish View on Segregation* claims that:

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I am engaged, through the Citizens Council, in attempting to solve the negro problem in a way that will be to the benefit of all Southerners, colored and white, and will not be to the detriment or detriment of any.\textsuperscript{12}


Four of the Committee members filed a supplement to the majority report. These four, John Bell Williams, James C. Davis, Woodrow W. Jones and Joel Broyhill stated that "we recommend that racially separate schools be maintained on a completely separate and equal basis."\textsuperscript{13}

\textbf{The Educational Fund of the Citizens Council} explains:

We must counteract the propaganda campaign against the South. The campaign is directed primarily against the minds of our young people, who by nature are more susceptible to propaganda. If propaganda is recognized as such, it is not dangerous. This propaganda is designed to gain support for integration in the North and to break down resistance to it in the South.\textsuperscript{14}

\textsuperscript{13}\textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{14}\textit{The Educational Fund of the Citizens Council}. (Greenwood, 1956), p. 2.
Tracts

The tracts sent out by the Mississippi Council take on a less rational approach and deal more in an emotional manner.

In Brazil, you will find blue eyes and black skin, flat skulls with triangular faces, hair plaied in pigtails, white babies at the breasts of white mothers, colored babies at the breasts of white mothers, and colors running from ebony to eggshell via copper, olive, caramel and banana.

Is this to be the fate of our beloved Nation, decreed by nine political appointees to impress the Asiatics and using as their authority the writing of Socialist and Communist tinged authors? 15

The Mississippi Council has also sent out sheets listing "Veneral disease infections by state and race," along with the "illegitimate births by state and race" in order to try to prove that only segregation can solve these problems. These figures are also shown to try to prove that only segregation can solve these problems. These figures are also shown to try to again "remind us of the fact, so well known to Southern officials and seemingly ignored by our Northern neighbors, that the negro has such a strong proclivity for 'mistaking liberty for license.'" 16

15 From a tract entitled Brazil distributed in 1957.
16 From the front of a sheet sent out in 1958 - Illegitimate Births.
A copy of a letter sent out by the NAACP in its Twenty-ninth Annual Christmas Seal Campaign was distributed by the Council in 1957. This particular letter was signed by Lena Horne, the chairman of the campaign, and an arrow pointed to her signature with the comment, "married to a white man." In another broadside the Council tells us that "the best friends the Southern negroes have today, or have ever had, are the white people of the South. Let them and the radical propagandists remember this."\textsuperscript{17}

\textbf{Other "Hat e"Literature}

The Mississippi Council daily receives propaganda from many of the other Southern segregationist organizations and some Northern groups. This propaganda is sent to the Mississippi Council with the hope that it will be re-distributed through them. The Council is in contact with, and distributes literature from, the following groups:

- National Association for the Advancement of White People
- State Rights League
- Grass Roots League
- American Educators, Inc.
- Federation for Constitutional Government
- Associations for Preservation of Southern Tradition

\textsuperscript{17}From a sheet distributed in 1958 entitled "Negro in the South."
Ku Klux Klan
Citizens Councils from Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana,
Texas, North Carolina, South Carolina and Florida
South Deering Improvement Association (Chicago, Ill.)
National Citizens Protective Association
Constitution Party
Congress Party

From these hate organizations and extreme "right wing" groups the
Mississippi Council has a large and complete file of additional propaganda
with which to supplement its own printing.

Working from the same concepts as the Mississippi Council, most
of the propaganda sent to the Council "reveals" the enemy to be the com-
munists and the NAACP. A pamphlet from Georgia which reprints a speech
by James C. Davis, Congressman from Georgia, claims that:

The integrationist and mongrelizers have stated
that they only want equal rights and opportunity for
the Negro. Yet the radical NAACP has repeatedly
declared that their ultimate goal is inter-marriage and
complete mongrelization of the American people. The
fact that this is also the identical aim of the Communist
Party of the United States is more than just coincidental.
If they are successful in cramming this school decision
down our throats, they will follow it with a decision
invalidating our marriage laws, and that will be the end.

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18Many smaller groups also send the Mississippi Council
occasional material. Most of this, however, is of a anti-Semitic type.
19Davis, J. *Speech by James C. Davis.* (Atlanta, 1958), p. 5.
The more that the propaganda sent out by the various groups is read, the more obvious it becomes that these people actually believe there is a large and complex arrangement between the NAACP, the Supreme Court and the Communist Party. The Georgia Commission on Education published a pamphlet that stated:

It may be enlightening to give some totals which indicate the extent to which the top leadership of the NAACP has given aid and comfort to the Communist-Front apparatus. Listed on the current letterheads of the NAACP are the names of 236 different national officers. One hundred forty-five (or more than 61 percent) of these individuals have been involved, in one way or another, with Communist enterprises, for a grand total of 2,200 affiliations of public record. Forty-six of these NAACP national officers have had one or two Communist affiliations; 99 had 3 or more such affiliations; 52 had 10 or more; and 46 had 15 or more.  

Some of the names listed along with the number of purported Communist affiliations:

Eleanor Roosevelt ......... 36  
Max Lerner ............... 43  
Archibald MacLeish ....... 38  
G. Bromley Oxnam ........ 36  
Reinhold Niebuhr .......... 34  
Oscar Hammerstein II ... 24  
Norman Thomas ........... 10

\[20\] Communism and the NAACP. (Atlanta, 1958), p. 8.  
\[21\] Ibid.
The general tenure of these appeals can be judged by the titles of some of the other pamphlets sent out by the Mississippi Council under their arrangement with outside groups.

The Supreme Court, The Broken Constitution and the Shattered Bill of Rights
Let Us Understand the Negro Interposition or Nullification
The African Equality: Can Man Improve on God?
Why Desegregation Will Fail
Why Maryland Should Oppose the Supreme Court's School Decision

From the Dallas Chapter of the Texas Citizens Council came a pamphlet entitled God the Original Segregationist.

Our Lord God Himself was the Original Segregationist. When He separated the black race from the white and lighter skinned races. He did not simply put them in different parts of town. He did not even put them in different towns or states. Nay, He did not even put them in adjoining countries.

HE PUT THE BLACK RACE ON A HUGE CONTINENT TO THEMSELVES SEGREGATED FROM THE OTHER RACES BY OCEANS OF WATER TO THE WEST, SOUTH AND EAST, AND BY THE VAST STRETCHES OF THE ALMOST IMPASSABLE SAHARA DESERT TO THE NORTH.

It is high time that the defenders of the Word of God and the true faith stand up boldly like Joshua of old, and
declare to their indifferent fellow citizens;— 'CHOOSE YOU THIS DAY WHOM YOU WILL SERVE, FATHER DIVINE OR THE GOD OF THE SCRIPTURES, BUT AS FOR ME AND MY HOUSE, WE WILL SERVE THE LORD.'

Carey Daniel, who wrote this booklet, is the pastor of the First Baptist Church of West Dallas, Texas. The pamphlet ends with the following suggestions:

1) Refuse to send your children to desegregated schools.

2) Insist that your pastor preach the word of God on this subject.

3) Write, or better still telegraph, your top political leaders and congressmen, demand continued segregation in our public schools.

4) Join your nearest Citizens Council for segregation, or organize a new one in your locality.

The *Arkansas Faith* published by the White Citizens Council of Arkansas and the *Councilor Newsletter* from the Citizens Councils of Louisiana, Inc. are typical examples of the exchange program that the Mississippi Council has with its various counterparts throughout the South. The *Councilor Newsletter* of February, 1957 featured an editorial

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22Daniel, C. *God the Original Segregationist.* (Dallas, 1957) p. 25.
entitled "Union of South Africa Curb Its Supreme Court" in which it openly approved of such action.

"A monthly newsletter of, by and for the American Rightwing" is published in San Francisco, California by Bradford Martin and is mailed monthly to the Mississippi Council for redistribution. This publication, Right, stands for the "Constitution, Freedom and Nationalism." Along with being a staunch supporter of all extreme rightwing causes this magazine is overtly anti-Semitic.

Right suggests that all its readers should support "three fine monthly publications devoted to the racial and states' rights angle: The Virginian, the White Sentinel and The Citizens Council."

The Mississippi Council sends out two of these publications mentioned by Bradford Martin - The Virginian and the White Sentinel. The Virginian is published by the Virginia League in Newport News, Virginia. This paper resembles most of its counterparts throughout the South in its vehement opposition to the Supreme Court and its decisions regarding the ending of segregation in the South. This paper takes its position from Marvin Griffin, then Governor of Georgia, who said, "Are we going to

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24Right. May, 1957.
permit the naked and arrogant declaration of nine men to destroy the Constitution and usurp the blood-won rights of our people? The answer is No, No - a thousand times, NO!"\textsuperscript{25}

The \textit{White Sentinel} is the "official organ of the National Citizens Protective Association" and is well known for its anti-Semitic overtones.

\textit{The National Republic,}\textsuperscript{26} \textit{American Progress,}\textsuperscript{27} the \textit{Greater Nebraskan}\textsuperscript{28} and the \textit{Peaceful Revolutionist}\textsuperscript{29} have all been mailed from the offices for the "first national directory of rightest groups, publications and some individuals in the United States and some foreign countries."\textsuperscript{30}

No mention has been made of any of the publications from the Ku Klux Klan or other such violently anti-Semitic publications, as they are covered in a later chapter. It is enough to note here that they have a large circulation throughout Mississippi.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{25}\textit{The Virginian}. January, 1956.
  \item \textsuperscript{26}\textit{National Republic}, a rightwing publication from Los Angeles.
  \item \textsuperscript{27}\textit{American Progress} is published in Des Moines, Iowa.
  \item \textsuperscript{28}\textit{Greater Nebraskan} a pro-McCarthy magazine from Nebraska.
  \item \textsuperscript{29}\textit{Peaceful Revolutionist} from San Francisco.
  \item \textsuperscript{30}\textit{National Directory} (New Orleans, 1957).
\end{itemize}
The Citizens Council

Of all the propaganda sent out by the Mississippi Council, their newspaper The Citizens Council reaches the most people. Not only is it included in a membership to the Council but is distributed throughout the South by all the members of the Citizens Council of America. This paper, published in Jackson, Mississippi, is also the official organ of the Citizens Councils of America. Originally, however, this paper was the monthly publication of the Mississippi Citizens Councils. Its purposes were stated to be:

The Citizens Council is simply designed to serve a useful purpose, to provide a means of exchanging authoritative information among the responsible movements throughout the South, and to present, at least in a small way, something of the Southern viewpoint to our friends, and to some not so friendly, in the North and West.\(^{31}\)

The first edition of the paper carried columns by the editor of the Charleston, South Carolina News and Courier, Thomas R. Waring; Tom Ethridge, feature columnist of the Jackson, Mississippi Clarion-Ledger; and the syndicated columnist John Temple Graves. The first volume of the paper dealt with the then prevalent theory of interposition against the federal government. "Historically, interposition means simply the

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right of the states to interpose their sovereignty between the federal government and the object of its encroachments upon powers reserved to the states."32

The Citizens Council also supported "economic boycotts" against organizations supporting integration. The paper reported that "Phillip Morris suffered a 17 per cent loss in cigarette sales."33 The loss was attributed to the boycott imposed by the Councils and other southern hate groups. Boycotts of this nature are discussed in a later chapter.

The most brazen attempt at brain-washing that the Mississippi Council has carried on was done through The Citizens Council in 1957 when it published the "Manual for Southerners." The purpose of this series of articles was to "impart to our children a true understanding of their origins and the reasons for our bi-racial society. It serves also to present to Americans everywhere the basic cause of our position." This manual was published for all grades up to high school. In the section for Grades 5 and 6 "some of the differences between white and black" are noted:

33 Ibid., December, 1955.
Let's list some ways the Negro is different from the white man:

1. The Negro's arm is about two inches longer than the white man's.
2. The jaw is shaped differently.
3. The weight of the brains differ.
4. The eyes are different.
5. The noses are different.
6. The lips are different.
7. The cheek bones are different.
8. The skulls are different.
9. The ears are different.
10. The hair is different.
11. The voices are different.

There are other differences which we will not list. But you can see that the Negro is not just a sunburned white man. He is a different race.

Races-Mixers Do Not Tell You Races Are Different. You probably wonder how we know the races are different. You have not read anything before about races. Many newspapers don't tell you it is bad to mix the races. T-V is always showing you Negroes and whites on the same program together. And your school books have many stories about people of different races. You are probably surprised to learn that a Negro is really different from a white man.

34The Citizens Council. May, 1957. These various articles were also published as a booklet and distributed at the various schools throughout the state.
After this attempt to educate the youth of the state in the ways of the Council, the paper turned to attempting to show that the Negro in Mississippi is a mere counterpart of the Mau Mau movement in Kenya, Africa. This must be a form of the old tactic of trying to frighten new recruits into the movement.

The basic purpose of all propaganda is to influence the ideas of those reached by the propaganda. The mailing lists of the Mississippi Citizens Council reaches most of Mississippi and the cross mailing of the various Councils insures that the South is well supplied with this material. Although most of those receiving the literature do not need to be "brainwashed" into opposing the Supreme Court and the federal government, this type of propaganda can only help to reinforce their views and deepen the crisis. It may well be that this literature spurs the outcroppings of violence that so plagues Mississippi. Certainly it serves to harden underlying Southern attitudes.
CHAPTER V

THE CITIZENS COUNCIL AND ANTI-SEMITISM

No study of the Mississippi Citizens Council would be complete without a discussion of the relationship it has with the Ku Klux Klan and other anti-Semitic groups throughout the United States. The Mississippi Council, as opposed to its stated purposes and denials, has in reality been following the same tactics as the Klan. The Council appears to have won complete control of Mississippi from the Ku Klux Klan. It has gained the upper hand in its campaign to run the state segregation policy.

When the revitalized Klan was formed in 1915, its founder, W. J. Simmons, stated that the "Klan's object is to preserve the dignity and achievements of the white race in justice, fairness and equity toward all the human family."¹ This would correspond with the earlier Klan and its supposed attempt to restore justice and peace to the state of Mississippi following the Civil War. The Klan did help to restore the peace and tranquility of the community by tactics that are all too familiar.

to the Southern Negro today. When the United States Congress opened
a probe into the activities of the KKK in Mississippi during the Recon-
struction period, it learned the same truths that are evidenced through-
out the South yet today. In this investigation, Robert Gleed, a Negro
from Columbus, Mississippi, was questioned, and his answers still
ring all too clearly today:

**Question:** To you know, or have you heard of any of these
Ku-Klux being arrested and brought to justice
and punished?

**Answer:** Not in this county.

**Question:** What is the trouble in bringing them to justice?

**Answer:** The trouble seems to be that there is sufficient
influence in their favor - enough men in the
organization in the first place, to get on the
different departments of the judiciary, or the
grand jury, and on the petit jury, one place and
another - to keep any bill from being brought;
and first they terrify parties so they are afraid
to report them, and if they should be reported,
they get in such positions that there can be no
bill found against them. Now, as to this man
who was whipped up here, there was about twenty
men, I reckon, with him, and several of us got
around him and told him that he must go and report;
that he should do it. He said he knew the parties;
he told us he knew the parties; we got some two or
three white men, and tried to get him to go with us
and report them before the grand jury, and have
them arrested, and we could not force him to do it; he said they would kill him; he would not hazard his life in that way; and we could not make him do it.2

From many stories told by the Negro in the South today, one gathers that conditions have changed little from Reconstruction days. While the Klan is attempting to take command of the segregation battle throughout the South, the Council has kept control in Mississippi. In Mississippi the Council has been able to keep the Klan out mainly because there is no need for it because the Council is capable of handling affairs as they stand. There is little doubt that the present White Citizens Councils are as Hodding Carter typifies them mere "uptown KKK."3

Although the Mississippi Council purports to be free of any influence from the Klan or any actual friendship with it, nothing could be further from the truth. A close look at the literature sent from the Mississippi Council office along with that received in Greenwood tells an altogether different story.

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Just as in other Southern states, many of the White Citizens Council members are or were former members of the Klan so it is in Mississippi. Bill Hendrix, the leader of the Klan in Florida, wrote that: "We don't have a Klan group in Mississippi. We had at one time and ask all of them to go into the Citizens Council there."\(^4\) Mississippi then appears to be the only state where there has not been a kind of "interlocking, with the Klan purportedly keeping its autonomy, and with both outfits enjoying the cross-fertilization."\(^5\)

Although the Klan itself is not active in Mississippi there have been recent attempts to set up a branch there. The Mississippi White Citizens Council has come under the scrutiny of the Klan as many Klan members believe that Patterson and the Council are following too moderate a line.

John Kasper wrote that a Klan or a rival Citizens Council (based on his Seaboard White Citizens Council) was needed in Mississippi "to clean up much of the cowardice in Mississippi and make for more action."\(^6\) Patterson himself came in for his share of blame as Kasper

\(^4\)Letter from Bill Hendrix to the writer, May 9, 1957.
\(^5\)Ibid.
\(^6\)Letter from John Kasper to the writer, June 19, 1957.
believed Patterson was "suppressing, either through ignorance or fear, the facts concerning the Jewish peril." 7 (Kasper never bothers to capitalize the "J" in Jew or Jewish.)

Hendrix came to the same conclusion and stated that it was evident now that a mistake had been made by allowing the former Klan members to join the Council. He claimed that "Patterson and the Governor of Mississippi are completely dominated by the Jews and the Citizens Councils are full of Jews." 8

If the Klan had been able to infiltrate Mississippi a situation would have evolved resembling that now found in Alabama. There the state is split between two rival factions of the White Citizens Council and the Klan. One group of the Council is led by State Senator Sam Englebart and follows the lead of Patterson and the White Citizens Councils of America; the other is led by Asa "Ace" Carter and is a branch of the John Kasper groups and is full of Klansmen. In 1957 Carter was involved in a shooting at a Ku Klux Klan meeting in Birmingham, Alabama. After being taken into custody he admitted that he was an "advisor" to the Klan. 9 It has also been reported by the Associated Press that following

7 Letter from John Kasper to the writer, June 19, 1957.
8 Hendrix, B. op. cit.
the butcher-style castration by lamplight of a feeble-minded Negro man in Birmingham, a search was made of the Klan meeting house. "In the one room, concrete-block Klan meeting house where the operation took place, police found 'stacks of literature printed for the White Citizens Council.' Also one of the men arrested was identified as 'former editor of a Citizens Council newspaper.'"  

While there is no Klan in Mississippi, it has been claimed that none is actually necessary. R. B. Patterson told the writer that "we can do anything the Klan can if it becomes necessary."  

It is also to the advantage of the Mississippi to keep out the Klan in order that the Council will continue its control of all money donated to the cause of segregation in the state.

The Mississippi Council has openly denied any official connection with either the Klan or any other anti-Semitic groups. A study of the mailing of the Council reveals, however, a much different story. At the same time that the Council was sending out a *Jewish View of Segregation*, it was sending out copies of John W. Hamilton's *The White Sentinel*. This anti-Semitic tract is the official organ of the National

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11 Personal Conversation with Patterson in August of 1958.
Citizens Protective Association, a St. Louis organization. Patterson himself sent a circular to the Council members recommending that they read such notoriously anti-Semitic publications as The Cross and the Flag, of Gerald L. K. Smith; Common Sense of Conde McGinley; The American Nationalist of Frank Britton; The Defender of Gerald Winrod.  

All of these publications have now greatly enlarged their Southern circulation. "For the past six years, annual gross receipts reported by Gerald L. K. Smith have reached the six-figure mark." His latest report, filed with the House of Representatives under the provisions of the Corrupt Practices Act, shows that the Christian Nationalist Crusade last year (1956) grossed $173,967.12, including $36,957.10 in donations of $100 or more.  

A copy of Common Sense sent out by the Mississippi Council features this title: "The Coming Red Dictatorship-Asiatic Marxist Jews Control Entire World as the Last War Commences. Thousands of Plotters Placed in Key Positions by Invisible Government. Few Were Ever Elected." As the popularity of these hate sheets increased in the South they began to include more news concerning the Negro. In August of 1957,  

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12 Martin, J. B., op. cit., July 6, 1957, p. 84.  
14 Ibid.  
15 Common Sense, August, 1957.
Common Sense claimed that "A Jew has always headed the National Association for the Agitation of Colored People. (A more appropriate title for the NAACP.)"\textsuperscript{16}

The American Nationalist, once distributed by the Mississippi Council, featured an article entitled: "Myth of Six Million Jews Hit: Those 'Missing' Jews Now Settled in U.S."\textsuperscript{17} Since the Council denies any affiliation with anti-Semitic groups it is of interest to quote from a portion of the above noted article:

Thus, the myth of the German crematoriums was invented out of sheer necessity. It relieved Jewish propaganda of the necessity of producing the physical evidence to back up their hysterical propaganda lie that six million Jews perished at the hands of Hitler... It should be made clear at this point that a large number of Jews did die during the war years of 1939-45 - from natural causes. Meanwhile the ghosts of those six million Jews have taken over the main streets of practically every town and city in the United States.\textsuperscript{18}

The American Nationalist has also sent out tracts through the Mississippi Citizens Council stating that:

Since organized jewry is, and always has been, behind much of the recent racial agitation in this country (the infamous NAACP itself is jewish controlled,

\textsuperscript{16}Common Sense, \textit{op. cit.}, August, 1957.
\textsuperscript{17}American Nationalist, September, 1957.
\textsuperscript{18}Ibid.
since its president, Springarn, is a member of that race), we find all three of the major TV networks cooperating night and day with the NAACP to brainwash Americans into accepting 'integration.'

Along with these papers, according to John Bartlow Martin, the Mississippi Councils "recently distributed on a large scale Joseph P. Kamp's pamphlet, Trickery, Treachery, Tyranny and Treason in Washington." 

There can be no doubt that the leaders of the Mississippi Citizens Council are directly linked with anti-Semitic activities.

Before the Citizens Councils were officially launched, Ryle's anti-Semitic 'Political Reporter' listed Patterson as a 'staff writer.' Articles under Patterson's by-line appeared in four issues that year. A piece by Patterson also appeared in the March-April issue of the 'National Renaissance Bulletin,' the hate sheet published by the neo-Nazi, James Madole. And Bryant Bowles' 'National Forum' contained a letter from Patterson.

W. J. Simmons, the editor of the monthly newspaper, The Citizens Council has been referred to by many in Mississippi as a "Nazi".

Although Simmons publically denies that he is a fascist, John Bartlow Martin recalls that he was a "follower of Oswald Mosely, the British fascist, before World War II." 

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20Martin, J. B., _op. cit._, p. 87.
21Carter, H. III, _op. cit._, p. 31.
22Martin, J. B., _op. cit._, June 29, 1957, p. 58.
Even the "intellectual" of the Council, Tom P. Brady, has a clear record of anti-Jewish sentiments. In *Black Monday*, Brady writes that "it is lamentable that attention should be called to the alarming increase of Jewish names in the ranks of Communist-front organizations of this country. Of all the nations which has ever been on this earth, the United States has been the kindest to the Jew. Here he has suffered but little ostracization - and has brought most of this upon himself."\(^ {23} \)

Brady goes on to say that:

> Above all peoples the Jew should be grateful. Hungry, naked, thirsty and homeless we took him in, and made him one of us. From the Jewish race there should never be any Rosenbergs, Greenglass or Alger Hisses. The Socialist and Communist infiltrated labor organizations should not have the Dubinskys, the Emspaks, the Abraham Flaxes and Ben Golds as their leaders. The list is long and it is ominous.\(^ {24} \)

On April 18-20, 1957, the Congress of Freedom held its annual convention at Biloxi, Mississippi. Robert Patterson gave a keynote speech and Judge Brady was in attendance.\(^ {25} \) Included as participants were

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\(^{24}\) Ibid.

\(^{25}\) Brady also told the writer he believed Kasper was actually on the right track in his denunciation of the Jews and their influence in the integration battle. He did not agree with Kasper’s tactics but believed that Kasper did have insight into the "Jewish problem."
"amateur anti-Semites such as retired Rear Admiral John G. Crommelin and Lieut. General Pedro A. Del Valle; and professional hate peddlers such as Conde McGinley, Elizabeth Dilling and Don Bell."²⁶ Great quantities of Common Sense and the anti-Semitic magazine the American Mercury were distributed. The American Mercury (distributed as recommended reading by the Mississippi Council) has long noted that we must fight and expose "the forces of darkness and evil" that are attempting to take over the United States. Russell Maguire's American Mercury has time and again identified these "forces of darkness and evil" as the "international bankers - Bernard Baruch, the Lehmans, the Warburgs, the Loeb and the Rothchilds."²⁷

The material sent to the Mississippi Council from the various groups throughout the country also shows the close relationship that the Mississippi Council has with them. Patterson has corresponded with the leaders of these groups and has openly supported most of them. The Mississippi Citizens Council has received mail from "The Patriot" in New York City. A few quotations will reveal the nature of this publication:

But the greatest so-called 'anti-Semite' of all time was Jesus Christ whom the Jewish Pharisees caused to be murdered for his alleged 'anti-Semitism,' and whom they have reviled in the most foul language ever written, in that masterpiece of fraud, filth and hate, their Babylonian Talmud, the Book of Law of the Modern Pharisees - the one and only power that can transform an ordinary human into a Jew.

Democracy (rule by the People) means now rule by Jews. Remember, we are just their "stupid goy cattle", to be milked, slaughtered or inerbred at their pleasure! We are going to be integrated (mongrelized)! The Masters (Baruch, Weinberg, Lehman and company) have spoken! They decree the 'law of the land' now. The Constitution is dead -- The Talmud is the law of the land! Your sons, homogenized in the Army with the Negroes by order of Anna Rosenberg (have you forgotten?), are going to enforce it for them, if they have to kill YOU! and they do mean YOU! PATRIOTISM MUST NOW OF NECESSITY BE ANTI-JEWISH!^{28}

The Nordic Anglo-Saxon also reaches the leaders of the Mississippi Citizens Council. This publication is dedicated to "the un-adulterated truth which you cannot get in the Jew controlled press and radio!"^{29} In typical anti-Semitic fashion the blame for all the segregation problems is placed on the Jew. "Who is it that is starting the trouble over segregation? The Nordic man, the nigger or the jew? I am constrained to say it is the jew, since he is the one that started the agitation."^{30}

^{28}The Patriot, June, 1957.
^{29}Nordic Anglo-Saxon, October, 1956.
^{30}Ibid.
The Council has also received tracts entitled "The Savage Jew" and some from the Klan which are simply entitled "The Jew." All of these follow the pattern of those previously quoted in that the Jew is made the target for all the blame over integration and communism per se.

The Mississippi Citizens Council has openly disavowed any connection with this fringe of the segregationists. Thus, despite the fact that Judge Brady had written him a long letter of warm endorsement only a few months earlier, "Ace" Carter, the leader of the North Alabama Citizens Council and a Ku Klux Klan leader as well, was repudiated instantly by the Mississippi Council when his notoriety threatened their reputation.

Concerning another well publicized segregationist agitation, John Kasper, William Simmons declared:

We're rather suspicious of Kasper, and in fact have been getting some peculiar reports on him. You know, when he was in New York he was a member of one of those anti-Semitic organizations which is financed by Jews as a sort of stalking horse. In fact, we have a feeling he is a plant. What he is doing is just what I'd hope a Citizens Council member would do if I were in the opposition.\textsuperscript{31}

Simmons did, however, offer a different interpretation of the actions of "Ace" Carter.

Ace Carter is an Alabama problem. He has no standing with our group. We have refrained from poking our nose into their business so that they will always refrain from intruding into ours. We don't seek the headlines, though, but would rather be quiet and peaceful and get the job done.

However, it might be added that the NAACP never feels it necessary to apologize for every nigger rapist or for the Commies who help their cause, and I think they play it smart. Start apologizing for something and you admit your association with it. 32

From this brief discussion of anti-Semitism and the Mississippi Council it is obvious that the two are closely linked. When the publications noted become the official mailing of the Council then no amount of disavowing the fact will change the truth. If we believe that with the death of Hitler and the Nazi regime that anti-Semitism would die, we now can see our mistake. With the joining of the neo-Nazis and the white supremacists here in the United States, an atmosphere is easily created in which acts of overt anti-Semitism can be carried on. The money coming in from this combination of resources probably helped support the acts of bombing synagogues and painting swastikas on Jewish property

32 Carter, op. cit.
that took place this last year. This was not the work of mere crackpots or teenage delinquents but an organized campaign iced on by the neo-
Nazis. Had the white supremacists never linked up with these anti-
Semitic money would never have been available to them to carry on such a large scale anti-Jewish campaign.
CHAPTER VI

BOYCOTTS AND VIOLENCE

The actual effects that the Mississippi White Citizens Councils have had on the politics of Mississippi and the economic life of the people of Mississippi and certain industries of the North are not easy to evaluate. The immediate effects can be traced with some accuracy, but their ultimate effects will not be so obvious.

The Councils have attempted to use boycotts against those persons and business concerns employing tactics alien to the purposes of the Council. The effects of the boycotts have varied from occasion to occasion. The chief result, however, has been a defeat for the Council on any boycott of a national product.

Again the definitive policy of the Council was presented by Judge Tom Brady in his book Black Monday when he commented that:

As a last resort, a step which no Southern man wants to take, is declaring of a cold war and an economic boycott. A large percentage, over a third of the Negro women in the South, are domestic servants. When this source of revenue is cut off, and they are no longer employed, a deplorable situation will arise for the Negro. The Negro of the
South knows this and so does the NAACP. The NAACP does not care actually, what happens to the Negro of the South financially. Drunk or mad with the successes which it has obtained, it now seeks to carry out its - communist-inspired program, irrespective of what harm it does to the Negroes of the South. It will be inconvenient upon the white women of the South to discharge their maids and cooks, but this can be done, if necessary.¹

With this statement the basic premise of economic sanctions to force conformity within the community was evolved. The first actual use of economic reprisals and force was used by the Mississippi Council in 1955 in Yazoo City, Mississippi. At this time a petition, sponsored by the NAACP, asking the local school board to honor the Supreme Court decision on integration of the schools, was signed by 53 Negro parents. Immediately after its presentation to the school board, all the names on the petition were listed in the *Yazoo City Herald* in an ad paid for by the Council.² This was the signal for the firing and boycotting of all the Negroes involved. The withdrawal of names previously placed on the petition meant little. Nick Roberts, the head of the Yazoo City Citizens Council stated that "because the people here took the idea that if they signed once, they signed it, and it didn't make any difference if they withdrew it because they probably meant it in the first place. People

¹Brady, T., *op. cit.*, p. 84.
here felt that they didn't have any business signing it in the first place."\(^3\) The boycott that was imposed on the signers of the petition was so effective that it forced all of them out of town. The signers lost their jobs, their credit, their stores, homes and were bodily threatened if they failed to get out of Yazoo City.

Negroes have not been the only ones intimidated by the use of boycotts and economic chastisement. The first story of pressure on whites appeared on September 29, 1955, in a United Press story from Tchula, Mississippi, a small community in Holmes County. It read:

A crowd of 700 white men and women crammed into a high school gymnasium Tuesday night adopted a resolution expressing the community's "opinion that Dr. D. R. Minter and A. E. Cox cooperative farm manager, should move from this heavily Negro-populated area."\(^4\)

Cox was the manager of the Providence Cooperative Farm where Minter lived and ran a low-cost clinic whose patients were mostly Negroes. Both were Southern-born and educated. Holmes County residents had long been suspicious of the activities of the two men, feeling vaguely that they were "socialistic," but until now there had been no direct action

\(^3\)Halberstam, D. H., op. cit.
\(^4\)Carter III, op. cit., p. 49.
taken against them. At the mass meeting they were accused of fostering "certain practices" which were contrary to the laws and mores of the state. Specifically, they were accused of promoting interracial swimming on their farm and of conducting mixed classes in which they advocated integration. Both men explicitly denied all the charges but to little avail.\(^5\) They were forced out of the state as a result of this action on the part of the Council.

One white person in Mississippi has had the nerve not only to stand up to the Citizens Council but openly to defy them. P. D. East, the editor of the Petal Papers, a tiny weekly in the small town of Petal, Mississippi, has yet to be forced out by the Council. East was subjected to a boycott set up by the Council and has stated that his paper now has the lowest circulation in its home community of any in the world that could still continue to publish, thanks primarily to out-of-state readers and advertisers.\(^6\)

East wrote of the Council that:

> Like prostitution, bigotry and intolerance must be a high profit business — else there wouldn't be so much of it.

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\(^5\) Carter, *op. cit.*

\(^6\) East, P. D., *Harpers* CCXIX, January, 1959, p. 36.
I am curious to know which minister is going to bless the organizational meeting of the Citizens Clan next Thursday night.\footnote{Petal Papers, March 15, 1956.}

Another attempt at forcing conformity within the white community centered around the case of Hodding Carter and his paper, the Delta Democrat-Times. After the Council had forced by the threat of an economic boycott the cancellation of a "mixed" baseball game in Greenville, Mississippi, Carter began his protestations. During 1955 Carter attacked the Council at every opportunity. On March 7, 1955, an article written by Carter appeared in Look magazine. This article, entitled, "A Wave of Terror Threatens the South," reviewed the history of the Council in a most unfavorable light.

On April 1, 1955, the House of Representatives of Mississippi, by a vote of 89–19, censured Carter for lying about the state and the activities of the Councils, and for "selling out the state for Yankee gold."\footnote{Jackson Daily News, April 1, 1955.} The day after the censure Carter wrote an editorial suggesting "that all those who had voted for the resolution of censure 'go to hell and wait there for me to back down' and implying that the main reason the resolution had been passed was that the Council had a voting
membership of 60,000 while he had only one vote."\(^9\)

After the editorial the Council began to threaten Greenville merchants with economic boycotts if they continued to advertise in the Delta-Democrat Times. "Several of the merchants did temporarily cut down on their advertising and some subscriptions were cancelled, particularly in the rural areas, but overall the paper suffered little sustained loss."\(^10\)

Another attempt was made to force two newspapers, the Lexington Advertiser and the Durant News, owned by Mrs. Hazel Brannon Smith out of business. In late 1954, Mrs. Smith was found "guilty" by a county jury of writing a "false" account of the shooting of a Negro by the sheriff and fined $10,000. One of the defense witnesses, Dr. David Minter, recalled that "as a part of the pre-trial campaign to discredit me as a witness, there were many rumors spread all over the county that I was a Communist, that I was heading a spy ring and holding secret meetings, that I was distributing Communist literature...."\(^11\)

Press boycotts appear to have failed in Mississippi. The facts show that the Citizens Council have been unable to force certain leading newspapers in the state to reverse their policies or retract statements. Most

\(^10\)Ibid., p. 149.
\(^11\)Ibid.
of these newspapers have had resources from outside of the state or else they are, as in the case of Hodding Carter and the Delta Democrat Times, among the most respected papers in the state. Carter's paper has the largest circulation in Greenville, Mississippi and although a boycott of it was urged by the Council it proved ineffective because those advertisers that should have refused to continue placing ads in the paper because of their Council membership refused to do so. This is a good example of the fact that the Southerner is still more interested in his business and his profits than in the actual fight over segregation. As long as the battle over integration is kept out of the field of business and profits are not threatened, then the businessmen will support the system of white supremacy. As long as the Negro can be kept in near chattel slavery all is well. But allow business to be disrupted and profits to be lost, then a change must come. The businessmen have stayed within the Council so far and retaliated to pressure with violence and screams of threatened socialism. It will be interesting to note the effect of sustained boycotts and pressure from the Negro community on these men in the future.

The first activity of the Mississippi Council in boycotting a national concerns product took place in 1955 and involved the Falstaff Brewing Company. This boycott had its origin in a story published in the October, 1955 newsletter of the National Citizens Protective Association, The White
Sentinel. The story is headed "Falstaff Brewery supports anti-white drive -- gives $500.00 to become a life member of NAACP." The article goes on to say:

Falstaff has breweries in St. Louis, Omaha, New Orleans, Fort Wayne, Ind. and San Jose, Calif. It covers the Midwest and is one of the most popular beers in Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Western Kentucky, Southern Illinois and Western Tennessee. Evidently because of its control of the press through its huge advertising budget, Falstaff felt free to plunge a knife in the back of the White citizens by its support of the NAACP. But the White Sentinel accepts no advertising and is not controlled by Falstaff Brewery.

When you purchase Falstaff Beer you aid your enemies. Since the Falstaff Brewing Corp. has seen fit to support the conspiracy against White Citizens of America by its money and life membership in the NAACP, when you drink Falstaff Beer, you are aiding the integration and mongrelization of America.

The boycott instituted by the White Sentinel was joined by the Mississippi Council when it sent out reprints of the White Sentinel to all its members. Following the start of the boycott there was a depreciable drop in Falstaff sales. According to the Wall Street Journal, "at the height of the controversy, Falstaff Brewing Company flew a vice-president to Jackson, Mississippi, to explain publicly the company's position, and to

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13 Ibid.
confer with officials of the segregationist Citizens Council."\textsuperscript{14} The Falstaff official also came with a check in his pocket for $50,000, so related Judge Tom Brady, to 'buy off' the alleged Council boycott.\textsuperscript{15} The executive committee rejected the check and disclaimed all responsibility for the boycott, but suggested that perhaps a public statement disavowing any support for the NAACP might do much to calm the situation.

On November 29, 1955, the Falstaff Brewing Company sent a letter to the NAACP in New York stating in part that:

\begin{quotation}
It has always been the policy of this corporation not to participate in controversial organizations and neither the Presidency nor the Board of Directors of Falstaff Brewing Corporation has ever authorized its membership or participation in your organization. In line with that policy they do not wish to nor did they ever authorize this corporation to espouse any of the controversial policies or aims of your organization.

In view of the above, this corporation disclaims membership in your association and asks that your interpretation of such be cancelled immediately, and that the name of Falstaff Brewing Corporation be removed from your rolls.\textsuperscript{16}
\end{quotation}

\textsuperscript{14}\textit{Wall Street Journal}, February 16, 1957.
\textsuperscript{15}\textit{Carter III, \textit{op. cit.}}, p. 150.
\textsuperscript{16}\textit{The White Sentinel}, December, 1955.
The *White Sentinel* responded to this letter by stating:

If Falstaff made a 'contribution for a membership for a Negro salesman,' and the NAACP listed the brewery instead, then Falstaff should sue the NAACP for *defamation* of character ... In any event, Falstaff has cancelled its membership and, in a sense, repudiated any support of the NAACP's aims.

By uniting our efforts, millions of people are aware of Falstaff's actions. The result was that large numbers of people stopped drinking Falstaff and many restaurants, cafes, taverns, and package stores discontinued handling it. Falstaff sales dropped sharply and the company realized that it could not sell beer by aiding the enemies of the White Race. We will continue to expose any other firm that gives aid and comfort to the race-mixing cause.17

Following the Falstaff incident the Mississippi Council, with the help of the *White Sentinel* took on the Philco Corporation and Phillip Morris cigarettes. Philco, manufacturer of radio and television sets and other household appliances, was put under fire because of a television program it sponsored on October 2, 1955. The program, "TV Playhouse," starred Sidney Poitier, a Negro actor, and Hilda Simms, a Negro actress, in a play called *A Man is Ten Feet Tall*. Poitier and Miss Simms were cast in the play as man and wife. The *White Sentinel* stated that "with her (Miss Simms') heavy make-up under the bright lights, most viewers

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took her to be white and Philco was deluged with indignant letters.\textsuperscript{18} William Wight, Philco Public Relations Director, said "the 'deluge' consisted of two hundred letters, ninety-five per cent of them from Mississippi."\textsuperscript{19} Wight also said that he explained the whole matter to Ellis Wright, the President of the Jackson Citizens Council, and that Wright explained it to the Council. Wight then added laughingly, "they told us they did not think we deserved any censure at all - and to be more careful in the future."\textsuperscript{20}

After Philco the wrath of the Council fell on Philip Morris. The White Sentinel reported that "again this year (1955), as it has each year in the past, Philip Morris presented its annual check to the National Urban League."\textsuperscript{21}

Philip Morris has the worst record in the tobacco industry for hiring negroes in preference to Whites. It brought about the hiring of the first negro salesman in the industry and now has negroes in important executive positions. By using Philip

\textsuperscript{18} The White Sentinel, op. cit.
\textsuperscript{20} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{21} The White Sentinel, November, 1955.
Morris as an example, the Urban League has been able to force other tobacco companies to hire negro salesmen, etc., though they would rather have hired Whites. Philip Morris was used as a lever in other major industries.\textsuperscript{22}

George Weissman, Philip Morris' Director of Public Relations, made this reply: "We are in the business of selling cigarettes - and not anything else, and we are going to continue our policies and continue to sell cigarettes."\textsuperscript{23} He then went on to declare in no uncertain terms that "we make no bones about the fact that we have a good record of employing Negroes - and we aren't going to backtrack."\textsuperscript{24} Weissman said that there was no evidence that the attacks had hurt Philip Morris' business because "South-wide and country-wide our sales are up for the past six months."\textsuperscript{25}

The Ford Motor Company also was attacked for a brief period. In the\textit{Augusta Courier} of December 5, 1955, mailed out from Greenwood, an ad appeared stating, "Buy a Ford and Help Destroy Segregation in the South and Help Communize America."\textsuperscript{26} This action never received the support of the other national boycotts and so had no effect. A balance

\textsuperscript{22}\textit{The White Sentinel}, op. cit. It should be noted that in the\textit{New York Times} of January 17, 1960, President Eisenhower said of the Urban League: "As the National Urban League champions the cause of equal opportunity, it renders a splendid service to our people and to the hope of freedom around the world."

\textsuperscript{23}\textit{Rowan}, C., \textit{op. cit.}, p. 195.

\textsuperscript{24}\textit{Ibid.}

\textsuperscript{25}\textit{Ibid.}

\textsuperscript{26}\textit{Augusta Courier}, December 5, 1955.
sheet would then show that the only product actually forced to compromise with the Council was Falstaff. As a method of coercion, the boycotting of national products has not produced the desired results for the Council.

The first case of overt violence in Mississippi following the Supreme Court decision came with the murder of Emmett Till. On April 22, 1955, Fredrick Sullens, editor of the Jackson, Mississippi, Daily News, a Council member and one of their leading spokesmen, spoke before the American Society of Newspaper Editors. In his speech he told them that: "Mississippi will not obey the decisions. If any effort is made to send Negroes to school with white children, there will be bloodshed. The stain of that bloodshed will be on the Supreme Court steps."²⁷

This was the climate in which such an act of brutality could take place. A fourteen-year old boy, Emmett Till, had come to Money, Mississippi to visit his grand-uncle, a grey-haired, share-cropper and an ordained minister in the Holiness Church.²⁸ Because Emmett had the nerve to talk to the white wife of one of the men in Money he was brutally murdered. The law officials of the state finally arrested the two killers

²⁸Rowan, C., op. cit., p. 41.
J. W. Milam and Roy Bryant, who owned the store where the purported comments took place. A trial was finally held in Greenwood, Mississippi while the national guard and sheriff's deputies milled around the courthouse.

After deliberating one hour and seven minutes, the jury declared Milam and Bryant not guilty. While the people of Mississippi now try to forget the case of Emmett Till, the Negro will not allow his memory to be forgotten. Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of the NAACP, charged that Mississippi "has decided to maintain white supremacy by murdering children."29 He said that "the killers of the boy felt free to lynch him because there is in the entire state no restraining influence of decency, not in the state capitol, among the daily newspapers, the clergy nor any segment of the so-called better citizens."30

Today, Emmett Till lies not quite forgotten in a cemetery in Chicago. And J. W. Milam and Roy Bryant have faded back into obscurity and degredation of the Mississippi Delta. Outside, however, the so-called 'moderates' and 'good people' are still trying to find peace with their consciences and their God by kicking the NAACP in the teeth. But with every kick, the cries of bitter pain are the cries of Uncle Sam. Indeed,

29 Rowan, C., op. cit.
30 Ibid.
it is as William Faulkner, the Nobel Prize-winning author, said when asked on a European visit to comment upon the wave of indignation resulting from the Till murder: 'Perhaps the purpose of this story and tragic error committed in my native Mississippi ... is to prove to us whether or not we deserve to survive.'

The next two acts of violence committed by the Mississippi Citizens Councils took place in Belzoni, Mississippi. Gus Courts, a Negro grocer in Belzoni, was forced by the Citizens Council to vacate his building after he refused to withdraw his name from the rolls of registered voters. The Council denied all responsibility in this case and C. I. Puckett, the secretary of the Humphreys County Citizens Council, was quoted as saying that "the Council was not involved, and that the eviction was ordered only because the grocer, Gus Courts, wasn't paying his rent regularly."  

Courts disagrees with the statement of Puckett. His story was that he was forced from the building because he intended to vote, for the first time in his life. After he was evicted, he said, he was shown a list of the county's "95 Negroes who were still on the vote rolls and told that they were all going to lose their jobs just as he had lost his store if

\[\text{\textsuperscript{31}}\text{Rowan, C., op. cit.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{32}}\text{Carter III, op. cit., p. 114.}\]
they didn't withdraw their names." According to Courts, the president of Belzoni's Guaranty Bank and Trust, who claimed to speak for the Citizens Council, warned him that "if you don't back down, we'll force you out of business." 

Gus Courts did vote and was subsequently threatened with death for his action.

About three days later, on Friday, November 25, I was standing in my store making change for a customer. Suddenly a gun fired. The woman buying groceries ran out of the door. She ran back in screaming: "Mr. Courts, them's white people out there shooting. Mr. Courts, Mr. Courts, ain't you shot?"

I looked down and, Lord help me, my arm and my stomach was a bleeding.

The next action centered around what the New York Times referred to as a "frightening disrespect for law." On May 8, 1955, the Reverend George Lee, a Negro minister in Belzoni, who along with Courts had been one of the leaders in registering to vote, was shot to death while driving his car in Belzoni.

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33 Carter III, op. cit.
34 Ibid.
35 Rowan, C., op. cit.
"The local sheriff and other law enforcement officers took ten days to determine the cause of death, there being some inclination at first to believe that the particles found in his mouth and face were fillings from his teeth and not lead from a bullet."\(^{37}\) Of course, the case went unsolved and the Citizens Councils claimed complete ignorance of the murder. Again the Mississippi Council, if it was not directly responsible and may not have advocated violence, has helped create an atmosphere where violence is immanent.\(^{38}\)

The most recent case of violence that can be attributed to the Mississippi White Citizens Council was the murder of Mack Charles Parker in 1959. Although violence continued to dominate the scene in Mississippi, the case of Parker gained the same national and international attention as the case of Emmett Till. The press took the fullest interest in the Parker case as it had in the Till affair. Many people and groups used this case to their fullest advantage in showing the lawlessness and brutality that reigns in Mississippi.\(^{39}\)


\(^{38}\)Martin, J. B., \textit{op. cit.}, July 6, 1957, p. 86.

\(^{39}\)For example, an article by Art Shields in \textit{The Worker} stated that: "Mississippi's 478th recorded lynching was one of its foulest and bloodiest. 'I reckon Parker spilled a gallon of blood,' a cynical court hanger-on told me as I followed the trail the white-gloved, hooded-killers had taken down the jailhouse stairs and through the courthouse hall of the late Sen. Theodore Bilbo's home town."
Parker was in jail awaiting trial concerning a rape case in which, as usual, the accused was a Negro. The disquieting element in the case is the fact that little, if any, actual evidence was available. The woman, who was supposedly raped, could only say that she "wasn't positive it was him, but it looked like him."  

40 R. L. McLendon, a Baptist leader said, "but how many innocent men have been lynched because they said that some colored man 'looked like' another colored man."  

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Mack Parker was dragged from his jail cell in Poplarville and brutally lynched by a group of vigilantes. The government entered the case and the FBI located the guilty parties and turned this information over to two grand juries. Each, in turn, refused to accept the evidence, and the killers went free and will remain so. The same comment made by a Council leader after the killing of Emmett Till holds true here. "After the Till case the tension died down in Mississippi. No more threats, no more feeling that you couldn't let your wife go out alone at night."  

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40 An article by Art Shields, op. cit.
41 Ibid.
42 Martin, J. B., op. cit., June 15, 1957, p. 73.
Along with the violence and economic boycotts the Mississippi Council has attempted to work through political influence. Although the Council denies it is interested in politics, its record will again demonstrate otherwise.

The Mississippi Council was formed with a committee of Political and Elections whose function was to study:

Candidates for local and state elections and present their qualifications to the voters. It attempts to get candidates to voice their opinions on vital subjects prior to the election. It can reach each voter personally to present the truth on all matters to the people. It is our belief that an interested, informed people who vote intelligently is the only means we have of perpetuating our constitutional democracy. 43

In September of 1954, Wilma Sledge, a State Representative, said on the floor of the Mississippi House, that "it is not the intent or purpose of the Citizens Councils to be used as a political machine." 44 Rather than becoming a mere pressure group, the Council has progressed into something akin to a new "Know-Nothing" party. Some Council leaders see the Council's future as a political one but "organizations

43 The Citizens Council, op. cit., p. 3.
44 Carter III, op. cit., p. 49.
built around a single issue often become a cropper when they try to widen their field. 45 The biggest question is what will be gained if the Councils go into politics and win. What program can they develop beyond maintaining the status quo? "Southern legislatures have already enacted every imaginable statute to maintain segregation. All Deep South governors are solid segregationists. So is virtually all the entire Southern delegation in Washington. 46"

The Citizens Councils of Mississippi took up their role as a political pressure group as soon as they had become a viable organiza-
tion. Their record as a political force has not been a notable one. The Council entered the gubernatorial fight in the summer of 1955. Five candidates who were, as seems traditional in Mississippi, vying as to who had the best record concerning segregation, were on the ballot in the Democratic primary. 47 All five of the candidates, except J. B. Coleman, praised the Council in local speeches. Coleman failed to give the Council his support during all of the campaign and was not backed by the Council when he entered the "run-off" election.

46 Ibid.
47 One of the five candidates was a woman, Mary Cain. She is the editor of The Summit Sun and wrote in her column of June 20, 1957, that the people who voted in the Civil Rights Bill of 1957 had "as much intelligence as God gave to Mongolian idiots."
In the "run-off" Coleman was opposed by Paul Johnson. Johnson made a direct bid for the Council vote when he said that the Councils were made of "fine Mississippians who had banded together to maintain segregation because they felt the governor and state leadership were too weak to deal with the situation."\textsuperscript{48} Johnson also implied Coleman, if elected, could not fill the hopes of the Citizens Council rank and file over the segregation controversy.

Although no candidate was endorsed by the State Executive Committee of the Council, there is little doubt that the Council backed Johnson. In a record turnout, Johnson lost the election to Coleman. This loss embittered the Council against Coleman and in May of 1957 a fight between Coleman and the Council broke out over a proposed Veterans' hospital in Jackson.

This controversy came about as a result of the State Sovereignty Commission's meeting in which it was decided by a vote of seven to one (the one dissenter being State Senator Earl Evans, an arch foe of Coleman and a Council supporter) to recommend that the State Building Commission proceed with plans to give the federal government land for

\textsuperscript{48}Carter III, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 54.
a new Veterans' Administration hospital which would be operated on a non-segregated basis. Coleman, as chairman of the commission, was not able to vote but suggested that he be put on record as favoring the motion. Evans protested that the Commission was "created for the purpose of maintaining segregation, and now we are becoming a party to creating integration."49

The Citizens Council protested editorially against any such action. The State Executive Committee of the Council then adopted a resolution stating that Veterans' Administration hospital integration was harmful "psychologically" to the "physically helpless war veterans" being treated in it. The executive board petitioned Congress "to cause veterans' hospitals to be operated in conformity with the customs, traditions and laws of the states wherein they are operated."50

On May 8, 1957, the Jackson Daily News ran an editorial entitled "Munich Day in Mississippi."

The law of Mississippi is segregation. It is the duty of the elected officials of this state to quit jogging the pogo stick on warm sands of political expediency to nibble at Federal money.

49 Carter III, op. cit., p. 87.
50 The Citizens Council, June, 1957.
Now that Mississippi has surrendered to integration (for the moment adults only - will children come later?) this expense can be terminated immediately. If its publicity instead of principles this state wants, then we're loaded with 'liberal' love from May 7 hence. 51

The Commission finally cleared the way for the erection of the new integrated hospital, and it became a dead issue as far as the state administration was concerned. However, as late as January, 1958, The Citizens Council was still suggesting that a bill should be introduced in Congress to outlaw integrated federal facilities where the mores of the state opposed them. When such a bill finally did appear in the House of Representatives it was quietly referred to committee and left there to die.

The Council continued to harass the Coleman administration throughout its term of office. The time the forces came together was during the Little Rock controversy, when most everyone in Mississippi was united in opposition to the Federal government. The spector of Reconstruction was raised and many white citizens fell in behind the lead of the Council.

The Mississippi Citizens Council has attempted to force its way on almost every segment of the Mississippi populace. From the governor to the individual citizen the Council has exerted an influence to retain what is believed to be the status-quo. Its influence varies from situation to situation but all in all the heavy hand of the Council is felt throughout Mississippi.
CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

... The great advantage of the Americans is that they have arrived at a state of democracy without having to endure a democratic revolution; and that they are born equal, instead of becoming so....

Alexis D. Touqueville

The White Citizens Council stands tentatively in dominant control over the majority of the white community in Mississippi. Its record to date has been one of impressive successes interrupted only infrequently by temporary setbacks, and there is no apparent reason for expecting this course of events to be altered in the near future. It has the paid allegiance of perhaps 80,000 Mississippi white and the support of many thousands more. Those actions in which it most openly indulges are approved, at least in aim, by the majority of the white population of the state. Those actions in which indulges undercover (threats, beatings, murder) while not approved by all the white population of Mississippi are at least sanctioned by a large enough majority of the citizenry to allow the Council to continue them.

The White Citizens Council has closely aligned itself with many ultra-patriotic and right-wing organizations, and in doing this it has attempted to magnify its supposed "American" character. The Mississippi
Council has supported almost any organization that appeared as if it might lend its activities to the segregationist cause. In its Fourth Annual Report of July, 1958, it asked all individuals to "join organizations dedicated to constitutional government and racial integrity such as the Citizens Council."

Bill Simmons explained this attempt at broadening the Council's base when he stated that:

The Citizens Councils are not just a pro-segregation movement. They represent the substantial beginnings of a fundamental conservative revolt. The thousands of men who have given unstintingly of their time and substance are moved by a deep unrest that has been growing for the past 25 years . . .

The Citizens Councils are not just a sectional Southern movement. It is significant, to name one instance, that we find ourselves working side by side with other patriotic groups in the North, to defend the Walter-McCarran Immigration Act from heavy attack by the Communists and their allies.

The Citizens Councils, as you have seen, are not just an extreme minority. They represent the broad stream of thought and attitude of our section.1

While the Council has achieved an impressive array of achievements much of the victory may prove ultimately to be a surface one. While the

1Carter III, op. cit., p. 95.
Council has succeeded in forcing most white men into conforming to a mold advocated by the Council, it has failed to keep the voices demanding a change silenced. Hodding Carter and P. D. East still write in Mississippi and while neither may be considered as favoring total change in southern ways, their activities prove that the Council has not succeeded in silencing all opposition. It may also appear that the White Citizens Council has stifled the threats of discontent in the Negro community. The threats of boycotts, mass firings, beatings and death obviously have had a sobering effect on the Negro but it should never be forgotten that if Negroes will face up to machine guns in South Africa the day will come when they will face up to racists in Mississippi. The Citizens Council has attempted to convince people that the South will never be integrated. Carl Rowan asks those that believe this if they have weighed the "ultimate question of whether all Klansmen and the White Citizens Councils together are as strong as 'the spirit of Bandung', the spirit of revolt that is welling up inside colored men everywhere."2

The White Citizens Council has not gained the position of prominence that many of its members had hoped for. The Council has failed to effectively boycott any national product. The Council has failed to force

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businessmen in Mississippi to reduce their profits appreciably by joining boycotts. The Council obviously does not have the control over the state it desires. Voices of dissent have not been quieted and Negroes are beginning to look to the federal government for help in their plight of not being permitted to cast their vote.

The Citizens Council has retained the support of most of the nation's anti-Semitic and new-fascist groups by its extreme anti-Communist position. In return for the support of these groups and because of the need for a real villain in the integration controversy the Council has made a near fetish of "red baiting" and has become obsessed with the so-called communist conspiracy. Conditions have begun to resemble those in South Africa when anyone opposing racial discrimination is thereby guilty of propagating Communism and liable to prosecution.³

Among the conclusions that can be drawn for this study of the Mississippi Council are the following: (1) Mississippi has not yet embraced democracy as the term is generally defined by Americans outside of the South. (2) Many white Mississippians still accept a racism

which, in its most extreme forms, approaches that of Hitler and the Nazis. (3) The Council has attempted to convince its followers that integration will lead to amalgamation of the races, destruction of the white race and some type of revolutionary government, from the "left" of the political spectrum, ruling the country. (4) The chief oppressor of the Negro people in Mississippi is the White Citizens Council, and the primary beneficiaries of any oppression are the very men who run the Council. The writer has attempted to show the predominant and vital role played by these leaders - men like Lawrence, Brady, and Simmons. It is mainly into their pockets that any profits flow as a consequence of this exploitation of Negro factory and farm workers. (5) Logical inconsistency is the most striking characteristic of the many statements made in defense of racial segregation. The foregoing pages have made this manifestly clear. But then who is logical or truthful or intelligent when it comes to the question of racial superiority? Adolph Hitler, Senator Bilbo, John Kasper and Prime Minister Verwoerd and their like are proof that logic really doesn't matter. (6) It is the domination by the Council and its leaders of the cultural and social customs of the South that is strengthened by the prevalence of a far-reaching system of social indignity and abuse ranging from the customary exclusion of Negroes from tax-supported
public facilities to the barbarous crime of lynching.

The Negro will not be denied his place in society. The Negro has begun to take the fight to the white man. He has begun to "sit in" and sooner or later he will not sit any place but "in" - in the same place that the white man now holds. The Negro will not be held down by the Council or any other racist group seeking to deny him his full rights in the United States. The Council will learn, unfortunately too late, that the repression of a minority is an arduous task and in a democracy such as ours it becomes an impossible task.

Ultimately the White Citizens Councils must fail. The tides of Negro independence that have swept through Africa have reached the United States and will not be stopped. The Citizens Council movement is a negative one and is based on little more than fear, bigotry and violence. Repression of the Negro becomes a more impossible task yearly. The Citizens Council may have the upper hand in Mississippi today but soon the inevitability of change will force them to comply with the standards of decency and democracy, or else they will be destroyed.
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