SCHOOL SPIRIT OR SCHOOL HATE: THE CONFEDERATE BATTLE FLAG, TEXAS HIGH SCHOOLS, AND MEMORY, 1953-2002

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The debate over the display of the Confederate battle flag in public places throughout the South focus on the flag's display by state governments such South Carolina and Mississippi. The state of Texas is rarely placed in this debate, and neither has the debate adequately explore the role of high schools' use of Confederate symbols. Schools represent the community and serve as a symbol of its values. A school represented by Confederate symbols can communicate a message of intolerance to a rival community or opposing school during sports contests. Within the community, conflict arose when an opposition group to the symbols formed and asked for the symbols' removal in favor of symbols that were seen more acceptable by outside observers. Many times, an outside party needed to step in to resolve the conflict. In Texas, the conflict between those in favor and those oppose centered on the Confederate battle flag, and the memory each side associated with the flag. Anglos saw the flag as their school spirit. African Americans saw hatred.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Is Texas part of the West or the South? This question, posed by Frank E. Vandiver, was as significant thirty-years ago as it is today. Many did not believe that Texas was ever a southern state in the 1970s or even now. The image of the cowboy riding the range in Texas has long endured in myth. Personified in the legendary screen presence of John Wayne, the connection of the West with Texas has lived in the minds of moviegoers thanks to films and television series rebroadcast on stations such as *TV Land, American Movie Classics,* and *Turner Classic Movies*. The connection was not wrong because Texas had many western traits such as ranching, oil wells, and the Alamo in its history. It had its share of legendary bandits, outlaws, desperados, lawmen, and, of course, the Texas Rangers. According to Vandiver, the cowboy myth of Texas owed much to the Cavalier myth in the Old South. Trail songs spoke of a southern heritage and harkened back to folksongs of Old England.[1]

The idea of Texas as a western state is firmly planted in the minds of most American as well as most Texans. The Stetson hats and cowboy boots have become synonymous with Texas as iconic symbols. Another pert of the state's history is southern. This explains the Confederate flags seen in the high school football stadiums

[1] Frank E. Vandiver, *The Southwest: South or West?* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1975), 34-40; Sean Kelly, "Plantation Frontiers: Race, Ethnicity, and Family Along the Brazos River in Texas, 1821-1886" (Ph. D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2000), 4.

around the state during the years from 1953-2002. Texans were just as proud of their southern heritage as their western heritage. As early as 1862, the editors of the *Dallas Herald* placed under their title the words, "Our Country-May she always be right, but right or wrong-Our Country."[2] The "Country" spoken of in the paper was not the United States of America, but the Confederate States of America. Texans have had a love affair with the Confederacy from its infancy, but not all Texans shared in this glorification of southern history. Black Texans did not honor the southern roots in the same way white southerners did; they saw southern symbols, such as the Confederate battle flag, as racist.

Conflict did arise at the schools after integration. When the schools developed their symbols, they were all-white, but with integration, conflict between white and black students over the memory associated with Confederate symbols created a disruption of the learning environment that forced the Texas Education Agency (TEA) to intervene to resolve the conflict. The focal point of contention at the schools was the Confederate battle flag. The flag was a spirit symbol used by certain high schools in order to help students develop school spirit and identity. With the flag's connection to hate groups, however, most black students saw the flag as a symbol of racism, while most white students connected the flag with their ancestors and the Civil War.

The second chapter of this study discusses the differing interpretations of the Confederate battle flag. One interpretation addresses the flag's historical meaning. The Confederate battle flag did not fall from the sky as a holy relic but was developed out of a sense of urgency during the Civil War to help identify Confederate troops in

[2] *Dallas Herald*, 6 September 1862, p. 1.

battle. The second interpretation of the battle flag is the heritage interpretation. Many southern whites claim the flag represents their ancestors, their history. The flag is a flag of honor. This explanation is mostly voiced by the Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV) and the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC). The third interpretation is the racist interpretation. This understanding is advocated by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and many African Americans. This group sees the Confederate States of America as a country founded on the tenets of slavery and white supremacy. The fourth interpretation is that the Confederate battle flag stands for rebellion against authority in general. This interpretation has gained support with younger generations as well as with people from other parts of the world. This group does not associate the flag with racism or heritage. To them, the flag is an expression of defiance against the higher powers.

The third chapter discusses the development of the symbol at the high school in Texas, white memory of the flag, and possible influences on the students for choosing the Confederate battle flag. The symbols were not chosen in a vacuum. There were influences that affected their choice by the students. Those influences included novels, movies, cartoons, parents, and the SCV and UDC. The novels include Thomas Dixon's historical interpretations of the Civil War and Reconstruction. They paint a positive light on the Klan and southern history. These novels were heavily influenced by the Lost Cause ideology developed by the UDC and SCV. These patriotic organizations believed in teaching the true history of the South and of the Civil War. By their lights, the war was over states' rights, and slavery was a benign institution. The UDC also embarked on textbook censorship that influenced the understanding of history by

students in the South and in Texas. Movies, cartoons, and parents all reinforced this teaching of history.

The fourth chapter explores black memory and its associations with the Confederate battle flag. African Americans have had numerous atrocities befall them on the North American continent such as slavery, lynchings, and segregation. As a group, they were treated as second-class citizens by the Anglo majority. Hate groups such as the Ku Klux Klan and neo-Nazis have directed much of their violence towards blacks. These groups, as well as others, carry the Confederate battle flag as their symbol. African American dissenters may extend the realm of racist symbols to include all the Confederate flags such as the Stars and Bars, but the focus of opposition is the Confederate battle flag.

The fifth chapter sifts through the conflict that arose at each school over the flag because of integration. When the secondary schools of Texas integrated in the early 1970s, the Confederate symbols at the schools in this study created discord between the white and black students. Sometimes the hostility erupted into violence and intimidation. Other times, the dispute consisted of mere debates that ended in a mutual resolution agreeable to all. At other times, neither side could come to a consensus and a lawsuit would be filed, or a complaint with TEA would be filed. When litigation or an investigation by TEA occurred, the NAACP was responsible for filing the needed paperwork on behalf of a defendant or complainant. At all but two of the schools did conflict occur in the 1980s and 1990s some fifteen to twenty years after integration. The reason for the lack of immediate action by African American students after

integration was the small percentage of African American students at the campuses with Confederate symbols compared to the number of Anglos.

The conclusion is a short discussion of the aftermath of the controversy at each school. The chapter will discuss how the individual campuses solved their problems and what symbols replaced the old. In the vast majority of cases, western symbols replaced the southern symbols.

How did a Confederate flag controversy develop in Texas? First, as Texas' population grew in the years after World War II and with urban growth, there came a need for new schools in Texas. Secondary schools not only educated students in reading, writing, and arithmetic, but they also offered students an opportunity to test themselves on the playing field against other schools. To differentiate the rivals, the students chose the school colors and mascots. The mascots represented a colorful array of themes from such standards as eagles and lions to the more exotic names of mighty mites and rohawks. Most mascots were chosen to entertain and instill an honorable characteristic with the players. For example, a lion instilled nobility and strength. There were no cowardly lions on the football field. The only lions on the field were fierce, never-say-die lions that fought to the end, victory or defeat. These were great qualities to implant in students. Inevitably, a school would be built to represent the south side of town. With the southern connection in Texas, students would find "Rebels" an excellent choice to represent the school. The natural progression for a Texas high school with a rebel mascot would be to adopt the Confederate battle flag to represent it at sporting, academic, music, and community events. The school song, or

fight song, chosen by the students was most often Dixie.[3] A symbol adopted by s few schools was the Confederate battle flag.

Texas schools had not fully integrated in the 1960s. Texas schools fully integrated in 1971 with Court Order 5281. This placed the TEA in full authority to oversee the integration of Texas schools. With integration, African American students attended previously all-white schools with Confederate symbols. Before integration, no one questioned the Confederate symbolism because the whites saw nothing wrong. The administrators were from the generation inculcated with the southern romanticism and Lost Cause ideology and saw the Confederate battle flag as appropriate. The African Americans students were from a culture that saw the Confederacy as racist and its flag as a symbol of hate. The potential for conflict existed the moment the black students walked through the doors of the schools.[4]

Eight schools are studied in this survey; they span the breadth of the state. From East Texas to the Panhandle, From North Texas to the Hill Country, the schools offer different answers to similar questions. The one thing that all have in common is the use of the Confederate battle flag as a school spirit symbol. Each school solves its problems in a different way, but their problems stem from the flag. The schools in this study are: Tyler Robert E. Lee High School, Amarillo Tascosa High School, South

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[3] Sabrina Barlow, et al. eds., *Mascot Mania: Spirit of Texas High Schools* (Huntsville: Texas Review, 2005), 132-147. This publication was the culmination of a class project supervised by Dr. Paul Ruffin, an English professor at Sam Houston State University in Huntsville, Texas. This is a quick reference to school names and mascots in Texas, but there are some mistakes with matching the correct school with the corresponding mascot. The book is already obsolete from the standpoint that new schools open every year with new names and mascots.

[4] John M. Coski, *The Confederate Battle flag: America's Most Embattled Emblem* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 206; Frank R Kemerer, *William Wayne Justice: A Judicial Biography* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991), 120-121.

Grand Prairie High School, Fort Worth Southwest High School, North Richland Hills Richland High School, South Garland High School, Austin William B. Travis High School, and Buda John C. Hays High School.

CHAPTER 2

FLAG SYMBOLISM

People live with symbols every day. Some tell them to stop and yield the right-of-way in traffic or warn of on-coming traffic or railroads. Others tell them to ad and subtract. They warn people of danger. A skull and cross bones on a battle of arsenic warns of poison, and flames on a gas can warn of fire or flammable liquid. Most symbols are specific, eliciting no ambiguity, and universally representing one meaning. These symbols are not abstract; they are concrete. Concrete symbols usually take the shape of what they are representing. Red Flames on the side of a tanker truck fueled with liquid oxygen shows the consequences of causing a flame near the tanker's contents. There is no confusion, ambiguity, contradiction, or misunderstanding. People understand the symbols without explanation.

Not all symbols are as easy to define or explain. Others have more than one meaning. Depending on the audience, a symbol's meaning could be defined in multiple ways. One such symbol in particular is the Confederate battle flag.[1] Various groups interpret the flag differently. The flag is a poly-vocal symbol, having more than one

[1] The Confederate battle flag is also known as the rebel flag, the southern cross, and mistakenly the Stars and Bars. The Stars and Bars was the first political flag of the Confederacy and does not have the same connotation associated with it as the Confederate battle flag. It never won the same adulation with the soldiers of the of the Confederacy as did the Confederate battle flag, and it quickly faded from popular memory. Most do not know the Stars and Bars was once associated with the South and had represented the Confederacy.

meaning. Such symbols are abstract; their comprehension depends on the nonverbal expression of ideas between people and their understanding of language. Since the flag's symbolism is not concrete, this leads to ambiguity with its interpretation and to the contradictory memory of southern history evinced by southern whites, northern whites, and southern blacks. The flag is a symbol that is actually a sign, something tangible, a physical representation of a symbol. The symbol conveys the idea separately from the sign. The underlying symbolism of the flag possesses the inherent contraction not the flag itself. The flag's symbolism holds a different meaning for separate audiences depending on the audiences' memory of the past and their identity.[2] The contradictory interpretations of the flag's symbolism are caused by various understandings of its meaning and have led to conflict within the southern communities and the nation. Different interpretations of the Confederate battle flag may include the flag representing a piece of history. Southern whites identify with the flag with their heritage. African Americans see the flag with either the Civil War or racism but see the flag as a universal symbol of defiance to authority.

As a symbol, the flag can be interpreted four different ways depending on the individual interpreting its symbolism. The first interpretation to be discussed concerns the flag's origins and historical perspective. The flag is a piece of history and was sewn together to represent a nation. Though the major powers of Europe never officially recognized the Confederacy as a nation, most Confederate armies carried the flag into battle representing the nation. The second interpretation concerns the flag's

[2] Susan L. Schramm-Pate and Richard Lussier, "Teaching Students How to Think Critically: The Confederate Flag Controversy in the High School Social Studies Classroom," *The High School Journal*, 87.2 (2003-2004): 59.

representation of white southern heritage. Southern whites believe the flag to be the flag of their ancestors. They fly the flag to honor their ancestors' valor, courage, and sacrifice during war and to show pride in being southern. African Americans on the other hand interpret the flag differently from southern whites, a third interpretation. To African Americans, the flag symbolizes racism, hatred, and intolerance, to sum in one phrase: white supremacy. This interpretation is well founded. The South had slavery, segregation, the Ku Klux Klan and other white supremacy groups, as well as race-baiting politicians that used the confederate flag to symbolize their campaigns. The final interpretation concerns the flag's interpretation as a symbol of universal defiance against authority. The South will use the flag to defy the federal government. Others will use the flag to defy superiors or the mainstream.

Like all creations on earth, the Confederate battle flag had a beginning. That beginning did not start in the recent past but over a century ago. The flag was a relic of the past and a piece of history that survived into the present. It flew over the armies of the Confederate nation and served its purposes well maybe too well. The flag continued to fly over places in the South, in someone's backyard, for example, and, until recently, over the state capitol of South Carolina. It was incorporated into the state flags of Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, and, until a few years ago, Georgia.[3] The flag was not just a part of the past; it is also a part of the present. Since the flag outlived the nation whose armies it flew over, the flag's meaning was not frozen in time. The meaning continued to change as each succeeding generation lived with the flag and based its

[3] Coski, *The Confederate Battle Flag*, 79-81; K. Michael Prince, *Rally 'Round the Flag Boys!: South Carolina and the Confederate Flag* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2004), 38.

ideas of the flag's significance on its experience with the flag. In spite of this, most southern white saw it as the flag of their ancestors. They did not necessarily associate the confederacy with the flag, but they reasoned that their ancestors had this flag. Most southern blacks associated the flag with history as well. The history they associated with the flag was one of racism and intolerance not necessarily with the Ku Klux Klan specifically but with the historical reality of slavery. The Civil War was fought over slavery, and the flag must therefore represented slavery, because the Confederacy fought for slavery. What each group chose to identify with the flag was ultimately determined by what each group chose to remember.

The history of the Confederate battle flag did not begin with the flag itself. There were flags that preceded it. Regardless of what many believe, the Confederate battle flag was not the flag of the Confederate States of America, which never officially adopted the flag during the Civil War. The flag was a product of necessity.[4] In the

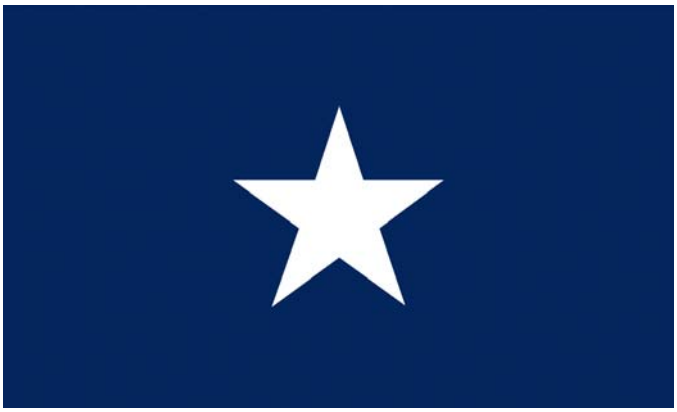

Illustration 2.1: The Bonnie Blue Flag.

turbulent years just prior to conflict, the southern states began to threaten secession in response to a perceived northern conspiracy against their institution and way of life.

[4] Robert E. Bonner, *Colors and Blood: Flag passion of the Confederate South* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 53-56.

There was a flag then: the Bonnie Blue flag, the flag of secession. This flag was simply blue with a single white star centered on the flag. In the early days of secession, the flag was popular, and some Confederate units made it their battle flags.[5] The Confederate battle flag came later; however, neither the Bonnie Blue flag nor the Confederate battle flag were ever chosen to represent the southern nation. The design that was approved was the Stars and Bars.

The Stars and Bars design resembled the Stars and Stripes flown by the United States of America. The Stars and Bars had two red bars and a white bar in-between the red bars. In the upper left corner of the flag, there was a field of blue with a constellation of stars in a circle representing the seven original states of the Confederacy. The fact that the flag resembled the Stars and Stripes was not coincidental. The Stars and Bars was specifically designed to take on the same feelings many had held for the Stars and Stripes.[6] The Stars and Bars, however, did

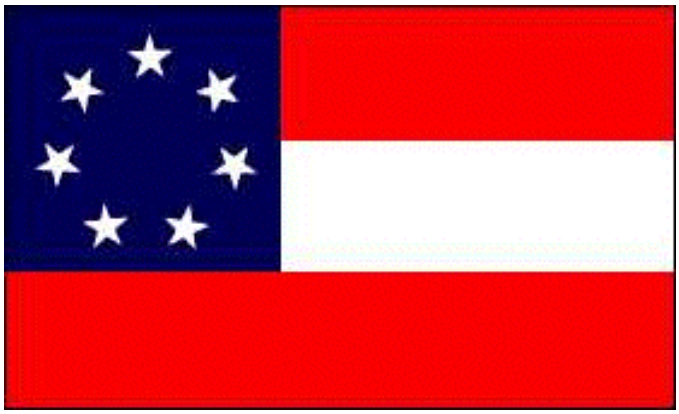

Illustration 2.1: The Stars and Bars.

[5] Coski, *The Confederate Battle Flag*, 2-3.

[6] Robert Bonner, "Flag Culture and the Consolidation of Confederate Nationalism," *Journal of Southern History*. 73 (May 2002): 235.

not have a long and enduring life as the official flag of the Confederacy. In 1863, the Stainless Banner replaced the Stars and Bars and became the official flag of the Confederacy. This flag was all white except for the upper left corner where the design of the Confederate battle flag was unveiled at the funeral of General Thomas Jonathan "Stonewall" Jackson. Because many believed that Jackson was a pious Christian soldier, and because the flag was white, it earned the nickname of the "Stainless banner." This flag had a flaw. Due to the all-white design, the Stainless Banner resembled a flag of truce when the wind was calm. To remedy this, a third national flag was approved. Called the "Modified Stainless Banner," this flag looked exactly like the Stainless Banner, except there was a vertical red stripe. The Confederate Congress approved the flag in the final months of the Confederacy, and it would serve as the official national flag until the end of the war.[7]

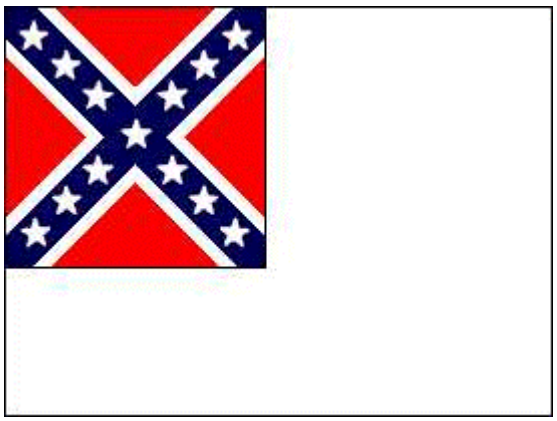

Figure 2.2: The Stainless Banner.

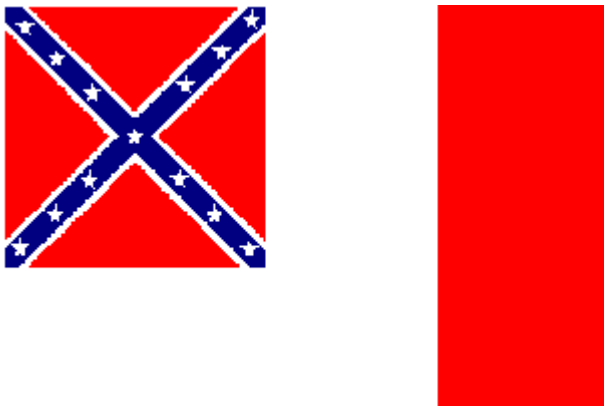

Figure 2.3: The Modified Stainless Banner.

[7] John M. Coski, "The Confederate Battle Flag in Historical Perspective," in *Confederate Symbols in the Contemporary South*, eds. J. Michael Martinez, William D. Richardson, and Ron McNinch-Su (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2000), 98-100.

Despite the Stainless Banner, the Modified Stainless Banner, and the Stars and Bars as the official flags of the Confederacy, the flag most associated with the Confederacy was the Confederate battle flag, also called the southern cross or the rebel flag. The flag was called the southern cross because many closely identified the blue x-shaped cross or saltier on the flag with St. Andrew's cross. According to historian John M. Coski, the flag's designer, William Porcher Miles of South Carolina, originally designed the red flag with St. George's cross or upright cross, embedded with fifteen stars, the original slave states; it featured the palmetto and crescent of South Carolina. Miles changed the design by eliminating the palmetto and crescent and replaced the St. George's cross with an X or saltier; he also used the number of stars as states in the Confederacy.[8] Miles removed the Christian cross explicitly to appease the sensitivities of Jewish southerners. By forsaking the Christian symbol for what he thought was a symbol void of religion, Miles had designed the most recognizable symbol of the South. Although Miles saw the X as a saltier, contemporaries and succeeding generations identified the X with St. Andrew.[9]

St. Andrew, the patron saint of Scotland, was the first of the apostles to be called by Jesus to join his ministry. After Jesus' crucifixion, St. Andrew's missionary work would take him to Asia Minor in present-day Turkey, to Scythia in Southern Russia, and to Greece. Andrew spread the message of the gospels despite opposition by the

[8] At first, there were only eleven stars until late 1861 when the secession factions of Missouri and Kentucky were allowed to join the Confederacy. Then thirteen stars were added. Missouri and Kentucky never fully seceded and had governments in exile in the Confederacy as well as government loyal to the Union. See Coski, *The Confederate Battle Flag*, 4-11.

[9] Ibid., 4-6, 11; Alan K. Samuell, *Battle Flags of Texas in the Confederacy* (Austin: Eakin Press, 1995), 3.

authorities that eventually led to his death. Most of what is written of Andrew in the time after his death and into the medieval period were forgeries and myths. There was very little known of Andrew after Jesus' crucifixion.[10] According to legend, in Patras, Greece, Andrew would be crucified on an X-shaped cross for his advocacy of ascetic practices, for converting followers to Christianity, and for believing he was not worthy to die as Jesus on an upright cross.[11] He would not die a quick death; he lived for two days on the cross before expiring. The X-shaped cross thus became his symbol. His remains were buried in Patras but were removed to Constantinople in the fourth century. In the fifth century, St, Regulus, Rule, took a few of Andrew's bones and relics to Scotland. Rule buried the relics and bones at a place that came to be known as St. Andrews, and his cross became the symbol of the nation of Scotland.[12]

Many held that Miles chose St. Andrew's cross to be the model for his flag, but Miles saw the X as a saltier, a symbol from heraldry. Many saw the cross/saltier as a pair of suspenders, and with eleven stars at the time; the stars could not be placed evenly on the flag.[13] For these reasons, the southern cross took a back seat to the Stars and Bars and would remain an after-thought until the first major battle of the Civil War at First Manassas on July 21, 1861. During the battle, General P. G. T. Beauregard found difficulty in distinguishing between his troops and federal troops at a

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[10] William Steuart McBirnie, *The Search for the Twelve Apostles* (Wheaton, Il.: Tyndale House Publishers, 1973), 77-81.

[11] Ascetic practices included the renunciation of home and property, fasting, and self-deprivation.

[12] McBirnie, *The Search for the Twelve Apostles*, 82; Richard P. McBrien, ed., *The HarperCollins Encyclopedia of Catholicism*, (San Francisco: HarpersCollins, 1995), 45; F. L. Cross and F. A. Livingstone, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 60, 113.

[13] Coski, *The Confederate Battle Flag*, 6.

crucial moment in the battle. Thinking that the battle was all but won, Beauregard spied an unidentified unit marching onto the field that might be reinforcing the federals' ranks. The unit could out flank Beauregard's men and turn the tide of battle, but the unit was finally identified as the 7th Louisiana Brigade of General Jubal Early. The flag they were carrying was the Stars and Bars. From that moment, Beauregard realized he needed a "battle flag," a flag that could easily be distinguished from the Stars and Stripes. He turned to the Confederate War Department and William Porcher Miles to design a flag to be strictly used by the army. Miles simply pulled out his old design; the general quickly approved the flag and issued it to the Army Northern Virginia (ANV). General Joseph E. Johnston proposed that the flag should be rectangular and could therefore be better proportioned and could vary in size depending on the service branch: "forty-eight inches square for the infantry regiments, thirty-six inches for artillery batteries, and thirty inches for the cavalry regiments."[14]

Figure 2.4: The Army of Northern Virginia Battle Flag.

As the war progressed, Beauregard was transferred to other departments, first to Mississippi and the Army of Tennessee and later to South Carolina. While in Mississippi, he served as second-in-command to General Albert Sidney Johnston.

[14] Ibid., 8-9.

Beauregard tried to standardize flags flown by Confederate units in the West, but regiments flew their own unique flags. These standards may have added color to the battlefield but could add confusion as well due to the chaos of battle and smoke from rifle and cannon fire on the battlefield. The three more identifiable flags of the West were Dorn's, Polk's, and Hardee's flag. Dorn's flag was a flag with a sea of white stars and a white crescent moon. Polk's flag was a blue flag with a red St. George's cross lined in white and embedded with eleven stars. Lt. General Leonidas Polk, the flag's namesake, was an Episcopal bishop and may have been inspired by his faith in designing the flag. Hardee's flag was a blue flag with a white oval disc.[15] These three flags were only a few of the many different flags flown by units in the West. Despite Beauregard's efforts to standardize, the units continued to fly their own colors throughout most of the war.

Later, General Joseph E. Johnston and General John Bell Hood continued Beauregard's efforts of standardizing the Confederate battle flag in the West and enjoyed better success. The design of the Confederate battle flag in the West was different from the ANV flag, however. The Army of Tennessee flag was a rectangle not a square. This would become the famous "Rebel Flag" of later years.[16] One of Beauregard's greatest contributions to the Confederacy was his effort to standardize the colors of the army. He brought the Confederate battle flag to the department of South Carolina, Florida, and Georgia and substituted it for the state flags then in use.[17] The

[15] Samuell, *Battle Flags of Texas in the Confederacy*, 63.

[16] Coski, *The Confederate Battle Flag*, 12-14.

[17] Ibid., 13.

Confederate Naval Jack was the same design as the Confederate battle flag flown by the army of the Tennessee.[18] Despite the efforts of Beauregard, Johnston, and Hood,

Figure 2.5: The Confederate Battle Flag.

not all Confederate units flew the Confederate battle flag. Due to material shortages and sentimental attachment, many units in the West flew their own regimental colors or the Stars and Bars until the end of the war. Many units resisted changing to the battle flag because the old flags held more significance. The flags carried into battle during the first days of the war reminded the soldiers of hearth and home. The flags were more likely made by mothers, sisters, sweethearts, or wives. The flags served to remind the soldiers not only of home but also of war, fallen comrades, and of battles fought. Valor and honor were deeply embedded feelings soldiers had towards their beloved colors. Giving up such icons was difficult, but by 1863, most of the units east of the Appalachians had received the Confederate battle flags. That did not mean they adopted the flags. Like the Confederate States themselves, the Confederate Army ad little power to impose its will on individual units when the issue centered on flags.[19]

When the war ended and the time came for the Confederate soldier to pack up their gear to go home, he had to furl his flag and surrender it to the Union army. This

[18] Ibid., 55.

[19] Prince, *Rally 'Round the Flag Boys!*, 14-16.

may seem to be a simple process, but the soldier's emotional attachments to the flag by soldiers caused them to fell as though they were losing another friend to the war. By this time, the flag had gone beyond a concrete symbol of country; it had become an abstract symbol of heroism and valor.[20] General Joshua Chamberlain, the famed commander of the 20th Maine at Gettysburg, noted how the Confederates treated their tattered flags when they finally surrendered their colors at Appomattox. The soldiers would run from "their ranks, kneeling over them, clinging to them, pressing to them with their burning tears," while others would tenderly fold the rags and place them on the ground with gentle loving care. Cpl. Sam Watkins of the 1st Tennessee infantry described his unit's surrender of "their" flag as a solemn occasion. The flag was ripped to shreds by bullets with little bits of blue and red, holding the flag together, but it had followed them into every battle. They simply but carefully stacked the colors with their guns. The attachment that the southern fighting men had for the flag was undeniable: a symbol of soldierly valor. According to Coski, this led many to call the war "a rich man's war, and a poor man's fight."[21] The flag had become more than the military instrument facilitating identification, control, and maneuver. It had become a comrade in arms that served alongside the soldiers. The flag represented the men that died, the cause, the principles for which they were fighting, and for the war itself. "At last a legend would arise, a legend of honor and duty, of sacrifice against great odds, a legend that would pit gallantry against impersonal force."[22] The flag had by the war's end become a

[20] Ibid., 5.

[21] Coski, "The Confederate Battle Flag in Historical Perspective," 96.

[22] Frank E. Vandiver, *Their Tattered Flags: Epic of the Confederacy* (New York: Harper's Magazine Press, 1970), 306.

unifying force for the people of a conquered nation.[23]

After the Civil War was over, the South's morale and spirit were broken. Most of its young men were either dead or maimed by the war. Those that survived and did not suffer any visible scars had to live with the emotional scars of war. The South entered a time of mourning and healing. To cope with the loss of so many loved ones, white southerners developed rituals, holidays, and memorials to commemorate the Civil War. This became known as the Lost Cause. As defined by historian Gaines Foster, the Lost Cause was "the postwar writings and activities that perpetuated the memory of the Confederacy."[24] Women and the clergy would have the most influence on the ideology of the Lost Cause and the Confederate flag's role in it. Mainly the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) would carry out the woman's role. The UDC objectives were simple: collect, preserve, memorialize, and teach the "true" history of the Confederacy.[25]

Another group called the Ladies Memorial Associations (LMAs) existed before the UDC. The LMAs began the process of healing by defeating many of the rituals of the Lost Cause such as building monuments to the Confederate veterans and decorating cemeteries, but they would relinquish these duties to the UDC as the latter gained more member and support in the late 1890s. The LMAs as the latter gained more members and support in the late 1890s. The LMAs tended to be local organizations with few resources while the UDC was regional and had better access to

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[23] Prince, *Rally 'Round the Flag Boys*, 9-10.

[24] Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, The Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865 to 1913* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 5.

[25] Ibid., 116.

resources through state legislatures. Most women in the South belonged to both.[26]

A third group that was influential with the Lost Cause was the southern clergy. The clergy would participate in the Lost Cause by healing the religious wounds caused by the realization that the region had lost favor with God. They portrayed Stonewall Jackson, Robert E. Lee, and Jefferson Davis as saints. To reinforce this, the UDC placed pictures of Lee and Jackson in schools and determined that Lee's birthday, 19 January, would be a holiday throughout the South. According to historian Charles Reagan Wilson, the clerics were priests to a civil religion that paid homage to a nation that no longer existed, romanticized the past for future generations, and sugar coated the horrors of slavery.[27] The UDC did not stop with just memorializing but also included educating children. The UDC devoted great effort to insure that local schools were teaching the "true" history of the South, and state education boards adopted textbooks that gave a southern viewpoint void of any northern bias. Fred A. Bailey argued that the UDC was successful in its attempts to censor books with northern bias or "untrue histories." Kelly McMichael Stott agreed that the UDC did influence the adoption of textbooks with a pro-southern viewpoint, but the learning of the "true" history, the UDC did play an active role in censoring textbooks to ensure that the "truth" was available for all those willing to learn it.[28]

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[26] Ibid., 42. For more information on the UDC, see Karen L. Cox, *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy ad the Preservation of Confederate Culture* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003).

[27] Charles Reagan Wilson, *Baptized in Blood: The Rebellion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1920* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1980), 25, 95.

[28] Kelly McMichael Stott, "From Lost Cause to Female Empowerment," (Ph. D. diss., University of North Texas, 2001), 204, 223-224; Fred A. Bailey, "Free Speech and the 'Lost Cause' in Texas: A Study of Social Control in the New South," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 97 (1991), 454; Fred Arthur Bailey, "The Textbooks of the 'Lost

Despite all this effort to memorialize the Confederacy, the Confederate flag was absent for most of the Lost Cause era. John Coski argued that during Reconstruction federal officials did not give out any orders directly banning the Confederate flag from being flown in public but implied its ban. In Rome, Georgia, in January 1867, three men were arrested displaying the battle flag at a funeral for a former Confederate officer. The incident clearly showed that federal officials and the military were hostile towards the flag and saw it as disdainful. After Reconstruction, southerners would fly the flag at certain times to memorialize and honor fallen Confederate soldiers. The Confederate flag began to take shape in the minds of white southerners as their flag. Strangely, another group during the Lost Cause era did not fly the flag. The Ku Klux Klan did not fly the flag. The Ku Klux Klan did not fly the flag at any of its rituals or meetings until the 1940s; they did not fly it during Reconstruction or at its revival in 1915.[29]

By the 1880s, the northern view of the Civil War and of the South had begun to change. Politicians and newspaper editors wanted to put the past in the past. They cried that the "past was dead," and it was time to move forward to reconciliation. More northerners began to believe that failure to forget made a person look petty and narrow-minded. Former abolitionists began to make avowals of sympathy to southerners. On the other hand, members of the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) did not favor reconciliation. They wanted a place in northern society and to be seen as putting the past behind them, but the GAR found itself in an uncomfortable place. The members found the sentimentalism of reunions to be contrived, degrading, and manipulative.

Cause': Censorship and the Creation of the Southern State Histories," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, 75 (Fall 1991) 520.

[29] Coski, *The Confederate Battle Flag*, 47-49.

They voiced their opposition against romanticizing the Confederacy to politicians. To the politicians that played up the valor represented by the Confederate flag, the GAR members voiced their opposition against them personally.[30] In 1887, President Grover Cleveland endorsed a proposal by the War Department to return captured Confederate flags and unleashed a firestorm of backlash mainly from Union veterans. A GAR post from Iowa vehemently denounced the proposal and Cleveland's support of it by calling the Confederate flags a "representation of treason" and nothing more. The Spanish-American War served as a conciliating force between the two sections and led to the passage of bills in 1905 and 1906 from Congress that brought a return of captured flags to the South. It did not entirely cool the ire of some Union veterans who would protest the flag's use at both the fiftieth and seventy-fifth anniversaries of Gettysburg in 1913 and 1938.[31] Most in the North began to accept the flag as a symbol of valor after 1898.

The North's acceptance of the Confederate battle flag as a symbol of southern valor dismissed southern blacks' view of the war in the ongoing battle for racial justice. The North's acceptance of the flag as representative of southern gallantry and subsequent reconciliation with the South was related to the North's surrender to segregation and "Jim Crow."[32] During the period of increasing segregation, blacks could not readily speak out in opposition to the flag; doing so would endanger their lives. This would have been a direct violation of racial etiquette to challenge white authority and would have placed a southern black's life in jeopardy. An example of what

[30] Nina Silber, *The romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865-1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 96-98.

[31] Coski, "The Confederate Battle Flag in Historical Perspective," 104-105.

[32] Ibid., 105-106.

happens to those persons of color that violated the racial etiquette occurred in Memphis in 1893. Three black grocers had prospered, flaunted their prosperity towards a white grocer in competition with them, and defied local white authorities. A group of whites had broken into the black grocers' store and attempted to loot merchandise. The black grocers used force to protect their property and fired upon the whites and police. In response, the Memphis authorities rounded up the three African American grocers along with hundreds of others in the black community. That night, the three grocers were taken from their cells to some nearby woods and killed. One of the white papers in Memphis described the entire grisly scene in the woods in fine detail. The article read as if told by an eyewitness of how one of the slain men grabbed a lyncher's gun and held onto the barrel causing the gun to discharge into his closed fist. When the bodies were discovered, his hand was torn to pieces providing authentication to the paper's story. A local black woman named Ida B. Wells published outrage against the lynchings in her newspaper and was forced to flee to Chicago while her press and office were destroyed by a white mob.[33] Blacks could only voice their opposition in private lest the wrath of the white populace came to bear on them. Though the flag was not used in this instance, the slightest disruption of racial norms could result in death. This included speaking against the flag.

Some southern whites contend that the Confederate flag represents their heritage and history. A part of that history was lynching southern blacks based on

[33] David Goldfield, *Still Fighting the Civil War: The American South and Southern History* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2003), 206-207; Ida B. Wells, *Crusade for Justice: The Autobiography of Ida B. Wells*, ed. Alfreda M. Duster, Negro American Biographies and Autobiographies, ed. John Hope Franklin (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 47-52.

protecting racial etiquette, maintaining dominance over a perceived inferior race, and protecting whit womanhood. Walter Buenger claimed in *The Path to a Modern South* that the insecurity of southern white males about their own gender roles and sexuality caused an increase in the number of lynchings against southern blacks. The rapid growth and population turnover within the black community in urban areas caused alarm to whites. Many of the black faces were unfamiliar. This unfamiliarity caused consternation among the white elites and middle-class. The new blacks had no ties to white landlords and appeared to be without any control. Lynchings became the tool to maintain white supremacy and to bond the local blacks to a state of denigration, Jim Crow.[34] Southern whites have chosen not to remember that part of the past. If the flag represents the past and time-honored traditions, then the flag also represents those traditions such as lynchings that are now seen as barbaric and un-American. This is not easy for many white southerners to admit.

Ida B. Wells saw the rise in lynchings similarly to Buenger; white males felt a need to protect the sanctity of the white blood to insure the superiority of the white race over the black. Even white women felt compelled to protect the purity of the race. In *On Lynchings*, Wells related a story that ran in the *Memphis Ledger* about a young white girl named Lillie Bailey from Mississippi but who came to Memphis via Arkansas. Three months after her arrival, she gave birth to a mulatto child. She stayed at the Women's Refuge, but was removed to City Hospital. If her baby had been white or if Bailey had named the father as her rapist, she would have been able to stay at

[34] Walter Buenger, *The Path to a Modern South: Northeast Texas Between Reconstruction and the Great Depression* (Austin; University of Texas Press, 2001), 21-23.

Woman's Refuge. Her refusal to state the man's name was a case of "fearful depravity."[35] If the girl named the father, he would have been hunted down and lynched to avenge the indignity he brought upon her and the child. Her refusal to name the father implied that the union between them was consensual, thus she was removed the City Hospital to face the ridicule of an unforgiving white society. This history fell through the cracks of white memory when defenders of the Confederate flag cry heritage not hate.

Between 1900 and World War II, the Confederate flag had not obtained the popularity and widespread use as seen in later years. The flag flew at certain Confederate veteran and memorial organizations' rituals, but it appeared mostly At funerals of Confederate veterans. The St. Andrew's cross was associated with the Confederacy and was venerated in white southern society, protecting it from misuse and abuse. This reverence for the flag led to its use as the symbol of the South and the Confederate soldier. The southern cross became the only choice for the logo of "Dixie." Occasionally, however, politicians flew the flag during campaigns, businesses used the flag for advertisements, and colleges waved the flag in celebrating the teams that won victories at intersectional contests, such as the University of Alabama's Rose Bowl victory over the University of Washington in 1925.[36] The flag was used mostly in this time period to honor the Confederate dead by shrouding their caskets under the beloved flag of their southern nation.

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[35] Ida b. Wells-Barnett, *On Lynchings*, introd. Patricia Hill Collins, Classics in Black Studies Series (Amherst, N. Y.: Humanity Books, 2002), 34.:

[36] Coski, "The Confederate Battle Flag in Historical Perspective," 107-108.

In World War II, attitudes towards the flag began to change. The flag did not just represent southern identity, but it symbolized opposition to authority. Units in the Pacific, usually made up of southern servicemen, flew the Confederate flag in a show of regional pride and as an act of rebellion against regulations. Marine units, such as Captain Julian Dusenbury's Company A of the Fifth Marine regiment, would raise Confederate battle flags on captured ground. Dusenbury had raised a flag on the island of Peleliu earlier in the war. On Okinawa, Memorial Day, 30 May 1945, his company raised another Confederate battle flag on top of the ruins of Shuri Castle after his men had captured the stronghold. This ruffled a few feathers because his superiors wanted to have an elaborate flag raising of their own with the American Flag.[37]

Dusenbury was not alone in his waving of the colors of the Confederacy. Showing the Confederate flag gave southerners a sense of pride of place, and it gave them an opportunity to have fun by chasing the boredom of military life away. One group of southerners formed the Confederate Forces in the Solomon Islands (CONFORSOLS). This group flew the flag and sent orders to kill Yankees first and Japanese second. They celebrated Secession Day and Lee's birthday. Most was done in fun, but again, their immediate superiors were not happy with the violation of regulations and the group disbanded.[38] Christopher C. Nehle argued that the CONFORSOLS' use of the Confederate battle flag was not done in jest but as a representation of southern military prowess over Yankee buddies and, implicitly, of white supremacy. He did not prove his white supremacy charge with specific instances

[37] Coski, *The Confederate Battle Flag*, 91-92.

[38] Ibid., 93.

of blatant racism, and John Coski did not elaborate on the issue.[39] The CONFORSOLS were exhibiting their southern identity and white heritage with the Confederate flag. According to W. Fitzhugh Brundage, when southern identity and white identity are interchangeable, white claims to power and status undercut black claims.[40] The argument of white supremacy could be advanced against the CONFORSOLS, but their use of the flag was a subtle racism and was seen as confrontational to military authority and regulation. Their superiors did not object to the flag itself as a symbol of racism but to the flag's use in violation of regulations.

Another group not associated with the military began to use the flag in its rituals. Confederate memorial organizations glorified the Ku Klux Klan principles and actions during Reconstruction and used the flag in conjunction with memorials to the original Klan. There was no evidence of the original Klan or the Klan that was reborn at Stone Mountain, Georgia, in 1915, using the Confederate flag. This 1915 Klan had its eyes on expanding from coast-to-coast and draping a white robe of nativist ideology over the country. In its beginning, the new Klan's primary symbols were the Starts and Stripes and the Christian flag. By 1943, one of the many splinter groups of the Klan began to use the Confederate battle flag in its rituals. The "Columbian," a group of Klan-Nazi youths began to salute the flag.[41] This foreshadowed the changing nature of the flag's symbolism. The Confederate battle flag took on a completely new meaning separate

[39] Christopher C. Nehle, "Flag-Waving Wahoos: Confederate Symbols t the University of Virginia, 1941-1951," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 110 (Fall 2002), 469.

[40] W. Fitzhugh Brundage, *The Southern Past: A Clash of Race and Memory* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 2.

[41] Coski, "The Confederate Battle Flag in Historical Perspective," 108-109.

from glorification of a noble and gallant past and became attached to the vicious history of lynchings and "Jim Crow." The meaning of the flag would no longer be determined by memorial groups but by popular interpretations based on the deeds of the Klan and other hate groups.

During the Korean War, similar instances of Confederate flag waving occurred as well, but this time there was competition from other groups. New Yorker soldiers would fly New York City's flag to show the southerners that their flag was not the only one that could fly high above the camp. This occurred during the midst of s flag fad that swept the nation. Eventually, stock car racing incorporated the flag into its culture. The track best known for use of the Rebel flag was Darlington Raceway in South Carolina, home of the Dixie 300, later the Dixie 500. Coupled with the rebellious nature of the stock car scene, the flag came to be associated with rebels, bikers, good old boys, and rednecks. In the 1970s, the Confederate battle flag bug screen protector became an emblem of the independent trucker. It represented the driver's independence of working for himself not for a large trucking company. The General Lee on the *Dukes of Hazzard* reinforced the good ol' boy image for all America.[42] In the 1980s, the British rocker, Billy Idol, sang a *Rebel Yell* with his customized Confederate guitar. He took the image of a rebel with his Confederate battle flag to international levels.[43]

Stock car race fans were known for their independence in the 1960s and 1970s, and Billy Idol was the poster boy for a rebel without a cause in the 1980s. Many white southerners in the 1990s saw the flag as no longer the flag of their ancestors. Many

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[42] Coski, *The Confederate Battle Flag*, 117, 125-127, 161.

[43] Chris Springer, "The Troubled Resurgence of the Confederate Flag," *History Today*, (June 1993), 7-9.

saw the flag as a symbol of freedom from oppression. To fly the flag was nothing more than an expression of one's individual freedom and self-determination. This could explain the flag flying in the rear of trucks on the back roads of not the South but of Eastern Europe.[44]

Since Reconstruction and well into the twentieth century, southern blacks were second-class citizens forced to submit to the dominant culture of whites. Their history, voice, and memory were overlooked, unheard, or forgotten over most of American and southern history. In *Making Whiteness*, Grace Elizabeth Hale argued that white southerners were able to gain reconciliation with the rest of the nation by segregating themselves from black southerners at a time when blacks began to migrate out of the South. By placing blacks in subservient roles, whites in the South were able to prop themselves up as equals to the rest of the nation and still maintain their unique culture separate from the nation and from blacks.[45] This arrangement made one culture dominant over another and allowed the dominant culture's memory to be recorded as history while the other's memory became invisible.

If the memory of the African American experience was omitted from the annals of American and southern history, then there would be no opposition to segregation, mob violence against blacks, and the subservient role allotted to African Americans. By placing the entire subculture under the yoke of white supremacy, Anglo Americans were in effect erasing all the accomplishments and contributions black America had produced. They would be placed in the background, among the shadows of life. If

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[44] Goldfield, *Still Fighting the Civil War*, 311.

[45] Grace Elizabeth Hale, *Making Whiteness: The Culture of Segregation in the South*, 1890-1940 (New York: Vintage Books, 1998), 9-10.

black individuals tried to step outside of their assigned role within this culture, dire consequences such as death could and did result.

In his autobiography, Walter White recalled the Atlanta riot in September 1906. The white citizens of Atlanta, fueled by race baiting politics and false reports of white women being raped by black men, stormed into the black part of Atlanta, beating and killing any individual with the hint of colored skin that had the grave misfortune of crossing the mob's path. The most ironic part of the story was the White was white, blonde haired, and blue eyed but was considered black. He could very easily pass for white, but he chose to be black. Many others felt it was easier to pass for white than to face the constant humiliation that came with being black.[46] In the wind of segregation, children could freely mingle with other races, but with the end of childhood, "whites learned the meaning of segregation. African American could not really be loved."[47] White southerners claimed the Confederate battle flag represented their way of life, and that life included the oppression of blacks through segregation and violence. Through deduction, the flag represented oppression towards blacks. In an article in the *Dallas Morning News*, Herman Lodge could remember the days when the Klan held rallies in Waynesboro, Georgia, his hometown. When asked what he thought of those who still waved the rebel flag, he was quoted, "I know they don't like me, so why should I worry about it? They can fly it all they want." He said that the attitudes of whites towards the

[46] Walter White, *A Man Called White: The Autobiography of Walter White* (New York: The Viking Press, 1948), 3-12.

[47] Hale, *Making Whiteness*, 117.

black community would not change if the flag was taken away.[48] Lodge's expression explained that the Confederate battle flag may be the outward expression for white, but the feelings of hate and distrust in the white community extended beyond the flag. In the early twentieth century, white southerners did not have a need to fly the Confederate battle flag to express their feelings or attitudes; they were made evident with segregation, race riots, and the occasional lynching. In the late twentieth and early twenty-first century, whites needed only to fly the Confederate flag to convey the message of oppression.

During World War II, changes began that would affect the social order in the post-war years. Blacks became empowered by the war to speak out against what they perceived to be injustices.[49] These injustices in their minds did include the flying of the Confederate flag. The changes would lead to conflict and the Confederate flag would play a crucial role.

He changes accelerated by World War II forced the South to transform itself from a provincial backwater to a modern society more similar to the rest of the nation. The south would lose its ruralism, agrarianism, and poverty and gain urbanization, industrialization, and wealth on par with the other regions. The rural population, both white and black, began to move to the cities.[50] One change that came out of World War II was desegregation. The flag's connection with the defense of segregation started not

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[48] Doug J. Swanson, "A divisive Cause: The Confederate Flag called a Southern Right By Some, a Slap in the Face by Others," *Dallas Morning News*, 7 July 1997, 1A, 10A.

[49] Goldfield, *Still Fighting the Civil War*, 39.

[50] Morton Sosna, introduction to *Remaking Dixie: The Impact of World War II on the American South*, ed. Neil R. McMillen (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 1997), xiv-xv.

before World War II but in 1948 with the States' Rights Party. The States' Rights Party, was also known as the Dixiecrat party or the Dixiecrats, broke-off from the Democratic party in 1948 to protest the Democrat's civil rights plank. The party held its own convention in Birmingham and nominated Strom Thurmond for president and Fielding Wright for vice-president.[51] As Thurmond strolled towards the stage to the tune of Dixie to accept his nomination, the Stars and Stripes and Confederate battle flag escorted him; the portrait Robert E. Lee and the South Carolina flag followed him. He told the convention that the national party had abandoned them, if the poll taxes were repealed, bayonets would surround the ballot boxes. He attempted to distance himself from white supremacy by talking of states' rights as his foundation but quickly turned to segregation rhetoric by proclaiming that there were not enough troops in the army to force the South to integrate its schools, pools, theaters, and homes. The convention would later clarify that its aim was not to win the election but to win all the electoral votes of the South to prevent either Thomas Dewey or Harry S. Truman from winning. This would force the election to be decided in the House of Representatives where the South held eleven of the forty-eight votes. They would then hope that they could deadlock the election and force both parties to abandon their civil rights candidates. They believed they barter a compromise candidate.[52] Though their dreamed rebellion lost, the Dixiecrat's revolt gave a glimpse into the future of what was to come. The Confederate battle flag would come along as the symbol of opposition to the federal government.

[51] Kari Fredrickson, *The Dixiecrat Revolt and the End of the Solid South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 119.

[52] Ibid., 140.

The Dixiecrats revolted in 1948 despite the rise in sentiment that Americans should all be free regardless of color. At first, this voice was a small cry but grew louder in the 1950s and 1960s. As outcries continued, the Confederate battle flag began to appear increasingly in southern society.[53] States began to fly the flag atop their capitol domes. In wake of *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954, Georgia changed its state flag to incorporate the Confederate battle flag.[54] It was a rebellious act of defiance to fly the rebel flag to oppose federally mandated changes. As southern states began to fly the white south's flag again atop capitol domes, blacks could easily connect this as assign of continued white supremacy sponsored by the state government. *Brown v. Board of Education* may have ruled "separate-but-equal" unconstitutional, but southern state governments were determined to fight. Their symbol in this fight of resistance was the Confederate battle flag.

The resistance to integration involved not only flag waving but also demonstrations outside the schools to voice opposition to integration. On his trek across America documented in the book, *Travels With Charley*, John Steinbeck recounted the scene in New Orleans in late 1960 during the city's early days of integration when the "cheerleaders" led the crowd in the most "bestial and filthy and degenerate" chant, "a kind of frightening witch's Sabbath," words that were worse than dirt and left one "sick with weary nausea." This was in response to a little black girl being escorted by a U. S. federal marshal to class. Then crowd went into a frenzy when

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[53] Coski, "The Confederate Battle Flag in Historical Perspective," 109.

[54] Robert Holmes and M. Christine Cagle, "White Support for and Black Opposition to the Confederate Battle Flag," in *Confederate Symbols in the Contemporary South*, eds. Michael Martinez, William D. Richardson, Ron McNinch-Su (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000), 285-294.

the car carrying her pulled up to the curb of the school.[55] Steinbeck actually did not repeat the words spoken by the cheerleaders and crowd because they were too offensive. However, the way he couched the expressions made the crowd in the abstract provided a greater insight to the hate and dissatisfaction that white southerners had for desegregation. He did not say if the crowd carried Confederate flags, but the scene illustrated the outrage whites had for federally mandated integration.

Despite the growing campaign against segregation in the South, southerners relied heavily on their politicians to turn back the tide of segregation. Nowhere was the fight more intense than in Alabama. In the Spring of 1963, George Wallace approved the raising of the Confederate battle flag atop the capitol dome to commemorate the hundredth anniversary of he Civil War. This was the official version, but the truth was that Wallace was flying the flag in defiance of the federal government. Coupled with his famous "Segregation Now, Segregation Tomorrow, and Segregation Forever" speech, prepared by Asa Carter, the founder of the Ku Klux Klan of the Confederacy (the name of the Alabama Klan), Wallace showed that he was not interested in promoting the history of he flag but its connection to white supremacy.[56] Wallace was seen as the redneck Ivanhoe, riding his great white horse to do battle for white Alabama and the South against the horde of integrationists.[57] South Carolina flew the flag atop its capitol dome as well to commemorate the Civil War in 1961, but when 1965 became 1966, the

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[55] John Steinbeck, *Travels with Charley: In Search of America* (New York: Penguin Books, 1997), 194-196.

[56] Coski, *The Confederate Battle Flag*, 151-152.

[57] Dan T. Carter, *The Politics of Rage: George Wallace, The Origins of the New Conservatism, and the Transformation of American Politics* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995), 135.

flag stayed atop the dome in Columbia.[58] The flags in Alabama and South Carolina would later be embroiled in legal fights for their removal in the 1990s thirty years later. Eventually, both would be removed from the capitols.

In Alabama, the flag flying high above the capitol looked more sinister to blacks and some whites as the civil right battles played out in the state. This was the state where Police Commissioner Eugene "Bull" Connor would spray high-powered water cannons on marchers. Connor would give Robert Shelton's Klan 'fifteen minutes without interference" to maul and beat freedom riders in 1961.[59] Martin Luther King, Jr. would be thrown in jail for his nonviolent tactics to protest segregation. In 1965, he led marches from Selma to Montgomery to support the Voting Rights Act, but the march was not as important as what occurred after the march for the bill's passage. Viola Liuzzo, a middle-aged housewife from Wisconsin, was driving back to Selma, a car filled with Klansmen pulled alongside her vehicle and shot her dead.[60] This act alone showed the nation the uphill battle King and other civil rights activists had in the South during the 1960s and led to the passage of reform laws including the1960s and led to the passage of reform laws including the Voting Rights Act. During this time, the symbol carried by the Klan and other segregationists was the Confederate flag. In their hands, the flag came to represent racism, oppression, hatred, white supremacy, and segregation.

Though the Confederate battle flag represents different points of view, it is still part of the American culture. It has been brought out of the pat by individuals to

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[58] Prince, *Rally 'Round the Flag Boys*, 40.

[59] David Chalmers, *Backfire: How the Ku Klux Klan Helped the Civil Rights Movement* (New York; Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2003), 27-31.

[60] Ibid., 62-63.

represent either good or ill. The Confederate flag is a difficult symbol to understand because there is no consensus of its meaning. There is the flag of history representing the Confederacy in the Civil War. During the war, the Confederate battle flag had an illustrious four years despite not becoming the official flag of the Confederacy. After the war, the flag settled in a place of honor and reverence among the Confederate veterans and their descendants. Between the two world wars, white southerners occasionally brought the flag out to celebrate and commemorate their Confederate ancestors. Starting with the Spanish-American War and continuing with World War I, southerners and northerners began to put the Civil War behind them and unite as one nation again. This was done on southern terms and included the North's acceptance of the Confederate flag as a symbol of southern valor not of treason or slavery. Thus, reconciliation between the two sections coincided with the rise of segregation and lynchings in the South. Both sections had adopted a white supremacist view for the nation. African Americans were left to survive in a world that forced them to be second-class citizens. They had to be mindful of racial etiquette to prevent lynchings and mob violence to be inflicted on them by the Anglo majority in the South.

Despite Jim Crow, the Confederate battle flag remained unused as a symbol of hate, but that would change during and after World War II. During World War II, military units used the flag to thumb their noses at regulation and to show a subtle racism; the Klan began to use the flag as a symbol of their ideology. After the war, the South became more urbanized; rural blacks moved to cities as did rural whites. Southern blacks became more vocal against segregation and other aspects of Jim Crow. Whites became more vocal against change, so much so in fact that the Solid South

disappeared in 1948 with the formation of the Dixiecrats. Their symbol was the Confederate flag. After *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954, tensions grew as the white community opposed integration. Crowds would gather around schools to protest the entrance of little black children to the all-white school for the first time. During the civil rights era, another event occurred, the hundredth anniversary of the Civil War. Many flags began to be flown not to protest the civil right activists but to remember the Civil War. For some it was a clever way to mask their own hate in a veil of remembrance. With the Klan waving the flag, it became associated more the violence in the 1960s in southern cities than with the violence in the 1860s on battlefields. Another place where the flag could be found was at stock car races, on independent truckers, and on self-described rebels. To these individuals, the flag was a symbol of rebellion. The South had rebelled against the federal government at one time, and these rebels without a cause were rebellion against any kind of authority. The Confederate battle flag has many different interpretations and was used in many different ways. Not all uses and interpretations of the southern cross are of ill will; not all convey good will either.

CHAPTER 3

RAISING SCHOOL SYMBOLS ON SOUTHERN MEMORY

On a cool autumn night in the fall of 1974, two cross-town rivals, Grand Prairie High School (GPHS) and South Grand Prairie High School (SGPHS), faced each other for the first time in a bitter contest over bragging rights in the Dallas Suburb of Grand Prairie, Texas. The two schools represented opposite sides of the town. GPHS, referred to as the "North" high school, represented the north side of Grand Prairie. SGPHS represented "South" Grand Prairie. To show their school spirit in a special way against GPHS in this miniature Civil War, the students of SGPHS decided to carry a different banner onto the field of battle. As the "Gophers" of GPHS followed their colors onto the field, the "Warriors" of SGPHS followed the Confederate battle flag. The use of the flag was bizarre, because the mascot had no connection with the Confederacy. To add to the peculiar scene, the player carrying the star-studded St. Andrew's cross onto the field was African American.[1]

[1] Jill Bargsley, interview with author, tape recording, 30 November, 2004; Chris Kracmer, interview with author, tape recorded, 30 November, 2004; Samuel Mitchell, interview with author, tape recorded, 30 November, 2004; *Signal* [South Grand Prairie Yearbook], 1976, pp. 200-201. The game described occurred on October 2, 1974. The author identified fifteen schools that currently have or had in the past Confederate, but only eight will be discussed. There are seven schools that might have Confederate symbols based on the schools' names or mascot (i.e. Robert E. Lee High School and Rebels mascot). To fully understand why Texas adhered to such Confederate icons despite its strong connection with the West, more research will be needed to explore the

The students of SGPHS chose a Confederate battle flag to express their school's spirit in the contest with GPHS to create a tradition specific to the rivalry between the two schools. There was no intent to degrade African Americans or incite racial tension. The students used the flag to highlight the contest that pitted the north side of Grand Prairie against the south side. This north versus south aspect of the contest evoked the memory of the American Civil War between the North and the South. The gesture was not meant to fly in the face of the African-American players on the Gophers' sidelines or any other African Americans in the Stadium. The fact that a black player ran on to the field showed that the flag was a source of rallying spirit for the game by white and black students. The students did not most likely consider the ramifications of using the flag. To them, the rebel flag represented the "South is ***RISING***." "South" meant South Grand Prairie High, not the Confederate South.[2]

The choice of Confederate symbols and mascots was not controversial in the 1950s and 1960s. The schools created mascots and themes to develop tradition and to establish a connection to the community the school represented. This gave communities pride, knowing the school represented them. The schools that chose the confederate theme did so because communities built high schools in the "South" part of town or wanted the alliteration between the mascot and school name, such as "Richland Rebels." By choosing the Confederate motif, the schools had a ready-made package: a school flag, school colors, a fight song, and a team nickname. At the time, few individuals raised any questions in the overwhelmingly white school districts of the

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other schools not covered in this study. The schools not covered in the study had little if any controversy surrounding Confederate symbols or they came to the author's attention late in the research process.

[2] Mitchell, interview with author, 30 November, 2004.

1950s and 1960s. Firmly rooted within the communities, the Lost Cause tradition, reinforced by such by such organizations as the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC), and the Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV) and by movies, books, and cartoons, held sway over students as they established their own traditions at the fledging schools. One administrator commented on South Garland High School's adoption of Confederate symbols in 1964 by saying, "What could be better?" At the time of adoption, the calendar read 1964, but many southern whites still believed in the noble cause of their ancestors.[3]

High schools in Texas had many varied mascots and themes down the corridor of years. There were tigers, lions, wildcats, bulldogs, and eagles, the usual suspects for mascot names. Then, there were the more colorful, imaginative names such as the blizzards, unicorns, rohawks, maroons, mighty mites, and skeeters. In recent years, however, one mascot name lost favor with schools and school districts throughout the state: rebels. None since the late 1960s chose the name rebels as a mascot or nickname. Not one school chose an army title such as the generals or the colonels. Most new schools chose names such as hawks, jaguars, and patriots. The school districts named schools after members of the community, significant public figures such as presidents, or the geographic location of the school. The naming of the schools changed also. Since the 1960s, no community has dared to name a school after Robert E. Lee, Jefferson Davis, or any other Confederate.[4]

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[3]Dr.Annette Keller, interview with author, taped recording, Denton, Tx. 17 May 2006; Joe Wetzel, interview with author, taped recording, Garland, Tx. 2 April 2004.

[4]Barlow, *Mascot Mania*, 103-147.

Schools chose mascots to impart the noble qualities associated with the mascot, whether it was an animal or a person such as a cowboy or a patriot. A lion symbolized courage, a bear strength, and a tiger fierceness. A cowboy represented the pioneering spirit of the mythical west, a patriot independence, and a vandal toughness with an unconquerable spirit. The word mascot derived from several French words tainted with witchcraft and translated as a charm, mask, or witch. The word entered the English language in 1881 with the translation of the French opera *La Mascotta*. The play's title translated to *The Mascot.* The play was about a young French farm girl who brought good luck to whoever possessed her. The idea of a mascot bringing a team good luck remained strong whether the mascot was an animal, person, or object. The concept of naming teams after a mascot was as American phenomenon, not European.[5]

William Barret Travis High School founded in 1953 in Austin is the first and oldest school presented in this study. The school district named Travis High after a hero of the Alamo, William Barret Travis. It was the first school in Austin south of the Colorado River. According to Vice-Principal Jerry Jarmon, the student body chose the “Rebels” as a mascot because the school represented the *South* Austin and the schools colors were red and gray. The schools main rival, McCallum High School, Opened the same

[5]Barlow, *Mascot Mania*,3-4. According to Barlow et al., the word mascot came from the French word *mascotte*, meaning *charm*. The French borrowed the word from the Provencal word *mascotto*, meaning sorcery *fetish.* Mascotto evolved from *masco*, meaning witch. *Masco* developed from the Medieval Latin word *masca*, meaning mask, specter, and witch; Carol Spindel, *Dancing at Halftime: Sports and the controversy over American Indian Mascots* (New York: New York University Press: 1995), 29. Spindel discusses the use of Native Americans as mascots and argues that their use represents a form of racism that is degrading to Native Americans. For more Native American mascots read *Team Spirits: the Native American Mascot Controversy* (New York: New York University Press, 2000) edited by C. Richard King and Charles Fueling Springwood.

autumn in North Austin and chose the colors of blue and gray. The Travis High students believed Rebels and the Confederate flag to be appropriate. The Confederate flag and mascot adoption occurred despite the fact that the school and county were named in honor of Travis and the city in honor of Stephen F. Austin.[6] Neither man had a connection to the Confederacy, but both were heroes to all Texans and *rebelled* against the Mexican authorities in 1836. Therefore, they were rebels.

Travis County appeared to have a strong historical connection with the Old South and the Confederacy. The history of the region began in 1842 with the approval of Austin as the site of the state's capital and Travis as the name of the county. The county farms produced cattle, corn, cotton, and wheat despite the threat of Comanche raids before the Civil War. Although having a small number of slaves compared to East Texas, citizens expressed their beliefs by greeting Governor-elect Sam Houston with "our rights in the Union, but our independence out of it." Travis County citizens believed in the right to own slaves despite their strong Unionist beliefs. The citizens preferred staying in the Union, but if the federal government could not promise protection of all their rights, including the right to own slaves, they would opt for the choice of secession to protect their rights. The presidential election of 1860 divided the county on the issue of secession between those in favor of slavery and those in favor of the Union. Houston favored the Union, yet on 2 March, Texas Independence Day, Texas voted for secession. The hero of San Jacinto left the governorship in great sadness after refusing to take the oath of allegiance to the Confederacy as his beloved Texas left the Union.

[6] Jerry Jarmon, interview with author, taped recording, Austin, Tx., 2 December 2005; Mary Starr Barkley, *History of Travis County and Austin, 1839-1899* (Waco: Texian Press, 1963), 55.

Austin raised several units for the Confederate Army, including the Travis Rifles, Tom Green Rifles, and Terry's Rangers. In all, six hundred citizens of Travis County served; one-third lay asleep beneath the battlefields from Shiloh to Gettysburg to Appomattox. Two of the more famous individuals that failed to return were Generals Ben McCulloch and Albert Sidney Johnston. After the war, the state built a Confederate home for the state's veterans. The University of Texas built the Littlefield Memorial Fountain to honor outstanding southern men: Woodrow Wilson, Jefferson Davis, James S. Hogg, Albert Sidney Johnston, Stephen Reagan, and Robert E. Lee. The Fountain and statues were the result of a gift from Major George W. Littlefield.[7]

Austin and Travis County had a rich Confederate history, and Travis High built upon this tradition with its Confederate motif. In the 1953-1954 school year, the student council adopted the Confederate battle flag as the official school flag.[8] The reason the students chose the Confederacy was evident on the dedication page of the schools first yearbook:

> We the staff of the Rebel Roundup of 1954 proudly dedicate the first annual published at William B. Travis High School to the citizens of South Austin, who through their earnest endeavor have given the most modern educational facilities available. Rebels now and in the future will always be grateful to you.[9]

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[7] Thomas Fletcher Harwell, *Eighty Years Under the Stars and Bars: Including Biographical Sketches of "100 Confederate Soldiers I Have Known," United Confederate Veterans' Organization History of Camp Ben McCulloch, U. C. V. and Other Confederate Information* (Kyle, TX: Thomas Fletcher Harwell, 1947), 8;Barkley, *History of Travis County and Austin*, 55, 80-89, 125, 198.

[8] *Rebel Rounup,*1956, outer cover, front cover, pp. 7, 8, 75, 88, 116,138, 190, 195. The star-studded St. Andrew's cross is the same as the Confederate battle flag, Rebel flag, Confederate flag, or the Southern Cross.

[9] *Rebel Roundup* [Travis High School, Austin], 1954, p.5.

Travis High represented the community of South Austin. With the word “South,” the students associated their school with the Old South and the Confederate South. Accompanying the dedication, there were three cartoons depicting a rebel dressed in a Confederate uniform. This little figure would grace the pages throughout the yearbook, sometimes carrying a rebel flag. The students named the school newspaper *The Southerner.* Its logo included a Confederate flag. The drill team members named themselves the Rebeletes. The band’s name was the Rebel Band. The students voted a girl from the student body to represent Travis High similar to Miss Texas or Miss America. Her title was Southern Belle.[10]

The next year, the school began to incorporate the rebel flag into more school activities. Teachers decorated their rooms with Confederate flags, students flew the flag at prep rallies, and the ROTC color Guard carried the confederate flag along with the Stars and Stripes and Lone Star fags.[11] In 1956, the flag appeared on the yearbook cover for the first time. Drawings depicted scenes from antebellum life in the South including a plantation home, a Steamboat named the *Robert E. Lee*, a ball with southern belles dressed in hoop skirts, cotton bolls, depictions of southern gentility with a southern lady playing a piano in the parlor, and southern gentlemen hunting. By 1959, their mascot, the *Colonel,* made his first appearance in the pages of the yearbook. His duties included delighting the fans at the McCallum game, participating in the halftime show with the band and Rebeletes, and escorting the football sweetheart at the homecoming game. The teacher of the year received the Johnny Reb award for

[10] Ibid., 58, 100-103, 106-107, 138.

[11] *Rebel Roundup*, 1955, pp. 73, 203, 210-211.

the first time in 1959. This was a figurine made to appear like a Confederate soldier, but who looked oddly enough like the Bigboy burger mascot.[12]

As the years marched down the road of time, the flag began to grow in importance, and the school incorporated it more into the fabric of the high school culture. The Confederate flag took up the entire cover of the 1964 *Rebel Round Up.* To remind everyone who they represented in 1966-1967, the students erected a banner across the bridge that connected South Austin to downtown that read, "Welcome to South Austin, Home of the Fightin' Rebels." The senior class officers posed for their picture with both the Lone Star flag and the Confederate, a clear linkage between Texas and the South. To show spirit before the McCallum game, the students used the slogan, "The South Shall Rise Again." By 1966, the football team helmets sported Confederate flag decals.[13] Toward the end of the 1960s, the Old South and Confederate culture completely inundated that of the school's culture. The teams and students of Travis were not just rebels, but they were Johnny Rebs fighting for the South on the football fields and basketball courts in Austin. Soon Rebels in other parts of Texas would carry the Southern Cross onto the field of battle for Dixie.

Travis High School in Austin was not the only school in the state to adopt Confederate symbols. In 1958, two new schools in completely different regions of the state opened their doors to students. Robert E. Lee High School in Tyler began in a region with a rich southern tradition, but Tascosa High School in Amarillo started in a region barren of southern tradition.

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[12] *Rebel Roundup*, 1959, pp.29, 88.

[13] *Rebel Roundup*, 1964, cover; *Rebel Roundup*, 1967, 2-3, 34-35, 125, 170.

Amarillo did not exist until well after the Civil War. When settlement did occur, the farmers planted wheat and corn rather than cotton. The region's cattle industry began with the defeat of the Comanche in Palo Duro Canyon 1874. The prairie provided vast grazing land for cattle, and ranching became the main source of revenue for the region's economy. In 1877, Major George Littlefield owned the XIT ranch near the cattle town of Tascosa, the namesake of Tascosa High School in Amarillo. With the discovery of oil in 1916, several companies, including Shamrock Oil and Gas and Phillips Petroleum, made Amarillo their home. The economy of Amarillo remained strong until the Great Depression and the Dust Bowl, which forced many of the farmers off the land and sent many to California or to cities in search of jobs and money. In order to make much needed revenue for the region, the Amarillo mayor managed to convince the United Confederate veterans to hold their annual convention in Amarillo. This was the only real connection Amarillo had with the Confederacy, yet in 1931large crowds came out to watch the veterans march through the streets of Amarillo. The citizens' support of the men in gray showed their acceptance of history from a southern point of view.[14]

[14] Key Della Tyler, *In the Cattle Country: History of Potter County*, 1887-1966, (Wichita Falls: Nortex Offset Publications, Inc., 1972),10-23; Bryon Price and Frederich W. Rathjen, *The Golden Spread: An Illustrated History of Amarillo and the Texas Panhandle* (Northridge: Windsor Publications, Inc., 1986), 51-53, 67, 69, 87-90, 97-101; Lamar Lively, telephone interview with author, 15 march 2006. New Mexico shepherds founded Tascosa as a trading post in the 1840s. The shepherds migrated back to New Mexico after Anglo cattle ranchers began to move their herds onto the prairie from South Texas, Kansas, and Colorado. Tascosa was the main cattle town in the Texas Pan handle on the cattle trails between Kansas and Texas. The major ranches were the JA ranch, the LIT ranch, and the XIT ranch. The first Anglo rancher was Colonel Charles Goodnight, founder of the JA ranch located in Palo Duro Canyon. Littlefield's LIT ranch was 4 miles below Tascosa. The Taylor and Babcock and Company, a wholesale dry goods store in partnership with Matthias Schnell 3,000,000 acres as

Amarillo's claim to the South was small, but Tyler, located in East Texas, reeked of southern culture. Founded in 1846 and named for President John Tyler, the community was part of the cotton belt in the South. Its initial settlers came from Tennessee and Alabama. Most were subsistence farmers, but some were planters and owned plantations. Cotton was a staple of the area until the boll weevil ravaged the cotton crops in the 1920s and 1930s. Many farmers turned to roses to recoup their loses in this period. Although Smith County voted over 95 percent in favor of secession, two years earlier, in 1859, the county voted overwhelmingly in favor of Sam Houston, a Union man. Tyler and Smith County contributed mightily to the Confederate effort. Smith County raised several military units including Company K of the Third Texas Cavalry Ross's Brigade, Douglas's Battery, and the Tenth Texas Cavalry of Ector's Brigade. Ross's Brigade served with Generals Earl Van Dorn, Nathan Bedford Forrest, and Joseph Wheeler. The regiment's bullet-riddled flag in Tyler's Goodman Museum bore "mute testimony to the unit's combat record." Ector's Brigade and Douglas's Battery both served in the Army of Tennessee. Tyler itself served as the location for the Confederate Ordinance Work and as the site for many Confederate camps such as Camp Ford and Camp Davis. Camp Ford started as an induction and training camp at the beginning of the war but was transformed into a prisoner of war camp during the

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payment for building the state capital in Austin. The downfall of Tascosa was not the upset of Amarillo, but the unfortunate fact that, in 1887, the Fort Worth and Denver Railroad missed the town by two miles and ran close enough to Amarillo to allow Amarillo to benefit from its proximity to the tracks. Tascosa slowly died and in 1915, the county seat moved to Vega. Tascosa is now the site of Boys Town Ranch for wayward boys.

war. Camp Davis served as a camp for transient units throughout the war.[15]

Tyler was very much a part of the South and had more claim to be southern than Amarillo. Though both started in 1958, the cultures the students created within the respective high schools were similar yet with certain alterations. The locations of the schools in separate regions of Texas may account for the dissimilar interpretations of Dixie. East Texas had many strong ties to the Confederacy due to its proximity to the rest of the South. The Panhandle stayed off limits to Anglos until the removal of the Comanche and Kiowas about 1874. This delay in the settlement of whites caused the students to tie their interpretation of Confederate culture more closely to the image of the Old West.

The students of Robert E. Lee High School in Tyler took pride in and had great enthusiasm for being rebels. By 1963, the traditions the students invented in the fall of 1958 had evolved and matured over the first five years. The school did not have a single mascot but a group named the Rebel Guard that manned an artillery piece representative of a Civil War era cannon. They were dressed in gray and fired the cannon every pep rally and football game. The students named the yearbook the *Legend* and published an image of Robert E. Lee on the inside cover of the 1966 volume. The Confederate flag appeared at every assembly, banquet, and game; it appeared on uniforms and drums, and could be seen throughout the yearbook as a symbol of the school and school spirit. Students and fans alike waved the flag triumphantly in victory or defiantly in defeat. "Lee's Gentlemen" was an organization

[15] Robert W. Glover, ed. *Tyler and Smith County, Texas A Historical Survey* (Tyler: American Bicentennial Committee of Tyler-Smith County, 1976), 11, 28-32, 37-38, 39-41.

responsible for the upkeep of a large Confederate flag known as the "Grand Ole Flag." They carried the flag onto the field during pre-game activities, and for good luck, the football players ran under the flag. The organization flew the flag at pep rallies and helped with planning the PTA Open House and the Teens March of Dimes. The flag and symbols were pervasive. Every school activity, even plays, included the flag. The Grand Ole Flag descended as a backdrop at the end of plays while the entire cast and crew came on stage to sing *Dixie. Dixie* was not the only song with ties to the Confederacy. During pep rallies, the band played *Waitin' for the Robert E. Lee.*[16]

In the 1963-1964 yearbook, the editors did something special in honor of the hundredth anniversary of the Civil War. They dedicated the yearbook to the Old South. They wrote,

> One hundred years ago, this country was fighting a Civil War. When it ended a way of life ended. The Old South was a land of charm and grace where life was lived in an atmosphere of sophisticated ease. The Civil War brought the era to a close, but the traditions and ideals for which those people struggled are still evident in our society today.

Accompanying the text was a picture of a southern belle wearing a large hoop skirt. A servant served her a cup of tea with a smile. The servant was white, but that was not always the case. In the play, *Little Women*, a cast member appeared in black face while portraying a black servant.[17] The fact that the image appeared in the yearbook and on stage showed that those in authority probably saw nothing wrong with this portrayal. By allowing the students to wear black face, the administrators and faculty most likely

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[16] *Legend* [Tyler Robert E. Lee High School], 1964, pp. 3, 38, 39, 92-93; *Legend*, 1965, pp. 7, 10, 39, 139; Legend, 1966, pp. 22, 45, 78-79.

[17] *Legend,* 1964, pp. 6, 57. For more on the use of black face in the American South see Pete Daniel, *Lost Revolutions: the South in the 1950s* (Chapel Hill: the University of the North Carolina Press, 2000), 158-164.

condoned this act of subtle racism. This volume of the yearbook paid more homage to the Confederacy on every title page of each section. Photographs depicted students dressed in Confederate uniforms and period dresses riding in a buggy on their way to a wedding. Students attended a social gathering in full period dress at a local plantation mansion. The *Legend* Staff spared no expense in a photographing the depiction of southern gentility. To support the cost for the elaborate plans, the yearbook staff members held a spring festival entitled *Waitin' for the Robert E. Lee,* and the staff presented it in the auditorium in order to use the stage. The background was a large mural of a white columned plantation. A large movable riverboat named the *Robert E. Lee* was in the foreground. To round out the mirage, a student played the part of a plantation owner with a white suit while another acted as a riverboat captain. The staff earned enough money that night to pay for the plans they had for the yearbook. The festival rounded out the year, a year in which the students created a theme that they believed represented the Old South. In the dedication, the *Legend* staff called the Old South "a land of charm and grace."[18] Lee High School in Tyler built its traditions firmly in line with Lost Cause ideology. To the students, the South was a charming and chivalrous place with honor. The yearbook title said all the needed to be said, *Legend.*

The students of Tascosa High School in Amarillo saw things differently. The name of their yearbook put this in perspective; it as *Las Memorias* or Spanish for memories. The title gave the yearbook a more western air. The first mascot of the

[18] *Legend,* 6, 8-9, 32-33, 52-53, 57, 78-79, 122-123. For an example of southern honor read Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), Rollin G. Osterweis, *Romanticism and Nationalism in the Old South* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1949), and William R. Taylor, *Cavalier and Yankee: The Old South and American National Character* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc, 1957).

school was a goat named *Rebel.* His handlers had a western name, the *Wranglers.* The Wranglers' duties included planning ways to help around campus and assisting the cheerleaders during the games and pep rallies. Tascosa High had a Miss Southern Belle. She was a student selected to represent Tascosa High for the year at formal events in the community. The contestants did not wear hoop shirts from the Old South, but they wore formal evening gowns from the 1950s. For the crowning ceremony, the student council decorated the stage to look like "the lawn of a southern plantation" to bring to life the Old South charm in the 1958-1959 school year.[19]

By 1962, Rebel the goat had some company on the sidelines at the Friday night games in Amarillo. A student dressed in Confederate gray roamed the sidelines as "General Reb." Just like Tyler Lee High, Tascosa High has a cannon that fired after every rebel touchdown. The crew manning the gun called itself the Cannonneers and wore Confederate artillery uniforms. As with Tyler Lee High School, the Confederate flag began to take a more prominent role at the school by the fall of 1962. Students and faculty proudly waved the flag at games, at pep rallies, and in the classroom. On special occasions, the flag flew on the main flagpole outside the school under the Stars and Stripes. The caption under a picture in the 1963 annual read, "The Rebel Confederate flag of victory adds new glory to Old Glory." The students associated honor and victory with the rebel flag, not racism, hatred, or defeat. Despite the South losing the South losing the Civil War, Tascosa High was victorious, a winner no matter the outcome. In this sense, the students expressed the idea that the South did not lose,

[19] *Las Memorias* [Amarillo Tascosa High School], 1959, pp. 41, 95, 126-127.

it simply allowed the North to claim victory.[20]

As the 1950s gave way to the 1960s, the nation prepared for the hundredth anniversary of the Civil War. The Civil War Centennial provided Southern states an opportunity to display their region in a positive light and to present to the nation the reason – states' rights – that South fought the federal government. The leaders of the South saw a chance to advertise the improvements in the modern South and to show, respectfully, the nation the South's traditions of self-government and resistance to centralized federal rule. Throughout the southern states and even in Arizona, the Confederate battle flag flew atop state capitols to commemorate the war.[21] The Texas high schools did their part to relive the Civil War During the Centennial. During the 1963-1964 school year, Lee High's "Rebel Guard" in Tyler participated in numerous Civil War reenactments, including the battles of Sabine Pass, Texas, and Mansfield, Louisiana. The "Cannonneers" of Tascosa High in Amarillo made their appearance in the autumn of 1962 with the Rebel cannon. Austin's Travis High sported a Confederate cap on the 1963 yearbookcover.[22] The rebel tradition at all three schools reached fever pitch during the centennial years.

While the Tyler, Amarillo, and Austin high schools were celebrating the centennial, two more schools opened their doors to students. Located in the Metroplex of Dallas-Fort Worth, both schools adopted a Confederate theme. Richland High School, located in North Richland Hills in the Birdville Independent School District in

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[20] *Las Memorias,* 1963, 8-9, 11. The school was missing the annuals for the years 1960 to 1962. It is during those years that the Confederate flag and General Reb began to be included in the traditions of Tascosa High.

[21] Coski, *The Confederate Battle Flag*, 128-130.

[22] *Legend,* 1964, p. 23; *Las Memorias,* 1963, p. 9; *Rebel Roundup,* 1963, cover.

Northeast Tarrant County, started in the fall of 1961. South Garland High School opened in the fall of 1964 in Garland in northeast Dallas County. The Dallas-Fort Worth area was farther to the west than Tyler and less connected with the cotton belt. Located on the three forks of the Trinity River, Anglos settled in the area in 1841 with the establishment of Bird's Fort near the present-day boundary of Tarrant and Dallas counties. The first attempt to settle failed, but John Neely Bryan built a log cabin on the banks of the trinity east of bird's fort. This humble shelter was the future site of Dallas, Texas.[23] During the Civil War, the area contributed many units to the Confederacy, including Douglas's Battery and the Third, Sixteenth and Eighteenth Texas Cavalry.[24] Dallas County remained small until the building of the railroads in the early 1880s. The Houston and Central Texas line ran north to south and the Texas Pacific line east to west. They crossed at Dallas, and this made Dallas the most prominent point of shipping in the North Texas region and allowed the area cotton to be shipped to international markets. The Railroads also brought many immigrants from Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee. With the completion of the Houston and Central Texas line, a band played *Dixie* to celebrate Dallas' connection with the rest of the world, and citizens saluted their southern heritage.[25]

Anglos settled Tarrant County around Fort Worth in 1849. Fort Worth was the northernmost in a chain of forts that defended the Texas frontier from Eagle Pass on the

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[23] Darwin Payne, ed. *Sketches of a Growing Town: Episodes and People of Dallas, From Earliest Days to Recent Times* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University, 1991), 10, 14.

[24] Stewart Sifarkis, *Compendium of the Confederate Armies: Texas* (New York: Facts on file, 1995), 27, 47, 55, 73, 75.

[25] Payne, *sketches of a Growing Town,* 40-47.

Rio Grande to Fort Worth on the confluence of the West and Clear Forks of the Trinity River. As with Dallas, most early settlers of Tarrant County came from Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia. When the County formed in December 20, 1849, citizens initially voted for Birdville as the county seat, but Fort Worth citizens contested the first vote, which led to a second vote won by Fort Worth. In 1861, the county voted for secession by 27 votes, 414 to 387 votes. This followed vigilante violence and the lynching of several suspected abolitionists. The citizens raised several units for the confederacy, including Company A and D of the Ninth Texas Cavalry. Despite this connection to the Old South, people gave the town the western monikers of "Cowtown" and "Queen of the Prairie." Fort Worth earned the name Cowtown because the Texas and Pacific Railroad made the town an eastern terminus in 1873, allowing ranchers to move cattle to eastern buyers without herding the cattle to Kansas. Fort Worth was, by 1873, an oasis in the prairie that allowed cowboys to rest and graze their cattle before the trek across Oklahoma and Kansas.[26]

Fort Worth continued to grow, absorbing neighboring communities into its suburbs. One such suburb was North Richland Hills. In 1961, Richland High School embarked on a mission to educate the children of Northeast Tarrant County, including the children of North Richland Hills. The process began by allowing the students to have some autonomy in selecting their mascot and school theme, and they wanted a mascot that would keep the alliteration with Richland. According to Don Tipps, former art teacher at Richland Junior High in the early 1960s and former counselor at Richland High School, the students could choose from *Rangers, Raiders, or Rebels.* The

[26] Janet L. Schmelzer, *Where the West Begins: Ft. Worth and Tarrant Count* (Northridge: Windsor Publications, INC, 1985), 17, 21, 30-31, 39, 52.

students eventually settled on “Rebels.” Tipps disliked the mascot then and now. As a teacher, “I didn’t want a Rebel in my classroom.” The school went with the “Ol’ South” Civil War theme. Dolores Webb, a graduate of Richland High School in 1964, remembered the students liked the idea from the start. She mentioned that Arlington State College (now University of Texas at Arlington) had Rebels as its mascot, and the students thought it was a good choice. It was a “southern heritage thing,” and the flag, colors, and song already existed. To the students, the flag represented Richland High School, nothing else. They used the flag and other Confederate symbolism to represent the school at games, pep rallies, and in the yearbook.[27] The students saw nothing wrong with the flag or any of the Confederate symbolism used at the school. They only saw inside the cocoon of the school, not outside the walls of Richland.

The students of Richland High School placed the school’s unofficial symbol, two crossed Confederate flags, on the cover of the yearbook’s first volume. By placing the crossed Confederate flags on the cover, the students illustrated the importance of the symbol to the student body. This symbol represented the student body’s spirit and defined what it meant to be a Richland rebel. A picture of the school labeled *Inside Rebel Land* showed the school and photographs of Johnny Reb and Miss Dixie depicting the rebel theme in its full glory. Miss Dixie wore an antebellum-inspired dress with a parasol; Johnny Reb wore a mock Confederate double-breasted uniform. They appeared in front of a white columned house reminiscent of antebellum mansions in the South. The couple posed on the stairs inside the house decorated to resemble the Civil War period. The title of the page for the organization of the yearbook read *The Spirit of*

[27] Don Tipps, E-mail to author, 22 June 2006; Dolores Webb, interview with author, telephone, 7 June 2006.

Richland. A picture featured a Confederate flag on the back of a cheerleader's uniform. A panoramic picture of the first pep rally featured the caption, "WE ARE A BAND OF REBELS." This was the motto for the school. In an image of the first pep rally, students held a large Confederate flag, and another student waved a smaller Confederate flag. The caption read, "YEA, REBELS! A Confederate flag flies over Rebel land as the first pep rally gets underway."[28] The yearbook never claimed the Confederate flag to be the official flag of the school, but the students adopted it to represent their school at pep rallies, games, and other assemblies. The flag, symbols, and mascot quickly formed the identity of the school and gained acceptance by the students. The rebel flag flew with pride and represented Richland: Rebel Land.

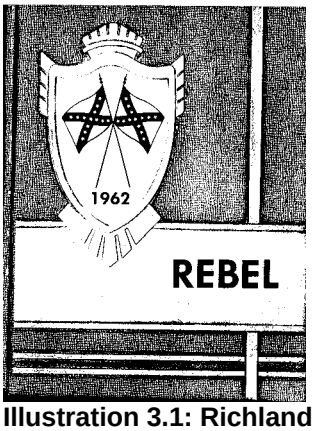

Illustration 3.1: Richland High School's 1962 yearbook cover. Reprinted with permission from North Richland Hills Richland High School.

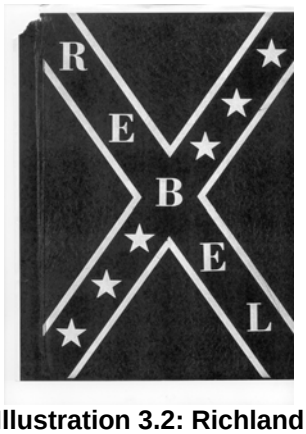

Illustration 3.2: Richland High School's 1967 yearbook cover. Reprinted with permission from North Richland Hills Richland High School.

Alliteration with Richland persuaded the students at Richland High School to choose rebels and eventually the Confederate motif. At South Garland High School, the students chose the Colonels and the Confederate flag because of the Civil War Centennial. The school opened in the fall of 1964. The year before, students who

[28] *Rebel* [North Richland Hills Richland High School Yearbook], 19692, pp. 1, 2-3, 57-58, 122-123.

would attend the school voted for the Colonels as mascot and adopted an Old South theme.[29] South Garland was located at the southern edge of Garland's residential area at the time. There were few houses; mostly cotton fields surrounded the school. This added to the Old South feel of the school.[30] South Garland High released the first edition of the school newspaper on Friday, October 2, 1964, with the name *Plantation News.*[31] In the paper, the cartoon "Colonel's Plantation" ran, displaying the paternalism implied by the school's mascot. The cartoon presented three characters: the Colonel, Rastus, and Liza. Liza and Rastus were portrayed as poor whites in tattered clothing whom used broken English. The Colonel dressed in an all-white suit with a black tie and spoke impeccable English.[32] This reinforced the romantic view of the Old South and the class superiority implied by the mascot name of Colonels.

Other traditions reinforced the Old South theme. The students named the drill team, Southern Belles. The cheering section, underclassmen drill team members, named itself the Dixie Darlings, and the fight song played to the tune of *Dixie.*[33] Another tradition that the students tried to initiate, although it did not last, was a fundraiser to earn money for student activities. The fundraiser was a slave auction. The slaves were members of the drill team who sold themselves to male students for a day for whatever the buy wanted, such as washing his car. The girls dressed in sackcloth, wore their hair in dog-ears, donned a beanie or cowboy hat, and wore no make-up with mismatched

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[29] Patricia Wetzel, interview with author, taped recording, Garland, TX., 2 April 2004.

[30] Joe Wetzel, interview with author, 2 April 2004.

[31] *Plantation News* [South Garland High School Newspaper], 2 Oct. 1964.

[32] Paty White, "Colonel's Plantation," cartoon, *Plantation News,* 13 Nov. 1964.

[33] "What is a School?," *Plantation News,* 13 Nov. 1965.

shoes.[34] The Clothes worn by the *slaves* were eerily similar to the clothes of actual slaves.[35] To add to the Old South theme, the school painted a plantation mural in the cafeteria with a generic white-columned mansion surrounded by fields of cotton devoid of any black slaves working the fields. The south Garland High mural depicted an idyllic scene neutral of any controversy with the omission of field hands in the minds of the administration.[36] The omission of workers in the mural portrayed an understanding the workers in the field were black slaves. By leaving them out, the administration was saying in a nice way that black slaves were not important and as an extension, blacks were not important as well.

South Garland students not only developed traditions based on the Old South, they also adopted the Confederate flag as their school's symbol and school flag. Before 1967, the school used the Confederate battle flag as its school flag. In the fall of 1967, the 1966 seniors presented the school a gift, the South Garland flag, which was the official Colonel flag. The flag's design included the school's crest in the flag's center as well as "S" and "G" for South Garland on the outer part of the flag. The school called its crest the *libertas*, liberty in Latin, the Garland family motto. The *libertas* had the colonel's head on top of a shield with crossed sabers. On the shield, the Garland family crest appeared in the upper left quadrant. The Confederate flag was in the upper right corner. In the lower left quadrant, the golden bugle symbolized class *spirit de corps* and aggressiveness in the future. The torch of knowledge centered by live oak and olive

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[34] "What an Auction," *Plantation News,* 25 Mar. 1965.

[35] Kenneth Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Antebellum South* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956), 289.

[36] Joe Wetzel, interview with author, 2 April 2004.

branches borrowed from the Great Seal of the State of Texas. The "S" for South was to the left of the *libertas* and the "G" to the right. This would remain the South Garland flag until 1991.[37] The South Garland students viewed the flag as their flag. The design of the flag incorporated the Confederate battle flag, but the students saw the banner as their flag and claimed pointed out that this standard was not the Confederate battle flag. The flag's inclusion of South Garland High's crest and the "S" and "G" separated it from the association with the Confederate battle flag in the minds of students.

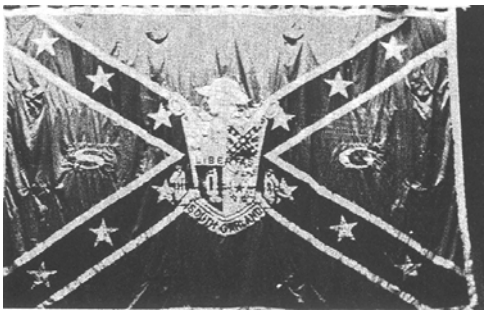

Illustration 3.3: The South Garland Colonel Flag, 1966. Reprinted with permission from South Garland High School.

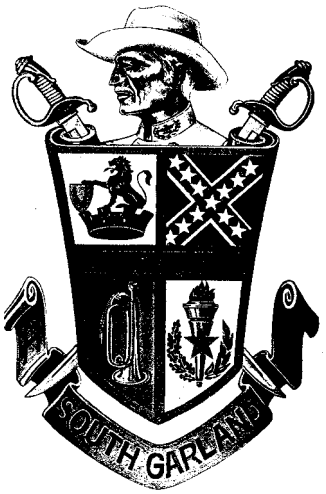

Illustration 3.4: South Garland Libertas, 1966. Reprinted with permission from South Garland High School.

The 1960s saw great change in America. Americans saw a beloved leader assassinated. America fought an unpopular war in Southeast Asia. African Americans fought for their rights to be equal in the streets of Birmingham and elsewhere. The questioning of authority created a rift between the generation that fought in Vietnam and the generation that fought for survival in the Great Depression and in World War II. Americans landed on the moon, created the evil of Astroturf, and built an indoor

[37] *Sabre* [South Garland High School Yearbook], 1967, p. 67; *Sabre,* 1966, p. 2; *Sabre*, 1992, p. 10.

stadium with a glass roof, the Astrodome. The "Great Society" gave the underprivileged hope for a better life. The America that wandered out of the 1950s into the 1960s was not the same America that floated into the 1970s. The counter-culture of the 1960s challenged the establishment by discovering new paths of self-exploration that flew in the face of traditional values, which added to the rift of the sixties. There some places where time stood still, however. Many of those places existed in the South. William Faulkner was right when he wrote, "The past is never dead. It's not even past." For much of the South of the 1960s, the calendar could have read the 1860s.[38]

One such place where the past was never past was Hays County, Texas. Located in the Hill Country south of Austin, Hays County is names for John Coffee "Jack" Hays, the pre-emanate Texas Ranger. This gave the county a western heritage. A closer look at the Confederacy. In 1861, Judge James C. Watkins of Kyle represented Hays County at the Texas Secession Convention. He would send three sons off to war, and some families in the area sent five and six. Forty-nine men from Kyle died in service to the Confederacy.[39] In *Eighty Years Under the Stars and Bars,* Thomas Fletcher Harwell Documented each member of Camp General Ben McCulloch with a small biography describing the man's birth place, war experience, and his life after the war. By 1930, the camp had become the largest United Confederate Veteran camp in the South. Confederate Veterans had founded the camp in 1896. The camp was large because the State Confederate Home was located in Austin just north of

[38] John B. Padgett, "*Requiem for a Nun:* Resources," *William Faulkner on the Web,* 17 August 2006, ed. John B. Padgett, U of Mississippi, Accessed on 20 Aug. 2006. http://www.mcsr.olemiss.edu/~egjbp/faulkner/_r_n_rfan.hrml.

[39] Ann Miller Strom, Kyle, *The Prairie City: A history of Kyle, Texas* (Burnet, Texas: Nortex Press, 1981), 244-245.

Hays County. On average, five to six thousand visited a three-day reunion of Confederate veterans held at the camp every year until 1945. The people included the veterans, their relatives, locals, and the curious.[40] The connection of the area to the Confederacy was strong. In 1967, Buda and Kyle's high schools consolidated and formed John Coffee "Jack" Hays High School. Due to the proximity of the towns, Kyle and Buda, an intense rivalry had developed between the schools. Neither student body would accept attending a school that had the old mascots of either Kyle or Buda. The students voted on school symbols, colors, and a mascot, and they chose Rebels as the mascot. A vote on the Confederate flag did not take place, but a student began to fly the flag at football games as an unofficial spirit symbol and the tradition stuck. Buda was primarily Anglo and Kyle was predominately Latino.[41] The choice of Rebels seemed an unlikely one considering the schools' namesake, Jack Hays, Hays was one of the more famous Texas Rangers. Despite the obvious choice of the Rangers, the students chose the Rebels.

The influences that motivated the students to choose Confederate symbols were self-evident. Many students had ancestors that served in the Confederacy, Anglo and Latino. Many in the area did not object to the use of the Confederate flag because it was a popular symbol. To many, the flag represented their heritage. The Ben McCulloch Camp of Confederate Veterans drifted into the sunset as the veterans themselves passed away, but its memory remained. The United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) chapter in San Marcos remained even after the last Confederate

[40] Harwell, *Eighty Years Under the Stars and Bars,* 11.

[41] Beth Nelson, "Rebels From the Beginning," *Kyle Free Press,* 28 Oct. 1999, p. 1; Strom, *Kyle, the Prairie City,* 201-203.

veteran died in the mid 1940s. The San Marcos chapter wielded little influence with the students as it "would have been preaching to the choir." The chapter eventually faded into the past as well. Parental and community values seemed to exert more influence over students than those of teachers. A new UDC chapter began in Dripping Springs, another community in the Kyle and Buda area, in the 1980s and began holding picnics and reunions at the site of Camp Ben McCulloch.[42] The Connections with the Confederacy remained strong after the death of all the Confederate veterans and into the 1980s and 1990s.

At Hays High, the Confederate flag had been there from the school's beginning in 1967 in an unofficial capacity as a school symbol. The school's administration draped the flag over a podium at the first sports banquet.[43] The flag appeared on official clothing for coaches and flew at pep rallies and games. The school named the yearbook the *Rebel*, the drill team the Rebeletes, and the band the Rebel Band. In the 1973 yearbook, as with the other schools' yearbook s, the title page to each section depicted a scene that included Confederate soldiers with the flag or southern belles entertaining the soldiers at a ball. The cover of the 1975 issue was unique compared to the other schools. It featured a Confederate fifty-dollar bill. The yearbook staff tied the theme o the yearbook tot he inflation crisis that overwhelmed America at the time. On the inside cover, the yearbook staff exclaimed, "Save Your Confederate Money, Boys!

[42] Ginny Robinson, E-mail to author, 13 May 2006. Robinson did not recall when the San Marcos chapter went defunct but did state that the chapter would have a little influence on the adoption of the Confederate symbols because people in the area felt a strong connection with the Confederate symbols because people in the area felt a strong connection with the Confederacy due to their ancestors' involvement in the Confederate army.

[43] Nelson, "Rebels for the Beginning," *Kyle Free Press,* 1.

The South Will Rise Again!" By the time of the late 1970s, Hays High fully incorporated the flag as a school symbol. The flag appeared in the gymnasium; the football team ran through a large flag before every game; and the football coaching staff sported the flag on their caps along the sidelines during games.[44] If there was opposition to the flag, it was small and insignificant. This allowed the flag to evolve and become the symbol of the school. Without opposition, conflict over the flag never developed in the first twenty-five years of the school's history.

Illustration 3.5: The cover of 1975 Buda Hays High School Yearbook. Reprinted by Permission from Hays Consolidated ISD.

Another school that began in 1967 was Southwest High School in Fort Worth. This school did not actually have a building. The students met for classes in portable buildings in the parking lot of Paschal High School in an area called "Splinter Village." The majority of the students had attended Paschal High the year before and endured taunts and barbs from the Paschal students who had a permanent building in which to attend school. According to Mary Ward, a counselor at Southwest High School, the students decided to choose their mascot based on this experience. In its first year, the school participated in non-varsity sports, but a Confederate flag decal found its way

[44] Hays High School's library did not have the school's yearbooks for the 1968 to 1971. Undoubtedly, the school used the Confederate flag from the beginning. *Rebel*, 1975, cover, inside cover; *Rebel*, 1977, pp. 40, 44, 54; *Rebel*, 1979, inside cover.

onto the football team's helmets. In the spring of 1968, the students moved into their new building from Splinter Village. The names Rebels did not specifically refer to the Confederacy in its inception. Ward said the name meant rebels in general, a generic rebel because the students were "rebelling from Paschal High School." The students identified themselves with the James Dean character in *A Rebel Without a Cause*. However, Ward did not explain how the school came to use the Confederate battle flag or have a "Johnny Reb" as the schools' mascot. That appeared to be the natural progression for a school that had the name Rebels.[45]

After the students decided on a mascot, they picked names for the school's yearbook and paper. The students named the yearbook *Yee-Haw* and the paper *Rebelation*. *Yee-Haw* had a southern sound and *Rebelation* was a combination of *Rebel* and revelation. In the school's second official year, the flag's symbolism took shape at Southwest. In reality, the 1968-1969 school year was the school's first, because the school played varsity sports for the first time. The importance of the flag to life at Southwest was exquisitely expressed with the following lines, "Many precedents were set during our first year at Southwest. Among the traditions was the flag around which our Rebels rallied. Eight-hundred and fifty kids became active in our—CAMPUS LIFE." Seen in many of the pep rally and football pictures of the first yearbook, the battle flag flew prominently, and school boosters sold the symbol to raise money for school clubs and "boost Rebel spirit." For the Sherman trip that year, students and parents stood alongside the buses to cheer the team while holding a Confederate flag.

[45] Mary Ward, interview with author, taped recorded, Fort Worth, TX., 30 November 2004; *Yee-Haw* [Fort Worth Southwest High Scholl Yearbook], 1968, p. 35, 45.

During games, students and parents proudly flew the star-studded St. Andrew's cross. A Confederate soldier did not exist the first year. A male cheerleader carried the flag wearing a long-sleeved, buttoned-down shirt with white slacks.[46]

By 1973, the students designed the school's class ring and seal to add to the traditions already developed. The school's seal was circular with "Southwest High School, Forth Worth, Texas," traced on the outside of the circle. An "S" was placed on top of the Confederate battle flag and Rebels below the flag inside the circle. The class ring featured an "S" for Southwest on top of the Confederate battle flag and crossed sabers behind the flag. Absent for most of the school's history was a rebel mascot. Yet in 1984, the cover of the yearbook depicted a Confederate rebel on the face of a wristwatch with the words along the watch's lower rim that read, and in the following volume, on the title page, two girls wore shirts that depicted a cartoon rebel. By 1991, the school referred to its mascot as "Yosemite Sam" and depicted it as the famous cartoon character with red hair, a black mask, and a long red mustache.[47] If the name

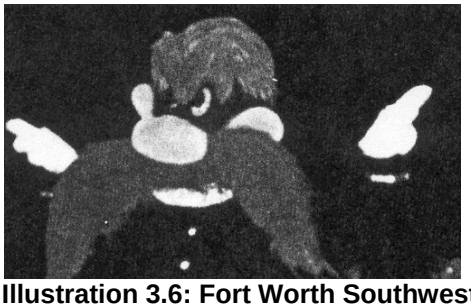

Illustration 3.6: Fort Worth Southwest's "Yosemite Sam" rebel mascot, 1990. Reprinted with permission from Fort Worth Southwest High School.

Rebel came from a generic rebel, the students quickly associated the Confederate flag with the name Rebels; then the flag was symbolic of Southwest's traditions including the

[46] *Yee-Haw*, 1969, pp. 18-21, 26-27, 96.

[47] *Yee-Haw*, 1973, pp. 20, 43-44, 182; *Yee-Haw*, 1984, cover; *Yee-Haw*, 1985, p. 1; *Yee-Haw*, p.2.

mascots, but did not necessarily represent the Confederate. It depicted a cartoon South, a Salvador Dali South.

The development of the Confederate traditions at Southwest High was not as closely connected to the Confederacy as had had been the case at Hays High School or the other schools, but compared to South Grand Prairie High School, Southwest High's connection to the Confederacy was as clear as a cloudless day. The reason was that South Grand Prairie High in Grand Prairie, Texas, did not fit the normal profile associated with the use of the Confederate battle flag. The school's theme and mascot had never had anything to do with the Confederacy, which had always been the Warriors. The high school opened in the fall of 1968, a year after the founding of Southwest High School. The school did not begin to use the rebel flag until 1974. The flag first appeared in the 1975 yearbook, the first year that South Grand Prairie High School played their cross-town rival Grand Prairie High School in Varsity football. The yearbook prominently recorded the game, which had a full two pages dedicated to its description. As if taking sides in a Civil War reenactment on the football field, Grand Prairie High represented the North with an American flag, while South Grand Prairie High represented the South with the Confederate battle flag. The article described the game in military terms,

> It began with a couple of scrimmages on Thursday night in which the North was beaten badly. Yet, the big battle was to come only 24 hours later in an all-out fight to the death. The…South was commanded by General Atkins,…protected by General Stonewall Mayo and his men.

The final line read, "The South celebrated the victory, and shouted, 'The South has risen again!'" According to Chris Kracmer, a counselor at South Grand Prairie High, and James Mitchell, journalism teacher at South Grand Prairie High, Calvin Harrison, a

black student, led the team onto the field that night carrying the rebel flag. Both claimed that the idea of the rebel flag came solely from the students and was never an actual symbol of the school.[48] The use of the flag came about because the school represented *South* Grand Prairie. Their archival represented *North* Grand Prairie. The flag's use was in connection with the Civil War: North versus South. The mascot had always been Warriors, never the Rebels or any other mascot connected to the South or Confederacy. The flag's use had nothing to do with the school's theme. It was as though the Warriors became Confederate Warriors.

The students at the various schools did not create the different themes and images out of a vacuum. Their imaginations created the Confederate symbols from an influential spark. The fact that administrators allowed the symbols and mascots to evolve and inundate the schools culturally showed approval by the appropriate authorities. There was very little opposition to the use of Confederate symbols, and the few protests that did materialize could not prevent the use of Confederate symbols. The fact that administrators not only supported, but also encouraged, the Confederate symbolism by endorsing its use, showed how the Confederate symbolism became culturally acceptable by the community at large when the schools opened. In the early 1950s, a Confederate flag fad swept the nation. This flag fad started on university campuses in the southeast and spread quickly throughout the United States. The flag flew from New York to California.[49] This might explain the infatuation students at the

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[48] *Signal* [South Grand Prairie High School Yearbook], 1976, pp. 200-201; James Mitchell, interview with author, 30 November 2004; Chris Kracmer, interview with author, 30 November 2004.

[49] Coski, *The Confederate Battle Flag*,111-112; For more information about the flag fad and its use by southern universities at football games see Christopher C. Nehle,

three schools in the 1950s had with the flag, but when the fad dissipated just as quickly as it appeared, the schools' symbols did not disappear. Another reason for devotion to the Confederate symbolism at the schools had to exist. Texas had been a member state of the Confederacy and participated in the devotion to the Lost Cause. A cult built up around the Confederacy and its heroes: Robert E. Lee, Thomas Jonathan "Stonewall" Jackson, and Jefferson Davis.[50] The history-bending phenomenon that swept through the South influenced the telling of history in literature and later in movies from a southern viewpoint. The groups most directly responsible for this were the memorial societies of the United Confederate Veterans (UCV), the Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV), and the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC). The latter group had the most influence on the retelling of Civil War history in the South.

David W. Blight in *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* argued that the Lost Cause Myth had three parts. One was the effort to write and control supremacy as both means and ends; the third was to place women in possession of its development. Those diehard advocates from the start wanted to produce a Confederate version of history, the "true history" as they called it. They created one of the best-orchestrated grassroots partisan histories ever conceived. By doing so, they were able to show that the South was the true inheritor of the American Revolution and

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"Flag Waving Wahoo's," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 110 (2002), 461-489.

[50] To read more about the lost cause see Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, The Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865 to 1913* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987); and Charles Reagan Wilson, *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1920* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1980).

that the South was only defending itself from northern aggression.[51] Throughout the South, including Texas, the UDC would use its resources to build monuments in honor of the fallen heroes and honorable survivors of the Civil War. They would sponsor essay contests and edits textbooks for the various southern states. Their goal was to create a lasting legacy for posterity to show that the South had not been wrong to fight the war but was just and honorable to have done so.

The movement to build memorials, as celebrations of the noble sacrifice, first began with survivors mourning the dead. After Robert E. Lee's death in 1870, the eulogies turned into celebrations of the sacrifices made by those who had served and died. The Ladies' Memorial Associations (LMAs) preceded the UDC. The LMAs were made up of women from the upper class who had started the process of mourning by constructing cemeteries, reburying Confederate dead, establishing Confederate Memorial Day, and creating the rituals of remembrance. They also began to build memorials in cemeteries, but found the process of raising funds difficult. LMA chapters were usually local in scope, whereas the UDC was a national organization. The UDC was able to raise money more easily than the LMAs, and many members of local LMAs became members of a UDC chapter as well. The UDC began to dominate local celebrations, and the LMAs eventually gave way to the UDC and dissolved.[52]

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[51] David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory*, 259-261.

[52] Catherine W. Bishir, "A Strong Force of Ladies: Women, Politics, and Confederate Memorial Associations in Nineteenth-Century Raleigh," in *Monuments to the Lost Cause: Women, Art, and Landscapes of Southern Memory*, eds. Cynthia Mills and Pamela H. Simpson (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2003), 4-6, 21; Cynthia Mills, Introduction to *Monuments to the Lost Cause*, xv-xvii.

UDC power did not wane in the 1920s, and the chapters still wielded great influence as seen in the distribution of Confederate flags during World War II. The UDC published a catechism for children, which had a list of questions with rote answers. For example, "What causes led to the war between the States, from 1861-1865? Answer: The disregard, on the part of the States of the North, for the rights of the Southern of Slave-holding States." "What were the feelings of the slaves towards their masters? Answer: They were faithful and devoted and were always ready and willing to serve them."[53] This question-and-answer session was the UDC's way of ensuring the vindication of the South by teaching future generations the "true history." In *Confederates in the Attic*, Tony Horwitz described his reading of the catechism taught to children in a reactivated Children of the Confederacy chapter in the mid 1990s. The catechism, reprinted in 1954, had the same questions and answers as the one printed in 1904. He noticed that the language in the catechism reminded him of defeated people he encountered overseas: the Kurds, Armenians, Palestinians, and Catholics in Northern Ireland. To him, southerners fought their war by another means. The tactic used by southerners involved influencing people's memories about Civil War. The most potent tool in their bag of tricks was *Gone With the Wind*. Horwitz concluded that *Gone With the Wind* "had done more to keep the Civil War alive, and to mold its memory, than any history book or event since Appomattox."[54]

The most obvious source of influence on the students was the "silver screen." Movies such as *Gone With the Wind* presented a romanticized version of the Old South

[53] David Goldfield, et al., *Major Problems in the History of the American South: New South*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1999), 2:193.

[54] Tony Horwitz, *Confederates in the Attic: Dispatches From the Unfinished Civil War*, (New York: Vintage Books A Division of Random House, Inc., 1998), 37-38, 296.

and the Confederacy that was larger than life. The white columned verandas of Tara, the hoop-skirts southern belles, and the suave masculinity of Rhett Butler contrasted beautifully with the dark reality for most in the New South in 1939, the picture's release date. The images depicted a golden South. One filled with opulence and grandeur on a scale most southerners knew only poverty and despair before World War II. The movie made slavery look genteel and beneficial to the slave; it glossed over the horrors of the peculiar institution. Slavery's dehumanizing affect was almost nonexistent in the film. The slaves themselves depicted in the movie became caricatures of the standard slave stereotypes. Hattie McDaniel won an Academy Award for her "authentic" portrayal of the mammy in the movie.[55] Southerners saw the South presented in *Gone With the Wind* as a foreign South. Where were the ramshackle shacks standing up only because the termites held hands? This South had opulence, Grandeur, wealth, and style, a proverbial golden age many in the South never fathomed before.

Other movies in the period, 1935-1960, presented what happened to the combatants after the Civil War. The movies in the period portrayed the southern cause as a noble one. Many southerners moved to the West for a new start, a new hope. In the 1949 picture, *She Wore a Yellow Ribbon*, Captain Nathan Brittles, played by John Wayne, needed to defuse tension between the settlers and the Plains Indians in order to avert war. Many of his troopers were former Confederates. In fact, Sergeant Tyree, Played by Ben Johnson, was a captain in the Confederate army and served as Brittles' most trusted scout. In one scene, Sergeant Tyree led a small force in an effort to

[55] David O. Selznick, prod., Victor Fleming, dir., Clark Gable, Vivien Leigh, Olivia De Havilland, and Hattie McDaniel, perfs., *Gone With The Wind,* Hollywood: Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, 1939.

protect settlers from the Cheyenne. During the engagement, a Private John Smith died. The audience discovered that his true name was Brigadier General Rome Clay, C.S.A. Tyree and several other former Confederates had the regimental nurse sew a Confederate flag out of her garments to place on top of his casket. The funeral scene presented the flag as the symbol for a nation, served loyally in life by General Clay, and the South's noble cause. Southerners could take pride in their ancestors' involvement in the Civil War and not feel ashamed.[56]

In *Shane*, released in 1953, the victimized farmers were southerners from all over the south. The villainous cattle owners were northerners who hired a gunman named Jack Wilson, Played by Jack Palance, to scare farmers into moving and selling their property. Wilson, a former Union soldier, gunned down Frank "Stonewall" Torrey in the muddy streets. Torrey served with General Thomas Jonathan "Stonewall" Jackson during the Civil War and answered Wilson's challenge to a fight only after the *fiendish* Wilson called General Jackson a yellow coward. This murderous act led Shane, played by Alan Ladd,

to confront Wilson in the movie's climax. Shane wanted to put his past behind him, but he had to right the wrong and save the farmers from the tyrants and their henchmen. Shane's sense of honor was a continuation of the cowboy myth that owed much to the Cavalier myth of the Old South as argued by Frank E. Vandiver.[57] The movie showed the westward migration of southerners and the national acceptance of southern honor.

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[56] John Ford, dir., John Wayne, Ben Johnson, Joann Dru, Victor McLaglen, perfs., *She Wore a Yellow Ribbon,* Hollywood: RKO Radio Pictures, 1949.

[57] George Stevens, dir., Alan Ladd, Jean Arthur, Van Heflin, Jack Palance, perfs., *Shane,* Hollywood: Paramount Pictures, 1953; Vandiver, *The Southwest: South and West?*, 34.

Shane premiered the same year that *Southern Fried Rabbit*, a Bugs Bunny cartoon, made it debut. Cartoons were another medium that influenced viewers, particularly when the characters resembled people or events that had become a part of collective memory. In 1953, Bugs Bunny starred in *Southern Fried Rabbit*. The storyline begins when Bugs learned of a record carrot crop in Alabama and decided to go down South. He ran into a problem. A Confederate Colonel (Yosemite Sam), under orders not to allow any Yankees to cross the Mason-Dixon Line, stood guard in front of the carrot field. Bugs crossed the Mason-Dixon Line and came under fire by Yosemite Sam. Bugs was able to elude Yosemite Sam only after he disguised himself as a minstrel in black face. He shuffled his feet in a lazy manner while playing a banjo. Sam allowed Bugs to pass after paying the rabbit some paternalistic greetings. Upon discovering the ruse, Sam chased Bugs throughout the cartoon until he learned that the Yankees were in Chattanooga. He left Bugs to his carrots and rushed off to Chattanooga to corner the New York Yankees in their dugout during an exhibition baseball game. The cartoon poked fun at certain stereotypes about the south: for some diehards the war was not over and Confederate clever black subordinates easily manipulated veterans. The stereotyping of African Americans in the cartoon perpetuated harmful stereotypes by portraying blacks as shiftless, lazy, and in need of paternalism from whites to live happy life.[58] Yosemite Sam playing a Confederate rebel, readily supplied such schools as Forth Worth Southwest High School with a ready-made basis for their cartoon caricature of a rebel.

[58] Fritz Freleng, dir., Mel Blanc, voice perfs., *Southern Fried Rabbit,* Hollywood: Warner Brothers Pictures, 1953.

Southern Fried Rabbit was not the only cartoon to poke fun at the south or to provide images that led to racial insensitivity. *Confederate Honey*, produced in 1940, portrayed African Americans as lazy, ignorant, and subservient. The cartoon began by panning across the plantation from the cotton fields to the white columned plantation home. The southern "colonel" was blue, a blue blood, sitting in a rocking chair, and drinking a mint julep. The cartoonists drew the slaves with large lips; as well as they made the slaves sloppy and lazy in their appearance and mannerisms ignorant in their dialect. The cartoonists portrayed the whites as mere caricatures as well. The stereotypes mocked certain aspects of the Old South and the Confederacy while exacerbating and reinforcing negative stereotypes. *Confederate Honey* desensitized white, and possibly African American, perceptions of slavery by portraying it as harmless and beneficial to the slaves.[59]

The movies and cartoons of the mid-twentieth century did not start the process of romanticizing the Old South and the Confederacy. They built upon the Literature, written history and movies from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. That laid down much of the foundation of southern romantic thought in the later decades of the twentieth century. Thomas Dixon's historical novels, *The Clansmen* and *The Leopard's Spots*, perpetuated the negative myths of Reconstructions and built upon the memory of the past. They portrayed the Ku Klux Klan as protectors of southern culture and womanhood from the "vile" clutches of the corrupt black Republicans and carpetbaggers. Dixon painted a bleak picture of Reconstruction atrocities and corruption. He described the process of how the Republican legislators robbed the

[59] Fritz Freleng, dir., Arthur Q. Bryan, Mel Blanc, voice perfs., *Confederate Honey*, Hollywood: Warner Brothers Pictures, 1940.

state's coffer and lined their own pockets by increasing the per diem to seven dollars a day, selling off the school and railroad funds, and refurnishing the legislature halls. Later in the novel, Dixon told of the wedding of Annie Camp to Hose Norman. Before the reception was over, a group of black soldiers came and kidnapped Annie and cracked Hose on the head. Hose's friends followed in to the woods and fired in to the group of soldiers, killing two and wounding several. Those that were able fled back to town. In the exchange of fire, Hose's friends shot and killed Annie. Her father, Tom, Said, "Let us thank God she was saved from them brutes." Thus, the Ku Klux Klan was born to protect defenseless citizens and "womanhood of the South" in the Novel.[60]

The *Clansmen* served as the basis for the second half of D. W. Griffith's movie *The Birth of a Nation* (1915). Griffith drew heavily from his own personal background for the movie's storyline. His father had been Confederate cavalryman, and Griffith enthusiastically proclaimed himself a southerner. He had a vested interest in portraying the South as gallant and its cause noble during the war and the Klan as great saviors protecting southern belles from the "black men's storied aggressions." Griffith involved Thomas Dixon as a collaborator. Dixon, who was from North Carolina, based his novels on family stories from Reconstruction. In the *Clansmen*, Dixon dedicated the novel to his uncle, "Colonel Leroy McAfee, Grand Titan of the Invisible Empire, Ku Klux Klan." Dixon was a kindred spirit for Griffith, but also, he had friends in high places: President Woodrow Wilson and Edward Douglass White, Chief Justice of the United States and former klansman. Dixon arranged for his friends to view *The Birth of a Nation*, and after

[60] Thomas Dixon, *The Leopard's Sports* (New York: Doubleday, Page & co., 1902; reprint Ridgewood: The Gregg Press, Inc., 1967), 115-117, 126-127, 151. (All subsequent references are to this reprint.)

seeing the movie, Wilson proclaimed it as "writing history with lighting." Despite the opposition of the NAACP and its claim that the picture distorted history, President Wilson gave legitimacy to the film with his quote and helped to spread this view of history to the nation.[61]

Movies and novels were not the only influences in the early twentieth century that prejudiced white memory. In the first decade of the twentieth century, the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) embarked on an ambitious campaign of textbook adoption in Texas. Historian Fred A. Bailey argued that the Daughters began censorship to indoctrinate the children in Texas and the other states of the South into the values of the Old South and the Confederacy. They wanted Texas only to adopt textbooks that had "unsectional" and "unbiased" history yet gave a favorable account of the Confederacy as the main cause of the war, not slavery. The Daughters wanted textbooks that told the history of America from a southern viewpoint. They compiled a list a acceptable books not "derogatory to the South or her People." The Daughters earned positions on textbook adoption boards or asserted great influence upon the boards to gain the adoption of the books they favored. In Texas, the state adopted a uniform textbook law for all cities whose population was under 10,000 in June 1867. The selected texts could not include within their covers any material of a "partisan" or "sectarian" nature. The Daughters and the United Confederate Veterans (UCV) made themselves the unofficial judges of "partisan" and "sectarian" material. Francesca

[61] Jack Temple Kirby, *Media-Made Dixie: The South in the American Imagination* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978; reprint, Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1986), 3-4; Thomas Dixon, *The Clansmen* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1905; reprint, Ridgewood: The Gregg Press Incorporated, 1967), v. (all subsequent references are to this edition.)

Morgan echoed similar sentiments by stating that the UDC tried, starting in Georgia in 1896, to impose a pro-Confederate history upon school children. Their program for indoctrination went beyond the usual essay contest. The program included pressuring school boards to adopt pro-southern books and sought to place Confederate flags and Confederate heroes' portraits in schools. In 1896, in Alexandria, Virginia, the UDC started the first Children of the Confederacy chapter to instill Confederate history through adult-supervised classes.[62] In short, the goal of the UDC was to brainwash southern children and whitewash southern history, literally. The "true history," as the women of the UDC saw it, did not include any blank voices, only white.

The goal of the UDC and SCV was the vindication of the UCV, and the goal remained the same until the twenty-first century. An example, provided by the SCV, of an unbiased history was published in the newsletter of the General W. L. Cabell Camp, *Rebel Rouser*. The article, written by Ralph Green, the newsletter editor, provided five causes for the "War Between the States." The first was based on different interpretations of the Constitution. The South saw the Union as Dissoluble and Nullification a state right. The North did not. The second cause stemmed from the different labor systems of the two regions. The South depended on slave labor and the North on free labor. The third cause developed from a lack of communication between

[62] Fred Arthur Bailey, "Free Speech and the `Lost Cause' in Texas: A Study of Social Control in the New South," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* (April 1994): 457, 461, 462; Francesca Morgan, *Women and Patriotism in Jim Crow America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 35. For more on textbook censorship in the South, See Fred Arthur Bailey's other articles "Free speech and Lost Cause in the Old Dominion," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 103, (1995): 237-266; "Textbooks of the `Lost Cause': Censorship and the Creation of Southern State Histories," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly*, 75 (1991): 507-533; "Free Speech and `Lost Cause' in Arkansas," *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, 55 (1996): 143-166.

the two regions. Migration patterns moved from east to west, not between north and south. This led to misunderstanding and petty jealousy. The fourth cause came from sectional books published to capitalize on the animosity between the two sections. This led the South to see the North as selfish and cold-blooded, and the North to view the South was barbarous, ignorant, and inhumane. The fifth cause concerned demagoguery. Men of ambition and greed schemed for their own personal betterment and placed the needs of the people and nation to the side.[63] In the explanation of the causation of the Civil War, the SCV newsletter did not mention the dehumanizing effect slavery had on both slave and master, nor did the newsletter mention abolitionists. The cause of the Civil War was over constitutional questions and differences in economics and culture, not the moral question that slavery inevitably asks.

The role the UDC and SCV played in influencing the student bodies in Texas to adopt Confederate symbols was indirect, but the catechism and the UDC-approved textbooks provided direct control over the children that read from them, affecting the historical memory whites had about the Civil War. By the 1950s and 1960s, the two organizations wielded less influence over these areas than in the early decades of the twentieth century. Though, their efforts to create an "unbiased" view of the Confederacy had laid the foundation of white memory built upon by the novels of Thomas Dixon, movies such as *Gone With the Wind* and *She Wore a Yellow Ribbon*, and the Warner Brothers' cartoons. Add to this, universities such as Arlington State, which used rebels as a mascot and Southern Methodist University, which held Old South days on campus in the 1950s, the culture within Texas was conducive to allowing high schools to adopt

[63] Ralph Green, ed., "History of the United States," *Rebel Rouser* 31, no. 9 (2003): 2-3.

Confederate symbols and mascots without anyone raising objections or questioning their use. Communities saw the Confederate flag as an honorable symbol from the past that was an acceptable, almost perfect, symbol to represent the school and community.[64] The administrators and teachers were from the generation more influenced by the UDC telling of the past than were their students. The principals, teachers, and school boards had to sign off on the Confederate symbolism, and by doing so, they created an idealized version of the past veiled under the guise of school spirit. They never saw a problem with the Confederate flag. This showed how entrenched the Confederate symbols had become in the psyche of the communities.

The idea that the students had of the South contributed to their development of the traditions at the schools. The actual history was far from what they believed to be true. The traditions the students fashioned at each school were not necessarily evil or bad. They created their traditions based on the historical memory developed in the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries. The "truth" about this heritage they were recreating was not 100 percent accurate, and the schools themselves were not all the same. South Grand Prairie High School, for instance, did not have a southern mascot, but all the schools had one symbol in common, the Confederate battle flag. The flag flew high above the schools on game day and waved from every corner of the stands every Friday night at the games. The students, parents, teachers, and administrators never questioned the merits of using the flag. The students chose the flag and

[64] Jimmie Jean Warren, "Students to Revive Civil War Scenes in Program on Saturday," *Dallas Morning News*, 5 May 1950, Page 1; "Old South Will Take Over SMU," *Dallas Morning News*, 15 Apr. 1953, sec. 2, p. 1; Holly Sharp, "Old South Will Rise Again on SMU Campus," *Dallas Morning News*, 24 Apr. 1955, sec. 2, p. 2; Webb, interview with author, 7 June 2006.

developed the schools' traditions around the flag and their understanding of history. They saw no trouble with the flag's use, and no one questioned the flag and the view of history represented by the flag.

CHAPTER 4

THE CONFEDERATE FLAG AND BLACK MEMORY

On July 12, 1993, Illinois Senator Carol Moseley-Braun gave an impassioned speech against the renewal of a special patent for the insignia of the United Daughters of the Confederacy on the floor of the U.S. Senate. In her speech, Senator Moseley-Braun stated that, “the emblems of the Confederacy have meaning to Americans even 100 years after the end of the Civil War. Everybody knows what the Confederacy stands for …. Now, in this time, in 1993, when we see the Confederate symbols hauled out, everybody knows what that means.” Before Her tear-filled speech, Moseley-Braun rushed onto the Senate floor from a Senate hearing to hive her emotional opposition to the renewal. What prompted her speech was the action of North Carolina Senator Jesse Helms, who placed an amendment onto the National and Community Service Trust Act for the renewal of the UDC’s patent, seconded by South Carolina Senator J. Strom Thurmond. They did this to rectify a slight against the “gentle ladies” of the UDC that Moseley-Braun had caused by her actions in a Senate committee two months before. The UDC insignia, the Stars and Bars, was the symbol the patent would have protected if renewed. After her speech, senator after senator praised Moseley-Braun for her “powerful” oratory and agreed with her by voting seventy-five to twenty-five not to

renew the patent. It was not appropriate for the Senate to endorse Confederate symbols.[1]

Senator Moseley-Braun Talked of Confederate symbols in generalities and not in specifics in her passion filled speech. She attacked the renewal of the UDC's patent because the symbol was a Confederate symbol. The symbol in question, however, was the Stars and Bars, the Confederacy's first national flag.

It was not the Confederate battle flag. Most moderates on both sides of the Confederate symbols issue found the Stars and Bars to be an acceptable compromise symbol. It found favor because of its resemblance to the Stars and Stripes, the same reason for its initial popularity and adoption in 1861 and its eventual unpopularity in 1863.[2] Most saw the Stars and Bars as having no connection with the Confederacy. Yet, the popular media applauded Moseley-

Braun, and failed, according to traditionalists, to scrutinize her liberal agenda with the same aggression it had done with the UDC.[3] Since the public in general did not see the connection between the Stars and Bars and the Confederacy, they did not perceive the flag to be a racist symbol. Most forgot about the flag's existence and did not know it was the Confederacy's first notional flag. Why did Moseley-Braun specifically challenge the UDC's patent for their symbol? Her office claimed that the flag was the "real" Confederate flag and the symbol of a government that rested on the "cornerstone" of

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[1] *Congressional Record,* 103rd Cong., 1st sess., 1993, vol. 139, no. 103, p. S9253-S9254; Coski, *The Confederate Battle Flag,* vii.

[2] Coski, *The Confederate Battle Flag,* 197.

[3] J. Michael Martinez, "Traditionalist Perspectives on Confederate Symbols," in *Confederate Symbols in the Contemporary South,* eds. J. Michael Martinez, William D. Richardson, and Ron McNinch-Su (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000), 249.

slavery. Moseley-Braun based her belief that slavery was the "cornerstone" of the Confederacy on the "Cornerstone" speech given in 1861 by Confederate Vice-president Alexander Stephens. She quoted from the speech at length during her address to the Senate. She said Confederate symbols forced African Americans to "suffer the indignity of being reminded time and time again that at one point in this country's history, we were human chattel." She would later acknowledge an individual right to fly the flag, but Confederate symbols had no place in "modern times" …"in this body" … "in the Senate" … "in our society."[4]

Where did this attack against Confederate symbols come from? In 1987, the Southeast Region of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) passed a resolution that called the:

> Confederate battle flag to be of divisiveness, racial animosity, and an insult to black people through the region; and … requests the states of South Carolina and Alabama to take necessary action to remove the Confederate battle flag from the domes of their capitol buildings; and … Requests the state of Georgia to return to its standard state flag of pre-1956; and … the state of Mississippi to return to its standard state flag of pre-1894.[5]

In 1987, the NAACP fired a salvo across the bow of neo-Confederate and Confederate heritage groups. The resolution did not attack Confederate symbols across the South entirely, rather it attacked the public use and display of Confederate symbols by state governments, most notably the states of Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina, and Georgia. This announcement coupled with the resolution adopted by the Southeast Region of the NAACP sent

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[4] Congressional Record, 103rd Cong., 1st sess., S9258-S9259; Coski, *The Confederate Battle Flag,* 196-197.

[5] Prince, *Rally 'Round the Flag, Boys!: South Carolina and ConfederateFlag,*138.

alarms up among defenders of southern heritage. They saw themselves as the potential victims of a witch-hunt. They knew the NAACP had the resources to bring large amounts of money and power to bear in the upcoming battle over Confederate symbols, not just the flag. The defenders of Dixie would be ready for the prolonged fight.[6] What else would their ancestors expect?

The memory most African Americans have of the Confederate battle flag and other Confederate symbols is of racism, white supremacy, and slavery. The flag especially embodies these ideas for African Americans, because white supremacy groups such as the Ku Klux Klan use the flag in their anti-integration demonstrations. This chapter will explore black collective memory and its associations with Confederate symbols, as well as how blacks at the eight Texas high schools in this study viewed the flag while attending those schools. Why did blacks see the Confederate battle flag as a flag of hate? African Americans' views of the flag were tainted by acts of violence and injustice such as lynchings, beatings, and slavery committed in the past against their ancestors. They interpreted the Civil War as a war to free their ancestors from bondage, and the Confederacy as a country founded on the principle of slavery.

The inevitable battle between the NAACP and Confederate heritage groups over the Confederate battle flag and other symbols from the South's infamous past did not begin in 1987. The battle renewed in 1987 and persisted into the twenty-first century. The heritage groups saw their culture facing eradication. In their eyes, the NAACP embarked on a campaign to remove from the landscape all vestiges of the Confederacy with a giant eraser, and the

[6] Coski, *The Confederate Battle Flag,* 195.

existence of the Confederacy would soon fade from memory. To them, the changing scenery would have nothing to show of their culture.

For African Americans in the South, the thought of being removed from the memory of the past was not a fear but a reality. Until the 1980's there were no major monuments dedicated to an African American hero from the South such as Arthur Ashe or Barbara Jordan. Most of the monuments were dedicated to Anglo heroes, usually Confederates such as Robert E. Lee and Jefferson Davis.

African Americans were out-of-sight-out-of-mind for most of the history of the region. The Anglo southerners built their monuments to individuals who rebelled against the United States government. There would be no monuments built in honor of those who rebelled against the oppression of slavery such as Nat Turner, Denmark Vesey, or Frederick Douglass, a former slave that dared to speak against the evils of slavery. A few monuments dedicated to African Americans showed the benevolence of paternalism such as the black mammy frieze on the Confederate Memorial at Arlington Cemetery, a statue in Natchitoches, Louisiana, dedicated to the "memory of the devoted Negro of ante-bellum days," and the Heyward Shephard Memorial at Harper's Ferry. Another monument, the Freedmen's Monument to Lincoln, extended the idea of paternalism into the act of emancipation. The monument show Lincoln standing over a kneeling slave with a waving hand over the slave in a gesture bestowing freedom.[7] The mammy monuments and the Heyward Shephard monument

[7] Karen Cox, "The Confederate Monument at Arlington: A Token of Reconciliation," in *Monuments to the Lost Cause: Women, Art, and the Landscapes of Southern Memory,* eds. Cynthia Mills and Pamela H. Simpson (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2003), 158; [Houston] *Informer*, 18 June 1927; Paul A. Shackel, *Memory in Black and White: Race, Commemoration and the Post-Bellum Landscape*

reinforced the benign nature of slavery in white memory. The Freedmen's Monument expressed the fact that slaves could not gain their freedom like a man, but freedom was obtained through the mercy of whites. The monuments portrayed slavery as a positive good. The depicted scenes of paternalism where by the freedmen could not obtain his freedom except by the gracious benevolence of whites. This telling of history in stone overlooked the horrors of slavery such as the selling of family members and the whippings, beatings, and rape endured by slaves and their families. However, the truth about the frequency of atrocities on plantations will never be known. The paternal myth associated with slavery would have the slave-master relationship be one of benevolence. The truth was that slavery was dehumanizing for both slave and master. The temptation for slave owners and overseers to inflict the worst of atrocities upon slaves was great. The master held immense power because he owned another person and could impart his will on that person whenever he wished, and the slave had no real recourse to combat the actions of the master.[8] Emancipation, though hard to gain, could be earned through faithful service and loyalty.

Despite the rose-colored view of slavery held by white memory, two types of slave culture existed on America's mainland: one was societies with slaves and the other was slave societies. In societies with slaves, slavery was marginal and was one of many labor choices. If the master treated his slave with brutality, he treated all his subordinates brutally, his indentured servants, wage earners,

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(New York: AlterMira Press, 2003), 94-98; Kirk Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monuments in Nineteenth-Century America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 78, 114-119.

[8] Kenneth M. Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South* (New York: Random House, 1956), 177-191.

debtors, prisoners-of-war, and poor people. The master made no distinction, and the master-slave relationship was not assumed the social exemplar. In a slave society, the labor system was based on slavery. The slaveholders were the ruling class, not just a part of the ruling elites as in societies with slavery. All aspired to be members of the slaveholding elite, free and slave alike. The rise of slave societies occurred with the discovery of a type of commodity that had a ready-made market such as gold, sugar, tobacco, and cotton. Slave populations grew significantly, usually from direct importation from Africa. The slave labor forced all other labor systems, family labor, indentured servant, or wage earner, to the margins of society. Once the slave owners had established their absolute control over society and their slaves, they solidified their rule by passing comprehensive slave codes establishing absolute right over their slaves' lives.[9] The states in the lower South had slave societies. Defense of states' rights was, in effect, a defense of slavery in the Deep South, including Texas.

After the Civil War, slavery ended throughout the South. In Texas, General Gordon Granger issued an order on 19 June 1865 informing the slaves of their freedom. Black Texans celebrated their emancipation on this date and called the day of remembrance Juneteenth. Beginning that day, African Americans in Texas embarked on a new future with a new sense of hope. The hope of a wonderful future ended with a

[9] Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 8-9. For more on slavery in Texas see Randolph B. Campbell's *An Empire for Slavery: The Peculiar Institution in Texas:* 1821-1865, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003); Lester A. Bugbee's two articles in the "Slavery in Early Texas, I," Political Science Quarterly, 13 (1898): 389-412, and "Slavery in Early Texas, II", Political Science Quarterly, 13 (1898): 648-668. See also Sean Michael Kelley's dissertation "Plantation Frontiers: Race, Ethnicity, and Family Along the Brazos River of Texas, 1821-1886," (Ph. D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2000).

brutal reality check. The Freedmen's Bureau, the organization developed to help the freedmen, failed by crashing upon the rocks of white resistance to change. Whites in the South wanted to maintain their power and control over southern black's class status, labor, movement, thoughts, and political choices. Despite the failures of the Freedmen's Bureau and the small number of freedmen participating in the state legislature, black Texans celebrated Juneteenth with hope for a better future where they could enjoy their new freedom to the fullest. The problem with the future was that the hope for a better life seldom materialized into the reality freedmen desperately wanted for themselves and their children. The organization founded to ensure a better life and the civil rights for freedmen failed to do both. In Texas, Barry Crouch argued the Freedmen's Bureau failed not from bad local agents or neglect but from the vast territory that needed policing, manpower shortages, and the lack of cooperation from local whites.[10]

A memory that persisted within the black community from Reconstruction into the twenty-first century was the idea of "forty acres and a mule." This persisted from Special Field Orders No. 15. This order, issued by General William T. Sherman, gave freedmen forty acres of land in South Carolina and Florida as well as a mule. President Andrew Johnson rescinded the order, and the government gave the lands back to their former owners.[11] The reason for this reversal was the sanctity of property rights held by

[10] Barry A. Crouch, *The Freedmen's Bureau and Black Texans* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992), 13, 129-130. For more on the Reconstruction in the South see Eric Foner's *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988).

[11] Gwen Suttice, interview with author, taped recorded, Fort Worth, Tx., 25 MAY 2006; Ira Berlin, et al., comps., *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation,*

most Americans. The right to own property was the most sacred one Americans held in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. So strong was their belief in this particular birthright, Americans included the right to own human chattel as part of the privileges to own property.

Texas was no different. In 1836, delegates selected by citizens of Texas declared their independence from Mexico. In the first paragraph of the *Texas Declaration of Independence*, the citizens of Texas declared that the government of Mexico "ceased to protect the lives, liberty, and property of the people…." The property that the Mexican government failed to protect included the slaves brought by many Texans from the United States. The delegates later clarified their stance on slavery by drafting a Constitution that allowed and protected its citizen's rights to have slaves. In section nine of the General Provisions of the Constitution of the Republic of Texas, the delegates stated that "all persons of color who were slaves for life previous to their immigration to Texas…shall remain in the like state of servitude,…." The section further read that "Congress shall pass no laws to prohibit emigrants from the United States of America from bringing their slaves" to Texas. Congress had no authority "to emancipate slaves." Though there were other causes that led to the break with Mexico City: the citizens of Texas rose to throw off the shackles of Mexican tyranny in part to keep individuals of African descent in shackles themselves.[12]

1863-1867, Series I, Volume III, The Wartime Genesis of Free Labor (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1990), 71-73.

[12] Texas Declaration of Independence; Constitution of the Republic of Texas, General Provisions, sec. 9. Other causes that led to the Texas Revolution were forced conversion to Catholicism, use of Spanish not English for government business, combining the states of Coahuila and Texas, placing limits Anglo Texans voice in government, limits to Anglo immigration into Texas from the United States, the

Texas was not through with defending the right to own slaves. In January 1861, the citizens elected delegates to a convention of secession to break away from the United States. The convention approved a declaration of secession that stated northern states had "deliberately violated the 3rd clause of the 2nd section of the 4th article of the federal …" Constitution. The delegates claimed the framers of they Constitution designed this specific clause to create "amity" between the states and to secure "the rights of the slaveholding States in their domestic institutions…."[13] By their own admission, Texans broke away from the United States to protect slavery. Thus, all flags of the Confederacy represented slavery just as Carol Moseley-Braun had said, but why stop with the flags of the Confederacy? The same argument could be made of the Lone Star Flag of Texas and the Star-Spangled Banner under similar logic.

The framers placed certain clauses in the United States Constitution that protected slavery. As stated in the Texas Ordinance of Secession, the third clause in the second section of article four in the Constitution upheld the standing of a slave as the property of his/her owner though the slave escaped to another state that forbade slavery. The state to whence the slave had fled had to return the slave to his/her former owner. In section nine of article one, the first clause granted protection of the African slave trade until 1808, and the third clause of section two in article one, provided for the enumeration of slaves as "three fifths of all other persons" for the purposes of representation in the House and for taxes.[14]

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difference in culture between the American immigrants and Mexican authorities, and the instability of the Mexican government.

[13] Texas Ordinance of Secession.

[14] U.S. Constitution, art. 4, sec. 2; art. 1, sec. 9.

Using the logic of Moseley-Braun in 1993, Congress could fail to renew a patent to an organization using the Lone Star Flag and the American flag as a symbol because both flags represented nations that protected the institution of slavery. Most Texans forgot some of the reasons why Texas broke away from Mexico as almost all Americans failed to remember that the Constitution protected slavery within its borders and allowed for the importation of slaves from Africa for a time. Americans as a nation chose to forget the role the entire nation played in the institution of slavery. The few scattered clauses in the pre-amended Constitution provided testimony to the role slavery played in the development of the country. The protection granted to the African slave trade ended in 1808, and amendments to the Constitution made the other two clauses null and void. If Moseley-Braun did her homework, as she said she did in her speech, she would have seen the connection between the Star-Spangled Banner, the Lone Star Flag, and the flags of the Confederacy. She singled out the Stars and Bars because of the flag's ties and its connection to the Confederate battle flag.

Most African Americans saw the Confederate battle flag as racist. The other flags of the Confederacy held little if any meaning to African Americans. The reason for this was the prevalence of the battle flag throughout the South and its use by the Ku Klux Klan and segregationists. African Americans held Confederate symbols in general as racist because of the connection of slavery with the Confederacy, but the Stars and Bars and the Bonnie Blue Flag were not considered racist in the eye of most blacks because whites seldom used the flags to represent the Confederacy. Usually, the Confederate battle flag was the flag used to represent the South and Dixie. Ironically, the Klan seldom used the Confederate battle flag in its ceremonies before World War II.

Photographs from its 1925 march on Washington, D. C., show the Klan carrying American flags, not Confederate flags. In the 1920s, the Klan wanted to appeal to a wider base and to have a nation-wide organization. The Klan used national symbols, not sectional symbols, to appeal to a broader base. After the scandal with the Indiana Klan in the mid 1920s, the Klan began to use the Confederate battle flag as a symbol of its organization and retreated to its birthplace, the South after World War II in the late 1940s and 1950s. This coincided with the rise of the civil rights cases that began to grow stronger as well. The symbol used by the protestors most often to voice their displeasure was the Confederate battle flag.[15]

The memory most associated with the Confederate battle flag by southern blacks was hate and racism during the years following World War II. The Confederate battle flag was not the only symbol used to show the dominance of white culture over black in the South in a period that saw a battle rage over civil rights. In the years from the 1890s to the 1910s, Confederate memorials dominated public spaces in the South. At the same time, southern African Americans lost the power to vote in significant number. Lynching increased and peaked during the 1890s against southern blacks. Black southerners had no recourse except to create in private their own memory and identity. As a result, the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (ASNLH) developed Negro History Week (later became Black History Month). The week occurred in

[15] Coski, "Confederate Battle Flag in Historical Perspective," 107, 116-117; James Ridgeway, *Blood in the Face: The Ku Klux Klan, Aryan Nations, Nazi Skinheads, and the Rise of a New White Culture*, 2nd edition (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 1995), 56. For more on the Ku Klux Klan see Nancy MacLean's *Behind the Mask of Chivalry* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); Wyn Craig Wade's *The Fiery Cross: The Ku Klux Klan in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), and David Chalmer's *Hooded Americanism: History of the Ku Klux Klan* (New York: Franklin Watts, 1981).

February to honor the birthdays of both Abraham Lincoln and Frederick Douglass. Black teachers in the South used Negro History Week to counter white memory about the Civil War and slavery. Schools performed plays depicting slavery as an "unjustified and unmitigated crime." The week highlighted African contributions to Western civilization in Europe and in the Americas as well as extolling the greatness of African society. Each day of the week presented a different African American contributor in every facet of life literature to education. The celebration of Negro History Week occurred within the realm of black control and away from whites. The black memory countered white, but public displays of black memory were confined to black colleges and high schools as well as Emancipation celebrations and parades such as Juneteenth in Texas. The high schools and parades were the only public space the black communities had to memorialize black heroes in the south.[16]

With few avenues of expression open for southern blacks to voice their memory, counter memory against the Confederate battle flag was difficult to present in public spaces. As the flag gained more support and a wider association with the southern region, the Confederate battle flag became symbolic of the South in general despite its growing association with the Klan and anti-civil rights protestors. African Americans saw the flag differently, but as the 1960s moved forward and became the 1970s, the

[16] W. Fitzugh Brundage, *Southern Past: A Clash of Race and Memory* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 155, 163, 167, 169-170, 172; Elizabeth Hayes Turner, "Juneteenth: Emancipation and Memory," in Gregg Cantrell and Elizabeth Turner eds., *Lone Star Pasts: Memory and History in Texas* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2007), 117. For more on lynchings and disfranchisement in the in the South see Ida B. Wells-Barnett's *On Lynchings*, with a fore by Patricia Hill Collins (Amherst, N. Y.: Prometheus Books, 2002) and Michael Perman's *Struggle for Mastery: Disfranchisement in the South, 1888-1908* (chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

younger generation did not universally view the flag as just a racist symbol. Soon, memories faded and subsequent generations failed to connect the Confederate battle flag with the racism of the 1960s. Some viewed the flag as nothing or chose to ignore the flag. At Texas high schools with Confederate symbols, African America students viewed the symbols in different ways. The students chose to ignore, claim the symbol as their own, or reject them.

At South Garland High School, several African American students dealt with the symbols at their school in a different way. John Washington attended South Garland High School from 1968 to 1971 and remembered how "ignorance was a blessed thing." He played football and became Assistant Superintendent of Garland ISD after serving as a teacher and coach at North Garland High School and Lakeview-Centennial High School. He never attached the flag or any of the other Confederate symbols at his school to hate groups like the Ku Klux Klan while he attended the school. He did not conceive of a world outside of South Garland High School while in school. Once Washington left South Garland High School and attended Tulane University, he "became educated." He took an African American studies course and learned about the Klan and slavery. His mind changed about the flag then, but he had no idea of the connection between the flag and racism while in high school. Looking back to his high school years when he heard 'Dixie' and saw the flag waving, he remembered, "I would get fired up and ready to play." He used the symbols and 'Dixie' as a tool to get mentally charged to play football. He did not contemplate the ramifications the symbols had in the outside world. In high school, Washington saw only South Garland High School and the South when he saw the flag, not racism. Students of both races, white

and black, saw the symbols as representing their school and the South. After high school, Washington believed the symbols to be wrong. He associated the flag with the Klan and likened the flag's use by the Klan to that of the Nazis' use of the swastika.[17]

Kato Armstrong, another former student at South Garland High School, attended South Garland High School from 1981 to 1985. He played basketball and is currently a special education teacher at South Garland High School. Unlike Washington, Armstrong was not ignorant of the racial implications of the flag but chose to ignore them. He was not "going to allow the flag to affect" him at school. He was "there to get an education." Armstrong was very adamant about focusing on his education and being able to attend college. He attended Southern Methodist University on a basketball scholarship. Armstrong mentioned another tradition that started some years before he attended school called flagging. This involved students gathering in the school parking lot before each home football game on Friday. The students tied Confederate battle flags on their vehicles and drove to Homer B. Johnson Stadium through the streets of Garland. They honked, waved, and cheered to build school spirit for the game. Once at the stadium, students drove up and down the hill north of the stadium, showing their school spirit before and during the game. Armstrong said, "I would not do that. If you wanted to do that was fine." Armstrong was adamant about this as well. He had white friends who went flagging, but he never did. Armstrong would not wear the Colonel's uniform either. While he attended South Garland High, the Colonel's uniform was Confederate gray. A few years after he graduated, an African American student named Popcorn McCain became the South Garland Colonel from 1989 to 1991. Armstrong

[17] John Washington, interview with author, telephone, 2 April 2004.

believed an African American student taking on the role of the South Garland Colonel was wrong. Armstrong never said he did not like Confederate symbols or wished them changed, but his decision to ignore them and to refuse to accept the Colonel or go flagging displayed an understanding that the symbols and flag were wrong.[18]

Armstrong's reaction to the symbolism and the flag countered those of Washington. Administrators and teachers discussed the belief that students will identify with any mascot. Students wanted to attach themselves to something no matter how ridiculous the mascot. African Americans were no different. Washington accepted the Colonel mascot while he was a student. He identified with the symbols and recognized those symbols as connecting him with his school. Similar displays by African American students existed at the other Texas schools with Confederate symbols. At Buda Hays high School, African American students waved and wore Confederate flags to show their school spirit.[19] At South Grand Prairie High School, African American football players carried the Confederate battle flag onto the field at the beginning of games. At Travis High School in Austin, black parents claimed the Confederate symbols at the school represented Travis High School, not the Confederacy or racism.[20] This exemplified the belief that students adopted symbols and mascots of their school despite the negative connotations giving to the symbols and mascots by rival schools or the outside world in general. As long as the students could identify with a symbol and mascot, they would be proud to be that mascot. The mascot could be a frog,

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[18] Kato Armstrong, interview with author, taped recorded, Garland, Tx., 5 April 2004; Joe Wetzel, interview with author, 2 April 2004.

[19] *The Rebel* [Buda Hays High School], 2000, p.11; *Rebel*, 2001, cover, p. 20-21.

[20] *Signal* [South Grand Prairie High School], 1983, p. 3; Yvonne Arriaga, interview with author, taped recorded, 2 December 2005.

yellowjacket, or a Confederate rebel. Most students would overlook or not connect the racism associated with a Confederate rebel and symbols because they identified the symbols with their high school.

Not all the schools enjoyed such acceptance of its symbols by African American students during the 1970s. At Tyler Lee High School, the black students protested the singing of 'Dixie' and the displaying of the Confederate flag at the school's quadrangle by white students on football days. The protests included standing in silent protest near the quadrangle or preventing white students from reaching the quadrangle by blocking access to the area by standing in the middle of the walk ways leading to the quadrangle.[21] Carl Guest led protests against the Confederate symbolism at Amarillo Tascosa High School in the spring of 1974. He claimed the symbol prevented large numbers of black students from participating in extracurricular activities. Guest took his claims as well as a signed petition for the removal of the symbols to the school board.[22] The actions by these students showed conscious knowledge of the implication of the symbols to the outside world. To the students that protested, the symbols were wrong, but they chose to do something. They became activists.

This student activism also illustrated another issue within the communities represented by the high schools: the black community's loss of identity. The schools with Confederate symbols represented the white community in the dual school system of segregation. Only South Grand Prairie High School did not represent the white community solely because the school opened after integration. The other schools'

[21] Debbie Godwin, interview with author, telephone, 12 April 2006; "Lee Campus Disturbance is Reported," *The Tyler Courier-Times*, 11 November 1971, p.1.

[22] Vivian Salazar, "Large and Vocal Gathering at School Board Meeting Speaks Out on Rebel Symbols, DST," *Amarillo Daily News*, January, 23, 1974, p. 8.

student populations were white. The schools reflected the white communities and traditions. The black community had its own school that represented its community and traditions. When school districts throughout the South consolidated to enforce desegregation, the district normally closed the black school, forcing black students to attend the previously all-white school. The black students had to accept their new school mascot.[23] This was no different in Texas. In Tyler at Lee High School, the black students did not want to be there, and the white students did not want them there. Due to forced integration, They had to attend a new school with symbols and a mascot that said to them, "You are not welcome."[24]

Even with the difficulty of changing from one school that was their own to another that was foreign and uninviting, African American students still went to high school. The initial shock died in the late 1970s and early 1980s, but the tensions would resurface in the mid 1980s as African-American populations grew within the attendance boundaries of the schools with Confederate symbols. In the counties of those districts that had a school with Confederate symbols, the African American population was below 20 percent in all but one, Smith County, in 1970. By 1980, increases appeared in the African American population in all but two of the counties. Smith County showed a drop in the black community from 24.5 percent to 21.90 percent, and Hays dropped from 4.4 percent to 2.99 percent. Smith County still had an African American population of over 20 percent despite the drop in its population. By 1990, the number of African American students within the boundaries of the schools attendance zones climbed from 7 to 12 percent of the student population for those school that had Confederate symbols.

[23] Brundage, *Southern Identity*, 279-280.

[24] Godwin, interview with author, 21 April 2006.

Richland High School and Hays High School were the exceptions. At those schools, the African American population remained below 2 percent. The highest population of black students occurred at Fort Worth Southwest High School with just over 18 percent African American students. The African American student population showed no significant increases overall from 1980 to 1990 except at Southwest High School in Fort Worth. There was not a significant decrease either.[25]

The populations stayed relatively constant, yet the rise in the opposition to Confederate symbols tended to be stronger at those schools with a black student population that was near 10 percent. At South Garland High School, African American students showed their disrespect by gesturing toward the South Garland flag. The administration saw these disrespectful gestures as minor offenses, and they led to just detentions, not suspension. By 1990, Amarillo Tascosa and Tyler Lee High Schools no longer had Confederate symbols. The Schools removed the symbols in favor of

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[25] U.S. Bureau of he Census, *Census Population: 1970, vol. 1, Characteristics of the Population, part 45, Texas-Section 1* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), 95-102; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *County and City date Book, 1983* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1983), 523-564; Texas Education Agency, Academic Excellence Indicator System, Austin ISD, Travis High School, Final 1990-1991 Campus Performance, 2, accessed on 18 October 2005, www.tea.state.tx.us/perfreport/aeis/91/campus/227901007.html; Amarillo ISD, Tascosa High School, Final 1990-1991 Campus Performance, 2, accessed on 18 October 2005, www.tea.state.tx.us/perfreport/aeis/91/campus/1888901005.html;

Birdville ISD, Richland High School, Final 1990-1991 Campus Performance, 2, accessed on 18 October 2005, www.tea.state.tx.us/perfreport/aeis/91/campus/220905014.html; Grand Prairie ISD, South Grand Prairie High School, Final 1990-1991 Campus Performance, 2, accessed on 18 October 2005, www.tea.state.tx.us/perfreport/aeis/91/campus/057910003.html; Hays Consolidated ISD, Buda Hays High School, Final 1990-1991 Campus Performance, 2, accessed on 18 October 2005, www.tea.state.tx.us/perfreport/aeis/91/campus/105906.html; Tyler ISD, Tyler Lee High School, Final 1990-1991 Campus Performance, 2, accessed on 18 October 2005, www.tea.state.tx.us/perfreport/aeis/91/campus/015910001.html.

western symbols and mascots after African American students led protests against them.[26]

For most of the schools, letters to the principal expressing opposition from students did exist, but in 1987, the NAACP asked for the removal of Confederate battle flags from atop the capitol domes in Alabama and South Carolina and the from the state flags of Mississippi and Georgia. Even though, the African American community split over the meaning of Confederate symbols. The *Fort Worth Star-Telegram* printed the results of a poll given to Texans on the Confederate battle flag. The results showed that 61 percent of Texans saw the flag as a symbol of the region's history. Broken down further, black Texans viewed the flag less favorably , but only 37 percent linked the flag to slavery and racism and 21 percent to southern history, while 23 percent said neither was true, and 18 percent said nothing. There was not an overwhelming majority of African Americans labeling the flag as racist in the poll. The poll took place in 2000 after a heated debate over the display of Confederate symbols at the Texas Supreme Court and the Court of Criminal Appeals. Governor George W. Bush ordered the symbols removed in June of that year after much controversy and debate between the NAACP state office and southern heritage groups. The Texans that viewed the flag more favorably in the poll were older Texans. Texans 60 years and over saw the flag as a symbol of southern history 70 percent of the time when asked about the flag's symbolism. The percentage progressively lowered as the age group lowered, but only

[26] Wetzel, interview with author, 2 April 2004; "Symbol Removal Underway at Lee," *Tyler Courier-Times*, 14 January 1972, p.1; "THS Students Approve New Spirit Symbols Set," *Amarillo-Daily News*, 23 February 1974, p. 29.

the eighteen to twenty-nine year-old age group showed that less than 50 percent of the respondents viewed the flag as a southern symbol.[27]

Not every Texan shared this view of the flag. In 1991, a law student at the University of Texas at Austin went on a hunger strike until the removal of the Jefferson Davis statue from campus. State Representative Sam Hudson from Dallas proposed legislation for the statue's removal the same year. Gary Bledsoe, the president of the Texas NAACP, called the poll in 2000 over Confederate symbols flawed and meaningless. In January of 2000, Bledsoe claimed in a *Dallas Morning News* article that the flag "represented hate, slavery and division." For days before the *Dallas Morning News* published the article quoting Bledsoe, he wrote an article for the *Austin American-Statesman*, in which he said his question to the statement, "the Civil War was fought over 'states; rights'" was "the states' right to do what?" The answer he quickly gave was to hold on to "slavery."[28] The articles that included quotes from Bledsoe about the displaying of the Confederate battle flag outside of the Texas Supreme Court building, or the use of the flag by high schools in the state such as Hays High School in Buda, voiced his opposition and position on the issue. The symbols created a controversy because they were prominently displayed outside the doors of the Texas Supreme Court building. Bledsoe contended that a black defendant may wonder if he could receive a fair trial in a building that displayed symbols of racism just outside its

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[27] Coski, *The Confederate Battle Flag*, 268-269;Art Chapman, "Older Texans have mildest opinion of flag," *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, 10 November 2000, p. 3B.

[28] James E. Garcia, "Confederate Symbols Ignite war of words," *Austin American-Statesman*, 10 April 1991, pp. A1, A13; Christy Hoppe, "Flag flap expected to unfurl in Austin," *Dallas morning News*, 30 January 2000, p. 1A; Gary Bledsoe, "It's time Texas removes Confederate battle flag," *Austin American-Statesman*, 25 January 2000, p. A15.

doors. He asked Governor Bush to remove the symbols to ensure that the sanctity of justice would not be tainted by such symbols. The symbols were placed on the Texas Supreme Court building in the 1960s, because the building was dedicated to all the Confederate veterans during the Hundredth Anniversary of he Civil War. Governor removed the plaques, including the Confederate battle flag outside the state's Supreme Court doors, after hours on a Friday evening in May 2000. In the article about Buda, Bledsoe plainly stated that the Texas Education Agency had "an obligation to make sure the Confederate battle flag isn't displayed at public schools." The Texas Sons of Confederate Veterans protested removing the plaques, and the protests continued over the next two years. Then, a figure from outside the state entered the picture to protest the plaques' removal of the from Hays High School.[29]

This figure was H. K. Edgerton. He was a former president of the Ashville, North Carolina chapter of the NAACP. He left the NAACP and moved into the service of the Southern Legal Resource Center (SLRC). The sole purpose of the SLRC, based in Black Mountain, North Carolina, was to protect the southern heritage and civil rights of southern whites. When a government organization, such as a school or school district, removed Confederate symbols, the SLRC replies with a response to seek the return of the symbols. Their first action in all cases involves sending Edgerton as a front man to build awareness of the situation and bring pressure upon the school or school district to return the symbols. Edgerton's role entails a march to raise money for the cause or subsequent court case. He gains attention unusual attention from the press and

[29] Dave Harmon, "Disputes continues on Confederate symbols," *Austin American-Statesman*, 14 February 2000, pp. B1, B6; Christy Hoppe, "Poll: Rebel flag symbol of heritage," *Dallas Morning News*, 10 November 2000, pp. 39A, 41A.

spectators through the years for being African American and supporting Confederate symbols.[30]

In 2003, he marched from Ashville to Austin to protest the removal of Confederate symbols from Hays High School. Not all spectators were curious or happy to see Edgerton carrying his Confederate battle flag on his march to Austin. In Grambling, Louisiana, Edgerton and his followers, some white and some black, claimed that a group hooded men threatened to harm them. Grambling is the home of Grambling State University, a historically black college. Edgerton quoted one of the individuals as having said, "You better have your guns 'cause we're going to kill your ass." Not long after this incident, a Grambling policeman arrived on the scene summoned by Edgerton. Edgerton reported the incident and asked for protection. The officer instructed the group to go down to a nearby corner and wait there for him to escort them to see the mayor. Edgerton did as the policeman instructed, and found the chief of police. The chief said he could not guarantee the safety of he group in town, and that Edgerton's band should not stop or walk through the town. Edgerton walked through despite the warning. A van pulled up alongside the group not long after the chief's advice to leave and warned of an ambush against the marchers around the next corner. With this news, Edgerton decided to call for a sheriff deputy to escort the group the rest of the day.[31]

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[30] Clint Parker, "H. K. Edgerton Speaks to history Students," *The Tribune Newspapers*, 25 February, 2004, p. 1; For more on African American views about Confederate symbols see Franklin Forts, "Living with Confederate Symbols," *Southern Cultures*, 8 (2002): 60-75.

[31] Parker, "Black Activist's life threatened on march," *The Tribune Newspapers*, 26 December 2002, p. 1.

Edgerton claimed the police "had climbed into bed" with the mob from Grambling, an allegation the police chief firmly denied. He claimed Edgerton had lied. The chief asked the marchers to move on to the next town because of his fears of potential violence against the marchers. Grambling was a college town with people from all over the nation; the chief feared the people would not understand the reasoning of the marchers and try to harm then in some way. According to the reporter, he never answered the question of whether or not the people of the town held tolerant views for those expressing viewpoints opposing their own. When asked if there was a difference in the refusal to protect "Civil Rights protestors of the 1960s" by white police officers and his refusal to protect Edgerton and his group, Chief Smith replied that Edgerton's group "was trying to create a problem," and evidence "existed that the group was in danger." The article appeared in *The Tribune Papers*, Edgerton's hometown paper. The hometown paper did not question Edgerton's story because in his trek across the South, Edgerton's only serious trouble occurred in Grambling. Some trouble occurred in Clemson, South Carolina, but, according to Edgerton, "the Clemson incident in now way " compared "with Grambling." Edgerton revealed a photograph showing several blacks posing with him and his flag in a small town just before entering Grambling. This was his way of showing proof that the "Christian St. Andrew Cross" was a flag for all southerners, white and black.[32] The black students at Grambling did not share Edgerton's belief and the reporter's question was not a fair question comparing Edgerton to the civil rights protestors, because the civil rights protestors faced violence and death at every turn in the 1960s. Edgerton did not.

[32] Ibid.

H. K. Edgerton proved that not all black southerners viewed the Confederate battle flag as being full of racial hatred like Gary Bledsoe did. To Edgerton, the flag represented the history of the South, which he considered his heritage just as much as white did. The Confederate battle flag represented the history of the southern region more so than any other symbol because of its long connection with the South. Based on the action of Edgerton, the Confederate battle flag can be the connection that would allow a “diverse population” to live ”in solidarity with its differences” and “point to the possibility of a bright future.” This history was not always the best or most uplifting, but it was represented by this flag.

All flags represent something different depending on the individual interpreting the flag. The Star-Spangled Banner represented honor, freedom, bravery, and independence to many around the world at the same it represented imperialism, domination, and evil to others. The Confederate battle flag was no different in the realm of public awareness in the late eighties and early nineties. The flag supporters had ample ammunition to support their argument of heritage not hate. At the same time, the opposition group had just as effective an argument for the flag’s removal from public places. The flag served as a reminder of the past and all things southern. The split between African Americans on the interpretation of the flag was more apparent than a split between southern Anglos on the Confederate battle flag. Southern whites were more adamant on their interpretation of the flag as a symbol of southern heritage than were African Americans about its racist symbolism. African Americans’ inability to solidify their opposition and, in some cases, even to accept the flag as their own, weakened their oppositional stance. Both H. K. Edgerton and Gary Bledsoe considered

themselves African American, but they existed on opposite sides of the question. Despite the division among blacks, many still saw the Confederate battle flag as racist and formed an dissident group that would conflict with those that saw the flag as an emblem of southern tradition.[33]

[33] Franklin Forts, “Living with Confederate Symbols,” *Southern Cultures*,8 (2002): 75.

CHAPTER 5

CONFLICT IN BLACK AND WHITE

The year was 1988. That January, the Washington Redskins went to the Super Bowl led by Doug Williams, the only African American quarterback to win and be named the Most Valuable Player of the Super Bowl. In the same year, African American students marched in protest out of assemblies at South Garland High School (SGHS) over the use of Confederate symbols and 'Dixie.' They argued the symbols represented white supremacy and had no legitimate reason for being at the school. The white students disagreed and associated the black students' walkouts with personal attacks on the school. A chorus of jeers and boos fell down upon the ears of the protesters. The group was small at first but grew to more than twenty individuals. The parents of the protesters picketed the school later with signs that read "Down With Dixie." The students that supported the Confederate symbolism responded by throwing trash at the students leaving assemblies; they vandalized the sidewalks of the protestors' homes and directed threats at the protest leaders. The school sat on a powder keg of racial divide. In the school and in the community, the focus for the next three years would be over whether or not SGHS should use Confederate symbols rather than the teaching of

U.S. History and practical math. With the battle lines drawn down the color line, SGHS students prepared themselves for a long dispute, white and black.[1]

The conflict over Confederate symbols in Texas high schools boiled over in the early 1970s and extended into the twenty-first century, but the conflict's origins began with integration in the years just before World War II. The early road to integrate public schools eventually led to the fight over Confederate symbols. The fight in the thirties and forties was over the physical integration of schools and the end of the dual system of education in place in the South. The battle over integration culminated in a conflict over displaying Confederate symbols. The Confederate battle flag and other Confederate images developed into barriers to integration at schools as supporters of segregation displayed in symbols to represent their opposition to integration. The images displayed in schools became unwelcome signs to African American students entering previously all-white schools. This unwanted feeling caused African-American students and their parents to challenge the use of Confederate symbols at public schools, arguing the icons prevented students from attending school thus promoted segregation, racial tension, and racism. Anglos countered this argument by claiming the symbols represented white heritage and their school, not slavery or racism. The conflict over Confederate symbols in Texas high schools centered on the color line between black and white understanding of history and memory of the past.[2]

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[1] Joe Wetzel, interview with author, 2 April 2004; Mary Ann Venner, interview with author, taped recording, 5 April 2004; M. T. Avant, interview with author, telephone, 2 April 2004; Annette Nevins, "Anti-Rebel Rebellion," The *Dallas Morning News,* 26 May 1989, pp. 29A, 31A; Kathy Jackson, "'An Ugly Message'" *Dallas Morning News*, 28 May 1989, pp. 33A, 34A.

[2] Coski, *The Confederate Battle Flag*, 202-208.

In Texas, the attack against "Separate but Equal" in education started with the Supreme Court case Sweatt v. Painter (1953). Herman Sweatt was a black mail carrier in Houston. He had attended Wiley College in Marshall, Texas, and he applied to the University of Texas Law School. The school promptly denied Sweatt admission based solely on his race despite a B+ average at Wiley College and the University of Michigan where he had already completed a year of graduate work. Sweatt filed a writ of mandamus with Judge Roy Archer to force the University of Texas (UT) to admit him. The judge granted the writ and promptly suspended it for six months to allow UT to establish a law school for blacks equal to the one for whites. This led to the creation of the Texas State University for Negroes (TSUN), served as the graduate school for African Americans in Texas despite the poor funding, and cost to maintain the dual system in higher education. Sweatt refused to attend TSUN because the facility was significantly inferior to UT's law school. The Supreme Court ruled in favor of Sweatt and said UT must admit him to its law school because TSUN's facilities were not equal to that of UT. The ruling was specific to the case and did not lead to an outright reversal of "Separate but Equal." This ruling desegregated the graduate school at UT but not Texas' secondary schools.[3]

[3] Betty Bean Fielder, *Price Daniel, Texas and Segregation*, (M. A. thesis, Lamar University, 1997), pp. 13, 16, 19, 27-28, 34, 70. The cases that led to the reversal of "Separate but Equal" began in 1938. In 1938, the case, *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada*, reached the U.S. Supreme Court. The case stemmed from the denied admission of Lucille Bluford, an African-American, into the University of Missouri School of Journalism. The Supreme Court ruled that Missouri failed to provide an "equal" facility for Bluford and required Missouri "to offer equal education to blacks in all fields within its borders." The Supreme Court began to shift ideologically from upholding "separate" of "separate but enforcing "equal" to the "equal" accommodations. *Sipuel v. Board of Regents of the University of Oklahoma* involved the admission of Ida Lois Sipuel into *University of Oklahoma's Law School.* The school refused Sipuel admission due to her

The case that desegregated schools at the secondary level was *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka Kansas* (1954). The ruling did not provide schools guidance on how to integrate and left loopholes within the law to allow the dual system to continue. *Brown v. Board II* ruled that federal district courts had the primary responsibility of overseeing the desegregation of dual school systems. However, there remained loopholes within the law to skirt around the question of segregation. The most successful loophole was the freedom-of-choice plan that allowed students to choose which school they want to attend. In Green v. County School Board, the Supreme Court ruled freedom-of-choice plans unconstitutional. In Kent County, Virginia, few African-American students chose to attend the white school; most chose to attend the black school. None of the whites chose to attend the black school. This effectively maintained segregation within the school district. The ruling thus mandated that the districts eliminate discrimination "root and branch." This allowed district courts to implement desegregation plans for school districts and maintain jurisdiction of the cases.[4]

Desegregation was slow to start in Texas just as it was in the rest of the South. Fifteen years after *Brown v. Board*, there was a number of small all-black districts nestled next to largely white districts. The discrepancy in the quality of the facilities, educational equipment, and books between the black and white districts was great. The

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race and refused to build a law school at Langston University to accommodate her. The Supreme Court ruled the school must provide as education for Sipuel as it did for other students. This undermined the Gaines ruling of school's entitlement to "proper demand and reasonable notice." With this ruling, the Supreme Court moved further from the "upholding separate facilities" doctrine and closer to the "enforcing equal accommodations" doctrine.

[4] *Green et al. v. County School Board of New Kent County et al*., 391 U. S. 430; 88 S. Ct. 1689; 20 L. Ed. 2d 716; 1968; Frank R. Kamerer, *William Wayne Justice: A Judicial Biography* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991), 120.

Justice Department filed a complaint in the federal court in Marshall, Texas. The judge that heard the case was judge William Wayne Justice. He found the nine black districts listed in the Department of Justice report presented to him were not equal, and their mere existence constituted a continuation of the dual system of segregation even after the Supreme Court had found it to be unconstitutional.[5]

In 1971, Judge Justice ruled with Court Order 5281 that the Texas Education Agency (TEA) was ultimately responsible for insuring the desegregation of the state's school systems and centralized education within the state in TEA. Judge Justice's ruling destroyed local control over education, a mainstay in Texas until Court Order 5281. TEA felt overwhelmed by the breadth of Justice's order and appealed to the Fifth Circuit of Appeals in New Orleans. The Fifth Circuit upheld Justice's ruling with modifications. TEA sought a stay of the Fifth Circuit's ruling with the Supreme Court. Justice Hugo Black heard the stay and denied the request by ruling that the District Court's decision was "comprehensive and well reasoned." The facts found by the Court, according to Justice Black, fully justified the court's order. Court Order 5281 placed all desegregation issues under the authority of TEA.[6]

Another court decision that affected Texas, Confederate symbols in high schools, and desegregation occurred in Louisiana. In this case, Smith v. St. Tammany Parish School Board, the plaintiffs filed for supplemental relief and a modification to a previous order to ban the use of the Confederate battle flag at Covington High School in

[5] Kamerer, *William Wayne Justice*, 118-121.

[6] Ibid., 120-124. Upon hearing the ruling of Justice Black, Judge Justice smiled. This gave him power over all the school districts in Texas except those districts already under litigation as modified by the Fifth Circuit, such as Dallas and Houston Independent School Districts.

Covington, Louisiana, in 1971. The plaintiffs claimed, and the judge agreed, that the principal at Covington High had displayed the Confederate battle flag in his office and at school functions to support segregation at the school. The court ordered that:

> All Confederate flags, banners, signs expressing the school board's or its employees' desire to maintain segregated schools, and all other symbols or indicia of racism shall be removed from the schools and shall not be officially displayed at school functions of any kind.[7]

The ruling was subsequently appealed and upheld by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. The ruling explicitly described the Confederate battle flag and other Confederate icons as symbols of racism and segregation that prevented, in the court's opinion, African American students from attending school. The ruling prohibited the use of the Confederate insignias at any school functions, including sports activities such as football and basketball games. St. Tammany School Board appealed to the Fifth Circuit, whose jurisdiction included not only Louisiana but also Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Texas. The two court orders worked together to give TEA far-reached authority over a school's choice of mascots. If TEA determined that the spirit symbols and mascots contributed to segregation, racism, or racial tension, TEA could order the removal of symbols and mascots. Thus, the conflict over Confederate symbols became an integration conflict in Texas.[8]

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[7] *Thomas J. Smith, et al v. St. Tammany Parish School Board, et al*, Civil Action no. 15463, 21 Aug. 1970, 149.

[8] *Smith, et al v. St. Tammany Parish School Board, et al,* 149; *United States of America v. State of Texas, et al*, Civil Action 5281, 13 Jul. 1971, 8-9. TEA could not act unless an individual filed a complaint, but Judge Justice's ruling gave TEA great power to enforce its decisions. If TEA found a school used Confederate symbols to promote segregation, racism, or racial tension among students, TEA could order the school to remove the symbols. The school had ten days to appeal to Judge Justice or comply with TEA. If the school failed to do either, TEA had the authority to remove the school and the school district's accreditation and state funding. Appealing to Judge Justice was a

The first TEA investigation involving Confederate symbols occurred in 1971. Ironically, the case was in Tyler, Texas, the location of Judge Justice's court. Tyler's schools fully integrated in compliance with Court Order 5281 in the spring of 1971. Tensions between the black and white students were high. The African American students wanted to attend their school, Emmett Scott Brown High School, and the Anglos wanted the black students to disappear altogether, at Tyler Lee High School (TLHS). There was a distinct feeling of unrest between the two groups. The Confederate symbolism at the school, especially the flag, only added to this. According to Debbie Godwin, the Confederate battle flag exacerbated the frustrations of black students. They felt like outsiders.[9] The black students were in a new place and new environment. They had to adjust to the newness of a different school at the same time they were surrounded by symbols they associated with racism.

TLHS started in the fall of 1958. The insignias created then had evolved into full-blown traditions by the fall of 1971. The Confederate flag existed everywhere. The band painted the likeness of Johnny Reb with the flag on bass drums. The basketball court's jump circle featured a Confederate cap with crossed sabres and the flag in the background. The giant Confederate flag still appeared at every football game and pep rally. The drill team, the Rebellettes, incorporated the flag into their uniforms. The Rebel Guardsmen still dressed in Confederate gray and fired the rebel cannon. In the fall, Confederate battle flags lined the walkways between classes. On the campus

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futile act because to rule in favor of the school, Justice would overturn himself. The same would be true of the Fifth Circuit and Supreme Court if a school was foolish enough to appeal all the way to the Supreme Court. The decision would not change. The school's only real option was to follow the order handed down by TEA.

[9] Debbie Godwin, interview with author, telephone interview, 21 April 2006; Godwin was a former student of Tyler Lee High School. She graduated in May 1972.

quadrangle on Fridays before football games, students gathered and sang Dixie and waved flags. Those traditions continued despite the integration of the school.[10]

Accounts of November 11, 1971, varied depending on the source. According to the Tyler Courier-Times, the principal of Lee High School, Dan Robbins, reported that there was a minor incident involving "six to eight students." Students reported over a hundred students involved in a melee. Reports claimed the incident started at 9:30 in the morning when a group of white students stood at the quadrangle to sing Dixie. A black group stood by watching. An individual from the group watching threw a rock into the singing group, starting a fight. Godwin remembered that a black student threw the rocks at white students singing Dixie, and a white student asked the black student "please, don't do that." Another black student then took one of the Confederate flags and threw it on the ground, "Then all hell broke loose." Another account said that a black student returned the plea to stop throwing rocks with a fist, and everyone shared "knuckle-sandwiches." During the ruckus, someone called the police, but when the police called back to the school, the administration claimed "they had everything under control." Despite this, Godwin described a scene where more than one black male student ran at a coach and jumped on him. The six-foot six-inch man was able to throw the boys off with one Giant push. The disturbance described by students was more

[10] *Legend* [Tyler Lee High School Yearbook], 1972, pp. 8, 12, 19, 63, 123; Godwin, interview with author, 21 April 2006; "NO Incidents Reported At Lee," *The Tyler Courier-Times*, January 19, 1972, 16. The schools design was without hallways. Classrooms were connected by walkways. When students stepped out of class, they stepped outside.

serious than the administrators were willing to reveal.[11]

To insure peace and to prevent violence, the Tyler Police Department and plain-clothed officers from the Texas Department of Public Safety paroled the walkways of TLHS the next day. Three observers from the Department of Justice in Dallas attended the afternoon pep rally. They commented that "there wasn't participation by everybody there." Despite the increase in security, there was more tension at the school after the "several skirmishes that caused class disruptions" the day before. A black girl and a white girl had an altercation after an exchange of words where the white girl said, "don't bother me, -." At 9:30 A. M., a group of whites moved onto the quadrangle to sing Dixie and yell cheers. Eighteen black students pulled out torn pieces of a Confederate flag and waved the pieces with thumbs down while others booed. When the Star-Spangled Banner made its appearance at the end of the rally and the student body sang the national anthem, more than twenty black students lifted their right fists clinched into the air "as a symbol of black power." A large group of African American students crowded into the quadrangle after the pep rally. They had determined as a group not to let the whites sing Dixie after the pep rally.[12]

To say the events on 11 and 12 November created some problems at TLHS was a colossal understatement. The district administrators, teachers, school administrators, and parents realized change needed to occur at TLHS soon. The school created three

[11] "Lee Campus Disturbance Is Reported," Tyler Courier-Times, November 11, 1971, pp. 1; "Regular Classes Scheduled Following Lee Disturbance," Tyler Morning Telegraph, 12 November 1971, pp. 1, 9; Godwin, interview with author, 26 April 2006.

[12] Don Brown, "Classes Resume At Lee; Absenteeism Said High," Tyler Courier-Times, 12 November 1971, pp. 1-2; "Three Justice Observers At Lee," Tyler Morning Telegraph, November 13, 1971, pp. 1, 9. Some 500 out of 1900 students failed to attend class the next day after the disturbances.

committees to resolve the problems with the schools symbols. All three agreed that the flag, mascot, and Dixie had to go, but the cannon, school name, and colors should stay the students recommended the abolishment of the 'Rebellettes' and the 'Rebel Guardsmen.' The overriding issue was to bring discipline and control back to the Lee campus. According to the faculty committee report, removal of the symbols would improve the relations between the students. Most problems on campus centered on the "lack of understanding" between black and white students, and that "white people have offended black people by the use of symbols" many times without knowing. The students believed the current problems on campus "prohibited scholastic progress." All the current symbols "created agitation and disruption on campus," a "lack of knowledge about other races," and the "lack of communications" contributing to "racial tension." Most parents objected, and while they saw that symbols caused some discontent, they did not believe they were the basis for most of the problems. The students and faculty saw it as serious problems and a threat to harmonious race relations on campus. The parents seemed outside the consensus and failed to grasp the issues confronting the students on a daily basis.[13]

TEA received a formal complaint and the agency investigated. The investigators met with Superintendent Jim Plyler and the school board on a fact-finding mission to send a report to the Texas Commissioner of Education. Their action stemmed from Court Order 5281. They found discrimination had resulted from the use of Confederate symbolism at TLHS and reported this to the commissioner. The commissioner, through

[13] Charlie Loomis, "Symbols ON TISD Agenda," Tyler Morning Telegraph, November 17, 1971, pp. 1, 4;Don Brown, "Symbolism Issue At Lee Unresolved," Tyler Courier-Times, November 19, 1971, pp. 1-2.

the assistant-commissioner, Dr. Leon Graham, ordered the school to remove the symbols or lose Tyler ISD's accreditation and state funding. The symbols that went into the attic of the school and community's memory were the Confederate flag, the school song Dixie, the mascot Rebel, Confederate uniforms, and the name of organizations derived from the word rebel. The cannon stayed, because it was "an official model of light weight artillery used by the U.S. Army from 1847, during the Mexican-American War, until 1898, during the Spanish –American War" and was thus not a Confederate cannon. If the mascot remained the Rebel, the school would forfeit the name Robert E. Lee.[14]

On 13 January 1972, the Tyler school board voted five to two for the removal of the Confederate symbolism at Tyler Lee High School. There were no disturbances on campus, but on the following Monday and Tuesday, three carloads of students followed two different busses home from school. The students in the cars taunted the students in the bus waving the Confederate battle flag and verbally harassed the students on the

[14] "TISG To Meet With 2 TEA Reps, " *Tyler Morning Telegraph*, 12 December 1971, pp. 1, 5; Charlie Loomis, "Lee Symbols Must Go: Accreditation At Stake Board Told," *Tyler Morning Telegraph*, 12 January 1972, pp. 1, 9; Belinda Germany, "School Board to resolve issues at Robert E. Lee," *Tyler Courier-Times*, 12 January 1972, pp. 1,2. The author inquired about the TEA reports with the agency but the TEA investigations at the schools could not be located. The department that oversaw the investigations, the Accreditation Department, no longer exists. The state restructured its Education Code in 1995, placing responsibility on mascot choice with the localities and decentralized the decision-making process. The reports were not in the Tea library and the legal department did not have them. According to TEA's document schedule of retention, TEA kept most documents for at least five years, others longer, such as transcripts, test results, and lawsuits. After five years, TEA sends documents to the state archives. There, the archivist determines whether the documents have historical significance. If not, the archivist will send the documents back to TEA to be destroyed. This could have happened to the reports. They could be simply misplaced at TEA or lost. Most likely, the reports have been destroyed. When TEA reports are quoted in the text, they come from newspaper accounts.

busses. On Tuesday, the bus driver was boxed-in by the cars and forced to stop and call the police for assistance. The driver remembered seeing the cars waiting across the street from the school while she was loading her bus. A Tyler patrol car dispersed the vehicles, but they went across the street and waited in the high school parking lot.[15]

Despite the acts of a few students, most were glad to see the changes in order to concentrate on schoolwork and to begin the process of putting the past events behind them. This began with the vote for a new mascot. At the first vote, the list of names dwindled from eight to five. After two more votes, the students chose the "Red Raiders" over "Southerners." African American students initially delayed the voting to add the choice "Bulldogs," the mascot for the black high school, Emmett Scott Brown High School. The choice failed to make it to the final run-off, but its purposeful inclusion by the black students attested to the connection students felt for their school's mascot. Its inclusion added fuel to the rivalry between the races because the white students knew that bulldog was the mascot for the former black high school. Delmus Jeffrey expressed the feelings felt by most students when he said the rivalry between the two races at TLHS stemmed from the Confederate symbols. The disputes over the symbols were "pulling students apart," and Lee students "would benefit" from a new set of symbols "in the long run." For most whites, bulldog was never a viable option. As far as

[15] Charles Loomis, "Board Votes Lee Symbols Out," *Tyler Morning Telegraph*, 14 January 1972, pp. 1, 4; "No Incidents Reported At Lee," *Tyler Courier-Times*, 19 January 1972, p. 16; "Lee Symbols Vote Delayed," *Tyler Courier-Times*, 28 January 1972, p. 1. The accounts of the incidents did not reveal the races of the students in the cars and in the busses. The assumption that whites were in the cars and blacks were in busses should be a safe one. The African American students were the students protesting the flag's use not the whites. The district closed the black school, Emmett Scott Brown High School, to balance the integration process in the district and effectively end the dual system of segregation in the district. To do this, the district had to bus African American students to and from TLHS.

the whites were concerned, James Cagney as “Yankee Doodle Dandy” had s better chance to become the mascot. In the 1972 yearbook, many whites in the senior class posed for a picture with several Confederate battle flags, a last act of defiance before the flag retired into the faded annals of the school’s history.[16]

The white students and many in the community reacted to their problem by kicking and screaming because they did not want to change despite the influx of African Americans to TLHS. The obvious aggravation stemming from the Confederate symbols present at the school caused a great divide based on race, and many students on both sides of the issue saw only their viewpoint and failed to see or conceive that the other side could be right. The Confederate symbols became a flash point of intolerance for both white and black students. The Confederate symbolism was removed, and a mascot acceptable to both groups smoothed the differences.

Another school in Texas felt the pains of integration in 1974. Tascosa High School in Amarillo continued to use Confederate symbols while integrating; however, unlike TLHS, Amarillo Tascosa High School (ATHS) found a less combative way to end the use of Confederate symbols. There were no racial fights, intimidation, or riots at the school, there was simply a protest by students at the school board meeting. The local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) filed a complaint with TEA over the use of Confederate symbols at ATHS on behalf of

[16] *Lee’s Legend* [Tyler Lee High School], 1972, pp. 10, 204-205; “Lee Symbols Vote Delayed,” *Tyler Courier-Times*, 28 January 1972, p. 1; Belinda Germany, “5 Mascot Names Chosen For Lee,” *Tyler Courier-Times*, 1 February 1972, p. 1; “Third Lee Vote Set on Symbols,” *Tyler Courier-Times*, 2 February 1972, p.1; “Students Select Red Raiders For Mascot,” *Tyler Courier-Times*, 3 February 1872, p. 1; “School,” *Tyler Courier-Times*, 14 January 1972, p. 4. The original eight choices were “Bulldogs,” “Red Raiders,” “Travelers,” “Volunteers,” “Generals,” “Southerners,” “Texans,” and “Raiders.” Volunteers, Texans, and Travelers, the names of lee’s horse, failed to make the cut.

students. The student's leader was Carl Guest, a mid-term graduate in December 1973, who read a petition from students asking for the removal of Confederate symbols at the January 22, 1974 board meeting. Guest came before the board seeking action after meeting a stalemate from other students in an attempt to resolve the symbol issue. In his statement, Guest called the "exhibition of the Confederate flag, the playing of 'Dixie' and the name of 'Rebel' for the teams … distasteful" and caused a "constant reminder of slavery and the Civil War." He further stated the symbols "polarized" the student body between "white and black" and "destroyed the harmony" between certain black and white students. He called upon the board to act by removing the symbols just as other schools such as the "University of Texas at Arlington and Robert E. Lee High School at Tyler" had done. According to fellow protestor, Jesse Turner, seventy to eighty students signed the petition.[17]

Unlike TLHS, the students of ATHS acted quickly to resolve the situation. In the school newspaper, the editors reprinted a letter from the district lawyer, Robert Ashworth, to the superintendent of schools. In the letter, Ashworth explained that the court system had found the use of the Confederate flag to be "discriminatory" and strongly recommended that the board remove the symbols if the students themselves failed to act. Lamar Lively, assistant superintendent of Amarillo ISD in 1974, provided the students with a formal complaint with TEA, the agency had investigated in accordance with Court Order 5281 and ruled that the symbols must go. Appealing TEA's ruling, Amarillo ISD would have to appeal to Judge Justice, and he would not

[17] Lamar Lively, interview with author, telephone, 10 March 2006; Vivian Salazar, "Large and Vocal Gathering at School Meeting Speaks Out on Rebel Symbols, DST," *Amarillo Daily News*, 23 January 1874, p. 2; "Lively Tells of Background," *Pioneer* [Tascosa High School Newspaper], p.1.

overturn himself and rule in favor of the school. According to lively and Ashworth, ATHS and Amarillo ISD had two choices: follow TEA's ruling or suffer the consequences. The consequences would be the loss of accreditation of the entire district, not just ATHS, and the state funding to the district, amounting to over $12.2 million dollars.[18] The administrators placed the onus for change on the students by explaining why compliance with TEA recommendations was important and more beneficial than fighting a battle that could not be won.

The editors of the school newspaper printed a special edition with many articles dedicated to the Confederate symbol situation. These articles informed the students that the decision to act was theirs, but if they did not take action in a timely manner, the school board would do so instead. During the question and answer period at the January 25 board meeting, a senior broke down and cried when told that the seniors would not graduate as rebels. This outburst of emotion showed the level of attachment students had for their beloved mascots. The symbol was something that defined them as individuals. Despite this outburst, the school board trustees asked for the following items to be changed: "the Confederate flag, the name Rebel, the fight song Dixie, the Miss Southern Belle Presentation, and the Rebel man mascot seen in the auditorium and on the overlays of the band uniforms." At the February 4th school board meeting, TEA assistant commissioner, Leon Graham, told the board that the name rebels could stay if certain conditions were met, "abolishing all connection to the Civil War and

[18] R. A. Wilson, letter to Robert Ashworth, reprinted in *The Pioneer*, 25 January 1974, p.2; "Lively Tells of Background," *The Pioneer*, p.1.

Confederacy."[19]

The board gave the students a deadline to come up with a new package that included a mascot and a flag. The deadline to approve the new mascot package was the end of February. The winner was the "Rebel Kid," a gunslinger carrying two pistols and wearing a black shirt, hat, and pants. The fight song played to the tune of Texas Fight, and the flag sported red with four white bars studded with stars arranged in a diamond shape with a T in the middle against a red background. Gone forever were Dixie, General Reb, and the Confederate flags at football games or emblazoned on the back of shirts. The Old South left the Panhandle to fade into the memories like the dust storms of the thirties.[20]

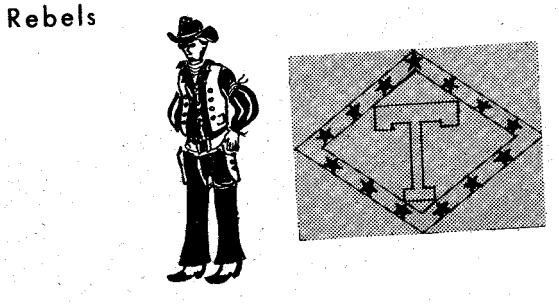

Illustration 5.1: Amarillo Tascosa's Rebel Kid and Current Flag, 1974. Reprinted with permission from Amarillo Tascosa High School.

After ATHS, another ten years passed before the controversy of Confederate symbolism reared its head again. The school that hosted the next round of bickering over Confederate symbols was South Grand Prairie High School (SGPHS). In 1985,

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[19] *The Pioneer*, *Special Edition*, 25 January 1974; Hal Marsh, "TEA's Graham Voice Views; 'Rebel" May Remain at THS," *The Pioneer*, 8 February 1974, p. 1.

[20] "Spirit Packages," *The Pioneer*, 15 February 1974, pp. 3-4; "Student Body Picks New Rebel Kid," *The Pioneer*, 1 March 1974, p. 1; *Las Memorias*, 1974, p. 32. The students' choices for mascots included the "Patriots," "Texans," "Revolutionary Rebels," "Rebels II," and "The Rebel Kid."

some parents protested the football team's tradition of carrying the Confederate flag on the field that began in 1974. The incident that spurred their action was the dismissal of Fred Coleman Jr. from the SGPHS football squad. Fred Coleman Sr., Fred Coleman Jr.'s father, claimed that his son's dismissal came when he protested playing under the Confederate battle flag. The senior Coleman believed the flag was the flag of "racially-minded people, the people who dislike other races" traditionally. He went on to say that he did not serve "in the military for my son to honor a rebel flag." He should only honor "the American flag." The NAACP, led by Lee Alcorn, took up the fight for eliminating the symbols on behalf of the Coleman family. The group planned to fight for the elimination of the symbols, an unofficial symbol at he school. Superintendent Hobbs Williams explained that the symbol's use, "adopted by the students" and "used more as a spirit thing," was not racial. Bobby Mosley, a parent and twenty-year veteran of he Marine Corps, told the *Dallas Morning News* and the *Grand Prairie Daily News* his daughter brought home her invitation to the junior and senior prom 'with the stars and bars (Confederate battle flag) on it." He also commented that he lived in the South too, "but darned if I want to be represented by the rebel flag." Black students claimed to have breached the topic with teachers in the past and were told by teachers that they did not want to talk about it. Black students also voiced opposition to the flag calling it a representation of slavery and representing "a black mark in American history." White students affirmed the support of the flag and commented the flag represented SGPHS.[21]

[21] Cindy McCormick, "Parents protests SGP rebel flag," *Grand Prairie Daily News*, 31 October 1985, pp. 1,3; McCormick, "NAACP plans fight about rebel flag" and

On 8 November, the NAACP planned to protest the Confederate flag at the final football game of the season between Grand Prairie High School (GPHS) and SGPHS. The city and the school district asked the NAACP no to protest at the game out of fear of a possible clash between protesters and supporters. Without much fear, the protestors came with American Flags and signs that read “No More Racial Slurs; No More Rebel Flag,” “Use the U.S. or Texas flag,” and “This is the United States, NOT the Confederate States.” All the while, they were chanting “Educate, not discriminate” and “Ban the Rebel Flag.” Inside the stadium, GPHS fans flew American flags and carried signs that said, “Who won the Civil War?” On the SGPHS side, the fans waved the Confederate flag with defiance and carried signs reading, “The South Shall Rise Again.” As all this occurred, the SGPHS team took the field as usual, except they abandoned their normal flag for a new banner. They carried a red, white, and gold flag with the Confederate design, not the red, white, and blue flag of the Confederacy. Before the game, the players had voted not to carry the traditional Confederate flag but opted for the different color scheme and used red and yellow paint to change the colors on the flag. No altercations occurred, but the debate over the use of Confederate battle flag at SGPHS was not over. In fact, a new player entered the fray and the battle had just begun.[22]

Students split over flag issue,” *Grand Prairie Daily News*, 3 November 1985, pp. 1,2; Doug Noami, “School’s flag stirs protest,” 2 November 1985, pp. 33A, 39A.

[22] James Ragland, “NAACP to protest school flag,” *Dallas Morning News*, 6 November 1985, p. 31A; David Coursey and Cindy McCormick, “Both Sides Gear for flag protest,” *Grand Prairie Daily News*, 8 November 1985, p. 1, 3; James Ragland, “Team’s rebel flag draws 75 protestors,” *Dallas Morning News*, 9 November 1985, pp. 33A, 42A; “Confrontation brewing over school’s rebel flag,” *Houston Chronicle*, 9 November 1985, p. 24; “SGPHS — a team to be proud of,” editorial, *Grand Prairie Daily News*, 9 November 1985, p. 4A.

The presence of the new flag calmed the protestors' angst over the Confederate symbols. Alcorn called it a "good sign." The use of the new flag proved to the protestors that their objections were not in vain and progress had occurred. The ongoing debate introduced another party into the discussion: the Ku Klux Klan. The Klan claimed that some of its members attended the game in plain clothes, but the Grand Prairie Police Reported seeing no Klan members at the game. The mere fact that the Klan claimed to have attended the game meant they were aware of the dispute at SGPHS. Their voice would be heard in the debate. Regardless of the apparent victory, Lee Alcorn went before the school board on 14 November to express his concerns over the use of the symbols and asked the board to ban the banner. Several flag opponents at the same board meeting, including Fred Coleman Sr., expressed a desire for the removal of the symbols. George Adams reminded the board of a college (University of Texas at Arlington) and high school (Tyler Lee High School) in Texas that did remove the flag and asked the board to do the same in a "manner without offending or splitting the city." Others expressed support for the flag, and a few, including Carla Ault, a student at SGPHS, asked the board to let the students decide the issue of continuing or discontinuing the flag. After the meeting, the board announced that the decision to remove the flag was in the hands of the students at SGPHS. This was the board's way of passing the burden of change onto the students. Whatever the students decided, the board would back them and their right to choose. This would be difficult to justify because the issue began to divide the school and the community. The *Indian Echo*, SGPHS school newspaper, wrote (reprinted in the *Grand Prairie Daily*), "If a compromise could not be reached, a symbol should be created that everyone can be

proud of." The students were aware of the potential rift the Confederate flag could cause.[23]

In the *Grand Prairie Daily*, a war of words began to take shape as each side drew lines in the sand. The supporters of the flag wrote letters filled with anger at the suggestion of removing the symbol. Clay L. West supported the flags' removal, not because it represented slavery to him, but because it represented slavery to him, but because it represented slavery to him, but because it represented the men that died for the flag. The flag should not "be sport of," and the flag should not "further the ambitions of would-be ward heel politicians who would rewrite the history books." Jo Ann Burgess claimed "the flag was doing its job. It represents the South, not slavery." The protesters spoke of heritage, "Well aren't we entitled to our heritage rights too?" Pansy Butler wrote, "The Confederate flag is for both whites and blacks alike. If the Negroes are threatened by the Confederate flag, does this mean that we can expect eventual protest from the Japanese students and then the Mexican Students?" Keith Bilbrey suggested Coleman should ask Calvin Harrison, a former black student at SGPHS, if he carried the flag onto the field in 1974 as "symbol of 'white supremacy, black slavery and white domination over the blacks' or as a symbol of pride that they were in fact a part of the South Grand Prairie spirit." In a letter of opposition, Dana Rushing expressed surprise to "live in a city that would support such a negative symbol" and hoped "that my white 'brothers and sisters will join the black community in asking the school board Thursday

[23] Cindy McCormick, "Confederate flag protest peaceful," *Grand Prairie Daily News*, 10 November 1985, pp. 1, 3A; Grand Prairie Independent School District, Minutes, "Regular Meeting of Board of School Trustees," 14 November 1985, Grand Prairie ISD Administrative Building, Grand Prairie, Texas, 5; David Coursey, "Students should resolve flag issue, board president says," *Grand Prairie Daily News*, 15 November 1985, pp. 1, 2A.

to ban the use of Confederate flag …." Rushing ended the letter by asking if "it would be acceptable for individuals to exercise their freedom of speech by bringing a swastika to the game?"[24]

As the community continued to debate, the flag issue and the school board dragged its feet to resolve it, Fred Coleman Jr. transferred to GPHS because of racial concerns. His grades had slipped at SGPHS and other students harassed him about the flag. The SGPHS coached refused to speak with him out of resentment. Several coaches received reprimands from the district for racially insensitive remarks to African American students. Fred Coleman Sr. expressed concern for his son and claimed that he was to blame if anyone needed to blame someone. "It was my decision for him not to play, not his." His admission that he, and not his son, wanted to make an issue of the flag gave credence to the belief that the fought more over the symbols than did the students. "Only a few students, not one in ten, knew what was at stake." Most students did not fully comprehend the issue and saw nothing wrong with the flag. The flag might as well have been a flag of truce. The parents fought the issue under the guise of concern. Coleman Sr. did not think of the ramifications his son might endure. Coleman,

[24] Clay L. West, Jo Ann Burgess, Pansy Butler, and Keith Bilbrey, letters, *Grand Prairie Daily News*, 7 November 1985, p. 4; Dana Rushing, letter, *Grand Prairie Daily News*, 12 November 1985, p. 4. Rushing found a connection between the Confederate battle flag and the Nazi Swastika. This was not a stretch because neo-Nazis, Skineheads, Aryan Nations, and other hate groups use both symbols to express their message of hate. However, the students at SGPHS intended the use of the flag to represent their school, not hate. The connection of the Confederate battle flag with hate groups, most notably the Ku Klux Klan, did warrant a mention by Rushing. The reaction by Jews toward a swastika would be the same as the NAACP reaction towards the Confederate battle flag. A team could claim that the swastika represented good luck and be right, but the swastika's mere presence would offend many people , not just Jews.

Jr. became a lightening rod for criticism from other students, because they could easily blame him for the trouble at their school.[25]

The School district moved ahead and allowed the students to design new flags for SGPHS. All new mascots and flags needed the superintendent's approval despite the students' vote. This was an attempt to appease the concerns of the NAACP. The students submitted five designs for a vote, including the Confederate flag. The NAACP wanted an outright ban on the Confederate flag, not a vote that could further its use, As the design process ended and voting took place, the Klan visited Grand Prairie to support the use of the flag and passed out its literature to educate and prove the NAACP was wrong in calling for the removal of the flag. Grand Titan Bill Walton boasted that "there won't be a NAACP anymore" if they tried to have the Confederate flag removed in Fort Worth. After the election and votes were counted, the Confederate battle flag won by a four to one margin over its closest competitor. The students clearly wanted the flag and the superintendent approved their decision. This prompted the NAACP to act, and they filed a complaint with TEA.[26]

Not only did the Grand Prairie chapter of the NAACP file a complaint with TEA, but it also filed a complaint with the Department of Education over racism and racial slurs used at SGPHS. TEA and the Department of Education conducted separate

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[25] David Coursey, "Racial concerns prompt switch," *Grand Prairie Daily News*, 12 December 1985, pp. 1, 4; Samuel Mitchell, interview with author, 30 November 2004.

[26] Christy Hoppe, "South Grand Prairie may soon fly new flag," *Dallas Morning News*, 14 December 1985, pp. 33A; Karen Ransport, "Klan draws curiosity seekers," *Grand Prairie Daily News*, 23 December 1985, pp. 1, 2A; Cindy McCormick, "Flag: SGPHS picks Confederate flag by 4-1," *Grand Prairie Daily News*, 11 February 1986, pp. 1-2; James Ragland, "Superintendent upholds votes on rebel flag," *Dallas Morning News*, 15 February 1985, pp. 33A, 44A; Cindy McCormick, "Flag lawsuit expected," *Grand Prairie Daily News*, 16 February 1985, p.1.

investigations and found merit in the complaints filed by the Grand Prairie NAACP. TEA suggested the removal of the Confederate battle flag at SGPHS. The accusations made by the NAACP that the district used literature 'demeaning to minorities" were " unfounded" according to TEA, and the agency found that the use of the "flag … was not racially motivated." Despite these findings, TEA ruled that while the flag did not "constitute proof of discrimination practices, it is suggestive of such practices." TEA went on further to say that the flag "as a symbol caused disruptions within the Grand Prairie Independent School District." Based on the conclusion from its on-site investigations, TEA ordered SGPHS to remove the Confederate flag, but the agency used the word "advised." This word suggested that the school did not have to follow the guidelines of TEA's ruling. Principal Buddy Perry of SGPHS claimed the students could still use the flag if they wanted, because TEA "did not say stop. They said, 'We advise.' They did not say, 'Stop using this symbol now.'" Superintendent Marvin Crawford was aware that TEA could remove the district's accreditation and state funding. He recommended the district to appeal the ruling to the Education Commissioner, Bill Kirby. The only reason for the appeal, spouted the *Grand Prairie Daily News*, was to "aggravate Lee Alcorn," not to fight for the students who voted to keep the flag. During the appeals process, the SGPHS football squad voted to discontinue the use of the flag. Perry supported the team's decision because "it was left up to the students." The school district chose to appeal TEA's decision to fly the flag because the school board and administrators believed the decision to fly the flag or belonged to the students not the principal, school board, state or NAACP.[27]

[27] Charles E. Baldwin, "TEA rules against flag; district likely to appeal," *Grand*

On 11 September 1986, the school board unanimously voted to appeal TEA's decision to the Education Commissioner, the district's first appeal in the appeal process, despite loud protests from the black community in Grand Prairie. Only forty people attended the meeting, including ten NAACP members and five individuals wearing "military fatigues and other clothes bearing KKK insignia." The Klan's presence at the meeting showed the fissures in the community that the controversy began to create. The Klan allegedly wanted to insure students' rights to display the flag of their ancestors. Though the school district was firm in upholding the student's vote to keep the flag, TEA upheld its original ruling . The members of the school board threatened to appeal to Judge Justice's Tyler court, but a moment of sanity took hold of the board. The members of the school board realized that their appeal to Judge Justice would result in "an open and shut case." Tom Anderson, agency deputy commissioner for finance and compliance, said about filing an appeal to Judge Justice, "That's like telling Satan to turn on the air conditioner." With the decision to comply, the Grand Prairie School Board ended the eleven-year tradition of flying the Confederate battle flag at SGPHS. The victory for the NAACP in Grand Prairie was the cause for of similar complaints filed with TEA and the filing of an injunction in federal court.[28]

Prairie Daily News, 20 August 1986, pp. 1, 2A; James Ragland, "Emblem of Discord," *Dallas Morning News*, 21 August 1986, pp. 31A, 37A; Robert Mahoney, "School to retain Confederate flag," *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, 5 September 1986, p. B1; Nick Chiles, "Team abandons Confederate flag," *Dallas Morning News*, 6 September 1986, p. 2H.

[28] James Ragland, "Board votes to appeal Confederate flag ban," *Dallas Morning News*, Max Baker, "Trustees to appeal ban on Rebel flag for Grand Prairie," *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, 12 September 1986, p. A21; Ragland, "GP flag tradition to end," *Dallas Morning News*, 23 September 1986, p. 2H; Ragland, "GP flag tradition to end," *Dallas Morning News*, 24 September 1986, pp. 21A, 24A.

The NAACP played a vital role in removing the Confederate battle flag from both Amarillo Tascosa High School and South Grand Prairie High School. TEA ruled in favor of the complaint all three times when it investigated the use of the rebel flag and found that Confederate symbols promoted racism, segregation, or racial tension at the schools. With this track record, the NAACP believed it had found a winning formula for removing from schools an offensive and divisive symbol. First, they filed a complaint with TEA. Second, TEA investigated the school's use of the symbols. Third, if TEA found evidence of discrimination, it ruled for removal of the offensive and divisive symbol. The NAAACP found, that in the near future, their winning formula would not always win. Sometimes, the defendant had his day and won to keep Confederate symbols despite the NAACP's loud and vocal opposition to their use.

Emboldened by the success of the NAACP chapter in Grand Prairie, on 12 September 1986, the Fort Worth chapter of the NAACP announced that it would file a complaint with TEA over the use of the Confederate symbols at Fort Worth Southwest High School (FWSHS) and North Richland Hills Richland High School (NRHRHS). The Fort Worth chapter sent a letter to both the Fort Worth and Birdville ISDs requesting cessation of the use of a Confederate symbols at both FWSHS and NRHRHS. Ray Bell, president of the Fort Worth NAAACP, claimed that the action stemmed from complaints received by the chapter from citizens living in the Birdville and Fort Worth districts. Officials at both school districts claimed there had been no complaints received over the use of Confederate symbols to their knowledge. Bell hoped the districts would take action in view of TEA's decision against Grand Prairie. The NAACP

requested the removal of the "Rebel flag and anything that would go along with the Rebel theme."[29]

In response to the NAACP, Richland students held a Confederate flag pep rally to show their support of the flag. At Southwest, no one voiced opposition to the flag. Both schools claimed the symbols represented the schools and not racism. The NAAACP gave the schools an ultimatum of fourteen days on 18 September 1986 to remove the flags. The Birdville ISD stood firm on the issue and sent a letter asking Bell to drop the issue and not to "cause any tension or disruption" at Richland. At a board meeting on 27 September, six people spoke on the flag issue at Richland. One spoke against its use. The board reaffirmed the flag because there were no "violations of the students' and-or patrons' rights during the twenty-five" years of the Confederate flag's use.[30]

The deadline set by NAACP came and went without any action taken until 18 December. The communities believed that the organization stirred up and purposefully created trouble. The residents in both communities were overwhelmingly white. Their opposition to the NAACP brought the participation of the KKK into the debate over the Confederate symbols. Both groups opposed the Klan's involvement, but Bill Walton,

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[29] James Ragland, "NAACP to seek ban on Confederate flag," *Dallas Morning News*, 30 August 1986, pp. 33A, 42A; Jimmy Burch, "NAACP wants schools' Rebs out of Tarrant," *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, 18 September 1986, p.13; Barbara Holsomback, "NAACP attacks Reb flag," *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, 19 September 1986, pp. 13, 18; Debra Dennis, "Rebel theme gets fire at 2 schools," *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, 21 September 1986, pp. 15, 19.

[30] Barbara Holsomback, "NAACP given onus over Rebel dispute," *Fort Worth Telegram*, 26 September 1986, p. 20A; Holsomback, "Dissenter takes on Rebel theme, crowd," *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, 28 September 1986, pp. 1E, 2E; Holsomback, "School board remains firm on Rebel theme," *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, 19 October 1986, p. 7E.

again, just as in the Grand Prairie case, planned to picket and write letters to support the use of the symbols at NRHRHS. (Fort Worth officials agreed to remove the Confederate symbols by this time.) The Klan gave no promises that violence would not erupt but reminded the NAACP that they should not have "forced their ideas on us or try to change our ways, that's where the battle lines will be drawn."[31] The Klan's involvement was again an unpleasant and unwanted occurrence in the debate over Confederate symbols. The issue and claims made by the NAACP had merit in its eyes especially with the threat of Klan involvement. The supporters of the symbols at Richland clearly saw the injury the Klan caused their arguments.

After much wrangling between the Birdville school board and the Fort Worth NAACP, TEA finally made its ruling in favor of Richland High School and Southwest High School. The decision announced on 16 January 1987 said that at Richland, "TEA found no evidence to support claims that the theme had created a negative climate or has been discriminatory." At Southwest, only one "patron had complained about the use of the theme." Though TEA ruled in favor of keeping the symbols at Southwest, Principal Glenn Mandeville decided not to revive the symbols at his school. He believed doing what was best for the students was to go through life without "prejudices concerning race and Confederacy and that kind of thing." Principal Mandeville wanted the Rebel theme at Southwest not to be associated with discrimination in any way. Ray Bell and the NAACP were very unhappy with TEA's decision. He claimed most

[31] Holsomback, "Rebel Fight goes to agency," *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, 25 December 1986, p. 20A; Holsomback, "Both sides shun KKK role on Rebel issue," *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, 4 January 1987, pp. 1E, 4E.

students “ere afraid to say anything.”[32]

In the dispute over Confederate symbols with the NAACP, the 1986-1987 school-year theme at Richland High was that the Confederate flag unites, not divides. In the yearbook, titled *Rebel, Our Style*, the flag was everywhere. Almost every page had its image somewhere on the page; most had several. The students made a point to be inclusive with the symbol. The ROTC color guard carried the Confederate battle flag alongside the Texas flag and Star-Spangled Banner. The color guard member carrying the Confederate battle flag was sometimes African American. At pep rallies, the Johnny Rebs passed out flags to everyone entering the gymnasium. The yearbook proclaimed that the best victory of the year was over the NAACP. “When the NAACP accused the Rebels of being racist, Richland proved that all Rebels are truly equal.” The school celebrated “Save the Flag Day” during Haltom week, the game week of their archrival. Students painted their faces and wore their best rebel attire, including becoming human flags. The students dedicated the last football game to the flag. During the fourth quarter, all the Richland supporters pointed to the flag waving at the end of the field. The flag became a deep-seated part of the school and community’s psyche. Upon hearing the decision of TEA, the school and community celebrated with the cheers of exuberance and flag waving.[33]

At Southwest, the Fort Worth school board told the school to remove the Confederate flag. This did not end he flag’s controversy at the school, however. In the

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[32] Mercedes Olivera, “2 schools ma keep Confederate symbols, agency rules,” *Dallas Morning News*, 17 January 1987, p. 9G; Holsomback, “Richland Rebel OK with state,” *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, 16 January 1987, pp. 1. 8; Holsomback, “Southwest won’t revive Rebel themes,” *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, 17 January 1987, pp. 21, 24.

[33] *Rebel* [Richland High School Yearbook], 1987, Cover, pp. 1, 3, 5, 15, 23, 44, 249, 286.

fall of 1990, an incident at a pep rally led to the demise of the Rebel theme at Southwest. The cheerleaders performed a skit where the flag made an unplanned appearance. During the skit, a projection screen lowered behind the cheerleaders as planned, but attached to the screen was a Confederate flag unbeknownst to the cheerleaders. African American students began to boo and yell at the flag. Many blacks began to leave, provoking whites to boo and insult the black students leaving. The tension in the auditorium escalated into shoving matches among students. White students shoved white students and black students shoved black students as well as black and white students shoving each other. Outside, as reports of the disturbance reached news agencies, cameramen from local news stations and newspapers arrived on campus. A black and a white student, friends, asked one cameraman to take their picture. The two students posed as it they were fighting and that picture found its way on the news broadcast as did the footage of a white grandmother pulling up to pick up her granddaughter saying, "White Power." That was not all she said. She went onto say "Black Power, I don't care." The news crews sensationalized the event, making the situation appear worse than the actual occurance.[34]

The district quickly reacted and told the school to change the Rebel theme immediately. Everything changed from uniforms to cheers. The student body chose a new mascot, the Raiders, but the fans had trouble cheering at the first football game after the mascot change. At times, they began to cheer "GO REBELS" and quickly stopped and changed to "GO RAIDERS." The parents and alumni had the most

[34] "Pep rally turns ugly over flag," *Houston Chronicle*, 21 October 1990, p. 21; Mary Ward, interview with author, taped recorded, Fort Worth, Tx., 30 November 2004; Beth Llewelyn, interview with author, taped recorded, Fort Worth, Tx., 30 November 2004.

difficulty with the change. Students initially believed the change was wrong, but after class discussions about the flag, most of the students understood why the change was necessary. Before, they saw only within the walls of the school and failed to comprehend other views. After the discussions, students had a greater appreciation for other viewpoints and learned that the flag could hurt others. The parents and alumni were a different matter. They thought a wrong had been committed against them personally. For the alumni, the flag removal and mascot change took away a part of their lives they could never get back. They connected memories at Southwest with the flag. At reunions, alumni placed Confederate battle flags on the gymnasium walls in an act of defiance reminiscent of the Tyler Lee High School seniors in the 1972 *Legend* yearbook. Both mascots represented fierce determination and defiance to authority. To smooth over the change from Rebel to Raider, Principal Quince Fulton and some parents used their own money to buy 2,000 T-shirts with "Southwest Raiders" printed on them. This was an attempt to do something positive and incorporated school spirit and unity among the students, and this act led to the quick acceptance of Raiders by most of the students.[35]

At Richland High (NRHRHS), the school continued to fly the St. Andrew's cross high for a few more years. In the 1992-1993 school year, some events occurred that alarmed school administrators, especially Principal Dr. Annette Keller. At a football in Mansfield, spectators attacked members of the drill team for wearing the Confederate

[35] Llewelyn, interview with author, 30 November 2004; Quince Fulton, interview with author, telephone, 15 September 2005; Victor Inzunza, "Principal helps clothe Raiders with pride," *Fort Worth Star Telegram*, 21 March 1991, p.24. the students cared less for the mascot and Confederate battle flag. The students were happy to be anything. They saw that being a "Raider" was just as fun as being a "Rebel." If students can be a "Skeeter," they can be anything.

battle flag on the back of their uniforms. Another potentially dangerous incident occurred in Weatherford during the same school year. Opposing fans burned a Confederate flag in the stands. These acts of violence directed towards students at away games prompted Keller to seek an alternative flag to fly at away games for fear of future violence against Richland students. She believed safety issues overrode the right to display the flag. She voiced her concerns in the school newspaper, *Reveille*, and her wish that the school board member would publicly support her. Keller opted not to make the change for the 1993-1994 school year as she originally intended.[36]

Before the 1993-1994 school year, a group of students approached Keller about the flag and indicated that they wanted a change. They included white and black students and members of the student council who wanted to end the Confederate battle flag tradition. Keller wanted to create forums where the student body could discuss the flag issue and decide whether or not to opt for a change. Before gaining Keller's approval, the student council started the process of removing the Confederate battle flag. The student council on its own decided to forego the Confederate battle flag for another flag to represent Richland without gaining the her permission. By leaving Keller out of the final decision process, the student council placed her in a negative position in the eyes of most students who were in favor of keeping the flag. Many at Richland believed the school had acted unfairly and failed to inform them of the change. These students believed the school, most notably Keller, had changed the flag over the

[36] Dr. Annette Keller, interview with author, taped recorded, 11 May 2006; "School prepares for upcoming year," *Reveille* [Richland High School Newspaper], 24 May 1993, p. 2. Privately two did support her intention to change the flag. The community was strongly in support of keeping the flag, and board members feared the voters backlash if they approved of the change.

summer break in 1993 without giving them a choice. Keller wanted the decision of choosing a flag left to the students from the beginning. Many students claimed they first heard of the change through the media or when the new flag chosen by the student council was unveiled at the first pep rally in 1993. Many forgot the small article in May 1993 in the school newspaper that revealed Keller's intentions of replacing the Confederate battle flag for safety sake. To quell the students displeasure, the student council and Keller sponsored student forums where students could discuss and share opinions on the flag issue.[37]

After the forums concluded, the students decided that the best thing was to retire the Confederate battle flag and adopt a new one. The administration's choice to have forums differed from previous school's attempts to resolve the issue. The open discussion allowed students to freely view the opinions of others and to come to some kind of common ground before the conflict spilled into public debate. Keller's decision to allow the students to decide and to hold student forums lessened the possibility of any kind of disruptions at the school over the flag. Many students still had a problem accepting the flag's removal. The Richland community remained close knit because many alumni stayed in the area and sent their children to Richland. This kept the traditions at Richland very strong. An overwhelming number of students who favored the flag were white. Few blacks attended the school, but those that did held influential positions in the student body. The most significant group was the band, and it identified

[37] Keller, interview with author, 11 May 2006; Nancy St. Pierre, "Stars and bars barred by Richland students," *Dallas Morning News*, 1 September 1993, pp. 25A, 30A; Eun-Kyung Kim, "Rebels with cause," *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, 4 September 1993, pp. 11A, 14A; "Rebels lose a cause," *Houston Chronicle*, 5 September 1993, p. 6; Eun-Kyung Kim, "Richland High forums offer opportunity to replace flag," *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, 30 November 1993, pp. 15A, 18A.

the most with tradition. At the time of the flag controversy, the head drum major was a black student. He did not want to see the flag removed because the flag represented Richland High School, his school, not racism or slavery. Though students eventually found a common ground, the community and parents, most importantly, were angry over the flag's removal. Letters in the *Star-Telegram* spoke of band members learning of the news at a band camp with tears "Flowing all over the place." One disgruntled citizen wished her daughter could graduate with the "Rebel flag and traditions, as did my son in 1989 (Richland High School) and my husband and I in 1966 (Robert E. Lee High School in Tyler.)"[38]

Though the opposition from the community was loud, the students finally voted on a new flag after retiring the Confederate battle flag. The students chose from five designs submitted from the student body. Lorein Fischbaugh designed the winning design called the "Runnin' R's." The flag had white stars on the left running up-and-down on a blue bar. The flag's field was red with two blue R's staggered, one on top of the other. According to Katie Goolsby, a former Richland student, "the other designs were stupid." Fischbaugh's design "was cool, looked more original." This ended the flag controversy at Richland High School, but the fight song "Dixie" soon fell victim, and

[38] Keller, interview with author, 11 May 2006; Katie Goolsby, interview with author, taped recorded, Denton, Tx., 26 May 2006; Monica Stavish, "Richland battle flag; students call banner racist," *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, 11 December 1993, p. 15A; Eun-Kyung Kim, "Rebel flag stirs waves of emotion at Richland," *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, 1December 1993, pp. 21A, 25A; Daniel Harris, letter, *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, 12 September 1993, p. 3C; John Anderson, letter, *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, 12 September 1993, p. 3C; Linda Griffith, letter, *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, 12 September 1993, p. 3C. The percentages of white, African Americans, and Latinos at Richland during the 1993-1994 school year broke down as the following: white 89.1 percent, African American 2.0 percent, and Latino 6.0 percent. For access, go to TEA's website and go to AEIS reports at www.tea.state.tx.us/perfreport/aeis/94/campus/220902002.html.

the administration banned its playing a few years later. Goolsby recalled that the band again had trouble letting go of another tradition and played "Dixie" one last time at the 1997 graduation in a final act of defiance.[39]

During the flag controversy at both Southwest and Richland High Schools, another school in the Dallas-Fort Worth area came under fire for its use of Confederate symbols. South Garland High School (SGHS) used the Confederate battle flag as a spirit symbol, "Dixie" for its fight song, a Colonel for its mascot, and had a plantation mural in the cafeteria. Most students voiced little if any opposition to the symbols before the 1987-1988 school year, but during that time, two African American, Tamecia Leday and April Fain, began to walk out of assemblies at SGHS. At first, they were alone, but soon others, between twenty and twenty-five, joined the two girls and began to push for change. Their activism led the Garland chapter of the NAACP to act upon their behalf. The NAACP asked the Garland ISD to respond to the issue and remove the flag from the school. The school board declined, citing that the decision to use the flag was the student's decision not the school board's. When the administrators formed a student committee to talk about the flag and vote on whether or not to remove the flag, the committee voted to keep the South Garland flag as it was. The committee was comprised mostly of white students, who voted twenty-two to seventeen to discuss the flag issue no more. Thus, a long battle began, and the NAACP filed an injunction against the school district.[40]

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[39] Goolsby, interview with author, 26 may 2006; "The Choice is Yours." *Reveille* [Richland High School Newspaper], 29 April 1994, p. 12.

[40] Joe Wetzel, interview with author, 2 April 2004; Donny Jackson, "Board takes no stand on S. Garland flag," *Dallas Morning News*, 24 August 1989, p. 1A; Jackson, "Injunction sought on Colonel flag," *Garland Daily News*, 13 July 1988, p. 1.

Instead of filing a formal complaint with TEA, the Garland NAACP filed an injunction with Judge Jerry Buchmeyer, the presiding judge in the Garland ISD desegregation case. Garland ISD was one of the few districts that did not fall under the jurisdiction of Judge Justice's court. The lawyer for the NAACP, Ed Cloutman, decided that filing an injunction in Judge Buchmeyer's court was advantageous for the plaintiff. He believed the plaintiff would receive a fair hearing and a favorable ruling (the removal of the flag). The case went before Judge Buchmeyer on 27 July 1988. He did not make his ruling until 23 August 1989.[41] In the thirteen-month period between the filing and the judge's ruling, the decision to remove the flag played the flag played out in the court of public opinion. The division between those for and against fell along racial lines in the community. The debate became less than neighborly, and they were personal attacks against individuals or perceived personal attacks.

The division clearly showed in letters to the editor of the *Garland Daily News*. S. G. Dyess said the NAACP was "attacking the basic freedoms of people." NAACP took away "our right to send our children to any Garland school." His most inflammatory comment was explaining that "we do not live in 1964" or "the 1860s any longer, and if

[41] Ed Cloutman, interview with author, taped recorded, 20 Apr. 2004; Cloutman, interview with author, taped recorded, 10 Oct. 2005; Nevin, "Confederate symbols' use upheld," *Dallas Morning News*, 24 August 1989, p. 1A; Jackson, "Injunction sought on Colonel flag," *Garland Daily News*, 13 July 1988, p. 1. In its desegregation case, Garland ISD had a freedom-of-choice implemented, but has modified the plan by creating percentages for ethnic bands at each school. Each school needed to have certain percentage for each ethnicity determined by the overall ethnic make-up of the school district. If African Americans made-up 20 percent of the school district, the ethnic band for African Americans at each high school in the district was 20 percent. This allowed Garland to build in areas where previously it was unable to do so, such as Rowlett and Sachse. When students registered with Garland ISD, they had to file three school choices with the district. The school district handed out the school assignments on a first-come-first-serve basis. Most students received their first choice, some their second choice, and on rare occasions, their third choice.

some of you can not forgive and forget, I really feel sorry for you." He even compared the NAACP's attempt to force "their views upon the rest of us" with the action of the "KKK … Nazis … Communists … atheists … Anti-Semitism … racism?" Davis called the tradition at SGHS a "fine and strong tradition." Many questioned why the NAACP waited "25 years, to speak out against the flag," and those citizens saw a connection between the South Grand Prairie High School controversy and South Garland High School. They believed the onus was on the students. The students "should stage debates, deliberate and vote on the issue." Whatever the students decide, "the NAACP, school board, and citizens of Garland should then respect and abide by the decision elected by the students." These same citizens called the flag issue "a flag-scam," a sure sign of "immaturity" and claimed the NAACP was wrong for calling the flag a representation of white supremacy, while "the average student" saw the flag as "a symbol of unity and pride. A symbol or mascot stands for what you as a student interpret it to stand for." The letters quickly degenerated into the rantings of disgruntled citizens over the perceived preferences given to African Americans. Examples cited by the letter writers were the "Miss Black America," "Black B&PW" and "Black Chambers of Commerce." They quoted singer Pearl Bailey as saying, "mankind would not advance until it ceased thinking in terms of black race, or white race" and wondered why the NAACP continued to view the world as black against white and vice versa. The paper did not reveal the race of the letter writers, but the language was that of whites frustrated over the attacks against their beloved symbol of the South.[42]

[42] S. G. Dyess, letter. *Garland Daily News*, 1 July 1988, p. 14; Louis C. Gold, letter, *Garland Daily News*, 2 July 1988, p. 13; J. Clayton Husband, letter, *Garland Daily*

The opponents of the flag did not stay quiet waiting for vindication from Judge Buchmeyer's decision. They picketed the school every day, using signs and bullhorns. They tried to reach an agreement with school board members and the school to settle the issue before the judge mad his ruling. The response from flag supporters over this activism was vandalism. On the sidewalk outside the Ledays' home, someone wrote in paint "Hell no the flag won't go" and whitewashed a Confederate battle flag beside the message. Others left death threats on the answering machine. Another activist, M. T. Avant, claimed students from South Garland shot his house and car. They ran him off the road in his car, and he slept in his front yard to protect his home from vandals. The intimidation of the group supporting the flag did not persuade Avant from his opposition to the flag's use at South Garland High. Ironically, Avant did not personally oppose a private individual from displaying the flag, but he did protest what he saw as a "shrine to the Old South" that the school promoted for its students, both white and black.[43]

As the case went forward, the opposing lawyers submitted their arguments to Judge Buchmeyer. Ed Cloutman cited two cases that he claimed most resembled the current situation at South Garland High School and supported his clients' claim that the Confederate battle flag barred students from attending SGHS and promoted segregation, racism, and racial tension. One case cited was *Smith v. St. Tammany School Board* (1971), which concluded the Confederate flag was a symbol of segregation. The other case was *Augustus v. School Board of Escambia County*

News, 3 July 1988, p. 16; Dorothy M. Rushing, Ph D., letter, *Garland Daily News*, 19 July 1988, p. 14; John Robinson, letter, *Garland Daily News*, 12 July 1988, p. 17.

[43] Nevins, "Anti-Rebel Rebellion," *Dallas Morning News*, 3 May 1988, p. 23A; Jackson, "An Ugly Message," *Dallas Morning News*, 6 May 1988; Avant, interview with author, 2 April 2004.

(1970). In this case, Judge Arnow ruled wearing shirts wearing shirts depicting the Confederate battle flag by white students deliberately incited and offended black students. Therefore, whites used the flag as a symbol of racism to incite racial violence at the school. In both instances, the courts banned the display of the Confederate battle flag at the two schools. To counter this argument, Earl Luna, the Garland ISD attorney, cited the case of *Banks v. Muncie Community Schools*. In the case, Southside High School started in 1962, during the hundredth anniversary of the Civil War, and the students adopted Confederate symbols to honor the Civil War and also because the school represented the south side of Muncie. These were the same reasons SGHS students chose the Confederate symbols in 1964 to celebrate the hundredth anniversary of he Civil War and to represent the south side of town.[44]

During the time between filing and Judge Buchmeyer's ruling, the Garland NAACP filed a complaint with TEA, but TEA refused to investigate while the case was under litigation. Judge Buchmeyer's decision seemed to be obvious based on the vandalism and threats directed at those in the Garland community who opposed the flag. However, Judge Buchmeyer ruled in favor of the school. He concluded by looking at the evidence presented to him that the case before him resembled more closely the *Banks v. Muncie Community Schools* case. He found no intent by the students to incite racial violence, to promote segregation, or to support racism at SGHS. There was "no evidence before" him" that a Constitutional violation" had "occurred. And I have to hear this case not as an individual but as a Judge and I have to apply the law even if I

[44] *The United States of America, et al. v. Garland Independent School District*, CA3-4100-R, (1988), 1103-1104, 1112; *Augustus v. School Board of Escambia County*, 361, F. Supp. 383 (1973), 384-385; *Banks v. Muncie Community Schools*, 433 F. 2d 293 (1970), 293-294.

disagree with it. And I will, therefore, deny the NAACP's motion for further relief." What this said was that the NAACP failed to prove its case that the symbols at SGHS prevented students from attending school and promoted racial strife and racism. According to the law, SGHS had the right to keep the Confederate symbols. Judge Buchmeyer went on to say that "if I were a student at South Garland High School, I think I would continue to press for a change." He noted the vote by a student committee twenty to seventeen in support of the flag. He went on to say about the vote that if he were a student or on the school board, he would vote against the flag. As an individual, he found the flag "demeaning and insensitive." Judge Buchmeyer clearly saw the flag as wrong and unacceptable as a school symbol, but he saw no intent to use the flag as a symbol of hate.[45]

The white community and the majority of the students at SGHS cheered Judge Buchmeyer's decision despite his suggestion for change. The NAACP and the black community vowed to continue to fight, despite Judge Buchmeyer's decision. The opposition continued to fight and protest. Little by little, the pressure continued; the opposition was able to create cracks within the hard shell that was the flag's support. In spring 1991, Principal Thomas Poore decided a change necessary. The protesters came every day and continued to rise Their voices louder, presenting a disruption to the educational process. The debate renewed at the school board, and this time, three members supported the removal of the flag. Alumni, parents, and students again geared for another fight using the argument of school tradition, but this time, change

[45] The United States of America Et. Al v. Garland Independent School District, CA3-4100-R, 1989, 1135-1156; Jackson, "Buchmeyer says education no disrupted by banner," The Garland News, pp. 1A, 7A; "Judge OKs school's use of Confederacy symbols," Houston Chronicle, p. 30A.

was inevitable. On 27 August 1991, the board voted to remove the flag and change the color of the Colonel's uniform from gray to blue. The students voted on a new flag when classes resumed. The new flag design was red with crossed sabers, with "South Garland" underneath the sabers. The new flag design was red with crossed sabers. The SGHS retired forever the Confederate flag. Every now and then, a student brought a flag to a football game or went flagging like their parents, uncles, aunts, and siblings had done a long time before. Joe Wetzel seemed sad when he thought about the students trying to keep alive a fading tradition because they were trying to be like their parents or family members.[46]

While other schools faced court cases and TEA investigations over the use of Confederate symbols, Austin's Travis High School faced none of these problems. The school continued to fly the Confederate flag despite Travis High 's demographic change from a white majority to a Latino majority. In the 1990-1991school year, Latinos accounted for 58.1 percent of the student population. Whites constituted 32.8 percent and blacks totaled 7.5 percent. Two years later, the white population dwindled to 29.9 percent while the Latino and black populations increased to 59.7 and 8.8 percent respectively. The first high school south of the Colorado River in Austin (with

[46] Rachel Boehm, "School flag Controversy intensifies," Dallas Morning News, 3 May 1991, p. 25A , 28A; Boehm, "Confederate symbols to be topic of meeting," Dallas Morning News, 20 June 1991, p. 1Z; Boehm, "Symbols of Confederacy at school debated again," Dallas Morning News, 19 July 1991, p. 1Z; Boehm, "3 school board members back dropping S. Garland symbols," Dallas Morning News, 1 Aug. 1991, p. 1Z; "Confederacy dies but 'Dixie' lives on," Houston Chronicle, 4 Aug. 1991, p. 2; Boehm, " S. Garland student to design new flag," Dallas Morning News, 15 Aug. 1991, p. 1Z; Boehm, "School to drop Confederate symbol," Dallas Morning News, 21 Aug. 1991, pp. 21A, 24A; Dan Shine, "New Wave: S. Garland replaces Confederate symbol," Dallas Morning News, 24 Aug. 1991, p. 1Z; "Unflagging Spirit," Dallas Morning News, 3 Sep. 1991, p. 3Z.

Confederate flag and Rebel mascot, named for a hero of the Alamo) became a predominately Latino school.[47]

The irony was not lost on Principal Elana Vela, who initiated the change at Travis High just Principal Keller had at Richland High School, by implying, the flag did not represent harmony in society. She said, "We're getting ready to go into a new century, and we have to be examples of positive role models." The logic made sense, but the students did not see the flag as promoting disharmony in society. To them, the flag represented their school. This was the same argument voiced by students at the other schools except the majority of these students were ethnic minorities not white. The Austin American-Statesmen quoted Ahmed Bell as saying, "I did not find it (Confederate flag) offensive. When I saw the flag, I thought , 'We're getting ready to play football.'" Candi Archer never associated "the Civil War" with the flag. The flag "symbolized our school spirit." Some students expressed positive feelings about the change. Denise Alverez claimed "school spirit is not based on a flag," and Priscilla Moore said that changing the flag did not change "what we are." The overwhelming feeling of the student body and parents was that the flag represented Travis High School, not the Confederate States of America.[48]

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[47] Texas Education Agency, Academic Excellence Indicator System, Austin ISD, Travis High School, Final 1990-91 Campus Performance, 2, accessed on 18 Oct. 2005, www.tea.state.tx.us/perfreport/aeis/91/campus/227901007.html; Texas Education Agency, Academic Excellence Indicator System, Final 1995-93 Campus Performance, 3, accessed 18 Oct. 2005, www.tea.state.tx.us/perfreport/aeis/93/campus/227901007.html; Rebel Roundup [Austin Travis High School], 1986, inside cover. There was an attempt in 1984 to adopt the Gonzalez flag, more commonly known as the "Come and Take It" flag with a cannon on it, but its life span was short lived and lost out to the Confederate flag.

[48] Coretta Taylor, "Travis High to lower Confederate banner," Austin American-Statesmen, 19 Apr. 1991, pp. B1, B7; "Austin school changes flag," Houston Chronicle,

Despite disagreements, the school held its contest in may and the winning design had something in common with the Confederate flag: the Southern Cross. The designer of the flag, Henry Medrano, wanted to keep some of the old and add some new to the flag. The color of the flag included the school's colors of red, white, and gray instead of red, white, and blue of the Confederate flag. In front of the flag, Medrano included a Texas rebel in buckskin with a long wavy mustache reminiscent of Yosemite Sam. Principal Vela said the flag "retained the tradition of the past and includes our students' vision for a new era." The flag appeared prominently in the 1992 school yearbook. It gained the acceptance of the students at first, but the flag soon lost favor and was lost to memory. After the flag faded, all the spirit left Travis High School. The students that anticipated change with great optimism had been wrong. At Travis, school spirit was wrapped in a flag: the Confederate flag. Once the flag left, all the school spirit followed close behind because the students identified their school with the flag. When the southern cross left, the students could not identify with another flag because the message of being a rebel was never conveyed as clearly with any other flag but the Rebel flag.[49]

At Travis High School in Austin, the flag change occurred, and the students developed apathy towards the school, a negative effect. The students lost interest in their school, but at Buda Hays High School, the students and community supported their school fervently. The Confederate flag came to symbolize not only the school but

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19 Apr. 1991, p. 22A; "Austin school shucks rebel flag," Fort Worth Star-Telegram, 20 Apr. 1991, p. Z1.

[49] Taylor, "Travis High School's flag design still rebellious but less offensive," Austin American-Statesmen, 24 May 1991, p. 1B; Rebel Roundup, 1992, pp.2, 49, 173, 194; Yvonne Arriaga, interview with author, taped recording, Austin, Tx., 2 Dec. 2005.

also the rich history and traditions of the community. Since 1968, the Confederate battle flag had been more than just a spirit symbol at Hays High School. Most saw the flag as a "time honored" and "innocent student and community tradition." The red, white, and blue star-studded St. Andrew's cross became the school and community's identity. In 1998, the winds of change blew into Hays County like a blue northern. Newly hired superintendent Dr. Michael Hinojosa walked into the towns of Kyle and Buda south of Austin and started the process of change.[50]

The mere mention of change in 1998 created a flood of rhetoric on both sides of the debate in the community. Many supported the flag and were willing to fight to the ends of Texas to maintain it. To make a smooth transition from the Confederate battle flag and a new spirit banner, Hinojosa took baby steps. To offset the potential hostility, he formed a flag task force to recommend a solution to the problem. One of the members of the task force was Eric Patterson, a former Hays student and a fervent supporter of the flag and Confederate history. He submitted an essay entitled "Lesser Known Historical Excerpts Relevant to The War of 1861" to the Hays Consolidated ISD school board. In the essay, Patterson detailed the events that led up to the "War of 1861." He claimed the war was over states' rights not slavery and gave a list of events that supported his argument, called "lesser known" events. Not all the events provided were as familiar to most Americans, but historians know of them. The "lesser known" events were part of the ongoing debate over the causation of the Civil War since the 1860s. He provided sources including *The South Was Right!* by James Ronald and

[50] Scott Polikov, ed. *The Confederate Battle Flag Task Force Report*, report prepared for Hays Consolidated ISD and Jack C. Hays High School, 10 July 2000, pp. 4-5, 8.

Walter Donald Kennedy. He called this a "well footnoted Southern view of the War for Southern Independence." The book was neither "well footnoted" nor an excellent source as it appears to have been a southern propaganda promoting an antiquated view of the Civil War heavily biased in favor of the South. Mildred Rutherford, the president of the UDC during the late1800s and early 1900s, would have been proud.[5151]

The Task Force's objective was to find ways to quickly and painlessly phase out the Confederate flag that both flag supporters and flag opponents could agree. Of all the schools, Hays High School took the most official steps to end the tradition. The process of eliminating the symbols took two years to complete. The task force had to identify where the symbols existed, and it found the flag on:

> team uniforms, band uniforms, drill team's escorts, bumper stickers, Bales Gym wall, North Gym wall, classrooms, offices, scoreboards, booster club buttons, faculty and student clothing , fans waving the flag, class rings, yearbooks, graduation invitations, and tattoos.[52]

After the task force identified the areas of display, it needed to discuss viable Options for the flag. The task force agreed on three options. The first was to stop phasing out the flag and leave the flag situation as it was because the flag was no longer in the foreground. The second option was to continue to phase the flag out on school property but let it be a personal choice for students to wear the flag on clothing and fans to carry the flag in the stands. The final option was to immediately remove the flag from all manifestations, including personal

[51] Ibid., 3-5, Eric Patterson, "Lesser Known Historical Excerpts Relevant to The War of 1861," photocopy (Kyle: Hays Consolidated ISD, Communications Department), 1-4. James Ronald Kennedy and Walter Donald Kennedy, *The South Was Right!* (Gretna, La.: Pelican Publishing Company, 1994), 9.

[52] Polikov, "The Confederate Battle Flag Task Force," pp.13.

clothing. This option was less viable because it required the school possibly to violate students' civil rights. The second was the more viable option, for it allowed the symbol to be displayed at the school by choice but removed the school's role in presenting it.[53]

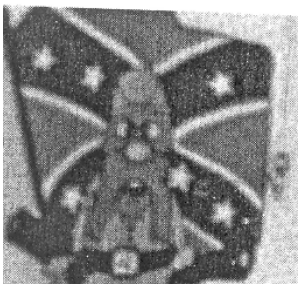

Illustration 5.2: Buda John C. Hays' rebel mascot painting on gymnasium wall, 2000. Reprinted with permission from Hays Consolidated ISD.

This still did not settle the issue because others would gladly wear the flag to school. Fans still flew the flag in stands during the 1998 and 1999 football seasons. This prompted San Marcus ISD to as then Governor George W. Bush for assistance from the state to remove the flag since TEA claimed it no longer had jurisdiction in such cases. With that said, another party solved the conflict over displaying the flag at games. The University Interscholastic League (UIL) District 25-AAAAA Executive Committee voted unanimously to ban all flags and banners from "Stands" during district competition in April 2001. This meant that fans of schools within District 25-AAAAA could not bring flags to games including Hays High School.[54]

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[53] Ibid., 8-10.

[54] Rene F. Garza, "Rebel flag issue back before board." *San Marcus Daily Record*, 10 Nov. 1999, p.1; Garza, "Flag issue up for another vote," *San Marcus Daily Record*, 11 Nov. 1999, p.1; Dave Harmon, "Disputes continues on Confederate symbols," *Austin American-Statesmen*, 14 Feb. 2000, pp. B1, B6; Julie Crimmins, "UIL

This apparently ended the discussion of the flag until 11 September 2001 occurred. As a result of this tragedy, the Executive Committee made allowance for the use of the American flag in stands at competitions to display patriotic pride after the terrible events on the new date of infamy. On 26 October, fans of Hays High school tried to enter a game with their Confederate flags. A sheriff's deputy and school security denied admission to the fans with their flags and forced them to wait in the parking lot until the end of the game. The fans thought if security officials allowed the American flag, then they could enter the stadium with the Confederate flag. They were wrong. This group included H.K. Edgerton of the SLRC. With his presence, the attempt to enter the stadium with the Confederate flag appeared to be staged. This raised the question: why was Edgerton, a North Carolina citizen, visiting a high school game in Texas? The fans barred from the game filed a suit against the district in November in Judge Sam Spark's court. Their lawyer was Kirk Lyons of the SLRC. Edgerton and Lyon's involvement in the case was suspicious. They found a fight at Hays High School. The fans were the members of the community who were upset over the phasing out of the flag from Hays High School. This was their final attempt to return the flag to the sidelines.[55]

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responds to flag issue," *News Release*, Hays Consolidated ISD, 1 Oct 2001, pp1-2. The state rewrote the Education Code in 1995 and made mascot and spirit symbol choice a local decision not the state's decision. With the rise of the Republican Party within the state and the philosophy of less government was more, the state government wanted to decentralize TEA's authority in education matters. This is in direct conflict with Court Order 5281.

[55] Erik Rodriguez, "Hays School officials sued over Confederate flag ban," *Austin American-Statesmen*, 29 Nov. 2001, p. 3B; Terence Stutz, "Fan's spirit was unflagging, but their banners had to go," *Dallas Morning News*, 29 Nov. 2001, pp. 23A-24A.

The litigation for the case lasted almost a year, from 28 November 2001 to 31 October 2002. The case hinged on the argument that by allowing only the American flag into the stadium, the school district opened the door for a discrimination case by violating the civil rights of those fans barred entrance into the stadium with the Confederate flag. In truth, the case would be decided on determining whom the defendants were. The school and school district followed the policy of UIL District 25-AAAAA, which banned flags. The plaintiffs filed suit against the wrong party, if they were trying to lift the ban. The Hays district stadium was not the only stadium affected by the ban. The ban affected all the stadiums in UIL District 25-AAAAA. The only exception was the American flag, the national flag, because of the extraordinary circumstances beyond anyone's wildest dreams. The defendants filed a motion to dismiss the case with prejudice, and Judge Sparks agreed. This left the plaintiffs to pay all the court costs related to the case, thus ending the flag controversy at Hays High School.[56]

With the dismissal of the Hays case, the battle over Confederate symbols in Texas high school ended. The conflict began at a school with a large black minority in a community steeped in Confederate tradition. The school bore the name of the most famous Confederate general. The battle ended at a school with a large Latino minority in a community steeped in Confederate tradition. The school was named for one of the most famous Texas Rangers, yet he never served in the Confederacy. The battle raged in the Panhandle, down the Trinity, and along the banks of the Colorado River. The TEA investigated,

[56] H.K. Edgerton, et al v. Carl Hall, et al, Civil Action NO. 01-CA-818-SS, 50-55.

federal judges ruled, the KKK passed out literature, and the NAACP filed complaints. The result of the conflicts was the removal of the Confederate flag not because the symbol was necessarily racist, but because the symbol created a disruption in the learning environment. The duality of the Confederate battle flag created conflict within the schools between competing memories associated with the flag by the two ethnic groups, white and black. The division was not contained within the walls of the school but spread into the community. Racism, slavery symbolism, and white supremacy flowed from the rhetoric of flag opponents as did heritage, tradition, and honor from the mouths of flag supporters. There was enough of an opposition from the black community that a division was created down the middle of the community that was not a yellow line, but a crack, dividing black and white within the community. All the cases differed, but one thing remained the same. The Confederate battle flag was at the center of the controversy.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION: WHERE HAVE THE TATTERED FLAGS GONE?

With the dawning of a new millennium, the Confederate battle flag still flutters in the wind over Texas but at fewer and fewer high schools. As more schools begin to see the flag as an unsavory choice, the Confederate battle flag will be pushed aside in favor of a new symbol that has no negative connotations.

The students at the schools saw the Confederate battle flag as their school's symbol and the embodiment of the school's traditions. The conflict that arose tended to come from the outside but not in all instances. At Tyler's Lee High School, the conflict came from within the school immediately after integration, and the same was true of Amarillo's Tascosa High School. The flag created true animosity among the students and disrupted the learning process. The source of the disruptions was the flag, and its removal was justified.

Lee High lost its mascot, flag, and song. The school's mascot is now the Red Raiders. The Cannoneers sported western attire after 1972, instead of the Confederate gray uniforms. Their giant rebel flag became the Raider flag, with "Go Red Raiders " and the old rebel cartoon on the flag turned into a red raider. The school's crest

incorporated the Texas and American flags crossed above a cannon.[1] The first school to lose its Confederate symbolism turned to western iconography to replace its southern roots. This started a trend with all the schools. The schools adopted western mascots and imagery to replace the lost southern ones. No one was the wiser because Texas is both the South and West, as argued by Frank E. Vandiver.[2]

Tascosa High School lost its flag and song, but retained the rebel name. General Reb faded into the past like a good soldier. The new mascot was the Rebel Kid, a pistol-toting bad boy from the South Plains that blew in like a blue tornado across the flatlands of the Panhandle. The new flag was red with a T in the middle of a star-studded diamond.[3] No one found these symbols questionable. A gunfighter with a pair of six-shooters was better than a Confederate general. Any student could play the part, because the west offered a new beginning for people. A man could remake himself in the image of his own choosing and not be bound by class. The schools that kept the rebel mascot in name could emphasize the individualism suggested by the name rebel, due to the identification of the rugged individualist with the West.

South Grand Prairie High School just removed the flag and continued to be warriors, Indians. Native Americans are another connection with the West. The Confederate battle flag tradition started as a gimmick to create school spirit against their archrival: Grand Prairie High School. The students wanted the flag because it was their decision. It was their way to make the game between the gophers not just a game but a

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[1] *Legend*, [Tyler Lee High School], 1974, pp. 6-7, 73-75; *Legend*, 1985, pp. xii, 167.

[2] Vandiver, *the Southwest: South or West?,* 1.

[3] *Las Memorias*, [Amarillo Tascosa High School], pp. 3, 11, 36, 69, 117-118.

celebration between the two sections of the city. There was no intent to incite racial tension. The choice to use the flag turned out to be a poor choice eleven years later, but at the time, it seemed appropriate.[4]

After the pep rally fiasco in 1990, the Fort Worth Southwest High School shook off the rebel mascot and became raiders just as Tyler Lee High School. The 1991 yearbook theme was printed on the title page, "Wild, Wild Southwest." A faded image of a painting depicting cowboys riding at a headlong gallop, some turning and firing at an unseen pursuer provided the connection between a raider and a rebel. Both flaunted authority and defied the acceptable behavior. For the students to be raiders, they did not have to give up the individuality or honor embodied in the spirit of a rebel. A raider was a rebel, a western rebel.[5]

Richland High School in North Richland Hills did not opt to become westernized. The tradition and belief of honor was the strongest here. Richland signified a difference and the battle over the Confederate symbols. Dr. Annette Keller initiated the change of spirit symbols. She wanted to remove the flag for safety concerns, but she wanted to change the mascot as well. Her choice for a new mascot was patriots. Patriots kept the spirit of individualism and defiance alive, because patriots were rebels, too. They could be American patriots fighting against tyranny of King George or Texas patriots fighting against the oppression of Santa Anna. Either way, the ideas and traditions that Richland High students grasped so jealously would have transferred to a similar mascot.[6]

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[4] *Signal* [South Grand Prairie High School], 1986, p. 20.

[5] *Roundup* [Fort Worth Southwest High School yearbook], 1991, title page.

[6] Dr. Annette Keller, interviewed by author, taped recorded, 7 May 2006.

At South Garland High School, students initiated the change, but change did not occur until after a court case. Judge Buchmeyer ruled that the flag did not prevent students from participating at the school. The fact that Popcorn McCain, an African American, was allowed to be the Colonel gave credence to that argument. Change came from the persistent protests from members of the community. The tradition lasted as long as they did because the administration supported the students' decision to maintain the symbols. This was similar to South Grand Prairie, but Principal Thomas Poore decided to change and was responsible to the decision. The protests created a disruption in the learning environment and effected change upon the administrators that wanted the school to be seen in a positive light. As a result, the shift to a western icon maintained the illusion of honor. The crossed sabres kept the St. Andrew's cross in spirit. The iconography remained intact, just wrapped in a different package.[7]

The proactive stance of administrators continued with Elena Vela's decision to remove the Southern Cross from Austin Travis High School. She wanted a flag the school could be proud of that was unique to the school. The difference in this case was the opposite to the change came from Latino students. The Latinos and many African Americans associated the flag with Travis High School. This explained why the new flag incorporated the Rebel flag in it. In the foreground, the cartoon image of a Texas rebel with the Confederate flag behind the rebel with the school's colors: red, gray, and white. This flag faded quickly and Travis High has no flag now. In this instance, a school

[7] Joe Wetzel, interviewed by author, tape recording,2 April 2004.

so overwhelmingly associated itself with a spirit symbol that no other spirit symbol mattered.[8]

Another school that was proactive was Buda's Hays High School. The superintendent acted to remove the flag to represent the school with a positive image. A rival school complained of the rebel flag and wrote a letter to the governor asking him to remove the flag. Again, the Latino population in the school protested the flag's removal along with the white students. This was a testament to the power school symbols had over the students; though, other school districts complained the students remained loyal to the beloved Confederate battle flag. The flag that replaced the Southern Cross was red, white, and blue with a large star in the middle, and a blue bar running side-to-side across the middle of the flag. The word Rebels was placed in the foreground.[9]

An interesting aspect about the final two cases was the support of the flag by Latinos. They accepted the flag as their own despite the probability that none of their ancestors fought for the flag. The Latinos in the Buda-Kyle area did have some ancestors that fought for the flag as members of the Confederacy, but most Latinos did not. Their acceptance of the symbol could be explained as an effort to assimilate into the dominant culture. Another explanation could be that they were unaware of the background of the symbol and did not understand the controversy surrounding the flag. In any case, their involvement in the controversies at Hays High and Travis High added another twist to the puzzle.

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[8] Jerry Jarmon, interview with author, 2December 2005.

[9] *John Coffee "Jack" Hays High School Flag Task Force Folder* (Kyle, Texas: Hays Consolidated ISD, Department of Communication, 2001), p. 1.

The cases at each school have similarities. They have conflict over the Confederate battle flag. The schools eventually change, but some schools maintained the tradition after the initial controversy passed. Those students that did not initiate change saw the flags within the walls of the school. They were blinded by tradition and did not see what outside observers saw, racism. Only after a long fight did students and members of the community see the flag as a possible hate symbol. The differences are numerous. Not all the schools had peaceful protests. Some schools won the right to continue to fly the flag initially. The person effecting change was sometimes a student, an administrator, or a concerned citizen. Some mascot names were allowed to stay, while other schools were forced to remove the mascot. There was not one thing that made the cases the same for all of Texas, except the schools adhered to the Confederate traditions, and with integration, change came and forced the schools to accept new traditions to incorporate all students that tended to be western in style. This was acceptable to students in Texas where in the rest of the South, the students' western choice would seem out of place. Texas could get away with this chameleon-like change because on the surface Texas is a western state, but underneath the surface lies the southern soul of the state.

APPENDIX A

SCHOOLS WITH CONFEDERATE SYMBOLS

Schools	Years
Austin William B Travis High School	1953-1993
Dallas Thomas Jefferson High School	1956-1972
Amarillo Tascosa High School	1958-1974
Tyler Robert E. Lee High School	1958-1972
Midland Robert E. Lee High School	1959-Present
San Antonio Robert E. Lee High School	1960-1993
North Richland Hills Richland High School	1961-1993
South Garland High School	1964-1991
Fort Worth Southwest High School	1967-1986
Buda John C. Hays High School	1968-2000
South Grand Prairie High School	1974-1986
Evadale High School	????-Present
Baytown Robert E. Lee High School	????-????
Houston Robert E. Lee High School	????-????
Houston Westbury High School	????-????

APPENDIX B

SCHOOLS WITH OR CHANGED CONFEDERATE MASCOTS

Schools That Have or Changed Mascot (New Mascot and Year of change)

Amarillo Tascosa High School

Austin William B. Travis High School

Baytown Robert E. Lee High School (Ganders, ????)

Bogata Rivercrest High School

Buda John C. Hays High School

Dallas Thomas Jefferson High School (Patriots, 1972)

Evadale High School

Fort Worth Southwest High School (Raiders, 1990)

Houston Mt. Carmel High School

Houston St. John's High School

Houston Westbury High School

Ivanhoe Sam Rayburn High School

Midland Robert E. Lee High School

North Richland Hills Richland High School

Ore City High School

Tyler Robert E. Lee High School (Red Raiders, 1972)

APPENDIX C

SCHOOLS WITH NON-CONFEDERATE MASCOT

School (Mascot)

Houston Robert E. Lee High School (General)

San Antonio Robert E. Lee High School (Volunteer)

South Garland High School (Colonel)

South Grand Prairie High School (Warrior)

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