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A STUDY OF THE CITIZENS' COUNCILS
AS A NEW ORGANIZATION AND
AS A SOCIAL MOVEMENT

A Thesis
Presented to
the Faculty of the Department of Sociology
The University of Omaha

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
John Phillip Larsen Thorslev
June 1957

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM, SOURCES, AND PROCEDURE

America has been called a "melting-pot" society. Its settlement by people of various racial, religious, national and cultural characteristics, coupled with its large size and high rate of internal mobility, has presented it with problems of adjustment such as have faced few other societies.

The American governmental system emphasizes the dignity of the "common man" and makes the free flow of public sentiment from the people to their governmental representatives very important. America denies the right of violent revolution and thus places non-violent types of mass movements in a more strategic position than they might otherwise occupy. Large and significant changes have taken place through movements such as the "labor" movement, the women's suffrage movement, and the "birth control" movement. The important effects of social movements in America place a premium on understanding them and their place in the American society.

The Citizens' Councils made their first appearance in 1954 as organizations which purport to represent the will of a large portion of the American people. The popular impression among those acquainted at all with the Citizens' Councils has been that they are a radical racist

group and are directly descended from the old Ku Klux Klan. Most of the public references to the Citizens' Councils have given inadequate and often erroneous information. The Citizens' Councils are organizations of recent advent and little accurate material is presently available concerning their character and importance.

I. THE PROBLEM

Statement of the problem. The objectives of this study are (1) to determine whether the Citizens' Councils are an outgrowth of the Ku Klux Klan; and (2) to analyze the development of the Citizens' Councils within the framework of the theory of social movement to determine whether or not they are the organized representatives of a social movement.¹ If the CC's are an outgrowth of the KKK organizations, they will exhibit similar social behavior and can be partially understood by review of studies of the Klan.² However, if they are not assumed to be simply outgrowths of the Klan, some analysis is necessary to determine what sort of relationship does exist between the two organizations.

¹A review of the theory of social movements used for this study is included in Chapter II.

²The Citizens' Council will be cited as the CC, the Ku Klux Klan as the KKK or the Klan, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as the NAACP, and the Loyal Leagues as the LL.

The analysis of the CC's within the theoretical framework of social movements merits attention for several reasons: (1) they claim to represent the interests and to have gained the support of a large number of people; (2) if the CC's are a social movement expressing the beliefs of a sizeable minority, the federal civil rights legislation and the Supreme Court decision of 1954³ afford an opportunity to study an attempt to create a belief in racial equality through legislation; and (3) this study will help to assess the adequacy of existing theory on social movements.

Value of the Study. If sociology is to maintain its claim to being scientific, it must use directed inquiry rather than accept popular assumption. Popular assumption has directly related the CC's to the Klan, but little scientific information exists to support or to repudiate this idea. This study will attempt to analyze the CC's and the Klan to see if such a relationship exists.

A major portion of this work will be devoted to judging the CC's by the existing theory of social movements. Present theoretical outlines of social movements have not yet been subjected to adequate testing,⁴ and without such testing

³This court decision reversed the Plessy vs. Ferguson decision of 1894 and ruled that segregation in public schools is unconstitutional.

⁴Cf. Paul Meadows, "Theses on Social Movements," Social Forces, XXIV (May, 1946), pp. 408-412.

the utility of existing theory cannot be determined nor can effective modifications be made on the basis of scientific knowledge.

Scope. This study describes the structure and policies of the Klan and of the CC's, utilizing their written constitutions and various periodicals and printed matter in an attempt to determine whether they are related. It includes brief reference to the chief opponents of the two organizations, but does not attempt to analyze the effect of the opponents' policies on those of the Klan and of the CC's.

The CC's' constitutions included in this investigation came from Alabama, South Carolina, and Mississippi and do not include copies of the constitutions from other states in which similar organizations have operated.

The structure and development of the CC's is viewed in comparison with certain theoretical aspects of social movements. The adequacies and difficulties involved in the utilization of existing theory are indicated, but it is not within the scope of this study to posit new theory.

Limitations. The highly conflicting reports concerning the Klan's activities make functional analysis of that organization very difficult. The difference in time periods during which the Klan and CC's have operated is a variable which has not been adequately controlled.

The material used for this study includes copies of the CC's constitutions only in the states mentioned on the preceding page. However, the formation of the "Citizens' Councils of America" confederation implies a high degree of agreement, and the practice of exchanging tracts and the various state CC's' unified action in support of segregation and "States' Rights" issues are also indications that this limitation is not serious.

Methods and sources. Historical and comparative approaches are given primary emphasis in this study. A large amount of the material was gathered by the historical method and much of the introductory material is of an historical nature. The comparative method has been used in the investigation of the constitution of the Klan and CC's. In determining whether the CC's represent a social movement, the CC's are viewed within a theoretical framework which also involves the comparative method.

Personal conferences and correspondence were conducted by assuming sympathy with the means and objectives of the CC's. An assortment of printed material was obtained in the same manner from the Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina councils.

Other information was obtained by checking with the Anti-Defamation League and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The information presented in this study was gathered from historical books, magazines, newspapers, pamphlets, various pieces of printed literature,

and personal correspondence with officers of the CC's, and includes information gathered on a trip to Montgomery, Alabama, in September of 1956.⁵

The principal source for the theoretical framework used in this study is the writing of Herbert Blumer. Special consideration is also given to the writings of Rudolph Heberle, and the work of C. Wendell King receives some mention. Other sources of theory on social movements are recognized, but are not given extensive consideration.

Remainder of the thesis. In the following chapter a review of the theory of Herbert Blumer and Rudolph Heberle is presented. Chapter III includes background information in regard to the Klan and its opponent, the LL's, and like information on the CC's and their opponent, the NAACP. This compensates in part for whatever disparity there is between overtly proclaimed goals and covert objectives. The review also serves as an introduction to the organizations, prior to the comparison of the constitution of the CC's with the "Prescript" of the Klan, which follows in Chapter IV. In Chapter V, the theoretical framework outlined in Chapter II serves as a basis for analysis of the CC's to determine whether or not they represent a social movement. The application of this theoretical framework to the CC's also performs

⁵Cr. Bibliography for listing of exact sources.

the function of checking the adequacy of the theory, and observations in this regard are included in Chapter V and in the Summary, Chapter VI.

CHAPTER II

THE THEORETICAL SETTING

This chapter reviews the theory of Herbert Blumer and Rudolph Heberle, who have made major contributions to the theory of social movements and are the primary sources of the theory in this study. The first major objective of this paper was to determine whether or not there is a direct relationship between the original Klan and the CC's. Therefore, specific application of this theoretical framework is not made until Chapter V. However, an attempt to determine whether a relationship exists between the Klan and the CC's involves discussion of their structure and policy, so reference to the theory is made at this time. This has been done to alert the reader to the characteristics of a social movement prior to discussion of the organizations.

The "structural-functional" approach was chosen because it enables a more systematic study of the hierarchical patterns of organization and defines the functions which must be performed in order for a given social phenomenon to be classified as a social movement.¹ The theories of Blumer and

¹For discussion of the "structural-functional" approach in sociology, see Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1949), pp. 21-81; Talcott Parsons, Essays in Sociological Theory Pure and Applied (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1949), pp. 3-41.

Heberle were chosen because it was felt that they have made large contributions to the structural-functional approach, particularly as it applies to the problem of distinguishing social movements from other types of movements.

Robert Merton's concepts of "manifest functions" (specifically planned and intended) and "latent functions" (those consequences which are not specifically planned or may not be foreseen) could yield additional insight in regard to the development and social consequences of social movements, but they do not solve the original problem of distinguishing social movements from other types of social phenomena. The work of C. Wendell King provides many insights in this area, but it is not outlined here since it is more a synthesis of other men's ideas than an original contribution to theory. It will, however, be cited in the text. The writings of Hadley Cantril, who uses a psychological approach, and Jerome Davis, have not been chosen as sources for this study since they include much greater emphasis on case study than on elaboration of theory. Since the "structural-functional" approach was chosen for this study, only theorists who used this approach are considered.²

²Of. Merton, op. cit.; C. Wendell King, Social Movements in the United States (New York: Random House, 1956); Hadley Cantril, The Psychology of Social Movements (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1941); Jerome Davis, Contemporary Social Movements (New York: The Century Company, 1930).

In the following pages the theory of Herbert Blumer is outlined in considerable detail, followed by a brief review of the theory of Rudolph Heberle.

I. HERBERT BLUMER³

Blumer defines the conditions under which spontaneous and elementary behavior occurs as conditions of unrest or disturbance in the usual forms of living or routines of life. He defines social movements as collective enterprises with the aim of establishing new orders of life. Blumer divides social movements into three types: (1) general, (2) specific, and (3) expressive movements. Although he cites the possibility of combinations of these three types, he has treated them separately, and they are so treated in this review.

General social movements. These movements are characterized by changes in the values of a people, which Blumer calls "cultural drifts." A general movement is a series of episodes and scattered activities, showing high enthusiasm at one point and reluctance and inertia at another. Its progress is described as "uneven, with setbacks, reverses,

³The theory cited in the following pages was obtained from Herbert Blumer, "Collective Behavior," New Outline of Principles of Sociology (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1955), pp. 167-222.

and frequent rereading of the same ground."⁴ General movements are comparatively formless in organization and inarticulate in expression. One example is the general movement toward greater equality of the sexes, with a consequent specific movement being women's suffrage. Another example of a general movement is the labor movement, with a specific related movement being the struggle for collective bargaining rights.

Specific social movements. The specific movement focuses dissatisfactions and aspirations and centers this motivating force on a specific objective. It has a carefully defined objective, and in an attempt to achieve this goal, it develops an organization and structure, recognized leaders, and the all-important "we" consciousness. It will develop traditions, values, philosophy, rules, and expectations. The members will hold allegiances and loyalties. There will also be a division of labor, particularly if its structure encompasses individual status positions.

In developing a concept of the stages of development of the movement, Blumer refers to Dawson and Gettys.⁵ They

⁴Ibid., p. 201.

⁵C. A. Dawson and W. E. Gettys, Introduction to Sociology (New York: Ronald Press Company, 1935), Chapter I.

have divided the development into four stages: social unrest, popular excitement, formalization, and institutionalization. In the first stage, that of unrest, characterized by the role of the agitator, the people are especially susceptible to appeals and suggestions. In the stage of popular excitement there is a gradual focusing on the "felt" causes of the condition. More clear-cut ideas emerge as to a solution to the problem, called "a sharpening of objectives."⁶ This stage is characterized by the role of the prophet or reformer. In the third stage, that of formalization, rules, policies, tactics, and discipline make their appearance. This stage is characterized by a leader of the nature of a statesman. In the final stage, the institutional period, the movement is fixed and organized. It has definite personnel and structure to carry out the purposes of the movement. In this stage the leader is basically an administrator.

Blumer suggests five mechanisms through which the movement becomes organized: (1) agitation; (2) development of "esprit de corps"; (3) development of morale; (4) the formation of an ideology; and (5) development of operating tactics.

To be successful, agitation must arouse and excite the people so that it can gain their attention and arouse emotions

⁶Blumer, op. cit., p. 203.

and impulses, and finally, it must, through ideas, suggestions, criticisms, and promises, give direction to the feelings which it has aroused. Particular situations will partially govern the role of agitation; if a situation exists which has been taken for granted, agitation must cause the people to challenge their modes of living. It must, therefore, create social unrest where none previously existed. In a situation in which there is already a state of unrest, the job of agitation is to intensify and direct the unrest. The first type of situation usually has a leader who is dignified and stirs the people by carefully chosen words; the second type calls for an aggressive, dynamic leader who further arouses the already excited people.

As the movement progresses, "esprit de corps" is developed. This refers to the "we" feeling in a group and to a sense of common purpose. An essential in this development is the sense of being "right." The movement is portrayed as the defender of justice, upholder of human dignity, etc., against the common enemy which is its opposition group. In the building of "esprit de corps" singing, dancing, picnics, joking, friendly and informal conversation are important devices. The ceremonial and ritualistic technique is another way in which "esprit de corps" may be built. Mass meetings, rallies, parades, large demonstrations, and commemoration ceremonies are valuable tools in this technique.

Morale goes beyond "esprit de corps" in including a belief in the ultimate achievement of the goals and the belief that the movement is charged with a "sacred mission."

Without the development of an ideology, the achievement of immediate goals would lead toward the dissolution of the movement. Blumer defines the ideology as a statement of the objective, purpose, and premises of the movement. The ideology includes a criticism and condemnation of the existing structure (or the portion of the social structure to which the group objects) and an apology or justification for the movement. It also includes beliefs dealing with the policies, techniques, and practical operation of the movement, and, finally, with the myths of the movement.

The primary role of tactics is to gain and hold adherents and to accomplish objectives. Of tactics in general Blumer writes that they "are almost by definition flexible and variable, taking their form from the nature of the situation, the exigencies of the circumstances and the ingenuity of the people."⁷

Blumer divides specific social movements into two categories--revolution and reform. The difference is in the dimension of change: the reform movement seeks to change

⁷Ibid., p. 211.

certain limited areas within the framework of the existing order; revolution seeks to abolish and to replace the whole existing social structure. Since the reform movement seeks to change only certain aspects of the existing system, it accepts the existing mores and may even use them as a basis for criticism of the areas it wishes to change. This makes it comparatively invulnerable to attack from the standpoint of the existing mores. By contrast, the revolutionary movement seeks to change the whole societal structure. It must attack the existing mores, and therefore becomes vulnerable to attack from the base of the present code of values.

This definition gives the reform movement respectability. It accepts the current social ideals and can make use of the institutions to further its goals. It works through the schools, the churches, the press, established clubs, and government channels. The revolutionary movement cannot utilize these agencies because it is attacking the established system in its totality; consequently, it is usually driven underground. Any use that the revolutionary movement might make of the existing institutions must be carefully disguised.

Finally, the reform movement attempts to interest the disinterested or indifferent public, while the revolutionary action tries to gain converts in much the same manner as does a church. The reform group usually works in behalf of a

distressed or exploited segment, but attempts to enlist the support of a middle class public and awaken vicarious sympathy in them for the oppressed group. The revolutionary movement tries to recruit the people who are actually suffering from the oppression against which it is rebelling.

In summary, Blumer writes:

The primary function of the reform movement is probably not so much the bringing about of social change, as it is to reaffirm the ideal values of a given society. In the case of a revolutionary movement, the tendency to dichotomize the world between those who have and those who have not, and to develop a strong, cohesive and uncompromising group out of the latter, makes its function that of introducing a new set of essentially religious values.⁸

Specific social movements may be viewed as miniature societies, with the consequent organized formal structure. From heterogeneous collectives new organization evolves with new values and personalities. In passing, specific movements leave "an institutional structure and a body of functionaries, new objects and views and a new set of self-conceptions."⁹

Expressive movements. A type of movement which closely parallels the pattern of specific social movements is that which Blumer calls an "expressive movement." The outstanding distinction between the "specific" and "expressive" types is that the expressive movements do not attempt to change the institutions of the social order. They are focused on expressive behavior which may have the secondary effect of producing

⁸Ibid., p. 213.

⁹Ibid., p. 214.

definite changes in the personalities of individuals and in the social order. Examples of expressive movements range from religious movements to current fashions.

Real movements are admixtures of ideal concepts. In actual circumstances, there will seldom be cases of specific social movements without some degree of involvement of the elements in religious and fashion movements. Blumer cites two types of movements which are particularly likely to include such elements--revival movements and nationalistic movements. In revivals, the past is idealized and an effort is made to make the present situation conform to this ideal picture of the past. Such movements are cited as responses to mass frustrations; since a loss of self-respect is being experienced for which the future holds no promise, a solution can be found only in the past. Revival movements are characterized by strong religious tendencies, and often utilize religious institutions.

Nationalistic movements are similar to revival movements. There is a definite attempt to improve the status of a particular group, and there is a definite objective such as national autonomy.

II. RUDOLPH HEBERLE¹⁰

Heberle considers social movements as particular kinds of social groups. They are a "species of social collectives"; they are not organized at all or are only partly organized, but are large enough to maintain themselves in spite of membership turnover. It is a collective prepared for action to achieve some kind of change, either to innovate, or to restore a condition which previously existed.

A social movement is definitely directed toward a change in the patterns of human relations, in social institutions, and social norms, which distinguishes it from efforts to maintain a new art style, a new fad, or other such innovations which are not directly relevant to the social structure.

A feeling of united action toward a common goal is essential. Until the individuals have reached this stage of awareness, a social movement does not exist. Heberle does not suggest a criterion for judgment of the complexity of the program; he writes, "The more comprehensive, the more will it conform to the ideal type."¹¹ He does say, however, that it

¹⁰The theory cited in the following pages was obtained from Rudolph Heberle, "Observations on the Sociology of Social Movements," Readings in Sociology (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1951), pp. 275-286.

¹¹Ibid., p. 277.

must have a political plan, an economic plan, and plans concerning all important social issues. It must have a distinguishable set of "constitutive ideas" which serve as an integrating force for the movement, although this does not exclude leadership and patronage. The movement is unorganized to the extent that it is held together by these "constitutive ideas" rather than institutionalized social controls. These ideas which will be adopted into the creed of the movement depend upon their appeal to the interest, sentiments, and resentments of the particular group, not upon their logic. Social movements will tend to form their own political party or else affiliate themselves with an existing party. There will also be numerous informal groups which assist in the functioning of the movement.

Final objectives will determine the structure, the organization, the role of the leaders upon attainment of these objectives, and the means of approaching the goals. The movement has therefore the secondary function of contributing to the political elite and is also the training ground for its own leaders. This enables a lower class without leaders to develop these essential leaders as the movement itself evolves.

III. SUMMARY

A critical analysis of the theory will be more valuable after its application in Chapter V. However, certain general characteristics are apparent at this time and should be kept in mind during the coverage in the next chapter of the background of the Klan, the Loyal Leagues, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the Citizens' Councils.

To summarize: It is evident that social movements are social groups with a distinct "we" feeling which are prepared to initiate changes in social norms and institutions. Blumer's definition also includes movements to restore a previously existing set of values, and for this purpose groups must have a definite set of goals and an ideology. Heberle's observation that the ideology does not depend upon logic but on appeal to sentiments and dissatisfactions, provides an interesting additional insight into the role of ideology. With these brief observations, further analysis of the theory can be suspended until more valid observations can be made following the analysis of the CC's within this theoretical framework.

CHAPTER III

A REVIEW OF THE KLAN, THE CC'S, AND THEIR CHIEF OPPONENTS

Prior to the discussion of a problem in the field tactics the army has a traditional period called the "briefing session." In this "briefing session" a sketch of the general situation is presented to the leaders before attention is focused on a particular problem. In an attempt to serve the same purpose the development and the opposition of the Klan and the CC's are discussed in this chapter. While it is not within the scope of this study to attempt to test the effects of different types of opposition on the policies of a movement, the following accounts will serve as a recognition of the fact that this might also be a rewarding area for research in a more extensive study.

I. THE KU KLUX KLAN

The original Klan den included Captain John C. Lester, Captain John B. Kennedy, Captain James R. Crowe, Frank O. McCord, Richard R. Reed, and J. Calvin Jones. They were men of high standing in their community and were well educated. They were veterans of the Confederate Army, residents of Pulaski, Tennessee, and were all close personal friends.¹ In

¹Stanley F. Horn, Invisible Empire (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1939), p. 9.

late December of 1865, the idea was suggested of organizing a society or club as a form of amusement. There is a possibility that the popularity of fraternal organizations during that period were responsible for the idea. The grotesque names given to the positions in the hierarchy of the Klan have been explained by the fact that, at its inception, it was an organization for amusement. The name Kuklos (Greek, from which circle and cycle are derived) was modified to Kuklos Clan, Kuklux Klan and finally to Ku Klux Klan.² Some historians maintain that the wearing of a sheet was a case of borrowing the traditional Halloween costume. One of the forms of amusement was to go on night rides, which, coupled with the costume, had the effect of terrorizing the superstitious local Negroes and thereby suggested an effective method of curbing the movements of freedmen who "weren't using their freedom discreetly."³ This explanation, while difficult to verify, indicates a case in which the "latent functions" of a social organization originally far surpassed the "manifest functions" in significance.

The original requirements for membership in the Klan were that a person be of good character and reputation and

²Ibid., pp. 10-11.

³Ibid., p. 14.

not addicted to alcohol. A pledge of secrecy, although it served no practical purpose at that time, was the only other requirement for membership.⁴ Elaborate initiation rituals, which served to impress new members with the significance of the Order, were subsequent developments.

Tennessee was the birthplace of the Klan, with Alabama, Mississippi, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Missouri, and Kentucky being listed in the territory as described in the Prescript of the Klan. There is some historical argument as to whether the Klan really existed in all of these states. Of Texas it was said, "It seems true that as an organization it did not exist, although testimony of many witnesses shows that reckless bands of whites did disguise themselves."⁵

Following the Civil War, many White Southerners had been disfranchised. Former slaves, who had never voted, were voting freely and being elected to all state offices. A number of Negroes were elected to the United States Congress, with Mississippi even sending two Negro senators. Without judging the merit of the Reconstruction Plan, it is readily understandable that this was a very radical change for White

⁴Ibid., p. 18.

⁵Robert Selph Henry, The Story of Reconstruction (New York: Peter Smith, 1951), p. 287.

Southerners and one to which a reaction could be expected. The Klan became a primary agent of this reaction against emancipation; its secret membership and masked costume afforded a certain amount of protection at a time when the "Writ of Habeus Corpus" was frequently suspended and martial law was the "order of the day." The Klan's avowed purpose was to restore the government to the control of white people. It became a self-appointed interpreter and executer of the law, incorporating all types of enforcement, from threats to capital punishment. There is, however, little positive evidence as to how much of the violence can be attributed to the Klan and how much should be attributed to impostors.

II. THE LOYAL LEAGUES

The Loyal Leagues were organized to the north of the Mason-Dixon Line to heighten the war spirit which had been weakened by the reverses of 1862. After the war the Southern territory was occupied by the Union Forces, and the LL's followed them. This new Southern LL group, unlike its counterpart in the Northern states which had become a social organization after the war, was organized for political purposes. Its membership included men who had come South, with or behind the Union Forces, and native whites who had sided with the Union. With the exception of a few states of the upper South, there

were not enough of these people to form a potent political force. As Negro suffrage became imminent, the LL's became a militant organization, effective in the marshalling of prospective voters. With their new orientation, the LL's were secret bodies sworn to obey and to execute the decisions of the League. The public first became aware of them in 1866.⁶ Many Negroes were initiated into these groups and they soon became a majority in most of the local organizations, at which point many of the original white members dropped out.⁷

The proclaimed object of the LL was:

To preserve liberty and the Union, to protect, strengthen and defend all loyal men, without regard to sect, condition or race; to elect honest and reliable Union men to all offices of profit or trust in the national, state, and local government; to secure equal civil and political rights to all men.⁸

The Grand Deputy of the LL's for the state of Virginia, General Edgar Allen, explained its purpose as follows:

It was organized as an aid to the effective carrying out of the humane objects and purposes of those in the North who believed that the ballot in the hands of the Negro would be preferable to bullets in the muskets of a standing army, which would have been necessary for an indefinite period in many sections of the South.⁹

⁶ John W. Burgess, Reconstruction and the Constitution (New York: Charles Scribner and Son, 1903), p. 250.

⁷ Henry, op. cit., p. 225.

⁸ Ibid., p. 226.

⁹ Ibid., p. 227.

The meetings of the LL were held at night and involved elaborate services and ceremonies, often including the use of such appurtenances as clanking chains and hooded costumes. After the ceremony there was a period of "instruction." The Negroes were told of the privileges of citizenship and of the duties they owed to the party which had freed and enfranchised them.

According to S. B. Hall, a South Carolina member, everyone was obliged by oath to support those nominated by the Order, and should an ignorant Negro member show any inclination to do otherwise, they might be "threatened to be reported to the President of the United States and that after freeing them, he would take back their freedom and put them in slavery again."¹⁰ The Negroes also were told that since they had sworn to obey orders, failure to do so would make them liable to indictment for perjury and that they might be sent to the penitentiary.

III. THE CITIZENS' COUNCILS

At the present time, a large number of organizations exists which oppose racial integration. The CC's were chosen for this study because they have the largest number of members, the highest degree of organization, and the greatest amount

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 228.

of public recognition. But after deciding to use the CC's for this study, initial investigation revealed a further problem: a number of separate organized groups have designated themselves Citizens' Councils. The degree to which these separate units indicate uniformity of purpose would determine the possibility of considering them as manifestations of a single movement. The following information, gained from various newspapers and periodicals, indicates the reasons for the choice made and illustrates the degree of this unanimity of purpose among the various organizations.

In October of 1955 a meeting was held which included representatives of an alleged 500,000 members of CC's throughout the South. The purpose of the meeting was to arrange for closer cooperation between the various state organizations. Representatives were sent to this meeting from the following states: Alabama, Texas, Arkansas, Mississippi, Tennessee, Louisiana, South Carolina, Florida, Virginia, and Oklahoma. Alabama State Senator Engelhardt, who is the executive secretary of the Alabama Council, presided at this meeting, which seems to indicate that his organization is in fundamental agreement with most of the other organizations.¹¹ The Alabama Council includes a Jew among its board members, which

¹¹The Alabamian (Montgomery, Alabama), October, 1956, p. 3.

suggests that anti-semitism is not characteristic of this group. Two noticeable absentees at this meeting were Asa E. Carter, leader of the "North Alabama Citizens' Council," and John Kasper, leader of the "Seaboard White Citizens' Council." These two leaders collaborated in inciting the disturbances surrounding the integration move at Clinton, Tennessee.¹² Further evidence of the nature of Kasper's policy can be gained from an Associated Press dispatch from Birmingham which states:

Hooded Ku Klux Klansmen attended segregation rally addressed by John Kasper The 26-year old Washington, D. C., segregationist, the featured speaker at the Citizens' Council rally, welcomed the K.K.K. members by saying, "We need all the rabble rousers we can get."¹³

Carter has organized a group called "Original Ku Klux Klan of the Confederacy." He has, however, maintained his leadership of the North Alabama CC.¹⁴ This CC sponsors a violent program and is also anti-semitic, in contrast to the

¹²Anna Holden, Bonita Valien, and Preston Valien, A Tentative Description and Analysis of the School Desegregation Crisis in Clinton, Tennessee, a report prepared at Fisk University (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the Society for the Study of Social Problems, December, 1956), pp. 4-7.

¹³Associated Press Dispatch, World Herald (Omaha, Nebraska), September 14, 1956, p. 4.

¹⁴"The Ku Klux Klan Revival," Facts, XI (November-December, 1956), p. 92.

state organization at Montgomery, which advocates a legal and economic fight and includes a Jew among its board members.

The CC's of Alabama apparently feel the activities of the Carter-Kasper combination have harmed their cause, as they have reacted violently in their printed material. In a one-page pamphlet issued by the Montgomery council Kasper is called a "race-baiter." In the same leaflet a Jet magazine article is quoted in which Negro artist Ted Joans says, "He even had a colored chick and once acted as a go-between for a married interracial couple in helping them get an apartment."

Subsequently, Carter was charged with assault with intent to kill in a shooting incident in which two Klansmen were wounded. The event occurred at a Klan meeting in a theater in Birmingham.

In a legislative committee investigation of the NAACP and white supremacy groups, in Florida, John Kasper has admitted that he danced with Negro girls at mixed parties in New York. Fred B. Hockett, who helped Kasper found the "White Citizens' Council of Washington, D. C.," renounced all connection with Kasper and the organization. Mr. Hockett declared that Kasper is now "doing more to hurt the

¹⁵United Press dispatch, World-Herald (Omaha, Nebraska), January 24, 1957, p. 8.

segregationist organizations in Florida than anything else."¹⁶

No evidence of alliances with other CC's has been found which would link the Carter and Kasper organizations to the whole movement. The Alabama Council has issued several strong denials of any affiliation with these men or their organizations. An article in The Alabamian refers to a speech made by United States Representative John Bell Williams of Mississippi in which the organizations other than the members of the "Citizens' Councils of America" were called

. . . . spurious, fly-by-night outfits whose gangster-like methods are serving only to retard the efforts of genuine Citizens' Councils and loyal Southerners battling to preserve segregation.¹⁷

The differences in tactics indicated above, including the efforts of the "Citizens' Councils of America" to maintain respectability in contrast to the notoriety of the Carter-Kasper combination, added to the fact that there is no evidence of any real collaboration between these two groups, explains the decision to exclude the "North Alabama White Citizens' Council," the "White Citizens' Council of Washington, D. C.," and the "Seaboard White Citizens' Council" from the organizations to be considered in this study.

¹⁶Associated Press dispatch, World-Herald (Omaha, Nebraska), March 13, 1957, p. 6.

¹⁷The Alabamian (Montgomery, Alabama), January, 1957, p. 4.

The foregoing distinction has been made at the risk of over-elaboration because it was felt that even a careful reading of the accounts that have appeared in the newspapers in many sections of the country would not have revealed this distinction.

The activities and objectives of the CC's are not treated at great length in this chapter, as the reader will have ample opportunity to consider these aspects in later chapters dealing with their constitution and their conformity to the theoretical outline of a social movement. Brief consideration of their origin and activities are, however, included for the reasons cited in the introduction to this chapter.

In 1896, in the famous Plessy vs. Ferguson case, the United States supreme court returned the verdict that separate but equal facilities for different races were within the confines of the Constitution. This decision stood until May 17, 1954, when the court again ruled on the issue and returned a verdict which reversed the decision of 1896. In this decision it was ruled that separate facilities were inherently unequal and therefore unconstitutional. It was this decision which is alleged to have precipitated the appearance of the CC's.

In July, 1954, the first CC Chapter was formed at Indianola, Mississippi.¹⁸ In the next few months over twenty counties had organized CC's, and on October 12, 1954, the first state organization was established at Winona, Mississippi.¹⁹ As of August, 1956, the Mississippi Councils claim to have organizations in 65 of the state's 82 counties, with a total membership of 80,000.²⁰ They also claim correspondence with sympathizers in 48 states and in Iceland, Alaska, South Africa, Mexico, England, Rhodesia, Germany, and Australia.²¹ The extent to which this vast area of correspondence includes former residents of Mississippi who have moved or are on duty in the armed forces is not known, but it could be a factor which would make specious the apparent radius of their sphere of influence.

The first Citizens' Council in South Carolina was organized in Elloree, on August 9, 1955. The state association came into existence and began operations on December 15, 1955. As of June, 1956, the state organization claims to include 56 county councils.²²

¹⁸R. B. Patterson, Second Annual Report (Greenwood, Mississippi: Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi, August, 1956), pp. 1-2.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 2.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Ibid.

²²The Association of Citizens' Councils of South Carolina, The First Half-Year, (Summerton, South Carolina: June, 1956), pp. 1-2.

The Citizens' Council of Alabama was organized following a meeting at Montgomery on February 10, 1956. It claims councils in 39 counties with a combined membership of 80,000.²³

In October, 1956, a meeting was held at Jackson, Mississippi, which was attended by CC leaders from ten states. The purpose of the meeting was to arrange for closer cooperation between the CC's of the various states and to plan for "the battles that lie ahead." The "conservative" estimate given at this meeting claims that the leaders from the ten states represent 500,000 active members of CC's. These ten states include Alabama, Texas, Arkansas, Mississippi, Tennessee, Louisiana, South Carolina, Florida, Virginia, and Oklahoma.²⁴

The incentive to form a council must come from within the community; it is not organized by an agitator from "outside." When a number of people has become interested in forming a council, they plan a meeting which is open to the public. At this public meeting they have an open discussion in which they decide if they want to organize a council. If they decide in the affirmative, a "steering committee" is selected and a second meeting is scheduled. Prior to the second meeting, the "steering committee" prepares a list of

²³The States' Rights Advocate (Montgomery, Alabama), November 25, 1956, p. 1.

²⁴The Alabamian (Montgomery, Alabama), October, 1956, p. 3.

candidates from which a board of directors is elected at the second meeting. This board of directors elects the executive committee, which in turn selects the four committees which represent the four areas of activity of the CC's. These offices include an information and education committee whose job is to "nullify" the effects of the alleged "left-wing" elements. While control of national means of mass media was not anticipated, influence is brought to bear on local media. The second group is the legal advisory committee. Its duties consist of finding legal means to maintain states' rights, to anticipate actions of national associations which are attempting to agitate the local Negroes, and to fight these attempts within the framework of the United States Constitution, and of state and local laws. The third committee is called "Political and Elections." This group attempts to get candidates for state or local offices to express themselves on the issues of states' rights and "racial integrity." The fourth committee deals with membership and finance. Primarily through personal contact, it attempts to enlist new members and support for the CC.²⁵

²⁵"How to Organize a Local Citizens' Council," Second Annual Report (Greenwood, Mississippi: Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi, 1956), pp. 2-3.

Since the CC's utilize legal and economic means to achieve their goals, a review of some of the activities in which they have been engaged will afford insight into the strategies and effectiveness of these organizations.

In South Carolina the House and Senate passed unanimous resolutions of commendation of the CC's. The CC's responded by cooperating in securing passage of legislation designed to exclude members of the NAACP from government jobs and to prevent the circulation of "inter-racial propaganda" through state libraries.²⁶

In 1952 a constitutional amendment to "raise voter qualifications" was introduced into the Mississippi State Legislature; it failed to pass. In 1954 the same amendment was again introduced with concentrated CC publicity; it passed with a sizeable majority.²⁷ The bill to abolish the public school system, if necessary, in order to prevent integration, was the second piece of legislation in support of which the Mississippi CC's put forth an all-out effort. It was passed by a referendum on December 21, 1954. This amendment would empower the legislature to abolish the public schools and set up a state-supported private school system.²⁸

²⁶The Association of Citizens' Councils of South Carolina, op. cit., p. 3.

²⁷R. B. Patterson, op. cit., p. 1.

²⁸Ibid.

The Alabama Legislature has passed a student placement measure which was opposed by Governor Folsom but went into effect without his signature, which gives school authorities broad powers in pupil assignment. A second and more extreme bill, the Boutwell Amendment, was endorsed by 138 of the 141 members of the Legislature and was ratified by a majority of almost 50,000 votes in August of 1956. Like the 1954 bill in Mississippi, it gives the Legislature the power to abolish public schools if necessary to prevent integration. State Senator Boutwell, who authored the bill, gave the CC high praise for its part in promoting passage of the bill. The CC claims that 80 per cent of its members "lined up behind the line-holding measure and gave it their active support."²⁹

Amendment Number Three on the August, 1956, Referendum in Alabama was a provision authorizing the Legislature to "sell, lease, or otherwise arrange for private operation of public parks and playgrounds anywhere in Alabama if such action becomes necessary to prevent race-mixing." This bill was also passed by a sizeable majority.³⁰

²⁹The Alabamian (Montgomery, Alabama), September, 1956, pp. 1, 3, 4.

³⁰Ibid., p. 4.

Outside of the legislative realm, the CC's have advocated the use of economic pressure on recalcitrant Negroes. Little information is available to indicate the degree to which this means has been effective, but it could quite conceivably become the strongest weapon in the hands of the segregationists. An item in The States' Rights Advocate indicates one possibility in the area of economic pressure: jobs which have traditionally been largely reserved for Negroes could be "invaded" by lower class whites. Any white person who is seeking employment in a white home as a domestic or cook, or any white family which is looking for that type of service may place an advertisement in the Montgomery County CC paper without charge. As of May, 1957, however, no such advertisement has appeared.³¹

Another article appeared in The States' Rights Advocate in which an integrated party held by the Fuller Products Company was attributed to the Fuller Brush Company. This brought a letter from the Southern District Manager of the latter company in which he asserted that money spent on Fuller brushes does not go for the cause of helping Negroes and whites to mix.³² Apparently, the Fuller Brush Company thought this

³¹The States' Rights Advocate (Montgomery, Alabama), December 25, 1956, p. 1.

³²Ibid., p. 3.

accusation sufficiently serious to warrant correction even at the risk of alienating Negro trade.

The CC's advocate peaceful and legal action to achieve their goals, and although they warn of the possibility of certain action being followed by serious or violent consequences, they do not advocate violent action of any type. They have, however, set up a committee for the legal defense of persons whom they maintain have been unjustly accused. The persons involved have been accused in the Montgomery shootings and other violence during the bus integration agitation in 1956. In another reference to the bus situation, The States' Rights Advocate reported that since the second day of "bus integration" almost all of the Negroes had seated themselves in their customary sections.³³ The suggestion has been made that the Supreme Court decision will probably meet with the same fate as the Prohibition amendment, an idea which is supported by the above cited situation.

The foregoing examples indicate the type of action the CC's have taken in waging their fight against integration. The claims that they have engaged in terrorism, have used threats of job loss, and have refused rental privileges to Negroes in an effort to maintain the firm lines of segregation are not substantiated by objective evidence. This does

³³Ibid., February 25, 1957, p. 4.

not deny the possibility of such action, but recognizes that no charges have been proved which would link them to such actions.

IV. THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

The NAACP is the organization most commonly listed by the CC's as their chief opponent and the one against which they have distributed the greatest amount of propaganda. The NAACP was organized in 1909, on a bi-racial basis, by a group who wishes to eliminate racial discrimination and segregation in American society. The methods utilized by the organization include legal action, sponsorship of legislation, the use of mass media and of mass meetings and speeches to promote favorable public opinion. Its proclaimed goal is "full emancipation" by 1963.³⁴ It is a non-profit organization and depends on membership dues and contributions for its support. A life membership costs \$500.00 as compared with \$3.50 to \$5.00 per year for membership in the CC's.

NAACP leaders claim that the Communists have made concerted attempts to enlist the Negro portion of the population into their party and that the NAACP has been largely instrumental in the Negroes' rejection of these Communist

³⁴ The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Invest in Freedom (New York: March, 1956), pp. 1-3.

efforts. It also claims partial credit for the fact that since 1950, two thousand Negroes have enrolled in Southern institutions of higher learning which formerly admitted only white students.

The NAACP reported that Negroes in the larger urban centers were voting freely in every state but Mississippi and that Negroes were elected to public office in Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Arkansas, Tennessee, and Texas. It further maintains that some of these victories were made possible through "white" support.³⁵ It notes also that the achievement of integration within the armed forces has been an evident success.

Communism, by its revolutionary nature, would deny its adherents the use of the existing institutional framework; the NAACP indicates this as one of the reasons for the rejection of Communism by the Negroes. It has instead upheld the existing institutions and mores and has been able to use them in its attempts to achieve integration.

Recently the activities of the NAACP have been banned in Alabama and several other Southern states. This was done because the NAACP refused to comply with demands that it open its membership files and accounts for state inspection. The

³⁵Ibid.

CC's did agitate for this action, but the evidence necessary to draw objective conclusions about the indictment and the sentence is not available at this time.

V. SUMMARY

In reviewing the four organizations--the CC's, the Klan, the NAACP, and the LL's--a number of outstanding differences are immediately apparent. The Klan and the LL's were secret, militant organizations whose members were oath-bound to carry out the orders of their leaders. They engaged in extra-legal activities and were, therefore, denied the open use of the existing institutional framework. They were born in an era of post-war readjustment and economic upheaval.

In contrast, both the NAACP and the CC's were born in comparatively "normal" times. With the above mentioned exception on the part of the NAACP, they have not been convicted of illegal activity and operate openly in the support of existing mores and laws. Membership does not demand an oath or absolute obedience, and flamboyant costume and rituals are never used. Both claim to be legal organizations, acting within the framework of the United States Constitution, in pursuit of moral and governmental reform.

The degree to which the difference in time, circumstances, and opposition have been causal factors in determining

the differences in the structure and the activities of the CC's and of the Klan is not within the scope of this study, but would merit attention in any extension of this study toward a comprehensive theory.

CHAPTER IV

A COMPARISON OF THE PRESCRIPT OF THE KU KLUX KLAN WITH THE CONSTITUTION OF THE CITIZENS' COUNCILS

In comparing the Klan and the CC's one must necessarily rely on historical sources for reports of the Klan's activities. But disagreement as to which activities were attributable to the Klan at the time of its existence and the secrecy it demanded make the task of ascertaining the reliability of the information even more difficult. A final difficulty is created by the still current historical debate as to where the Klan was active, when it was active, and which of the reports are legendary and which are factual.

In this dark picture, one opportunity presents itself: the Prescript of the Klan and the Constitution of the CC's can be analyzed and compared without this analysis being subject to the above criticisms. The difference between written charters and actual practice is the weakness of this type of approach. But since the uncontrolled factor will be present in both cases, and since adequate, reliable information on the Klan is not available, it was assumed that the variable is of equal importance in both cases.

In the following pages, the Prescript of the Klan and the Constitution of the CC's are compared step by step.

Name and Location. The Klan designated its name by placing three asterisks; no city or state was indicated as headquarters. The CC's designate a specific name and a headquarters location.¹

Objectives. The Klan was dedicated to the protection of the weak, the innocent, the defenseless, the orphaned, etc. Its second goal was to protect and defend the United States Constitution and the people of the states from any invasion. A third Klan objective was to aid in the execution and the preservation of the law and to protect people from trial except by their peers, thus specifically reserving to itself such duties as protecting the people, the choice of juries, and the executing of the law--duties which are by law reserved to the government and to established legal institutions.

The CC's, on the other hand, are dedicated to the general purpose of preserving peace, order, and tranquility, on a state basis, and to the preservation of states' rights on a national basis. They have not delegated to themselves any governmental or judicial powers, and they suggest an interest more local in nature than did the Klan.

¹See the Appendix for complete copies of the Prescript of the Klan and the Constitution of the Citizens' Councils.

Organization. Article Three of the Prescript provided for a highly authoritarian structure with a specifically indicated hierarchy of officers. Each officer in the order was either responsible to his immediate superior and his secretary (Scribe) or had to submit quarterly reports. On the local level, the "den" officer (Grand Cyclops) had the power of approval of applications for membership and could impose fines or take other disciplinary action at his discretion.

Article Three of the CC's' Constitution states that each local organization is to be a self-determining group for which the state organization is not responsible and which is not responsible to the state.

Area of Jurisdiction. The Klan indicated the territory of fourteen Southern states as being under the direct jurisdiction of the leader (Grand Wizard). The CC's are county or city organization which may choose to join the state organization but are not obliged to do so. The power of expulsion is the only control the state organization has over the county groups.

Election of Officers. The officers of the Klan were chosen by cooptation with the appointing officer also having the power of dismissal. Provision was made for bi-annual election of the highest officer (Grand Wizard), but the electors were the Grand Dragons (the second highest officers),

who were appointed by the Grand Wizard. In the event of a vacancy in the office of the Grand Wizard, the senior Grand Dragon exercised the power of the Grand Wizard with a new election taking place in six months or less. No provision was made for election of other officers in the hierarchy with the exception of the Grand Magi and the Grand Monk of the local dens. These two offices would be equivalent to first and second vice-presidencies, and were filled by election as soon as there were ten members in a den, with annual election thereafter.

The use of cooptation, plus the authority of the leaders to institute certain disciplinary action, made possible effective control of the organization. Each officer in the hierarchy was also responsible to his immediate superior and had to submit a list of the names of the members under his jurisdiction. This prevented the possibility of any officer in the chain using possession of membership lists as a bargaining factor in the event of a power struggle.

The officers of the state organization of the CC's of Alabama are elected by the "directors" from the separate county organizations. Each county with one or more recognized councils is eligible to elect a director. These directors elect an executive committee which has the power to transact business for the state organization. The executive committee has the power to change the by-laws of the state council by majority vote.

The Mississippi CC, on the other hand, provides for up to fifty locally elected directors who transact business when in quorum, made up of ten or more directors.

The other powers exercised by the elected groups both in the Mississippi and the Alabama CC's are: to appoint officers and committee heads, to vote to reject or to expel one of the members, and to recognize or reject a local CC.

Judiciary. The Prescript of the Klan provided for a judiciary for which there is no equivalent in the CC's' Constitutions. The Prescript provided for the appointment of three judges at the top three levels, five judges at the fourth level, and seven judges at the lowest level. These judges were appointed by the highest officer at each level. Any "trial" or impeachment of the highest officer, the Grand Wizard, had to include seven Grand Dragons and to be presided over by the senior Grand Dragon present. The judges at the various levels were to be selected on the basis of intelligence, integrity, and fair-mindedness.

The judges summoned the accused, pronounced judgment, and passed sentence; the accused had the right of appeal to the next highest court, the decision of which was final. The officers convening the court were responsible for the execution of the punishment. In all other areas the courts were governed by the rules of a regular court martial.

Revenue. The Prescript of the KKK prescribed that prior to the formation of a den, a copy of the Prescript must be obtained at a cost of ten dollars. Two dollars went to each of the three higher levels, with the remaining four dollars going to the highest level. Each level was further entitled to ten per cent of the revenue of the level below it. Each level could levy a special tax on the lower level when its leader "deems such a tax necessary."² The dens, the lowest level, gained revenue from their initiation fees, from fines, and from such per capita tax "as the Grand Cyclops shall deem necessary."³

The Mississippi CC Constitution calls for annual membership dues of five dollars, three dollars of which shall go to the state organization. A complete record of the income and expenditures of the state organization must be kept open for inspection by all or any of the directors at any time.

The Alabama CC Constitution calls for a three dollar annual fee, with each local council which is a member of the state organization paying one dollar per member to the state council. The Alabama Constitution also prescribes a complete financial record which must be open to inspection by the directors at any time.

²(See Appendix for copy of the Prescript) Article VI.

³Ibid.

Eligibility for Membership. The prerequisite for Klan membership was the recommendation of a Klan member to the investigating committee, which might in turn recommend him as "competent and worthy" of becoming a member.⁴ The person had to be eighteen years of age, and although no rule was made which would limit membership to males, the masculine pronoun was used exclusively throughout the text and no mention of a female member has ever been found. The prospective member voluntarily took the oath of secrecy and obligations, and had to answer the "interrogatories" satisfactorily.⁵ After satisfactory completion of the interrogatory, the person took a second oath which stated that he would in no way reveal any of the secrets of the KKK or that he knew anyone who was a member of the Klan. He also swore that he would abide by the Prescript and the edicts of the Klan.

The literature from the Alabama CC states that all "white" citizens over eighteen years of age who have been approved by the executive committee shall be eligible for membership, with the following exceptions: judicial or quasi-judicial officials and law enforcement officers.⁶

⁴Ibid., Article VII.

⁵Ibid., "Interrogatories to be Asked," Article VII.

⁶Quasi-judicial officials are defined as including members of the Jury Board, Board of Equalization, Board of Registrars, and city and county school boards.

Expulsion. A CC member may be dropped for "cause" after a hearing by the executive committee. If a member is expelled, his current dues must be refunded.

A member of the KKK could be expelled by a majority of the officers and members of the local den to which he belonged. His name was then forwarded to the leaders of a large surrounding area, and the circumstances were publicized among their members.

Edicts. Article X of the Prescript listed a number of rules which have no written equivalent in the CC's Constitution. No Klan member could be a member of more than one den, nor could any den operate beyond local limits without explicit invitation or permission.⁷ No KKK member was allowed to take intoxicants to a meeting, and if he came to a meeting in a drunken condition, he was subject to a fine. Any member or former member of the Klan who betrayed the secrets of the Order was subject to "the extreme penalty of the law."

Summary. The Klan, as a secret organization which did not designate offices or locations, could not be contacted through the usual channels nor were its actions made public. The CC's designate offices and headquarters, are chartered in

⁷This contrasts with local CC's which may have members in any state and which send literature throughout the nation.

their respective states, and attempt to gain their objectives through cultivation of favorable public opinion. This makes it possible to subject many of their actions to legal scrutiny and allows the public to judge them more on the basis of facts than mere rumors.

The Klan assumed illegal power compared to the CC's which emphasize observance of the law and cannot order their members to do anything which they do not choose to do. The Klan maintained obedience through the threat of "the extreme penalty," while the CC's have no written means other than expulsion by which to punish errant members.

The CC's maintain as an objective the preservation of states' rights and are reacting against what they feel is a trend toward extreme centralized government. Their racial policies have a basis in legal tradition in the Plessy vs. Ferguson case of 1896; the Klan, on the other hand, denounced any semblance of social or political equality, without benefit of judicial tradition.

The organizational structure of the CC's allows a high degree of local autonomy with authority being delegated from "bottom to top"---the type of organization usually classified as being democratic. The Klan had a rigid authoritarian structure with the power and the direction being determined strictly from above.

The Klan's provision for a judiciary made it a separate legal entity, assuming powers reserved by state or federal law to the government or to the courts. As a social movement it constituted a rebellion against the then existing system, operating outside of the traditional framework. The name of its highest office--Grand Wizard of the Empire--indicated much of the nature of the organization; it was an empire superimposed upon an existing state.

The CC's assume no such extra-legal powers and work within the existing institutional framework, achieving a measure of respectability, and utilizing existing institutions to further their goals.

The Klan's power to impose fines and to collect taxes is a further indication of its existence as a separate ruling body. In the case of the CC's, local councils join the state organization of their own volition and become dues-paying members with a voice in state policies. They are not oath-bound to carry out the proclamations of the state councils nor are they subject to fines or special taxes.

The Klan Prescript indicated a standard procedure to be followed in investigating the background of prospective

members; the CC's indicate that some approval for membership should be obtained from the executive committee.⁸

The Klan was a secret, highly authoritarian organization existing as a separate legal entity superimposed upon a specific area within an existing state. It provided for extreme forms of punishment for disobedience, and its oath was binding after cessation of membership. The CC's ask for a pledge to defeat ideologies which they consider contrary to the existing norms and values; they do not demand "blind" allegiance and have no punishment other than expulsion from membership.

As indicated previously, the effects of time, of form of opposition, and of differences in the public's demands and reaction to specific techniques can be regarded as possible "causes" for differences in the structure and techniques utilized by organizations expressing movements. This, however, does not eliminate the differences, but serves only to explain why the differences exist. For this reason, the conclusion that can be drawn from the review of their activities in Chapter III, and particularly from the comparison of

⁸In an interview with the secretary-treasurer of the Montgomery County CC the author was told that certain "personal" investigation was used. The author, however, was admitted to membership without benefit of such an investigation.

their charters in this chapter, is that the CC's are new organizations with certain ties in Southern tradition but without a distinct line of descent from the Klan and with few organizational similarities.

CHAPTER V

THE CITIZENS' COUNCILS AS A SOCIAL MOVEMENT

The purpose of this chapter is to determine whether or not the CC's are a social movement. The principal source of the theory is the writing of Herbert Blumer with attention also being given to the theory of Rudolph Heberle.¹ The characteristics of the CC's are compared with Blumer's description of the three basic types of social movements to determine whether the CC's constitute a movement, and in case they do, to determine which category's requirements they most nearly fulfill.

Beginning with "general" movements, moving on to "specific" movements, and concluding with "expressive" movements, the distinguishing characteristics are indicated and compared to the characteristics of the CC's.

I. GENERAL SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

General social movements are described as a search for an arrangement which will answer to a new idea or concept which has been derived as a result of gradual changes in social values. They follow an uneven pattern of progress and continue

¹See Chapter II for a synopsis of the theoretical framework of Herbert Blumer and Rudolph Heberle.

their growth through unorganized, scattered activity. They have no established leadership or membership and consequently have little guidance or control. For this reason they do not usually make themselves evident in organized group action, but develop on the basis of individual experience, through conversations, discussion, and exemplary behavior. General movements do have a "literature," but it is usually in the form of a protest against existent conditions, with only vague outlines of a solution or of a new system.

With their heavy emphasis on tradition and their repeated reference to the Plessy vs. Ferguson case, the CC's cannot be called an example of an attempt to organize a system consonant with a change in beliefs, unless it is suggested that the "separate but equal" doctrine is a new concept which is just beginning to be accepted in the South. Even this "twist" would not allow for the emphasis on "states' rights" which is also an important part of the CC's' doctrine.

The presence or absence in the CC's of the uneven pattern of growth ascribed to "general" movements would be difficult to determine at this point due to the relatively short duration of the CC's. Judgment on this point would not, in fact, lend itself readily to anything other than an ex post facto method of research.

An essential characteristic of a "general" social movement is that it has no well-established leadership and membership. The CC's, considering the fact that their leaders are specifically provided for in their constitutions, that they have membership cards, and even the very fact that they have constitutions, clearly do not fulfill this requirement. Furthermore, evidence of concerted action such as the CC's' support of the amendment to abolish public schools to preserve segregation indicates that the CC's have definite objectives, act as an organized group, and respond to the appeals of specific leaders.²

The "literature" of the CC's presents a specific policy for the alleviation of the conditions against which it is protesting. It indicates a specific program and lists steps to be followed in gaining its objectives.

By these criteria then, the CC's are not a "general" social movement. At this point an apparent inadequacy of the theory appears. Blumer lists "general" movements as the source from which "specific" movements arise. He cites the example of the anti-slavery movement which arose as an individual expression of the general humanitarian movement of the nineteenth century. By this criterion, "specific" movements could be regarded as symptomatic expressions of

²Cf. The Alabamian (Montgomery, Alabama) August, 1956, p. 1.

"general" movements. Would this mean that the CC's are a specific movement arising from a nation-wide reaction to centralized government, that they are symptomatic of a reaction to the humanitarian movement, or that they are an expression of the general dissatisfaction with the anonymity of a mass society? If this is the case, then "specific" movements are really organizations which arise as individual expressions of a "general" social movement and should not be called social movements without further qualification.

Rudolph Heberle, who does not distinguish types of social movements, defines a "movement" as a "collective ready for action by which some kind of change is to be achieved, some innovation to be made, or some previous condition to be restored," but in going on to distinguish social movements from other types of movements he says it is a "direct orientation toward a change in the social order, that is, in the patterns of human relations, in social institutions and social norms."³ He goes on to say that a social movement will usually affiliate itself with a political party and will exhibit itself in formal organizations. Thus Heberle does not

³Rudolph Heberle, "Observations on the Sociology of Social Movements," Readings in Sociology (Alfred M. Lee, ed., New York: Barnes and Noble, 1951), p. 276.

conflict with Blumer in the definition of a general movement, but he includes Blumer's "specific" movements as organizations affiliated with the movement which function in directing action, but are only a small part of the movement.

II. SPECIFIC SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Blumer indicates a number of characteristics of a "specific" social movement. Elaboration of these individual characteristics describes the structure and indicates the functions of a "specific" social movement. In the following pages the CC's will be analyzed in terms of these characteristics to determine the degree to which they possess the qualities of a "specific" social movement. The function of these characteristics will be indicated as they are discussed.

Defined objectives. Blumer says that the "specific" movement focuses the dissatisfactions and centers the motivating force on a specific objective. The CC's seem to meet this qualification because they are focusing the dissatisfaction of the Southerners on the Supreme Court decision--the decision that racial segregation is unconstitutional. This decision was handed down by the Supreme Court on May 17, 1954, a day which Judge Brady of Mississippi calls "Black Monday."⁴

⁴Tom P. Brady, Black Monday (Greenwood, Mississippi: Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi, n.d.), p. 1.

Former Justice of the Supreme Court James Byrnes has served to heighten this dissatisfaction with the Court and its decision by saying: "The Court did not interpret the Constitution--the Court amended it."⁵ The Southern leaders maintain that this decision will destroy the "friendly feeling" which existed between the races. The States' Rights Advocate intensifies this dissatisfaction by noting that American Communists have praised the Court's decision.⁶ Another pamphlet cites the Court's reference to Myrdal and implies that Communists influenced his conclusions. They "prove" this by reporting that Senator Eastland found a number of Myrdal's associates are members of organizations cited as subversive by the Department of Justice.⁷ These, and many other reports, have clearly focused the dissatisfaction on the Supreme Court decision and its effects.

The next function of a "specific" movement is to center the motivating force of the dissatisfaction on a particular objective. The CC's seem also to meet this qualification in that their objective is to prevent the Supreme Court ruling

⁵James F. Byrnes, The Supreme Court Must Be Curbed (Greenwood, Mississippi: Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi, nd.), p. 2.

⁶States' Rights Advocate (Montgomery, Alabama) February 25, 1957, p. 1.

⁷Byrnes, op. cit., p. 9.

from becoming really effective. The method by which this objective is to be achieved is by "interposing the sovereignty of the state between its people and the federal government." This method of preventing encroachment on states' rights "may be broken only by invasion of the states by federal forces."⁸

Organization. Another characteristic of the "specific" movement is that it be organized. The CC's have rapidly developed from a single isolated group to a large organization which claims to have local organizations throughout the South. These organizations are loosely affiliated but indicate a high degree of unity of purpose.⁹

The CC's have a carefully defined division of labor which aids in the organization and effectiveness of their activities.¹⁰ The CC's exhibit the necessary organization to achieve their particular goals.

Recognized leadership. Specific social movements need recognized and accepted leadership in order that their activities may be focused and directed. The CC's apparently have two types of leaders. The first type included the elected and appointed officers of the organization; the second type

⁸The Alabamian (Montgomery, Alabama) January, 1957, p. 3.

⁹See Chapter III, "The Citizens' Councils."

¹⁰For discussion of the division of labor see Chapter III, pp. 33-34.

includes men of high standing in public life who do not claim CC membership, but do sponsor a similar doctrine and are regularly engaged as guest speakers at CC rallies.¹¹ Here again the theory does not adequately explain the leadership of a "specific" movement. The CC's do have recognized and accepted leadership, but if the CC's are a "specific" movement, it would follow that their leaders would also be members of the organization in all cases.

Definite membership with a "we" consciousness. The "specific" social movement must have a definite membership to serve the function of developing the "we" consciousness. One of the methods used by the CC's in developing a definite membership and a sense of "common cause" is to issue membership cards.¹² Leaflets, pamphlets, and in many cases newspapers are also distributed to the members. The articles in these publications are directed toward the development of a feeling of working for a "common cause" against a "common enemy." The most-often mentioned enemy organization is the NAACP, and in an effort to intensify the animosity toward this organization it has been linked with a cause which bears a strong stigma in America--the communist cause.¹³ Articles

¹¹Cf. "The South," Time (March 26, 1956), pp. 26-29.

¹²The author received a membership card for the Montgomery County Citizens' Council upon payment of the annual fee.

¹³Cf. The States' Rights Advocate (Montgomery, Alabama) February 25, 1957, p. 1.

PAGES 63 AND 64 MISSING FROM ORIGINAL COPY.

upholding the cause of segregation and "preserving" the white race.¹⁸

Philosophy. One of the functions of the philosophy has been to justify the existence of the movement. The CC's maintain that segregation is "right," and their philosophy is one which assumes that the Negro race is inferior to the white race.¹⁹ They believe in a literal interpretation of the United States Constitution and that all rights not specifically delegated to the federal government should be reserved to the States. This philosophy also attempts to justify their condemnation of the Supreme Court opinion of May 17, 1954, which was buttressed by certain sociological and psychological findings.

Rules. Rules serve as a means of creating discipline within the organization. This assists in developing a sense of cohesion and unity within the group and helps to focus the otherwise scattered activities of the individual members. The CC's do not have an elaborate set of rules such as the Klan had, and the only disciplinary action they can take is

¹⁸S. E. Rogers, Christian Love and Segregation (Summerton, South Carolina: The Association of Citizens' Councils of South Carolina, n.d.).

¹⁹Brady, op. cit., pp. 1-6.

to expel the offending member.²⁰ However, informal rules, while not elaborated in Blumer's theory, probably serve as an effective means of discipline through "social pressure."

Expectations. The most important function of a body of expectations is to build morale. The tradition and the philosophy of the CC movement have "proved" that it is right, and that it has a duty to preserve the white race, but the members must have a body of expectations. The CC's maintain that integration of the races will not come to the South. They explain the cases in which states which were segregated have since been integrated by the failure of the CC's to organize in those states. They expect their "interposition" laws to delay integration indefinitely, if not permanently. They feel that since the Supreme Court cannot enforce its decisions, they will be able to place state laws between the individual and the federal court and thus maintain segregation in the South.

To the extent that increase in membership can be taken to be an index of morale, the people seem to have accepted these statements of expectation, and the morale of the CC's is high.

Tactics. The CC's use legal means to achieve their goals. The use of exclusively legal means to promote their

²⁰See Chapter IV for elaboration on the rules.

objectives enables them to achieve a high degree of respectability. Although they publicly condemn the Supreme Court decision, they do not directly or forcefully oppose it. They do not attempt revolutionary means; their tactics are all directed toward indefinite delay of integration. For example: Alabama, Mississippi, and several other states have passed amendments to their state constitutions which would enable their state legislatures to abolish the public school systems in a final attempt to preserve the segregated system.

Another "legitimate" approach which has been suggested in several sources might be called "informal economic pressure." The States' Rights Advocate says that Negroes may find they have no jobs and that new credit regulations may cause a severe money shortage among Negroes.²¹

It was probably a combination of a legal technique and the threat of economic pressure which made the NAACP refuse to submit its complete records to the state governments, and thereby ensured the success of the attempt to "push" the NAACP outside of legal bounds. Through a law which demands submission of complete records, coupled with the NAACP's refusal to comply because of fear of economic reprisals on

²¹ "Segregation Ends," States' Rights Advocate (Montgomery, Alabama) December, 1956, pp. 1-4.

its members, that organization has been outlawed in Alabama, Texas, and Louisiana.²²

A third means has been the threat of violence--again an indirect method. The CC's have not condoned violence; in fact, they have condemned it. Apparently, they understand the principle which King has pointed out in his discussion of tactics. King says:

Tactical blunders can be fatal to a movement. Errors such as a show of weakness or, conversely, an illtimed display of aggression can alienate potential supporters and even members.²³

It would be difficult for church organizations and elected governing officials to support open violence, and such violence would also alienate potential supporters throughout the United States. However, the CC's have made frequent mention of the possibility that violence by the public might in some cases be unavoidable.²⁴ This threat, in an area once dominated by the Klan, also has a large potential influence and may enable the CC's "to have their cake and eat it too."

²²"NAACP Still Active in Alabama," States' Rights Advocate (Montgomery, Alabama) April, 1957, p. 1.

²³G. Wendell King, Social Movements in the United States (New York: Random House, 1956), pp. 36-37.

²⁴"Bus Disturbance in Montgomery and Miami," States' Rights Advocate (Montgomery, Alabama) April, 1957, p. 3.

Reform and Revolutionary Specific Social Movements.

Blumer distinguishes two basic types of "specific" social movements, the reform and the revolutionary. The reform movement attempts to change a particular portion of the social structure; the revolutionary movement wishes to change the whole social structure.²⁵ The CC's want to preserve an undefined degree of "state sovereignty" and segregation. They accept the "mores" and do not attempt to overthrow the existing structure; indeed, they frequently use the Constitution of the United States and the Bible as a basis for their propaganda.

Blumer says that the reform movement will have "respectability" and thus be able to make use of the existing institutions.²⁶ The CC's in Alabama have been supported in their views by a resolution of the "Alabama State Baptist Association."²⁷ Reverend Gillespie defended segregation on the basis of the Bible at a Synodical meeting of the Presbyterian church in Mississippi.²⁸ United States Senators and Representatives have stated the cause of the CC's in the

²⁵ Blumer, op. cit., p. 212.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ "Baptist Association Rejects Integration," States' Rights Advocate (Montgomery, Alabama), November, 1956, p. 1.

²⁸ G. T. Gillespie, A Christian View on Segregation (Greenwood, Mississippi: Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi, n.d.), pp. 1-16.

Congress. Clearly, the CC's have achieved a sufficient degree of respectability to enable them to make use of the existing institutions.

In further elaboration of the reform movement, Blumer says:

The primary function of the reform movement is probably not so much the bringing about of social change, as it is to reaffirm the ideal values of a given society.²⁹

The CC's have constantly maintained that they are fighting elements which would destroy the present system. They are attempting to preserve the segregation of the races which has existed in the South for generations. They are attempting to reaffirm the value of the interpretation of the Constitution which existed prior to the decision of May 17, 1954. These factors indicate that the CC's more nearly fulfill the qualifications of the "reform" movement than of the "revolutionary" movement.

III. EXPRESSIVE MOVEMENTS

Blumer says that "expressive" movements do not attempt "to change the institutions of the social order or its

²⁹Blumer, op. cit., p. 213.

objective character."³⁰ The CC's, however, are attempting to change the law by seeking to make segregation of the races legal. They are also attempting to influence the attitude of the federal government in regard to the "sovereign" rights of the states. Integration is the "law of the land" and the fact that the CC's are denying this indicates that their objectives are far more radical and far-reaching than those which Blumer ascribes to the typical "expressive" movement.

IV. SUMMARY

The CC's exhibit a high degree of organization and have definite objectives and programs, and therefore do not have the structure ascribed to the "general" movement. Since the CC's also seek to make definite changes in the institutions and in the larger society in which they exist, they do not share the aims and objectives ascribed to an "expressive" movement.

The CC's do, however, maintain the definite objectives of a "specific" movement. They are organized, they have accepted leaders, and they designate distinct programs and policies. They have a definite membership and have developed a "we" consciousness. The CC's have also tradition, beliefs,

³⁰Ibid., p. 214.

and a philosophy. They have defined expectations and follow particular techniques in achieving these objectives. This structure and the functions performed by the CC's place them in the category of a "specific" movement. Within this category, they have the objectives and the scope of the "reform" rather than of the "revolutionary" movement.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

I. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The first major objective of this study was to determine the relationship between the Citizens' Councils, as a twentieth century movement, and the Ku Klux Klan. If, as popular opinion has assumed, the CC's are a direct outgrowth of the Klan, then one should be able to understand them and to classify them in similar terms. If, on the other hand, they are a strictly modern development, even though they have largely the same general objectives as the Klan, then they would have to be reclassified and analyzed anew to determine their distinctive role in contemporary society. The second major objective of this study, therefore, was to consider the CC's within the framework of a theoretical analysis of social movements in order to determine their characteristics and to analyze their functional characteristics within that framework.

Preliminary investigation indicated that a number of different organizations label themselves Citizens' Councils. Numerous references in periodicals indicated Asa E. Carter and John Kasper as representative leaders of the CC's, but further investigation revealed that these two men and the

organizations they represent have no affiliation with the large number of CC's who are members of the "Association of Citizens' Councils of America." It also revealed that the Association denies any affiliation with the Carter-Kasper combination, and that they have often pursued conflicting programs. For these reasons the study was limited to those CC's which were actually members of the national association.

A study of the historical development of the Klan indicates that it was a secret, militant organization active in a time of social disruption. It operated when unconstitutional procedures were common, and when the people were more tolerant of extra-legal procedures and even of force and violence. In contrast with the Klan, the CC's developed spontaneously on a strictly local basis. They employ more democratic methods and do not have a national headquarters with the power to direct the activities of local organizations. The CC's have shunned illegal procedures and have achieved a considerable degree of social respectability. Their legal procedure stands in direct contrast to the sensational terrorism which the Klan employed.

At this point a consideration was given to the chief opponents of the Klan and of the CC's. This investigation showed a marked similarity in structure and activity between each organization and its major opposition, which indicates

both that the exigencies of the times were important in determining the organizational structure and the policies of the respective organizations, and also that to a certain extent, at least, each organization is a function of its opposition.

A comparison of the Prescript of the Klan with the Constitutions of the CC's emphasized the differences in the two organizations. The Klan demanded an oath of allegiance and employed the strongest measures to maintain discipline, while the CC's demand no oath and have no means with which to force the compliance with the rules of the individual members other than expulsion. The Klan delegated to itself authority usually reserved to the courts; the CC's, on the other hand, work through the courts to gain their objectives. To summarize: The investigation showed that the CC's are separate organizations, existing in a different social and political era, pursuing different policies, and having a different structure from the Ku Klux Klan of the Reconstruction period.

After choosing the "structural-functional" approach to determine whether or not the CC's constitute a social movement, the theory of Herbert Blumer appeared to be the most satisfactory and was utilized for the purposes of this study. Blumer indicated three types of social movements---

general, specific, and expressive. Of these three types, the CC's most nearly fulfill the scope, the type of structure, and the functions of the "specific" social movement.

Within the category of "specific" movements, Blumer listed two types, the reform and the revolutionary movements. The CC's, in their attempts to change only certain portions of the social structure rather than to overthrow the whole of the social structure, most nearly fulfill the requirements of "specific" social movement of the reform type.

II. SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

As a result even of a single study, many suggestions might be made for further research, both in the area of empirical investigation and in the area of social theory.

1. The most obvious need for research is on the problem of the membership of the Citizens' Councils. From the point of view of mere numbers alone: if the CC's have indeed, as they claim, 500,000 members, they represent a considerable portion of the voting public of the South. Further research should also be made to ascertain which social, economic, and educational groups comprise the majority of their members, whether urban or rural, business classes or farmers, and whether planters or tenants.

2. The Citizens' Councils say that they have a national organization called "Citizens' Councils of America" which is

representative of all of their membership. Further research should also be made to determine what degree of centralization has been achieved in organization and control, both in the state and national federations.

3. Suggestions have appeared in Citizens' Council publications which suggest that Negroes who object to integration will lose their jobs, credit, will suffer all means of financial hardship. Additional study could determine the degree to which these methods of economic pressure are actually being utilized.

4. Numerous other organizations list the maintenance of segregation among their objectives. If these organizations have established contact with one another and with the CC's, and are cooperating in their efforts to preserve segregation, they present a much more formidable foe to integration than has been imagined. More positive information should be gathered also in this area.

5. The Citizens' Councils support "States' Rights" measures, and could well be a considerable potential force in a general movement toward this end. Their connection with other such "third party" organizations should be ascertained.

EXTENSION OF THE THEORY

1. Blumer suggests that "specific" movements arise from "general" movements. Yet he does not present sufficient elaboration of "general" movements to enable the discovery of a "specific" movement to link it with its source in the "general" movement.

2. The theories of social movements include very extensive detail in their description of organizational aspects, but include insufficient description of the functions which would enable the researcher to distinguish social movements from other types of movements.

3. Most of the theory is directed toward understanding social movements which are already in existence. There is a distinct need for more theory directed specifically toward prediction.

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A P P E N D I X . A

C O P Y

PRESCRIPT OF THE KU KLUX KLAN¹

APPELLATION

This Organization shall be styled and denominated,
the Order of the ***

CREED

We, the Order of the ***, reverentially acknowledge the majesty and supremacy of the Divine Being, and recognize the goodness and providence of the same. And we recognize our relation to the United States Government, the supremacy of the Constitution, the Constitutional Laws thereof, and the Union of States thereunder.

CHARACTER AND OBJECT OF THE ORDER

This is an institution of Chivalry, Humanity, Mercy, and Patriotism; embodying in its genius and its principles all that is chivalric in conduct, noble in sentiment, generous in manhood, and patriotic in purpose; its peculiar objects being,

First: To protect the weak, the innocent, and the defenceless, from the indignities, wrongs, and outrages of the lawless, the violent, and the brutal; to relieve the injured and oppressed; to succor the suffering and unfortunate, and especially the widows and orphans of Confederate soldiers.

¹Stanley F. Horn, Invisible Empire (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1939).

Second: To protect and defend the Constitution of the United States, and all laws passed in conformity thereto, and to protect the States and the people thereof from all invasion from any source whatever.

Third: To aid and assist in the execution of all constitutional laws, and to protect the people from unlawful seizure, and from trial except by their peers in conformity to the laws of the land.

ARTICLE I

Section I. The officers of the Order shall consist of a Grand Wizard of the Empire, and his ten Genii; a Grand Dragon of the Realm, and his eight Hydras; a Grand Titan of the Dominion, and his six Furies; a Grand Cyclops of the Den, and his two Night-hawks; a Grand Magi, a Grand Monk, a Grand Scribe, a Grand Exchequer, a Grand Turk, and a Grand Sentinel.

Section 2. The body politic of this Order shall be known and designated as "Ghouls."

ARTICLE II

TERRITORY AND ITS DIVISIONS

Section I. The territory embraced within the jurisdiction of this Order shall be coterminous with the States of Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Missouri, Kentucky, and Tennessee; all combined constituting the Empire.

Section 2. The Empire shall be divided into four departments, the first to be styled the Realm, and coterminous with the boundaries of the several States; the second to be styled the Dominion, and to be coterminous with such counties as the Grand Dragons of the several Realms may assign to the charge of the Grand Titan. The third to be styled the Province, and to be coterminous with the several counties; PROVIDED, the Grand Titan may, when he deems it necessary, assign two Grand Giants to one Province, prescribing, at the same time, the jurisdiction of each. The fourth department to be styled the Den, and shall embrace such part of a province as the Grand Giant shall assign to the charge of a Grand Cyclops.

ARTICLE III

POWERS AND DUTIES OF OFFICERS

GRAND WIZARD

Section I. The Grand Wizard, who is the supreme officer of the Empire, shall have power, and he shall be required to appoint Grand Dragons for the different Realms of the Empire; and he shall have power to appoint his Genii, also a Grand Scribe, and a Grand Exchequer for his Department, and he shall have the sole power to issue copies of this Prescript, through his subalterns, for the organization and dissemination of the Order; and when a question of paramount importance to

the interests or prosperity of the Order arises, not provided for in this Prescript he shall have power to determine such question, and his decision shall be final until the same shall be provided for by amendment as hereinafter provided. It shall be his duty to communicate with, and receive reports from, the Grand Dragons of Realms, as to the condition, strength, efficiency, and progress of the Order with their respective Realms. And it shall further be his duty to keep, by his Grand Scribe, a list of the names (without any caption or explanation whatever) of the Grand Dragons of the different Realms of the Empire, and shall number such Realms with the Arabic numerals 1, 2, 3, etc., ad infinitum; and he shall direct and instruct his Grand Exchequer as to the appropriation and disbursement he shall make of the revenue of the Order that comes to his hands.

GRAND DRAGON

Section 2. The Grand Dragon who is the chief officer of the Realm, shall have power, and he shall be required, to appoint and instruct a Grand Titan for each Dominion of his Realm, (such Dominion not to exceed three in number for any Congressional District) said appointments being subject to the approval of the Grand Wizard of the Empire. He shall have power to appoint his Hydras; also, a Grand Scribe and a Grand Exchequer for his Department.

It shall be his duty to report to the Grand Wizard, when required by that officer, the condition, strength, efficiency, and progress of the Order within his Realm, and to transmit, through the Grand Titan, or other authorized sources, to the Order, all information, intelligence, or instruction conveyed to him by the Grand Wizard for that purpose, and all such other information or instruction as he may think will promote the interest and utility of the Order. He shall keep by his Grand Scribe, a list of the names (without caption) of the Grand Titans of the different Dominions of his Realm, and shall report the same to the Grand Wizard when required, and shall number the Dominions of his Realm with the Arabic numerals 1, 2, 3, etc., ad infinitum. And he shall direct and instruct his Grand Exchequer as to the appropriation and disbursement he shall make of the revenue of the Order that comes to his hands.

GRAND TITAN

Section 3. The Grand Titan, who is the chief officer of the Dominion, shall have power, and he shall be required, to appoint and instruct a Grand Giant for each Province of his Dominion, such appointments, however, being subject to the approval of the Grand Dragon of the Realm. He shall have the power to appoint his Furies; also, a Grand Scribe and a Grand Exchequer for his Department. It shall be his duty to

report to the Grand Dragon when required by that officer, the condition, strength, efficiency, and progress of the Order within his Dominion, and to transmit through the Grand Giant, or other authorized channels, to the Order, all information, intelligence, instruction or directions conveyed to him by the Grand Dragon for that purpose, and all such other information or instruction as he may think will enhance the interest or efficiency of the Order.

He shall keep, by his Grand Scribe, a list of the names (without caption or explanation) of the Grand Giants of the different Provinces of his Dominion, and shall report the same to the Grand Dragon when required; and shall number the Provinces of his dominion with the Arabic numerals 1, 2, 3, etc., ad infinitum. And he shall direct and instruct his Grand Exchequer as to the appropriation and disbursement he shall make of the revenue of the Order that comes to his hands.

GRAND GIANT

Section 4. The Grand Giant, who is the chief officer of the Province, shall have power, and he is required, to appoint and instruct a Grand Cyclops for each Den of his Province, such appointments, however, being subject to the approval of the Grand Titan of the Dominion. And he shall have the further power to appoint his Goblins; also, a Grand Scribe and a Grand Exchequer for his Department.

It shall be his duty to supervise and administer general and special instructions in the organization and establishment of the Order within his Province, and to report to the Grand Titan; when required by that officer, the condition, strength, efficiency, and progress of the Order within his Province, and to transmit through the Grand Cyclops, or other legitimate sources, to the Order, all information, intelligence, instruction, or directions conveyed to him by the Grand Titan or other higher authority for that purpose, and all such other information or instruction as he may think would advance the purposes or prosperity of the Order. He shall keep, by his Grand Scribe, a list of the names (without caption or explanation) of the Grand Cyclops of the various Dens of his Province, and shall report the same to the Grand Titan when required; and shall number the Dens of his province with the Arabic numerals 1, 2, 3, etc., ad infinitum. He shall determine and limit the number of Dens to be organized and established in his Province; and he shall direct and instruct his Grand Exchequer as to the appropriation and disbursement he shall make of the revenue of the Order that comes to his hands.

GRAND CYCLOPS

Section 5. The Grand Cyclops, who is the chief officer of the Den, shall have power to appoint his Night-hawks, his

Grand Scribe, his Grand Turk, his Grand Exchequer, and his Grand Sentinel. And for small offenses he may punish any member by fine, and may reprimand him for the same. And he is further empowered to admonish and reprimand his Den, or any of the members thereof, for any imprudence, irregularity, or transgression, whenever he may think that the interests, welfare, reputation or safety of the Order demand it. It shall be his duty to take charge of his Den under the instruction and with the assistance (when practicable) of the Grand Giant, and in accordance with and in conformity to the provisions of the Prescript—a copy of which shall in all cases be obtained before the formation of a Den begins. It shall further be his duty to appoint all regular meetings of his Den, and to preside at the same; to appoint irregular meetings when he deems it expedient; to preserve order and enforce discipline in his Den; to impose fines for irregularities or disobedience of orders; and to receive and initiate candidates for admission into the Order, after the same shall have been pronounced competent and worthy to become members, by the Investigating Committee hereinafter provided for. And it shall further be his duty to make a quarterly report to the Grand Giant of the condition, strength, efficiency, and progress of his Den, and shall communicate to the Officers and Ghculs of his Den, all information, intelligence, instruction,

or direction, conveyed to him by the Grand Giant or other higher authority for that purpose; and shall from time to time administer all such other counsel, instruction or direction, as in his sound discretion, will conduce to the interests, and more effectually accomplish, the REAL objects and designs of the Order.

GRAND MAGI

Section 6. It shall be the duty of the Grand Magi, who is the second officer in authority of the Den, to assist the Grand Cyclops, and to obey all the orders of that officer; to preside at all meetings in the Den, in the absence of the Grand Cyclops; and to discharge during his absence all the duties and exercise all the powers and authority of that officer.

GRAND MONK

Section 7. It shall be the duty of the Grand Monk, who is the third officer in authority of the Den, to assist and obey all the orders of the Grand Cyclops and the Grand Magi; and, in the absence of both of these officers, he shall preside at and conduct the meetings in the Den, and shall discharge all the duties, and exercise all the powers and authority of the Grand Cyclops.

GRAND EXCHEQUER

Section 8. It shall be the duty of the Grand Exchequers of the different Departments to keep a correct account of all the revenue of the Order that comes to their hands, and of all paid out by them; and shall make no appropriation or disbursement of the same except under the orders and direction of the chief officer of their respective Departments. And it shall further be the duty of the Exchequers of Dens to collect the initiation fees, and all fines imposed by the Grand Cyclops, or the officer discharging his functions.

GRAND TURK

Section 9. It shall be the duty of the Grand Turk, who is the executive officer of the Grand Cyclops, to notify the Officers and Ghouls of the Den, of all informal or irregular meetings appointed by the Grand Cyclops, and to obey and execute all the orders of that officer in the control and government of his Den. It shall further be his duty to receive and question at the outposts, all candidates for admission into the Order, and shall there administer the preliminary obligation required, and then to conduct such candidate or candidates to the Grand Cyclops, and to assist him in the initiation of the same.

GRAND SCRIBE

Section 10. It shall be the duty of the Grand Scribes of the different Departments to conduct the correspondence and write the orders of the Chiefs of their Departments, when required. And it shall further be the duty of the Grand Scribes of the Dens, to keep a list of the names (without any caption or explanation whatever) of the Officers and Ghouls of the Den, to call the roll at all meetings, and to make the quarterly reports under the direction and instruction of the Grand Cyclops.

GRAND SENTINEL

Section 11. It shall be the duty of the Grand Sentinel to take charge of post, and instruct the Grand Guard, under the direction and orders of the Grand Cyclops, and to relieve and dismiss the same when directed by that officer.

THE STAFF

Section 12. The Genii shall constitute the staff of the Grand Wizard; the Hydras, that of the Grand Dragon; the Furies, that of the Grand Titan; the Goblins, that of the Grand Giant; and the Night-hawks, that of the Grand Cyclops.

REMOVAL

Section 13. For any just, reasonable and substantial cause, any appointee may be removed by the authority that appointed him, and his place supplied by another appointment.

ARTICLE IV

ELECTION OF OFFICERS

Section 1. The Grand Wizard shall be elected biennially by the Grand Dragons of Realms. The first election for this office to take place on the 1st Monday in May, 1870, (a Grand Wizard having been created, by the original Prescript, to serve three years from the 1st Monday in May, 1867); all subsequent elections to take place every two years thereafter. And the incumbent Grand Wizard shall notify the Grand Dragons of the different Realms, at least six months before said election, at what time and place the same will be held; a majority vote of all the Grand Dragons PRESENT being necessary and sufficient to elect a Grand Wizard. Such election shall be by ballot, and shall be held by three Commissioners appointed by the Grand Wizard for that purpose; and in the event of a tie, the Grand Wizard shall have the casting vote.

Section 2. The Grand Magi and the Grand Monk of Dens shall be elected annually by the Ghouls of Dens; and the first election for these officers may take place as soon as ten Ghouls have been initiated for the formation of a Den. All subsequent elections to take place every year thereafter.

Section 3. In the event of a vacancy in the office of Grand Wizard, by death, resignation, removal, or otherwise, the senior Grand Dragon of the Empire shall immediately assume

and enter upon the discharge of the duties of the Grand Wizard, and shall exercise the powers and perform the duties of said office until the same shall be filled by election; and the said senior Grand Dragon, as soon as practicable after the happening of such vacancy, shall call a convention of the Grand Dragons of Realms, to be held at such time and place as in his discretion he may deem most convenient and proper. PROVIDED, however, that the time for assembling such Convention for the election of a Grand Wizard shall in no case exceed six months from the time such vacancy occurred; and in the event of a vacancy in any other office, the same shall immediately be filled in the manner hereinbefore mentioned.

Section 4. The Officers heretofore elected or appointed may retain their offices during the time for which they have been so elected or appointed, at the expiration of which time said offices shall be filled as hereinbefore provided.

ARTICLE V

JUDICIARY

Section 1. The Tribunal of Justice of this Order shall consist of a Court at the Headquarters of the Empire, the Realm, the Dominion, the Province, and the Den, to be appointed by the Chiefs of these several Departments.

Section 2. The Court at the Headquarters of the Empire shall consist of three Judges for the trial of Grand Dragons,

and the Officers and attachés belonging to the Headquarters of the Empire.

Section 3. The Court at the Headquarters of the Realm shall consist of three Judges for the trial of Grand Titans, and the Officers and attachés belonging to the Headquarters of the Realm.

Section 4. The Court at the Headquarters of the Dominion shall consist of three Judges for the trial of Grand Giants, and the Officers and attachés belonging to the Headquarters of the Dominion.

Section 5. The Court at the Headquarters of the Province shall consist of five Judges for the trial of Grand Cyclops, the Grand Magis, Grand Monks, and the Grand Exchequers of Dens, and the Officers and attachés belonging to the Headquarters of the Province.

Section 6. The Court at the Headquarters of the Den shall consist of seven Judges appointed from the Den for the trial of Ghouls and the officers belonging to the Headquarters of the Den.

Section 7. The Tribunal for the trial of the Grand Wizard shall be composed of at least seven Grand Dragons, to be convened by the senior Grand Dragon upon charges being preferred against the Grand Wizard; which Tribunal shall be organized and presided over by the senior Grand Dragon PRESENT; and if they find the accused guilty, they shall prescribe the

penalty, and the senior Grand Dragon of the Empire shall cause the same to be executed.

Section 8. The aforesaid Courts shall summon the accused and witnesses for and against him, and if found guilty, they shall prescribe the penalty, and the Officers convening the Court shall cause the same to be executed, PROVIDED the accused shall always have the right of appeal to the next Court above, whose decision shall be final.

Section 9. The Judges constituting the aforesaid Courts shall be selected with reference to their intelligence, integrity, and fairmindedness, and shall render their verdict without prejudice, favor, partiality, or affection, and shall be so sworn, upon the organization of the Court; and shall further be sworn to administer even-handed justice.

Section 10. The several Courts herein provided for shall be governed in their deliberations, proceedings, and judgments by the rules and regulations governing the proceedings of regular Courts-martial.

ARTICLE VI

REVENUE

Section 1. The revenue of the Order shall be derived as follows: For every copy of this Prescript issued to Dens, \$10 will be required; \$2 of which shall go into the hands of the Grand Exchequer of the Grand Giant, \$2 into the hands of

the Grand Exchequer of the Grand Titan, \$2 into the hands of the Grand Exchequer of the Grand Dragon, and the remaining \$4 into the hands of the Grand Exchequer of the Grand Wizard.

Section 2. A further source of revenue to the Empire shall be ten per cent of all the revenue of the Realms, and a tax upon Realms when the Grand Wizard shall deem it necessary and indispensable to levy the same.

Section 3. A further source of revenue to Realms shall be ten per cent of all the revenue of Dominions, and a tax upon Dominions when the Grand Dragon shall deem it necessary and indispensable to levy the same.

Section 4. A further source of revenue to Dominions shall be ten per cent of all the revenue of Provinces, and a tax upon Provinces when the Grand Titan shall deem such a tax necessary and indispensable.

Section 5. A further source of revenue to Provinces shall be ten per cent of all the revenue of Dens, and a tax upon Dens when the Grand Giant shall deem such a tax necessary and indispensable.

Section 6. The source of revenue to Dens shall be the initiation fees, fines, and a per capita tax, whenever the Grand Cyclops shall deem such tax necessary and indispensable to the interests and objects of the Order.

Section 7. All the revenue obtained in the manner aforesaid, shall be for the EXCLUSIVE benefit of the Order,

and shall be appropriated to the dissemination of the same and to the creation of a fund to meet any disbursement that it may become necessary to make to accomplish the objects of the Order and to secure the protection of the same.

ARTICLE VII

ELIGIBILITY FOR MEMBERSHIP

Section I. No one shall be presented for admission into the Order until he shall have first been recommended by some friend or intimate who IS a member, to the Investigating Committee, (which shall be composed of the Grand Cyclops, the Grand Magi, and the Crank Monk,) and who shall have investigated his antecedents and his past and present standing and connections; and after such investigation, shall have pronounced him competent and worthy to become a member. PROVIDED, no one shall be presented for admission into, or become a member of, this Order who shall not have attained the age of eighteen years.

Section 2. No one shall become a member of this Order unless he shall VOLUNTARILY take the following oaths or obligations, and shall SATISFACTORILY answer the following interrogatories, while kneeling, with his right hand raised to heaven, and his left hand resting on the Bible:

PRELIMINARY OBLIGATION

"I _____ solemnly swear or affirm that I will never reveal anything that I may this day (or night) learn

concerning the Order of the ***, and that I will true answer make to such interrogatories as may be put to me touching my competency for admission into the same. So help me God."

INTERROGATORIES TO BE ASKED:

1st. Have you ever been rejected, upon application for membership in the ***, or have you ever been expelled from the same?

2nd. Are you now, or have you ever been, a member of the Radical Republican party, or either of the organizations known as the "Loyal League" and the "Grand Army of the Republic?"

3rd. Are you opposed to the principles and policy of the Radical party, and to the Loyal League, and the Grand Army of the Republic, so far as you are informed of the character and purposes of those organizations?

4th. Did you belong to the Federal army during the late war, and fight against the South during the existence of the same?

5th. Are you opposed to negro equality, both social and political?

6th. Are you in favor of a white man's government in this country?

7th. Are you in favor of Constitutional liberty, and a Government of equitable laws instead of a Government of violence and oppression?

8th. Are you in favor of maintaining the Constitutional rights of the South?

9th. Are you in favor of the re-enfranchisement and emancipation of the white men of the South, and the restitution of the Southern people to all their rights, alike proprietary, civil, and political?

10th. Do you believe in the inalienable right of self-preservation of the people against the exercise of arbitrary and unlicensed power?

If the foregoing interrogatories are satisfactorily answered, and the candidate desires to go further (after something of the character and nature of the Order has thus been indicated to him) and to be admitted to the benefits, mysteries, secrets and purposes of the Order, he shall then be required to take the following final oath or obligation. But if said interrogatories are not satisfactorily answered, or the candidate declines to proceed further, he shall be discharged, after being solemnly admonished by the initiating officer of the deep secrecy to which the oath already taken has bound him, and that the extreme penalty of the law will follow a violation of the same.

FINAL OBLIGATION

"I _____ of my own free will and accord, and in the presence of the Almighty God, do solemnly swear or affirm, that I will never reveal to any one not a member of the Order

of the ***, by any intimation, sign, symbol, word or act, or in any other manner whatever, any of the secrets, signs, grips, pass-words, or mysteries of the Order of the ***, or that I am a member of the same, or that I know any one who IS a member; and that I will abide by the Prescript and Edicts of the Order of the ***. So help me God."

The initiating officer will then proceed to explain to the new members the character and objects of the Order, and introduce him to the mysteries and secrets of the same; and shall read to him this Prescript and the Edicts thereof, or present the same to him for personal perusal.

ARTICLE VIII

AMENDMENTS

This Prescript or any part or Edicts thereof shall never be changed, except by a two-thirds vote of the Grand Dragons of the Realms, in the convention assembled, and at which convention the Grand Wizard shall preside and be entitled to a vote. And upon the application of a majority of the Grand Dragons for that purpose, the Grand Wizard shall call and appoint the time and place for said convention; which, when assembled, shall proceed to make such modifications and amendments as it may think will promote the interest, enlarge the utility, and more thoroughly effectuate the purposes of the Order.

ARTICLE IX

INTERDICTION

The origin, mysteries, and Ritual of this Order shall never be written, but the same shall be communicated orally.

ARTICLE X

EDICTS

1. No one shall become a member of a distant Den, when there is a Den established and in operation in his own immediate vicinity; nor shall any one become a member of any Den, or of this Order in any way, after he shall have been once rejected, upon application for membership.

2. No Den, or officer, or member, or members thereof, shall operate beyond their prescribed limits, unless invited or ordered by the proper authority so to do.

3. No member shall be allowed to take any intoxicating spirits to any meeting of the Den; nor shall any member be allowed to attend a meeting while intoxicated; and for every appearance at a meeting in such condition, he shall be fined the sum of not less than one nor more than five dollars, to go into the revenue of the Order.

4. Any member may be expelled from the Order by a majority vote of the Officers and Ghouls of the Den to which he belongs; and if after such expulsion, such member shall assume any of the duties, regalia, or insignia of the Order,

or in any way claim to be a member of the same, he shall be severely punished. His obligation of secrecy shall be as binding upon him after expulsion as before, and for any revelation made by him thereafter, he shall be held accountable in the same manner as if he were then a member.

5. Upon the expulsion of a member from the Order, the Grand Cyclops, or the officer acting in his stead, shall immediately report the same to the Grand Giant of the Province, who shall cause the fact to be made known and read in each Den of his Province, and shall transmit the same, through the proper channels, to the Grand Dragon of the Realm, who shall cause it to be published to every Den in his Realm, and shall notify the Grand Dragons of contiguous Realms of the same.

6. Every Grand Cyclops shall read, or cause to be read, this Prescript and these Edicts to his Den, at least once in every month; and shall read them to each new member when he is initiated, or present the same to him for personal perusal.

7. The initiation fee of this Order shall be one dollar, to be paid when the candidate is initiated and received into the Order.

8. Dens may make such additional Edicts for their control and government as they may deem requisite and necessary. PROVIDED, no Edict shall be made to conflict with any of the

provisions or Edicts of this Prescript.

9. The most profound and rigid secrecy concerning any and everything that relates to the Order, shall at all times be maintained.

10. Any member who shall reveal or betray the secrets of this Order, shall suffer the extreme penalty of the law.

ADMONITION

Hush! thou art not to utter what I am; bethink thee!
it was our covenant!

REGISTER

I

- | | |
|--------------|----------------|
| 1. Dismal | 7. Painful |
| 2. Mystic | 8. Portentous |
| 3. Stormy | 9. Fading |
| 4. Peculiar | 10. Melancholy |
| 5. Blooming | 11. Glorious |
| 6. Brilliant | 12. Gloomy |

II

I. White, II. Green, III. Yellow, IV. Amber, V. Purple,
VI. Crimson, VII. Emerald.

III

- | | |
|--------------|--------------|
| 1. Fearful | 7. Hideous |
| 2. Startling | 8. Frightful |
| 3. Wonderful | 9. Awful |
| 4. Alarming | 10. Horrible |
| 5. Mournful | 11. Dreadful |
| 6. Appalling | 12. Last |

IV

Gumberland.

L'ENVOI

To the lovers of law and order, peace and justice,
we send greeting; and to the shades of the venerated dead we
affectionately dedicate the Order of the ***.

RESURGAMUS

A P P E N D I X B

C O P Y

ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS' COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI¹

HOW TO ORGANIZE A LOCAL
CITIZENS' COUNCIL

The incentive to organize must come from the community concerned. In most cases a few individuals have provided the necessary spark for organizing their community. All that is necessary is that a small group of patriots who are interested in States' rights and racial integrity assemble and discuss the purpose of and the need for a Citizens' Council organization in their community.

The more complacency and apathy that the townspeople show, the greater the need for an organization. It is amazing how little the average American citizen knows about his State and local government, his Federal Government, and, most of all, his Constitution. Logic, common sense, and precedence are on our side. All we must do is organize so that we can educate our people, and give public sentiment means of expressing itself, from every direction, against every attempt at integration in our community.

If the desire of the group is to organize, then a resolution can be made from the floor that such an organization

¹2nd Annual Report, August 1956 (Greenwood, Mississippi)

be perfected, and the group can elect a temporary Chairman, Secretary, and Steering Committee.

The group assembled can then set a date for the next meeting. Influential citizens in the community should be contacted, and invited to attend the next meeting.

The Steering Committee could act as a nominating committee and have a slate of officers prepared for presentation at the next meeting. This slate of officers should include Chairman, Vice Chairman, Secretary, Treasurer, and a Board of Directors, to consist of at least twenty patriotic citizens. In most county wide organizations, the Board of Directors is picked with a certain number from each Supervisor's Beat or voting precinct to make up the twenty or twenty-five man Board of Directors. In the case of an organization which is only city wide, or precinct wide, a representative Board of Directors should be secured.

The importance of this local Board of Directors cannot be over stressed. They will assume the responsibility, rather than placing it all upon the Chairman, of governing the policies of the organization and of taking the necessary steps to legally and peacefully preserve peace and good order in the community.

At the second meeting, the nominating committee should present its slate and then nominations should be taken from the floor. In some communities it might be desirable to have

the assembled body elect a Board of Directors and then the Board of Directors could elect its own Chairman and other officers.

A competent speaker should be present at the second meeting to tell the assembly what the Citizens' Council is, what it has done and what it hopes to do. It should be stressed that each member has the responsibility of educating himself and of assisting in getting membership for the organization.

The executive Committee, after this meeting, and after the Council has been officially organized and its officers elected, should meet and select the four committees, which are:

1. Information and Education Committee

It is the duty and responsibility of this committee to use every means at its command to give the people of that community the facts regarding the Supreme Court decision and racial integration. Some of our people have accepted racial segregation without knowing the reasons for it. These reasons must be given to them. The tremendous propaganda campaign directed against our youth and our citizens by the left-wing elements of this country must be nullified. While we cannot control the National media of propaganda, such as radio, television and the news magazines, we can influence these media on the local scene. Truth and logic are on our side.

All we must do is educate our people so that they can support our campaign to get these facts to the entire Nation.

2. Legal Advisory Committee

This committee should be composed of lawyers and people with administrative experience. The function of this group is to seek legal means for maintaining our States' rights and our right of self government and local control. This group may anticipate moves by national organizations dedicated to the agitation of our negroes, and legally nullify these acts. We can win this fight within the framework of our Constitution and our State and local laws, and this we intend to do.

3. Political and Elections

This committee should be made up of citizens whose duty it will be to see that any candidate for State or local government expresses his stand concerning States' rights and racial integrity. The Citizens' Council is not a political organization, but it is natural that our members should be interested, as good Americans, in politics. This committee should see that the members of the local Citizens' Council are qualified and eligible to vote, and that they are informed as to these important issues mentioned above. If you have a strong organization, this committee will have very little to do.

Politicians don't lead, they follow. They find out which way the people are going and then they get in front of them so that they can lead them there.

4. Membership and Finance

This is one of the most important committees. The leaders of this organization cannot operate without the support of the community. We must have a large membership. If a person is a member, he will take an interest and feel that he has a personal investment in this great movement, dedicated to the preservation of our States' rights and our racial integrity.

The only effective way to get members is by personal contact. The membership committee should be a large one, composed of dedicated patriots. Each man and woman can be given a list of persons to see so that no one person will have too great a burden. They can have applications blanks to be filled out at the time that the dues are collected. Of course, each person should have blank checks with him and should be prepared to tell the applicant what the Citizens' Council is and what it intends to do.

The applications can be presented to the membership and finance committee for approval. In this manner, any undesirable persons who would embarrass the organization could be screened out and their money refunded to them.

In most Councils the membership dues have been set at \$5.00. This is very reasonable and would not place a great financial burden upon any person. In most communities, \$2.00 of this fee is mailed to the State Association for use in its organization and administrative work. Two dollars is sent for the subscription to our newspaper, for each member, to be mailed from Jackson, Mississippi. The remaining dollar is kept in the local treasury for any incidental expenses that might arise.

We must have financial support for this movement. The left-wing organizations dedicated to socializing America have unlimited finances. If we are unable to finance this fight, we cannot fight. Every patriotic American should be proud to contribute at least \$5.00 to this great cause.

Most Councils find that if their members subscribe to the newspaper and their officers receive regular information and literature from the State Association, it will be unnecessary to hold meetings more than two or three times a year. This is not a social organization, but the people must be kept informed.

The local Board of Directors should meet at least once every month, once every two months or upon call as often as necessary. In most cases these meetings of the Board of Directors are dutch luncheons held during the daytime and, of course, this personal contact is the secret of our organization.

EACH COUNCIL A SEPARATE CORPORATION

Each Council should be incorporated, for the protection of its members, as any other good business organization. Each Council is a separate autonomous organization. Below are sample Constitution and By-Laws that could be used by any Council. The local Council should either incorporate by county or town, according to the situation. Here are sample copies of local charters and applications.

The Charter of Incorporation of

Citizens' Council

1. The corporate title of said corporation is: _____
Citizens' Council.
2. The names and addresses of the incorporators are: _____.
3. The domicile of the corporation is _____.
4. The amount of capital stock is: No capital stock.
5. No shares of capital stock shall be issued. The corporation shall not make or distribute any profits. Only certificates of membership in _____ Citizens' Councils of no par value shall be issued and the number of memberships shall be limited.
6. The period of existence shall be perpetual.
7. The purposes for which the corporation is created are:
 - (a) To be a civic improvement organization and society for the promotion and maintenance of peace, good order and domestic tranquility in the City of _____, and elsewhere in the State of Mississippi.

and executed the above and foregoing Articles of Incorporation as their act and deed on this date.

BY-LAWS OF THE _____ CITIZENS' COUNCIL
A MISSISSIPPI NON-PROFIT CORPORATION DOMICILED AT
_____, MISSISSIPPI

There shall be a Board of Directors in number 50 to be elected from the membership. The Board of Directors shall meet at their discretion or on call from any Officer, and ten members present shall be considered a quorum.

From the Board of Directors there shall be selected a President, who shall also serve as Chairman of the Board of Directors; a Vice President, a Secretary, and a Treasurer, all of whom are to be selected from the Board of Directors, and who shall have the duties usually incident to their respective offices.

And to provide a liaison between all Councils, one Director and one alternate shall be selected, by its membership, from each Council in the County. But County Directors and alternates shall have no vote on those matters that are of concern only to _____ Citizens' Council. Said Board of Directors is authorized and empowered to fully and completely control the business and affairs of the corporation, and included therein but no limited thereto, the following powers are vested in said Board of Directors:

From among the Board of Directors the President will name a Chairman for each of the four Committees recommended for all Councils, namely:

Information and Education	Political and Elections
Membership and Finance	Legal Advisory

The chairmen so named may select from the membership as many as he deems practical and necessary to do the job. And he will furnish to the Secretary the names, addresses and telephone numbers of those selected.

The Board of Directors is vested with full and exclusive power respecting the requirements for membership and the grounds for expulsion from membership, and may, by majority vote, expel any member at any time. Except for membership at the organization meeting, all applications for membership must be approved

by the Executive Committee. Annual dues, calendar year, shall be \$5.00 per member, \$3.00 of which shall be sent to the Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi.

All funds of the organization shall be paid to and kept by the Treasurer, who shall keep complete records of receipts and disbursements, which records shall, at all times, be open to the inspection of the directors or any of them.

There shall be an annual meeting of the corporation held during June of each year, at such time and place in _____, Mississippi, as determined by the Board of Directors and on notice to members, for the purpose of electing officers and directors and any other business; and other meetings may be called by the President, Vice President or Secretary at any time he may deem necessary. Said Directors and Officers to serve for one year from July 1st.

These By-Laws may be amended or changed only by two-thirds vote of the membership present at any annual meeting or at any special meeting called for that purpose.

In the event of a vacancy in any office, for any reason whatsoever, said vacancy shall be filled by the Board of Directors. In the event of a vacancy or vacancies on the Board of Directors, a successor or successors shall be chosen by the remaining members of said Board of Directors.

In the event that an annual meeting for any reason shall not be held the officers previously elected shall continue in office until their successors shall be duly elected.

C O P Y

CONSTITUTION OF THE CITIZENS' COUNCILS OF ALABAMA

ARTICLE I

NAME

The name of this Association is "The Citizens' Councils of Alabama." Its principal office shall be in Montgomery with such other office or offices as the Executive Committee may designate.

ARTICLE II

PURPOSE

This Association is dedicated to the maintenance of peace, good order and domestic tranquility in our communities and in our state and to the preservation of States' Rights.

ARTICLE III

RESTRICTION ON POWERS

This Association shall not endeavor to advise, instruct or control any Citizens' Council, or member thereof as to any proposed course of action. It shall not have and shall not assume any power or control of any kind over any Citizens' Council or member thereof and shall not have and shall not assume any responsibility for any act of any Citizens' Council or member thereof.

ARTICLE IV

DIRECTORS

Section 1. Each county within the State of Alabama having one or more recognized Citizens' Councils therein may from and by the membership of such Council or Councils elect one director and one alternate director of this Association to serve until his successor shall have been elected. No county shall have more than one director and one alternate director.

Section 2. The Executive Committee of this association may at its pleasure request any director, or his alternate, to be recalled; and if the Citizens' Council or Councils of the county from which he was elected fails to recall him, then the directors of this Association may by a majority vote expel him from his office of director or alternate director.

Section 3. An alternate director may vote and act as a director when the director for whom he is alternate is not present.

ARTICLE V

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Section 1. The directors of this Association shall elect from its membership a temporary Executive Committee to serve until their successors shall be elected as hereinafter set forth.

Section 2. The temporary Executive Committee shall divide the State of Alabama, or such part thereof as they think proper, into districts for the election of Executive Committeemen. No county may be partly in one district and partly in another.

Section 3. The directors of each district shall from among the directors in that district elect such member as the Executive Committee may designate to serve on the Executive Committee. The Committeemen so elected and the officers of this Association shall constitute the Executive Committee, and shall serve until their successors are elected.

Section 4. The Executive Committee shall have full power to operate and conduct the Association; to adopt by majority vote suitable by-laws for the Association, and from time to time to amend any such by-laws by majority vote; to elect the officers of this Association; and from time to time to change the boundaries of the districts provided for in Section 2 hereof and to establish new districts.

Section 5. The term "recognized Citizens' Council" as used in this Constitution shall be construed to mean such Citizens' Councils in Alabama as are recognized by the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee may at any time in its discretion refuse to recognize any Citizens' Council or withdraw recognition from such Council. No Citizens' Council

not recognized by the Executive Committee shall take part in any election herein provided for or in any activity of this Association.

Section 6. The temporary Executive Committee shall have all of the powers herein conferred upon the Executive Committee.

Section 7. The Executive Committee may in its discretion incorporate this Association or cause same to be incorporated under the laws of Alabama as a non-profit corporation without stock or stock-holders.

ARTICLE VI

OFFICERS

Section 1. The Executive Committee shall elect a Treasurer, an Executive Secretary and such other Executive officer as the Executive Committee determines to be necessary and proper. The only qualification for said officers is that the person so elected shall be a member in good standing of some recognized Citizens' Council in Alabama, and such person may or may not be a director or a member of the Executive Committee at the time of his election. Every officer so elected shall by virtue of his office be and become a member of the Executive Committee if he is not already a member thereof.

Section 2. All officers except the Executive Secretary and/or other executive officer or officers elected by the Executive Committee shall serve without remuneration. The Executive Secretary and/or other executive officer or officers shall have their salary fixed from time to time by the Executive Committee. All such officers shall hold office at the pleasure of the Executive Committee.

Section 3. The term of office of all officers of this Association shall be as provided in the by-laws of the Association made under the authority of this Constitution.

ARTICLE VII

MEETINGS AND ELECTIONS

Section 1. The directors shall be elected annually at such time or times as the by-laws of this Association shall provide.

Section 2. The directors shall once each year, or at such shorter intervals as the by-laws of this Association shall provide, elect members of the Executive Committee.

Section 3. A majority of the directors present in person shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business. Any alternate present shall in the absence of the director for whom he is alternate be considered a director.

Section 4. A majority of the Executive Committee present in person shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

Section 5. Meetings of the directors and Executive Committee shall be held at such times and places as may be provided by the by-laws of this Association; and in addition to this, the Chairman and the Executive Secretary shall each have power to call special meetings of the directors and of the Executive Committee by giving five days written notice of the time and place of the meeting.

ARTICLE VIII

DUES

Section 1. Each director shall pay such annual contributions as shall be fixed by the Association. In the event of a failure of the by-laws to provide for such contributions, then each director shall pay annual dues in the amount of \$1.00 for each member of a recognized Citizens' Council within the County from which he was elected.

ARTICLE IX

AMENDMENTS

This Constitution may be amended or changed by a majority vote at any regular or special meeting of the directors.

C O P Y

PROPOSED CONSTITUTION FOR COUNTY CITIZENS'

COUNCIL ORGANIZATIONS

(From the Alabama Citizens' Council)

The name of this association shall be the _____
County Citizens Council.

The object of the association shall be: To engender and promote good feeling between the colored and white people of our section; to consult and advise with the various boards, commissions, organizations and officials, both public and private, to the end that friction between the races will be avoided; to act as a sounding board and to investigate the submission of complaints, suggestions, and criticism relative to the treatment of individuals or groups in order that individuals of both races will be fairly treated and their legal rights protected; to consult, counsel and advise with the leaders and members of the colored race toward the equalization of facilities, a fair division of the tax betterments, of welfare and other relief payments and the equitable division of public housing, school appropriations and charitable donations; to maintain, protect and preserve the legal, moral and ethnical separation of the races as now provided by law and as sanctioned by our usages, customs, training and tradition; by legal and peaceful means.

A R T I C L E II -- MEMBERSHIP:

1. All white citizens who are 18 years of age and over are approved for membership by the Executive Committee shall be eligible for membership in the association, other than judicial or quasi judicial officials, and law enforcement officers. Quasi judicial officials are defined as including members of the Jury Board, Board of Equalization, Board of Registrars, City and County School Board.

A member may be dropped from the roll for cause after a hearing by the Executive Committee and refunding of current dues paid. Membership may likewise be transferred from our organization to a similar organization on request. Such dues as have been paid, or the pro rata portion thereof, will be paid to the succeeding organization, at the discretion of the Secretary.

A R T I C L E III -- DUES:

The annual dues of the organization shall be in the sum of THREE DOLLARS (\$3.00) for each member. Such dues shall be collected for the year beginning October 1 and ending September 30. The Treasurer, at his discretion, may prorate such dues over a period. Contributions and donations may be accepted from non-members and members.

Whenever this association shall become a member of a State Organization, by whatever name called, the Treasurer is

authorized to assess each member the sum of ONE DOLLAR (\$1.00), to be paid as dues to such State Organization.

A R T I C L E IV -- MEETINGS:

Meetings of the association shall be held at such time and place as may be designated by the Executive Committee. Such meetings shall be opened or closed to non-members, and to the Press, Radio and Television, at the election of the Executive Committee. Notice of the meetings shall be given by mail, word of mouth, publication, announcements over the radio or such other means as may be designated by the Executive Committee.

A R T I C L E V -- OFFICERS:

The officers of the association shall consist of:

Chairman;

Vice-Chairman, representing _____ District;

Vice-Chairman, representing _____ District;

Vice-Chairman, representing _____ District;

Vice-Chairman, representing the City of _____, and its Police Jurisdiction.

Secretary-Treasurer;

An Executive Committee, composed of four representatives residing in each of said Districts, except that the City of _____ shall have ten representatives.

Officers and members of the Executive Committee shall serve from the date of their election to the close of the annual year of the association on September 30th, and until their successors are elected and qualified.

The Executive Committee shall meet at such time and place as shall be designated by the Chairman. Meetings shall be held not less than once a month.

A majority of the Executive Committee, including the Officers, shall constitute a quorum.

Any two Officers, or any three Members of the Executive Committee, shall have authority to call a meeting in the event the Chairman refuses or neglects to do so. Notice of all such meetings of the Executive Committee shall be given by the Secretary-Treasurer, or other such person as said Committee shall designate. Such notices shall be in writing.

The Members, and particularly the Chairman of each standing committee, may, at the discretion of the Executive Committee, be invited to attend such meetings of the Executive Committee as shall be designated by it. Such persons shall not be entitled to vote on any matter not directly concerning the committee of which they are members.

A R T I C L E VI -- DUTIES:

1. It shall be the duty of the Chairman to preside at all meetings of the Executive Committee and at all general

meetings. The Chairman in conjunction with the officers of the association, and subject to the approval of the Executive Committee, shall appoint all committees, which said committees shall include Membership, Speakers, Political and Educational and such other committees as may be designated.

2. Each Vice-Chairman shall have general supervision and responsibility for the membership in his district, including the activity of the members of the committees from said district.

3. Secretary-Treasurer shall keep all the records of the association, including finances and shall pay all expenses. He shall make a financial report to the Executive Committee at each meeting. The expenditures of all funds must be approved by the Executive Committee.

4. All Officers, including members of the Executive Committee, shall at all times have access to the books of the association.

5. The Executive Committee shall annually, and at any time, in the event of a vacancy, name one of the four Vice-Chairmen as first Vice-Chairman. Such Vice-Chairman shall serve as acting Chairman in the event of the absence, illness, resignation or death of the Chairman.

6. The Executive Committee is authorized to fill a vacancy arising for any reason among its membership, including

the right to declare a vacancy due to such member failing to regularly attend its meetings.

7. The Officers and Executive Committee shall be responsible for making the policy of the association. No person other than one designated shall have the authority to act for and in behalf of the association in any manner whatsoever. The Officers and Members of the Executive Committee of the association shall have the entire responsibility for any action taken by the association.

8. The Executive Committee is authorized to affiliate with our Council with any National or State Organization or Organizations, espousing our principles. The Executive Committee shall have the authority to nominate one or more members to be a representative in such organization or Organizations, and also to pay such costs and expenses in joining such Organizations, and in attendance by our representative at its meetings as is reasonable.

9. The Officers of the association, subject to the approval of the Executive Committee, shall also annually appoint a nominating committee, to be composed of the Mayor, Probate Judge, members of the Board of Revenue, and a member from each political district of the county. The nominating committee shall be charged with the duty of making nominations for all officers to be voted on at the annual meeting of the association which annual meeting shall be held in the month of October of each year.

10. The nominating committee shall also designate an audit committee, such committee to be composed of a representative from each bank in _____ County. It shall be the duty of the audit committee to, at least annually, and as often as in their opinion may be necessary, to audit the books of the association and to report their findings thereon to the Executive Committee.

A R T I C L E VII - - AMENDMENTS:

The Constitution and By-Laws of the association may be amended by the Executive Committee on the vote of the majority of its members. Such Constitution and By-Laws may also be amended at a meeting of the members of the association, provided such amendment has been passed by a majority of the members, and such amendment is subsequently ratified by a majority of the Executive Committee; provided, however, that the objectives of this association may not be amended by changing the purposes for which this association is formed.

C O P Y

HOW TO ORGANIZE A CITIZEN'S COUNCIL

(From the Alabama Citizens' Council)

The incentive and the will to organize a Citizens' Council must come from within the community itself. Certain leading citizens may decide that their town or county ought to have a local organization so that their community can do its part to protect itself specifically, and to cooperate with other localities for the common interests of their State and section generally.

Usually the starting point in the formation of a Council will be for one or two or three local leaders to take it upon themselves to call a meeting of from 15 to 30 or more community leaders, depending upon the size of the area to be covered. A representative from the State Association may be invited to attend to explain the policies and work of the Councils and to answer questions. A thorough round-table discussion of the advantages and need for local organization is held, and a vote taken as to whether or not this group should organize.

Temporary Chairman

A Temporary Chairman is elected, a combination steering and nominating committee is appointed, and a date within

the next two weeks or so is decided upon for a large community meeting.

The steering-nominating committee under the leadership of the Temporary Chairman, plans for the meeting, seeing that proper publicity is released, the public invited, and a speaker provided. Meanwhile the committee proceeds with the preparation of a proposed charter and bylaws or Articles of Incorporation, nominations for permanent Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer, and a list of nominees to the Board of Directors, all to be presented before the organizational meeting for the consideration of that meeting.

It has been found most advantageous to have a large Board of Directors, say one man from each precinct in the county or area to be included in the Council, and that man to be a responsible citizen of good repute, well and favorably known among his neighbors. He will be the representative of his precinct, or neighborhood, who can call precinct meetings as indicated from time to time by the necessity of developments. Care should be taken to invite representatives of major business, agricultural, labor and industrial interests, as well as representatives of religious and social groups, to membership on the Board of Directors.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Normally the order of business at the organizational meeting will go as follows:

1. Opening prayer.
2. Explanation by the Temporary Chairman of the initial meeting and preparatory work of the steering-nominating committee.
3. Address by the guest speaker--outlining reasons for the urgency of local, state and regional organization.
4. Questions from the floor.
5. Vote by the meeting on the question of whether to organize.
6. If the vote is favorable, presentation of Articles of Incorporation and By-Laws for adoption, decision on dues, method of selecting directors, etc.
7. Presentation of report of the steering-nominating committee, call for nominations of directors from the floor, and action by the meeting on the election of directors and officers.

Four Committees

The Chairman, with the advice of his Directors, may appoint the chairmen of four committees. This would normally not be done at the organizational meeting, but after considerable thought and consultation. The four committees embrace four fields of activity which are the heart, brains and muscle of the Citizens' Councils. They are:

1. Membership and Finance. There is only one way to get adequate membership--by personal contact. Membership teams may be organized for every precinct, and a house to house canvass made. In cities teams may work within office

buildings and professional and labor groups. The effectiveness of a Council will be in direct proportion to the strength and caliber of its membership. Annual dues have been generally set at \$3.50 per member, with \$1 of this contributed to the State Association for furtherance of its coordinating and informative activities. Many Councils have allocated \$1 for a subscription for each member to THE ALABAMIAN, the official monthly paper, retaining the balance in the local treasury for incidental expenses. It is suggested that Councils set dues at \$5 per member, with \$2 of this contributed to the State Association and allocating \$1 for a subscription to THE ALABAMIAN.

2. Legal Advisory. Usually composed of outstanding members of the bar, this committee advises at all times with Council officers and other committees to insure that every activity is in strict compliance with the law, and to see that rights under the law are fully understood.

3. Political and Elections, or Legislative. Public officials and candidates for office are asked to express themselves concerning States' Rights and racial integrity. Legislative programs are explained to the membership and to the general public.

4. Information and Education. A basic postulate of the Citizens' Council movement is that an informed people

will know how to make correct decisions, and will be aroused to take intelligent action when the facts are known. It is the function of this committee to keep the members fully informed as to the nature of the racial integration threat, and how it is being successfully met in other communities. Various information media may be used to effect widespread dissemination of truth to offset propaganda of the Mixie-cologists, with special attention to young people.

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

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

Each Council should constantly seek to instill in its members a steady reliance upon the only people in the world they can really depend upon--themselves.