

PRESERVING THE LOST CAUSE THROUGH “DIXIE’S FOOTBALL PRIDE”:  
THE *BIRMINGHAM NEWS*’ COVERAGE OF THE ALABAMA CRIMSON TIDE  
DURING THE CORE OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, 1961 – 1966

---

A Thesis  
presented to  
the Faculty of the Graduate School  
at the University of Missouri-Columbia

---

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

---

By  
ERIC W. STEAGALL  
Dr. Earnest Perry, Thesis Supervisor

DECEMBER 2016

© Copyright by Eric W. Steagall 2016

All Rights Reserved

The undersigned, appointed by the dean of the Graduate School, have examined the thesis entitled

PRESERVING THE LOST CAUSE THROUGH “DIXIE’S FOOTBALL PRIDE”:  
THE *BIRMINGHAM NEWS*’ COVERAGE OF THE ALABAMA CRIMSON TIDE  
DURING THE CORE OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, 1961 – 1966

presented by Eric W. Steagall,  
a candidate for the degree of Master of Arts,  
and hereby certify that, in their opinion, it is worthy of acceptance.

---

Associate Professor Earnest L. Perry

---

Associate Professor Berkley Hudson

---

Associate Professor Greg Bowers

---

Professor John L. Bullion

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This research unofficially began in 2014 after I finished watching, “Ghosts of Ole Miss,” an *ESPN Films 30 for 30* documentary inspired and narrated by Wright Thompson (B.J. ‘01). This was the beginning of my fascination with southern history, thanks to Wright’s unique angle that connected college football to the Civil War’s centennial. As I turned off Netflix that night, I remember asking myself two questions: 1) Why couldn’t every subject in school be taught using sports; and 2) Why do some people choose to ignore history while others choose not to forget it? The latter question seemed to provide more answers, so I began privately studying the Civil War for about a year.

I realized I knew next to nothing about Reconstruction so I curiously enrolled in Dr. Marvin Overby’s “Politics of the American South” course the following spring semester. Though I received a C+ (no hard feelings), I retained more information than any previous course throughout my academic career. It was in those lectures where I was first introduced to the “Lost Cause,” the ideology that would later inspire this paper. This emphasis on glorifying the past while maintaining tradition in the present helped me begin to understand how a war fought over 150 years ago still has implications today.

Many other brilliant people have helped guide my research along the way, specifically my thesis advisor, Dr. Earnest Perry, who has challenged me to think about sports through an entirely new lens. Shout out to my parents, Deb and William, for always encouraging me to take the road less traveled. Also, this study would not have been possible without the kindness of Ms. Dorothy Carner, head of libraries at the Missouri School of Journalism, who always found time to ensure my research could be completed. Maybe, just maybe, all microfilm reels can be digitized one day.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS .....	ii
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS .....	v
ABSTRACT .....	vi
Chapter One: Introduction .....	1
Goals for this Study .....	5
Concepts & Terms .....	6
Chapter Two: Review of Literature .....	11
The Old South “Way of Life” .....	11
Centuries of Racial Exclusion.....	13
The “Lost Cause” .....	15
The Rise of College Football .....	17
The 1926 Rose Bowl.....	19
Desegregated Bowl Games .....	22
Confederate Iconography in College Football .....	25
<i>Brown v. Board</i> & Massive Resistance.....	28
Bear Bryant’s Return .....	30
“Bombingham” .....	32
The <i>Birmingham News</i> .....	34
Chapter Three: Methodology .....	39
Research Method .....	40
Search Strategy .....	41
Sampling Strategy .....	43
Chapter Four: Results & Analysis .....	49
Knowing What Readers Wanted to Read .....	49
A Reassuring Distraction from the Present.....	52
Comforting Alabamians with a Sacred Past .....	55
College Football Season as Alabama’s “Rebirth” .....	55
Representations of Masculinity/Military .....	56
Constant References to Southern History .....	58
Glorifying Coach Bear Bryant .....	61
Restoring Alabamians with Optimism Moving Forward.....	62
Success is “Inevitable” with Bear Bryant .....	63
“Not the Most Backward” .....	65
Quotes from Prominent Others .....	68

Chapter Five: Conclusion .....	70
Reflection .....	72
Limitations .....	73
Future Studies .....	74
References.....	76
Primary Sources .....	76
Secondary Sources .....	76
Appendices.....	84
Appendix A .....	84
Appendix B .....	86
Appendix C .....	88
Appendix D .....	93
Appendix E .....	95
Appendix F.....	97

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Illustration	Page
Table 1      Sample Population	44
Table 2      Coding Process	45
Figure 1      Textual Analysis Data Hierarchy	47
Figure 2      Coded Data Analysis	53

PRESERVING THE LOST CAUSE THROUGH “DIXIE’S FOOTBALL PRIDE”:  
THE *BIRMINGHAM NEWS*’ COVERAGE OF THE ALABAMA CRIMSON TIDE  
DURING THE CORE OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, 1961 – 1966

Eric W. Steagall

Dr. Earnest Perry, Thesis Supervisor

ABSTRACT

This study examines college football’s role in redefining the American South’s regional identity in the century following the Civil War. During this time, southern college football began to resonate in many respects with the Lost Cause – a set of exaggerated beliefs memorializing the Confederacy’s defeat – due to the sport’s shared traditions with the Old South’s values of masculinity, honor, and chivalry. Growing tired of national media’s backward stereotypes, the University of Alabama’s victory over the University of Washington in the 1926 Rose Bowl presented much of the South with the illusion that “northern values” were nonessential components in keeping pace with the rest of America’s progress. The reviewed literature provides a historic account of the Deep South and the evolution of southern college football in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in order to place the state of Alabama and its Crimson Tide football program within the proper sociocultural context for this study. Guided by framing theory, a textual analysis was conducted on 1,407 articles written by the *Birmingham News* Crimson Tide sportswriters during each college football season between 1961 and 1966. The analysis reveals how the *News* framed its coverage of arguably the greatest college football dynasty of all time, while the rest of Alabama faced more national scrutiny than any other state for such violent responses to the “threat” of racial equality.

## Chapter One: Introduction

“The games may be of little social consequence, but the stories told about them routinely give shape to deeply felt communal values, including the value of self-sacrifice, the possibilities of group achievement, the power of the individual will, and the capriciousness of social hierarchies. How such stories are told raises vital ethical questions. That they are told is vital to our shared experience of democratic culture.”<sup>1</sup>

Even to this day, the last few lines in the University of Alabama’s fight song, “Yeah, Alabama!” read, “Remember the Rose Bowl, we’ll win then. Go, roll to victory, Hit your stride, You’re Dixie’s football pride.”<sup>2</sup> Historians point to this 1926 Rose Bowl victory as the day college football eclipsed its previous status as just a sport in the American South. The majority of newspapers throughout the nation considered the 1925 University of Alabama Crimson Tide – the first southern school ever invited to the oldest New Year’s Day classic in Pasadena, California – a heavy underdog in favor of the University of Washington Huskies. After getting shutout in the first half, the Crimson Tide rallied to score all of its points in the third quarter, heroically defeating the Huskies by a final score of 20-19. Keith Dunnavant explains:

In addition to transforming the Crimson Tide into a national power alongside Notre Dame, Southern Cal, and Michigan, the upset victory resounded throughout the South as a triumph for the region over its backwater reputation. It gave southerners the rare opportunity to claim national superiority in something other than historical angst.<sup>3</sup>

In *Bowl, ‘Bama, Bowl*, Al Browning identifies running back Pooley Hubert’s reaction after the victory: “Coming home was the best part about it, because we had been out there

---

<sup>1</sup> T.P. Oates, & Pauly, J. (2007). Sports Journalism as Moral and Ethical Discourse. *Journal of Mass Media Ethics*, 22(4), 346.

<sup>2</sup> University of Alabama Official Athletics Site. (2016). Songs of Alabama. Retrieved from <http://www.rolltide.com/sports/2016/6/10/trads-song-downloads-html.aspx>; Borucki, W. (2003). “You’re Dixie’s Football Pride”: American College Football and the Resurgence of Southern Identity. *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, 10, 492.

<sup>3</sup> Dunnavant, K. (2005). *Coach: The Life of Paul “Bear” Bryant*. New York: St. Martin’s Press, 35-36.

representing the South.”<sup>4</sup> Hoyt Winslett, Alabama’s first ever Associated Press (AP) All-American similarly commented, “We were the South’s baby. We felt like the Rose Bowl was more than just another football game.”<sup>5</sup> The upset became headline news around the entire country, temporarily masking the South’s backward stereotypes that had haunted the region since the Civil War.

Much of the South equated the Crimson Tide’s resiliency on the football field to the bravery of its Confederate ancestors who died on the battlefield; only this time, the North had lost.<sup>6</sup> “Alabama’s display of masculine strength and virility in Pasadena became proof that the martial prowess and chivalric grandeur of their mythologized ancestors was still alive in the modern world.”<sup>7</sup> The Tide’s triumphs symbolically represented “the desire of the progressive southern elite to facilitate an orderly transition to modern industrial capitalism” without any “Yankee” help.<sup>8</sup> Many southerners viewed the victory as proof that their region did not need to submit to such “northern values” in order to keep pace with the nation’s societal changes in the twentieth century. In essence, college football became a promotional tool for the South to show the rest of the country it was capable of achieving progress in both the present and the future, while still holding onto its sacred traditions of the past.

In 1954, the South’s rejection of these “northern values” was put on national display after the U.S. Supreme Court declared segregation in public schools

---

<sup>4</sup> As quoted in Borucki, ‘You’re Dixie’s Football Pride,’ 481.

<sup>5</sup> As quoted in Dunnivant, *Coach*, 36.

<sup>6</sup> The Northwest region of the United States had little involvement in the Civil War, yet Alabamians – and most other southerners – still associated Washington with the rest of the “Yankee” states at the time.

<sup>7</sup> Doyle, A. (1994). “Causes Won, Not Lost”: College Football and the Modernization of the American South. *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 11(2), 236–237.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*, 239.

unconstitutional in the *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* ruling.<sup>9</sup> With the exception of Mississippi, no other state in America experienced more resistance in dealing with its black citizens than Alabama did. The city of Birmingham, specifically, was widely regarded as one of the most dangerous cities during the 1960s for its violent measures taken to combat the Civil Rights movement. It was the “police brutality against peaceful protestors” in Birmingham that rallied the nation’s consciousness, “forcing President John Kennedy to finally take action on civil rights.”<sup>10</sup> Close to Birmingham, cities such as Selma, Montgomery, and Anniston, to name a few, also received national media coverage for similar demonstrations and racial backlash. In 1988, the *Birmingham News* – “the only Alabama newspaper with statewide circulation” and known as the “dominant newspaper in the state’s largest city” – admitted its local coverage of the Civil Rights movement during the 1960s “was characterized by ‘mistakes and embarrassment.’”<sup>11</sup> Ironically, all four of these cities were not far from Tuscaloosa, home to the University of Alabama and its iconic Crimson Tide football program.

While Alabama faced arguably the most national scrutiny of any southern state for racial injustice, the state’s flagship university received national praise for its record-setting accomplishments on the football field. The all-white Crimson Tide teams of the 1960s embodied “athletic superiority, but moral inferiority,” as May asserts:

Alabama was a dominant national power; indeed, the Crimson Tide had already won three national championships earlier that decade. But it was certainly an outsider to college football in another way: much of the national press perceived

---

<sup>9</sup> Nehls, C. C. (2002). Flag-Waving Wahoos. Confederate Symbols at the University of Virginia, 1941-51. *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 110(4), 461–488.

<sup>10</sup> Friedman, B. G., & Richardson, J. D. (2008). “A National Disgrace”: Newspaper Coverage of the 1963 Birmingham Campaign in the South and Beyond. *Journalism History*, 33(4), 224.

<sup>11</sup> Clabaugh, J. P. (1993). Reporting the Rage: An Analysis of Newspaper Coverage of the Freedom Rides of May, 1961. *Southern Historian*, 14, 42; and Friedman, & Richardson, ‘A National Disgrace,’ 225.

its segregationist team as morally deficient and illegitimate, and subsequently, an undefeated, untied Alabama team was denied a national title.<sup>12</sup>

A national title in 1966 would have made Alabama the first ever team to win three straight national championships, giving the Crimson Tide four total national titles between 1961-1966. Scholarship on that “missing ring,” however, strays away from this study’s objective.

Alabama’s combination of legendary football teams and overtly racist responses to the Civil Rights movement constructs an interesting narrative that needs to be explored at a much greater depth. Moreover, these phenomena occurring in such proximity with one another suggest that local news coverage of both the Civil Rights movement and the Crimson Tide may have been influenced, or framed, in several peculiar ways. Per Entman (2010), framing uses “a few aspects of a perceived reality” to “shape and alter audience members’ interpretations and preferences.”<sup>13</sup> Butterworth further reveals:

Framing scholars argue that news media “frame” an audience’s interpretation of events, people, or ideas, in particular by “selecting” specific elements and ignoring others... Whereas frames of rejection operate outside cultural norms, frames of acceptance seek cooperation within a culture’s boundaries.<sup>14</sup>

This methodology will serve as the guide for conducting a textual analysis on the *Birmingham News*’ Sports sections during each college football season between 1961 and 1966. If the analysis can suggest solutions to the audience’s interpretations of reality during this time, then the research was able to successfully connect the analyzed content of the *Birmingham News* with the wider structures of the Civil Rights movement and

---

<sup>12</sup> May, V. (2012). “Planes Don’t Fly North”: College Football Recruiting and the Oppositional South. *Studies in Popular Culture*, 34(2), 49.

<sup>13</sup> As quoted in Broussard, J. C., & Paul, N. (2014). Ollie Stewart: An African American Looking at American Politics, Society and Culture. *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, 6(8), 241.

<sup>14</sup> Butterworth, M. L. (2013). The Passion of the Tebow: Sports Media and Heroic Language in the Tragic Frame. *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 30(1), 19–20.

college football in the Deep South.<sup>15</sup> By uncovering how the *News* covered the Alabama Crimson Tide with the core of the Civil Rights movement occurring in its own backyard, this study seeks to add scholarship to existing and future research on the various roles that sports media have played, and continue to play, in shaping American history.

### **Goals for this Study**

Though undervalued in academia, viewing social, political, and economic issues through the lens of sports media often produces a much more valuable perspective on American history. “Sports reporting deserves more systematic ethical criticism not just because of its scale and popularity but also because journalists, in effect, use sports to mark the moral boundaries within which journalism as a professional practice habitually operates.”<sup>16</sup> This literature review provides context on the southern region of the United States as a whole, both before and after the Civil War, revealing how certain aspects of southern college football conceptually paralleled traditions of the Old South and the Lost Cause. It details college football’s evolution as a modern symbol of southern identity, concluding with evidence that confirms of all southern states at midcentury, Alabama was the epicenter of the South’s two most passionate topics: civil rights and college football. Hence, the literature serves as the groundwork for future research on answering this overarching question: While Birmingham was at the epicenter of the Civil Rights movement, how did the *Birmingham News* frame its coverage of the Alabama Crimson Tide football teams within the city’s sociocultural environment?

---

<sup>15</sup> Fürsich, E. (2009). In Defense of Textual Analysis: Restoring a Challenged Method for Journalism and Media Studies. *Journalism Studies*, 10(2), 238–252.

<sup>16</sup> Oates & Pauley, “Sports Journalism as Moral and Ethical Discourse,” 336.

## Concepts & Terms

Before discussing the evolution of southern college football, it is crucial to first understand, at a very basic level, the concept of “southern identity.” For this study, southern identity refers to Americans from the former Confederate States – in the one hundred-year period following the Civil War – with shared experiences of military defeat and a collective nostalgia for their region’s history. By consistently glorifying the past, southerners were able to reproduce these exaggerated memories of the Confederacy’s honor and the Old South’s social order in the present, elevating the perceived significance of maintaining tradition for the future.

**Old South** is a cultural term used to identify the agrarian plantation society in the American South before the Civil War. This period is known as the Antebellum Period or the Antebellum South. There are various schools of thought regarding the South’s perceived “way of life” before the “northern invasion,” yet almost every Old South definition begins by emphasizing values of white supremacy and traditional gender roles in all aspects of society. Because the majority of Ex-Confederate States made conscious efforts to continue this culture, the South, as a collective region of the United States, was seen as the most dangerous and violent place for African-Americans to live well into the twentieth century. Conceptually, this southern “way of life” places importance on preserving a man’s masculinity, self-reliance, and patriarchal responsibilities in his (white) rural community, rather than on his financial accomplishments away from the home. Southerners relied on these cultural virtues for decades after the Civil War, unlike their “Yankee” neighbors who, they believed, only desired capitalistic gains.<sup>17</sup>

---

<sup>17</sup> Doyle, “Causes Won, Not Lost,” 231-251; and Ownby, T. (1998). Manhood, Memory, and White Men’s Sports in the Recent American South. *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 15(2), 103–118.

**Honor:** In the Old South's social order, men constantly strived to be labeled as "honorable" towards themselves, their families, and their communities. Essentially a system of ethical behaviors, honor was such an important tradition to southerners because it maintained status and authority.<sup>18</sup> Interestingly, southerners saw Abraham Lincoln's victory in the presidential election of 1861 "as the culmination of anti-slavery assaults upon their honor."<sup>19</sup> Not only did honor define southern men for their masculinity, but it also gave them a unique, regional identity different from Americans outside the South.<sup>20</sup>

**Chivalry** was another cultural tradition that southern men cherished within the Old South's social order. Along with honor, chivalry was one of the primary ways to define masculinity in the Old South, which was especially significant to a culture that valued its traditional gender roles. A man was considered chivalrous when he displayed a "commitment to justice" or by showcasing aristocratic virtues such as manners or acts of gallantry in regards to his family and his community. These Old South traditions of masculinity are similar to football in the sense they invoke fearlessness and recklessness in the service of others, providing the desired glory in both realms.<sup>21</sup>

**The Lost Cause:** After the Civil War, the American South began to conceptualize a mythical set of ideas and beliefs that defended the Old South and the Confederacy known as the "Lost Cause." Southerners popularized this new tradition by blaming the "Yankee victory on the vicious and arbitrary machinations of fate," while also portraying "an idealistic image of the South and the southern way of life" before the "War of

---

<sup>18</sup> MacKethan, L. H. (1983). Second Only to the First: Two Sides of Honor in the Old South. *The Southern Literary Journal*, 16(1), 113–122.

<sup>19</sup> Borucki, 'You're Dixie's Football Pride,' 477.

<sup>20</sup> McPherson, J. M. (2004). Antebellum Southern Exceptionalism: A New Look at an Old Question. *Civil War History*, 50(4), 418–433.

<sup>21</sup> Genovese, E. D. (2000). The Chivalric Tradition in the Old South. *The Sewanee Review*, 108(2), 188–205.

“Northern Aggression” changed it all.<sup>22</sup> In his book, *Still Fighting the Civil War: The American South and Southern History*, David Goldfield writes:

White southerners elevated defeat into a heroic Lost Cause, their fallen comrades and faltering leaders into saintly figures, their crumbled society into the best place on earth, and their struggle to regain control over their lives and region into a victorious redemption. Memory offered salvation; they could not allow the past to slip into the past. They had to keep foremost the old proverb that the struggle of man against power is the struggle of memory against forgetting. And they remembered.<sup>23</sup>

By memorializing history through a false lens, the South rationalized its unwillingness to conform to the rest of the country’s aspirations heading into the twentieth century.

“**Northern values**” refer to America’s increased socioeconomic provisions for African-Americans, an emphasis on industrial progress, and the desire for a two-party political system. Similar to their views on an interracial society, most southerners perceived an industrialized economy, full of “capitalistic greed,” and any political party other than the Democratic Party to be monumental threats to their “way of life.”<sup>24</sup> It should be noted that most white Americans – both southerners and non-southerners – reluctantly supported racial equality in the century following the Civil War. However, the South perceived even this remote possibility as a complete destruction of its “way of life,” thus defending segregation much more overtly than the North.

**Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka (1954)** was a landmark U.S. Supreme Court case that challenged racial equality in American schools. The Court’s original decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) ruled in favor of racial segregation in public places as long as each institution was “separate but equal.” However, in May 1954, the Court

---

<sup>22</sup> Bain-Selbo, E. (2009). *Game Day and God: Football, Faith, and Politics in the American South*. Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 1.

<sup>23</sup> Goldfield, D. (2013). *Still Fighting the Civil War: The American South and Southern History*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 20.

<sup>24</sup> See Doyle, “Causes Won, Not Lost.”

ruled that separate schooling for white and black students was unconstitutional. A pivotal case for the Civil Rights movement, *Brown* was a large contributor to the abolishment of legalized racial segregation in all public places.

**Massive Resistance** is best described as the southern states' collective, defensive reactions to the Supreme Court's *Brown v. Board of Education* rulings in the mid-1950s. These states, particularly those residing in the Deep South, had unofficially deemed preserving the Old South's social order – maintaining racial purity in all aspects of public life – as the region's top political issue after the Civil War. Following *Brown*, the Deep South chose to reject any federal pressures to alter this traditional “way of life” for as long as each state could muster. During this time, southern politicians and other prominent segregationists reverted to the “constitutional relationship between the Federal government and the states,” otherwise known as the defense of “states’ rights,” to support the region’s unified opposition to racial equality.<sup>25</sup>

**Mapping the South:** For this study, the Deep South refers to the original states that seceded from the Union to form the Confederacy: South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas.<sup>26</sup> Many of today’s scholars do not include Florida and Texas when defining the Deep South’s geographical parameters due to each state’s increasingly diverse populations. I chose to include both states in this study’s framework, however, because both states’ social policies of the 1950s and 60s rivaled the other states in the Deep South at the time. The Upper South refers to the

---

<sup>25</sup> Maxwell, A. (2009) The Doctrine of Interposition: James J. Kilpatrick and the Radicalization of Virginia and the South. *Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Hotel Intercontinental*, (New Orleans), 1-32.

<sup>26</sup> Eicher, D. J. (2008, January). Confederacy—Information, Summary and Articles about the Confederate States during the American Civil War. *Civil War Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.historynet.com/confederacy>

southern states that seceded from the Union following the original seven. Existing in the region's outer sections, these states include Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee, and North Carolina.<sup>27</sup> Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, and Missouri were considered Border States during and after the Civil War, due to both Union and Confederate loyalties spread throughout each state.<sup>28</sup> West Virginia became a border state in 1863 when parts of Virginia split into two sections.<sup>29</sup> Oklahoma was not officially granted statehood until 1907, but it is considered a southern state in the context of *Brown v. Board*.<sup>30</sup>

All of these terms have played crucial roles in developing a sense of regional identity in the American South both before and after the Civil War. In order to critically analyze how these cultural traditions reflected the Deep South's Massive Resistance to the Civil Rights movement, it is important to briefly examine the history and evolution of southern identity in the United States. Therefore, the period preceding the Civil War is a logical starting point in understanding how these symbols and traditions have transcended through decades of American history.

---

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Taylor, A. M., & U.S. National Park Service. (2011). The Border States. In *The Civil War Remembered*. USA: Walsworth Publishing Company. Retrieved from <http://www.nps.gov/resources/story.htm?id=205>

<sup>29</sup> West Virginia Division of Culture and History. (2015). West Virginia Statehood. Retrieved from <http://www.wvculture.org/history/statehoo.html>

<sup>30</sup> U.S. National Archives and Records Administration. (2016, August 15). Oklahoma Statehood, November 16, 1907. Retrieved from <https://www.archives.gov/legislative/features/oklahoma>; and McCain, R. R. (1968). Reactions to the United States Supreme Court Segregation Decision of 1954. *The Georgia Historical Quarterly*, 52(4), 371–387.

## Chapter Two: Review of Literature

“Tradition may be defined as an extension of the franchise. Tradition means giving votes to the most obscure of all classes, our ancestors. It is the democracy of the dead. Tradition refuses to submit to the small and arrogant oligarchy of those who merely happen to be walking about.”<sup>31</sup>

Prior to analyzing the University of Alabama Crimson Tide football program during the core of the Civil Rights movement, it is imperative to first understand the South’s history of racial exclusion and its collective emphasis on maintaining tradition. The following literature thus focuses on the primary factors that shaped this traditional sense of southern identity before and after the Civil War. This discussion also explains college football’s growing significance in the South during the twentieth century, ultimately setting the stage for the region’s final episodes of resistance to racial integration.

### The Old South “Way of Life”

A distinct component of the Old South’s traditional culture was the emphasis on a casual lifestyle in which people valued less strenuous work and economic ambition, concentrating more on leisurely activities within a community setting. This regional identity focused primarily on living, rather than on escape, while sustaining the social order of racial exclusion.<sup>32</sup> A patriarchal society based off of traditional gender roles; the Old South cherished honor and chivalry above any other tradition because these values defined a (white) man’s perceived masculinity.<sup>33</sup> “Knightly” – resembling “knights” from the Middle Ages – was one of the highest praises men could be described as in the Old

---

<sup>31</sup> Chesterton, G. K. (1909). *Orthodoxy*. New York: John Lane Company, 85.

<sup>32</sup> See Ownby, “Manhood, Memory, and White Men’s Sports in the Recent American South.”

<sup>33</sup> See McPherson, “Antebellum Southern Exceptionalism.”

South, and this was achieved by consistently demonstrating the virtues of honor and chivalry with a commitment to justice.<sup>34</sup> Ted Ownby additionally uses the region's emphasis on the daily social arts of dress, conversation, manners, oratory, and "the hunt" to help define what it meant to be knightly in the Old South.<sup>35</sup> A form of leisure as well as survival, hunting specifically contributed to an idealized perception of masculinity due to its "pursuit of intense and individualistic excitement" paired with the freedom of "no boundaries and no limits."<sup>36</sup>

Because masculinity in the Old South embodied these aristocratic virtues, it was important for a man to be independently responsible in order to protect and provide for his wife, children, and, if wealthy enough, his slaves.<sup>37</sup> Bertram Wyatt-Brown (1982) similarly explained that honor and chivalry represented:

The overpowering fear of being shamed within the male community, the need to protect the good name of one's family, and the centrality of violence in both of those things. The notion that a man either had character or did not – either had blood or spit in his veins – also sounds a great deal like the old notion of upholding one's own honour from any possible challenge to it.<sup>38</sup>

It is clear that this traditional sense of masculinity was, for the large part, an unwritten code that placed high values on family and community responsibilities. By carving out a patriarchal system of ethics guided by specific behaviors, these concepts preserved a man's social class and public reputation in the Old South.<sup>39</sup>

---

<sup>34</sup> See Genovese, "The Chivalric Tradition in the Old South."

<sup>35</sup> Ownby, "Manhood, Memory, and White Men's Sports in the Recent American South," 104.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid, 105.

<sup>37</sup> Genovese, "The Chivalric Tradition in the Old South," 190-193.

<sup>38</sup> As quoted in Ownby, "Manhood, Memory and White Men's Sports," 115-116.

<sup>39</sup> See MacKethan, "Second Only to the First."

## **Centuries of Racial Exclusion**

In addition to honor, chivalry, and masculinity, white supremacy played a major role in maintaining a sense of regional identity in the Old South. White men (and their families) relished in their “entitlement to the fruits of racist hierarchies that abounded throughout the region.”<sup>40</sup> In *Still Fighting the Civil War: The American South and Southern History*, David Goldfield asserts:

The racial and gender ideals derived from this perspective were directed as much toward maintaining white solidarity as ensuring the subservience of blacks and women. These ideals enabled white leaders to strike a heroic pose, and by dint of the common color, they could impart this posture of honor to all whites.<sup>41</sup>

For centuries, people of African descent were subordinated as slaves due to the false notion that “blacks were not sought to take part in the intellectual development of this country; their existence in the United States was strictly for the physical development of this country,” which continually reproduced the myth that African-Americans were naturally inferior.<sup>42</sup> Using this ideology, the Old South’s framework for a racially exclusive society can be traced back to the early years of American colonization: “Historic experiences have continually characterized these groups into distinct racial and social entities; one free the other slave, one a master class the other a social pariah, one privileged the other deprived, one white the others black.”<sup>43</sup>

Owning slaves was a sought-after goal in the Old South because it signified a man’s success and status for years to come. Containing America’s twelve richest

---

<sup>40</sup> Newman, J. I. (2007). Old Times There Are Not Forgotten: Sport, Identity, and the Confederate Flag in the Dixie South. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 24(3), 264.

<sup>41</sup> Goldfield, D. (2013). *Still Fighting the Civil War: The American South and Southern History*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 42

<sup>42</sup> Hawkins, B. (1995). The Black Student Athlete: The Colonized Black Body. *Journal of African American Men*, 1(3), 33.

<sup>43</sup> Kinshasa, K. M. (2006). An Appraisal of Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka KS. (1954) and the Montgomery Bus Boycott. *The Western Journal of Black Studies*, 30(4), 16.

counties in 1860, the South by itself would have been the world's fourth most prosperous country of the time.<sup>44</sup> When slavery was abolished in 1865, however, large landowners and prominent local officials in the South needed to adopt new ways of keeping black labor tied to the land. O'Brien (1986) and Wiener (1978) explain, "for it was the continuity in land ownership which provided that basis for the persistence of the dominant class position that the Southern planters experienced."<sup>45</sup> Many land-owning southerners implemented agricultural systems of sharecropping and tenant farming in hopes of regaining an economy dominated by agricultural production, similar to that of the Antebellum South. According to Gavin Wright (1986), sharecropping represented "a balance between the freedmen's desire for autonomy and the employer's interest in extracting work effort and having labor when it was needed."<sup>46</sup> Sharecropping was structured slightly different from slavery, however, in the sense that it provided "free" African-Americans with incentives to not leave the plantation, especially since the low wages and minimal land offered to black sharecroppers were more than most opportunities for newly freed slaves in surrounding areas. Though institutionalized wages made it differ slightly from slavery, this racially controlled economic system still gave white planters an authoritative leverage of control over the black labor force.

Some historians argue that racial tensions were higher in the South after the Civil War because racial separation and exclusion became much more of a social issue than ever before. The majority of white southerners (excluding the social elite and planter class) had not owned slaves prior to Reconstruction. The thought of a more equal,

---

<sup>44</sup> Egerton, D. R. (1996). Markets Without A Market Revolution: Southern Planters and Capitalism. *Journal of the Early Republic*, 16(2), 209.

<sup>45</sup> As quoted in Mandle, J. R. (1991). Continuity and Change: The Use of Black Labor After the Civil War. *Journal of Black Studies*, 21(4), 418.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid, 414.

interracial society posed a big threat to the future of their traditional way of life, for the region “could not see how the liberation of southern blacks implied anything other than a blow to pride and status.”<sup>47</sup> When African-Americans made efforts “to expand their rights and opportunities across a broad social, political, and economic spectrum,” the South used this “threat” as a rationale to “reestablish a stable, comprehensive racial order” by making “white supremacy a matter not simply of custom but of law.”<sup>48</sup>

### The “Lost Cause”

During Reconstruction, southerners became “more sensitive about their political and economic status within the nation,” leading to the region to conceptualize a mythical set of ideas and beliefs that exaggerated life in the Old South – while defending the Confederacy’s defeat – known as the “Lost Cause.”<sup>49</sup> In addition to racial exclusion, this Lost Cause ideology stressed “the responsibility to the future that those in the present had of correctly identifying and processing the facts of the past.”<sup>50</sup> Goldfield adds:

By creating a history from the story of the Old South, the Civil War, and Reconstruction, they erected a legend to live by and for. Their history, like all good traditions, scrambled time, so that the war and Reconstruction became one event, an immediate and constant part of daily living, and a reminder to do well and think right and remember that the legacy is watching.<sup>51</sup>

Essentially glorifying its past through a false lens, the South rationalized its unwillingness to conform to the rest of the country’s progressive beliefs heading into the twentieth century. The South did conform to some “northern values” during the Industrial Revolution, though, such as electricity, steam engines, and railroads. However,

---

<sup>47</sup> Goldfield, *Still Fighting the Civil War*, 40.

<sup>48</sup> Cobb, J. C. (2005). *The Brown Decision, Jim Crow, and Southern Identity*. Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press.

<sup>49</sup> Borucki, ‘You’re Dixie’s Football Pride,’ 478.

<sup>50</sup> Sodergren, S. E. (2013). “The Great Weight of Responsibility”: The Struggle over History and Memory in *Confederate Veteran Magazine*. *Southern Cultures*, 19(3), 35.

<sup>51</sup> Goldfield, *Still Fighting the Civil War*, 20.

the South still brought many of its old traditions to its version of a modern society such as white supremacy, a patriarchal society, and a one-Party political system. “Like Bismarckian Germany, the late-nineteenth-century South marched forward to modernity, while looking backward to the past for its inspiration and guidance.”<sup>52</sup> Furthermore, the national media continued depicting the South as backward and largely unprogressive well into the twentieth century. Journalists from other regions commonly attached negative descriptions to region such as “a national disgrace and a moral cesspool,” or by labeling southerners as “tobacco-chewing poor whites running amok, perpetrating unspeakable mayhem on hapless blacks or even each other as the mood struck them.”<sup>53</sup>

Following the Compromise of 1877, the South’s bitterness and hostile attitudes started to show some decreasing signs of resentment towards the North once “power shifted back to the southern states and away from Congress,” compelling southern politicians to make strong efforts to restore their region’s antebellum values.<sup>54</sup> Reconciliation between the North and the South thus began to improve at this time, but at the expense of racial equality for African-Americans. In turn, these fears “that the races were somehow fundamentally different” became the “hallmark of southern law and northern custom,” leading to the adoption of Jim Crow Laws and the “separate but equal” doctrine that legalized racial segregation in public facilities.<sup>55</sup> It would not be until after the *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* decision in 1954 that the U.S. Supreme Court reevaluated this legislation and ruled “separate but equal” unconstitutional.<sup>56</sup>

---

<sup>52</sup> Ibid, 22.

<sup>53</sup> Doyle, A. (1996). Bear Bryant: Symbol for an Embattled South. *Colby Quarterly*, 32(1), 76–77.

<sup>54</sup> McConnell, M. W. (1994). The Forgotten Constitutional Moment. *Constitutional Commentary*, 11(115), 131.

<sup>55</sup> Horton, J. O., & Moresi, M. G. (2001). Roberts, Plessy, and Brown: The Long Hard Struggle Against Segregation. *OAH Magazine of History*, 19(2), 14–16.

<sup>56</sup> Cobb, *The Brown Decision*, 16.

## The Rise of College Football

Although the North also experienced a societal transformation during Reconstruction, these changes were drastically different than those that took place in the South at the time. Instead of focusing on tradition and restoring an idealized past, northerners began to place an emphasis on economic progress through industrial capitalism, thus further widening the perceived gap between the “modernized” North and the “backward” South. In turn, higher education in the North began drifting away from its traditional roots, giving more attention to the inculcation of skills rather than on the development of character and morals. In the two decades after the Civil War,

Most northern universities abandoned the traditional academic regimen of discipline and piety that had obtained since colonial times... By the early 1890s, the leading northern universities were fully committed to a progressive educational philosophy that valued practical knowledge and encouraged a much freer expression of individual preferences.<sup>57</sup>

Accompanying the North’s newer, more liberal focus on creativity and materialization in higher education was the region’s growing interest in competitive sports, specifically college football.

Northern colleges and universities first began relying on alumni participation – a valuable tool for improving public image and overall reputation – for mass appeal in the second half of the nineteenth century. These colleges and universities quickly learned that intercollegiate football games garnered much more alumni to revisit their respective institutions. The social atmosphere on Saturday afternoons in the fall provided exceptional entertainment value for alumni and their families, students, faculty, and for local residents in the surrounding areas. In turn, these schools saw influxes in total

---

<sup>57</sup> Doyle, A. (1997). Foolish and Useless Sport: The Southern Evangelical Crusade Against Intercollegiate Football. *Journal of Sport History*, 24(3), 323.

revenues, public perception, enrollment rates, and philanthropic opportunities.<sup>58</sup>

Embodying the South's perception of "northern values," schools in the North also saw football "as a crucible in which the future captains of industry could hone the survival instincts needed to prosper in the cutthroat business environment of the late nineteenth century."<sup>59</sup> Due to the South's Lost Cause ideology that rejected these capitalistic visions of industrial progress, "the acceptance of football represented a symbolic surrender to the despised Yankees."<sup>60</sup> It would not be until the turn of the century that all major southern universities accepted intercollegiate football as a legitimate aspect of the region's traditional society.

Football's increase in popularity across the former Confederate states can be attributed to its overall expression of masculinity. The South's older generation began crediting the sport with building "moral character in young men by teaching them the value of meritocratic achievement, competitiveness, teamwork, and self-discipline."<sup>61</sup> Southern college football at this time, however, epitomized every other social, political and economic aspect of life—it was still decades behind the rest of the country in terms of equal competition. Many northern schools scheduled matchups against southern schools in September as "warm-up games, intended as easy wins and confidence builders" in preparation for their conference schedules:

The contests were almost always played in the North. Southern teams boarded trains like sacrificial sheep, with little hope of keeping the game close, let alone of winning. Southern newspapers reported the dismal outcomes as they had General

---

<sup>58</sup> Flowers, R. D. (2009). Institutionalized Hypocrisy: The Myth of Intercollegiate Athletics. *American Educational History Journal*, 36(2), 343–360.

<sup>59</sup> Doyle, "Foolish and Useless Sport," 326.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid, 322.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid, 337.

Lee's move into Pennsylvania—a valiant effort but in the end a disastrous defeat.<sup>62</sup>

1890 marked one of the first documented intercollegiate football games between a school from the North and a school from the South. Regarded as the top southern college football team at the time, the University of Virginia Cavaliers lost to the Princeton Tigers by a final score of 116-0.<sup>63</sup>

Mirroring the Old South's patriarchal goals of honor and chivalry, intercollegiate football represented the glorified values of the region's traditional social order. The book, *Rising Tide: Bear Bryant, Joe Namath & Dixie's Last Quarter*, identifies the parallels between southern college football and aspects of the Lost Cause:

Southern sportswriters continually referred to the chivalric and martial spirit of regional players, and in the 1890s the singing of 'Dixie' at the contests became a staple. Auburn waved 'The Bonnie Blue Flag' during games; defensive stands reminded journalists of the heroics of General Stonewall Jackson; and sportswriters struggled to get through a paragraph without employing some knightly image. By the turn of the century, southerners had transformed the game into something noble, courteous, and manly.<sup>64</sup>

The level of competition remained fairly stagnant in the early decades of the twentieth century, however, especially in comparison to schools from the North. It would not be until after World War I that southern college football would achieve national relevancy and, in turn, become an invaluable symbol of the South's regional identity.

### **The 1926 Rose Bowl**

Losing to northern schools was so prominent in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that many southerners referred to their rare victories as "successful

---

<sup>62</sup> Roberts, R., & Krzemienski, E. (2013). *Rising Tide: Bear Bryant, Joe Namath & Dixie's Last Quarter*. New York: Hachette Book Group, 43.

<sup>63</sup> Doyle, A. (2002). Turning the Tide: College Football and Southern Progressivism. In P. B. Miller (Ed.), *The Sporting World of the Modern South* (p. 29). Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

<sup>64</sup> Roberts & Krzemienski, *Rising Tide*, 44.

northern invasions.” Growing tired of constant defeat against the despised “Yankees,” southerners began to optimistically speak of the day they could consistently match up against their northern counterparts on the gridiron. By the mid-1920s, the Alabama Crimson Tide began to establish itself as one of the nation’s elite football programs, symbolically linking southerners, even those not from Alabama, to “an idealized conception of the chivalric spirit and time-honored social virtues of the Old South.”<sup>65</sup> The South’s internalization of the Alabama Crimson Tide peaked after “Dixie’s Football Pride” squared off against the University of Washington Huskies in the 1926 Rose Bowl.

The University of Alabama represented the South as “the finest team in Dixie” during the 1925 regular season, finishing “10-0 and outscoring their opponents 277 to 7. In successive games they shut out LSU, Sewanee [University of the South], Georgia Tech, Mississippi State, Kentucky, Florida, and Georgia.”<sup>66</sup> However, in addition to traveling to an unfamiliar location (Pasadena, California), the Crimson Tide received barely any votes of confidence from the national media to upset the elite Huskies. Alabamians “did not take kindly to the disrespect, seeing themselves as David’s against callous media Goliaths.”<sup>67</sup> The South appeared to be set up for yet another demoralizing failure against the North. Still, hopeful Crimson Tide fans “gathered in theatres and other public places to follow the game’s play-by-play over the Associated Press wire,” accompanied with voice-over commentary courtesy of Eugene “Bull” Connor in Birmingham.<sup>68</sup>

---

<sup>65</sup> See Doyle, ‘Causes Won, Not Lost.’

<sup>66</sup> Roberts & Krzemienski, *Rising Tide*, 45.

<sup>67</sup> Borucki, ‘You’re Dixie’s Football Pride,’ 484.

<sup>68</sup> Roberts & Krzemienski, *Rising Tide*, 50.

Alabama's dominance that day served as a unique outlet for southerners to channel their dissatisfaction from the national media's characterization of the South as "America's great cultural wasteland."<sup>69</sup> Stemming from portrayals in national newspapers as backward, lazy, or "inhumane and infected with disease," the Crimson Tide effectively refuted those stereotypes by showcasing its physical prowess to the entire country.<sup>70</sup> Bibb Graves, Governor of Alabama in 1926, was one of the many prominent figures across the South who publicly congratulated the Tide after its Rose Bowl win:

The hearts of Dixie are beating with exultant pride. We are here to tell the whole world the Crimson Tide is our Tide and an Alabama troop of heroes. It upheld the honor of the Southland and came back to us undefeated.<sup>71</sup>

Some historians refer to Alabama's 1926 Rose Bowl victory as "the most significant sporting contest in the history of the South" because it restored the living legacy of the Old South to the entire region for decades to come.<sup>72</sup> Alabama's resiliency and successful defense of southern honor against the perceived enemy provided the South with false reassurance that they did not have to submit to "northern values" in order to keep pace with the rest of the country's modern progress.<sup>73</sup> A turning point in the South's modern history, the victory fostered southern college football's connection "with whiteness, segregation, and masculinity for most of the twentieth century," due to the fact that "southern society was inextricably bound with these themes."<sup>74</sup> After Alabama tied Stanford in the 1927 Rose Bowl the following year, University of Alabama President George Denny said, "I come back with my head held a little higher and my soul a little

---

<sup>69</sup> Ibid, 49.

<sup>70</sup> Doyle, 'Causes Won, Not Lost,' 245.

<sup>71</sup> As quoted in Borucki, 'You're Dixie's Football Pride,' 481.

<sup>72</sup> Roberts & Krzeminski, *Rising Tide*, 52.

<sup>73</sup> See Doyle, "Turning the Tide."

<sup>74</sup> Catsam, D. (2009). "Sic 'Em, White Folks!": Football, Massive Resistance, and the Integration of Ole Miss." *Sport History Review*, 40(1), 85.

more inspired to win this battle for the splendid Anglo-Saxon race of the South.”<sup>75</sup> In the next two decades, the Crimson Tide “returned to the Rose Bowl five more times, winning three, losing one, and tying one,” cementing its label as “Dixie’s Football Pride.”<sup>76</sup>

Alabama football came to represent “fearlessness—indeed recklessness—in the service of others, for it provided the main spur to the fame they coveted,” resonating with the mythologized glory the region’s Confederate ancestors died fighting for, less than two generations removed.<sup>77</sup> As the twentieth century moved forward, the South began to view football as an opportunistic platform to counter its lowly national image while still holding onto its sacred history. Borucki asserts:

College football became a primary means of reasserting a southern sense of identity and superiority. In inter-regional games in the 1920s and 1930s, the martial spirit of college football allowed southerners to reassert their sense of honor, which had been maligned since defeat in the Civil War.<sup>78</sup>

Especially since it was rare for a southern team to have more than a handful of players from outside the region, southerners “hailed success on the football field as examples of virtue and strength of native sons,” which explains why Alabamians would “truly look at their team as their own” in the 1920s, 30s, and 40s.<sup>79</sup> The South had successfully revived the myth of the Lost Cause by assimilating college football into its enshrined class of cultural traditions.

### **Desegregated Bowl Games**

The University of Alabama, as well as every other southern school in the first half of the twentieth century, made strong efforts to keep college athletics racially segregated

---

<sup>75</sup> As quoted in Borucki, ‘You’re Dixie’s Football Pride,’ 485.

<sup>76</sup> Roberts & Krzeminski, *Rising Tide*, 55.

<sup>77</sup> Genovese, “The Chivalric Tradition in the Old South,” 189.

<sup>78</sup> Borucki, ‘You’re Dixie’s Football Pride,’ 477.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid*, 480.

through the use of “gentlemen’s agreements.” A “gentlemen’s agreement” was an unwritten contract northern schools had with southern schools that restricted any African-American from competing in intercollegiate athletics when the schools met, regardless of location. Until 1936, this agreement went uncontested, as northern schools had no problem benching their black players in games against southern schools.<sup>80</sup>

Furthermore, as the twentieth century moved forward, college football experienced the emergence of new, annual bowl games in cities spread out across the Deep South. The Orange Bowl in Miami, the Sugar Bowl in New Orleans, the Sun Bowl in El Paso, and the Cotton Bowl in Dallas were added to the original Rose Bowl to form five, elite bowl games. Because these four new bowl games took place in southern states (the Rose Bowl remained in Pasadena, California), the South inevitably gained control of almost all of the racial policies during postseason play. Due to each contest’s level of national interest, many elected officials in the South saw these bowl games as opportunities to preserve Jim Crow’s racial order not only in the South, but throughout the United States as well.<sup>81</sup>

The 1948 Cotton Bowl between the Penn State Nittany Lions and the Southern Methodist University Mustangs (SMU) marked the first desegregated bowl game between a northern and a southern school. Penn State and its two black players successfully traveled to and from Dallas, Texas without any major racial incidents. Because Dallas was the first southern city to breach the color line in a bowl game, Cotton Bowl officials reaped many more financial and public relations benefits than the other

---

<sup>80</sup> Miller, P. B. (1999). Slouching Toward a New Expediency: College Football and the Color Line During the Depression Decade. *American Studies*, 40(3), 5–30.

<sup>81</sup> Martin, C. H. (1997). Integrating New Year’s Day: The Racial Politics of College Bowl Games in the American South. *Journal of Sport History*, 24(3), 358–377.

three bowl committees in the South that year. Out of the four new Bowl games, the Cotton Bowl in Dallas sustained a significant competitive advantage from an economic standpoint until the other three cities changed their racial policies.<sup>82</sup> By the mid 1950s, the Sun, Orange and Sugar Bowl Committees realized the missed opportunities for higher revenues and national prestige so they decided to adopt “color-blind” policies when hosting desegregated football teams in their respective cities. El Paso became the first of the three cities remaining to desegregate its bowl game when the College of the Pacific played against Texas Tech University in the 1952 Sun Bowl.<sup>83</sup> In 1953, the Orange Bowl Committee unveiled an agreement to hold a game between the Big 8 Conference champion and the Atlantic Coast Conference (ACC) champion in Miami, regardless of each team’s roster. Facing rising pressures from northern journalists, New Orleans eventually became the last of the four cities to desegregate its annual matchup after hosting the 1955 Sugar Bowl between the United States Naval Academy and the University of Mississippi.<sup>84</sup>

These new bowl games paralleled the South’s society at the time due to the shared policies of racial segregation and exclusion. Many southerners began to see racial integration in athletic events as a possible threat for equality in other areas of life. “For embattled segregationists,” especially those from Alabama, Mississippi and the rest of the states in the Deep South, “maintaining racial purity in athletics now became a crucial battle in the larger war to defend the entire Jim Crow system.”<sup>85</sup> Due to the majority of the conference’s membership residing in the Deep South, it comes as no surprise that the

---

<sup>82</sup> Ibid, 365.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid, 367.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid, 369-370.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid, 370, 373.

last schools to desegregate their football programs were members of the Southeastern Conference.<sup>86</sup> Wellborn explains:

Since its founding in 1934, the league [Southeastern Conference] had been segregated but did not have a formal policy that forbade African-American athletes from participating in sporting events. The SEC allowed each member school and its respective board of trustees to formulate their own policy concerning race.<sup>87</sup>

Yet, opportunities for increased revenues and national reputations eventually began taking precedent over preserving segregation, signifying college football's role in the larger Civil Rights movement.

### **Confederate Iconography in College Football**

The United States experienced greater pressures to improve race relations during World War II, threatening the South's desire to maintain a white supremacist society. This emerging possibility of an interracial society caused southerners to publicly display depictions of the Old South, reinforcing the region's unwillingness to conform to "northern values." As some traditions of the Old South began to fade in the twentieth century such as farming and a single-party political system, southern whites began looking for new cultural symbols to define southern identity.<sup>88</sup> One of the earliest examples of this rediscovered symbolism was the revival of the Confederate battle flag. Contrary to popular belief, the flag's sacred image was traditionally a private symbol guarded by the United Daughters of the Confederacy and was displayed only at memorial services to remember Confederate losses. The flag was not displayed publicly

---

<sup>86</sup> Paul, J., McGhee, R. V., & Fant, H. (1984). The Arrival and Ascendance of Black Athletes in the Southeastern Conference, 1966-1980. *Phylon*, 45(4), 287.

<sup>87</sup> Wellborn, B. (1997). Coach Paul Bryant and the Integration of the University of Alabama Football Team. *The Southern Historian*, 18(1), 69.

<sup>88</sup> See Ownby, "Manhood, Memory, and White Men's Sports."

until American captains and commanders from the South began hoisting the banner over captured European territories during World War II.<sup>89</sup>

Similar demonstrations of regional pride found their ways back to the southern home front in the 1940s. This was especially seen on college campuses where school pride and overall morale had declined since many male students left to join the war efforts. One of the first documented cases can be traced back to a football game between the University of Virginia (UVA) and Yale University in October 1941. Though it was held in New Haven, Connecticut, the UVA student section was seen waving a large Confederate battle flag in the stands while supporting their classmates on the gridiron, “marking the first known episode of Virginia fans using the flag at a football game.”<sup>90</sup> A few years later, as southern men began enrolling in college after World War II, “football continued to be a vehicle for the masculine expression of southern regionalism,” leading the UVA student body to officially adopt this flag-waving tradition “as a means of recapturing the school’s prewar social spirit.”<sup>91</sup>

By the late 1940s and early 1950s, students and fans from most schools in the South were waving the Confederate flag at football games to reinforce a sense of southern identity. Along with this new “modern” tradition that memorialized the Lost Cause, these southern schools’ marching bands began performing “Dixie” during each game as well. A nickname for the former Confederate states, “Dixie” is also the title of a famous, yet racially controversial, song that celebrates southern history. The song

---

<sup>89</sup> Nehls, “Flag-Waving Wahoos,” 468.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid, 469.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid, 470.

symbolizes “southern pride and, implicitly, the southern racial order.”<sup>92</sup> In Tony Barnhart’s (2008) book, *Southern Fried Football: The History, Passion, and Glory of the Great Southern Game*, David G. Sansing<sup>93</sup> explains:

Football, with all of its battle-related language, has long been an expression of our southern militarism. To some, football elevates war to a higher art with its marching bands and the large crowds. It’s like sitting hillside looking down on the battle of Gettysburg.<sup>94</sup>

These adopted demonstrations were important to the twentieth century South because they reflected the region’s “expression of southern masculinity against dominant northern teams and the struggle of the region’s schools to earn a place among the nation’s elite colleges.”<sup>95</sup>

As another regional milestone, UVA also became the first southern school to play an integrated regular season game on its home field after hosting Harvard University in 1947. Yet, Harvard still had to abide by the local, segregationist customs in order for the weekend to function successfully. Charlottesville officials arranged for the Harvard players and coaches to stay at the all-white hotel in town but required the one black player, Chester Pierce, to stay alone in a separate extension of the hotel.<sup>96</sup> There were no incidents on the field, but UVA fans still waved Confederate flags and the band played “Dixie” throughout the entire game:

Although the flags may not have had an intentionally intimidating message for Pierce, they reinforced the fact that there was a difference between playing

---

<sup>92</sup> White, D. E. (2010). From Desegregation to Integration: Race, Football, and “Dixie” at the University of Florida. *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, 88(4), 477.

<sup>93</sup> David G. Sansing is the former director of the Center for the Study of Southern Culture at the University of Mississippi. Found in Aiello, T. (2010). The Heritage Fallacy: Race, Loyalty, and the First Grambling-Southern Football Game. *History of Education Quarterly*, 50(4), 488.

<sup>94</sup> As quoted in White, “From Desegregation to Integration,” 478.

<sup>95</sup> Nehls, “Flag-Waving Wahoos,” 488.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid, 474.

*against* an African-American player and playing *with* one. Virginia players and fans would probably not have stood for the latter.<sup>97</sup>

It is argued that the desegregation of college football closely resembled the nation's regional attitudes on the Civil Rights movement at the time. Because the amount of black football players at northern schools started significantly increasing after World War II, some schools began to refuse abiding by the "gentlemen's agreements." While schools in the Upper South that agreed to play desegregated teams from the North received national praise for their progressive decisions, schools in the Deep South refused to abandon the social order, signifying the unrelenting importance of preserving tradition in states like Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia.<sup>98</sup>

### ***Brown v. Board & Massive Resistance***

With regards to the history of American civil rights legislation, few United States Supreme Court cases have achieved landmark status equal to *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*. The Court's 1954 decision overturned *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), which stated that "separate but equal" public facilities were constitutional, "despite the fact that nineteenth century legislative adjustments to the U.S. Constitution such as the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments implied the status of African-Americans could be improved through legislative acts."<sup>99</sup> *Brown* further stated:

It is strongly implied, not only that the state is forbidden indirectly to inhibit desegregation by encouraging violence and hostility, but also that it has an affirmative constitutional duty to control and to suppress such opposition whenever it develops and whatever the source.<sup>100</sup>

---

<sup>97</sup> Ibid, 476.

<sup>98</sup> Demas, L. (2007). Beyond Jackie Robinson: Racial Integration in American College Football and New Directions in Sport History. *History Compass*, 5(2), 675–690.

<sup>99</sup> Kinshasa, "An Appraisal of Brown v. Board of Education," 17.

<sup>100</sup> Wilson, R. B. (1965). Massive Insistence or Massive Resistance? The Judicial Administration of the Civil Rights Revolution. *The George Washington Law Review*, 33(4), 859.

These measures were predominantly aimed at the southern states engaging in acts of Massive Resistance to integration, along with the wider Civil Rights movement that continued into the following decade. In addition to refraining from “adopting and enforcing discriminatory policies,” southern states were now responsible “for protecting all citizens in the equal enjoyment of their constitutional rights” in order to recapture the U.S. Constitution’s original goal to secure and promote “the dignity of all men.”<sup>101</sup>

With little desire to alter its social, political, and economic orders in the twentieth century, the South’s “white racial hegemony confronted mass protest for social integration with a mind-set that proclaimed; regardless of where blacks eventually sit on city’s buses, direct economic control of the bus line or similar institutions, was non-negotiable.”<sup>102</sup> Adopted as an anti-integration political symbol, publicly displaying the Confederate flag – not just at southern college football games – represented the South’s Massive Resistance and rejection to *Brown*:

Within a year, white resistance across the South adopted the battle flag as a symbol of their rejection of the court’s decision and the Civil Rights movement. Georgia added the battle flag to its state flag in 1956; South Carolina hoisted the battle flag up the pole atop the state capitol in 1962.<sup>103</sup>

In 1967, Governor Lurleen Wallace – married to former Alabama Governor George Wallace at the time – issued an executive order for the University of Alabama “to play ‘Dixie’ and to display the Confederate flag” at all home football games.<sup>104</sup> By the late 1950s and early 1960s, the Confederate flag had indeed transitioned from a private Confederate memorial into a public endorsement of white supremacy.

---

<sup>101</sup> Ibid, 860-862.

<sup>102</sup> Kinshasa, “An Appraisal of *Brown v. Board of Education*,” 18-19.

<sup>103</sup> Nehls, “Flag-Waving Wahoos,” 487.

<sup>104</sup> Carter, L. J. (1968). George C. Wallace: He’s Not Just Whistling Dixie. *Science*, 162(3852), 439.

## Bear Bryant's Return

By the 1960s, flagship universities in the Deep South “had embraced football with a passion and meaning unrivaled in the rest of the country.”<sup>105</sup> This was predominantly seen in the Southeastern Conference, but more specifically at the University of Alabama:

The schedules of the Tigers, Rebs, Bulldogs, and Tide formed the rigid spine of autumn social calendars in Louisiana, Mississippi, Georgia, and Alabama. Each team seemed vital to the health and well-being of the state. But even in this atmosphere of heightened fanaticism Alabama stood out, for the Crimson Tide was not just Alabama’s team. It was at a more fundamental level the pride of all Dixie.<sup>106</sup>

A significant period in the history of “Dixie’s Football Pride” came at the end of the 1950s when Paul “Bear” Bryant was hired at the University of Alabama as the head coach of the Crimson Tide football team. Paul Bryant’s football career was one of the most successful in recent memory, both as a player and as a head coach. “The Bear” played at the University of Alabama in the 1930s, often remembered for playing with a broken fibula during a game, humbly brushing off any accolades by saying, “it was only one bone.”<sup>107</sup> This unmatched toughness and determination led to his endeared acceptance from Crimson Tide fans and alumni across the South. Prior to becoming the head coach at his alma mater, Bryant had developed a reputation for reviving other football programs: “After just one season at the University of Maryland, the Terrapins improved from a 1-7-1 record to 6-2-1. The University of Kentucky advanced from a 2-8 season to 7-3 a year after his arrival. He guided the Texas A&M Aggies to the Cotton Bowl in just three years.”<sup>108</sup>

---

<sup>105</sup> Roberts & Krzemienski, *Rising Tide*, 40.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

<sup>107</sup> Wellborn, “Coach Paul Bryant and the Integration of the University of Alabama Football Team,” 67.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

During his 25 years in Tuscaloosa, Coach Bryant recorded an overall record of 232-46-9 (an average of about two losses each season), won an SEC-record 146 conference games, 13 conference championships, and led the Tide in two dynastic runs – 1961-1966 and 1973-1979 – that each won three national championships.<sup>109</sup> Moreover, in his book, *Big Play: Barra on Football*, Allen Barra writes:

If Yankee Stadium is “the house that Ruth built,” then it could be said that University of Alabama football coach Paul ‘Bear’ Bryant has built two. Technically, both Legion Field in Birmingham and Bryant-Denny Stadium [Denny Stadium in the 1960s] in Tuscaloosa were there long before Bryant came back to Alabama, but both have been rebuilt and improved to a degree that would have been impossible without the football prosperity ushered in by Bryant. If there had been no Bryant, Birmingham might not ever have been the football capital of Alabama.<sup>110</sup>

Bryant’s tenure at the University of Alabama “elevated him to hero status among the Crimson Tide faithful,” leading to the entire state, along with the rest of country, growing “accustomed to seeing the Crimson Tide at the top of the college football ranks.”<sup>111</sup> In turn, a large portion of southerners, even those from outside of Alabama, started internalizing the success of Bear Bryant’s Crimson Tide to counter negative stereotypes the media attached to their region at the time. The South began to view Bryant as an elusive, larger than life figure that embodied achievement and legitimacy through Old South virtues.

The Crimson Tide’s regional significance in the 1960s was due, in part, to the cultural symbols that its all-white team represented. “As the image of the state became more and more troubled there was one undeniable point of pride for Alabamians—

---

<sup>109</sup> Scarborough, A. (2012). College Football’s Dynasties - ESPN. Retrieved April 7, 2016, from [http://espn.go.com/ncf/feature/video/\\_id/8756283/college-football-dynasties](http://espn.go.com/ncf/feature/video/_id/8756283/college-football-dynasties)

<sup>110</sup> Barra, A. (2004). Chapter 3: Three Pieces about Bear Bryant And One about Vince Lombardi. In *Big Play: Barra on Football* (pp. 33–34). Washington, DC: Potomac Books, Inc.

<sup>111</sup> Gillum, R. (1992). Coach Bryant and the Years of Crisis, 1969-1970. *The Southern Historian*, 13, 67.

Crimson Tide football.”<sup>112</sup> Considered to be one of the greatest college football dynasties of all time, Bryant’s Crimson Tide between the years of 1961-1966 possessed “the power to soothe the anguish and give expression to the righteous anger,” proudly symbolizing “southern virtues that the rest of the nation refused to recognize.”<sup>113</sup> Moreover, the largest newspaper in Alabama, the *Birmingham News*, covered the Tide more extensively than any other newspaper at the time, often criticized for serving as an “extension of the athletic department” to the University of Alabama.<sup>114</sup>

### **“Bombingham”**

More than any other region of the country, the South dominated American media headlines with its strong oppositions to the Civil Rights movement during the 1960s. These negative images of racial brutality “were broadcast nationwide over the young medium of television,” elevating the nation’s conscience of the Civil Rights movement.<sup>115</sup> Massive Resistance to *Brown v. Board* and social integration turned violent primarily in the southern states encompassing the Deep South. “Fueled by this federal intrusion upon their southern ‘way of life,’ whites came together in defense of their traditions and organized to counter their [civil rights demonstrators’] efforts.”<sup>116</sup> As Brownfeld stated at the time, “The South has taken one path, the nation another,” similar to the disagreements over slavery and Reconstruction in the previous century.<sup>117</sup> Few southern cities, however, reached the stature of Birmingham in the 1960s, located just sixty miles from the University of Alabama’s campus in Tuscaloosa.

---

<sup>112</sup> Schexnayder, C. J. (2013, January 14). The Painful Legacy of 1963. *SB Nation: Roll 'Bama Roll*. Retrieved from <http://www.rollbamaroll.com/2013/1/14/3871896/the-painful-legacy-of-1963>

<sup>113</sup> Doyle, “Bear Bryant: Symbol for an Embattled South,” 74.

<sup>114</sup> Barra, *Big Play*, 34.

<sup>115</sup> Borucki, ‘You’re Dixie’s Football Pride,’ 486.

<sup>116</sup> Fox, L. A. (2010). *Cracking the Closed Society: James W. Silver and the Civil Rights Movement in Mississippi*. Master’s thesis, University of North Texas, 11.

<sup>117</sup> Brownfeld, A. C. (1967). The Crisis of Southern Identity. *The North American Review*, 252(6), 26.

Labeled as “the most segregated city in America” by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Birmingham epitomized the nation’s view of everything wrong with the South at midcentury.<sup>118</sup> In his book, *Why We Can’t Wait*, Dr. King (1964) proclaimed:

In Birmingham, you would be living in a community where the white man’s long-lived tyranny had cowed your people, led them to abandon hope, and developed in them a false sense of inferiority. You would be living in a city where the representatives of economic and political power refused to even discuss social justice with the leaders of your people. You would be living in the largest city of a police state, presided over by a governor – George Wallace – whose inauguration vow had been a pledge of “segregation now, segregation, tomorrow, segregation forever!” You would be living, in fact, in the most segregated city in America.<sup>119</sup>

The nation watched Connor use “water cannons and attack dogs” to hold off civil rights demonstrators who were merely fighting for “public accommodations and greater employment opportunities in the city.”<sup>120</sup> In the minds of Birmingham’s African-American community, the city’s social order could best be characterized as a “rich tradition of ‘honoring white folks’ and ‘knowing your place.’”<sup>121</sup>

Birmingham first came under national scrutiny on April 8, 1960, when the front page of the *New York Times* read, “Fear and Hatred Grip Birmingham.”<sup>122</sup> Written by Harrison Salisbury, the “two-page indictment of the city’s race relations” revealed to Americans how “every aspect of life within the city was strictly segregated,” labeling Eugene “Bull” Connor as “the brutal enforcer of the racial status quo.”<sup>123</sup> Salisbury’s account of his trip to Birmingham marked “the first outright and prominent indictment of

---

<sup>118</sup> Gill, S. K. (2012). Recalling a Difficult Past: Whites’ Memories of Birmingham. *Sociological Inquiry*, 82(1), 30.

<sup>119</sup> As quoted in Rigsby, E. D. (1990). *A rhetorical clash with the established order: An analysis of protest strategies and perceptions of media responses, Birmingham, 1963*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oregon, 25.

<sup>120</sup> Borucki, ‘You’re Dixie’s Football Pride,’ 486.

<sup>121</sup> Rigsby, *A rhetorical clash with the established order*, 56.

<sup>122</sup> Foster, J. (2012). Stigma Cities: Birmingham, Alabama and Las Vegas, Nevada in the National Media, 1945-2000. *Psi Sigma Siren*, 3(1), 15.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

the city's race relations," serving as an "important step in constructing the city's racist stigma in the public's mind."<sup>124</sup> Other prominent, national newspapers began reporting on "The Magic City" at this time, though it was not until the Freedom Riders crossed the Georgia state line into Alabama the following year that Birmingham's racial dilemma became America's global embarrassment.

### **The Birmingham News**

It was not uncommon for southern newspapers to inaccurately cover the Civil Rights movement during the 1950s and 1960s. Many southern newspapers in the 60s had the common tendency to "discredit movement leaders and their agenda," and would emphasize "law enforcement's preparedness" when the demonstrations turned violent.<sup>125</sup> With regards to southern editors at the time, particularly those in the Deep South, Hank Klibanoff, coauthor of *The Race Beat*, states:

What they say is one thing and what they are, in fact, thinking may be another. Publicly they would say, "What do you want to do, blow the lid off this town? We can't have that! We can't be putting a lot of stories of ruffians on the street provoking violence." And they may not have always been talking about African-Americans; they could have been talking about white people. They knew the sentiments on the street pretty well.<sup>126</sup>

Klibanoff explained that in Birmingham, the *Birmingham News* "was the dominant newspaper in Birmingham," encompassing the "greatest circulation" with the greatest impact among any of the state's newspapers at the time.<sup>127</sup> Following *Brown v. Board* in 1954, the *Birmingham News* arguably set a "forward-looking tone in the state of Alabama" when the paper supported the Supreme Court's decision to gradually

---

<sup>124</sup> Ibid, 16.

<sup>125</sup> Friedman & Richardson, 'A National Disgrace,' 224.

<sup>126</sup> Cornish, A. (2013, June 18). How The Civil Rights Movement Was Covered In Birmingham. *National Public Radio*. Retrieved from <http://www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2013/06/18/193128475/how-the-civil-rights-movement-was-covered-in-birmingham>

<sup>127</sup> Ibid.

desegregate schools “supervised by the state rather than rely on the federal government to drive them.”<sup>128</sup> However, this editorial support following the *Brown* ruling proved to be an act of preventing racial equality for as long as possible. By the early 1960s, the *News* switched from its “progressive” reputation to a “champion of the status quo, even in race relations.”<sup>129</sup>

The Hanson family had owned the *Birmingham News* since 1910, with Victor H. Hanson I serving as the newspaper’s president and general manager until he died in 1945. This led to Hanson’s great-nephew, Clarence B. Hanson, Jr. resuming the roles of president and publisher for the next three decades.<sup>130</sup> The *News*, along with “the *Huntsville Times*, two radio stations, a television station and a motor freight line,” all in Birmingham, were sold to the S.I. Newhouse “publishing empire” for \$18.7 million in 1955. Clarence B. Hanson, Jr. remained the *News*’ top executive as both president and publisher until 1973, as the newspaper “continued to have an independent voice.”<sup>131</sup> During this time, managing editor John Bloomer and executive editor Vincent Townsend primarily oversaw the paper’s newsroom and editorial activities. Bloomer was a strong advocate for maintaining white supremacy and racial exclusion in all areas of life in Birmingham:

On the grounds that segregated conditions here were no different from those of any other southern city, he [Bloomer] forbade any mention in his paper of *why* Negroes might be demonstrating and what conditions would have to be met in order to end their protest. He insisted that their sole aim was to raise money for

---

<sup>128</sup> Patronik, M. A. (2011). *Written in Black and White: A Content Analysis of Newspaper Coverage of the Desegregation of Three Flagship Southern Public Universities*. Master’s thesis, University of Mississippi, 126.

<sup>129</sup> Dorsey, M. W. P. (2010). *Speak Truth to Power: The Story of Charles Patrick, a Civil Rights Pioneer*. Tuscaloosa, AL: The University of Alabama Press, 41.

<sup>130</sup> Hanson, Jr., C. B. (1967). *The Story of The Birmingham News: A Good Newspaper*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 6, 10-12.

<sup>131</sup> Swayne, E. E. (1969). *The Last Families: A Study of Metropolitan Newspaper Ownership, 1950-1967*. Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 320; and Patronik, *Written in Black and White*, 126.

Martin Luther King. When [Fred] Shuttlesworth tried to take out an ad to publicize the movement's demands, the paper refused it.”<sup>132</sup>

Bloomer, “an arch-conservative whose certainties were often enflamed by alcohol,” would later succeed Townsend as executive editor the following decade.<sup>133</sup>

Vincent Townsend, on the other hand, was known as “the city’s power broker” at this time due to his unattested rule of the *Birmingham News*, WAPI Channel 13, (“the local television affiliate for both NBC and CBS,”) and WAPI Radio, effectively giving Townsend control over “the most powerful airwaves in the state.”<sup>134</sup> Big Daddy, as he preferred his staffers call him, was not as openly bigoted as Bloomer, yet he still believed, “There’s only one thing the nigras<sup>135</sup> want—The subjugation of the white race.”<sup>136</sup> Townsend realized that covering the “agitators” involved in the Civil Rights movement was not in the best interest of his “polite businessmen” readers. Thus, “to keep advertisers happy he banned ‘trouble’ from the paper, and to satisfy the readers he decked his front page with controversy-free disasters.”<sup>137</sup> Though Townsend would eventually work his way up to vice president and assistant to the publisher, Clarence B. Hanson, Jr., was still the top man in charge of the *Birmingham News* during the 1960s as President and Publisher. In his 1967 address to the Newcomen Society, Hanson, Jr., professed:

The *News* frankly looks at things as a conservative. I think that our conservatism is in the best sense of the word, and by no means reactionary. We recognize that we live in the seventh decade of a tumultuous century; that many of the changes

---

<sup>132</sup> McWhorter, D. (2001). *Carry Me Home: Birmingham, Alabama: The Climactic Battle of the Civil Rights Revolution*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 343.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid; and Grimes, M. B. (1985). *The Last Linotype: The Story of Georgia and Its Newspapers Since World War II*. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 226.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid, 183-184.

<sup>135</sup> An older generation, derogatory term for African-Americans.

<sup>136</sup> McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 184.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid, 183-184, 214.

seething about us are necessary if not desirable, and we often try to take the lead in bringing them about, while striving to preserve the best of our heritage.<sup>138</sup>

With the motto, “Serving a Progressive South,” the *Birmingham News* essentially became a “forum for moderate Alabama business interests” during this time.<sup>139</sup>

Upon looking back on the increase in racial violence in Birmingham at the time, Hanson, Jr. and the rest of his editorial staff kept civil rights coverage off the front page “for fear it would incite more violence by segregationists,” believing “the sentiments expressed by the movement’s leaders did not reflect those of Birmingham’s black population.”<sup>140</sup> Because the news media in Birmingham had a “local investment of sources to protect,” the *News* remained predominantly silent on Bull Connor’s criminal proclivities as well.<sup>141</sup> Many articles in the paper’s Editorial section “supported white leadership and criticized ‘unlawful’ demonstrators while urging the local power structure to settle the conflict without federal interference.”<sup>142</sup> In an interview with *Editor & Publisher* on May 18, 1963, Clarence B. Hanson, Jr., claimed, “Editorially we tried to say that the whites and the Negroes should cooperate to solve the problem, and it was on the way to being resolved until the outside agitators came in and stirred up trouble.”<sup>143</sup>

In February 2006, the *Birmingham News* printed an eight-page special of unpublished photos from the Civil Rights movement titled, “Unseen, Unforgotten.” These photos were a sample of the over 5,000 negatives discovered by Alexander Cohn

---

<sup>138</sup> Hanson, Jr., *The Story of the Birmingham News*, 19.

<sup>139</sup> Miller, S. P. (2009). *Billy Graham and the Rise of the Republican South*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 165, 120.

<sup>140</sup> Friedman & Richardson, “A National Disgrace,” 230.

<sup>141</sup> Rigsby, *A rhetorical clash with an established order*, 99; and McWhorter, D. (2013, January 20). Good and Evil in Birmingham. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from

[http://www.nytimes.com/2013/01/21/opinion/good-and-evil-in-birmingham.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2013/01/21/opinion/good-and-evil-in-birmingham.html?_r=0)

<sup>142</sup> Friedman & Richardson, “A National Disgrace,” 229.

<sup>143</sup> Boylan, J. (1963). Birmingham: newspapers in a crisis. *Columbia Journalism Review*. Retrieved from [http://www.cjr.org/fiftieth\\_anniversary/birmingham\\_newspapers\\_in\\_a\\_cri.php](http://www.cjr.org/fiftieth_anniversary/birmingham_newspapers_in_a_cri.php)

in November 2004. Cohn, a photo intern and graduate student at the University of Missouri School of Journalism at the time, found this collection in a cardboard box marked, “Keep. Do Not Sell.” while rummaging through an equipment closet.<sup>144</sup> The pictures revealed an even deeper part of Birmingham’s social history that had been purposely kept from the public’s view for decades, similar to what this research hopes to find.

This study began by discussing the history of the American South, highlighting the evolution of southern identity through the middle of the twentieth century. The reviewed literature defined the South’s emphasis on maintaining tradition in the periods before and after the Civil War, providing one explanation for why the region’s dismissive approach to social change transcended through each generation into the twentieth century. It also discussed the socially constructed tradition of southern college football, both on and off the field, along with the ways in which the sport became a powerful symbol of the South’s collective defiance to an interracial society.<sup>145</sup> The literature concluded with a focus on the city of Birmingham, Alabama and its most prominent newspaper during the Civil Rights movement, placing Bear Bryant’s legendary football dynasty within the proper historical context for the textual analysis. This literature ultimately serves as the framework for interpreting why the *Birmingham News* framed the Alabama football teams of the 1960s – the same decade commemorating the Civil War centennial – in the ways that it did.

---

<sup>144</sup> Friedman & Richardson, “A National Disgrace,” 225.

<sup>145</sup> See Demas, “Beyond Jackie Robinson.”

## Chapter Three: Methodology

Because sports have traditionally been marginalized in the newsroom, sportswriters continue to feel a distance between themselves and “normal” journalists.<sup>146</sup> This divide was even more prominent in the twentieth century, which helps explain why the *Birmingham News* sportswriters rarely referenced the Civil Rights movement in Alabama, even though the Crimson Tide played most of its home games in Birmingham during the 1960s. Also, the University of Alabama’s athletic department had not been desegregated yet, so the *News* may have felt that they did not need to discuss race unless the Tide was playing an integrated team from another state. Still, Brennen (2008) argues that newspapers have the power to “represent and interpret social change,” depending on “how an emergent structure of feeling may be read off the coverage.”<sup>147</sup> In terms of circulation, I should note that I had difficulty finding the *Birmingham News*’ annual circulation numbers. The oldest data available on the Alliance for Audited Media (previously known as the Audit Bureau of Circulations) website only goes back to February 2006.<sup>148</sup> However, I was able to uncover the *News*’ 1961 circulation, which was 187,000.<sup>149</sup>

I therefore began the textual analysis with a much broader sampling strategy to help familiarize myself with the *News*’ reporting tendencies in its coverage of the Alabama football program, concentrating on “the content, structure, and function of

---

<sup>146</sup> Oates & Pauly, “Sports Journalism as Moral and Ethical Discourse,” 336.

<sup>147</sup> As quoted in Fürsich, “In Defense of Textual Analysis,” 245-246.

<sup>148</sup> Alliance for Audited Media. (2016). Media Intelligence Center. Retrieved from <http://abcas3.auditedmedia.com.proxy.mul.missouri.edu/MICenter/Home/Index?s=6e730d16-bf74-4a55-aac1-81cdf71ece72#3>

<sup>149</sup> Patronik, *Written in Black and White*, 129.

messages within the text.”<sup>150</sup> By also staying mindful of Birmingham’s societal structure in the 1960s, I was able to uncover the *News’* use of metaphors, symbolic descriptions, and other subtle framing devices used in the examined articles. This cautionary approach legitimized the data found in every stage of the textual analysis.

## Research Method

I conducted a textual analysis with a post-structuralist approach because there is always more than one way to interpret reality, especially in a historical context.<sup>151</sup> Using this approach for the textual analysis “can elucidate the narrative structure, symbolic arrangement and ideological potential of media content,” making it easier to identify the distinct advantages and limitations of the given time period.<sup>152</sup> This approach provided the analysis with important contextual information, while also helping to identify the angle(s) of the examined texts.<sup>153</sup> Most importantly, Fürsich suggests that when conducting this type of research, the question “is not how accurately does the text reflect reality,” rather, the textual analyst should be asking, “what version of reality is normalized and as a consequence, how emancipatory or hegemonic is the text?”<sup>154</sup> With this in mind during each stage of the textual analysis, I uncovered the *Birmingham News’* deeper motivations for framing its coverage of the Alabama football program in the ways it did.

This textual analysis was guided by framing theory, which has two parts—how news media characterize certain information, and then how the audience uses that

---

<sup>150</sup> Schnabel, L. (2014). When Fringe Goes Mainstream Again: A Comparative Textual Analysis of the Tea Party Movement’s Contract from America and the Republican Party Platform. *Politics, Religion & Ideology*, 15(4), 612.

<sup>151</sup> McKee, A. (2003). Chapter 1: What is Textual Analysis? In *Textual Analysis: A Beginner’s Guide* (pp. 1–33). London: Sage Publications.

<sup>152</sup> Fürsich, “In Defense of Textual Analysis,” 239.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid, 242.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid, 249.

information to form impressions and perspectives.<sup>155</sup> Framing essentially makes news content “more salient through different modes of presentation,” therefore exerting substantial influence on shifting people’s attitudes.<sup>156</sup> At an even more basic level, news frames can be thought of as the attitudes constructed “when audiences pay substantial attention to news messages.”<sup>157</sup> Butterworth similarly acknowledges that “news media ‘frame’ an audience’s interpretation of events, people, or ideas, in particular by ‘selecting’ specific elements and ignoring other.”<sup>158</sup> Further, media frames encompass great power in constructing public opinion:

The media shape public opinion through the framing of news events and through analysis. Framing is the conscious, strategic effort to fashion meaningful accounts of events and the issues at hand in order to legitimate certain perspectives and actions.<sup>159</sup>

This is especially significant for studying the Civil Rights movement because “the media can therefore frame issues in such a way that reinforces dominant understandings about race and justifies existing racial hierarchies.”<sup>160</sup> By identifying the consistent frames in the *News*’ coverage of the Crimson Tide, I was able to understand how white Alabamians were intended to interpret this portion of their local news during the Civil Rights movement.

### **Search Strategy**

I obtained microfilm reels of the *Birmingham News* with assistance from the staffs at both the University of Missouri School of Journalism Library and the Wauconda

---

<sup>155</sup> Scheufele, D. A., & Tewksbury, D. (2007). Framing, Agenda Setting, and Priming: The Evolution of Three Media Effects Models. *Journal of Communication*, 57(1), 12.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid, 13, 15.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid, 13.

<sup>158</sup> Butterworth, “The Passion of the Tebow,” 19-20.

<sup>159</sup> Rose, J. P. (2014). *The New Racism in the Media: a Discourse Analysis of Newspaper Commentary on Race, Presidential Politics, and Welfare Reform*. Master’s thesis, Georgia State University, 6.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid.

Public Library in Illinois. The 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, and 1966 reels were found via the Center for Research Libraries (CRL) online catalog and were shipped to the Missouri School of Journalism Library using the Interlibrary Loan (ILL) service. Once received, I examined those reels using the microfilm scanner/reader located inside Ellis Library at the University of Missouri. Because CRL was unable to send the 1965 reels, I requested a separate order once I returned home after the summer with help from the ILL service at the Wauconda Public Library. After the 1965 reels were delivered to the Wauconda Public Library from the University of Alabama - Birmingham, I took those reels to the Fremont Public Library in Mundelein, Illinois due to the fact that it was the only location in the area that owned a microfilm scanner/reader.

The *Birmingham News* publications chosen for this research were each daily edition in the months of September, October, November, and December, all between the years of 1961 and 1966. Similar to today, these four months encompassed the annual college football regular season, with possible postseason matchups in the annual New Year's Day bowl games. Because there were so many fewer bowl games played on only one day back then, I decided to leave the month of January out of the textual analysis. Furthermore, the six years between 1961 and 1966 were chosen for this study because the Alabama Crimson Tide won sixty games, four Southeastern Conference (SEC) championships and three national championships, while losing just five total games in that span, going down as one of the greatest college football dynasties of all time.<sup>161</sup> These six years were also chosen because most of the iconic Civil Rights movement demonstrations occurring in Birmingham and other surrounding cities in

---

<sup>161</sup> See Doeden, M. (2015). *The College Football Championship: The Fight for the Top Spot*. Minneapolis: Lerner Publishing Group.

Alabama during the exact same time period. This is significant because the Alabama Crimson Tide played the majority of its conference games in virtually the backyard of all the racial violence and backlash. By applying framing theory to the textual analysis, the data was then positioned within the larger context of the Civil Rights movement in order to uncover inclusionary and, more importantly, exclusionary patterns of local news coverage within the sociocultural climate of Birmingham at the time. Using this search strategy, the textual analysis identified thematic consistencies in the ways the *News* framed its coverage of the Crimson Tide teams of the 1960s.

### **Sampling Strategy**

Determined using an inclusion criterion sampling strategy, this study analyzed the complete text of 1,407 Crimson Tide articles written by the *Birmingham News* between 1961 and 1966. As Kulaszewicz notes, this strategy was used to “narrow the scope of research relevance,” helping to “identify a specific sample population.”<sup>162</sup> I used Lynch & Peer’s model to initially define which news articles would be considered for the textual analysis. Each article included the following criteria:

- More than two inches in vertical length;
- A central theme using complete sentences;
- Cannot stem from a paid advertisement;
- “Must be a complete story, not a promotional reference for a full story contained elsewhere.”<sup>163</sup>

To verify an article covered the Crimson Tide, I read each article’s headline (and sub-heading, if given) for any mention of the following criteria: Alabama, Bama, Crimson, Tide, Bear, Bryant, and “Reds.”

---

<sup>162</sup> Kulaszewicz, K. E. (2015). Racism and the Media: A Textual Analysis. *Master of Social Work Clinical Research Papers*. Paper 477, 25.

<sup>163</sup> Lynch, S., & Peer, L. (2002). Analyzing Newspaper Content: A How-To Guide, 7. Retrieved from <https://www.wvdhhr.org/bphtraining/courses/cdcynergy/content/activeinformation/resources/NewspaperContentAnalysis.pdf>

<u>Season</u>	<u>Month</u>	<u>Articles Used in Analysis</u>
1961	September	48
1961	October	64
1961	November	62
1961	December	59
		[233]
1962	September	53
1962	October	61
1962	November	65
1962	December	58
		[237]
1963	September	48
1963	October	60
1963	November	68
1963	December	49
		[225]
1964	September	51
1964	October	69
1964	November	84
1964	December	74
		[278]
1965	September	40
1965	October	59
1965	November	53
1965	December	35
		[187] <sup>164</sup>
1966	September	44
1966	October	83
1966	November	71
1966	December	49
		[247]
<b>1,407 Total Articles Included in the Analysis</b>		

*Table 1.* Sample Population. This study analyzed 1,407 *Birmingham News* articles written on the Crimson Tide.

In the event an article's headline and/or subhead did not clearly suggest what the story was about, I read the body of the text until I could confirm if the content focused on the University of Alabama football program. I chose to leave the Associated Press (AP) articles and wire reports out of the analysis because I felt they would add an unnecessary

---

<sup>164</sup> Sports editor Benny Marshall was hospitalized with a heart condition at the end of August 1965, which is why the total number of analyzed articles that year is significantly lower than the other five years. The first 1965 article written by Marshall I read came on December 1 titled, "His friends will fret; not Sloan."

variable to this study. None of these articles were directly written by a *Birmingham News* employee—they were articles from other newspaper that were strategically placed in the Sports section to confirm the *News* sportswriters' collective frames of the Crimson Tide.

	A	C	E	G	I
1	Date	Headline	Source Origin	Quotes	Code & Notes
2	Sunday, 9/1/63	Fracchia gets two Tide jobs	Marshall (pp. C-1 & C-4)		Preseason optimism, hyperexcitement, Bryant's respect for other team, simplified Bryant
3		Dusting 'em off	Newman (p. C-5)		History/tradition
4					
5				"Bryant praised Versprille as 'a winning football player,' which is about the highest recognition an Alabama performer can receive."	
6	Wednesday, 9/4/63	Bear likes Ed's work	Bolton (p. 12)	Bryant: "I didn't see anything real bad or anything real good today... One thing, we are dropping more than we are catching. Maybe when we get our eye on the ball we'll be alright."	
7					
8		It's hard to play a game	Marshall (p. 32)	"Alabama of today, except for a hurt here and there and a dropout or two, is the same as Alabama of last April in football."	Glorifying Bryant, SCANNED THIS- READ AGAIN
9	Thursday, 9/5/63	Tide ends problem	Marshall (p. 32)		
10		Dusting 'em off	Newman (p. 34)		Worrying
11					History/tradition, preseason hype all around the South
12					
13	Friday, 9/6/63	TD dive's back ...and Fracchia	Van Hoose (p. 13)		Bryant's opinion matters, preseason hype
14					
15	Saturday, 9/7/63	Scrimmages set for Tide, Tigers	No attrib (p. 8)		Bryant-ism's, preseason hype
16					
17				"Coach Bryant could have fielded a couple of teams Saturday, all right, but they wouldn't have included the combat-proven troops he wants for the Athens charge."	Military
18		Tide casualty list grows	Van Hoose (p. C-2)	Bryant: "There was a little improvement in some players, but nothing to get excited about."	
19				"Bryant has never been noted for September optimism, not even with national championship material around the premises..."	Bryant's high standards, pessimism, Bryant-isms
20	Sunday, 9/8/63	Dusting 'em off	Newman (p. C-5)	"I think it would be absurd for anyone who has watched the great athletes come and go through decades to claim the old time athletes were greater than today's athletes.. Any all-time pick is a collection of the finest athletes of their eras. Whether most of them could be outstanding today is all relative. It must be remembered they didn't have the advantage of modern	History/tradition, past vs. present? IRONICALLY PROGRESSIVE- especially coming from someone who always brings up the past (does this symbolize his social views?)

Table 2. Coding Process. This screenshot details how I read and broke down each text.

Secondly, sports editor emeritus Zipp Newman wrote a column titled “Dusting ‘em off” multiple times each week. This column was written from essentially a Lost Cause perspective that glorified the past, usually referring to previous Crimson Tide football seasons or specific events in the state of Alabama’s sports history. These were

the only texts written by Newman, yet were very important to this study because of his insistence on maintaining tradition in the present. Towards the second half of this analysis – years 1964, 1965, and 1966 – this column appeared less regularly than it did in the earlier editions of the *Birmingham News*. I do not consider the column’s decrease in regularity to be one of this study’s limitations because the codes applied to the column in the first half of the study remained the same codes applied in the later years.

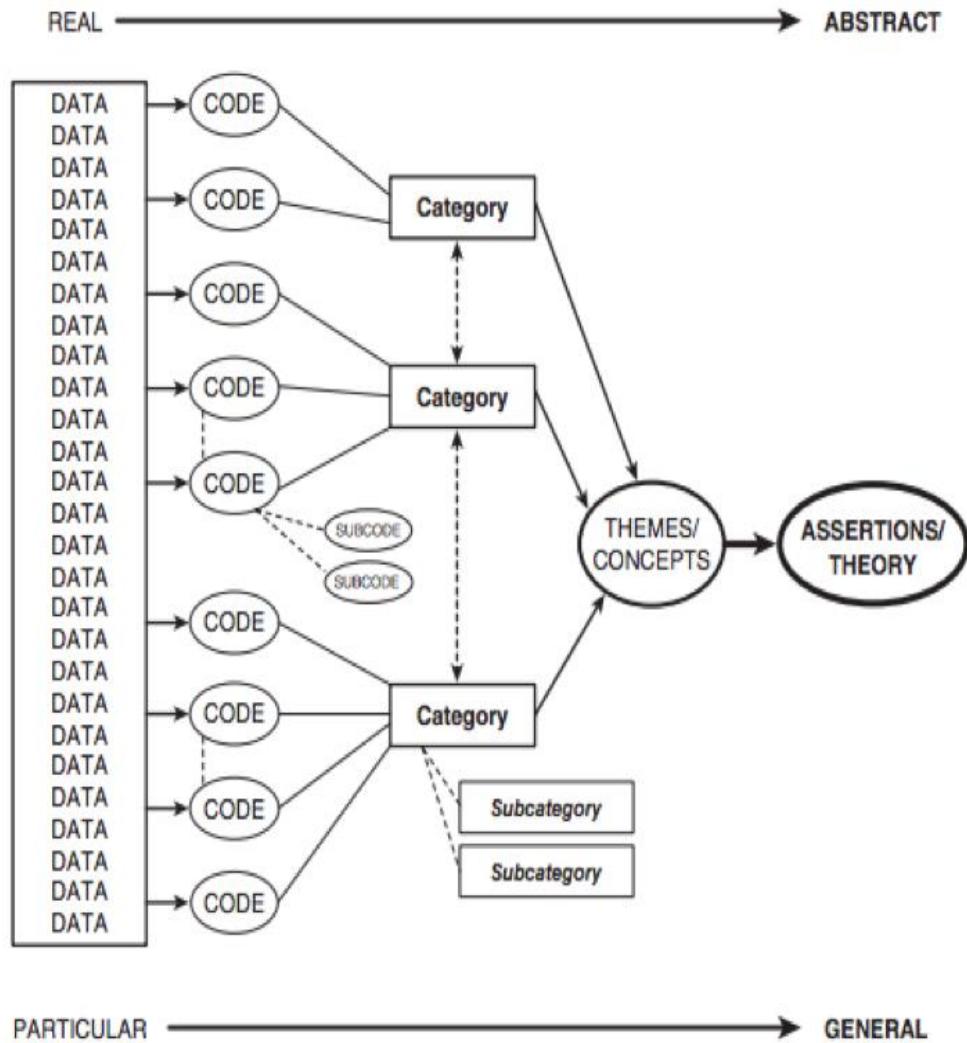
To make sense of all the data, I looked for consistencies in the codes attached to each *News* article analyzed. These patterns were found both during and after the textual analysis, mainly through the comments, notes, and quotes written down at the time of reading each text. Hatch (2002) explains, “A pattern can be characterized by:

- Similarity (things happen the same way)
- Difference (they happen in predictably different ways)
- Frequency (they happen often or seldom)
- Sequence (they happen in a certain order)
- Correspondence (happen in relation to other activities or events)
- Causation (one appears to cause another).<sup>165</sup>

By organizing these codes into sets of categories and subcategories, I was able to identify two specific concepts representative of the *News*’ coverage of the Crimson Tide throughout the entire six-year period. In turn, these two concepts led to the discovery of the study’s underlying theory, which encompassed the newspaper’s overall motivations for why it chose to frame the Alabama football program in the ways that it did during the core of the Civil Rights movement. Each layer of the research findings – subcategories, categories, concepts, and the theory – will be discussed in the following chapter, accompanied with a similar visual hierarchy of the data.

---

<sup>165</sup> As quoted in Saldaña, J. (2016). Chapter One: An Introduction to Codes and Coding. In *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers* (p. 7). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.



*Figure 1.* Textual Analysis Data Hierarchy. This is a streamlined codes-to-theory model for qualitative inquiry.<sup>166</sup>

It should be noted that because this was the first extensive textual analysis I had conducted in my academic career, I was constantly re-reading articles and their headlines, detailing each text's codes and writing down any peculiar or potentially significant words, phrases, and quotes used. I would then confirm the original codes corresponded with each re-read article. As the study progressed, I became much more confident in my ability to dissect each text, line by line. How did the *Birmingham News* frame its coverage of the Crimson Tide in ways that would appeal to its readers? How did the

---

<sup>166</sup> Ibid, 14.

*News'* coverage represent power relations in Birmingham, the state of Alabama, or the rest of the South at the time? What about within the contexts of Massive Resistance and the Lost Cause? Along with the emerging themes I uncovered as the study unfolded, these were the core questions I kept in mind during each phase of the analysis. As the next section will show, the research uncovered a much deeper interpretation of Coach Bear Bryant's first dynasty than just wins and losses. By framing its coverage to resonate with white readers in the Deep South, the *News* played a much larger role in constructing Birmingham's social history – as the white public may have experienced it – during the Civil Rights movement than expected.

## Chapter Four: Results & Analysis

“Alabama has as good a chance as anyone, and better than most, to walk in that door, back to the Rose Bowl where some other Alabama teams long ago set about letting the nation know that football was a game being played also in the backward South.”

-*Birmingham News* sports editor, Benny Marshall<sup>167</sup>

After sorting through each year’s codes, quotes, and field notes, it became apparent that the *Birmingham News*’ Sports department remained largely consistent in its coverage of the Alabama Crimson Tide between 1961 and 1966. Almost all of the codes used in the textual analysis for the 1961 editions remained the dominant codes in each edition through 1966, therefore I uncovered only a few emerging categories as the years went on. This consistency, however, refers to the different tactics each sportswriter used to frame the Crimson Tide football teams of the 1960s in the best light possible. Calling the *News*’ overt loyalties to the Tide “subjective” in this decade only scratches the surface. Without knowing if the *News* sportswriters were under any strict directions from the paper’s executives, the analysis begins with an examination of the Sports department’s unified attitudes towards both the state of Alabama and its Crimson Tide football program.

### **Knowing What Readers Wanted to Read**

In every year of the analysis, the *News* sportswriters portrayed themselves simply as members of the Birmingham community, fully aware of what the Crimson Tide meant to the state of Alabama and, more generally, the Deep South. After I finished compiling all the data, I realized I underestimated the degree to which the *News* consistently placed

---

<sup>167</sup> Marshall, B. (1961, November 9). Yes, the Rose Bowl IS watching Alabama. *Birmingham News*, 75.

Alabama on a pedestal before and after all outcomes: wins, losses, injuries, predictions, and so forth. Positive representations of the Crimson Tide were expected, given the Tide's regional and national success of the time, but the amount of undisguised favoritism in the coverage was staggering, especially following each victory. For instance, just two days after Alabama's first regular season game in 1961, the *News* prematurely labeled the entire season a success: "This one is Paul Bryant's best."<sup>168</sup> A few weeks later, following just the third game of the regular season, the *News* reported: "After three Saturdays of prosperity, it has become conspicuously apparent that Alabama will win practically all, if not all, its games this year."<sup>169</sup> This bold, almost propaganda-like framing of the Crimson Tide was representative of the entire analysis, leading me to conclude that the sportswriters were, or at least gave their audience the impression that they were, passionate Alabama football fans themselves.

The obviously biased coverage can directly be compared to the Editorial section of the *Birmingham News*, due to the section's distinct divide from the rest of the newspaper. *News* President and Publisher Clarence B. Hanson, Jr. acknowledged this divide between the Editorial and other sections in his Newcomen Society address:

The editorial page and signed columns are different. What is written there is opinion and clearly labeled as such. We regard the editorial page as a medium to interpret the often bewildering events of our time, to explain and inform, to try to reduce our chaotic world to some degree of understanding.<sup>170</sup>

Clarence B. Hanson, Jr. could have replaced "editorial" with "sports" in this address and still had an accurate declaration, especially when it came to his newspaper's coverage of Alabama football. Similar to the articles found in the *News*' Editorial section, these

---

<sup>168</sup> Marshall, B. (1961, September 25). It was like this Saturday at Athens... *Birmingham News*, 23–24.

<sup>169</sup> Bolton, C. (1961, October 9). An Auburn man figures key to Tide prosperity. *Birmingham News*, 22.

<sup>170</sup> Hanson, Jr., *The Story of the Birmingham News*, 18–19.

highly opinionated Crimson Tide articles can be traced back to the person in charge of the section, sports editor Benny Marshall.

On a number of occasions, Benny Marshall called the *Birmingham News* “the South’s greatest newspaper”<sup>171</sup> and referred to himself as “a man in favor of Birmingham.”<sup>172</sup> More than anyone else in the Sports department, Marshall embodied the previously stated combination of personal fandom and complete understanding of the Crimson Tide’s larger significance in Alabama:

And if a thousand people came through that particular gate Saturday at Legion Field, the same pleasant greeting waited for each of them. A small thing, but not so small, either. This is like my town was meant to be... And my state's in pretty great collegiate football shape, too, if you hadn't noted.<sup>173</sup>

Phrases such as “Let ‘em hit homeruns! I’ve got touchdowns to score”<sup>174</sup> or “This is going to be the supreme test for our people”<sup>175</sup> were not uncommon to find in any of his articles covering the Tide. Marshall and his staff often went a step further in sharing their perceived loyalties with readers around the time of “The Big Game.”<sup>176</sup> Each year between 1961 and 1966, the University of Alabama’s final regular season matchup was against in-state and conference rival, Auburn University on Legion Field:

Saturday brings many fine football players to Legion Field. Many of them on both sides finish their college careers, and they have spent most of their Saturdays winning. I persist in the belief that all of these young men, both sides, belong to all of us in Alabama.<sup>177</sup>

Regardless of whether they were actual fans or not, the sportswriters followed Marshall’s lead and consistently demonstrated how well they knew what their readers wanted to

---

<sup>171</sup> Marshall, B. (1961, December 8). Too big, too crowded, and quarrelsome. *Birmingham News*, 23.

<sup>172</sup> Marshall, B. (1961, November 8). There’s room for more Saturday... *Birmingham News*, 35.

<sup>173</sup> Marshall, B. (1963, October 22). End of story in case of Ted Davis. *Birmingham News*, 11.

<sup>174</sup> Marshall, B. (1961, September 5). Another vote for Tide, Neighbors. *Birmingham News*, 25.

<sup>175</sup> Marshall, B. (1961, November 14). ‘What’s next?’ Bear worry. *Birmingham News*, 11–12.

<sup>176</sup> Though it’s no longer played in Birmingham and now referred to as the “Iron Bowl,” the tradition remains active today.

<sup>177</sup> Marshall, B (1961, December 1). A film, and a dance, and a game... *Birmingham News*, 18.

read. These continuous presentations of dual pride – loyalties in the state of Alabama and its iconic Crimson Tide – helped establish a stronger connection between the *Birmingham News* and its readers. Yet, as Alabama’s racial backlash persisted through the 1960s, the same frames used to enhance this deeper newspaper/reader relationship also contributed to strengthening the state’s already-thick social shell of resisting change.

### **A Reassuring Distraction from the Present**

Although change became an undeniable outcome for the South as the 1960s carried on, loyal southerners to the Lost Cause ideology remained entrenched in preserving their region’s cultural traditions. Understanding these two conflicting forces, the *Birmingham News* chose to downplay its coverage of the Civil Rights movement while seemingly exaggerating its coverage of the Alabama football program.<sup>178</sup> In turn, this led to the discovery of the underlying theory that comprised each theme, category, and subcategory in the analysis: the *Birmingham News* framed its coverage of the Alabama Crimson Tide to provide its audience – predominantly white conservatives in the Deep South – with a reassuring distraction from the reality that Massive Resistance to integration was nearing an end. The *News* socially constructed this distraction by framing Alabama’s all-white, nationally dominant football program as symbolic confirmation to readers that their sacred traditions of the past did not necessarily need to be modified to keep pace with the rest of the nation.

---

<sup>178</sup> See Friedman & Richardson (2008), ‘A National Disgrace.’

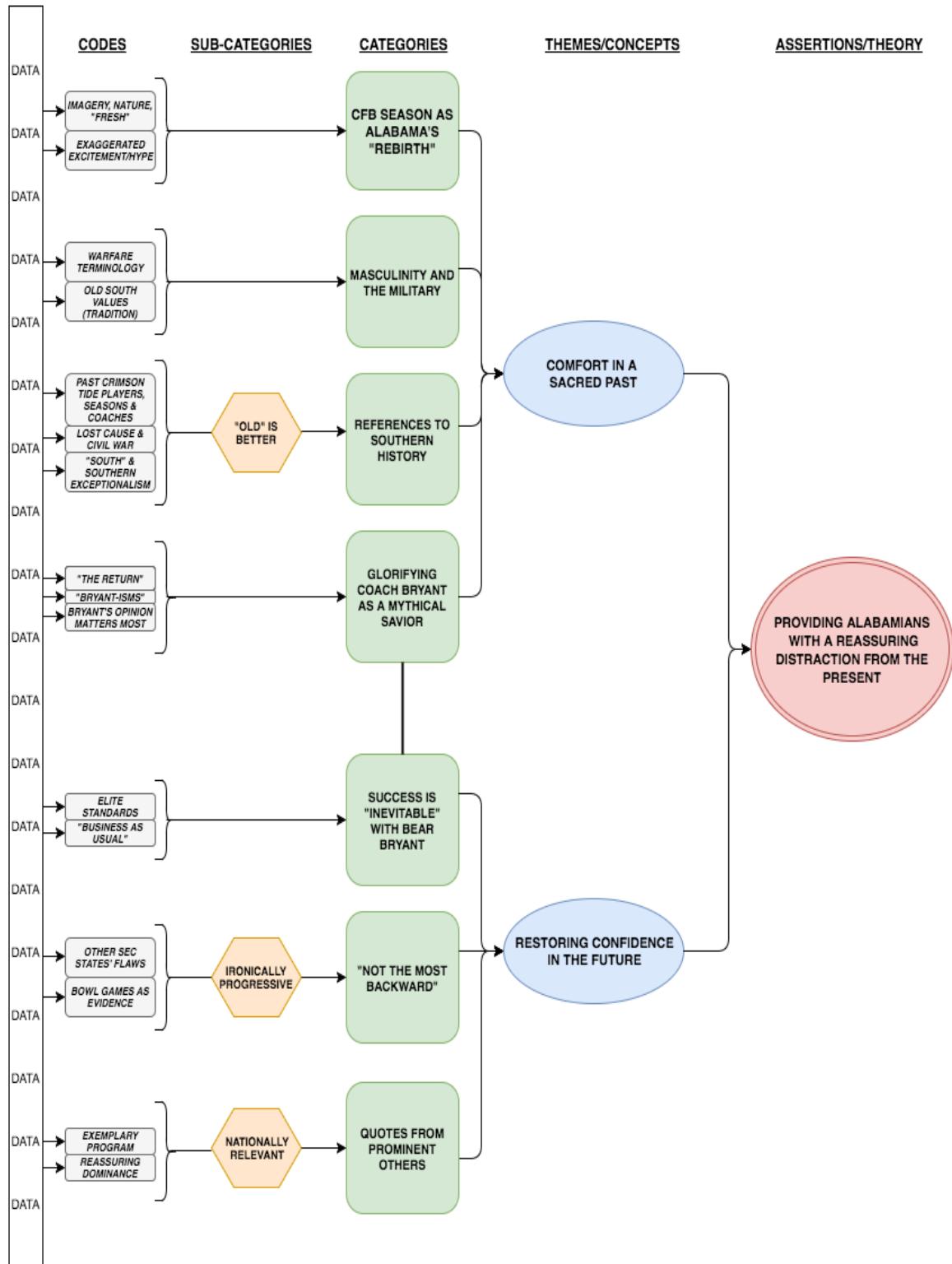


Figure 2. Coded Data Analysis. This codes-to-theory model was constructed after gathering and analyzing all of the data.<sup>179</sup>

<sup>179</sup> See note 160.

Essentially as Benny Marshall's "shadows," the *News* sportswriters – regardless of whether they believed in aiding the Lost Cause or not – used the successful tradition of Alabama football to blur the line between the past and the future in the minds of their readers:

The basics of the old game do not change. No one tricks anyone, much, or for long. The hardest-running, hardest-blocking, hardest-tackling teams win at football. Alabama is one of those, and Alabama will continue to win because it is solidly grounded, because it has many football players who give it their utmost and a little bit more.<sup>180</sup>

This coverage became the convincing evidence Alabamians needed to validate their continued resistance to any changes in their present "way of life." Moreover, I uncovered two major themes in the *News'* coverage that support this concept. The first theme focuses on the *News'* consistent framing of the Crimson Tide in the context of the South's fascination with the past. The second theme consists of the *News'* optimistic frames attached to the Crimson Tide in order to restore Alabamians' overall confidence in the future. Regardless of federal pressures to alter this southern "way of life," these readers turned to the Crimson Tide's continued dominance on the football field for reassurance that some – or at least one – of their cultural traditions would remain unaltered and thus sustainable moving forward:

It is reassuring in the changing times to find that there are some things constant, that 1963 isn't so very different from 1962 or 1961 in the way the sun comes up, the sun goes down, a pretty girl smiles and the coach of Alabama football looks at his Crimson Tide. Close to perfection is what Bryant wants.<sup>181</sup>

The analysis suggests that the *Birmingham News* recognized this conflicting dynamic among its vulnerable readers, hence framing the Crimson Tide as essentially the answer to the entire state's problems.

---

<sup>180</sup> Marshall, B. (1961, October 23). Tide kept on doing what it did best. *Birmingham News*, 11.

<sup>181</sup> Marshall, B. (1963, October 2). Interview without surprises. *Birmingham News*, 34.

**Comforting Alabamians with a sacred past.** This winning tradition thrived in sequential years for all of America to witness, despite the state's national reputation during the 1960s. The Tide's return to national dominance provided readers with the feeling that returning to their own glorified past was not just desirable, but *attainable* as well. The *Birmingham News* depicted the Tide's return to the top of the college football world in ways that represented modern progress while still honoring history. "Now, of course, there's a new tradition to go with the old," which reflected a "new generation of Crimson Tide lovers to revere. Now is born a new dynasty."<sup>182</sup> This symbolic "revival," so to speak, gave Alabamians the impression that it was possible to maintain historic traditions in any present situation, even during periods of extreme pressures to change, such as the Civil Rights movement in Birmingham.

***College football season as Alabama's "rebirth."*** One way the *News* framed this revival of the Crimson Tide's winning tradition was with imagery of the outdoors and nature to symbolize the college football season as a "fresh start" or as a "rebirth" for Alabamians. For instance, "Legion field belongs, gloriously, to the Crimson of Alabama, flaming bright in the sun on this beautiful October afternoon."<sup>183</sup> This style of writing was obvious from the very first Sunday edition analyzed when Benny Marshall confidently predicted how the Tide's offseason practices would pay off in the 1961 season: "That's how it has been, progress strong and steady, as relentless as a tide sweeping in from the sea," concluding the article with, "It should be a pleasure to behold for all the Alabama people who've learned how to enjoy Autumn again."<sup>184</sup> On the

---

<sup>182</sup> Marshall, B. (1961, December 10). New York, Northport miles apart. *Birmingham News*, C-1, C-2.

<sup>183</sup> Marshall, B. (1961, October 22). Trammell hits 13 of 19 in air. *Birmingham News*, C-1, C-2.

<sup>184</sup> Marshall, B. (1961, September 3). The Tide story- Bear's best gets set to go for Alabama. *Birmingham News*, C-2.

Tuesday after the Tide’s first regular season game (and victory) that year, Marshall referred to the annual college football season as the “Land of sunshine,” followed by the statement, “September can be a charming month in Alabama and Georgia and Mississippi and close by.”<sup>185</sup> Grouping Georgia and Mississippi with Alabama is significant in this statement because these two states border Alabama directly to the east and west, respectively. These were two of the other most historic southern states that received backlash from national media during the Freedom Rides earlier that year, as well as the wider Civil Rights movement in general. At the end of that season, Marshall wrote, “Alabama left no doubt on the balmy December Saturday which wrapped the season in a bright and sparkling package.”<sup>186</sup> Similar descriptions such as “the most beautiful, blue-skied, warm-aired day ever whipped up,”<sup>187</sup> or “A football victory always rolls out the sun again, and a reasonable degree of calm”<sup>188</sup> were found in each year of the analysis.

***Representations of masculinity/military.*** As described in the literature review, the Old South’s traditional social order not only emphasized white supremacy, but it also stressed the significance of masculinity. Because honor and chivalry were the two most endeared values of southern masculinity after the Civil War, it came as no shock when the analysis uncovered the *Birmingham News*’ consistent framing of the Tide as “old, honored and respected,”<sup>189</sup> or even beginning one article with, “Alabama Crimson Tide’s manly school for young football men...”<sup>190</sup> Phrases such as “time-honored,”<sup>191</sup> “freshly-

---

<sup>185</sup> Marshall, B. (1961, September 26). It’s too hot for football too early... *Birmingham News*, 22.

<sup>186</sup> Marshall, B. (1961, December 3). Tigers vanquished 34-0, before 54,000. *Birmingham News*, C-1, C-2.

<sup>187</sup> Marshall, B. (1962, December 2). FLASHY TIDE SWAMPS AUBURN. *Birmingham News*, C-1, C-9.

<sup>188</sup> Van Hoose, A. (1965, November 10). Forget LSU storm; It’s not serious. *Birmingham News*, 34.

<sup>189</sup> Newman, Z. (1961, September 19). Dusting ‘em off. *Birmingham News*, 13.

<sup>190</sup> Van Hoose, A. (1962, September 7). Allen, Lewis and Versprille lauded after Tide session. *Birmingham News*, 11.

<sup>191</sup> Van Hoose, A. (1962, November 11). Namath eyes three ‘Bama milestones. *Birmingham News*, C-4.

remembered,”<sup>192</sup> or “an honored redshirter,”<sup>193</sup> were frequent descriptions attached to starters from both previous seasons and the current season at the time of publishing. The Sports department further reflected this patriarchal mindset by also presenting the Tide “as fine a specimen of young backfield manhood as you’ll ever encounter,”<sup>194</sup> and humbly stating, “The Tide went down manfully”<sup>195</sup> after one of the dynasty’s few losses.

Along with physical toughness, the *News* commonly described the Tide as embodying mental toughness to signify the team’s elite level of masculinity. “Be willing to pay the price, jaw to jaw, head to head, whatever it takes to knock people out of there on offense.”<sup>196</sup> There were times when the *News* would also use these traditional values as signs of respect for opposing teams: “Try though they might – and try they did – the visitors from over the border could never get up again,” as Mississippi State “kept its honor and refused to be routed.”<sup>197</sup> After “The Big Game” that season, the newspaper reported, “Auburn didn’t yield easily, and the Tigers left no dishonor on this battleground hemmed in by more than 54,000.”<sup>198</sup>

Moreover, the *News* continuously used military references and metaphors to describe Alabama’s masculinity during the 1960s, as the “backfield comrades” and the “quick striking Tide front” successfully “blew gaps in Vandy’s charge,” comparing the display to “old-P47s.”<sup>199</sup> These “strong and steady” frames of resiliency, aggressiveness, and overall toughness – despite having less manpower – attached to the *News*’ coverage

---

<sup>192</sup> Ibid.

<sup>193</sup> Van Hoose, A. (1964, October 6). Ogden leads ‘Bama class. *Birmingham News*, 13

<sup>194</sup> Marshall, B. (1961, September 12). Butch lighted up the film at Alabama. *Birmingham News*, 11.

<sup>195</sup> Bolton, C. (1962, November 18). ‘One of the greatest.’ *Birmingham News*, C-1.

<sup>196</sup> Marshall, B. (1961, September 14). For Tide, it was good at the end. *Birmingham News*, 26.

<sup>197</sup> Marshall, B. (1961, November 5). Tide wraps up Bulldogs handily in wind and rain. *Birmingham News*, C-1, C-4.

<sup>198</sup> Marshall, B. (1961, December 3). Tigers vanquished 34-0, before 54,000. *Birmingham News*, C-1, C-2.

<sup>199</sup> Van Hoose, A. (1961, October 8). Trammell leads offensive flood. *Birmingham News*, C-1, C-5.

of “Alabama’s Big Red club” strongly resembled the South’s memorialization with the Confederacy as part of the Lost Cause.<sup>200</sup> In an article titled, “This was Bryant’s best job,” Benny Marshall wrote:

The only face the world sees is strong and tough, the jaw out, the drive to go forward compelling and deep. So you’re behind now, and it’s not going right, keep on. It will. That’s the way the Tide of 1964 played for Bryant. They learned their lessons well. Then they played follow the leader magnificently... The Alabama of 1964 not big, not fast, much-wounded and often behind, was more than anything else to me a bunch of young, Bear Bryant’s in shirts of red, insisting on success.<sup>201</sup>

Other than perhaps Benny Marshall, assistant sports editor Alf Van Hoose – a Silver Star-earning infantry captain during World War II – used these militaristic metaphors much more exuberantly than any other sportswriter identified in this study.<sup>202</sup> “Alabama’s Old Guard, and new troops, who had been unbeaten in 23 games, simply rolled up their sleeves, and rolled up their guns.”<sup>203</sup> Alabama’s “old-timely defense, slashing and cutting each unit’s attack to pieces” preserved the Lost Cause by distracting readers from the realities of modern progress during the Civil Rights movement.<sup>204</sup> These representations of the military and overall masculinity, in the minds of the *News*’ readers, framed the Alabama football teams of the 1960s as reassurance that historic traditions of the past were still sustainable in the present.

***Constant references to southern history.*** In addition to the Tide’s football season as a symbolic “rebirth” and the exaggerated portrayals of masculinity, the *Birmingham News* frequently referenced southern history in its coverage of the Alabama Crimson Tide

---

<sup>200</sup> Van Hoose, A. (1962, September 6). Namath, Kearley sparkle in ‘Bema’s first scrimmage. *Birmingham News*, 23.

<sup>201</sup> Marshall, B. (1964, December 1). This was Bryant’s best job. *Birmingham News*, 16.

<sup>202</sup> Van Hoose, A., Stephenson, C., & Mullins, E. (2009). *More Than a Game: The Best of Alf Van Hoose*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, xi.

<sup>203</sup> Van Hoose, A. (1962, October 22). Senn Spotted miscue: Tennessee scoring. *Birmingham News*, 12.

<sup>204</sup> Van Hoose, A. (1961, September 10). In practice plans- Alabama aim now Georgia. *Birmingham News*, C-1.

over the course of the textual analysis. Topics usually consisted of memorable seasons in Crimson Tide history or specific moments during the Civil War, with very few mentions of any other historical changes to Alabama's society over the years. These recollections were predominantly found in sports editor emeritus Zipp Newman's "Dusting 'em off" columns, however, the other sportswriters also took their turns basking in the Tide's previous glories in similar fashion. Alf Van Hoose seemed to make the most notable references to the Confederacy, presumably due to his military background before his time at the *Birmingham News*. Just like his symbolic descriptions of the football field as the battlefield, Van Hoose often related the Crimson Tide to specific events in the Civil War. After Alabama's victory over Florida State (FSU) in October 1965, Van Hoose symbolically linked Coach Bryant to Stonewall Jackson:

What Bryant didn't foresee, however, was that the FSU Seminole scalp his Tide stuffed into its bulging barn would be so costly in manpower. History tells us the rebel South won at Chancellorsville, slightly more than 100 years ago, but it also reveals the Grays lost key troops it couldn't replace, one of them a commander named Stonewall Jackson who appreciated a battle with the 99 per cent-planning, one per cent-praying formula Bryant uses now in a less hazardous business—but not much less.<sup>205</sup>

He also did not deter from using the term "Yankee" when writing about people or places from outside of the South. The assistant sports editor called Alabama's quarterback, Joe Namath, "The dark-haired Yankee boy,"<sup>206</sup> and once wrote how many of Miami's players were from "Yankeeland."<sup>207</sup> Additionally, in the days following "The Big Game" during the 1965 season, Van Hoose wrote, "[Quarterback Steve] Sloan led the statistical charge

---

<sup>205</sup> Van Hoose, A. (1965, September 25). Tide must now hunt new pieces. *Birmingham News*, 14.

<sup>206</sup> Van Hoose, A. (1962, November 4). Aroused Namath Sparks Tide. *Birmingham News*, C-1, C-4.

<sup>207</sup> Van Hoose, A. (1962, November 5). Battle set-up big play with little bitty one. *Birmingham News*, 14.

like a Pickett at Gettysburg, but Sloan had more success,”<sup>208</sup> calling Coach Bear Bryant “as magnanimous as Grant at Appomattox Court House, Va., a century ago.”<sup>209</sup> Labeled as “the game of the year in the South,”<sup>210</sup> Alabama’s final regular season matchup against Auburn that season was not just a regionally important game because the winner was crowned the SEC champion, but a nationally important one because the winner also had its “choice of bowl invitation.”<sup>211</sup>

Zipp Newman often wrote about Alabama’s undefeated seasons and previous Rose Bowl victories, defining the 1934 Crimson Tide as “Alabama’s greatest team in depth, brute power, passing, running, speed and punting,”<sup>212</sup> once recalling how the 1945 team set an SEC scoring record “with 396 points in nine games.”<sup>213</sup> Newman repeatedly mentioned how Alabama had “long been known as a ‘Bowl State,’”<sup>214</sup> after the Crimson Tide kept “the Rose Bowl in business, with a jarring victory over Washington in 1926, and coming back a year later to tie one of Pop Warner’s great Stanford Teams.”<sup>214</sup> Notably, “Teams” was capitalized in this quote. Newman used similar punctuation the following year, describing the 1964 Crimson Tide as possessing “the old tradition of great Alabama Teams—the will and ability to come back.”<sup>215</sup> These sportswriters frequently capitalized other, seemingly “random” words, in their articles to emphasize importance, which may or may not have reflected the times.

---

<sup>208</sup> Van Hoose, A. (1965, November 28). Finest-ever Tide offense KO’s Auburn to win SEC crown. *Birmingham News*, C-1, C-5.

<sup>209</sup> Van Hoose, A. (1965, November 29). Bryant lauds Jordan. *Birmingham News*, 14.

<sup>210</sup> Bryan, Jimmy. (1965, November 14). Bear happy to keep SEC title in state. *Birmingham News*, C-6.

<sup>211</sup> Newman, Z. (1965, November 6). Dusting ‘em off. *Birmingham News*, C-12.

<sup>212</sup> Newman, Z. (1961, December 17). Dusting ‘em off. *Birmingham News*, C-7.

<sup>213</sup> Newman, Z. (1966, September 11). Dusting ‘em off. *Birmingham News*, C-8.

<sup>214</sup> Newman, Z. (1963, December 19). Dusting ‘em off. *Birmingham News*, 55.

<sup>215</sup> Newman, Z. (1964, October 25). Dusting ‘em off. *Birmingham News*, C-12.

Interestingly, the word “old” was commonly used as a positive adjective to describe these moments in southern history as well as to describe the Alabama football program under Bear Bryant. Before Alabama had even played its first game of the 1961 season, Benny Marshall boldly argued how Georgia Tech’s postseason accomplishments in recent years “most nearly resembles those of the Old Time Crimson Tides bound for Pasadena and the Roses.”<sup>216</sup> In this article, “Old” and “Time” were capitalized, but that was not always the case in other articles. For example, assistant sports editor Jimmy Bryan described Alabama’s 1966 win over Ole Miss by writing, “It wasn’t quite old time Alabama defense like 1961, ‘62 and along in there that beat Mississippi here Saturday night, but it was defense that’s about to get as good as any Coach Paul Bryant’s had in Tuscaloosa.”<sup>217</sup> This was another example of the *News* framing the 1960s Alabama football teams as a revival of tradition, thus suggesting to readers that elements of the Lost Cause could survive any attacks on southern identity in the present.

**Glorifying coach Bear Bryant.** One of the most profound symbols of the Crimson Tide’s revival in this analysis came from how the *Birmingham News* framed Alabama’s head coach, Paul “Bear” Bryant, in its coverage of the Crimson Tide. As mentioned in the literature review, Bear Bryant played for Alabama in the 1930s and then went on to become a successful head coach at every school he went to before returning to his alma mater in 1958. The *News* glorified Bryant with almost every opportunity it could, crediting “Ole Bear” as “the restorer of Alabama’s football prestige.”<sup>218</sup> Alf Van Hoose once described Bryant’s loyalty to the Crimson Tide as “remembering the pride with

---

<sup>216</sup> Marshall, B. (1961, September 15). At G.T., talent and a trip. *Birmingham News*, 31.

<sup>217</sup> Bryan, Jimmy (1966, October 2). Defense answer again. *Birmingham News*, C-4.

<sup>218</sup> Newman, Z. (1961, October 22). Dusting ‘em off. *Birmingham News*, C-6.

which he defended.”<sup>219</sup> Furthermore, the entire Sports department portrayed Coach Bryant as the most exemplary head coach that any college football team could have throughout the entire country, not just the South. In the *News*’ first Sunday edition of September 1961, Benny Marshall described Bryant’s return to his alma mater: “The great rehabilitator has rehabilitated, the old magic is new magic, the lost has been found, the empire rebuilt.”<sup>220</sup> At the end of that regular season, Marshall facetiously added:

Coach Bryant’s inability to walk on water has never bothered me, or him. But the one, large, unalterable fact of the Alabama football story continues this. One change was made, Bryant, a great coach, was it. What has happened is history.<sup>221</sup>

Each sportswriter could not write enough about Coach Bryant’s ability to revive the Crimson Tide winning tradition, ultimately positioning Bryant as a mythical symbol of Alabama’s sacred football tradition. The *News* seemed to recognize how the consistent descriptions that placed Bryant a step ahead of anyone else in the state may have contributed to an intimidating stereotype. Sportswriters would often bring Coach Bryant “back to life,” in essence, by characterizing him as anyone else in Alabama:

He rides in the same seat on the bus on the way from hotels to games, likes the same hat, and insists even on sitting at the same stool in Tuscaloosa’s Stafford Hotel when he drops in for early-morning coffee. The time for changes in this program are when Alabama isn’t doing well.<sup>222</sup>

Almost resembling ancient folklore, the Sports department consistently framed Coach Bryant on a different level than any other coach, player, team, or conference, for that matter, during the Civil Rights movement.

**Restoring Alabamians with optimism moving forward.** In a comparable way to their region’s admiration for honoring “how things used to be” after the Civil War,

---

<sup>219</sup> Van Hoose, A. (1966, November 9). Bama ends regain Bryant pride. *Birmingham News*, 34.

<sup>220</sup> Marshall, B. (1961, September 3). The Tide story- Bear’s best gets set to go for Alabama. *Birmingham News*, C-2.

<sup>221</sup> Marshall, B. (1961, December 5). It didn’t take long for Bryant. *Birmingham News*, 28.

<sup>222</sup> Marshall, B. (1964, December 7). Tide goes into bowl routine. *Birmingham News*, 15.

Alabamians longed for “Dixie’s Football Pride” to honor its regional duty and return to America’s elite tier of college football programs. In the two decades after World War II, the sportswriters often wrote how “no one wanted Alabama football tickets desperately, and athletic budgets got no help from Alabama games. All this changed in 1958,”<sup>223</sup> when Bear Bryant returned to the Capstone.<sup>224</sup>

By continually referring to Alabama football with an exaggerated level of mystique, the *Birmingham News* was able to frame the Crimson Tide’s dominance in the 1960s as affirmation that one of Alabama’s sacred traditions of the past had not only been revived, but that it was *sustainable* in the future. Another subtle example came before the Tide’s 1966 game against the Louisiana State Tigers: “If you believe history repeats itself and if you’re an Alabama fan, you’ll be heartened to know that in the last three previous meetings between Alabama and LSU the winner has gone on to win a national championship.”<sup>225</sup> This concept is similar to the first concept, in the sense that the *News* placed a heavy significance on referring the past when covering the Tide. The difference here is that instead of framing the past/historic traditions as revived in the present, these categories went a step further and initiated a sense of security among readers in the years moving forward.

***Success is “inevitable” with Bear Bryant.*** In addition to framing Coach Bryant’s return as symbolizing the reappearance of a glorified past, the *Birmingham News* also framed the Bear as a progressive symbol for Alabama’s future. Some articles were so high praising of the Coach that they almost advised readers to follow Bryant’s philosophy

---

<sup>223</sup> Marshall, B. (1965, December 19). Nothing at all was changed... *Birmingham News*, C-1.

<sup>224</sup> “Capstone,” or “the Capstone” is still a statewide nickname for the University of Alabama.

<sup>225</sup> Bolton, C. (1966, November 6). Will history repeat itself? *Birmingham News*, C-5.

in all facets of life, not just sports. One particular excerpt found in the analysis came right before the beginning of the 1966 season:

To win like Alabama and Bryant have won involves endless hours of preparation, attention to smallest detail, but more than anything else the belief by all of them there that success IS important, and that the man who works hardest to achieve it will get there, on a football field as in a classroom. Half-trying never got anything done. This is the Bryant System, reduced to its simplest. If the young men who play the game in 1966 believe it like all the other winners who have gone before them in the years since the Bear came from Texas and struck gold, don't waste any time worrying about the team which goes out together for the first time Saturday night at Legion Field against Louisiana Tech. My personal belief is that they are convinced.<sup>226</sup>

Recalling this study's first Sunday edition analyzed, the *News* symbolically combined two traditions of the past to restore its audience's overall confidence in the future. Benny Marshall discussed both the older tradition of Alabama football and the "newer" tradition of Bear Bryant by proclaiming "The history of both suggested that winning was inevitable when Alabama football and Paul Bryant got together in 1958. It has been so."<sup>227</sup> In a similarly bold instance before the start of the 1963 season, Marshall wrote, "It's part of the price of winning, and winning, and winning. Losing becomes off-limits. Defeat is marked, 'It can't happen here,'" concluding the article with, "and why in heaven's name can't a coach spend just one little old year rebuilding? The answer is, maybe he could if his name wasn't Bryant, and the team wasn't Alabama."<sup>228</sup> The sportswriters supported this claim through their constant descriptions of Bryant's worry that fostered an almost unmatched work ethic. "Bryant traditionally fears the worst before most games, and says so. His legion of followers smile knowingly and say, 'Ole

---

<sup>226</sup> Marshall, B. (1966, September 22). Most of all, he's a football coach. *Birmingham News*, 37, 42.

<sup>227</sup> Marshall, B. (1961, September 3). The Tide story- Bear's best gets set to go for Alabama. *Birmingham News*, C-2.

<sup>228</sup> Marshall, B. (1963, September 15). Injuries worrying Bryant... *Birmingham News*, C-1.

Bear's crying again, so we're gonna win big.”<sup>229</sup> In a similar example, Benny Marshall wrote:

As sure as the sun will come bursting out of that ocean in the morning, as certain as the separation of a sucker and his money at a dog track, as inevitably as the headaches New Year's morn will bring, Paul Bryant will worry about a football game almost as hard as he works for one.<sup>230</sup>

Coach Bryant's constant drive for success was repeatedly discussed at every part of each season. The paper's exaggerated descriptions of Bryant, both on and off the field, only added to his prestige: “He'd win running a bank, or an insurance company, like he wins with a football team, for second place is not nearly good enough.”<sup>231</sup> These elite labels attached to The Bear prided readers with a sense of optimism in the near future, despite the perceived whirlwind of changes coming soon to the state of Alabama and the rest of the Deep South during the 1960s.

“**Not the most backward.**” Another way the *News* attempted to restore its readers with confidence was by framing the Crimson Tide's success as evidence that Alabama was “not the worst” or “not the most backward” southern state. It was common to find the sportswriters take shots at other southern states to deflect readers' anxieties and insecurities away, at least temporarily. “But this Sunday's a good time for reminding all around here that the champion of All-Star season must be the state of Alabama.”<sup>232</sup> These frames were found especially when covering matchups with the University of Mississippi (Ole Miss) Mississippi State University, and Mississippi Southern College.<sup>233</sup> “It used to be a joke among border Alabamians,” wrote Alf Van Hoose in 1961, that “Mississippi

---

<sup>229</sup> Bolton, C. (1965, October 14). Thoughts before T-Day. *Birmingham News*, 37.

<sup>230</sup> Marshall, B. (1964, December 16). Work on, now Bear will worry. *Birmingham News*, 7.

<sup>231</sup> Marshall, B. (1962, December 30). Bear ‘not prepared to end it.’ *Birmingham News*, C-1.

<sup>232</sup> Marshall, B. (1962, December 16). All-Star champions, that's us. *Birmingham News*, C-1.

<sup>233</sup> Mississippi Southern College became known as the University of Southern Mississippi in February 1962. See The University of Southern Mississippi. (2016). Historical Timeline: University milestones and campus development by decade. Retrieved from <https://www.usm.edu/about/historical-timeline#1960>

waited until 47 states had built roads to start its own.”<sup>234</sup> This was presumably because these Mississippi schools were located in the only other state that rivaled Alabama’s racial violence during the Civil Rights movement: “[Ole Miss head coach] Vaughn and his athletic director Tad Smith have problems in political back rooms. And you need hardly to be reminded of what they are.”<sup>235</sup> In another instance, the opening sentence in one of Benny Marshall’s 1966 articles read, “In some of the more backward areas of the United States of Football, it might be impossible to speak of Alabama, national championships and Southern Mississippi in the same sentence.”<sup>236</sup>

The *News* also framed the Crimson Tide’s success as evidence that Alabama was not the most backward southern state by overemphasizing the Tide’s winning seasons, its facilities, or the surrounding cities in which the team played and practiced in. In 1963, Mobile, Alabama, a city located in the southwest corner of the state, was criticized for not allowing African-American players to compete in its annual Senior Bowl. Coming to the city’s defense, Benny Marshall wrote, “Among Southern cities, Mobile may be the most integrated of any and at the same time the most aware of its own traditions,” adding:

This is Alabama, but it isn’t. The City of Mobile was old long ago and somehow the touch of other-worldliness lingers, though behind it is an efficient forward march. Buildings go up, and profits, and population. Quietly does it, as far as Mobile is concerned, and the loud voices of extremists on either side of any question have not been raised often here... There are Negro policemen and bus drivers and open golf courses, and eight years ago the Detroit Lions brought Negro football players to Ladd Stadium for an exhibition game with the Washington Redskins. Others followed.<sup>237</sup>

The following year, the University of Alabama traveled to Mobile to play a regular season game against Tulane University. Though he acknowledged its Civil War history,

---

<sup>234</sup> Van Hoose, A. (1961, September 22). Jackson’s jumping as it hasn’t in 98 years. *Birmingham News*, 23.

<sup>235</sup> Van Hoose, A. (1963, November 18). Subject is bowls... and who’ll get there. *Birmingham News*, 12.

<sup>236</sup> Marshall, B. (1966, November 25). Toughest test for the Tide. *Birmingham News*, 21.

<sup>237</sup> Marshall, B. (1963, November 21). Mobile line of march... is forward. *Birmingham News*, 42.

Alf Van Hoose portrayed the city as almost a modern source of pride for the state of Alabama and the rest of the Deep South:

This ancient old city didn't tear down another of its many flags until three days after Robert E. Lee did up in faraway Virginia. There are those who say now that flag is back in style. But the flags one mostly sees from a high Admiral Semmes window have more stars than the other one—and this is good. Mobile is a very progressive city, old and wise.<sup>238</sup>

Both sportswriters' styles here, framing Alabama's history in an ironically progressive way, were one this study's most interesting discoveries. Van Hoose concluding his 1964 article with, "The industry attracting most attention around here today is this football business," which was a commonality found in most of the Sports department's depictions of the past.<sup>239</sup>

Unsurprisingly, the sportswriters most frequently elevated Birmingham to an exaggerated significance more than any other city in Alabama. Zipp Newman and Benny Marshall consistently referred to Birmingham as "the capital of Southern football,"<sup>240</sup> or the "Football Capital Of The South."<sup>241</sup> In the fall of 1961, sports editor Marshall called the additions to Legion Field, "Ten thousand, 400 seats worth of progress and improvement."<sup>242</sup> Marshall repeatedly framed Birmingham in this way using descriptions such as "a good example of how things are,"<sup>243</sup> and, most notably, how the city "manages to be beautiful, even in the rain, to a traveler coming home. For me, Birmingham is best now and forevermore."<sup>244</sup> It was also interesting to note how the *News* covered the Crimson Tide in the weeks following the bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church in

---

<sup>238</sup> Van Hoose, A. (1964, September 25). Happy, bustling Mobile has those memories... *Birmingham News*, 14.

<sup>239</sup> Ibid.

<sup>240</sup> Newman, Z. (1963, September 18). Dusting 'em off. *Birmingham News*, 10.

<sup>241</sup> Marshall, B. (1964, October 5). Tide got hot; must get hotter. *Birmingham News*, 11.

<sup>242</sup> Marshall, B. (1961, October 6). Our stadium big league, absolutely! *Birmingham News*, 16.

<sup>243</sup> Marshall, B. (1961, December 17). Bryant ready to worry. *Birmingham News*, C-1.

<sup>244</sup> Marshall, B. (1961, December 12). And the pace stays hectic... *Birmingham News*, 36.

September of 1963. The day after the bombing, Benny Marshall wrote, “In the life-goes-on-as-usual world, numbers of people were playing games at numbers of places on the Sunday before this Monday, and that's why they print sport pages.”<sup>245</sup> Almost exactly two months later, after the season had ended and Alabama was preparing for its bowl game, Marshall wrote, “Considering outside pressures, injuries, what not, the season of 1963 might have been Bryant's greatest coaching performances ever.”<sup>246</sup> This, “See, we *ARE* progressing” mentality deceived readers into thinking that their “way of life” did not need to be altered in the future, thus defending the Lost Cause.

***Quotes from prominent others.*** The paper’s Crimson Tide propaganda during the 1960s was further made possible using statements from well-known coaches, players, school officials, and so forth, from around the country. These quotes served as the sportswriters’ rationales for their exaggerated, overtly biased coverage of the Tide. Bud Wilkinson, Oklahoma’s legendary head coach once said, “We try to play defense exactly like Alabama. Could we find a better model?”<sup>247</sup> In 1962, Mississippi State head coach Wade Walker was quoted, “Everyone knows, of course, that Alabama’s a real, real good football team. They’re just as good as they always have been, and probably better, if possible.”<sup>248</sup> These types of statements embodied this concept of the *News* marching towards the future with Alabama’s sacred traditions intact.

It was interesting, on the other hand, when the sportswriters would quote sources with negative statements about the Alabama football teams. For instance, Marshall quoted Shirley Povich of the Washington Post in October 1962: “The U of Alabama,

---

<sup>245</sup> Marshall, B. (1963, September 16). And the bands played on. *Birmingham News*, 11.

<sup>246</sup> Marshall, B. (1963, December 17). Two Tide defenders looked on. *Birmingham News*, 27.

<sup>247</sup> Van Hoose, A. (1962, November 26). Bama has disciples in winning Oklahoma. *Birmingham News*, 12.

<sup>248</sup> Marshall, B. (1961, November 1). It’s tough stretch grind for Walker. *Birmingham News*, 34.

even if it completes an unbeaten season, will suffer in the national football rankings because of its refusal to play integrated teams on its all-white schedule.”<sup>249</sup> The interesting part here is how the sports editor, Benny Marshall, whom his colleagues are supposed to turn to for advice and guidance, responded to Povich’s accusations:

Povich is out on a pseudo-liberal limb and doesn’t know what he’s talking about. He might consult the rankings of 1961 for some backgrounding. Alabama was national champion and might be again if the Tide handles Mississippi State, Miami, Georgia Tech and Auburn.<sup>250</sup>

As the sports editor, especially during times of local crises, Marshall’s colleagues most likely turned to him for guidance and advice on the job. Three days after his rant, assistant sports editor Alf Van Hoose took his shots at LSU’s Athletic Director, Jim Corbett for being “a consistent disturber of the old order.” Van Hoose further labeled Corbett as “a liberal, maybe a progressive liberal,” in the SEC’s “archly-conservative legislative circles,” as if the Deep South could not fathom someone in Corbett’s position thinking in such ways.<sup>251</sup> Although these outbursts did not happen very often, I do feel it is relevant to the analysis because it offers a hint at what went on behind closed doors. It suggests the Sports department’s mindset, at least in 1962 during James Meredith’s integration of Ole Miss, and leads one to wonder what stories were never published.

---

<sup>249</sup> Marshall, B. (1962, October 30). A shutout streak for Rebs. *Birmingham News*, 14.

<sup>250</sup> Ibid.

<sup>251</sup> Van Hoose, A. (1962, November 2). State is place where every sport boosted. *Birmingham News*, 17.

## Chapter Five: Discussion & Conclusion

“Alabama gets more publicity losing than most teams get winning.”

-*Birmingham News* sports editor emeritus, Zipp Newman<sup>252</sup>

It is important to remember how the South began memorializing the Confederacy’s “valiant efforts” and “brave defense” of the region in the years following its defeat in the Civil War. By falsely honoring its history in such a high regard, the South socially constructed the Myth of the Lost Cause – identified in this study as simply the Lost Cause – as a coping mechanism to rationalize its continued efforts to resist modern progress. Focusing on preserving as much of the Old South’s cultural traditions as possible, southerners essentially became “distracted” from the fact that they had to deal with the present realities of change. This distraction primarily came from the South’s strict maintenance of its traditional social order – white supremacy through legalized racial segregation – into the first half of the twentieth century, a crucial aspect of the Lost Cause. As Summer Vinson notes,

The Myth of the Lost Cause, at the junction of history and memory, was much more about what individuals wanted to believe than whatever actually existed. In ignoring African-Americans as members of the white sociocultural community, these men were also perpetuating a racism that denied the African-American place in southern culture. This covert racism not only whitewashed blacks from southern culture but also romanticized the Lost Cause of the Confederacy in a way that demeaned everything violent and oppressive about that past for African-Americans.<sup>253</sup>

It became increasingly apparent this social order was headed for destruction once the Deep South became a global embarrassment to the rest of the United States in the 1960s. In a very similar fashion to how their ancestors dealt with losing the Civil War,

---

<sup>252</sup> As quoted in Bolton, C. (1965, October 21). Texas and Tide again? *Birmingham News*, 21.

<sup>253</sup> Vinson, S. H. (2011). *Whitewashing Southern Living: the sociocultural significance of the 1966 magazine launch in Birmingham, Alabama*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Missouri, 11.

southerners were forced to cope with external pressures to alter their region’s “way of life” following *Brown v. Board* a century later. The South *again* faced the inconceivable reality of not only dealing with defeat but also the internal conflict between what its citizens “wanted to believe,” and “whatever actually existed.”<sup>254</sup>

It was interesting how closely that last sentence (an excerpt from Vinson’s dissertation) applies to the *Birmingham News’* coverage of the Crimson Tide during the Civil Rights movement. Similar to the original Lost Cause ideology, the *News* used exaggerated frames that occasionally bordered delusional propaganda to convince readers that one of their sacred traditions had indeed been revived. However, the difference between the original Lost Cause of the Confederacy and the *News’* framing of the Crimson Tide is the disparity between what Alabamians “wanted to believe” and “whatever actually existed” in terms of how the Tide was framed. In the original Lost Cause ideology, the difference between perception and reality was huge—southerners had an over exaggerated perception of the past that kept straying further and further away from reality as the years went on. This “dream” of one day returning to a simpler time, just as their ancestors had lived, without any trouble from their “Yankee” neighbors, became less likely in each generation. Benny Marshall’s Sports department seemingly took these same types of exaggerated representations and attached them to its coverage of the Crimson Tide. In this realm, the *News’* frames of the Tide’s winning tradition panned out—Alabamians experienced actual evidence of a glorified past being revived right in front of their eyes. This memory of the romanticized Alabama teams of the 1920s, 30s, and 40s was alive again, effectively providing readers with a distraction from the present.

---

<sup>254</sup> Ibid.

## Reflection

This entire study was beyond fascinating to me. I had some background on southern history after the Civil War and Bear Bryant's national championship runs, but I was largely unaware of their connection with one another until I began my literature review. I really liked learning how one, simple college football game rejuvenated an entire region, which helps explain why college football in today's society is still such a big deal below the Mason-Dixon line. To me, the most difficult part about this thesis was fighting the urge to investigate parts of the research that did not necessarily pertain to the overarching research question. I have always been intrigued by sports history in general, so when topics like Jackie Robinson and UCLA's "Black Bruins" came up while conducting the secondary research, my curiosity would often get the best of me.<sup>255</sup>

One part of the primary research that particularly stood out to me was discovering the annual college football All-Star games at the end of each season. The Senior Bowl in Mobile, the Blue-Gray Football Classic in Montgomery, and the North-South Shrine Bowl in Miami, Florida were all essentially reenactments of the Civil War. Each game was separated between northern and southern states, and the *News* covered it with a Confederate tone:

The town that co-captained the loser in the Civil War of sometime back was preparing a 24th spectacle today to show 30 million, plus probably 22,000, that what happened a century ago just wasn't so. The war will be contested with a football Saturday, in aging Cramton Bowl<sup>256</sup> at 1 p.m. with the playing of the Blue-Gray football game for the 24th time.<sup>257</sup>

Another article published in the Sports section that was not relevant enough to be included in the analysis was titled "Montgomery QBs cheer state's men-of-the-hour" by

---

<sup>255</sup> See Demas, "Beyond Jackie Robinson."

<sup>256</sup> Cramton Bowl is the name of the stadium in Montgomery.

<sup>257</sup> Martin, Jim. (1961, December 29). Yank forces pick in Blue-Gray bout. *Birmingham News*, 6-7.

*News* writer Ted Pearson. Pearson, who was not part of Marshall's Sports department, discussed Alabama's two most prominent individuals in December 1962—Bear Bryant and George Wallace. "They, themselves, talk routinely about boxing and football and what a great future the state has—while everybody else goes slightly ga-ga."<sup>258</sup> Though one led the state backward while other led it forward, both of these men were national symbols of Alabama tradition in the 1960s. This was one of the only articles I read that clearly brought the political and sports worlds together, which I learned was something very unusual for the time.

### **Limitations**

Though I have numerous secondary sources confirming that the *Birmingham News* and the Crimson Tide were the dominant players in Alabama and the Deep South, respectively, choosing only these two does create a ceiling for this study's contributions to academia. What about other newspapers in Alabama? What about other teams in the Deep South? Was there this much of a connection at other SEC schools with their respective newspapers? Also, this study may create the illusion that states in other regions of the United States did not participate in racial isolation before and after the Civil War. This may skew some of the data because there was still a hegemonic structure of white supremacy in northern states during this time; it was just more covert in nature.

One glaring limitation of this study is that I was the only person who conducted the textual analysis. Not one portion of the analysis was performed by another researcher, so one could argue that an unintended, personal bias may exist somewhere in the study. An argument could be made that I stayed "too close to the text" when I

---

<sup>258</sup> Pearson, T. (1962, December 11). Montgomery QBs cheer state's men-of-the-hour. *Birmingham News*, 20.

gathered all the data, which Fürsich suggests has three possible outcomes. My analysis could have established “a causality between production and text,” it could have lost track of important context, or it may have defined media frames “without considering the power relationships that made them possible.”<sup>259</sup> As I said, however, I will have no way of knowing if these outcomes occurred until this study is peer edited by scholarly sources in sports history and sports journalism academia.

Another limitation is that I come from a middle/upper-class, white background and I do not want to be viewed as a “white savior,” as if I am trying to help an entire race that has suffered through centuries of prejudice and isolation. All I would like to do is peel back the layers of racial exclusion in the South and provide a distinct angle on why a war fought over 150 years ago still has implications on today’s society. This concept of southern identity, as such a regional distinction from the rest of the United States, is intriguing because it still exists today. Hence, there is no way to fully understand southern history without identifying how the region has dealt with defeat in both the Civil War and the Civil Rights movement. By examining the evolution of southern college football, specifically at the University of Alabama, I hope to add scholarship on gauging racial progress over different time periods in America’s past.

## **Future Studies**

It would not be until the early 1970s that the University of Alabama would desegregate its football program. Wilbur Jackson and John Mitchell saw the field during the 1971 season, paving the way for Bear Bryant and his staff to begin actively recruiting

---

<sup>259</sup> Fürsich, “In Defense of Textual Analysis,” 242, 248.

other African-Americans.<sup>260</sup> Coach Bryant's second dynastic run as Alabama's head coach began two years later when the Tide captured three national championships between 1973 and 1979.<sup>261</sup> This time, though, Bryant's program accomplished this by defying the Old South's traditional social order. I would suggest conducting a constant comparative analysis on how the *Birmingham News* framed its coverage of both dynasties, a decade apart. It might be beneficial to also examine the *News'* Editorial section in the next study to hopefully uncover more concrete evidence of what the *Birmingham News* thought about the integration of "Dixie's Football Pride." Did the executives support or reject this new phenomenon? How did the perception of Bear Bryant change once Jackson and Mitchell stepped on the field? Which "Letters to the Editor" did the *News* publish? My best guess is that the *News* initially attempted to downplay its coverage of the newly recruited African-American players, similar to its stance on the Civil Rights movement a decade before.

---

<sup>260</sup> Frederick, J. (2008). Career in Crisis: Paul "Bear" Bryant and the 1971 Season of Change, by John David Briley (Book Review). *Alabama Review*, 61(1), 61–62.

<sup>261</sup> See Note 106.

## References

### Primary Sources

- Townsend, V. (Ed.). (1961, September 1 - 1961, December 31). *Birmingham News*.
- Townsend, V. (Ed.). (1962, September 1 - 1962, December 31). *Birmingham News*.
- Townsend, V. (Ed.). (1963, September 1 - 1963, December 31). *Birmingham News*.
- Townsend, V. (Ed.). (1964, September 1 - 1964, December 31). *Birmingham News*.
- Townsend, V. (Ed.). (1965, September 1 - 1965, December 31). *Birmingham News*.
- Townsend, V. (Ed.). (1966, September 1 - 1966, December 31). *Birmingham News*.

### Secondary Sources

- Aiello, T. (2010). The Heritage Fallacy: Race, Loyalty, and the First Grambling-Southern Football Game. *History of Education Quarterly*, 50(4), 488–512.
- Alliance for Audited Media. (2016). Media Intelligence Center. Retrieved from <http://abcas3.auditedmedia.com.proxy.mul.missouri.edu/MICenter/Home/Index?s=6e730d16-bf74-4a55-aac1-81cdf71ece72#3>
- Anderson, S. W. (2008). The Past on Trial: Birmingham, the Bombing, and Restorative Justice. *California Law Review*, 96(2), 471–504.
- Anderson, S.W. (2008). *The Past on Trial: The Sixteenth Street Baptist Church Bombing, Civil Rights Memory and the Remaking of Birmingham*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
- Bain-Selbo, E. (2009). *Game Day and God: Football, Faith, and Politics in the American South*. Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press.
- Barnhart, T. (2008). *Southern Fried Football: The History, Passion, and Glory of the Great Southern Game*. Chicago: Triumph Books.
- Barra, A. (2004). Chapter 3: Three Pieces about Bear Bryant And One about Vince Lombardi. In *Big Play: Barra on Football* (pp. 31–49). Washington, DC: Potomac Books, Inc.
- Borucki, W. (2003). “You’re Dixie’s Football Pride”: American College Football and the Resurgence of Southern Identity. *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, 10, 477–494.
- Boylan, J. (1963). Birmingham: newspapers in a crisis. *Columbia Journalism Review*. Retrieved from [http://www.cjr.org/fiftieth\\_anniversary/birmingham\\_newspapers\\_in\\_a\\_cri.php](http://www.cjr.org/fiftieth_anniversary/birmingham_newspapers_in_a_cri.php)

- Broussard, J. C., & Paul, N. (2014). Ollie Stewart: An African American Looking at American Politics, Society and Culture. *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, 6(8), 228–246.
- Brownfeld, A. C. (1967). The Crisis of Southern Identity. *The North American Review*, 252(6), 23–26.
- Butterworth, M. L. (2013). The Passion of the Tebow: Sports Media and Heroic Language in the Tragic Frame. *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 30(1), 17–33.
- Carter, L. J. (1968). George C. Wallace: He's Not Just Whistling Dixie. *Science*, 162(3852), 436–440.
- Catsam, D. (2009). "Sic ‘Em, White Folks!": Football, Massive Resistance, and the Integration of Ole Miss." *Sport History Review*, 40(1), 82–98.
- Chesterton, G. K. (1908). *Orthodoxy*. New York: John Lane Company.
- Civil Rights Digital Library, & Digital Library of Georgia. (2016, October 22). John F. Kennedy's assassination. Retrieved from [http://crdl.usg.edu/events/jfk\\_assassination/](http://crdl.usg.edu/events/jfk_assassination/)
- Civil Rights Digital Library, & Digital Library of Georgia. (2016, October 22). Martin Luther King, Jr.'s Nobel Prize. Retrieved from [http://crdl.usg.edu/events/mlk\\_nobel\\_prize/](http://crdl.usg.edu/events/mlk_nobel_prize/)
- Clabaugh, J. P. (1993). Reporting the Rage: An Analysis of Newspaper Coverage of the Freedom Rides of May, 1961. *Southern Historian*, 14, 41–55.
- Cobb, J. C. (2005). *The Brown Decision, Jim Crow, and Southern Identity*. Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press.
- Cohn, A. (2006). *The Past in the Present: The Civil Rights Images of the Birmingham News*. Master's project, University of Missouri.
- Cornish, A. (2013, June 18). How The Civil Rights Movement Was Covered In Birmingham. *National Public Radio*. Retrieved from <http://www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2013/06/18/193128475/how-the-civil-rights-movement-was-covered-in-birmingham>
- Cox, T. H. (1997). From Centerpiece to Center Stage: Kelly Ingram Park, Segregation, and Civil Rights in Birmingham, Alabama. *Southern Historian*, 18, 5–28.
- Demas, L. (2007). Beyond Jackie Robinson: Racial Integration in American College Football and New Directions in Sport History. *History Compass*, 5(2), 675–690.

- Doeden, M. (2015). *The College Football Championship: The Fight for the Top Spot*. Minneapolis: Lerner Publishing Group.
- Dorsey, M. W. P. (2010). *Speak Truth to Power: The Story of Charles Patrick, a Civil Rights Pioneer*. Tuscaloosa, AL: The University of Alabama Press.
- Doyle, A. (1994). “Causes Won, Not Lost”: College Football and the Modernization of the American South. *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 11(2), 231–251.
- Doyle, A. (1996). Bear Bryant: Symbol for an Embattled South. *Colby Quarterly*, 32(1), 72–86.
- Doyle, A. (1997). Foolish and Useless Sport: The Southern Evangelical Crusade Against Intercollegiate Football. *Journal of Sport History*, 24(3), 317–340.
- Doyle, A. (2002). Turning the Tide: College Football and Southern Progressivism. In P. B. Miller (Ed.), *The Sporting World of the Modern South* (pp. 28–51). Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Drabble, J. (2008). The FBI, COINTELPRO-WHITE HATE, and the Decline of Ku Klux Klan Organizations in Alabama, 1964-1971. *Alabama Review*, 61(1), 3–47.
- Dunnivant, K. (2005). *Coach: The Life of Paul “Bear” Bryant*. New York: St. Martin’s Press.
- Eckelmann, S. (2013, May 26). Freedom Rides. *Encyclopedia of Alabama*. Retrieved from <http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-1605>
- Eicher, D. J. (2008, January). Confederacy- Information, Summary and Articles about the Confederate States during the American Civil War. *Civil War Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.historynet.com/confederacy>
- Eskew, G. T. (1996). The Freedom Ride Riot and Political Reform in Birmingham, 1961-1963. *The Alabama Review*, 49(3), 181–220.
- Egerton, D. R. (1996). Markets Without A Market Revolution: Southern Planters and Capitalism. *Journal of the Early Republic*, 16(2), 207–221.
- Flowers, R. D. (2009). Institutionalized Hypocrisy: The Myth of Intercollegiate Athletics. *American Educational History Journal*, 36(2), 343–360.
- Foster, J. (2012). Stigma Cities: Birmingham, Alabama and Las Vegas, Nevada in the National Media, 1945-2000. *Psi Sigma Siren*, 3(1), 1–36.

- Fox, L. A. (2010). *Cracking the Closed Society: James W. Silver and the Civil Rights Movement in Mississippi*. Master's thesis, University of North Texas.
- Frederick, J. (2008). Career in Crisis: Paul "Bear" Bryant and the 1971 Season of Change, by John David Briley (Book Review). *Alabama Review*, 61(1), 61–62.
- Friedman, B. G., & Richardson, J. D. (2008). "A National Disgrace": Newspaper Coverage of the 1963 Birmingham Campaign in the South and Beyond. *Journalism History*, 33(4), 224–232.
- Fürsich, E. (2009). In Defense of Textual Analysis: Restoring a Challenged Method for Journalism and Media Studies. *Journalism Studies*, 10(2), 238–252.
- Genovese, E. D. (2000). The Chivalric Tradition in the Old South. *The Sewanee Review*, 108(2), 188–205.
- Gill, S. K. (2012). Recalling a Difficult Past: Whites' Memories of Birmingham. *Sociological Inquiry*, 82(1), 29–48.
- Gillum, R. (1992). Coach Bryant and the Years of Crisis, 1969-1970. *The Southern Historian*, 13, 67–70.
- Goldfield, D. (2013). *Still Fighting the Civil War: The American South and Southern History*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.
- Grimes, M. B. (1985). *The Last Linotype: The Story of Georgia and Its Newspapers Since World War II*. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press.
- Hanson, Jr., C. B. (1967). *The Story of The Birmingham News: A Good Newspaper*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Hawkins, B. (1995). The Black Student Athlete: The Colonized Black Body. *Journal of African American Men*, 1(3), 23–35.
- HistoryNet. (n.d.). Confederacy: Information, Summary and Articles about the Confederate States during the American Civil War. Retrieved from <http://www.historynet.com/confederacy>
- Horton, J. O., & Moresi, M. G. (2001). Roberts, Plessy, and Brown: The Long Hard Struggle Against Segregation. *OAH Magazine of History*, 19(2), 14–16.
- Jeter-Bennett, G. (2016). *We Are Going Too! The Children of the Birmingham Civil Rights Movement*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Ohio State University.
- Johnson Publishing Company. (2000, December). This Week In Black History. *Jet*, 19.

- Kessler, B. (2012). *White, Black, and Blue: The Battle Over Black Police, Professionalization, and Police Brutality in Birmingham, Alabama, 1963-1979*. Master's thesis, Virginia Commonwealth University.
- Kinshasa, K. M. (2006). An Appraisal of Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka KS. (1954) and the Montgomery Bus Boycott. *The Western Journal of Black Studies*, 30(4), 16–23.
- Kulaszewicz, K. E. (2015). Racism and the Media: A Textual Analysis. *Master of Social Work Clinical Research Papers*. Paper 477, 1–45.
- LBJ Presidential Library. (2003, September 7). On This Day in History: September. Retrieved from <http://www.lbjlibrary.net/collections/on-this-day-in-history/september.html>
- LBJ Presidential Library. (2003, September 7). On This Day in History: October. Retrieved from <http://www.lbjlibrary.net/collections/on-this-day-in-history/october.html>
- LBJ Presidential Library. (2003, September 7). On This Day in History: November. Retrieved from <http://www.lbjlibrary.net/collections/on-this-day-in-history/november.html>
- LBJ Presidential Library. (2003, September 7). On This Day in History: December. Retrieved from <http://www.lbjlibrary.net/collections/on-this-day-in-history/december.html>
- Lynch, S., & Peer, L. (2002). Analyzing Newspaper Content: A How-To Guide. Retrieved from <https://www.wvdhhr.org/bphtraining/courses/cdcynergy/content/activeinformation/resources/NewspaperContentAnalysis.pdf>
- MacKethan, L. H. (1983). Second Only to the First: Two Sides of Honor in the Old South. *The Southern Literary Journal*, 16(1), 113–122.
- Mandle, J. R. (1991). Continuity and Change: The Use of Black Labor After the Civil War. *Journal of Black Studies*, 21(4), 414–427.
- Martin, C. H. (1997). Integrating New Year's Day: The Racial Politics of College Bowl Games in the American South. *Journal of Sport History*, 24(3), 358–377.
- Maxwell, A. (2009) The Doctrine of Interposition: James J. Kilpatrick and the Radicalization of Virginia and the South. *Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Hotel Intercontinental, (New Orleans)*, 1-32.

- May, V. (2012). "Planes Don't Fly North": College Football Recruiting and the Oppositional South. *Studies in Popular Culture*, 34(2), 49–71.
- McCain, R. R. (1968). Reactions to the United States Supreme Court Segregation Decision of 1954. *The Georgia Historical Quarterly*, 52(4), 371–387.
- McConnell, M. W. (1994). The Forgotten Constitutional Moment. *Constitutional Commentary*, 11(115), 115–144.
- McKee, A. (2003). Chapter 1: What is Textual Analysis? In *Textual Analysis: A Beginner's Guide* (pp. 1–33). London: Sage Publications.
- McPherson, J. M. (2004). Antebellum Southern Exceptionalism: A New Look at an Old Question. *Civil War History*, 50(4), 418–433.
- McWhorter, D. (2001). *Carry Me Home: Birmingham, Alabama: The Climactic Battle of the Civil Rights Revolution*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- McWhorter, D. (2013, January 20). Good and Evil in Birmingham. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from [http://www.nytimes.com/2013/01/21/opinion/good-and-evil-in-birmingham.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2013/01/21/opinion/good-and-evil-in-birmingham.html?_r=0)
- Miller, P. B. (1999). Slouching Toward a New Expediency: College Football and the Color Line During the Depression Decade. *American Studies*, 40(3), 5–30.
- Miller, S. P. (2009). *Billy Graham and the Rise of the Republican South*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- National Archives and Records Administration. (n.d.). Oklahoma Statehood, November 16, 1907. Retrieved from <https://www.archives.gov/legislative/features/oklahoma/>
- Nehls, C. C. (2002). Flag-Waving Wahoos. Confederate Symbols at the University of Virginia, 1941–51. *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 110(4), 461–488.
- Newman, J. I. (2007). Old Times There Are Not Forgotten: Sport, Identity, and the Confederate Flag in the Dixie South. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 24(3), 261–282.
- Oates, T. P., & Pauly, J. (2007). Sports Journalism as Moral and Ethical Discourse. *Journal of Mass Media Ethics*, 22(4), 332–347.
- Office of the Federal Register, & National Archives and Records Administration. (1990). *The Code of Federal Regulations of the United States of America*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

- Ownby, T. (1998). Manhood, Memory, and White Men's Sports in the Recent American South. *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 15(2), 103–118.
- Patronik, M. A. (2011). *Written in Black and White: A Content Analysis of Newspaper Coverage of the Desegregation of Three Flagship Southern Public Universities*. Master's thesis, University of Mississippi.
- Paul, J., McGhee, R. V., & Fant, H. (1984). The Arrival and Ascendance of Black Athletes in the Southeastern Conference, 1966-1980. *Phylon*, 45(4), 284–297.
- Paul W. Bryant Museum. (2016). 1960s. Retrieved from <http://bryantmuseum.com/index.asp>
- Peters, G., & Woolley, J. T. (2016). Lyndon B. Johnson: Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress, November 27, 1963. Retrieved from <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=25988>
- Rigsby, E. D. (1990). *A rhetorical clash with the established order: An analysis of protest strategies and perceptions of media responses, Birmingham, 1963*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oregon.
- Roberts, R., & Krzemienski, E. (2013). *Rising Tide: Bear Bryant, Joe Namath & Dixie's Last Quarter*. New York: Hachette Book Group.
- Rose, J. P. (2014). *The New Racism in the Media: a Discourse Analysis of Newspaper Commentary on Race, Presidential Politics, and Welfare Reform*. Master's thesis, Georgia State University.
- Saldaña, J. (2016). Chapter One: An Introduction to Codes and Coding. In *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers* (pp. 1–42). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.
- Scarborough, A. (2012). College Football's Dynasties - ESPN. Retrieved April 7, 2016, from [http://espn.go.com/ncf/feature/video/\\_id/8756283/college-football-dynasties](http://espn.go.com/ncf/feature/video/_id/8756283/college-football-dynasties)
- Scheufele, D. A., & Tewksbury, D. (2007). Framing, Agenda Setting, and Priming: The Evolution of Three Media Effects Models. *Journal of Communication*, 57(1), 9–20.
- Schexnayder, C. J. (2013, January 14). The Painful Legacy of 1963. *SB Nation: Roll 'Bama Roll*. Retrieved from <http://www.rollbamaroll.com/2013/1/14/3871896/the-painful-legacy-of-1963>
- Schnabel, L. (2014). When Fringe Goes Mainstream Again: A Comparative Textual Analysis of the Tea Party Movement's Contract from America and the Republican Party Platform. *Politics, Religion & Ideology*, 15(4), 604–624.

- Sodergren, S. E. (2013). “The Great Weight of Responsibility”: The Struggle over History and Memory in *Confederate Veteran Magazine*. *Southern Cultures*, 19(3), 26–45.
- Swaine, E. E. (1969). *The Last Families: A Study of Metropolitan Newspaper Ownership, 1950-1967*. Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University.
- Sweeney, J. R. (1994). A New Day in the Old Dominion: The 1964 Presidential Election. *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 102(3), 307–348.
- Taylor, A. M., & U.S. National Park Service. (2011). The Border States. In *The Civil War Remembered*. USA: Walsworth Publishing Company. Retrieved from <http://www.nps.gov/resources/story.htm?id=205>
- The University of Southern Mississippi. (2016). Historical Timeline: University milestones and campus development by decade. Retrieved from <https://www.usm.edu/about/historical-timeline#1960>
- U.S. National Archives and Records Administration. (2016, August 15). Oklahoma Statehood, November 16, 1907. Retrieved from <https://www.archives.gov/legislative/features/oklahoma>
- University of Alabama Official Athletics Site. (2016). Songs of Alabama. Retrieved from <http://www.rolltide.com/sports/2016/6/10/trads-song-downloads-html.aspx>
- Vinson, S. H. (2011). *Whitewashing Southern Living: the sociocultural significance of the 1966 magazine launch in Birmingham, Alabama*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Missouri.
- Wellborn, B. (1997). Coach Paul Bryant and the Integration of the University of Alabama Football Team. *The Southern Historian*, 18(1), 66–80.
- West Virginia Division of Culture and History. (2015). West Virginia Statehood. Retrieved from <http://www.wvculture.org/history/statehoo.html>
- Wilson, R. B. (1965). Massive Insistence or Massive Resistance? The Judicial Administration of the Civil Rights Revolution. *The George Washington Law Review*, 33(4), 827–862.
- White, D. E. (2010). From Desegregation to Integration: Race, Football, and “Dixie” at the University of Florida. *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, 88(4), 469–496.

## **Appendix A: Crimson Tide & Civil Rights in Birmingham, 1961**

**Friday, September 22** → The Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) prohibits racially segregated facilities in train and bus terminals, goes into effect November 1.<sup>262</sup>

**Saturday, September 23** → Alabama beats Georgia 32-6 in Athens, Georgia.<sup>263</sup>

**Saturday, September 30** → Alabama beats Tulane 9-0 in Mobile, Alabama.<sup>264</sup>

**Saturday, October 7** → Alabama beats Vanderbilt 35-6 in Nashville.<sup>265</sup>

**Saturday, October 14** → Alabama beats North Carolina State 26-7 in Tuscaloosa.<sup>266</sup>

**Saturday, October 21** → Alabama beats Tennessee 34-3 in Birmingham.<sup>267</sup>

**Tuesday, October 24** → US District Court Judge H.H. Grooms orders the city of Birmingham to “desegregate its public recreational facilities, some sixty-seven parks, thirty-eight playgrounds, eight swimming pools, and four golf courses, together with its zoo, art museum, state fair, municipal auditorium, and stadium by January 15, 1962.”<sup>268</sup>

**Saturday, October 28** → Alabama beats University of Houston 17-0 in Houston.<sup>269</sup>

**Wednesday, November 1** → Separate facilities for whites and blacks in bus terminals become effectively prohibited, due to the ICC’s 9/22/61 ruling.<sup>270</sup>

**Friday, November 3** → Responding to Judge H.H. Grooms desegregation orders, the *Birmingham News* quotes Bull Connor: “Before I will be a party to seeing our park facilities and golf links integrated, I’ll order every one of them closed.”<sup>271</sup>

**Saturday, November 4** → Alabama beats Mississippi State 24-0 in Tuscaloosa.<sup>272</sup>

**Saturday, November 11** → Alabama beats the University of Richmond 66-0 in Tuscaloosa.<sup>273</sup>

---

<sup>262</sup> Eckelmann, S. (2013, May 26). Freedom Rides. *Encyclopedia of Alabama*. Retrieved from <http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-1605>.

<sup>263</sup> Paul W. Bryant Museum. (2016). 1960s. Retrieved from <http://bryantmuseum.com/index.asp>

<sup>264</sup> Ibid.

<sup>265</sup> Ibid.

<sup>266</sup> Ibid.

<sup>267</sup> Ibid.

<sup>268</sup> Eskew, G. T. (1996). The Freedom Ride Riot and Political Reform in Birmingham, 1961-1963. *The Alabama Review*, 49(3), 202–203.

<sup>269</sup> See Paul W. Bryant Museum.

<sup>270</sup> See note 257.

<sup>271</sup> As quoted in Cox, T. H. (1997). From Centerpiece to Center Stage: Kelly Ingram Park, Segregation, and Civil Rights in Birmingham, Alabama. *Southern Historian*, 18, 13-14.

<sup>272</sup> See Paul Bryant W. Museum.

<sup>273</sup> Ibid.

**Sunday, November 12** → The *Birmingham News* publishes “Some Facts to Face,” a petition signed by 189 of the most powerful men in Birmingham. The statement explained why it made economic sense, or the “business progressivism” case, to keep the public recreational facilities open after they were desegregated. Bull Connor and the city commission responded by closing the parks.<sup>274</sup>

**Saturday, November 18** → Alabama beats Georgia Tech 10-0 in Birmingham.<sup>275</sup>

**Tuesday, November 28** → Syracuse’s Ernie Davis becomes first African-American to win the Heisman Trophy.<sup>276</sup>

**Friday, December 1** → Prominent Birmingham lawyer and real estate mogul Sid Smyer calls first biracial meeting to discuss the city’s decision to close the parks.<sup>277</sup>

**Saturday, December 2** → Alabama beats Auburn 34-0 in Birmingham, finishing the season undefeated, its first undefeated season since 1945, outscores opponents 297-25, and is crowned SEC champion. After being denied a Rose Bowl invitation, Alabama accepts its first ever Sugar Bowl bid. The Crimson Tide would go on to beat Arkansas 10-3 in New Orleans.<sup>278</sup>

**Thursday, December 21** → Sid Smyer calls another biracial meeting, only this time, well-known civil rights activist Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth is invited and attends. Clarence B Hanson, Jr., publisher of the *Birmingham News*, is one of the 38 men in attendance.<sup>279</sup>

---

<sup>274</sup> McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 250-251.

<sup>275</sup> See Paul W. Bryant Museum.

<sup>276</sup> Johnson Publishing Company. (2000, December). This Week In Black History. *Jet*, 19.

<sup>277</sup> McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 251-252.

<sup>278</sup> See Paul W. Bryant Museum.

<sup>279</sup> McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 252-253.

## **Appendix B: Crimson Tide & Civil Rights in Birmingham, 1962**

**Sunday, September 16** → Three city commissioners – Norman “Jim” Jimerson, Sid Smyer, and David Vann – meet with Lucius Pitts, president of Miles College, at the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce to discuss Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.’s upcoming arrival for the annual SCLC convention.<sup>280</sup>

**Thursday, September 20** → The Alabama Advisory Committee of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission holds a “crisis meeting,” warning the predominantly white commission of future demonstrations, as well as collaboration between the Birmingham police department and the KKK.<sup>281</sup>

**Saturday, September 22** → Alabama beats Georgia 35-0 in Birmingham.<sup>282</sup>

**September 25-28** → At its annual convention in Birmingham, the SCLC announces a much more progressive stance on civil rights, calling the new season, the “Year of Birmingham.” Dr. King and roughly three hundred other SCLC members are in attendance.<sup>283</sup>

**Friday, September 28** → On the last day of the 1962 SCLS convention, Dr. King is punched repeatedly in the mouth during one of his final speeches. King does not defend himself and successfully keeps anyone from assaulting his assailant in retaliation. That evening, Alabama beats Tulane 44-6 in New Orleans.<sup>284</sup>

**Saturday, October 6** → Alabama beats Vanderbilt 17-7 in Birmingham.<sup>285</sup>

**Saturday, October 13** → Alabama beats Houston 14-3 in Tuscaloosa.<sup>286</sup>

**Saturday, October 20** → Alabama beats Tennessee 27-7 in Knoxville.<sup>287</sup>

**Tuesday, October 23** → The FBI, led by J. Edgar Hoover, launches a full-out investigation of the SCLC known as “Communist infiltration,” or “COMINFIL.”<sup>288</sup>

**Saturday, October 27** → Alabama beats Tulsa 35-6 in Tuscaloosa.<sup>289</sup>

**Saturday, November 3** → Alabama beats Mississippi State 20-0 in Starkville.<sup>290</sup>

---

<sup>280</sup> Ibid, 289-290.

<sup>281</sup> Ibid, 293.

<sup>282</sup> See Paul W. Bryant Museum.

<sup>283</sup> McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 288, 294.

<sup>284</sup> Ibid, 294-295; and See Paul W. Bryant Museum.

<sup>285</sup> Ibid.

<sup>286</sup> Ibid.

<sup>287</sup> Ibid.

<sup>288</sup> McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 298.

<sup>289</sup> See Paul W. Bryant Museum.

<sup>290</sup> Ibid.

**November 6-8** → Bull Connor is removed from office after Birmingham residents vote for a “mayor-council form of government over the city commission and city council-manager alternatives,” while George Wallace is elected to his first term as Governor.<sup>291</sup>

**Saturday, November 10** → Alabama beats Miami 36-3 in Tuscaloosa.<sup>292</sup>

**Saturday, November 17** → Alabama LOSES to Georgia Tech 7-6 in Atlanta, breaking a twenty-six game undefeated streak. The loss would go on to cost the Tide a National Championship.<sup>293</sup>

**Tuesday, November 20** → JFK issues Executive Order 11063, prohibiting “discrimination or segregation when federal financial assistance is involved in the provision, rehabilitation, or operation of housing and related facilities.”<sup>294</sup>

**Saturday, December 1** → Alabama beats Auburn 38-0 in Birmingham, clinching a birth in the Orange Bowl against Oklahoma. The Tide would go on to shut out the Sooners 17-0 in Miami.<sup>295</sup>

**Friday, December 14** → The New Bethel Baptist Church is bombed, ripping out power lines and shattering windows. Two children were taken to a nearby hospital. Both the Birmingham Police and the FBI detectives refused to investigate the bombing, however, Dr. King telegrammed JFK, demanding federal protection in Birmingham.<sup>296</sup>

**Monday, December 17** → Lucius Pitts calls a meeting concerning the New Bethel Baptist Church bombing.<sup>297</sup>

---

<sup>291</sup> McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 300; and Eskew, “The Freedom Riot,” 213.

<sup>292</sup> See Paul W. Bryant Museum.

<sup>293</sup> Ibid.

<sup>294</sup> Office of the Federal Register, & National Archives and Records Administration. (1990). *The Code of Federal Regulations of the United States of America*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 631.

<sup>295</sup> See Paul W. Bryant Museum.

<sup>296</sup> McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 303-305.

<sup>297</sup> Ibid, 305.

## **Appendix C: Crimson Tide & Civil Rights in Birmingham, 1963**

**Monday, September 2** → At a Labor Day barbecue in Ensley Park, Governor Wallace tells a crowd of 10,000 that he has “other secrets for Birmingham.”<sup>298</sup> Meanwhile, roughly one thousand people gather near the Graymont Armory to listen to KKK Imperial Wizard Bobby Shelton speak out against integration earlier that day.<sup>299</sup>

**Monday, September 2 (Evening)** → Mayor Boutwell issues a televised statement advising citizens to maintain “law and order” while school officials carried out “the distasteful and agonizing duty imposed upon them by the court.”<sup>300</sup>

**Wednesday, September 4** → Five African-Americans – Richard Arnold Walker (Ramsay High School), Dwight and Floyd Armstrong (Graymont Elementary School), and Josephine Powell and Patricia Marcus (West End High School) – desegregate three previously all-white schools in Birmingham. Segregationists protest in front of each school hoisting signs reading, “Close Mixed Schools” and “Keep Alabama White.” Numerous Confederate Flags were prevalent as well.<sup>301</sup>

**Thursday, September 5 (Early Morning)** → NAACP attorney Arthur Shores’ home is bombed for the second time in less than two weeks. A riot ensues at the site of the bombing, resulting in the police killing an African-American man while twenty-one others are wounded.<sup>302</sup>

**Thursday, September 5** → Pressured by Governor Wallace, Superintendent Theo Wright temporarily closes all three schools, however, segregationists and other “States’ Rights” supporters continue to protest outside the schools.<sup>303</sup>

**Saturday, September 7** → Governor Wallace makes the keynote address at a large banquet benefiting the United Americans for Conservative Government, one of the key political groups with ties to the KKK.<sup>304</sup>

**Sunday, September 8 (Early Morning)** → Two firebombs are thrown into Arthur George (A.G.) Gaston’s mansion. The FBI refuses to investigate the bombing.<sup>305</sup>

---

<sup>298</sup> McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 493; and Anderson, The Past on Trial: Birmingham, the Bombing, and Restorative Justice. *California Law Review*, 96(2), 480.

<sup>299</sup> As quoted in Anderson, S.W. (2008). *The Past on Trial: The Sixteenth Street Baptist Church Bombing, Civil Rights Memory and the Remaking of Birmingham*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 78.

<sup>300</sup> Ibid, 74.

<sup>301</sup> Jeter-Bennett, G. (2016). *We Are Going Too! The Children of the Birmingham Civil Rights Movement*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Ohio State University, 201-202.

<sup>302</sup> Anderson, *The Past on Trial*, Ph.D. dissertation, 80.

<sup>303</sup> McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 502-503.

<sup>304</sup> Ibid, 503.

<sup>305</sup> Ibid, 504.

**Monday, September 9** → Governor Wallace issues an executive order to reopen the schools, ordering three hundred National Guardsmen to block any desegregation attempts.<sup>306</sup>

**Tuesday, September 10** → President Kennedy federalizes the National Guard, causing Defense Secretary Robert McNamara to order the Guardsmen “back to the armory.”<sup>307</sup> Though all three schools are officially desegregated, over a thousand white students refuse to attend class at West End High School, “boycotting Josephine Powell and Patricia Marcus’ enrollment.”<sup>308</sup>

**Wednesday, September 11** → Both Armstrong brothers are sent home from Graymont Elementary School “for wearing short pants.” Outside of West End High School, a student throws a rock through the window of the vehicle transporting Powell and Marcus back home.<sup>309</sup>

**Friday, September 13** → Governor Wallace announces, “We’ve just begun to fight,” while a group of anti-integration, high school protesters mob Mayor Boutwell’s office.<sup>310</sup>

**Sunday, September 15** → The Sixteenth Street Baptist Church is bombed, killing four young girls and wounding 23 other members of the congregation. Later that day, A Birmingham police officer shoots and kills sixteen year-old Johnnie Robinson. Robinson was throwing rocks at a sign that read, “Negro, go back to Africa.” In a third case, sixteen year-old Eagle Scout Larry Joe Sims – on his way home from a segregationist rally – shoots and kills thirteen year-old Virgil Ware as Ware “and his brother were riding a bicycle near their home.”<sup>311</sup>

**Monday, September 16** → Governor George Wallace pledges \$5,000 “to bring the bombers to justice” while local and federal agencies launch private investigations. Mayor Albert Boutwell assures Birmingham, “All of us are victims, and most of us are innocent victims,” in a *Birmingham News* article titled, “All Victims, Mostly Innocent, Boutwell Says.”<sup>312</sup>

**Monday, September 16** → Charles Morgan, Jr. speaks at the Young Men’s Business Club in Birmingham. The speech would go on to be transcribed in Morgan, Jr.’s book, “A Time to Speak.” Throughout Birmingham, church bells ring to the tune of “Dixie” to signal a moment of silent prayer while five different schools experience bomb threats.<sup>313</sup>

---

<sup>306</sup> Ibid, 505-506.

<sup>307</sup> Ibid, 506-507.

<sup>308</sup> Jeter-Bennett, *We Are Going Too!*, 203-204.

<sup>309</sup> McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 507.

<sup>310</sup> Anderson, *The Past on Trial*, Ph.D. dissertation, 86.

<sup>311</sup> Anderson, “The Past on Trial,” *California Law Review*, 478; and Jeter-Bennett, *We Are Going Too!*, 209-211.

<sup>312</sup> As quoted in Anderson, “The Past on Trial,” *California Law Review*, 481.

<sup>313</sup> McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 534; Jeter-Bennett, *We Are Going Too!*, 218-219; and Anderson, *The Past on Trial*, Ph.D. dissertation, 91.

**Tuesday, September 17** → The nation reads Morgan's speech in the New York Times as a funeral for one of the four girls killed in the bombing, Carole Robertson, is held at St. John's A.M.E. Church in Birmingham.<sup>314</sup>

**Wednesday, September 18** → A joint funeral service for the other three girls is held at the nearby Sixth Avenue Baptist Church as Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. gives his famous "Eulogy for the Martyred Children." Dr. King's eulogy provided "a platform to preach about the plight of black Americans in a national context."<sup>315</sup>

**Thursday, September 19** → Dynamite explodes outside a house close to the home of Robert Chambliss, one of the suspects in the 16th Street Baptist Church bombing.<sup>316</sup>

**Saturday, September 21** → Alabama beats Georgia 32-7 in Athens.<sup>317</sup>

**Sunday, September 22** → Johnnie Robinson's funeral is held at the New Pilgrim Baptist Church.<sup>318</sup>

**Monday, September 23** → Two bombs, detonated less than fifteen minutes between one another, explode in one of Birmingham's black residential neighborhoods.<sup>319</sup>

**Saturday, September 28** → Alabama beats Tulane 28-0 in Mobile, Alabama.<sup>320</sup>

**Sunday, September 29** → Birmingham police makes its first arrests in the 16th Street Baptist Church bombing: John Wesley Hall, Robert Chambliss, Charles Cagle, and Levie Yarbrough.<sup>321</sup>

**Monday, September 30** → The FBI summons Troy Ingram, a fifth suspect in the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church bombing, for a polygraph exam.<sup>322</sup>

**Tuesday, October 1** → Charged with a misdemeanor for possession of dynamite, Robert Chambliss posts his \$300 bond and is released from jail.<sup>323</sup>

**Friday, October 4** → Six FBI agents investigate the residence of Thomas Blanton, a sixth suspect in the Sixteenth Street Church bombing. Blanton is arrested for attempted assault of a federal agent.<sup>324</sup>

---

<sup>314</sup> McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 536.

<sup>315</sup> Jeter-Bennett, *We Are Going Too!*, 221-224.

<sup>316</sup> McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 539.

<sup>317</sup> See Paul W. Bryant Museum.

<sup>318</sup> McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 539.

<sup>319</sup> Ibid, 542.

<sup>320</sup> See Paul W. Bryant Museum.

<sup>321</sup> McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 548-549.

<sup>322</sup> Ibid, 550.

<sup>323</sup> Ibid, 553.

<sup>324</sup> Ibid, 554-555.

**Saturday, October 5** → Alabama beats Vanderbilt 21-6 in Nashville.<sup>325</sup>

**Monday, October 7** → Dr. King returns to Birmingham, while the *Birmingham News* endorses the hiring of black police officers. The endorsement is supported by forty-four of the city's leaders.<sup>326</sup>

**Tuesday, October 8** → Publicly requesting a “face-to-face meeting” with Birmingham’s city council, Dr. King and Rev. Shuttlesworth seek the addition of twenty-five black men to the city’s police department “within the next two weeks.” If city officials fail to honor this demand, a “larger and more determined” march on the city will ensue.<sup>327</sup>

**Saturday, October 12** → Alabama LOSES to Florida 10-6 in Tuscaloosa, one of just two home losses against Florida in Bear Bryant’s Alabama coaching career.<sup>328</sup>

**Wednesday, October 16** → George Wallace accidentally leaks information that Dr. King had been chauffeured around Birmingham at the taxpayers’ expense. Right afterwards, Wallace funnels \$1,200 into a state fund for the creation of private schools.<sup>329</sup>

**Saturday, October 19** → Alabama beats Tennessee 35-0 in Birmingham 35-0. That evening, the National States’ Rights Party (NSRP) holds a “White Rally” in nearby Mount Olive Ball Park. Effigies of Dr. King, Rev. Shuttlesworth, and President Kennedy are proudly displayed.<sup>330</sup>

**Sunday, October 20** → A full-page advertisement titled, “Birmingham’s Moment of Crisis: A Statement of Concern and Conviction” appears in the *News*, addressing the racial mistreatment in. “Signatures of “117 prominent citizens of Birmingham’s black community” signed the statement, endorsing “Dr. King and [Rev. Fred] Shuttlesworth as important leaders in the struggle for racial reform in Birmingham.”<sup>331</sup>

**Tuesday, October 22** → With many reporters present, Dr. King and Rev. Shuttlesworth announce they will honor the city’s rejection of desegregating the Police Department, as long as they will “do something on the ground” in Birmingham. Unfortunately, Birmingham’s first African-American police officer would not be until 1966.<sup>332</sup>

**Saturday, October 26** → Alabama beats Houston 21-13 in Tuscaloosa.<sup>333</sup>

---

<sup>325</sup> See Paul W. Bryant Museum.

<sup>326</sup> McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 556.

<sup>327</sup> As quoted in Kessler, B. (2012). *White, Black, and Blue: The Battle Over Black Police, Professionalization, and Police Brutality in Birmingham, Alabama, 1963-1979*. Master’s thesis, Virginia Commonwealth University, 9.

<sup>328</sup> See Paul W. Bryant Museum.

<sup>329</sup> McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 561-562.

<sup>330</sup> See Paul W. Bryant Museum; and McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 562.

<sup>331</sup> Kessler, *White Black, and Blue*, 11-12; and Jeter-Bennett, *We Are Going Too!*, 238.

<sup>332</sup> McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 562.

<sup>333</sup> See Paul W. Bryant Museum.

**Saturday, November 2** → Alabama beats Mississippi State 20-19 in Tuscaloosa.<sup>334</sup>

**Saturday, November 16** → Alabama beats Georgia Tech 27-11 in Birmingham.<sup>335</sup>

**Monday, November 18** → Roosevelt Tatum, a poor man from one of Birmingham's African-American neighborhoods who reportedly witnessed a police officer plant a bomb, pleads guilty to lying to an FBI agent.<sup>336</sup>

**Friday, November 22** → President Kennedy is shot and killed in Dallas, Texas.<sup>337</sup>

**Monday, November 25** → Every city office and school in Birmingham closes to pay respects to President Kennedy.<sup>338</sup>

**Wednesday, November 27** → In first address before Congress, LBJ calls for the immediate passage of civil rights legislation: "First, no memorial oration or eulogy could more eloquently honor President Kennedy's memory than the earliest possible passage of the Civil Rights bill for which he fought so long."<sup>339</sup>

**Saturday, November 30** → Alabama LOSES to Auburn 10-8 in Birmingham, Auburn's first "Big Game" (Iron Bowl) win in five years.<sup>340</sup>

**Saturday, December 14** → Alabama beats Miami (FL) 17-12 in Miami, finishing the season 9-2 and accepting an invitation to the Sugar Bowl. The Crimson Tide would go on to upset the SEC champion Ole Miss Rebels 12 – 7. Alabama's Tim Davis became the first kicker to be named Sugar Bowl MVP.<sup>341</sup>

---

<sup>334</sup> Paul W. Bryant Museum's records do not match the *Birmingham News'* 1963 results of this game. Because it's a primary source for this study, I therefore used the *News'* accounts of the game instead: Van Hoose, A. (1963, November 3). Namath pilots Tide in late. *Birmingham News*, C-1, C-6.

<sup>335</sup> See Paul W. Bryant Museum.

<sup>336</sup> McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 567.

<sup>337</sup> Civil Rights Digital Library, & Digital Library of Georgia. (2016, October 22). John F. Kennedy's assassination. Retrieved from [http://crdl.usg.edu/events/jfk\\_assassination/](http://crdl.usg.edu/events/jfk_assassination/)

<sup>338</sup> Jeter-Bennett, *We Are Going Too!*, 240.

<sup>339</sup> Peters, G., & Woolley, J. T. (2016). Lyndon B. Johnson: Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress, November 27, 1963. Retrieved from <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=25988>

<sup>340</sup> See Paul W. Bryant Museum.

<sup>341</sup> Ibid.

## **Appendix D: Crimson Tide & Civil Rights in Birmingham, 1964**

**Wednesday, September 2** → The FBI launches a top-secret investigation of the Ku Klux Klan, an action program called COINTELPRO-WHITE HATE.<sup>342</sup>

**Saturday, September 19** → Alabama beats Georgia 31-3 in Tuscaloosa.<sup>343</sup>

**Saturday, September 26** → Alabama beats Tulane 36-6 in Mobile, Alabama.<sup>344</sup>

**Saturday, October 3** → Alabama beats Vanderbilt 24-0 in Birmingham.<sup>345</sup>

**Saturday, October 10** → Alabama beats North Carolina State 21-0 in Tuscaloosa.<sup>346</sup>

**Saturday, October 17** → Alabama beats Tennessee 19-8 in Knoxville.<sup>347</sup>

**Saturday, October 24** → Alabama beats Florida 17-14 in Tuscaloosa.<sup>348</sup>

**Saturday, October 31** → Alabama beats Mississippi State 23-6 in Jackson, Mississippi.<sup>349</sup>

**Tuesday, November 3** → LBJ wins landslide presidential election over Barry Goldwater.<sup>350</sup>

**Saturday, November 7** → Alabama beats LSU 17-9 in Birmingham.<sup>351</sup>

**Saturday, November 14** → Alabama beats Georgia Tech 24-7 in Atlanta

**Thursday, November 26** → Alabama beats Auburn 21-14 in Birmingham, capping off an undefeated regular season and is crowned both SEC champion and national champion. However, the Crimson Tide would lose to Texas 21-14 in the 1965 Orange Bowl.<sup>352</sup>

**December 10** → Martin Luther King, Jr. accepts the Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo, Norway on behalf of the Civil Rights movement, the youngest man (thirty-five years-old), and just “the second African-American, to receive the prestigious award.”<sup>353</sup>

---

<sup>342</sup> Drabble, J. (2008). The FBI, COINTELPRO-WHITE HATE, and the Decline of Ku Klux Klan Organizations in Alabama, 1964-1971. *Alabama Review*, 61(1), 3.

<sup>343</sup> See Paul W. Bryant Museum.

<sup>344</sup> Ibid.

<sup>345</sup> Ibid.

<sup>346</sup> Ibid.

<sup>347</sup> Ibid.

<sup>348</sup> Ibid.

<sup>349</sup> Ibid.

<sup>350</sup> Sweeney, J. R. (1994). A New Day in the Old Dominion: The 1964 Presidential Election. *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 102(3), 307–348.

<sup>351</sup> See Paul W. Bryant Museum.

<sup>352</sup> Ibid.

**December 23** → Six African-American children, between the ages of seven months and six years, die in a house fire.<sup>354</sup>

**December 25** → Birmingham police find the body of a fourteen year-old African-American frozen to death. The teenager had been missing for two days.<sup>355</sup>

**December 31** → Because the case had made little progress, “the money collected for the [Sixteenth Street Baptist] church bombing reward fund” is returned to the respective donors. The total amount would turn out to be \$79,764.<sup>356</sup>

---

<sup>353</sup> Civil Rights Digital Library, & Digital Library of Georgia. (2016, October 22). Martin Luther King, Jr.’s Nobel Prize. Retrieved from [http://crdl.usg.edu/events/mlk\\_nobel\\_prize/](http://crdl.usg.edu/events/mlk_nobel_prize/)

<sup>354</sup> Jeter-Bennett, *We Are Going Too!*, 246.

<sup>355</sup> Ibid.

<sup>356</sup> Ibid.

## Appendix E: Crimson Tide & Civil Rights in Birmingham, 1965

**September 9** → President Johnson signs Act to establish the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). Johnson appoints Robert Weaver HUD secretary, the first time an African-American had ever been appointed to the Cabinet.<sup>357</sup>

**September 18** → Alabama LOSES to Georgia 18-17 in Athens.<sup>358</sup>

**September 24** → LBJ issues Executive Order 11246, requiring all federal employers to “not discriminate against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, color, religion, sex, sexual orientation, gender identity, or national origin.”<sup>359</sup>

**September 25** → Alabama beats Tulane 27-0 in Mobile.<sup>360</sup>

**October 2** → Alabama beats Ole Miss 17-16 in Birmingham.<sup>361</sup>

**October 9** → Alabama beats Vanderbilt 22-7 in Nashville.<sup>362</sup>

**October 16** → Alabama TIES Tennessee 7-7 in Birmingham.<sup>363</sup>

**October 21** → The HUAC interrogates Ku Klux Klan imperial wizard Robert “Bobby Shelton,” publicizing evidence of Shelton’s use of Klan funds for large, personal purchases.<sup>364</sup>

**October 23** → Alabama beats Florida State 21-0 in Tuscaloosa.<sup>365</sup>

**October 30** → Alabama beats Mississippi State 10-7 in Jackson, Mississippi.<sup>366</sup>

**November 6** → Alabama beats LSU 31-7 in Baton Rouge.<sup>367</sup>

**November 13** → Alabama beats South Carolina 35-14 in Tuscaloosa.<sup>368</sup>

---

<sup>357</sup> LBJ Presidential Library. (2003, September 7). On This Day in History: September. Retrieved from <http://www.lbjlibrary.net/collections/on-this-day-in-history/september.html>.

<sup>358</sup> See Paul W. Bryant Museum.

<sup>359</sup> United States Department of Labor. (2016). Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs (OFCCP): Executive Order 11246, As Amended. Retrieved from <https://www.dol.gov/ofccp/regs/statutes/eo11246.htm>

<sup>360</sup> See Paul W. Bryant Museum.

<sup>361</sup> Ibid.

<sup>362</sup> Ibid.

<sup>363</sup> Ibid.

<sup>364</sup> Drabble, “The FBI,” 23.

<sup>365</sup> See Paul W. Bryant Museum.

<sup>366</sup> Ibid.

<sup>367</sup> Ibid.

<sup>368</sup> Ibid.

**November 27** → Alabama beats Auburn 30-3 in Birmingham, finishing the season 9-1-1 and winning the SEC championship. The Tide would accept its Orange Bowl bid and go on to be crowned national champions after beating Nebraska 39-28 in Miami, Florida. This was the first time the Associated Press voted decided the country's national championship after the bowl games.<sup>369</sup>

**December 4** → President Lyndon B. Johnson “issues an executive order prohibiting discrimination in federal aid programs.”<sup>370</sup>

**December 14** → Dr. Martin Luther King’s last major appearance in Birmingham. Dr. King gave a small speech to members of the ACHR.<sup>371</sup>

**December 24** → In an article titled, “Police Hiring Methods,” the *Birmingham News* suggested the “testing itself should be altered” for both “Negro and white” in order to improve the police department’s credibility.<sup>372</sup>

**December 28** → Led by Rev. Shuttlesworth and Hosea Williams, the ACMHR and other civil rights demonstrators march “down city streets to the courthouse” in Birmingham. The Justice Department takes notice, sending “federal registrars to oversee Birmingham’s voter registration.”<sup>373</sup>

---

<sup>369</sup> Ibid.

<sup>370</sup> King Institute Encyclopedia, & Stanford University. (2016, August 16). December 4, 1965: President Johnson prohibits discrimination in federal aid. Retrieved from

[http://kingencyclopedia.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/chronologyentry/1965\\_12\\_04/index.html](http://kingencyclopedia.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/chronologyentry/1965_12_04/index.html)

<sup>371</sup> Kessler, *White, Black, and Blue*, 28.

<sup>372</sup> Ibid, as quoted 33-34.

<sup>373</sup> Ibid, 29-30.

## **Appendix F: Crimson Tide & Civil Rights in Birmingham, 1966<sup>374</sup>**

**September 15** → A federal court convicts Ku Klux Klan imperial Wizard Robert “Bobby” Shelton and three other Klan officers of contempt of Congress.<sup>375</sup>

**September 29** → Bobby Shelton threatens to revoke many Klavern chapters, the segments of Alabama’s state Klan leadership.<sup>376</sup>

**September 24** → Alabama beats Louisiana Tech 34-0 in Birmingham.<sup>377</sup>

**October 1** → Alabama beats Ole Miss 17-7 in Jackson, Mississippi.<sup>378</sup>

**October 8** → Alabama beats Clemson 26-0 in Tuscaloosa.<sup>379</sup>

**October 15** → Alabama beats Tennessee 11-10 in Knoxville.<sup>380</sup>

**October 22** → Alabama beats Vanderbilt 42-6 in Birmingham.<sup>381</sup>

**October 29** → Alabama beats Mississippi State 27-14 in Tuscaloosa.<sup>382</sup>

**November 5** → Alabama beats LSU 21-0 in Birmingham.<sup>383</sup>

**November 12** → Alabama beats South Carolina in Tuscaloosa.<sup>384</sup>

**November 26** → Alabama beats Southern Mississippi 34-0 in Mobile, Alabama.<sup>385</sup>

**December 3** → Alabama beats Auburn 31-0 in Birmingham, finishing 11-0 and winning the SEC championship. Though skeeted from a third straight national championship, the Tide accept its bid to the Sugar Bowl, beating Nebraska 34-7 in New Orleans.<sup>386</sup>

---

<sup>374</sup> George Wallace’s wife, Lurleen, was elected governor in November of this year. However, I was unable to find any peer-reviewed sources to confirm this.

<sup>375</sup> Drabble, “The FBI,” 25.

<sup>376</sup> Ibid, 30.

<sup>377</sup> See Paul W. Bryant Museum.

<sup>378</sup> Ibid.

<sup>379</sup> Ibid.

<sup>380</sup> Ibid.

<sup>381</sup> Ibid.

<sup>382</sup> Ibid.

<sup>383</sup> Ibid.

<sup>384</sup> Ibid.

<sup>385</sup> Ibid.

<sup>386</sup> Ibid.