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Interviewee Background Information

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Phone Number(s): 782-5653
Approximate age or date of birth: 7-11-45
Mother's name: MARJORIE Allen
Father's name: James B. Allen
Places lived and when: _____

Born - Gadsden, AL 1945 - 1963
1963 - 1967, Tuscaloosa, AL; 1967 - 71, B'ham, AL; 1971 - 1973 Troy (order)
Education: _____
B. B., M.A. & Ph.D., U of ALA; MAT - UAB

Religion: Ch of Christ
Business, political and social memberships (past and present): _____

The Club, The Relay House - B'ham, Young Democrats, Alabama Democratic Club, Kiwanis Club, Ala. School of Fine Arts Bd. of Directors = Alabama Space Science & Tech Commission
Present occupation: Associate Professor, Political Science, JSU

Former occupation(s): Classroom Secondary School Teacher - Banker

Special skills: None

Major Accomplishments: Twice elected to Alabama State Board of Education - 1981 - 1986. Word father, husband, & church member

Local events in which you have participated: _____
Member, City of Jacksonville Literary Board

State and/or regional events in which you have participated: _____
Congressional, Senatorial gubernatorial campaigns in various capacities

National events in which you have participated: _____
1972 Democratic National Convention, 1988 Presidential Roundtable

International events in which you have participated: _____

Natural born U.S. citizen? Yes/No
Naturalized Citizen: Yes/No Date: _____
Country from which you emigrated: _____
Documents, photographs, and artifacts which are in your possession: _____

Individuals you recommend who might be candidates for an oral history interview: _____

Additional information: _____

Hypocrites, Heretics, and Politics

Southern Politics and Stalwarts 64

Ryan Kruzinski

1 April 1996

Table of Contents

Introduction.....	1-2
Truman to the Schoolhouse Door.....	3-9
One Party No More- Wallace at the Door.....	9-11
Civil Rights '64- Politics Some More.....	11-13
Conclusion.....	13-14
Chronology.....	15-16
Table of Contents for Interview.....	17
List of Questions for Interview.....	18-19
Chronology of Interviewee.....	20
Works Cited.....	21-22

Southern politics has inherently voted, or been voted for conservative and democratic since reconstruction, and the arrival of the radical Republicans. After the Dixiecrat revolt in the election year of Truman, the conservativeness of the Democratic party in the South was taken to a new level where it would stay for some time. This made a splinter in the midst of rapid social change.

The politicians and the politics of the south represent the peoples need to be understood. But the understanding leads one to believe that their thoughts are right and just. Xenophobia, states rights, beloved respect for the days gone by, and a paternalism that was felt by whites to control or care for the negroes contributed to this uphold. Undercurrents of more liberal thinking Democrats put this conservatism on a level that it proposes radical legislation to keep things the way they are. Times were prime with the trend nationally towards modernism, materialism, and racism at a poised throttle or a still.

James Allen is a professor of Political Science at Jacksonville State University. His father James B. Allen, was an Alabama Senator and a United States senator. During his tenure there were signs of reflection from his constituents that their needs were of protection form the outside world, and protection of the one they had been occupying. Senator Allen's son, Jim saw the threshold of sweeping legislation both for civil rights and for condemnation of it. He saw the insides of the Democratic party in it's conservative stance, and he sensed a change in

coming for attitude and politics as recently as George Wallaces stand in the schoolhouse door. From the junior Allen's perspective, politics in the south are on a convergence with the rest of the nation. From politic's perspective, the truth is of seemingly striving for the mainstream, yet still there is a pulling back to the inside. Professor Allen will be drawn for cites in this paper, as Alabama surely will speak for the south in it's virtues and perils. With all hope this paper will distinguish and discern the reasoning and reasons for political factionalism in the south, and what is resulted from such reasoning.

From Truman to the Schoolhouse Door

In 1948 at the onset of the Democratic National convention, several southern states opposed the apparent delegation of Harry S Truman to the nomination to president. It would appear as though Truman would be a likely favorite for the office. He was from a political machine that was complete with bosses, something epoc to the politicians of the south of that day and prior. Trumans election was to be the first one in which the South was to not vote entirely democratic. The election has been noted as, "The straw that broke the camel's back."¹ Trumans popularity problem was that he liked blacks. In 1947 the Truman administration put together a commission to investigate the racial tensions in the U.S. Their findings were published in a report that was titled To Secure These Rights². The coclusions drawn from the report were basically summed as this: we need

to eliminate segregation on the basis of race, color, creed, and national origin. Also mentioned was the desegregation of interstate transportation and the armed forces. In addition the bill strongly supported anti-lynching and anti-poll tax laws.³ Needless to say, this did not fit in well with the conservative regime presiding over the south.

Subtracting Jim Crow from the military brought fear to the forefront of the present system. At the time, blacks and whites had separate infantries, washing facilities and training areas. From the white politicians perspective, the blacks were less of men, with less intelligence and even worth to be taught in accordance with the whites. As for the other implications of the bill, the effects and results were felt to be a real concern and fear as well. Basically the blacks, the whites felt, had no place in their society. The whites were intent on keeping it just that way.

The democratic party nationally was turning to be more liberal, and the republicans if spoken of or to were considered taboo. The Republican party, once an anathema in the south, attracted increasing support from well-off, suburban, white southerners disenchanted with the national Democratic party's liberal racial policies⁴. This left the conservative democrats with not much else to do but bolt the party, which some had already been doing.

In a planned strategic and political move, all of the delegates of the Mississippi and half the delegates from Alabama left the Democratic National Convention⁵. Delegates from South

Carolina, Virginia, Louisiana, and Georgia left as well. Ironically, from the Alabama delegation, George Wallace and Jim Folsom remained. Each was and would later become prominent in anti-segregation legislation. Wallace was a main contributor and will be discussed later. The AWOL delegates assembled in Birmingham and named themselves the States Rights Party. Later these men became known as the Dixiecrats and would carry 4 states in the election, hardly a minority in the national scope of politics. They were only a minority in their delinquent thinking.

The Dixiecrat's fear was real in the way of life they were trying to protect. The intricate laws they constructed around such legislation was being threatened, and by their own party no less. Legally their stance would be strong and sturdy, but the end result was stifling and stiff.

The reason for the Dixiecrats revolt would have been felt sooner, because the Roosevelt administration had threatened to pass civil rights legislation. The southerners hadn't feared Roosevelt, because when he would discuss racial politics he "would talk out of 12 sides of his mouth...you see...but Truman on civil rights...he meant it."⁶

The Dixiecrat revolt was short lived, but states rights was rapidly regaining strength. And as before, the strategy of states rights, xenophobia, conservativeness and negro-phobia, was coming to a reckoning point.

Again the last time the democratic party carried all the electoral votes in the south was 1944, still a fact today. Up until that time the south remained as a one party system. One

question in me stems from this, is this the earmark for change?

As the 1950's began, there was growing concern as to the remaining life of segregated schools. Politicians and white and black citizens alike were weary of the prospect of intermingling. For the whites, they feared the prospect of inter-racial dating in the schools. There were laws in the states that prohibited inter-racial marriage. For the blacks, they feared only the distaste they felt, and the despise from their white counterparts, and they just as soon not be made pawns again.

Response to coming de-segregation legislation brought preparations across the south to enhance the funding of black schools and black teachers. This, the politicians felt, would make sure there was no need to de-segregate, and the schools could remain truly separate and equal. In Alabama, the funding for black schoolchildren rose 310%, and the funding for black teachers upwarded 212%⁷. These changes were to insure the national government would find no reason to take the Jim Crow system further out of existence and further in their faces.

As the 1950's progressed, whispers were heard and seen as threats to the legality and rightness of the segregation of schools. Five cases by 1952 were to be compiled and heard before the United States Supreme Court. Known as 'Brown vs Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas', these cases definitely were the earmark for change. The cases were lawsuits against cities and boards of education. The cases concluded, as did the court on May 17, 1954, that desegregation should begin 'with all

deliberate speed'⁸ in schools afflicted with it.

Southern politicians were outraged at the outcome. Never before had there been such a blow to the system of Jim Crow. Once again the federal government stepped on the toes of the south. Once again their system was being inspected by ones they felt had no business. This ties in with the states rights political view, negrophobia, and xenophobia, all of which are the backbone of their electoral propaganda. The intrusion would be fuel for politicians, so to speak.

In response to 'Brown' several southern states passed acts and made replications to their state constitutions as a way to circumvent the law. These laws were clouded by double meanings that webbed around the 'Brown' decision. These laws could only be read one way. The fight to keep schools segregated would not be given in to without a fight from the south. Alabama as a case in point made the decision to close schools up to the local school board official, should integration prove to be detrimental. Also Alabama passed laws that would make it legal for the school board official to deny education to students due to criterion for curriculum, availability of transportation, and class size. These laws were drawn up by the Joint Interim Legislative Committee, and fell under Senate Bill 47 of article 55 section 256.⁹ In other words the laws were designed to close schools before integrating. In addition, not once did the laws mention race. Other states followed or initiated the same acts of legislation, clearly indicating the steadfastness of their stance.

To further put a dent by means of response to the federal government and it's 'Brown' decision, March of 1956 saw 19 of 22 senators, and 101 of 128 congressmen from the former Confederate states sign the "Declaration of Constitutional Principles", which became popularly referred to as the Southern Manifesto. The article labeled 'Brown' as an "abuse of judicial power", and a threat to the rights of states and parents. The Manifesto also claimed the abuse would falter "the amicable relations between the negroe and the white races."¹⁰ What a perfectly termed article to express the thoughts of the negroe. Representative for each class of people, one is a race, and one is a thing.

Stemming from these federal laws, there were also echoes of local rule all over the south.

Three years after the passing of 'Brown', Dwight Eisenhower's administration passed the Civil Right Act of 1957. Soon to follow was the Civil Rights Act of 1960. Eisenhower was a republican to begin with, which soured most of the souths pallet. Also the fact that he signed into law two acts of federal legislation seemingly directly to them, which it was, opposition of course came from the south.

Civil Rights Act of 1957 provided for a Civil Rights commission to investigate denial of voting rights, and equal protection under the law. The Act also elevated the civil rights section of the Justice Department to a division, and gave the Justice Department the authority to intervene in voting rights cases.¹¹

The Civil Rights act of 1960 was of less magnitude, nevertheless it authorized federal judges to appoint referees to register qualified blacks who had been denied registration.

To best summarize thus far, the south passed laws to counteract Federal laws. The south also passed legislation that directly pinpointed the opposite points of strategy, and these were pooled as massive resistance laws. Under these laws, de-segregated schools would close, state funds would be denied, any instructor that taught mixed black and white students was arrested for a felony, and any law enforcement official who failed to arrest a teacher in a desegregated classroom himself would be arrested.¹² In essence, the politicians had a stronghold over both the pro and anti segregation legislation. It could be said they felt strongly about their cause. "The south may not be the nations number one political problem, as some northerners assert, but politics is the south's number one problem."¹³

What the desegregation issue turned into as well, was that of a battle of wits, and a battle of rights. The southern states it seems were tempted to find out what the deliberate action would be taken against them should they ignore the new laws. Would the federal government intervene?

Atherine Lucy was a black student seeking admission to the all white University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa. She waged a three year court battle along with the NAACP, and was granted admission in February 1956. Mobs rioted outside the school for the first three, and only three days of her academic career

there. The state police to stop the riots, instead of stopping the rioters, expelled Lucy. The board of the trustees made her expulsion permanent when she filed another lawsuit charging the university administration with working in collaboration with the mob.¹⁴ The state police may have simply feared the calling in of the National Guard.

Little Rock, Arkansas had a minor mishap when Governor Orval Faubus decided that rather than integrate, he would dispatch the Arkansas National Guard to prevent riots when Central High School admitted black students. Weeks of protesting persisted anyhow, and finally he was faced with a Federal injunction, and with result, removed the troops. Rioting and heightened protesting remained and Eisenhower reluctantly Federalized the Arkansas National Guard, and sent units of the 101st Airborne. The troops were sent to keep the peace and to insure that the court order to desegregate was followed. It was the first time since reconstruction that the federal government used its military on the behalf of blacks.¹⁵ Both administrations were republican. This wasn't the answer the south wanted on what the government would do. But the days were glorious for states righters like George Wallace.

One Party No More-Wallace at the Door

The moderate Democrats of the south had found a somewhat makeshift home with the Republican party. This was simply because the Democratic party was on the verge of being the party of the blacks, nationally. Republicans set the wheel rolling as well, but the influence of each bill or act was Democratic.

Also each party had a problem in the south, and that was the counting of, and subsequently appealing to- the black vote.

The black vote had been something to contend for in the north for some time. Only recently had the southern black vote begun to carry weight. The south had to lay ground for a new group of voters. In that group lay a decision for each party. This was to either get the vote, or forget about the existence of the party. From this necessity drew factions of the National Democratic party. The party became liberal and conservative. The south was holding together the conservative end. As the 1960's drew in, so did the conservative south.

Change was occurring. The Republican party claimed a new political order was coming.¹⁶ The Democrats and George Wallace's states rights advocates drew in too. The start of the decade saw him standing at the schoolhouse door, and the end of the decade witnessed him reaching for the White House door.

On June 11, 1963 Wallace held a stance in the entrance to the University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa.¹⁷ He was there for a dual purpose, and that was to prevent two black students, Vivian Malone and James Hood from enrolling, and to keep the peace should rioting break out. He didn't want to, "have problems like the one at Ole Miss."¹⁸ The National Guard had already found it's way there, but Wallace thought he could help.

Wallace's Lieutenant Governor James B. Allen didn't go. Neither did anyone else in his office, less a few aids. Allen asked Wallace if he was grandstanding, and he said, "no."¹⁹ Wallace had even asked Allen to accompany him. Allen said he

would stay behind and mind the store. After that, politically they split. Allen was quoted as saying to his son James Jr., "If I were black, I would be out there leading these marches."²⁰ He added however, "Don't tell anyone, it would kill me politically."²¹ It appears as though liberalism was closer to Wallace than he thought.

The result of the 'Stand in the Soolhouse Door', was really nothing, only Wallace making national headlines. He would later use the same populist, negrophobic, xenophobic, and states rights, appeal in his quest for the presidency in 1968.

There were those that publicly opposed Wallace on his stance on civil rights, one of those people was Richard Flowers. After some short time, he like others was politically dead.²²

Politics in the south by this point is changing to more accepted level of thinking among the status quo in the nation. However, public admittance of liberal thoughts seemed to have lent only the ears of the political grim reaper. Still the south remained a majority voting democratic unit. Conservative and upholding were senior senators and House members of the south in the U.S. Congress. They held and maintained a lot of power and influence. Their seniority saw them as heads of many committees. This gave them a stronghold for the maintenance of their status quo for at least a few more bitter, sorry, and trying years.

Civil Rights 1964 Politics Some More

In July of 1964, the Democrats in Washington passed the most fierce, and from the south view controversial Civil Rights

Act. It was the most powerful law in support of racial equality ever enacted in the U.S..²³ It required that states apply the same "standards, practices, and procedures" to all persons who sought to register and vote, and that literacy tests for voters must be administered on a non-discriminatory basis. Segregation due to race in public facilities and accommodations was banned, and The Civil Rights Commission was made permanent and given more power. In addition, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission was established, and discrimination in employment due to "race, color, religion, sex, or national origin" was forbidden. Any program that was federally funded also had to abide by these laws, or a withdrawal of funds would be the result. The department of Health, Education, and Welfare was also authorized to help in the desegregation of schools.

In August of 1965 President Lyndon B. Johnson signed into law the Voting Rights Act. The provisions of the act gave the Attorney General the power to appoint federal examiners who would supervise voter registration in those states and voting districts that had literacy or other qualifying tests, and where less than 50% of the residence of voting age were registered, or had voted in 1964. The last portion of the law effected Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. The act also assigned severe punishment with those who did not follow the strict orders.²⁴

What this Act illustrates and what the others show as well is the change brought about directly or indirectly as a result of the Civil Rights movement. This movement had been occurring

all along side the legislation. The civil rights movement was not advocated politics, nor was there an entire party devoted to it. The civil rights movement seized many opportunities to barter with the federal government, and dealt with their allotted changes and leaps, step by step, using methods like passive resistance. What some politicians think is that the blacks didn't realize that with such sweeping political change it was impossible to account for all the social pressure that is contracted as well. Some felt they just needed to have patience, because these things, "take along time."²⁵

In Conclusion

With that noted, the politicians of the south had seen the civil rights movement in the undercurrent of each bill or law that was passed. Maybe that is why they felt such resistance and animosity all along. The black man was now beginning to help himself. Their negrophobia would come full hilt, as well as xenophobia from introduction to enforcement of each bill and law passed. States rights would become their cause, and paternalism became ashamedness. The politicians, sensing the wishing for the old world again banked on these qualities election after election. From this type of neglect you can see the ushering in of change, and the earmark from listening to it when it speaks.

Politics in the south have remained to this day somewhat of a panacea for the conservative movements, although in the same breath, one could say that the south is now leading the edge of modernism as well. With the appearance of the 1996

Olympic Games in Atlanta, it would appear that all pressures are stifled in the long bitter battle over civil rights. With the re-appearance of chain gangs in neighboring states prison systems, it would appear as though the issues never left. Politics in the south plays a role vital to the survival of it's people, their way of life and their purpose of it. Since "Brown" until today, the equality between class and race is distinct and divided and decided by politics.

1944

- The last time the south voted as a unit; Democratic
- Franklin Roosevelt dies in the beginning of his fourth term.
- Harry S Truman is sworn in as president, leaving half of World War II to be fought.

1945

- World War II ends, Truman drops two atomic bombs on the Japanese as retaliation for Pearl Harbor, thereby ending the war.

1947

- Preliminary talks begin about Trumans liberal stance on race in the south, consequently some bolters are beginning to leave the democratic party

1948

- At the Democratic National Convention, soon to be Dixiecrats leave the platform in protest for the nomination of Harry Truman as presidential candidate.

1952

- Dwight Dennis Eisenhower is president-elect.

1954

- The Supreme Court decides in favor of all of the 'Brown' cases; this sends shock waves and disgust through the south.

1956

- Autherine Lucy admitted and expelled from University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa in three days.
- Southern Manifesto declared

1957

- Eisenhower signs the Civil Rights Act of 1957

1960

- Eisenhower signs the Civil Rights Act of 1960
- John F. Kennedy elected president, he was a democrat, and many southerners did not like him because he was a catholic and he seemed to favor equality among men and the rights of blacks.

1962

- George Wallace elected Governor of Alabama

1963

- George Wallace does his stint at the schoolhouse door.
- JFK shot in a motorcade in Dallas.

1964

- The Civil Rights Act of 1964 passed

1965

- President Lyndon Baines Johnson signs into law the Voting Rights Act of 1965
- Currently troops in the U.S. Army are in Vietnam

1968

- George Wallace runs for the Presidency under the campaign strategy of States Rights. This platform encompasses all the topics of the paper.

Table of Contents for the Interview

- *Questions about politics in the south today
- *Questions about politics in the older days of the south
- *Questions about Wallace and Allen's father, Jim Allen
- *Questions about the south being appealed to as a demographic region
- *All questions in general were randomly asked from the list, as the interview progressed I found that no order was found, even if there was some found in the clarity of the message.
- *Questions about how a southern politician is to appeal to constituents and other politicians
- *Questions concerning race and how it has and does inherently affect politics.

Questions for the interview with Professor Jim Allen

1. How would you describe yourself politically minded: democrat, republican, liberal, conservative...populist, nativist?
2. You ran for office? Which would you prefer to discuss, your father, yourself?
3. From a political aspect, what type(s) of constituents do you feel you attract to-why?
4. On the issues of the '60's and '70's from an inherent standpoint, race and agriculture- what types of triggers do those pull, and to who are they pointed to politically?
5. The Wallace years- describe from a political standpoint; politician perspective, what kinds of constituents watch you, do you watch for? (in general)
6. From a southern majority voter turnout/beliefs, it looks as though the south and the two party system were screwed after the New Deal into the 1950's and 1960's (Democrat). True or no?
7. When talking about education as a political standpoint- what is stressed to voters?
8. Your father was Lieutenant Governor for Wallace, what effect did that have on you?
9. KKK and politics- at one time very real and very prevalent ...today? why or why not? Brought about changes?
10. What aspects of xenophobia hold merit for industry, religion, civil rights, education etc. 1960?...today?
11. What do you feel lays blame for the decline of southern agriculture?
12. Do you feel the south is contended for, or is a pawn in the political scheme?
13. Locally in the south, what are some outstanding opinions you feel have not been let go of by the constituents, 10 years ago?...20 years ago? (as far as what they want in a politician, more or less what they want said.)
14. As a Political Science professor, what do you try to instill in your students that may be left over from your days?

15. How were civil rights leaders discussed behind closed doors?
To the media?
16. Is there still a lostedness attached to the south, i.e.,
direction?-does this lead to where local politicians hold power?
Do they still in your opinion? ex. do they cater to xenophobia?
17. Republican/Democrat- which is favored/ should not be favored?
Why?
18. How has industry/politics-coincided/divided on key issues
such as control over private companies? Is states rights related
on a whole scale? Even though the same people?
19. It seems to me southerners are a proud, strong, stubborn
people. Describe a typical southerner from a political,
institutional, and social standpoint.
20. What sparks your interest in politics?...your father?
21. Are there any of your fathers political strategies you are
aligned with?...conflicting?
22. The constitution of 1901 is necessary to change, do you think
we should acknowledge improprieties without changing it for
the sake of protecting honor?
23. What elements of the 'Lost Cause' do you feel are still
prevalent?
24. 'Lost Cause'-do you feel it is important to discard/keep?
25. Are there any social, economic, or political aspects of
politics that have not been covered?
26. Pat Buchanan-point?...Dole-too old?...Clinton-okay
job?...Forbes...Alexander...any comment?
27. I hear a lot in Professor Jackson's class and done research
on politics, and it seems to me the ones that have done the
best in the elections are the ones that promise to "keep out"
certain things, and "not give in" to others. (Thought the 1960's
and 70's) Do you feel in the 1980's and 1990's this remained
true? If so- does that lead to the south as a seeming separate
entity among the nation?
28. How are blacks appealed to politically?...whites?...poor
whites?

Chronology of Professor James Allen

1945- July 11th- born

1963- Graduated from High School

1967- Graduated from the University of Alabama

1967-69- Taught school, Gadsden City school system, and the Lamar County schools

1969-1971- Received masters degree from the University of Alabama at Birmingham (UAB)-- in the meantime worked at South Trust Bank branch concurrently

1971-1974- Taught college at Troy State college

1974-1979- Taught Junior college while satisfying his PH.d at the University of Alabama

1979-1981- Taught junior college

1981- present- Professor of Political Science at Jacksonville State University

1981- Allen was elected to the state board of education, that covered a 14 county district; re-electd in 1984

1986- ran for the United States Senate for Alabama

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