

# The White Citizens' Council and Resistance to School Desegregation in Arkansas

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IT IS ONE OF THE IRONIES OF SOUTHERN HISTORY that Hoxie and Little Rock, Arkansas, have become synonyms for white resistance to desegregation in the era of the "Second Reconstruction." In May 1954, when the Supreme Court handed down its decision in the school segregation cases, few suspected that in the troubled years ahead Arkansas would provide Deep-South intransigents with the battle cry "Remember Little Rock"—a slogan that recalled for some segregationists the invocation of the long-dead patriots who remembered the Alamo. Indeed, Arkansas's pre-eminent stature among the defiant states in the first decade of desegregation is as undeserved as it was unexpected. In 1948, the "Land of Opportunity" became a pioneer among southern states in biracial higher learning when the University of Arkansas lowered its racial barriers without court order and without popular turmoil. It was also the first of the former Confederate states to begin complying with the Court's ruling.

Even before the rendering of the so-called "second *Brown* decision," the implementation decree of May 30, 1955, four school districts in the state either desegregated their classrooms or moved in that direction.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, while it can hardly be said that state officials were enthusiastic, their reactions to the nullification of the state's separate-but-equal education statutes were among the region's most positive. In

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<sup>1</sup>Guerdon D. Nichols, "Breaking the Color Barrier at the University of Arkansas," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 27 (Spring 1968): 3-21; *Southern School News*, September 3, 1954, p. 2; October 1, 1954, p. 3.

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vivid contrast to the defiant mood of Deep-South governors, Gov. Francis A. Cherry summarized the position of his administration with a terse observation on May 18, 1954: "Arkansas will obey the law. It always has."<sup>2</sup> Nor did the election of Orval E. Faubus signal a shift in official attitude. In his inaugural address in January 1955, Cherry's successor failed even to mention segregation. Similarly, in the legislature, then in its regular sixty-day biennial session, a pupil assignment law designed to preserve segregation in public schools died in the senate.<sup>3</sup> Little wonder, then, that an NAACP field secretary during the spring of 1955 could pronounce the state "the bright spot of the south."<sup>4</sup>

The very paucity of the Negro population itself was a major force working to point the state in the direction of a relatively easy adjustment to desegregation. In 1954, fully 184 of the state's 432 school districts and fifteen of its seventy-five counties had no Negro students at all. Moreover, Negroes constituted 1 percent or less of the total population in twenty-five upcountry counties, and 10 percent or less in twelve more.<sup>5</sup> But there were areas in Arkansas where the density of the nonwhite population approached that of black-belt counties in the Deep South. East of the state's fall line, in the lowlands that sweep flat in an alluvial plain toward the "delta" counties along the river, cotton flourished on vast tracts of rich land, much as it did on the opposite shore in Mississippi. Here the great majority of Arkansas's Negro population resided, as did much of its Deep-South racial attitudes.

Quite in keeping with patterns already established in the states of the lower South, organized white resistance to school desegregation in Arkansas began in the black belt. White America, Inc., the first group its kind in the state, emerged during March 1955 in Pine Bluff, seat of Jefferson County, one of only seven Arkansas counties where the black population either equaled or exceeded the white. Patterned after such Deep-South "protective societies" as the Citizens' Council, this ineffective but noisy group of segregationists languished in obscurity until the

<sup>2</sup>Quoted in *Southern School News*, September 3, 1954, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, April 7, 1955, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup>Quoted in "Has Arkansas Gone Liberal," *Chicago Defender*, May 7, 1955. The tone of this article in a Negro daily reflects the general optimism expressed by many on the course of desegregation in Arkansas. See also "Integration is Right in Arkansas," *Charleston (SC) News and Courier*, June 2, 1955, and "Integration Working in Arkansas School," *Birmingham (AL) News*, June 17, 1955.

<sup>5</sup>In September 1954, there were two school districts operating on a desegregated basis in the state. Both were to be found in western Arkansas. See *Southern School News*, October 1, 1954, p. 2. See also a convenient summary of Arkansas school statistics in the same publication, February 3, 1955, p. 2.

following September, when it joined other organized white militants in a concerted effort to resegregate the schools in Hoxie.<sup>6</sup>

A rural trading center in the northeastern portion of the state, Hoxie was an unlikely scene for racial turmoil. Although most whites in this Lawrence County village of some 2,000 inhabitants were opposed to racial integration, they took comfort in the knowledge that in the county at large Caucasians outnumbered Negroes nearly ninety-nine to one. Not remarkably, then, when economy-minded School District No. 46 moved to consolidate its dual education system by integrating Hoxie's twenty-six Negro pupils with more than 800 whites in July 1955, there was some criticism but no untoward action from the community.<sup>7</sup>

But in the aftermath of the three-page photo story of Hoxie's successful desegregation in *Life* magazine, July 25, 1955, white supremacists both inside and outside the state began to stir.<sup>8</sup> Racist literature bearing the imprint of Deep-South Citizens' Councils and other resistance groups was mailed to Hoxie residents, placed under their doors, and put in their cars.<sup>9</sup> Herbert Brewer, a local soybean farmer and part-time auctioneer, began organizing local dissidents into the Citizens' Committee Representing Segregation in Hoxie Schools. Soon thereafter, angry parents began to picket and boycott the village schools. In mid-August, following a segregation rally sponsored jointly by White America and Brewer's committee, the Hoxie school board suspended classes for the fall harvest—fully two weeks ahead of schedule.<sup>10</sup>

During September, the Citizens' Committee and White America were joined by a third organization, the White Citizens' Council of Arkansas, newly formed by former state senator James D. Johnson of Crossett, a recently defeated candidate for state attorney general, and Curt Copeland, former publisher of a small Hot Springs newspaper. Johnson rapidly assumed the lead in a campaign to insure that when

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., March 3, 1955, p. 2, July 6, 1955, p. 3, September 1955, p. 10.

<sup>7</sup>For thorough coverage of the early stages of the Hoxie story, see "Hoxie Schools Desegregate in Arkansas without Incident," *ibid.*, August 1955, p. 15; and Cabell Phillips "Integration: Battle of Hoxie, Arkansas," *New York Times Magazine*, September 25, 1955, pp. 12, 68-76. Compare an account by the White Citizens' Council of Arkansas, "The Hoxie Story," *Arkansas Faith*, November 1955, pp. 9-10.

<sup>8</sup>See "A 'Morally Right' Decision," *Life*, July 25, 1955, pp. 29-31. The significance of the *Life* article as a catalyst for pro-segregation activity has been recognized by Phillips, "Integration: Battle of Hoxie, Arkansas," p. 68.

<sup>9</sup>Phillips, "Integration: Battle of Hoxie, Arkansas"; *Southern School News*, September 1955, p. 10; Dan Wakefield, "Respectable Racism: Dixie's Citizens' Councils," *Nation*, October 22, 1955, p. 340; *Arkansas Gazette* (Little Rock), September 10, 1955.

<sup>10</sup>*Arkansas Gazette*, August 21, 1955; Phillips, "Integration: Battle of Hoxie, Arkansas," 68ff.; "Protests Lead to Closing of School 2 Weeks Early at Hoxie, Arkansas," *Southern School News*, September 1955, p. 10.

Hoxie reopened its schools as scheduled in October, it would do so on a segregated basis.

Typical of Johnson's efforts was his use of a fraudulent tape recording as a recruiting aid. First employed at a rally in nearby Walnut Ridge, this recording was presented as a live tape of an address given by Professor Roosevelt Williams of Howard University to an National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) audience in Mississippi. Supplied by the Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi, this recording left little to the imagination about the "real" motives behind the Negro's quest for social equality. According to a Council newspaper, the tape proved that "the NAACP and their insolent agitators are little concerned with an education for the 'ignorant nigger'; but, rather, are 'demanding' integration in the white bedroom." Somewhat later this spurious document was exposed when a country editor from Georgia revealed that "Professor Williams" was known to neither Howard nor the NAACP—but not before it had been used by Council organizers to inflame white sentiment in more than half a dozen southeastern Arkansas towns.<sup>11</sup>

Despite such techniques, organized resistance failed in its first venture in Arkansas. The local school board sought and obtained a temporary injunction restraining the three segregationist groups from further interference with the operation of the Hoxie public schools. On October 24, after the harvest recess, the schools reopened as they had closed, on an integrated basis.<sup>12</sup>

The setback at Hoxie was critical for the resistance movement in Arkansas. Providing dramatic proof of the great diversity of the southern region, the incident demonstrated that in the upper South, particularly in areas where few Negroes resided, organized racism would not enjoy the success it was then experiencing deep in Dixie. Further demonstration of this point came during that same autumn in the southeastern county of Lincoln, where 53 percent of the population was Negro. There, in Star City, the county seat, White Citizens' Council organizers were prevented from holding a rally after white residents petitioned against it.

<sup>11</sup>The White Citizens' Council of Arkansas newspaper, *Arkansas Faith*, reported that the recording was played to crowds in Dermott, DeWitt, England, Forrest City, Hamburg, Lake Village, and Sheridan, all in the southeastern half of Arkansas. *Arkansas Faith*, November 1955, p. 19. See also *Southern School News*, October 1955, p. 9.

<sup>12</sup>*Southern School News*, December 1958, pp. 8-9; Robert Leflar, "'Law of the Land': The Courts and the Schools" in *With All Deliberate Speed; Segregation-Desegregation in Southern Schools*, ed. Don Shoemaker (New York: Harper, 1957), 9.

Expressing the view of many residents of the county, the sheriff declared: "We're getting along fine without anybody stirring up trouble."<sup>13</sup>

Undeterred, the advocates of organized resistance persevered. During the following year, the most significant groups merged, including the White Citizens' Council of Arkansas, White America, and the Hoxie Citizens' Committee. Under the leadership of Jim Johnson, unsuccessful candidate in the gubernatorial primary in July, segregationists from some twenty-one counties gathered in Pine Bluff in September 1956 to form the Association of Citizens' Councils of Arkansas (ACCA). L. D. Poynter, a local railroad official and founder of White America, became president and acting executive secretary.<sup>14</sup> Although well into his sixties, Poynter's new responsibilities could not have been burdensome, for the activities of the ACCA were never more than limited. Unlike many state associations, it was never vital enough to sustain a regular publication for its membership. Even *Arkansas Faith*, published during 1955 by the White Citizens' Council of Arkansas, did not survive the merger.

In time, the state association acquired more-or-less active local affiliates in such counties as Arkansas, Crittenden, Drew, Lonoke, and Jefferson, as well as in the western cities of Texarkana and Van Buren.<sup>15</sup> Generally, however, the movement possessed little strength in these localities. Groups were formed to meet the exigencies of a local desegregation crisis, but, once racial tensions subsided, popular interest in organized racism faded.

Because membership lists have never been released, it is difficult to estimate Council strength in any state; and in Arkansas it is particularly hazardous. Unlike many state Council associations, the ACCA seldom quoted membership figures to the press. But in August 1957, it did report that there were organizations in thirty-two of the state's seventy-five counties, a figure that appears to be exaggerated.<sup>16</sup> Similarly, the Southern Regional Council, an Atlanta-based civil rights agency that frequently overestimated resistance group strength, suggested 20,000 as

<sup>13</sup>*Arkansas Gazette*, October 14, 1955; *Arkansas Democrat* (Little Rock), October 17, 1955.

<sup>14</sup>Eventually, Robert Ewing Brown was retained as executive secretary. *Southern School News*, November 1956, p. 12; *Arkansas Gazette*, September 2, 1956.

<sup>15</sup>See *Southern School News*, April 7, 1955, p. 3; November 1958, p. 8; September, 1959, pp. 1-2, 15; *Arkansas Gazette*, June 29, 1957; *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, June 29, 1957; *Pine Bluff Commercial*, January 31, February 1, 1962.

<sup>16</sup>See *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, September 1, 1957.

“the maximum realistic figure” for the ACCA’s total membership.<sup>17</sup> In light of the available evidence, this too seems highly inflated.

By far, the most viable affiliate of the ACCA was the Capital Citizens’ Council (CCC) of Little Rock. Originally organized in 1955 as an affiliate of White America, the CCC became the largest and most vocal segregation group in the upper South.<sup>18</sup> But it too was small by Deep-South standards. At peak strength, the organization could boast of only some five hundred dues-paying members, and fewer than three hundred of these actually resided in the capital city.<sup>19</sup> Moreover, public rallies rarely attracted large crowds. Nor did it enjoy the support of the city’s “substantial” middle class; and, unlike those of many another southern urban center, the organization’s officers were not drawn from the city’s traditional civic leadership. Indeed, on the eve of the Little Rock school desegregation crisis the organization’s limited standing in the community was underscored during a school-board election when voters rejected a pair of Council-endorsed candidates—one of whom was the CCC president—in favor of two others pledged to uphold the board’s desegregation plan. To make matters worse, Council membership was seriously fragmented in September 1958, when Robert E. Brown, a former CCC president and one-time executive secretary, led a group of dissidents out of the organization to form the States’ Rights Council of Little Rock.<sup>20</sup>

But however much it lacked in size, stature, and stability, the Capital Citizens’ Council was a force to be reckoned with. Its strength may probably be better measured by its considerable contribution to the polarization of public sentiment in Little Rock than by the number of its members. Given the troubled course of public school desegregation in the capital city, it seems likely that the CCC’s extreme position appealed to a far greater audience than its comparatively small membership would indicate. Moreover, because it possessed the advantage of established organization and leadership, the CCC constituted what one writer on Little Rock politics has aptly described as “the most vocal and potent group within the com-

<sup>17</sup>See Southern Regional Council, *Special Report: Pro-Segregation Groups in the South* (Atlanta, 1956) and rev. ed. of May 23, 1957.

<sup>18</sup>Southern Regional Council, *Special Report*, rev. ed.

<sup>19</sup>Forced to make public its records in November 1957, under the city’s so-called Bennett ordinances, the CCC revealed that of its 510 members, 295 lived in Little Rock, 86 in North Little Rock, 121 elsewhere in the state, and 8 outside the state. Proposed by state attorney general Bruce Bennett as a weapon to be used against the NAACP, Bennett ordinances were adopted by Little Rock, North Little Rock, and Crossett. They required the records of “extremist groups” be made public. See *Arkansas Gazette*, October 27, 31, November 1, 1957; *Southern School News*, November 1957, p. 7.

<sup>20</sup>All but two of the States’ Rights Council’s twelve incorporators were former members of the CCC; *Arkansas Gazette*, September 5, 18, 1958.

munity.”<sup>21</sup> As the events surrounding the desegregation of Central High School in September 1957 would prove, its disruptive capacity could be considerable.

To many observers, the confrontation between state and federal forces in Little Rock and the protracted disorder that followed was wholly unexpected. For, if mere long-range planning were a valid index to peaceful desegregation, the city's submission to the dictates of the *Brown* decision would have been accomplished without incident. While its program of preparedness was neither as well conceived nor as effectively executed as those in the South's border cities of Louisville and St. Louis, the Little Rock school board began preparing for desegregation immediately after the Court's ruling. On May 18, 1954, the board instructed Superintendent Virgil T. Blossom to formulate a plan for compliance. Unenthusiastic though he was, Blossom set to work and within a year presented a functional blueprint for tokenism at the high school level beginning in September 1957.<sup>22</sup>

Although failing to utilize fully the leadership of the flourishing moderate community within this upper-South capital city, Blossom undertook a constructive program of public education. In some two hundred addresses to service clubs, businessmen's organizations, and church groups, he emphasized that there was no practical alternative to desegregation. Perhaps because, as one NAACP spokesman believed, "Superintendent Blossom was more interested in appeasing the segregationists by advocating that only a limited number of Negroes be admitted than in complying with the Supreme Court's decision," significant opposition to Blossom's Little Rock Phase Program did not materialize until the summer of 1957.<sup>23</sup> When that opposition did materialize, its vanguard was occupied by the CCC.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>21</sup>Henry M. Alexander, *The Little Rock Recall Election* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1960), 4.

<sup>22</sup>For details of that plan, see *Southern School News*, May 1957, pp. 2-3.

<sup>23</sup>Daisy Bates, *The Long Shadow of Little Rock: A Memoir* (New York: David McKay, 1962), 51-52. See also Colbert S. Cartwright, "Lesson from Little Rock," *Christian Century*, October 9, 1957, pp. 1193-1194. According to Cartwright, pastor of Little Rock's Pulaski Heights Christian Church, "the Little Rock school board and Superintendent Virgil Blossom must share responsibility for the Little Rock debacle."

<sup>24</sup>For a scholarly treatment of the crisis, see Numan V. Bartley's *The Rise of Massive Resistance: Race and Politics in the South during the 1950's* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1969), 251-269. An early study of the problems of federalism engendered by the crisis is Corinne Silverman, *The Little Rock Story* (University: University of Alabama Press, 1959). Benjamin Muse's *Ten Years of Prelude: The Story of Integration since the Supreme Court's 1954 Decision* (New York: Viking Press, 1964), 122-145, is also useful. Firsthand accounts, in addition to Mrs. Bates', include: Virgil T. Blossom, *It Has Happened Here* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959); Robert R. Brown, *Bigger than Little Rock* (Greenwich, CT: Seabury Press, 1958); Gloster B. Current, "Crisis in Little Rock," *Crisis*, November 1957, pp. 525-535; Brooks Hays, *A Southern Moderate Speaks* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1959).

The opening salvo in the campaign to prevent desegregation at Central High came when CCC president Robert E. Brown addressed an open letter to Governor Faubus in the late spring of 1957. Reminding Faubus that Gov. Allan Shivers had successfully flouted a federal court order and prevented desegregation in Mansfield, Texas, Brown observed that "in order to preserve domestic tranquility" he could block the school board's program. "As the sovereign head of a state," Brown added, "you are immune to federal court orders."<sup>25</sup> As Superintendent Blossom later recalled, this letter became "the basis of hundreds of thousands of circulars and many full-page newspaper advertisements."<sup>26</sup> But, the governor was apparently unmoved. As late as mid-July, he indicated that he would have nothing to do with defiance. "Everyone knows no state law supersedes a federal law," he told a press conference. "If anyone expects me to try to use them to supersede federal laws they are wrong."<sup>27</sup>

Quite obviously, the use of state laws for such purposes was precisely what some segregationists had in mind. Throughout the summer the CCC's efforts to sabotage the desegregation plan continued. Whether creating disorders at open meetings of the school board, organizing letter-writing campaigns to urge the governor to invoke police powers, or urging defiance through an avalanche of propaganda, the organization managed to keep the sensitive issue before the public's eye. Typically, the organization sought to exploit the white community's darkest fears about racial co-mingling. "If you integrate Little Rock Central High in September," one CCC-sponsored newspaper advertisement inquired of the school board, "would the negro boys be permitted to solicit the white girls for dances?"<sup>28</sup> Other CCC advertisements, "exposing" the "plot" between Blossom and the NAACP, urged parents to "disrupt [the] vile schemes" of a "small clique of white and Negro revolutionaries."<sup>29</sup> Repeatedly segregation leaders linked "the Blossom race-mixing plan" with black militants, and at one CCC rally a speaker suggested that it may even have been drafted by the "hidden hand which is the invisible world government."<sup>30</sup>

Persistent rumors of impending violence, fed by the ominous predictions of the extremists, served to becloud the issue still further. Amis Guthridge, a furniture dealer and lawyer who served as the CCC's most

<sup>25</sup>Quoted in *Southern School News*, June 1957, p. 9.

<sup>26</sup>Blossom, *It Has Happened Here*, 34.

<sup>27</sup>Quoted in *ibid.*, 36.

<sup>28</sup>*Southern School News*, August 1957, p. 7.

<sup>29</sup>Quoted in *Birmingham News*, July 19, 1957.

<sup>30</sup>Quoted in *Arkansas Gazette*, July 17, 1957. It should be noted that the NAACP was sharply critical of the Little Rock Phase Program.

articulate spokesman in Little Rock, gravely warned that desegregation at Central High School could only be followed by "hell on the border."<sup>31</sup> The Reverend J. A. Lovell, a Dallas radio minister imported by the CCC for a mid-summer public meeting, warned that "there are people left yet in the South who love God and their nation enough to shed blood if necessary to stop this work of Satan." Quickly affirming its nonviolent principles, the Council denied that Lovell's statement meant that the organization would condone physical resistance, and Guthridge even publicly advised members that expulsion would follow any act of violence. Nevertheless, the organization's resolute commitment to segregation at any price contributed to widespread uneasiness within the city as the first day of school approached.<sup>32</sup>

The acme of the summer-long crusade came late in August with the appearance at a Council fund-raising dinner of Georgia's governor, Marvin Griffin, and its former speaker of the house, Roy V. Harris. Prior to the engagement, Governor Faubus, fearful lest their visit spark disorder, telephoned Griffin in Atlanta to express his apprehensions. Although the Georgia governor replied that "I was gonna give 'em hell on the Constitution and Roy was gonna give 'em hell on the civil rights thing," he offered his assurances that there would be no inflammatory statements. Thus satisfied, Faubus hospitably invited the pair to be his guests at the governor's mansion during their stay in Little Rock.

To be sure, these roving ambassadors of resistance did not incite angry whites to riot. But their defiant speeches left little doubt that when and if the Court ordered Georgia to desegregate there would be no peaceful submission. Amid tumultuous applause, the vow was made that as a last-ditch measure the Griffin administration would summon "every white man in Georgia" to defend "our cherished institutions."<sup>33</sup>

These intimations were clear not only to Little Rock's militant segregationists but to Faubus as well. Soon after his guests departed, the governor reported that "people are coming to me and saying if Georgia doesn't have integration, why does Arkansas have it?"<sup>34</sup> Certainly the appearance of Harris and Griffin had a galvanic effect. Until their arrival, Superintendent Blossom believed "we had a chance of getting people to accept the gradual integration plan." But afterward, popular opposition

<sup>31</sup>*Southern School News*, July 1957, p. 10.

<sup>32</sup>*Ibid.*, August 1957, p. 7.

<sup>33</sup>*Ibid.*, September 1957, pp. 6-7; Hays, *Southern Moderate Speaks*, 131-132; Fletcher Knebel, "The Real Little Rock Story," *Look*, November 12, 1957, pp. 32-33; George B. Leonard, Jr., "Georgia: Rallying Point of Defiance," *ibid.*, 32-34; *Arkansas Gazette*, August 22, 23, 1957.

<sup>34</sup>Quoted in *Southern School News*, September 1957, p. 7.

solidified.<sup>35</sup> In his testimony before an August 29 hearing at Pulaski County Chancery Court where segregationists sought an injunction against Little Rock school desegregation and again in a nation-wide broadcast early in September, Faubus expressed agreement. Sentiment in the city had undergone a profound change he said, and Griffin had “triggered” it.<sup>36</sup> Griffin himself was inclined to view his role as catalytic. Soon after Faubus called out the state militia, ostensibly to prevent “tumult, riot and breach of peace”—but also to bar the admission of nine Negro students to Central High—the Georgian conceded: “I think my visit did make a little contribution to the unity of the people.”<sup>37</sup>

Less certain was the degree to which the arch-segregationists influenced Faubus’s own decision to follow the destructive route of defiance. Almost until the very moment of his September 2 proclamation activating the National Guard, the governor had been vilified by white militants. Indeed, there was little in the record of this upcountry politician to suggest that he would become the hero of the resistance movement. Raised in Negro-sparse Madison County, he recognized early the advantages accruing from a discreet cultivation of the state’s growing number of black voters. Following his first-term election in 1954, he became the first Arkansas governor to appoint Negroes to the state Democratic central committee. During the Democratic gubernatorial primary campaign of 1956, he courted and won a majority of the state’s Negro voters to gain a second nomination over the opposition of segregationist candidate James Johnson. When racist ire was raised over desegregation at Hoxie, he ignored all pleas for intervention to preserve all-white schools in that troubled village; and even at the very peak of the crisis at Little Rock, he recalled with pride that peaceful desegregation of the state colleges had occurred during his tenure.<sup>38</sup>

Precisely because his generally constructive attitude of compliance invited favorable comparison with other moderate South governors, notably Frank G. Clement of Tennessee and Luther H. Hodges of North Carolina, Faubus became the target of the extremists. From its first issue in November 1955, *Arkansas Faith* lampooned “Governor Orval ‘Fabalouse’” (also

<sup>35</sup>In his testimony before a federal court, Blossom declared that Griffin’s appearance in Little Rock “had more to do with strengthening opposition than anything that happened.” Quoted in *Atlanta Journal*, June 5, 1958.

<sup>36</sup>*Southern School News*, September 1957, pp. 6-7.

<sup>37</sup>Quoted in Silverman, *Little Rock Story*. For Faubus’s proclamation to the National Guard, September 2, 1957, see *Race Relations Law Reporter* 2 (October 1957): 937.

<sup>38</sup>Colbert S. Cartwright, “The Improbable Demagogue of Little Rock, Ark.,” *Reporter* 17 (October 17, 1957): 23-25; Bartley, “Looking Back at Little Rock,” 110-111; Silverman, *Little Rock Story*, 10.

“Awful Faubus”), whose anxieties to “appease” the integrationists had made him “unable to remember whether he received his college training at the communist Commonwealth College or at a mule barn.”<sup>39</sup> Even as late as the fundraising banquet at the Hotel Marion, Griffin and Harris felt obliged to apologize for accepting the governor’s hospitality. As Harris reassuringly explained, “having us two there at the mansion’s the worst thing could happen to Faubus. It’ll ruin him with the integrationists and the liberals.”<sup>40</sup>

But however moderate his previous record, Faubus chose to bend with the current of racial extremism. Perhaps to his own consternation, he was swept along into the very vortex of massive resistance. Having deployed the National Guard to block the execution of a federal mandate, the governor flirted with armed rebellion for seventeen days. Only after a series of complicated maneuvers involving President Dwight David Eisenhower, the Department of Justice, and a federal judge,—and the issuance of a federal injunction against further obstruction—did he withdraw the guard on September 20.<sup>41</sup>

Three days later, when Negroes at last gained admission, an unruly mob gathered outside the school. Just three and half hours after their appearance, apprehensive school and city administrators, fearful lest there be bloodshed, ordered the removal of the black students by a side exit.<sup>42</sup> That same day President Eisenhower issued an emergency proclamation urging the angry crowd of whites to disperse. When the jeering throng appeared for a second day, the President federalized the Arkansas National Guard and ordered in a battle group of 1,000 men from the 101<sup>st</sup> Airborne Division.<sup>43</sup> For nearly a month, while a sullen calm settled over the city, the nine Negro children attended school with a troop escort. On November 27,

<sup>39</sup>*Arkansas Faith*, November 1955, March 1956. See also Carl Rowan, *Go South to Sorrow* (New York: Random House, 1957), 156-157; *Arkansas Gazette*, October 4, 1957.

<sup>40</sup>Knebel, “The Real Little Rock Story,” 32-33; Hays, *Southern Moderate Speaks*, 131-132.

<sup>41</sup>Little Rock congressman Brooks Hays, a participant in these maneuverings, has written “The Inside Story of Little Rock,” *U.S. News and World Report*, March 23, 1959, pp. 118-135.

<sup>42</sup>Blossom, *It Has Happened Here*, 103-109.

<sup>43</sup>Maj. Gen. Edwin A. Walker, commander of the Arkansas Military District, directed the federal military operation at Little Rock. Although he carried out his assignment with efficiency and even lectured white students on proper deportment before Negroes arrived at Central High, Walker, who became a South-wide Council hero, would later declare that he had fought on the “wrong side” in 1957. On the tenth anniversary of the *Brown* decision he returned to the Arkansas capital city as a guest of the CCC to deliver an address on “The Road from Little Rock: The Unprecedented Expose of an American Soldier’s Battle with the World Police State.” School officials refused to let him speak from the steps of Central High. *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, May 18, 1964.

the last of the regular Army forces were withdrawn, leaving a shrinking detachment of federalized guardsmen in control until the commencement of the summer recess on May 29, 1958.

Although the Capital Citizens' Council heralded the day the troops left Little Rock as "Liberation Day," there is little reason to believe that the occasion was particularly joyous for the organization.<sup>44</sup> Since desegregation had been achieved, the CCC's preoccupation had been the creation and maintenance of an atmosphere so unrelentingly hostile that a permanent federal garrison would be required to keep the peace. During a return engagement in mid-January 1958, Roy Harris, this time in the company of Robert Patterson, founder of the original Citizens' Council in Mississippi, expressed well the mood of Little Rock's CCC members. "Little Rock has Ike over the barrel," he informed more than one thousand segregationists assembled in the city's largest hotel ballroom. "If the people of Little Rock stand pat and he is forced to keep troops here from now on he soon will be the laughing stock of the nation and the world." In similar language, the Mississippi spokesman encouraged militants to persist in their defiance: "Little Rock has proved that forced integration is impractical if not impossible."<sup>45</sup>

To insure that integration would remain impractical at best, the organized segregationists met the entrance of Negroes at the all-white school with a vow of eternal resistance. Having urged whites to "peacefully and prayerfully assemble," the CCC may be at least partially credited for the appearance of the milling throngs of people that appeared so often around the high school during the month of September.<sup>46</sup> An additional manifestation of its approval of mob action came when it formed the "Freedom Fund for Little Rock" and toured the Deep South for contributions to defray the legal expenses of the seventy-five persons arrested during the disorders.<sup>47</sup> In its persistent harassment of school officials, the organization endeavored unsuccessfully to bring charges of malfeasance and nonfeasance against Blossom and members of the school board. Failing here, it supported a recall election law in hopes of effecting their removal by other means.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>44</sup>*Arkansas Gazette*, May 27, 1958.

<sup>45</sup>Quoted in *Southern School News*, February 1958, p. 12. See also *Arkansas Gazette*, January 15, 16, 18, 1958.

<sup>46</sup>*Columbia (SC) State*, September 3, 1957.

<sup>47</sup>*Birmingham News*, November 20, 1957; *Charlotte (NC) News*, November 20, 1957; *Charleston News and Courier*, November 20, 1957; *Columbia State*, November 22, 1957; *Southern School News*, November 1957, p. 11.

<sup>48</sup>See CCC editorial, *Monroe (LA) Morning World*, January 22, 1958; *Southern School News*, February 1958, p. 12; Blossom, *It Has Happened Here*, 150-151.

Through it all, the CCC continued its inflammatory efforts to equate communism and the NAACP with school desegregation. During December 1957, they circulated a broadside charging that the state president of the NAACP, "'Mrs.' Daisy Bates, Little Rock's 'Lady' of the Year," was the "unofficial 'principal' in charge of lecturing white students at Central High who 'cross' any of her 'brave' nine negro students." The circular, which carried police photographs of Mrs. Bates and a transcript of her "record" ("failure to register the NAACP," "gaming," and "contempt of court"), indicated that "iron-clad censorship" and even "prison-like fear" prevented white pupils from telling even their parents of the horrors of student life inside the integrated school.<sup>49</sup> With similar disregard for credibility, state Council leader James Johnson advised members of the Mothers' League of Central High School that an "active Communist cell in your own community" was "pulling the strings" throughout the summer and fall of 1957. Given sufficient time, the former state senator promised the pro-segregation organization that he could even produce the "card numbers" of Little Rock's "Communist Organizers."<sup>50</sup>

Tactics such as these contributed substantially to a crystallization of white attitudes against continued compliance. Evidence that the extremists had gained support in the wake of the military and legal proceedings that ended with federal troops at Central High School came on November 5, 1957, in a city-wide government election. Although decisively defeated in a school-board election the previous spring, the militant element made a surprisingly strong showing in the election of Little Rock's first seven-member city manager board. Only one of the candidates endorsed by the CCC was elected, but the voting was extremely close. The narrow margin of victory for the six moderate candidates came in wards where Negro voting was heaviest and in Pulaski Heights, the "silk stocking" section of the city.<sup>51</sup>

Undoubtedly encouraged by this mood of mounting intransigence, Faubus responded to a Supreme Court reversal of a lower court decision granting Little Rock a two-and-a-half-year "tactical delay" without further desegregation by closing the city's high schools for the 1958-59 academic

<sup>49</sup>Broadside, "'Mrs.' Daisy Bates," miscellaneous files, Southern Education Reporting Service, Nashville, Tennessee. The NAACP state president informed the press that her 1946 contempt charge was dismissed on appeal, and that the 1952 gaming charge stemmed from a police raid on a private home where Mrs. Bates, her husband, and another couple were playing "penny ante" poker; *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, December 18, 1957.

<sup>50</sup>Quoted in *Arkansas Gazette*, March 21, 1958.

<sup>51</sup>*Southern School News*, December 1957, pp. 2-3.

year.<sup>52</sup> Hailing Faubus's action as a major blow for "racial integrity and states' rights," Little Rock's segregationists began planning immediately for the reopening of the high schools on a private basis. Although the governor endorsed the plan and declared it not only "sound and workable" but beyond the reach of the "so-called 'law of the land,'" a federal court intervened to prevent the transfer of public school facilities and the diversion of public revenue.<sup>53</sup>

Nevertheless, the newly formed Little Rock Private School Corporation opened tuition-free T. J. Raney High School late in October 1958 in a two-story, thirty-two-room former orphanage. Not officially a Capital Citizens' Council project, the Private School Corporation was in everything but name a CCC enterprise. Among its six incorporators were to be found such stalwarts of the organization as Amis Guthridge and the Rev. Wesley Pruden. Its treasurer was Dr. Malcolm G. Taylor, an osteopath who became the president of CCC in January 1959.<sup>54</sup> Moreover, the Private School Corporation was a chief beneficiary of Citizens' Council philanthropy. The October 1958 issue of the *Citizens' Council*, monthly organ of the South-wide Council movement, carried a front-page appeal for "CONTRIBUTIONS TO LITTLE ROCK." To simulate generous giving, Little Rock Council spokesmen—occasionally in company of Faubus himself—made solicitation tours to several southern cities.<sup>55</sup>

The returns were impressive. In its November 1958 issue, the *Citizens' Council* reported that "the Little Rock Private School Corporation is receiving financial support from people in every Southern state and many parts of the North." Paced by the Morehouse Parish, Louisiana, Citizens' Council, which collected \$11,000 in a "Four Blocks for Little Rock" campaign to ring the courthouse with silver dollars, American segregationists and their sympathizers from as far away as South Africa contributed generously to Arkansas's lily-white private school. Before the drive was a month old, the corporation's president could boast the collection of \$175,000 of the estimated \$600,000 necessary to operate the private academy for a year.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>52</sup>See Gertrude Samuels, "Little Rock: More Tension Than Ever," *New York Times Magazine*, March 23, 1958, pp. 23, 88-90; *Race Relations Law Reporter* 3 (August 1958): 630-641, 644-648; *Southern School News*, October 1958, pp. 5, 7.

<sup>53</sup>*Southern School News*, October 1958, pp. 5, 7.

<sup>54</sup>*Ibid.*, November 1958, pp. 8-9.

<sup>55</sup>*Citizens' Council*, October 1958, p. 1; *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, November 10, 1958.

<sup>56</sup>*Citizens' Council*, November 1958, p. 1; December 1958, p. 2; *Southern School News*, November 1958, p. 5; December 1958, p. 12; *Montgomery (AL) Advertiser*, October 3, 1958; Muse, *Ten Years of Prelude*, 155.

Meanwhile, the embattled school board remained the focus of the controversy. During the months following the school closing, the Mothers' League of Central High joined the CCC in a campaign to recall the five moderate board members. But when the sixth and favored member, Dr. Dale Alford, defeated incumbent representative Brooks Hays in a write-in, or "paste-in," campaign for the Fifth District congressional seat, the moderates resigned in recognition of "the utter hopelessness of our present position." When the new board was elected in early December 1958 three of its members carried the endorsement of the CCC, and three represented a so-called "businessmen's ticket" which the Council branded as "integrationists."<sup>57</sup> With the board thus equally divided, Faubus's supporters in the state legislature introduced a bill to permit the governor to appoint three additional members. Opposed by Little Rock PTA groups and the Women's Emergency Committee to Open Our Schools, a 1,000-member moderate counterpart to the Central High Mothers' League, the board-packing measure failed to pass.<sup>58</sup>

Defeated but unruffled, Faubus and the Council-endorsed board members joined the city's organized segregationists in demanding the removal of the principal of Central High, his two vice principals, and the principal of all-Negro Horace Mann High School. The issue came to a head after months of rumors about a mass purge of school personnel in a meeting of the school board early in May. Following a fruitless morning of deadlock over the renewal of teacher contracts, the moderates withdrew. In their absence, the pro-Faubus trio voted to replace Superintendent Terrell E. Powell, Blossom's successor, with T. H. Alford, father of Congressman Dale Alford, and to discharge forty-four teachers and administrators for "integrationist" activity.<sup>59</sup>

The outcry was instantaneous. No sooner had the purge been announced than the Little Rock Classroom Teachers Association declared the action illegal. The following day PTA groups held mass protest rallies in at least five schools. In a statement of censure, the Little Rock PTA Council urged citizens to "carefully consider all legal measures al-

<sup>57</sup>*Southern School News*, December 1958, pp. 12-13; January 1959, p. 14. For Alford's views on race, see a book much vaunted in segregationist circles: Dale Alford and L'Moore Alford, *The Case of the Sleeping People (Finally Awakened by Little Rock School Frustrations)* (Little Rock: Pioneer Press, 1959).

<sup>58</sup>House Bill 546, as the board-packing measure was known, was introduced on February 26, upon the request of Faubus and Edward I. McKinley, Jr., one of the Council-endorsed school board members. According to its legislative sponsor, the bill was "a little on the dictatorship side but we have no choice. The people voted the man [Faubus] back to do whatever he can to preserve their way of life." Quoted in *Southern School News*, March 1959, p. 2.

<sup>59</sup>*Arkansas Gazette*, May 6, 1959; *Southern School News*, June 1959, p. 2.

lowed by Arkansas law to achieve recall of officials who use their positions to jeopardize our public school system.” Within a week, seventeen of the city’s twenty-five PTA chapters endorsed the central council’s demand for a recall, and the committee to Stop This Outrageous Purge (STOP) was organized by 179 prominent business and civic leaders to promote the effort.

Fighting back, the racists organized a committee and a recall campaign of their own. The CCC and the States’ Rights Council united with the Central High Mothers’ League in the formation of CROSS, the Committee to Retain Our Segregated Schools. With opposing petitions of recall filed and the election date set for May 25, both camps campaigned vigorously. Limiting itself to the issue of the purge and excluding any specific stand on desegregation, STOP waged a dignified battle. CROSS, on the other hand, indiscriminately identified all those who protested the firings as not only “integrationists” but “left-wingers,” “fellow travelers,” and “Communists.”<sup>60</sup> Echoing CROSS, CCC leaders labeled such open-school advocates as the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce and the PTA as “communist fronters” and pawns in a “race-mixing conspiracy.” Congressman Dale Alford, joined by Mississippi’s congressman John Bell Williams, spoke at CROSS rallies, as did Faubus, who made two appearances on local television in support of the purge and the recall of the moderates.<sup>61</sup>

On May 25, the voting was heavy and the margin narrow, but STOP emerged the victor. With the purgers themselves purged by the voters and the moderates exonerated, the always neutral *Southern School News* could report that “for the first time since September, 1957, there was widespread opposition to Faubus at Little Rock on a school matter.” In less measured tones, a jubilant *Arkansas Gazette* proclaimed: “The air is clearer today and the future brighter.”<sup>62</sup>

<sup>60</sup>CROSS also invited Dr. Wesley A. Swift to address a rally. Given advance billing as “State Director, Anti-Communist League of California and pastor of a well-known Los Angeles Church,” the Reverend Swift arrived in Little Rock but did not appear at the segregationists’ rally. When the *Arkansas Gazette* revealed that he had been a Klansman and bodyguard for Gerald L. K. Smith, CROSS canceled his scheduled address and used local talent. See editorial, “The Contrast Between CROSS and STOP,” *Arkansas Gazette*, May 19, 1959; and Alexander, *Little Rock Recall Election*, 28.

<sup>61</sup>The most balanced and comprehensive analysis of this entire episode is Alexander’s *Little Rock Recall Election*. See also “STOP AND CROSS: School Board Election,” *Time*, June 8, 1959, pp. 20-21; Jerry Neal, “The Education of Governor Faubus,” *Nation*, June 6, 1959, pp. 507-509; “How They Beat Faubus in Little Rock,” *New Republic*, June 8, 1959, pp. 7-8; and Silverman, *Little Rock Story*, 30-31.

<sup>62</sup>*Southern School News*, June 1959, p. 2; editorial, *Arkansas Gazette*, May 27, 1959. The significance of the purge and recall election has been ably treated by Colbert S. Cartwright, “HOPE Comes to Little Rock,” *Progressive*, August 1959, pp. 7-9.

Unquestionably, the future of public education was brighter in the months after the recall election. In June, a federal court struck down Arkansas's school-closure statutes and ordered the Little Rock school board to proceed with its original desegregation plan. For its part, a reconstituted school board expunged the action taken during the rump session of May 5, and prepared for the reopening of the city's four high schools.

With the public institutions slated for reopening, the already hard-pressed private schools began to fold. Baptist High School, able to register only twenty-two students by mid-July, scuttled its plans for reopening as a permanent "Christian Academy." About the same time, Trinity (Episcopal) Interim Academy advised its pupils to enroll in the public schools and closed its doors. By the end of the month, only T. J. Raney High School, the largest of the private institutions, was preparing to open its classrooms in the fall. Despite a projected enrollment of more than 1200 students and plans for a twenty-eight-room addition to its physical plant, even Raney was foundering. Ineligible for state aid and unable to repeat its spectacular fundraising of the previous year, the theretofore free school announced early in the summer that it would charge a monthly tuition of fifteen dollars. Then in August, to the surprise of friend and foe alike, the corporation declared its insolvency and terminated its operations.<sup>63</sup>

No less suddenly, the city school board, perhaps maneuvering to foil any plans the governor might have had for a special legislative session, announced on August 4 that city high schools would reopen on August 12, nearly a month early. The CCC met the move with a long statement condemning the "cowardly yellow quitters [*sic*]." Dr. Taylor, its president, taking note of the sharply rising incidence of poliomyelitis in Arkansas during the past year, charged that "our schools are in the hands of reckless daredevils who are willing to open schools in the height of a polio epidemic in order to force integration." Failing to arouse public indignation here, Council leaders accused downtown merchants of pro-integrationist sentiment, and called for a "buyers strike" to commence the day before school opened. They failed again. According to the Federal Reserve Bank, Little Rock department stores enjoyed a sales increase of 1 percent that week.

Having exhausted every other means of resistance, the organized segregationists turned to the streets. On the morning the schools reopened, the Council participated in a mass segregation rally on the state capitol grounds. Although some one thousand people attended, only about two hundred heeded the call of Robert J. Norwood, president of the States' Rights Council, to march on Central High fifteen blocks away. Chanting

<sup>63</sup>*Southern School News*, July 1959, p. 8; August 1959, p. 6; September 1959, pp. 1-2.

“two, four, six, eight, we don’t want to integrate,” the demonstrators were intercepted and dispersed by city police, led by Chief of Police Eugene Smith. When twenty-one were arrested, Guthridge and Pruden condemned the use of “Hungarian Gestapo tactics” by police officers and offered the services of the Council’s attorney.<sup>64</sup>

With some disorder, then, but without major mishap, Central High School was once again desegregated. All remained peaceful until Labor Day, the second anniversary of the appearance of the National Guard at the school. Then the calm of the sultry summer night was shattered by a series of dynamite explosions—one damaging the school board office, another the front of the building in which the mayor maintained an office, and a third a city-owned automobile parked in the driveway of the chief of the fire department. A fourth and unsuccessful bombing attempt was made on the office of a member of the city manager board. The culprits were readily apprehended; and, during the course of the trial in November, testimony revealed that the dynamitings had been planned at a Ku Klux Klan meeting. But it was E. A. Lauderdale, Sr., a member of the CCC’s board of directors, the owner of a Little Rock lumber company, and a twice-defeated candidate for the city manager board—and not a Klan leader—who was charged as the originator and mastermind of the bomb plot. Convicted and sentenced to three years in prison, Lauderdale did not begin serving his term until February 1961. Scarcely six months later, Faubus granted him a pardon.<sup>65</sup>

Midway between Lauderdale’s conviction and his imprisonment, the Council in Arkansas was linked yet another time with violence and the hooded legion. During July 1960, Emmett E. Miller—who had served the cause of segregation in various capacities, most notably as founder and president of the Crittenden County Citizens’ Council, and, more recently, Klan recruiter—was charged with planting thirty sticks of dynamite in a classroom at all-black Philander Smith College in Little Rock. Perhaps coincidentally, several hours after the attempt at the Negro campus, a warehouse owned by the Little Rock school district was partially destroyed by an unknown bomber.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., September 1959, pp. 1-3. See also a letter from Malcolm G. Taylor to Mayor Werner C. Knoop, Little Rock, February 25, 1960, miscellaneous files, Southern Education Reporting Service.

<sup>65</sup>*Arkansas Gazette*, September 10, 11, 1959, September 15, 1961; *Southern School News*, October 1959, p. 2; December 1959, pp. 3-4; March 1961, p. 15.

<sup>66</sup>*Southern School News*, August 1960, p. 5; September 1960, p. 10. Miller later became identified with the militantly anti-Semite and anti-Negro National States Rights party. He was listed in the party’s publication, *Thunderbolt*, May 1962, as an officer of both the Little Rock and the West Memphis, Arkansas, units.

Although available evidence does not suggest CCC complicity in these violent acts, the resort to dynamite by those associated with the Council served further to discredit the organization. With its vein of potential lawlessness thus laid bare and its pretensions to respectability stripped away, the organization rapidly ceased to be a significant factor in the city's political life. A measure of its declining influence in Little Rock and across the state was the overwhelming defeat in November 1960 of a proposed constitutional amendment providing for the closing of schools by local option in order to prevent desegregation. Despite the Council's declaration that a negative vote was a vote for racial amalgamation and Governor Faubus's last-minute endorsement, the measure failed to carry even a single county and was defeated by a margin of three to one.<sup>67</sup> Having once tasted the bitter fruit of defiance, Arkansans clearly wanted no more of it.

By 1960, even the Association of Citizens' Councils of Arkansas had begun to recognize the inevitability of at least token compliance with the Court's mandate. After a noisy and often unseemly year-long battle to block the court-ordered desegregation of the Dollarway School District, on the very doorstep of the organization's state headquarters in Pine Bluff, ACCA leaders urged popular acceptance of the school board's admission of six-year-old Delores Jean York to an all-white Dollarway elementary school. As ACCA president L. D. Poynter conceded, school officials had exhausted their every recourse for delay; no other avenue of nonviolent resistance remained open. When school reconvened at Dollarway on September 7, 1960, Arkansas enjoyed its first statewide peaceful school opening in four years. What the ACCA had repeatedly called the "gateway to southeastern Arkansas" was thrown open to desegregation, and, when a single Negro girl marched in, the organization retreated.<sup>68</sup> Two years later, the school board in Pine Bluff itself admitted five Negro children to three previously segregated schools. It did so without court order and without significant opposition from the Citizens' Council.

Perhaps more telling than even the desegregation of the Council's hometown was the defection of Orval Faubus from the ranks of the massive resisters. Unerringly playing his role as barometer for popular sentiment in the state, the governor demonstrated his consummate political virtuosity by moving full circle by 1962. Opposed by Representative Dale Alford for an unprecedented fifth two-year term, the erstwhile hero of the organized resistance movement ignored the race issue, condemned ex-

<sup>67</sup>*Southern School News*, November 1960, p. 13; December 1960, p. 11.

<sup>68</sup>See *Arkansas Gazette*, August 15, 21, 1959, September 7, 1960; *Nashville Tennessean*, August 21, 22, 1959, September 7, 1960; *Southern School News*, September 1959, pp. 1-2, 15; October 1960, p. 11.

tremists on either side, and unabashedly posed for the voters as an apostle of moderation. Although the CCC did not openly endorse Alford, its most articulate spokesman waged a radio campaign against Faubus, charging that he had joined the "ranks of the gutless." But Arkansas voted for Faubus, as it would do once again two years later.<sup>69</sup>

The campaign against Faubus was the Council's political swan song in Arkansas. To be sure, the organization's impress on public policy outside Little Rock had never been great. Until the governor's unexpected emergence as a champion of massive resistance in 1957, its most influential patron, James D. Johnson, could claim only the most dubious political credentials. Defeated in successive bids to be the state attorney general (1955) and governor (1956), the former state senator was without a public forum until his election to a seat on the state supreme court in 1958. And in the end, Johnson proved no more constant than Faubus. He too could sense a shift in the popular mood. In 1962, he endorsed Faubus, and much to the displeasure of militant segregationists, played a conspicuous role in his campaign. Having lost a governor and a supreme court justice, the organized resistance movement's sole remaining friend of even marginal public prominence was Representative Alford, the defeated gubernatorial candidate who was soon to lose his congressional district through reapportionment, and thus, to return to the political obscurity whence he came.

The loss of its few tenuous links with the power structure was more symptom than cause of the Council's rapid decline in Arkansas. Most of its rank-and-file support had already deserted. Following the confrontation between state and local governments at Little Rock, white Arkansans had become aware of the inevitability of some desegregation. In the face of seemingly irresistible pressure for compliance, the vast majority was making at least token adjustments to the nation's changing pattern of race relations. Undesirable though even limited social change may have been, all but the most intractable segregationists clearly evinced a preference for the new order to the chaos that last-ditch defiance would surely bring. Amid such a climate of accommodation, a program of resistance at any price could have little appeal.

<sup>69</sup>*Arkansas Gazette*, July 11, 12, 31, 1962; *Southern School News*, August 1962, p. 6; January 1963, p. 11. Particularly galling to Councilors was Faubus's announcement early in the campaign that an open break with the segregation group would be of little consequence for his political future. The Citizens' Council, he said, was all but defunct in Arkansas.

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