

## The Southern Tradition Baying: Race, Religion, and Rhetorical Redoubts

Lindsley Armstrong Smith

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Our national conversation on race has always struggled to reconcile and resolve the visible markers of class and culture, and that divide continues to concern citizens and scholars. Contemporary challenges can be informed by better understanding the rhetorical conflicts of the past. Fifty years ago, the Citizens' Council, also known as "The White Citizens' Council" and "the hoodless Klan," offered the strongest organized opposition to *Brown v. Board of Education* and other principles of racial desegregation. The Council began as a small group of 14 men and quickly grew to an organization that boasted tens of thousands of influential political and business leaders who effectively provided a visual and rhetorical image of legitimacy to the ideology of white supremacy for a regional audience. During the decade from 1954 to 1964, the Council won many converts to its message of upholding white Southern traditions, power, and customs in a segregated South. The Council's most effective medium for recruiting members and providing arguments against desegregation efforts was the Council's newspaper, *The Citizens' Council*, and its journal, *The Citizen*. This essay examines the topoi and public arguments of the Citizens' Council through a rhetorical analysis of the manifest content of the complete collection of this newspaper and journal from the first issue in 1955 until the passing of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, when the power of the Council waned. These Council publications represent the ideology and public arguments premised on Biblical injunctions and the battle against Communism in an attempt to resist and redefine the constitutional culture of our nation. Understanding the reasons for the temporary successes and ultimate failure of that effort to prevail in the last century can guide current communicative efforts to resist its revival in the contemporary political environment.

Perhaps no issue better exemplifies our efforts at “Negotiating the Great Divide” in American political culture than our desire to resolve that constant rhetorical tension at the intersection of race and religion in our political discourse. The Framers struggled with the [nuances](#) of establishment and free exercise of religion, as well as the questions about [importation](#) of slaves and their enumeration for [representation](#) in the new republic. While the latter issues were formally settled during the crucible of the constitutional conflict during the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, the praxis of race and religion remained contested and continued to be central in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. Martin Luther King, Jr. drew upon religious tenets to confront the racism embedded in American political practices, and his 1964 [speech](#), commonly referred to as the “I Have a Dream” speech, was ranked by communication scholars as the [most important](#) of that century in terms of rhetorical artistry and historical impact. In the 2008 United States presidential campaign, now more than two centuries after the forging of the Constitution, the most remarkable [speech](#) of that contest was delivered at the Constitution Center in Philadelphia by Barak Obama, an African-American seeking the presidency and confronting the demands that he address that distinctive conflation of race and religion entangled in the public sphere.

Most Americans today embrace, or at least accept, the political dream articulated in [Brown v. Board of Education](#), the [Civil Rights Act of 1964](#), and the [Voting Rights Act of 1965](#); however, the citizens’ constitutional chorus has not been as consistent nor as uncontested as one might conclude from the above examples. We can learn from these discordant voices as well, especially the organized resistance that constructed and communicated a different rhetorical reality. Perhaps no group better exemplifies that phenomenon than the [Citizens’ Council](#).

Only two months after the May 1954 United States Supreme Court decision in [Brown v. Board of Education](#), which declared unconstitutional segregated public schools, 14 men from Sunflower County, Mississippi, met at Indianola on July 11, 1954, and organized a resistance group that was to grow into the [Citizens' Council](#). These men "counseled together" on what they considered a terrible crisis precipitated by the United States Supreme Court's "Black Monday decision," their epithet for the opinion in *Brown v. Board of Education*.<sup>1</sup> The group was eventually known as the "White Citizens' Council," and sometimes referred to as the "hoodless Klansmen." It became the voice of Southern white resistance to integration during the ten years after *Brown* was decided. The Council recruited its membership from the white middle class and local leaders in business and politics, and it widely communicated its message through public speeches; pamphlets; its official newspaper, *The Citizens' Council*; and its official journal, *The Citizen*.

While the Citizens' Council lost the struggle to maintain legal segregation, the Council's ideas were not without consequences. It represented the primary rhetorical force that hindered the U.S. Supreme Court's mandate in *Brown* and hindered a national move to outlaw segregation. Most importantly, it provided segregationist leaders (local, state, and national) with a large support group for their actions to assure that segregation was secured. History and historians have celebrated the rhetorical and political losses of the Council, but, in doing so, there

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<sup>1</sup>Robert B. Patterson, "The Citizens' Council--A History," *The Citizen* (January, 1964), 4.

has been a decided tendency to merely discount the group and its vision as just another lost cause or to ignore its arguments altogether.

This essay examines the ideas and public arguments of the Citizens' Council through a rhetorical analysis of its official newspaper and journal. While I do find little of value in the Councils' positions, I contend that there is much value in studying and understanding its public discourse. The Citizens' Council is no longer a serious contributor to the national conversation, but the motives and fears that fueled the movement remain very much alive. Since the Citizens' Council once held considerable sway over the mind of the white South and various segments of the nation as a whole, it is important to understand how it reflected the concerns and shaped the attitudes of its audience. How did the Council present the appearance of reason in its argument for the logically unreasonable? How did it weave a narrative reality that supported its position and explained its enemies? Why was the Council so effective in shaping segregationist issues and advancing the debate? In short, what was the rhetoric of the White Citizens' Council?

The nature and operation of the Citizens' Council in Mississippi was first examined by Hodding Carter, III, in his 1959 book, *The South Strikes Back: The Citizens' Council in Mississippi Leads the Area-Wide Resistance to Integration*,<sup>2</sup> but he devoted scant attention to the religious arguments employed by the organization. The most comprehensive and authoritative study of the broader scope of the Citizens' Council is Neil R. McMillen's *The Citizens' Council: Organized Resistance to the Second Reconstruction, 1954-64*. McMillin does address the use of religious arguments about race and suggested that "prosegregation gatherings frequently exhibited all of the religiosity of old fashioned revival meetings." He also noted that three ordained ministers served on the 12-member editorial board for the Citizens' Council serial publications and found that much of the pamphlet literature "sought to establish the moral justice of segregation by reference to divine revelation."<sup>3</sup> Recent scholarship includes David Chappell's fine work, *A Stone of Hope: Prophetic Religion and the Death of Jim Crow*. He examines the confluence of religion and race on both sides of the Civil Rights Movement, but he devotes two chapters specifically to the southern white churches. Although he finds several prominent defenders of segregation among the white clergy, some quite outspoken, he argues that, generally, the southern white churches did not exhibit the same devotion to supporting segregation that their antebellum ancestors did in defending slavery.<sup>4</sup> What has not been adequately addressed in previous scholarship, what we do not know, and what this study will answer is how the Citizens' Council used its serial publications to support its political and constitutional arguments for segregation by invoking the cultural authority of the *Bible* and by attempting to infuse its own rhetorical identity with that of southern white Christians in the pulpits and pews.

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<sup>2</sup> Hodding Carter, III, *The South Strikes Back: The Citizens' Council in Mississippi Leads the Area-Wide Resistance to Integration* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1959).

<sup>3</sup> Neil R. McMillen, *The Citizens' Council: Organized Resistance to the Second Reconstruction* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971): 173-175.

<sup>4</sup> David L. Chappell, *A Stone of Hope: Prophetic Religion and the Death of Jim Crow* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004): 105-152.

To answer that question, the author offers a close reading and a critical examination of the manifest content of the complete collection of *The Citizens' Council* from the first issue in October, 1955, until this newspaper became *The Citizen*, the Council's journal, in 1961, and the entire collection of *The Citizen* from 1961 through the successful enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. These publications of the Council represent the ideology and public arguments of the Council as well as the refutations of their opponents' arguments during the Council's most active and most influential decade. The interpretative framework relies on the leading contemporaneous sources of rhetorical criticism to keep the arguments in temporal context. Drawing on the rhetorical theories of Richard Weaver, the author examines the use of language and the "ultimate terms" in the Council's public rhetorical themes, and using the analytic framework of Stephen Toulmin,<sup>5</sup> the author reconstructs and evaluates the nature of the Council's arguments. Specifically, this article used Weaver's methodology to examine the principal themes within Council discourse. Weaver's *The Ethics of Rhetoric*<sup>6</sup> provides a specific discussion of god and devil terms that are relevant to the 1954-1964 period of the Council's rhetorical success. Weaver was also a scholar of Southern Culture as well as a rhetorician, and his views on Southern culture were cited in one of the Council's publications. Toulmin's structural analysis of argument proved helpful to critically examine the nature of the evidence and warrants used to support the claims and conclusions advanced by the association. Toulmin provides a useful analytical structure for examining the elements in the simplistic arguments voiced by the Council. Examining the rhetoric of the Citizens' Council in this manner best demonstrated the stance of the Council and the methods by which it sustained its membership through a decade of political defeat, as well as providing insights about the audiences with which they were successful.

### **Council Membership and Ideology**

The Citizens' Council was the perfect symbol of a "radical right" organization. The Council was a highly organized political unit that depended on tough organization within the states and among the states to strengthen its efforts. One important membership goal was to increase the number of independent, yet affiliated, local Citizens' Council chapters, recruiting many of its members from the John Burch Society, radical right Christian organizations, and anti-communist militants. The Council chapters were also effective in garnering membership from influential political leaders bent on upholding segregation at all costs. Fundamentally, the Citizens' Council actually existed in the form of Citizens' Council chapters located in several cities of several states. Through the use of rhetorical tactics, statistics, expert opinion, and Biblical scripture, the Council informed themselves and their sympathetic audiences about race differences between blacks and whites, ultimately claiming to demonstrate the superiority of the white over the black race.

*The Citizens' Council*, the primary rhetorical tool of the Council, was a newspaper that began October, 1955, with a Council emblem stating "State Rights" and a masthead stating: "*The Citizens' Council*: Dedicated to the maintenance of peace, good order and domestic tranquility

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<sup>5</sup> Stephen Toulmin, *The Uses of Argument* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958).

<sup>6</sup> Richard M. Weaver, *The Ethics of Rhetoric* (Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1953).

in our Community and in our State and to the preservation of our States' Rights." The Council used this "official paper of the Citizens' Councils" as the main form of disseminating information throughout Mississippi, with the purpose of increasing Council membership during its embryonic period in that state. The Council's primary goal was to undermine the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision with three arguments: attacking the Constitutionality of the decision, applying Christian principals to demonstrate the incorrectness of the decision, and showing that the Supreme Court decision encouraged the threat of Communistic annihilation.

This newspaper was provided "free" to Council members by allotting two dollars out of the members' five dollar membership fee. Although the official paper started as a newspaper for Mississippians, the Council touted the paper as one that applied to other states and the public at large. The first volume of the paper also began an assault on the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (N.A.A.C.P.) by attacking the group's actions and ideologies and addressing the N.A.A.C.P. as an un-American group—a theme carried out throughout the next decade of Council publications. The newspaper expanded rapidly, and by November of 1956, circulation of the official paper was at 40,000 nationwide.<sup>7</sup> Around the latter part of 1956, the official paper took its popularity for a spin, beginning to take on a more persuasive tone in its articles, instead of the earlier approach that took on an appearance of objective reporting on issues of Council concern. The paper also began using the word "facts" more frequently as it increased its emotive appeals, as well as making repeated attempts to establish the differentiation of whites as good, blacks as evil.

In 1961, the official paper advanced to become the official journal, *The Citizen*. Compared to this professionally created journal, the official newspaper was a moderately successful propaganda tool used to gain membership and create increased interest in States' Rights and racial integrity. Where the newspaper had reserved blatant persuasive messages and name calling for editorial remarks, the journal consisted of articles from a variety of individuals, particularly Council members, who used a wide variety of tactics such as labeling, name calling, and attacking their opponents. Where the newspaper established the necessary footing for the rhetorical game, the journal took the ball and ran with it. The journal was overtly persuasive, flashy in style, and revealed the names and faces of state and national leaders who were Council members to boost its credibility.

The journal helped foster the Council's idea that it is not only good to be a member of the Citizens' Council, it is the right and popular thing to do. Being a part of the Council became a badge of prestige to Council members. Members were treated as, and believed that they were, equal with the economic and political powerhouses of their states. And with a strong Council idea that you are either with them or against them, economic stability for Southern businessmen became dependent on either membership or some respect linked to the Council.

The Council's organization divided into four committees: Information and Education, Political and Election, Membership and Finance, and Legal Advisory. Some of the South's best writers and publicists, politicians, bankers, accountants, lawyers, and judges made up membership in the Council and leadership on these four committees. The Council boasted that

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<sup>7</sup>"Blueprint For Victory Is Mapped At National Rally," *The Citizens' Council* (November, 1956), 1.

membership in the Council was reserved for "all patriotic white citizens."<sup>8</sup> Members sought to maintain or create white and state pride, loyalty to white blood, the preservation of racial segregation, racial pride, and the repeal of the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision. The Council feared the threat, or at least professed the great threat, of the extinction of race distinctions. It fought race mixing which would, in their view, lead toward the mongrelization of Americans, and thus the destruction of America. Council rhetoric suggested the Constitutional and Christian imperatives of maintaining integrated communities--for the Council preached that those who were against segregation were not only "the enemy," but they were constitutionally wrong, un-Christian, un-American, and most likely Communist.

Authors of both Council publications gave African-Americans little intellectual credit; for in order to maintain the conclusion that whites were superior over blacks, the Council had to maintain the premises that the black man is inferior to the white man. Carleton Putnam offered such an example of discounting the black man's intelligence: "I indict the men who have fooled and goaded the Negro--the men who have made it necessary for the rest of us to point out truths which the Negro might otherwise have been spared the telling!"<sup>9</sup> This author attacked integrationist organizations and implied that African-Americans would not know what terrible situation they were in if it were not for others informing them. The Council believed, at least its rhetoric claimed, that it was "protecting" both races with its ideology.

The first issue of the official paper stated that the Council was aiming to protect the separation of races from the N.A.A.C.P. and the federal government that were set on destruction of segregation. The Council ran a lead story stating the purpose of the Council was to "guard both whites and Negroes, . . . preserve separation of the races against assaults from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, . . . [and] protect the rank and file of Negroes from the wrath of ruffian white people who may resort to violence." The Council announced that acts of coercion or violence demonstrated by segregationists was on the part of individual, rather than group, action, and the Council openly denounced violence and violent groups such as the Ku Klux Klan.<sup>10</sup> Gradually, the Council sought to demonstrate that integration of schools was not working, that violence was increasing, and that black students could just not keep up with white students.<sup>11</sup>

Unity for strength of cause was encouraged among the local chapters by the Council. Although the Council existed as a unit, the "Council" was largely made up of individual chapters. The Council as an integrated national unit respected states' rights and strongly supported the individual chapters of its organization to advance their messages. The Council used its official publications and rallies to help pull the Council branches together as a forceful assemblage, however, each local council had its own level of activity and propaganda. The Council's organization was one of a flattened hierarchy dependent on the political and business powerhouses in many cities or counties. Personal strength was second to Council strength.

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<sup>8</sup>"The Citizens' Council, pamphlet, published by the Association of Citizens' Councils, Winona, Mississippi (n.d.), 2.

<sup>9</sup>Carleton Putnam, "These Are The Guilty," *The Citizen* (March, 1963), 45.

<sup>10</sup>Thomas R. Waring, "Mississippi Citizens' Councils Are Protecting Both Races," *The Citizens' Council*, vol. 1, no. 1 (October, 1955), 1.

<sup>11</sup>"Urge 'Demotions' On Mass Basis in Washington, D. C.," *The Citizens' Council* (May, 1956), 4.

Although the Council had major players, all members worked to disseminate segregationist rhetoric in a grass roots to skyscraper campaign. The Council became the instrument for the music of segregationist philosophy across the South--a powerful, well-tuned mouthpiece for racial integrity.

Rally presentations were often published full length, or at least partially, in the official publications or in pamphlets. With Confederate flags waving and bleachers filled, the Council used political and business leaders to help spread and create the Council's ideology of racial integrity. It was not uncommon for Southern Governors such as Ross Barnett or George Wallace to speak at Council rallies. Governor Barnett wrote that "Representatives of the Citizens' Council have made hundreds of talks and speeches before Councils and groups of all sizes, kinds and descriptions, from the small crossroads schoolhouse meeting attended by 25 God-fearing and determined farmers to massive rallies numbering in the thousands."<sup>12</sup>

Since the children of Council members felt that they were not learning racial integrity in the public schools, and particularly since there was an increasing threat of forced integration as eventually seen in Little Rock, Arkansas, the Council adamantly supported the creation of new, private segregation academies. Such schools were developed in various areas in the South. The Council was also developing plans for a Citizens' Council white-only school of its own. The Council was effective, and they were located throughout most of the South. Most of the people confronting the arrival of the Freedom Riders to Jackson, Mississippi, where riders arrived and were immediately carted off to jail, were card-carrying Council members.<sup>13</sup> The Council took great pleasure in reporting that they were to thank for what they considered the lack of mob violence at the Jackson bus station.

To help get the Council message out to a broader audience, the council began advertising with mail-outs, radio, newspapers, journals, and television. The Council described their organization as the "modern version of the old-time town meeting called to meet any crisis by expressing the will of the people."<sup>14</sup> In 1958, the Council advertised two rubber stamps that would "be effective on letters, checks, envelopes and other communications." One stamp design showed two white women being escorted by a national guardsman at bayonet point with the slogan, "Remember Little Rock." The other stamp design pictured two young girls, one black and one white, being forced together by two national guardsmen holding bayonets with the slogan, "Brotherhood By Bayonet!"

Another means of disseminating the Council's rhetoric was through the Citizens' Council Forum, which was a "weekly television and radio program. . . being seen and heard regularly by millions of people in 11 states and the District of Columbia. Each 15-minute program in the series features an interview with one or more Congressmen, who express their opinions on such questions as segregation, States' Rights, and the growing trend towards centralization of power in

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<sup>12</sup>Robert B. Patterson, "The Citizens' Council--A History," *The Citizen* (January, 1964), 7.

<sup>13</sup>"Jackson Citizens' Council Plays Major Role In Successful Handling Of 'Rider' Invasion," vol. 6, no. 9 (June, 1961), 1.

<sup>14</sup>"The Citizens' Council, pamphlet, published by the Association of Citizens' Councils, Winona, Mississippi (n.d.), 1.

the Federal government.”<sup>15</sup> The Forum was broadcast from the United States Capitol, allowing the Council to give the nation their case for segregation, unfiltered through the “paper curtain” of the northern press. The program was advertised as "The American viewpoint with a Southern accent."<sup>16</sup> This forum is important to this study of the Council because such an impressive rhetorical tool as radio and the advent of television bolstered the rhetoric in the Council's official publications and helped increase Council membership. By January of 1960, the Council bragged that its Citizens' Council Forum broadcasts were scheduled in 40 states and on 300 stations. Schools and civic clubs showed the footage of Congressional interviews by the Council on Council selected, current, and controversial topics for educational and persuasive purposes. "During 1960, a total of 7719 programs were distributed by 'Citizens' Council Forum.' This total includes 1300 TV programs and 6419 radio broadcasts."<sup>17</sup> By 1961, 319 radio stations and 64 television stations scheduled the program for broadcasts.

### **God and Devil Terms in Council Rhetoric**

God and devil terms set up signposts that guided readers of Council publications toward feelings and conclusions desired by the authors. Richard M. Weaver, in his discussion of ultimate terms, stated that single terms have their rhetorical potencies. Also, good and bad, or god and devil, terms have their relevant rhetorical purposes. Council articles in the official publications demonstrated an overall mastery of devil/god term use. "Rhetorical absolutes" are not only paid high respect by Weaver, but, they carry with them great rhetorical strength. Weaver defined a "god term" as "that expression about which all other expressions are ranked as subordinate and serving domination and powers. Its force imparts to the others their lesser degree of force, and fixes the scale by which degrees of comparison are understood."<sup>18</sup> Weaver explained that there are several words in a text that compete for this status of being godly. The terms associated with coloreds, Christianity, communism, and the government are particularly associated with both god and devil terms throughout Council rhetoric. The Council created state government and state rights as godly, as opposed to the devil terms associated with the federal government and integrationist groups which sought to destroy state and the people's powers.

The articles used devil terms to describe the black race or people and organizations supporting integration, and used god terms to describe the Council and Council-supporting whites. Devil terms were used to describe whites who supported integrationist or communist causes, and god terms were used for blacks when discussing how blacks could aspire to be better than the Council thought there were. Thus, the Council continuously set up the superiority of the Council and white race over the black race in both content and linguistics. Devil terms were also used to urge readers to act by applying them to something that would otherwise be perceived as a moral or social good in an effort to give strength to an overall theme or thesis through rhetorical spin.

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<sup>15</sup> "First Southwide Programs Feature Top Lawmakers," vol. 3, no. 9, *The Citizens' Council* (June, 1958), 1.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> "Citizens' Council Forum' TV-Radio Series Adds Another 75 Stations," vol. 6, no. 7-8, *The Citizens' Council* (April-May, 1961), 4.

<sup>18</sup> Richard M Weaver, *The Ethics of Rhetoric*, (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1953), 212.

Reverend T. Robert Ingram effectively demonstrated the application of traditionally recognized devil terms with positive action in an effort to create guilt and excitement over his challenge to readers. The minister sought to create courage in his Christian readers by reminding them of the continuous battle Jesus and his Apostles fought against evil. The words "terror," "death," "battle," "Bigot," "war," "bias," and "fury" were typical devil terms that Ingram used as god terms to persuade readers to have "Courage, Christian Soldiers" to win the battle. Where the typical devil terms helped the minister argue for readers to take up a battle for bigotry and stand strong in their beliefs of racial integrity, the minister used typically recognized god terms as devil terms: "pride," "proud," "open-mindedness," and "compromisers."<sup>19</sup>

From the beginning of Council publications, the Council began setting up the dialectic that white is good and other is bad. A few of the references to whites and segregationist causes were listed in the Council's first publication as "useful," "best citizens," "responsible," "dedicated," "strong," "sound," and "decent." Some references applied to blacks, the N.A.A.C.P., or integrationist causes in the first publication included, "arrogant Mulattos," "Witch Doctors," "un-American," "Congo circus," "agitators," "Communist," "Mongrelizers," "race-mixers," and "left-wing."<sup>20</sup>

One Council contributor displayed the Council's attitudes against the negative portrayal of the South in newspapers, television, movies, and education--attacking the media's portrayal of the South and its methods of robbing the South of its prevailing myths and traditions--where the Southern gentleman was transformed into "the beefy bigot, with blacksnake whip poised over the poor 'kneegro'," and the black man evolved from "the happy, possum-eating darkie who hummed his spirituals on the banks of the Swanee" into a "depressed dignified, and destined" man.<sup>21</sup> Anything or anyone attempting to rob the Council of the way they have always done things, in tune with their beliefs of the status quo, was potentially the enemy.

Articles written by Council members were much more emotive than many of the articles they republished from outside newspapers, interviews, or speeches. Council rhetoric was mainly explosive in its persuasiveness due to the abundance of god and devil terms. Also, with the move of the Council from its newspaper to its journal, Council authors increased their use of god and devil terms, advancing their persuasive tone in their rhetoric. In early publications, there was an effort to establish the foundations of the organization, define terms associated with the racial "war," secure terms for the Council and negate opposing terms, apply terms for the N.A.A.C.P. and African-Americans, while negating the godly terms the N.A.A.C.P. associated with its own organization. One major theme appearing early in *The Citizens' Council* was the demand to choose sides for or against segregation, as the Council frowned upon anyone remaining neutral or luke-warm.

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<sup>19</sup> T. Robert Ingram, "Courage Christian Soldiers!" *The Citizen* (December, 1961), 22-23.

<sup>20</sup> *The Citizens' Council*, vol. 1, no. 1 (October, 1955).

<sup>21</sup> Don Whelpley, "Brainwashed Southerners Fall For 'Liberal' Bait, Then Claim 'Persecution,'" vol. 3, no. 11, *The Citizens' Council* (August, 1958), 4.

The Council also attacked the Democratic Party as an enemy, a theme seen as a continual thread in later publications that attacked "leftist" groups. In its earliest publication, the Council used an article from another newspaper that stated the following about the national Democratic Party: "It recognized (1933), courted, made deals with Russia and Stalin, saving the crumbling Communist economy at that time. It is the party that handed treasury printing blocks to Russia and planned to establish an atom bomb factory in Russia after the war. It is the party that employed, encouraged and protected Communist personnel. . . . It was responsible for Yalta and Teheran. It was responsible for Hiroshima. . . Nagasaki. . . Dresden. . . . It packed the courts to put through its New Deal policy."<sup>22</sup> The Council made many more attacks on the party, setting it up as an evil entity that liked and employed destruction and Communism. The Council particularly attacked any leftist organizations, because they threatened traditions and customs of "the Southern way."

The Council claimed a monopoly on the truth and encouraged the readers of its official publications to pass on the truth offered in the publications to others. As one author appealed, "Arm yourself with truth as a weapon, and meet the challenge of forced integration with all of its ramifications wherever and whenever it arises!"<sup>23</sup> Another author wrote, "start preaching the truth at every possible opportunity."<sup>24</sup> Where the Council proposed their articles gave readers "truth" to face integrationists, the same articles implied that the opposing organizations offered society only lies that worked to mislead America, leading it to state of social and political ruin.

The words "fact" and "truth" helped the Council set up the suggestion of finality with arguments, where all other knowledge need defer or fall prey to these terms. These terms carry great rhetorical force.<sup>25</sup> The use of the terms "fact" and "truth" were frequently used by authors in the Council's official publications to assist writers in having readers adopt claims and warrants with little or no backing evidence: "fact--in this case, facts well known;"<sup>26</sup> "the truth of the matter;"<sup>27</sup> "looking at the facts before them;"<sup>28</sup> or "The truth, however, is starting to come out."<sup>29</sup>

The Council understood and mastered the use of god and devil terms, yet the Council also attacked their opposition for using this tactic of employing such manipulative terms. The Council argued against "the deliberate and careful planting of emotionally loaded words by the opposition, so that the resulting growth of such symbols can be cultivated in such a way as to

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<sup>22</sup> "The Myth of 'World Opinion,'" *The Citizens' Council*, vol. 1, no. 1, (October, 1955), 2.

<sup>23</sup> Arthur Muth, "The Fearful Price of Integration!" *The Citizen*, (June, 1963), 23.

<sup>24</sup> Carleton Putnam, "Let's Tell The Truth About Racial Differences!" *The Citizen*, (June, 1963), 5.

<sup>25</sup> Weaver, *The Ethics of Rhetoric*, 214.

<sup>26</sup> Mary Winslow Chapman, "Blacks Seen Drowning in Own Tears of Self-Pity," *The Citizen*, (April, 1963).

<sup>27</sup> T. Robert Ingram, "Civil Rights' Proposals are Anti-Christian!" *The Citizen* (November, 1963), 4.

<sup>28</sup> Medford Evans, "Forced Integration is Communism in Action," *The Citizen* (September, 1962), 10-15.

<sup>29</sup> Carleton Putnam, "Let's Tell the Truth About Racial Differences!" *The Citizen*, (June, 1963), 5.

bring about the collective attitudes desired."<sup>30</sup> One author wrote, "They blend appeals to 'humanitarianism' and 'brotherly love' with pronouncements on 'equality.' These words they use to cloak their true purpose--which is to bury the support of Truth About Racial Differences!"<sup>31</sup> The Council offered its own god/devil analysis to labels used by the media and "Race-Mixers" to create positive and negative images:

Notice this method at work in the kidnapping of these words as the exclusive property of Race-Mixers. . . liberal, brotherhood, Christian love, 'men of good will', human rights, civil rights, tolerance, broadminded, 'law of the land', human relations, etc., etc. The words which are daily assigned to us are . . . reactionary, hatemongers, hysterical, bias, bigotry, segregationists (like an epithet), Jim Crowism, lily white-ism, Dixie-cratism, prejudice, discrimination, extremist, racist, fanatic, etc., etc. Space limitation forbids, but a good case could be made that in most instances the foregoing words are used in exactly opposite relation to their real meaning.<sup>32</sup>

This author went on to state, "In general, the use of words as weapons, or 'guided missiles' as it were, by those who intend to change our society beyond recognition, is intended to convey the impression that all virtue resides with those who would force everyone to inter-mix, while all sin resides with those who do not care to be forced to inter-mix."<sup>33</sup>

A frequent writer for the Council, Carleton Putnam, effectively demonstrated god/devil terms in an article about truth v. propaganda. Referring to the far left as having an ideology of the thief, Putnam discussed civil rights leaders and political supporters of civil rights as leftists and "Unscrupulous men" who dupe the masses to win power for themselves. He maintained that the readers distinguish true humanitarians from "the bogus breed to whom we owe our present predicament."<sup>34</sup> He then juxtaposed this discussion of the bogus breed with "decent" people who are in search of social justice for others. Politicians supporting integration and civil rights action were considered thieves because they solely sought to buy "the support of Negroes by offering to force them upon Whites."<sup>35</sup>

Ironically, the Council frequently cited "progress" as a main objective and future expectation of Council success. Weaver cited "progress" as being society's ultimate god term, and he stated that if the persuader can "make it stick,' it will validate almost anything."<sup>36</sup> Weaver's southern writings present the "South" as a god term. He praised the South's resistance to integration, resistance that was good but non-progressive. To the Council, progress was seen in keeping Southern traditions alive, progress within the old traditions and customs rather than

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<sup>30</sup> "Key Words As Weapons," *The Citizens' Council*, vol. 2, no. 6 (March, 1957), 2.

<sup>31</sup> Putnam, "Let's Tell the Truth," 4.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Carleton Putnam, "Let's Tell the Truth About Racial Differences!" *The Citizen*, (June, 1963), 4.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Weaver, *The Ethics of Rhetoric*, 219.

"progress" within a faux, military-enforced, and socialistic society brought on by integration. The Council believed that true "progress" could only come through Council ideology, and anything opposing the Council was a detriment to America. Weaver praised the South's resistance as a "great stronghold of humanism, perhaps the greatest left in the Western World. It has opposed by word and deed the kind of future portended by George Orwell's *1984*."<sup>37</sup> Weaver further explained the white South's resistance to integration edicts from the Court:

Today the South is faced with fresh assaults upon its regime and its order of values. All the while it has known that what grudging respect it has obtained from the North has come because the South has maintained the standards of white civilization. It knows that if it were to accept without reservation the dictates of the Supreme Court, it might be turned into something like those "mixed sections" found in large Northern cities. Such sections are there spoken of in whispers, and those who have the money flee as from the plague when they find a neighborhood beginning to "go".<sup>38</sup>

Weaver made arguments that justified actions of the South in their fight against integrationists. His writings gave the terms "South" and "Southerner" god-term status. He made reference to the Southerner as "a man of pure, disinterested, and unshakable character."<sup>39</sup> To Weaver, the Southerner was more "sinned against than sinning."<sup>40</sup> The progress the traditional Southerner would bring is the saving of the nation. Weaver wrote, "this unyielding Southerner will emerge as a providential instrument for the saving of this nation. . . . his willingness to fight with an intransigent patriotism may be the one thing that can save the day from the darkness gathering in Eastern Europe and Asia."<sup>41</sup> He saw the South in a patriotic effort to save the nation, and the Council used this ideology as justification for its views about Constitutional principals. Where the Council reported their actions as American, they portrayed any opposition to the Council as un-American.

"American" is a strong god term cited by Weaver. Often the Council used "progress" and "American" in conjunction with each other to warrant their actions and beliefs. Weaver concluded, "American stands not only for what is forward in history, but also for what is ethically superior, or at least for a standard of fairness not matched by other nations."<sup>42</sup> Weaver stated that "un-American" is the ultimate in negation." Weaver articulated these ideas in the early 1950s, a time when words of communist threat echoed in the corridors of many places across the nation. The Council effectively picked up on this ultimate devil term and used it in its Constitutional and Communist warrants and claims throughout their publications. Weaver also viewed "Science" as a "methodological tool of progress."<sup>43</sup> Weaver stated that "Science" is

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<sup>37</sup> Richard M. Weaver, "The South and the American Union," *The Southern Essays of Richard M. Weaver*, Indianapolis: Liberty Press, 1987), 252.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 253.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 254.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 256.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>42</sup> Weaver, *The Ethics of Rhetoric*, 219.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 215.

often used with no specific referent. Such a blank use of "Science" is found throughout a variety of Council articles, articles that lack sufficient data, backing, or respected studies.

"Racial" or "race" ended up being terms used by the Council that were dependent on the rhetorical context. One writer likened the 1960's South to the Reconstruction Era one century before. The Council author stated that "Gone With The Wind" captured the realistic South during the Reconstruction and stated that one need only to take Margaret Mitchell's book and apply it to present controversies to see parallels and the book's relevance in modern times. Terms associated with whites such as the Southern Belle and gentleman were preferred by the Council over "racist" or "Bigot" terms.

"Power" was also a flexible word in Council rhetoric, good when power assisted the Council and bad when the opposition obtained more of it. One particular Council article used the word "power" in a god and devil context. The author wrote of the bad effects if the Federal government abolished state governments in search of "all power and control," for the "power will then reside in the hands of those who manipulate both the mobs and our present Federal Government." Adversely, "control" was used as a god term if obtained by state governments: with "control over all things vested in Washington, the Sovietization of America will come easily to fruition."<sup>44</sup>

The Council's mere mention of the African-American people was, to it, a devil term. The Council tried to portray blacks as evil, inferior, stupid, negative, and everything that is bad. In justifying the perceived plight of African-Americans, one author remarked, "He feels inferior because he is being made to measure himself not against his own African background, but in the brilliant light of European history."<sup>45</sup> The author compared white intelligence and grace to the black man's pity, backward thought, attitude as a "whining parasite upon the white man's civilization," lack of responsibility, lack of self-respect, stupidity, and pagan ways. Another writer stated, "They are not proud of being black! They want to be white!"<sup>46</sup>

The Council also portrayed integration as evil. The Council sought to demonstrate how desegregation is not integration, nor did integration promote peace and equality. The Council would tell of incidents such as that of Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas, or northern integrated schools where violence had erupted, urgently warning readers that if they do not act fast then such violence would occur with their children in their communities.<sup>47</sup> Integration was a prime devil term in Council rhetoric, and all who supported it were not only un-American but also were not Christian.

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<sup>44</sup> William Flax, "Only the Communists Stand to Gain From Current Racial Agitation!" *The Citizen*, (July-August, 1963), 10.

<sup>45</sup> Mary Winslow Chapman, "Blacks Seen Drowning in Own Tears of Self-Pity," *The Citizen* (April, 1963), 14.

<sup>46</sup> Amos R. Koontz, "Uhuru' Does Not Confer 'Equality!'" *The Citizen*, (November, 1963), 10.

<sup>47</sup> Howard Suttle, "Facts Of 'Nation's Model Schools' Shock Americans," *The Citizens' Council*, (November, 1956).

Weaver held "Christianity" as a god term, as well as "Scripture" and "Christian values", which are often used to "vindicate" conduct.<sup>48</sup> *The Citizen* used Christianity as warrants for many arguments, and *The Citizens' Council* used Christianity to effectively set up the moral basis for their actions that were advanced in *The Citizen*. Although both the official paper and official journal used religion as a primary warrant to justify segregation, *The Citizen* actively demonstrated the evil nature of integration and actively applied religious god and devil terms to motivate readers and persuade with religious appeals and tactics.

The Council frequently attacked the allegedly deceptive Christian rhetoric of their opponents. One author referred to "Black Muslims" as representing a "pseudo-religious conspiracy" who caused harm and an "evil fraud" upon people,<sup>49</sup> while still another author inspired readers to "say with a clear conscience to every integrationist you meet: 'You shall not pervert the word 'humanity' to cloak your effort to corrupt our civilization! You shall not masquerade under the banner of Christianity while you sap our strength at the roots and steal our birthright!'"<sup>50</sup> The opposition to the Council was considered a "Serpent of Evasion" that is so evil that it is metaphorically linked to the devil's manipulation.<sup>51</sup>

The Council adamantly believed, and depended upon, the un-Constitutional nature of the *Brown* decision. Weaver cited "un-American" as filling the role of the ultimate American devil term and stated, "Sometimes, however, currents of politics and popular feeling cause something more specific to be placed in that position."<sup>52</sup> One term the Council substituted at times for "un-American" was "Communist." If America did not have an enemy, the persuader created an enemy--the most un-American term at the time, Communism. Convenient for the 1954-1964 Council, national concern about Communism was linked to Southern concerns for segregation to create a suspicion of integrationists. And, since the Council touted Christian ethics in their ideology, labels of Communism helped them attack religious groups and people who were for integration. "Reds," "Comrades," "Marxist," and "Socialist," were only a few terms to link anti-segregationists to Communism. This strategy of linking Communism with integration was particularly convenient for the Citizens' Council's rhetorical strategists. The Communist Party of the United States (CPUSA) had been a vigorous advocate for equal social, economic, and political rights of African-American citizens since the 1920s,<sup>53</sup> especially criticizing the lack thereof in the South, so it was an easy move to argue that any efforts for civil rights and school integration was a Communist plot. Second, the charge of Communist influence in the civil rights movement was effectively employed to attack Martin Luther King, Jr. and other African-American ministers whose ordination and Christian religious beliefs should have immunized them from plausible attacks based solely on the Christian prong of the Council's rhetorical

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<sup>48</sup> Weaver, *The Ethics of Rhetoric*, 226.

<sup>49</sup> Revilo P. Oliver, "The Black Muslims," *The Citizen* (May, 1963), 24.

<sup>50</sup> Carleton Putnam, "The Road To Reversal!" *The Citizen* (March, 1963), 33.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Weaver, *The Ethics of Rhetoric*, 222.

<sup>53</sup> See, Mark Soloman, *The Cry Was Unity: Communists and African Americans, 1917-1936* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 1998).

campaign to defend segregation. However, the Council knew how to use the power of politically-charged labels that would stick against even a respected minister—Communist.

Communism, Christianity, Constitutionalism, Coloreds (its 4-Cs), and American values helped lead Council rhetoric through the ample use of god and devil terms. One Council member and editor of a Louisiana Council paper, *The Councilor*, wrote, "I am a member of a vast and rapidly growing organization--the Citizens' Councils--and I'm glad the Communists, the Socialists, the N.A.A.C.P. and the liberal eggheads of the United States hate my organization!"<sup>54</sup> The writer remarked that these groups hate the Councils because of the Councils' rapid success, adding:

the membership of the Councils is made up of God-fearing, freedom-loving Americans who hate no one, however misguided he may be. . . . Our struggle is to preserve for our children the wonderful faith in God and Country which has been taught us, and which is outlined for us in unmistakable language in the Constitution of the United States. They hate us. But an aroused band of Christian people will not be deterred. We march together under the banner of Faith, Hope and Charity--and we're not afraid of what the ultimate outcome will be!<sup>55</sup>

Similarly, Mississippi Governor Ross Barnett juxtaposed the good white citizens of the state as "patriotic citizens of our State" with the federal actions and laws to integrate as "tyrannical edicts."<sup>56</sup> Barnett praised efforts toward racial integrity while attacking social integration as drinking from the "cup of genocide!"<sup>57</sup> Addressing the moral integrity of his arguments and proposals, Barnett ended his address with an appeal to "invoke the blessings of Divine Providence as we struggle to maintain our liberties."<sup>58</sup>

In comparing southern blacks to Congolese, a Council author wrote, "Witness the understanding of the concept of 'freedom' characteristic of both. Southern Negroes brought a sack to get their freedom: Congolese brought a box to get theirs. To both, freedom meant freedom from work--whence else the boon?--and liberty meant license and licentiousness."<sup>59</sup>

As noted earlier, a variety of devil terms were used to create a picture of the Councils' opposition. One author referred to the N.A.A.C.P. as "Witch Doctors" who have "reverted to ancient tribal instincts" and have "unsuccessfully tried to replace American concepts of justice with those of the African Congo in centuries past."<sup>60</sup> Not only did the Council attack the opposition, they continually declared to take up sides, to be hot or cold, yet not warm on race. In

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<sup>54</sup> Frances P. Mims, "We Like Them To 'Hate' Us," vol. 5, no. 1, *The Citizens' Council* (September, 1959).

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> Ross R. Barnett, "Mississippi Still Says 'Never!'" *The Citizen* (September, 1962), 7.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 8.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid. 9.

<sup>59</sup> Ruth Alexander, "Violence in the Congo is Reminiscent of Tragedy of Reconstruction in South," *The Citizen*, (December, 1962), 12.

<sup>60</sup> Tim Ethridge, "Mississippi Notebook," *The Citizens' Council*, vol. 1, no. 1, (October, 1955), 3.

*The Citizen*, the Council expressed that it was time to take up sides, for the "Lunatic Left," which they believe would be regrettable, or the Radical Right, since moderation on race and Communist issues would no longer be an adequate stance. The author of the article elaborated on the variety of good, rightest candidates, noting how this was a good thing since "Rightists are going to be very strong for God and country, for free enterprise, local sovereignty and individualism." And the Leftists, he stated, "will put social welfare ahead of religion, 'the world' ahead of the USA, federal-aid-for-everything ahead of personal initiative, collectivism in everything from world government to fluoridation of water ahead of individualism."<sup>61</sup>

The Council enjoyed the obscurity of the word "freedom" and often quoted the word in reference to the N.A.A.C.P.'s attempts to manipulate people, particularly blacks, with false promises of "brotherly love," "equality," and "freedom"; thus, negating any positive value implied in the N.A.A.C.P.'s god terms. Weaver cited the word "freedom" as a prime obscure word, reminding his readers of George Orwell's statement "Freedom is Slavery."<sup>62</sup> The Council even cited Richard M. Weaver in the Council's fight against integration. Weaver wrote an article for *National Review* that was cited to prove that there is "only a short step from integration to Communization." The Council cited Weaver stating, "Communism has always signalized its advent by an ostensibly free and natural but actually self-conscious and tendentious racial mingling. This is the way the American public has intuitively spotted the emergence of Communism."<sup>63</sup> Ironically, Weaver was known to evolve from Communist to conservative to arguably racist in his political and social beliefs during his lifetime.

The Council creatively used devil terms to their advantage. Most of the devil terms used in Council claims and warrants involved the destruction of "evil" forces such as the desire to "crush" Reds.<sup>64</sup> Although most articles contained varying amounts of both god and devil terms, an article by Jessie Helms included several devil and no god terms in his discussion of how Red Communists are infiltrating and exploiting black interest groups, groups Helms said served as a "spawning ground for Communism."<sup>65</sup> Similarly, a guest writer for a Council publication used the same tactic of employing all devil and no god terms to explain the Kennedy Administration's "Surrender To Terror."<sup>66</sup> This article referred to the Kennedy Administration as "cowardly leadership" that was "cowardly, spineless, inept and stupid."<sup>67</sup> Both the Helms and guest editorial appealed to the negative spirit in readers with an attempt to transfer any negative aggression held by the readers to the claims in the article. Thus, the authors sought anger to motivate action and persuade through the use of the devil terms.

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<sup>61</sup> Holmes Alexander, "Let's Choose Up Sides!" *The Citizen*, (January, 1962), 28.

<sup>62</sup> Weaver, *The Ethics of Rhetoric*, 228.

<sup>63</sup> "Deadly Parallel: Only A Short Step From Integreation To Communization," *The Citizens' Council*, vol. 2, no. 11, (August, 1957), 1, 4.

<sup>64</sup> William Flax, "Only the Communists Stand to Gain From Current Racial Agitation!" *The Citizen*, (July-August, 1963), 9.

<sup>65</sup> Jesse Helms, "Nation Needs To Know Of Red Involvement In Race Agitation!" *The Citizen*, (July-August, 1963), 15.

<sup>66</sup> "A Surrender To Terror," *The Citizen*, (July-August, 1963).

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*

The N.A.A.C.P., known by the Council as the "National Association for the Agitation of Colored People," was labeled as a "hate group" by the Council.<sup>68</sup> The Council consistently linked people and events associated with integration with devil terms. The Council wrote off the Freedom Riders as "thirteen departing passengers ticketed for trouble" who were "looking for segregation ordinances to disobey."<sup>69</sup> Martin Luther King's demonstrations and non-violent sit-ins were criticized as violent, non-violent demonstrations. The Council likened peacemakers who trained for sit-ins as troublemakers. One article discussed the callousness of the sit-in method of protest: "It seems safe to say that if they invade the South in any sizable numbers, they will be asking for the trouble they seek to make. Southerners have learned in recent years to look behind high-sounding names, and to cautiously examine the real motives of itinerant bands of agitators."<sup>70</sup> King and marchers in Albany, Georgia, were attacked by one author as "Negro militants" in a "racial circus," with their "caterwauling" filling the streets with a "blare and blarney of its trumpetings."<sup>71</sup>

Other devil terms referred to the Councils' attempts to prove white supremacy and black inferiority. One article's heading paralleled humans to wild animals, "Negro Wolf Pack Slays And Rapes In Michigan."<sup>72</sup> Referring to the world's people as a "citadel of civilization," a guest editorial conjured up visions of barbarism, stating, "The great majority, many more black than white, represent barbaric hordes who must be controlled and held at bay until they are capable of living in the citadel without defiling and destroying it."<sup>73</sup> Professing that people are different, the author proposed that if the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, G. Mennen Williams, was "eaten up by African cannibals" then perhaps people would then listen to "the self-evident truth that people are not the same."<sup>74</sup> Relating the good white to the savage black, the author warned readers about the need for American skepticism toward foreign visitors, and he addressed the "elementary" judgment that "a loin-clothed savage, with a couple of shrunken heads at his belt, is not the same sort of person as a cultivated scholar or businessman."<sup>75</sup>

Although many Council articles would throw devil terms at the audience concerning the black race, few articles parallel the sensationalism found in a promotional ad for a Ruth Alexander booklet:

March 15, 1961, native terrorists embarked on an orgy of barbaric butchery in the portion of Angola bordering on the Congo. More than 200 whites and 300

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<sup>68</sup> "Negro Hate Group Wins Big Gain In Past Year," and "Hate Group Sucker List Is Expanding," *The Citizens' Council*, (June, 1956), 7.

<sup>69</sup> Medford Evans, "The 'Freedom Rides'--Why Did They Fail?" *The Citizen*, (December, 1961), 8.

<sup>70</sup> "Peacemakers' Hold Mixing Institute With Jailbird Faculty," vol. 5, no. 12, *The Citizens' Council* (September, 1960), 1.

<sup>71</sup> James H. Gray, "Don't You Remember Albany, Mr. President?" *The Citizen*, (June, 1963), 17-18.

<sup>72</sup> "Negro Wolf Pack Slays And Rapes In Michigan," *The Citizens' Council* (June, 1956), 8.

<sup>73</sup> James J. Killpatrick, "All Peoples Aren't Alike," *The Citizen*, (February, 1962), 13.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., 14.

Africans lost their lives on that day. Photographic proof of the bestiality, maiming and torture practiced by the black savages is contained in this booklet. Warning: This is definitely not for the squeamish.<sup>76</sup>

In the advertisement, the Council used a circus-oriented, Come-See-The-Freaks motif in its approach to persuasion that helped bolster its intended ideas of savagery and inferiority.

Similarly, an article of December, 1962, compared violence in the Congo as reminiscent of the Reconstruction period in the South. The author stated, "Atrocities, such as those described by eyewitnesses as occurring in the Congo today, were commonplace throughout the South. Men were castrated, women raped, young girls ravished and mutilated, homes burned and pillaged, the very earth scorched and barren."<sup>77</sup> Although the Council regularly attacked what it considered a savage race, the Council simultaneously attacked the media for creating an image of the pitiful state of the black race in the South. An author stated, "The newspaper and magazine press of the Nation has reduced the Negro population to an estate of filth, blasphemy, ignorance, crime and squalor dictated only by its hanker for unbridled sensationalism and circulation through shock impact."<sup>78</sup> The Council, again, was attacking others for doing what they themselves were doing--employing sensationalism. The Council took what opportunities they could to write about black hate crimes on whites, race-mixing, conspiracy theories, government labels of Communism on the leaders of integrationist groups, and media manipulative efforts to sabotage segregationist efforts. The Council referred to media efforts to curtail segregation as a "paper curtain," draped over the nation to create a negative image of the South and to obscure truth from the people.

Although the Council is known to many as the source of activating racial hatred and tensions, it blamed various groups for racial tension and violence: the U.S. Supreme Court; Court agents; Federal judges; the Executive Department; "Liberal" politicians; "Negro agitators for race-mixing, operating through the NAACP and CORE, whose ultimate goal is the amalgamation and mongrelization of the races"; Communists and Communist sympathizers; "misguided do-gooders--local white citizens who heeded the Communist-inspired siren song of 'brotherly love' and thereby helped create a situation which made the tragedy virtually inevitable."<sup>79</sup> The Council blamed agitators for a Georgia killing of a white teenager by black men. The tragedy was particularly blamed on agitators "who whipped their followers into a frenzy" while the "white appeasers and compromisers. . . carefully tended the tree of racial strife," yet must "share in the responsibility for the evil fruit which it bore."<sup>80</sup> Symbolism of "whipped" in reference to the black offenders and "tree" in reference to white appeasers of controversy is arguably transferable to historical references of lynching. The author of that

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<sup>76</sup> Ruth Alexander, "Violence in the Congo Is Reminiscent of Tragedy of Reconstruction in South," *The Citizen*, (December, 1962), 11.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>78</sup> "Press and Politicians Cynically Use Race Issue for Own Selfish Gains," *The Citizen*, (October, 1963), 16.

<sup>79</sup> Hugh G. Grant, "Agitators and Appeasers Must Share the Blame for Racial Violence!" *The Citizen*, (May, 1962), 15.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*

article claimed a passivity on the part of the city's political, civic, and business leaders as the reason behind the "heavily-financed racial conspiracy, designed to destroy traditions, customs and laws which were established many years ago in Georgia and throughout the South to maintain racial integrity and preserve harmonious relations between white and Negroes."<sup>81</sup>

The Council knew how to manipulate words well. Weaver stated, "we may suspect the act of fabrication when terms of secondary or even tertiary rhetorical rank are pushed forward by unnatural pressure into ultimate positions."<sup>82</sup> The Council was a master at taking attacks on their organization by "opponents" and manipulating them to demonstrate the success of the Council. The Council achieved this technique by raising secondary terms to god or devil status. Rather than negate the Council's prejudice toward white supremacy, the Council created "bias" and "prejudice" as ultimate god terms, as opposed to their often perceived place as devil terms. The Council, through articles in *The Citizen*, told how it was good, Christian, and right to be prejudice and support racial integrity; however, the Council also attacked organizations and people who criticized the Council in regard to prejudice by showing how those organizations were also prejudice in their actions and beliefs. The Council sought to show how President Kennedy and his administration were prejudiced and segregationist in their membership to segregated clubs, as evidenced by an article by Paul Harvey,<sup>83</sup> or how African tribes practiced segregation themselves, as argued by John B. Trevor.<sup>84</sup> Weaver remarked that such attempts are efforts to "nullify the prejudices of those who oppose them, and then get their own installed in the guise of the *sensus communis*."<sup>85</sup>

Manipulation is also demonstrated by a minister who attacked the devil terms posed by the opposition by telling how such terms were actually god terms. The minister backed up his position with one of the highest sources possible in defending a god term, Jesus Christ. The minister stated that Jesus himself demonstrated the "most complete and devastating discriminatory practices that can ever be exercised."<sup>86</sup> Thus, the minister posed the point that if a person attacked discrimination, he is also attacking Jesus and the doctrines of the Christian church. Not only that, the minister bluntly stated that if anyone accepts the principle of integration then they "cease to be Christians."

Finally, the Council argued against the bad associations to whiteness that were posed by their opponents, and their opponents' attacks on the Council. The Council criticized the label "White Citizens' Council." They ask, "Why was the capitalized "WHITE" added to the title?" Their response was, "to make the CITIZENS' COUNCILS appear to the public mind as groups of wild-eyed racists and fanatical extremists, instead of representing a true cross section of community attitudes toward race relations, as they do. The deliberate error is often innocently

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<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> Weaver, *The Ethics of Rhetoric*, 231.

<sup>83</sup> Paul Harvey, "Choice of Friends is Still a Personal Matter," *The Citizen*, (December, 1962).

<sup>84</sup> John B. Trevor, Jr., "Segregation--An Old African Custom," *The Citizen*, (December, 1962).

<sup>85</sup> Weaver, *The Ethics of Rhetoric*, 224.

<sup>86</sup> T. Robert Ingram, "Civil Rights' Proposals are Anti-Christian!" *The Citizen*, (November, 1963), 5.

picked up and spread, even sometimes by those it is intended to harm."<sup>87</sup> Clearly, the Council was aware of the benefits of god and devil terms in weaving their rhetoric; the irony is that it criticized their opponents for using the same techniques that it used to persuade.

### **Rhetorical Themes**

Articles in the official publications were written by a variety of authors, each with a different rhetorical style and argument; however, all of the articles related to either Christianity, Coloreds, Communists, or the Constitution. Most of the authors did little more than pull claims together in an attempt to "prove" their thesis. Such focus on assertions left articles with many faulty warrants and little if any evidence to support either warrants or claims. As Stephen Toulman observed, "We can distinguish also two purposes which may be served by the production of additional facts: these can serve as further data, or they can be cited to confirm or rebut the applicability of a warrant."<sup>88</sup> The Council knew their audience and largely depended on contentions that had been previously asserted to lead readers through strings of additional assertions.

### Structural Elements of Council Arguments

The Council mastered the technique of effectively tagging on to the rhetoric of other people or groups. By publishing articles from other newspapers, journals, and speeches, the Council was able to lead readers to desired claims through the use of "editorial notes" placed before, after, or within adopted articles. When the President of the United States appeared on national television regarding the integration of Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas, the Jackson, Mississippi, Council radio and television stations substituted the playing of the national anthem after the President's speech for a Council advertisement encouraging membership and warning Mississippians not to let forced integration happen in their state. Often, the Council used current events as the data for an argument, presented or implied a warrant to link the data to a conclusion, and presented their claim with little or no evidence used for argument support. The data presented should answer the question, what have you got to go on? Council data consisted of current events, stories, perceptions, and statistics that were usually gathered by Council members. The warrant should lead the reader from the data to the claim, answering the question, how does that data link to that claim? The Council often used warrants relating to American values, the Constitution, the Founding Fathers, Christianity, African-American inferiority and hereditary differences, and Communistic threat. The claims are what the Council concludes, and they are the most abundant in the Council rhetoric. Each author sought to prove a different point, and all their points related to issues such as racial integrity, states rights, Southern pride, repealing the Supreme Court decision in the *Brown* case, segregation, racial differences, or white supremacy.

The qualifier in an argument lets the reader know how confident the writer is in her claim. The Council was extremely confident. It was convinced that it knew "the truth" and presented "fact" even when presenting mere assertions. A rebuttal in an argument presents any

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<sup>87</sup> "Key Words As Weapons," *The Citizens' Council*, vol. 2, no. 6 (March, 1957), 2.

<sup>88</sup> Stephen Toulman, *The Uses of Argument*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 102.

reservations a writer may have in her case. The Council, in seeing its' rightness, employed few if any reservations to its' arguments. It did, however, report a myriad of reservations in its' opponents' arguments. And, backing answers the question, how do you know that your warrant is sound?

The Council knew its' audience and tailored its' messages to them. Often the readers, avid Council supporters, were left to take claims and warrants at face value, which was probably the Council's greatest rhetorical advantage. Most of the "evidence" found in the articles related to hereditary studies of African-Americans to prove the superiority of whites on the evolutionary track, an unexpected argument from a conservative religious perspective. Various syllogisms pulled from the overall rhetoric of the Council appear to waive the creationist stance to secure the immediate objective. The following examples represent a summary of the most prominent syllogistic arguments found throughout the Councils' rhetoric:

Integrationalists are fighting American values such as States rights, Christianity, and human rights; and, since people who fight American values are Communists who are infiltrating or system with integrationist front groups to destroy America, then, integrationalists are Communists.

Blacks are 200,000 years behind the evolutionary track of whites. Since people who are hereditarily behind other people are inferior, blacks are inferior to whites.

That which is in opposition to the Constitution is un-American. Forced integration is in opposition to the Constitution and States rights, therefore, forced integration is un-American.

Segregation is advocated in the *Bible*. Since what is advocated in the *Bible* is good, Segregation is good.

Most authors in the publications often left out warrants and argued the claim first and then possibly gave something that, at least in form, constituted data. Another method was to present a small amount of data and then present several claims from that data. To prove the claim that forced integration is unconstitutional, one author argued by presenting the data and then the warrant: "the Fourteenth Amendment. . . was never legally submitted and never legally adopted. It was placed in the Constitution by armed troops and at the point of a bayonet."<sup>89</sup> This example leads to another point. According to Toulman, an argument is sound if the premises to the conclusion are sound. Although there are many logical reservations that can be made when analyzing the data and warrants used by the Council, the Council's arguments created for its' readers premises that its audience wanted to believe, which made believable conclusions easier for the Council's audience, without reservation.

Data were often presented as a blank claim, often being more of a statement of perception than fact. In one drive for funds, the Council stated, "We repeat. We are winning this fight. But

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<sup>89</sup> M. M. McGowan, "Integration Amendment Was Never Legally Adopted, *The Citizen*, (November, 1962), 10.

our enemies are powerful and well-financed."<sup>90</sup> One writer for the Council wrote, "Although many of the major features of the Civil Rights Act are unconstitutional on their face, this review is limited to a discussion thereof as if the proposals were constitutional and become law."<sup>91</sup> Another author visited Kenya, and due to what he saw he concluded that race-mixing is bad because mixing is not even accepted by native African peoples. In supporting the belief that pure-bred races are best, the author remarked, "Crosses between tribal groups usually show up quite poorly when compared to the really splendid physical specimens seen among some of the comparatively pure-bred tribes."<sup>92</sup>

The Council would also manipulate data to fit their rhetorical goals. If a news report relayed a story of a black person being attacked by a white person, the Council took this example and reported it as the black person looking for trouble or the need to support segregation so that both races would be secure. The Council regularly manipulated current events to support Council ideology by taking information out of context, altering facts to fit arguments, using Council-sponsored statistical studies, or using only data that supported Council ideology while neglecting or attacking data that were in opposition to Council arguments. Again, however, the Council criticized the opposition for using its' same rhetorical techniques: "By infiltrating colleges and the publishing field, leftists have managed to take certain scientific and historical facts, and by distorting them and mis-stating them, they manage to use them to fit their political aims."<sup>93</sup>

One author provided an example of a tyrant of Athens who duped the people into giving power, only to have that power turn on the people who provided the means for power. The example was intended as a metaphor linked to the modern race problem. The intent of the information was to lead readers to the warrant and claim that the same could happen to them, since integrationist groups were brainwashing and manipulating people to believe lies about the South, its traditions and customs, and the benefits of segregation. The readers were left to apply the data on Athens to a claim about "Socialistic panaceas" being represented as the greatest good for the greatest number. The implied Socialist panacea was the one offered by integrationists. Through a string of examples that supplied data for the readers, the Council authors only faintly linked examples to any claims. Although one could argue this confusing outline of ideas has a rhetorical purpose, some of the articles found in *The Citizen* are simply poorly developed and written. Nonetheless, the Council worked to set up "truth" in a variety of articles that would eliminate their readers' need for solid data or evidence to justify arguments.

Frequently used warrants consisted of statements such as: because it is Christian, because it is American, because it is Constitutional, because the Founding Fathers supported it, because it is Communist or anti-Communist, because Negroes are inferior, or because Negroes are Negroes. The Council used threats of race mixing as a main warrant: Race-mixing creates

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<sup>90</sup> "A Time for Planning," vol. 4, no. 5 (February, 1959), 3.

<sup>91</sup> John C. Satterfield, "What the 'Civil Rights' Bill Would Do To You!" *The Citizen*, (September, 1963), 4.

<sup>92</sup> John B. Trevor, Jr., "Segregation--An Old African Custom," *The Citizen* (December, 1962), 10.

<sup>93</sup> Archibald B. Roosevelt, "Why Won't They Teach The Truth About Race?" *The Citizen*, (July-August, 1963), 5.

mongrelization (data), since integration supports race-mixing (warrant), integration is bad (claim). One author stated integration is bad because "mixed marriages will become commonplace."<sup>94</sup> One author demonstrated the use of fictitious data and warrant: "Integrationists will admit, although they are not prone to accentuate the point at this time, that their ultimate target is the intermarriage of Negroes and whites in order to bring about dissolution of the Caucasian race in the United States."<sup>95</sup> The author stated that the reason the N.A.A.C.P. does not state this intermarriage goal is due to a manipulative technique called the "bologna technique" where persuaders gradually reveal their goals in ways that avoid scaring converts. The author linked the N.A.A.C.P. to the Communist party by stating that such a rhetorical technique is borrowed from the Communist party tactics and is frequently used by "Reds." Thus, the N.A.A.C.P. isn't revealing that their main goal is race-mixing, this technique is used by Communists; therefore, the N.A.A.C.P. is practicing Communistic tactics. Not only is the data an element of perception rather than fact, the author provided no reservations or qualifiers to this claim or warrant, and no backing was offered to effectively support the warrant statement.

Sometimes the Council would not present a clear warrant, but lead the readers to make the rhetorical leap from data to claim, as demonstrated in the following:

This movement toward integration is based on a supposed "right" of the Negroes to associate with whites--a "right" that has been protected and fought for by the Federal Government at the point of the bayonet. But what about the "right" of the whites to decide with whom they will associate? Is that not as great as the "right" of the Negro?<sup>96</sup>

The Council presented their "data" and then presented questions for the readers to supply warrants and claim statements. Thus, the Negro has rights (data), if the Negro has rights then whites have rights (warrant), therefore, whites have rights too--such as the right not to have to associate with blacks (claim). Attempts by integrationist groups and the government to educate youths about racial prejudice were attacked by the Council as "brainwashing," not education.<sup>97</sup> "Brainwashing" warrants became frequently used to justify the anti-segregationist actions of whites, religious groups, the government, and anyone supporting integration.

The following author's words attempted to justify his contention that blacks are better off now than if they were in Africa, and they asked for what they got:

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<sup>94</sup> "Mixed Marriages Will Become Commonplace," *The Citizens' Council*, (November, 1956), 4. See also: Hugh Brent, "Does Church Favor Race Mongrelization," *The Citizens' Council*, (November, 1956), 4; and "Ford Foundation Finances Fund's Race-Mixing Drive," *The Citizens' Council*, (December, 1956), 1.

<sup>95</sup> Arthur Muth, "The Fearful Price of Integration!" *The Citizen*, (June, 1963), 21.

<sup>96</sup> "GOP Strangely Silent on Integration," Editorial from the New York City National Economic Council, *The Citizen*, (June, 1962), 4.

<sup>97</sup> "UN Plans To Brain-Wash World Youth" and "Brainwashing In Florida," *The Citizens' Council*, (July, 1956), 1.

The natives of Africa were in no sense being persecuted when they were brought to this country in chains. That was strictly a business proposition and they were the only people so primitively helpless as to allow themselves to be driven aboard the slave ships like cattle, a procedure made infinitely easier by the help of their own countrymen who did not hesitate to betray their fellow Negroes for a price. This lack of loyalty to their race is still evident in their descendants and will show up in any serious study of the Negro in this country.<sup>98</sup>

Through the presented data, the author guided the audience to a claim on the basis that African-Americans are primitively helpless and a business proposition easily helped them betray each other. Similar to many other articles, the author hinted at the potential research which, if conducted, could back her warrant and claim. However, the Council knew its' audience, it was a group of people, particularly Protestant white Southern males who would take warrants, data, and support at face value. The same author went on to justify racial tensions in the United States, remarking, "The Negro's problems are not due to the fact that he WAS a slave, but that he IS a Negro!" Although the Council employed little evidence, some faulty premises, or speculative backing for arguments, they were successful in their propaganda. Weaver stated, "statements of warrants. . . are hypothetical, bridgelike statements, but the backing for warrants can be expressed in the form of categorical statements of fact quite well as can the data appealed to in direct support of our conclusions."<sup>99</sup> Although the Councils' "facts" could be easily refuted, their primary readership believed the information, thus, the arguments were considered valid.

Toulman also stated, "It may not be sufficient . . . simply to specify our data, warrant and claim: we may need to add some explicit reference to the degree of force which our data confer on our claim in virtue of our warrant."<sup>100</sup> Toulman was referring to qualifying statements attached to the claims. The Council regularly used "to be" verbs instead of qualifying words. They equated their data with the conclusion, since A then B. If qualifiers were used, they did not negate Council claims. Positive qualifiers gave strength to Council "truth." Such positive qualifiers are certainly, clearly, as a matter of fact. Even when speaking of the future, the Council claimed prophetic truth. One woman warned, "you will soon find yourself sitting next to Negro women at luncheon or standing in receiving lines with them at your teas."<sup>101</sup> The author then provided the women with the answer to this problem, to practice the same method used in the "dark days of Reconstruction. . . . the gentle weapon of SOCIAL OSTRACISM."<sup>102</sup> Rather than use words addressing probabilities, the Council often addressed its content as "evidence," "proof," "science," and the all-powerful god terms "fact" and "truth."

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<sup>98</sup> Mary Winslow Chapman, "Blacks Seen Drowning in Own Tears of Self Pity," *The Citizen*, (April, 1963), 14.

<sup>99</sup> Toulman, *The Uses of Argument*, 105.

<sup>100</sup> Toulman, *The Uses of Argument*, 101.

<sup>101</sup> "For Southern Womanhood: 'The Gentle Weapon,'" *The Citizens' Council*, (June, 1956), 6.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*

The Council rarely offered reservations to their arguments, they would, however, offer reservations to some content in articles that were adopted from outside sources when the authors would include content that might contradict Council propaganda. If reservations were used, the Council would twist the argument to maintain Council truths. One author stated, "If the mixing is wrong, then public policies leading toward it cannot be Christian, they cannot be American, they cannot be 'civil rights'--and they ought not to be legal!"<sup>103</sup>

Often the data, warrant, claim, qualifier, and reservation is not enough proof for audiences to believe an argument. Toulman stated, "In defending a claim, that is, we may produce our data, our warrant, and the relevant qualifications and conditions, and yet find that we have still not satisfied our challenger; for he may be dubious not only about this particular argument but about the more general question whether the warrant (W) is acceptable at all."<sup>104</sup> In this case, the author needs evidence to support the warrant statement. Many Council articles state or hint to evidence that is available or which could be available if the studies were conducted, but rarely does the Council pursue the activity of adequately supporting their warrants. The Council, instead, uses the words "fact," "evidence," "proof," "truth," or "science" to persuade readers. They would refer to this evidence, but rarely revealed it; for example: "the record shows that resistance to forced racial integration is strongest in the Deep South states where Citizens' Councils are most numerous and best organized."<sup>105</sup> Although this was a valid point, "the record" was not revealed, nor would Council readers need to see "the record."

The Council believed segregation was the law of God and of nature.<sup>106</sup> Not only did they believe God ordain segregation and Jesus practiced it, the laws of nature demonstrated the inferiority and savage nature of blacks over the intelligence and moral character of whites. A frequent writer for the Council was Carleton Putnam, author of a highly respected and often cited book by Council members, *Race and Reason*. Although Putnam was a Council authority on hereditary differences between blacks and whites and he sold over 150,000 copies of his book, Putnam's ideas were frequently attacked, particularly by the American Anthropological Association.<sup>107</sup>

Another author who was often cited to prove warrants about hereditary and black inferiority was Professor Carleton S. Coon, president of the American Association of Physical Anthropologists who did not write for the Council. Putnam cited Coon as concluding that "the Negro race is at least 200,000 years behind the White race on the ladder of evolution."<sup>108</sup> Putnam elaborated on his interpretation of the study by Coon, citing a late specimen of *Homo erectus* which Coon remarked, "His facial configuration is an oversized caricature of the features

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<sup>103</sup> Carleton Putnam, "These Are The Guilty," *The Citizen* (March, 1963), 49.

<sup>104</sup> Toulman, *The Uses of Argument*, 103.

<sup>105</sup> W. J. Simmons, "Organization: The Key to Victory," *The Citizen*, (February, 1962), 8.

<sup>106</sup> Neil R. McMillen, *The Citizens' Council: Organized Resistance to the Second Reconstruction, 1954-64* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971), 178-179.

<sup>107</sup> McMillen, *The Citizens' Council*, 166.

<sup>108</sup> Carleton Putnam, "Evolution and Race: New Evidence," *The Citizen*, (July-August, 1962), 7.

of living Negroes."<sup>109</sup> Although Putnam noted that brain size is not a measure of human intelligence, the entire article sought evolutionary proof from Dr. Coon in proving the superiority of whites over blacks in intelligence through the use of a variety of explanations, seeking proof that "the White man has a 200,000-year evolutionary lead over the Negro."<sup>110</sup> A prime source of proof for the white intellectual superiority argument was the early use of fire by European Homo Sapiens and Mongoloid erectus, where fire "did not develop in Negro man earlier than 40,000 years ago."<sup>111</sup> Not only did the article attempt to prove white superiority over black intelligence through an elaborate discussion of Dr. Coon's source credibility, an announcement at the end of the article praised Putnam's article by announcing reprint availability due to the articles inclusion of "irrefutable facts which no intelligent person can ignore" and since the article should be read by "every thoughtful American."<sup>112</sup>

Putnam, different from most novice Council writers, claimed that he was cited in a review in the *American Bar Association Journal* as providing not "half truths, propagandized history nor pseudo science, but 'the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth'" in his book *Race and Reason*.<sup>113</sup> Putnam particularly cited Coon's book *The Story of Man* as the basis of much of his evidence. Putnam's writing style demonstrated more of an objective *tone* than most of the emotionally packed articles from other Council members who incorporated god and devil terms throughout their message. Putnam used few devil or god terms in his text in an effort to relay an "objective truth" to his readers. Putnam does, however, attempt to lead the reader to accept all theories posed by Coon through a continual use of the word "evidence" to describe Coon's theories and research. Putnam's treatment of Coon's work as "the truth" is clearly stated throughout Putnam's article, "Evolution and Race: New Evidence." Putnam specifically declared, "Professor Coon's impartial dedication to the truth cannot be challenged."<sup>114</sup>

Besides Coon, the head of the anatomy department at the University of North Carolina Medical School, Dr. Wesley Critz George, who was known by the Council as "Dr. George", was often quoted in Council propaganda for his popular work *The Biology of the Race Problem*. Putnam, Coon, and George were the Council authorities on race differences, and these men held the monopoly in scientific evidence used by the Council to prove conclusions. In an address to the Washington Putnam Letters Club held in the United States Capitol on February 12, 1963, Council member and spokesperson Carlton Putnam attacked desegregationalists almost solely with the book *The Biology of the Race Problem* by Dr. George. This book was referred to by Putnam and the Council as "the George Report." This book was cited by Council members as an authoritative work that calculated the biological differences between the black race as the inferior race and the white superior race. Putnam attacked his opponents, those opposing segregation and "race-mixing," and stated that they should "put up or shut up" in regard to

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<sup>109</sup> Ibid., 8.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., 10.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid., 7.

biological and physical evidence in the report--that if the opponents wish to attack the report, they need to offer counter evidence to the report.

Putnam also spent ample time defending his own writings, both *Race and Reason* and *Evolution and Race: New Evidence*. Putnam effectively used the names of journals to support his contentions; he criticized journals that published articles in opposition to his view, and he selected quotations from other journal articles that supported his view. While pulling single sentences of support from articles, he simultaneously defended himself against attacks by taking quotations out of context. Putnam also used *ad hominem* attacks in many of his writings to present the opposition as evil while arguing the correctness of his points. One such example by Putnam was, "The people who put the integration of schools into the Constitution were Howells and his kind, the equalitarian anthropologists and sociologists who misled the Supreme Court and the American people with their mess of half-truths and slanted evidence!"<sup>115</sup> Putnam added, "you (Council opponents) have fooled the Negro about himself!"<sup>116</sup> Putnam, as usual, supported his claims with attacks and suppositions, "You have made him [blacks] think he has a grudge against the white race, when the truth is he owes the white race a greater debt than he can ever repay! Offer a few Negroes one-way tickets to Africa, where they can enjoy the culture of their own race, and see how many takers you get."<sup>117</sup> Although Putnam applied relatively biased "facts" to his arguments, he represented one of the few Council writers who actively attempted the use of backing for claims.<sup>118</sup> He did, however, actively and effectively use the words of Abraham Lincoln in the support of racial segregation.

The Council was extremely effective in using future threats as support for warrants. One author wrote that African Americans would soon permeate "our churches, public parks, hotels, motels, playgrounds, swimming pools, dancing pavilions, golf links, baseball parks, theatres--in fact, in every place where people meet for instruction, worship, business or amusement."<sup>119</sup> As if holding the only vision into the future, the Council spoke with authority of the future if Council members did not actively support the Council and segregation. Any inaction would not only bring down the South as they then knew it, it would lead to the destruction of the United States of America and any hope for sustaining liberties.

The Council was not only attacked by the N.A.A.C.P., but many professors and experts in the field of anthropology, Constitutional law, and politics also refuted Council rhetoric. To the world outside the Council, Council claims were illogical and simply wrong, but to Council members, Council rhetoric spoke Truth. Toulman stated, "A sound argument, a well-grounded or firmly-backed claim, is one which will stand up to criticism, one for which a case can be

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<sup>115</sup> Carleton Putnam, "These Are The Guilty," *The Citizen*, (March, 1963), 45.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid.

<sup>118</sup> See also Putnam's "The 'Road to Reversal!'" *The Citizen*, (March, 1963) and "This is the Problem!" *The Citizen*, (November, 1961).

<sup>119</sup> "For Southern Womanhood: 'The Gentle Weapon,'" *The Citizens' Council*, (June, 1956), 6.

presented coming up to the standard required if it is to deserve a favorable verdict."<sup>120</sup> Since the Council poorly supported warrants and many premises were logically faulty, Council rhetoric could not effectively stand up to outside criticism. Within the ranks of the Council, however, Council rhetoricians were able to effectively apply their own data, warrants, and evidence to refute opposing claims. Carleton Putnam, a Council authority on hereditary differences between the races, was not a scientist, but a retired chairman of the board of Delta Air Lines.<sup>121</sup> Putnam was a master, however, at using his Princeton history and politics degree and Columbia law degree to his advantage in building persuasive arguments. Council members were also masters at pulling quotations from the media or speeches and adapting the quotations to support Council warrants. Basing claims on current events and outside sources allowed the Council to present arguments that appeared sound.

Who wrote the articles was also important in Council rhetoric. The Council used only editorials or letters to the editor that supported their cause. As Toulman remarked, "A man who makes an assertion puts forward a claim--a claim on our attention and our belief. . . Just how seriously it will be taken depends, of course, on many circumstances--on the sort of man he is, for instance, and his general credit."<sup>122</sup> If authors were unknown to Council readers, the Council would often introduce the credibility of the writers. Letters from people happy about Council success or who wished to support or join the Council were frequent letters to the official publication. Not only were the Council writers set up as credible, authors would cite people in their articles who would lend credible assistance to their claims. Authors would use ministers, non-Council professionals such as scientists, and black testimonies to back up arguments. Many of the outside sources, however, were paraphrased rather than quoted directly. The Council effectively used Publis' ideas in *The Federalist* to support warrants of States Rights. Also, the Council effectively used Constitutionalism as a warrant and the Constitution as backing for legal claims. One author stated, "I base my support of racial integrity on the Constitution of the United States, the greatest document of its kind ever conceived by the mind of man and the fulfillment of 4,000 years of Caucasian manhood!"<sup>123</sup> This author did not point to specific sections of the Constitution that supported his warrant. Many authors simply mentioned evidence or stated that the evidence was or could be out there to "clearly" support their arguments. Statement such as "will show up in any serious study of the Negro,"<sup>124</sup> "the evidence was visible to everyone who looked at it"<sup>125</sup> and "the evidence of your own eyes shows you"<sup>126</sup> are examples of the commonly used vague evidence statements by the Council.

Some state Councils offered scholarships to students who wrote essays on Council-supplied topics. The winning female essay in a Mississippi contest was "Why the Preservation

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<sup>120</sup> Toulman, *The Uses of Argument*, 8.

<sup>121</sup> McMillen, *The Citizens' Council*, 165.

<sup>122</sup> Toulman, *The Uses of Argument*, 11.

<sup>123</sup> Jackson G. Ricau, "The Revealing Story of My Excommunication--An Act of Desperation By The Race Mixers!" *The Citizen*, (April, 1962), 6.

<sup>124</sup> Chapman, 14.

<sup>125</sup> Medford Evans, "Forced Integration," 10.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid.

of States Rights is Important to Every American," and the winning male's essay was "Why I Believe in the Social Separation of the Races of Mankind." Each winner discussed God and the moral nature of segregation. The female winner wrote, "God saw fit to distinguish the races of man by color." The young man said, "The prophet Daniel once wrote: 'Thou art weighed in the balances and art found wanting.' This truly applies to American Negroes." He also established the power of Communism and the evil Supreme Court as elements harming the South and causing "us to crumble from within and to fall like Rome of old." He set up the god/devil relationship between the races: "Negroes believe in love potions, witchcraft, and magic. Social integration demands a price to be paid--and part of this price unquestionably will be a compromise between the low character of the Negro and the much higher character of the white." Another winner echoed much of the rhetoric of the Council found in the official publication, including the retardation of the black man and the immoral nature of blacks. The second place winner stated, "The Negro is not immoral, he is simply non-moral." Another winner stated that blacks benefited from being in the United States over being in Africa, and the black man is enjoying prestige, economic, and educational benefits here. From hereditary differences to God's divine plan for the separation of the races and Communistic threats, the high school students firmly echoed the established ideology of the Council found in the official publications.

#### Uses of Religion to Justify Ideology and Attack Opponents

Religion was used as a persuasive warrant to get readers to adopt council ideology. One speaker not only used religion to support Council action and conclude his speech, he quoted George Washington's words, "Erect a standard to which the wise and honest can repair. The event is in the hands of God."<sup>127</sup> Another Council writer ended his article by bolstering his arguments with God: "I urge you to be vigilant! I urge you to have evangelical fervor in convincing others to see the light which you have seen, and in leading them to join and support the Citizens' Council. With God's grace, we will save America!"<sup>128</sup> "Not every Council rally ended with a chorus of amens, but virtually every Council had its chaplain and most meetings did begin with a prayer for God's blessings."<sup>129</sup>

The Council depended on, flourished with, and tailored much of their rhetoric to the Councils' large fundamentalist membership. When church denominations and national religious organizations supported desegregation, the Council was left defending their belief that segregation is Christian and moral, whereas integration or "race mixing" is evil and against the teaching of Christ and the *Bible*. The Council was in a position of proving the goodness of segregation. Much of the Councils' rhetoric centered on this religious theme, one backed by many individual church leaders. The Council integrated religion into their rallies, publications, and overall dialogue. One woman attacked President Eisenhower by using the 23rd Psalm as the foundation of the flow of her message: "General Ike is my shepherd, I am in want; he maketh me to stand aside for martial law, he leadeth me beside guarded schools, he restoreth my concern for his sanity. Yea, tho I walk in the shadow of the 101st Airborne Division, I agree not with

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<sup>127</sup> Carleton Putnam, "This is the Problem," *The Citizen*, (November, 1961), 33.

<sup>128</sup> Medford Evans, "Forced Integration is Communism in Action!" *The Citizen*, (September, 1962), 14.

<sup>129</sup> McMillen, *The Citizens' Council: Organized Resistance to the Second Reconstruction, 1954-64*, 174.

their presence, for I am yet a Confederate, and the Supreme Court doth not comfort me. . . ."130 Thus, the moral nature of segregation became not only a major issue in Council rhetoric, it became a warrant that was necessary in proving other justifications of Council action.

Religion was used in Council rhetoric in claims, in warrants, and as support for warrants. Particularly, the Council used religion as a means to refute oppositional rhetoric that criticized the Council. The Council often dismissed the fact that Martin Luther King was a minister. Jesse Helms placed the words "so called" in front of the title "Southern Christian Leadership Conference."<sup>131</sup> The Council criticized religious leaders and groups who were duped and manipulated by leftists and Communists into believing that integration is moral. The Council took the approach that their actions were in God's favor, and if you are against the Council, you are against Christianity, and, as some Council writers asserted, you are working against God and America. One popular way to denounce religious organizations that supported integration was to label them as front organizations for Communism. "Southern Churches Urge Mixing" was the lead to the May, 1958 *Citizens' Council*. The cover of this paper touted the articles, "Assembly Condemns Tradition," "Reds Increase Influence in Many U. S. Churches," and "Integrationist Literature Eyed By Southern Baptists." An early publication of *The Citizens' Council* purported to quote Lenin regarding religion and Marxism, "We will find our most fertile field for infiltration of Marxism within the field of religion, because religious people are the most gullible and will accept almost anything if it is couched in religious terminology."<sup>132</sup> It was statements like this that helped the Council believably link integrationist supporters to the Communist party.

Many ministers supported the Council's cause. A relatively large number of Council leaders were Protestant clergymen. Three ministers were on the editorial board of *The Citizens' Council* and *The Citizen*.<sup>133</sup> One Florida minister was interviewed for an article and stated, "First, I believe God made the races as distinct human groups. Though 'red, yellow, black and white are precious in his sight,' the fact also remains that God made man 'red, yellow, black, and white.' When man works to destroy these God-given distinctions he opposes part of God's plan. I am opposed to any attempted destruction of the racial differences which God established and nature has long preserved. . . . Voluntary associations of these races, while preserving their distinctions, is the normal pattern of a related world, but forced, associations destroys the quality of existence, deprive the compelled of their liberties, and make their happiness impossible."<sup>134</sup>

Robert Ingram attacked President Kennedy's statement "Discriminatory practices are morally wrong wherever they occur." He disagreed with the President and gave his own version of the President's "principle" and justified discriminatory practices by stating "The most complete and devastating discriminatory practices that can ever be exercised are those of Jesus

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<sup>130</sup> "Ike Is My Shepherd," vol. 2, no. 7, *The Citizens' Council*, (April, 1958), 2.

<sup>131</sup> Jesse Helms, "Nation Needs To Know Of Red Involvement In Race Agitation!" *The Citizen*, (July-August, 1963), 14-15.

<sup>132</sup> *The Citizens' Council*, vol. 1, no. 2, (November, 1955), 4.

<sup>133</sup> McMillen, 174.

<sup>134</sup> "Florida Minister Writes Congregation About Race," vol. 3, no. 3, *The Citizens' Council*, (December, 1957), 4.

Christ!"<sup>135</sup> By using Jesus as a foundation of Christianity and the desire to justify discrimination against blacks, the minister concluded that some people are saved and some are damned, some have everlasting punishment and some have eternal life. Thus, in applying the President's arguments against any discrimination to Christ's moral standard of discrimination, Ingram sought to equate the President with those people who are against the words of Jesus Christ.

Ingram went on to articulate his moral imperative: Every person who declares the principle of equal rights (as expressed in the integration movement) is calling Jesus, the great discriminator, accursed. 'And no man speaking by the Holy Spirit calleth Jesus accursed.' Spokesmen for integration, therefore, are not speaking by the Holy Spirit; neither are they speaking words of Holy Scripture; nor are they proclaiming the Gospel of Jesus Christ. To him, therefore, if anyone adheres to the principle of equal civil rights, she is no longer a Christian. Ingram also glorified bigotry as an action "by God" and bigots as "Godly" persons. To the minister, it was not evil to have a conviction, a bigot has conviction and therefore is admirable and Godly.<sup>136</sup>

If the Council felt guilty over any actions, it was never printed in the official publications. Although several Mississippi clergymen asked people involved in the Oxford, Mississippi, riots surrounding the entry of James Meredith to the University of Mississippi to repent for their actions and another pastor wrote in the official publication that people should not repent. This second minister justified his reasoning when saying, "First, we prayed before the crisis arose that God would grant guidance and wisdom to the Governor and the President in this matter. Second, we have continually deplored strife and violence from the pulpit. Third, we feel no guilt for a set of circumstances not of our own making which was forced upon our people and our State."<sup>137</sup> The Council purported truth, and in the doing, repenting of any actions or professing a wrong would only harm Council efforts.

Religion was also used to bolster arguments against Communist threats. *The Citizen* published an address by General Edwin A. Walker, speaking to a Council rally concerning the fight against Communism. Walker elaborately praised the state of Mississippi for its strength and struggle with state sovereignty and the preservation of freedom. With such strength, Walker claimed, "The Communists are afraid of you."<sup>138</sup> Walker warned of attempts by "national communies and media" to brainwash Mississippians, and they are also being "defrauded" of the sovereignty they fought so hard to keep. The General stated that the Communists' fear of Mississippians was rooted in the Mississippian faith in God and support of the church; "love, faith, hope and charity"; as well as "the unity of the family, which is so deeply despised by the

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<sup>135</sup> T. Robert Ingram, "Civil Rights' Proposals Are Anti-Christian!" *The Citizen*, (November, 1963), 5.

<sup>136</sup> T. Robert Ingram, "Courage, Christian Soldiers!" *The Citizen*, (December, 1961), 23.

<sup>137</sup> Albert H. Freundt, Jr., "Oxford Clergy Wrong in Calling For 'Repentance'!" *The Citizen*, (October, 1962), 5.

<sup>138</sup> Edwin A. Walker, "There is No Substitute for Victory!" Address delivered in Jackson, Mississippi, on December 29, 1961, *The Citizen*, (January, 1962), 9.

Communists."<sup>139</sup> Using religion as the basis of many of his arguments, the General questioned, "I stand firm in the Gospel of Christ. If He be with us, who can be against us, except Satan and the atheistic Communist conspiracy allied with him?"<sup>140</sup> Walker applied a quotation from Ephesians 6:12 and 20 to bolster his attacks, "My challenge to the leaders of our faith is 'to put on the whole armor of God that ye may be able to withstand in the evil day,' and having done all, to stand, that you may speak boldly."<sup>141</sup> Another author echoed Walker's claims. Roy V. Harris wrote that Southerners sat idly by for twenty years while permitting the brainwashing of people "into believing that segregation was illegal, un-American and un-Christian."<sup>142</sup> It seemed easy for the Council to justify actions of integrationists by claiming they were "brainwashed." One author claimed, "Another 800 brainwashed ministers and laymen of the Methodist Church have voted for integration."<sup>143</sup>

Religion was used not only to justify Council ideology, but to make "moral" attacks on Council opposition. Many churches and religious groups, particularly national religious organizations, openly supported integration and worked against the Council. When church leaders praised student "sit-in" protests, the actions of the N.A.A.C.P., or other anti-prejudice objectives, the Council criticized and named the religious organizations supporting the "subversive" integrationist activities. In November, 1959, the Council published a list of organizations supporting integrationist causes; titling the list, "Here Is The Enemy!" Out of the 74 organizations listed, 19 were religious affiliates. The Council would name names and "passively" encourage action against these organizations--such as non-participation in the organizations or boycotts of businesses. One Council author wrote, "Herbert A. Philbrick, former FBI counterspy on communism, declared recently that 'there are more names of ministers than any other profession on the list of Communist supporters in this country' and called on the Daughters of the American Revolution to do something about it."<sup>144</sup> Word from the president of the Citizens' Council of America was, "The segregated way of life has been the Christian way until some of our church leaders have tried to change the Christian religion recently."<sup>145</sup> Also, the Council would frequently report any current events that involved religion, integration, and communism; such as a black minister becoming pastor at a white church, famous people involved in interracial relationships, or legislative actions supporting de-segregation. Often government officials were attacked.

Religious supporters of integration were considered as sources of evil. One author reported, "Years of left-wing manipulation of the communications media, schools and churches, have conditioned the minds of millions to believe that racial preferences are not only evil, but

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<sup>139</sup> Ibid.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., 10.

<sup>142</sup> Roy V. Harris, "How We Can Win the Fight!" *The Citizen* (December, 1963), 19.

<sup>143</sup> "Methodists Meet, Issue Call For More Mixing," vol. 4, no. 12, *The Citizens' Council* (September, 1959), 3.

<sup>144</sup> Marie Smith, "We're Losing Fight With Communism," *The Citizens' Council*, (July, 1956), 4.

<sup>145</sup> Roy V. Harris, "How We Can Win The Fight!" *The Citizen*, (December, 1963), 23.

feelings one must not even discuss in public."<sup>146</sup> The Council frequently attacked the National Council of Churches (N.C.C.). The N.C.C. was particularly attacked for their "Red" and "Pink" communist front activities. When Jessie Helms was the vice-president of a radio station in Raleigh, North Carolina, he attacked the Supreme Court for its decision against school prayer. The American Civil Liberties Union, the spokesman for the N.C.C., and "agitators" were cornered as the focus of Helms' attack. Helms equated the N.C.C.'s support of the decision with the "admission of Red China to the United Nations."<sup>147</sup> The Council argued, "As those who have closely followed the subject know, the hard core of religionists and educationists who advocate a fusion of the white and colored races in social institutions, generally follow a rather consistent pattern of left-wing activity."<sup>148</sup>

"Liberal" or "left-wing" were terms that were often equated with Communist front activities by the Council. If the Council had trouble effectively linking de-segregationist religious organization directly to Communism, they could easily label them "leftist" and then believably make an inferential leap to Communism. One author addressed the need for "churchmen" to research leftist trends, but warned them to avoid efforts to identify Communist Party members since that job was the responsibility of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The author argued, "What *is* the responsibility of churchmen is comprehension of the various shadings of leftist political doctrine and the work of pro-Communist groups in the country."<sup>149</sup> The author encouraged concerned churchmen to seek accurate information when developing protests and arguments against Communist aggression and people using church organizations for political agitation or Communist-front activities.

Another way religious people were attacked for supporting desegregation was to argue that if these people were not brainwashed then they were simply ignorant of the facts. An article by Stanley F. Morse attacked the people and clergy of many churches for demonstrating their ignorance when they ignored racial "facts." Morse stated that those organizations "opposing racial segregation indicate that these churchmen are ignorant of such basic laws of God as genetics (breeding and heredity), of the FACTS revealed by anthropology and ethnology (study of mankind's development), and the lessons of history."<sup>150</sup> He further argued, "history recounts that the fall of most great civilizations like Egypt and Rome was hastened by the interbreeding of their constructive, progressive population with barbarians and slaves to produce a mongrel race. It is a part of the Communist Conspiracy to degenerate Caucasian Americans into mongrels by causing them (by propaganda and federal force) to mix with Negroes. Why are these religious leaders following the 'Communist line' which aims at changing the U.S.A. into the 'Soviet States of America?'"<sup>151</sup> Carleton Putnam warned readers to beware of those who try to mislead them:

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<sup>146</sup> William Flax, "Only the Communists Stand to Gain From Current Racial Agitation," *The Citizen*, (July-August, 1963), 10.

<sup>147</sup> Jessie Helms, "The Supreme Court Has Gone Too Far!", *The Citizen*, (July-August, 1962), 13-14.

<sup>148</sup> "Pindos In The Pulpit," *The Citizens' Council*, (December, 1956), 2.

<sup>149</sup> Thomas R. Waring, "Aroused Churchmen Are Studying Leftist Trends," *The Citizen*, (April, 1962), 11.

<sup>150</sup> Stanley F. Morse, "Are Some Church Leaders Betraying Their Country?" *The Citizens' Council*, (July, 1957), 1.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*

"Now I beseech you, brethren, mark those who cause divisions and offenses in opposition to the doctrine which you have learned. . . For such persons. . . by good words and fair speeches deceive the hearts of the simple."<sup>152</sup> Putnam went on the attack those people and groups who seek to mislead blacks and all Americans with what he considered false scientific proofs that the races are hereditary equivalents.

### Threats of Communism and Anti-American/Southern Actions

Because many religious groups and individuals, such as Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. represented a religious voice for integration, the Council undermined that religious stance through labeling—primarily by labeling them Communist. “If you do not oppose forced integration, you are not fighting Communists in the United States,” said Medford Evans<sup>153</sup> By using the rhetoric of communistic threat, the Council was able to help expand their readership and membership from the South into other areas of the nation. The anti-Communist rhetoric by the Council helped fuel the fear left by McCarthyism, and it provided the perfect and workable outlet for the Council to increase membership and strengthen its cause. Arguments against liberals who supported integration, soft politicians listening to the cry of "brotherly love," and the religious efforts of civil rights leaders, particularly Reverend King, became easier to attack when they were linked to actions of Communism. The 1963 President of the Citizens' Councils of America, Roy V. Harris, accused most of the white leaders who supported integration of being "affiliated and associated with Communist, Communist-front and pink organizations."<sup>154</sup> Harris blamed such leaders for being hypocrites who were making a "goat " of blacks in order to achieve political advancement rather than people who were actually concerned about "civil rights" of blacks. With statements such as these, the Council was able to transform a South which was little involved with McCarthistic attacks of the early 1950's into a mid-1950's heart of anti-Communist propaganda. The Council worked to bring a "reality" of Communism to every community. As one author of a *Citizen* article wrote, "I believe that if the Cold War turns really hot, it will begin in the South!"<sup>155</sup> The Council considered the South's religious faith, military bases, racial turmoil, and unified leadership as a prime target for Communists.

The first issue of the official paper only briefly mentioned Communism, in relation to the all out attacks on integration as a Communist plot which grew in the Councils' subsequent publications. One article in the first issue stated integration is inspired by Communist methods, and integration is "the height of blasphemy," but outside of this passive link to Communism, no Communism labels were directly applied in the first issue. Plots of Communistic threat did build in the first six publications of *The Citizens' Council*. By the seventh publication of the official paper, the Council made an all out attack on Communism and Socialism. The paper held the following headline, "ANTI-WHITE PLOT HATCHED IN MOSCOW." Articles within this issue of the paper spoke of "diabolical" plots begun in "Soviet Russia by Communists" to use

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<sup>152</sup> Carleton Putnam, "These Are The Guilty," *The Citizen*, (March, 1963), 36.

<sup>153</sup> Medford Evans, "Forced Integration is Communism in Action!" *The Citizen*, (September, 1962), 11.

<sup>154</sup> Roy V. Harris, "How We Can Win The Fight!" *The Citizen*, (December, 1963), 21.

<sup>155</sup> Medford Evans, "Forced Integration is Communism in Action!" *The Citizen* (September, 1962), 14.

race problems to "wreck America's entire social system;"<sup>156</sup> the N.C.C. is using its influence toward "carrying out proposals sponsored by the Reds and which are against the unity, safety and security of the United States;"<sup>157</sup> "people of the nation. . . are becoming to view the NAACP in its true light, as a Communist infiltrated organization digging away at the very foundation of our nation by means of mixing of the races that will eventually lead to sure and final doom;"<sup>158</sup> "We also have a cold war on the home front;"<sup>159</sup> and "40% Of NAACP Leaders Linked To 'Red Front' Groups."<sup>160</sup>

Although the Council's official paper began working to link leftist organizations to Communism, 1957 was the first year of the Councils' all out application of Communism to the integrationist movement and particularly the N.A.A.C.P. A mid-1957 paper attacked the N.A.A.C.P and certain religious leaders as being linked to Communism, with the N.A.A.C.P. "having the greatest number of such incidents."<sup>161</sup> The official paper went on to list the names of ten N.A.A.C.P. leaders along with their organizational associations in a three page article. Publishing the names of Communist front groups, Communists, and Communist supporters was a major thread in Council rhetoric. Jessie Helms called the racial unrest in America during the 1960's a "spawning ground for Communism."<sup>162</sup> A variety of political leaders and Council members helped chime the bell of Communism, throwing fear into the hearts of Americans. "Communism" was not only a fearful and dirty word, it was a concept which became real for most southerners, a concept which was thought to take birth in leftist and integrationist groups, a concept fostered in integration and supported by the Executive office and the Supreme Court. The Council sought to equate the N.A.A.C.P. with Communism known around the world; Communism Americans knew to fight against and would soon be wrapped up in what was known as a "cold war." A Councilman further argued against fence-straddlers and integrationists by stating, "In my judgment, the attack on racial segregation is the leading edge of the Communist attack on America! Any right-wingers or conservatives who attempt to oppose Communism without also opposing the NAACP, Martin Luther King and other integrationists, are like those who might try to oppose a football team without tackling the ball carriers!"<sup>163</sup>

The Executive office and federal government were forcefully attacked by the Council as being soft on Communism. Council members were afraid American leaders would surrender to Communists: "The situation in which this Nation now finds itself is serious enough, but if we continue this type of cowardly leadership which retreats before the Communists in Cuba and

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<sup>156</sup> "Drive For 'Equality' Was Born In Russia," *The Citizens' Council*, vol. 1, no. 7, (April, 1956), 1.

<sup>157</sup> "Strange Affinity For Russian Goals," *The Citizens' Council*, vol. 1, no. 7, (April, 1956), 1.

<sup>158</sup> "Then Reds Will Take Over," *The Citizens' Council*, vol. 1, no. 7, (April, 1956), 2.

<sup>159</sup> "Says Negro Needs To Develop Pride in His Own Race," *The Citizens' Council*, vol. 1, no. 7, (April, 1956), 4.

<sup>160</sup> "Says 40% of NAACP Leaders Linked to 'Red Front' Groups," *The Citizens' Council*, vol. 1, no. 7, (April, 1956), 4.

<sup>161</sup> "Key NAACP Leaders Have 'Front' Records," *The Citizens' Council*, (May, 1957), 1.

<sup>162</sup> Jesse Helms, "Nation Needs to Know of Red Involvement in Race Agitation!" *The Citizen*, July-August, 1960, 15.

<sup>163</sup> Medford Evans, "Forced Integration is Communism in Action!" *The Citizen*, (September, 1962), 13.

throughout the world abroad, and before the Negro mobs at home, it is going to be more than serious. It is going to be fatal for this Nation and for all of us!"<sup>164</sup> Not only did the Council preach that education, Southern traditions, and social rights were being violated by Supreme Court decisions, the entire freedom of America became at stake under Communist threat. This threat was portrayed as vivid and close for Southerners. One Council member wrote that the Federal Government was "cringing before Communist-inspired mobs" and the Supreme Court was also attacked for not continuing its past practices of being "honest and responsible. . . in *Civil Rights Cases*."<sup>165</sup>

The Council worked to create the idea that the N.A.A.C.P. and integrationists were at the heart of Communism in America. By creating a variety of enemies, the Council made an imperative for fencestraddlers to choose up sides--for the Council with its actions ordained by God, the Constitution, nature, and States Rights; or for the other side, which was most likely Communist. The federal government was blamed for much of the Communist threats to American values. The Council referred to the forced integration in Little Rock as a Communist threat imposed upon a city by race-mixers.<sup>166</sup> In retaliation against legislative decisions supporting integration, Mississippi Governor Ross Barnett's answer was for Southern states to unify and "hold back from 50 to 75 electoral votes, [so] no liberal could get a majority."<sup>167</sup>

The Council acquired outside sources to help support their ideas of Communist infiltration of the United States through integrationist organizations. As an "Inside Story," *The Citizens' Council* reprinted an article from the *Pittsburgh Press* stating, "Mr. Sullivan revealed one Communist group had infiltrated a branch of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, another had gained control of the Young Progressives of America and a third unit was worming its way into religious groups. Mr. Sullivan related he joined the Communist Party in Cincinnati in 1948 at the request of the FBI to serve as an undercover man for the Government."<sup>168</sup> The Council cited FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover repeating the Councils' warnings, "The Communist Party, U.S.A., has stepped up its program of infiltrating mass organizations, a fact which is clearly borne out by our investigative experience." Hoover also stated, "These front groups provide a very fertile auxiliary of dupes, misguided pseudo-liberals and 'do-gooders' who have utterly failed in their attempts to properly analyze the true motives behind concealed communist-sponsored programs."<sup>169</sup>

Richard M. Weaver was cited as an authoritative voice who was anti-integration and anti-Communist. The Council wrote an article that mainly consisted of Weaver's words from a

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<sup>164</sup> "A Surrender to Terror," *The Citizen*, (July-August, 1963), 12.

<sup>165</sup> William Flax, "Only the Communists Stand to Gain From Current Racial Agitation!" *The Citizen*, July-August, 1963), 10.

<sup>166</sup> Holmes Alexander, "Little Rock Deserves Monument For Victory Over Communists," vol. 3, no. 11, *The Citizens' Council* (August, 1958), 2.

<sup>167</sup> Ross R. Barnett, "Strength Through Unity!" *The Citizen*, (December, 1963), 7.

<sup>168</sup> "Red Subversion In NAACP Is Revealed," *The Citizens' Council*, (February, 1957), 3.

<sup>169</sup> Jesse Helms, "Nation Needs To Know Of Red Involvement In Race Agitation!" *The Citizen*, (July-August, 1963), 14-15.

*National Review* article. Weaver was cited stating, "The Communists are skilled enough in warfare to know that their goal can be approached by different ways. They know that some nations are still too 'backward' to look with an enthusiastic eye upon the collectivizing of their economy. These nations must be edged toward it by indirect methods. And the Communist tactic most aggressively used in this country now is the approach through the idea of 'racial collectivism.'"<sup>170</sup> Weaver believed that this communist effort to bridge the races would undermine the "historic constitutional structure" of America.<sup>171</sup> He added that the "common people," see "racial mingling" as a signal of Communism.<sup>172</sup> Weaver was also cited as criticizing laws that rob business owners from discriminating when hiring, laws that restrict business owners from considering race as an issue in hiring. Such laws, to Weaver, serve as one signal of an America whose eroding rights are "following a Communist racial theory."<sup>173</sup> The Council article on Weaver remarked that he provided a "remarkably penetrating analysis" which recognized that "the Communist attitude toward race stems from Communism's materialistic representation of man."<sup>174</sup>

The Council and Weaver's belief was that making the society materialistic moved it toward Communism where racial, cultural, social, and moral differences disappear and there are only economic differences. Weaver stated that integration and "Communization" are closely synonymous words and ideas, with "the first being little more than a euphemism for the second." Weaver argued against social conformity, because he argued that when you integrate, you are close to "communizing" facilities. He attacked the liberal press for denying the "reality" that "Moscow is piping the tune; the American professoriate is beating time; and we are beginning to dance to it."<sup>175</sup> Weaver provided three propositions of truth which the Council highlighted in bold print for its readers: "1) Integration is not an end in itself. 2) Forcible integration would ignore the truth that equals are not identicals. 3) In a free society, associations for educational, cultural, social, and business purposes have a right to protect their integrity against political fanaticism. The alternative to this is the destruction of free society and the replacement of its functions by government, which is the Marxist dream."<sup>176</sup>

Since the warrant of Communism was used as an attack on the Civil Rights movement, blacks were often targets of Council aggression. A "former top communist in the United States" was discussed by the Council as revealing that Lenin attempted to rally Southern blacks together after the mid-20's to revolt against "white chauvinists." The Council blamed Communists for supporting the rights of African-Americans, stating, "He (Lenin) considered the Negroes strategically important."<sup>177</sup> The Council also blamed Moscow for racial strife in America, "The

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<sup>170</sup> "Only A Short Step From Integration To Communization," *The Citizens' Council*, (August, 1957), 1.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>177</sup> "Ex-Red Brands NAACP As 'Vehicle For Communism,'" *The Citizens' Council*, (April, 1957), 1.

United States Communist Party Politburo is reported to have drafted a new constitution declaring the party's independence from Moscow and ordering new infiltrations of Negro organizations."<sup>178</sup> And events supported by civil rights advocates such as the freedom rides and integrated schools were attacked as Communist efforts to break down America. A Council writer stated, "Virtually every argument and strategy of the Little Rock attackers has been documented as a Communist tactic. For over 40 years the Communist platforms have called incessantly for 'inflaming the Negro minority against the white' (1912) and for 'the Negro liberation movement' behind the 'vanguard leadership of the Communist party' (1953). In 1954 came the Supreme Court decision to integrate schools, and in 1957 came the military occupation which always accompanies a Communist coup."<sup>179</sup>

Religious organizations were also attacked by the Council as Communist front groups. The Council made members even question the church. The Council warned that Communism is infiltrating American and Religious systems secretly, not openly. Readers were warned that the Communists were not making their presence known by overtly waving Red flags in the streets, but covertly with years of propaganda leading to the creation of a "tunnel" under all of the ordinary defenses of the United States."<sup>180</sup> One author warned, "Each time the Communist Party secretly develops a new plan or program to exploit a major complaint of man, the Communist corn of propaganda is skillfully scattered before an important segment of religionists and educators who gobble it up without seemingly raising their heads to see who is feeding them."<sup>181</sup> The Council cited an article titled "Beware Of 'Christ-less Christianity'--A Warning To Thoughtful Americans" which used the threat of the following statements to warn readers not to be duped by Christian rhetoric by integrationists: "Rules issued to card-carrying communists long ago stated, quote: 'We must realize that our party's most powerful weapon is racial tension. While inflaming the Negroes against the whites, we will endeavor to instill in the whites a guilt complex for their exploitation of the Negroes. We will help the Negroes to rise in prominence in the world of sports and entertainment, and with this prestige the Negroes will be able to intermarry with the whites and begin a process which will deliver America into our hands."<sup>182</sup> By attacking the church, the Council helped alleviate other "moral" arguments against Council ideology.

The Council also used religion to support their ideas, showing that Communists were evil and un-American, and the Council was Christian and pro-America. Frequent Council writer and speaker, Medford Evans, argued that "Forced Integration is Communism in Action!" He questioned the definition and ideology of integration and concluded, "Historically analyzed and on the basis of the facts which we can see before us, it is a strategic campaign of the *world*

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<sup>178</sup> "Freedom, 'Red Style'," *The Citizens' Council*, (February, 1957), 2.

<sup>179</sup> Holmes Alexander, "Little Rock Deserves Monument For Victory Over Communists," vol. 3, no. 11, *The Citizens' Council*, (August, 1958), 2

<sup>180</sup> William Flax, "Only the Communists Stand to Gain From Current Racial Agitation!" *The Citizen*, (July-August, 1963), 9.

<sup>181</sup> "Who is Feeding The Flock?" vol. 3, no. 4, *The Citizens' Council* (January, 1958), 2.

<sup>182</sup> "Beware Of 'Christ-less Christianity'--A Warning To Thoughtful Americans," *The Citizens' Council*, (June, 1956), 7.

*Communist movement*. It is just that--nothing more and nothing less."<sup>183</sup> Evans stressed the support for this contention is the believed action of Communists to guide and manipulate black citizens into becoming Communist--a threat to all Americans. He blamed those who exploit the black race rather than the black race for racial strife. Evans commented, "The Communists have attacked the segregation system not because it is un-American, but because it is American. . . not because it is un-Christian, but because it is Christian!"<sup>184</sup> He continued, "Now all these people [Communists] wish to see the end of traditional America. They wish to see the end of Christianity. . . But if they really believed that integration were Christian, they wouldn't be for it--because they aren't for Christianity! Most of the Communist thought leaders on other subjects will not pretend to be Christians."<sup>185</sup> Through this example and many others, the Council demonstrated their effective use of Communism, American, and Christianity to fight integrationist oppositions. The Council considered their organization the savior of America from Communist threats and attacks on the moral fiber of the nation.

### Conclusion

*The Citizen* continued its publications for over two decades after the adoption of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Although the Council was most prominent between 1954 and 1964, their influence began to fade away after the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. In the same month the Act was passed, the most influential Council—the Jackson, Mississippi Council—prepared an "Official Council Statement" about the Act. They provided a "9-point action program" in *The Citizen* to repeal the Act: 1) Intensify action to oppose this "vicious and tyrannical legislation;" 2) the act is unconstitutional, so the Council must test it in the courts; 3) forcing us to serve blacks is "involuntary servitude" in violation of the 13th Amendment; 4) choose up your sides, retain your business as you want it, and keep your Southern principles; 5) businessmen can still seek police protection against those who enter their establishment "for the purpose of causing trouble;" 6) Chamber of Commerce members who don't agree with the Act should let your disagreements be known publicly; 7) act in accord with the Mississippi and Alabama Governors and other Southern leaders giving advice against the Act; 8) leave establishments which have integrated conditions—There is no law requiring whites to eat with Negroes--yet; 9) bloc vote.<sup>186</sup> The Council remarked, "We can buy white--we can vote white! By doing, and with a massive, united and determined protest, we can hasten repeal of this vicious anti-Southern force bill!"<sup>187</sup> The Council worked to continue the attack of integration laws through its advocacy of a politically-unified South. Strong efforts were made to have the Act overturned in the courts. Because the Council viewed parts of the Act as unconstitutional, it proposed a legal fund to assist any business owners who went to court for challenging civil rights laws. The Council's rhetoric focused on doing whatever possible, legal or otherwise, to resist the enforcement of the Civil Rights Act.

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<sup>183</sup> Medford Evans, "Forced Integration is Communism in Action!" *The Citizen*, (September, 1962), 11.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>186</sup> "Official Council Statements On The Civil Rights Act," *The Citizen*, (July-August, 1964), 8-9.

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

During the decade of 1954-1964, the Council won many converts to their fight for upholding white Southern traditions and customs found in a segregated South. Warrants of religious and Constitutional support for Council ideology, and anti-Colored and anti-Communist rhetoric, not only assisted the Council in a battle to keep segregation, these warrants were the main tenets that constituted the Council's rhetoric. Although the Council eventually lost the battle, it served as the strongest opponent of the Civil Rights Movement. With Council leadership located in white state and national politicians and businessmen, the Council was able to place economic and political reserves on integrationist efforts. Both *The Citizens' Council* and *The Citizen* were the main mouthpieces of the Council, and the Council was the mouthpiece of the white Southern rhetorical resistance. With the official publications, the Council was able to unite white Southerners within and among states to create and repeal laws in support of Southern history and customs. The official publications were also the link to the North in an effort to counter the Northern press attacks on segregation. Although the Civil Rights Act passed despite the rhetorical strategies of the Council, the Council was successful in its fight to unify a Southern base and win political support of its ideology. The Council will be known as the source of a rhetorical strategy that manipulatively and skillfully used legal and political arguments to create a believable, simplistic, consistent, and flawed view of "reality" for an audience grasping for hope.

By understanding the rhetorical strategies of the Citizens' Council, we can better understand and confront the strategic efforts of contemporary voices that echo the racism that has long exacerbated the great divide in American politics. The historical frame, once understood, can help contemporary advocates for racial justice to confront and refute the forces that would divide us and to craft more effective counterarguments.