Confederates on the Campus
“Dixie” and Secession

“The issues at stake in the Civil War—race in particular—remained raw and unresolved...”

Tony Horwitz
Confederates in the Attic

1. “Dixie”

Summary

A long tradition at William and Mary football games, for many years, was the school band playing “Dixie.” The practice was evidently not questioned until the week before the October 18, 1969 Homecoming Game, when two students protested on the Editorial Page of The Flat Hat:

Commentary:

“The William and Mary U. Va. football game [last week] was a prime example of this institution’s faceless students. On two occasions the school band played a tune that is indicative of the old racist south, the battle song of the confederate soldier “Dixie”. . . . To the bigot, “Dixie” is a memory in American history that intrigues him. It’s a song that makes him proud to be a racist; it’s a song that keeps him dreaming of the slavery Blacks underwent. . . . Thoughts and actions of this sort should be abolished.”

Letter to the Editor:

“On at least two occasions our fine, nearly all white marching band played DIXIE, and hundreds of students, all white I might add, stood and clapped to the music. We need to be reminded that DIXIE, although an innocent sounding song of the south, symbolized one of the worst periods in American history. It is also a slap in the face to every black and many whites within ear’s reach of it. . . . I appeal to you, Mr. Varner [the band’s leader], the band, and all students who stood, think a little about what you are doing before you endorse racism.”

At the same time, the political climate pervading the university was rife with protestations of the Vietnam War. On October 15, three days before Homecoming, a “Moratorium” event took place as part of a nationwide protest. The “Peace March” from the Wren Building to the Capital was accompanied by the police as well as representatives from major television networks and wire services.

But the “Dixie” protest was not lost. As a result of threatened demonstrations on the part of students objecting to the song being played at Homecoming (Warren Buck, for example, threatened to burn a Confederate flag in protest), College Band Director Charles R. Varner announced that the band would not play “Dixie” and, furthermore, the tune had been dropped from the band’s musical selections. Varner said ‘We’re not about to play any song that may provoke an incident in front of ten to twelve thousand people’” [sidestepping the issues].

Opposition to the band’s decision as well as some support were expressed in subsequent Letters to the Editor and interviews with students. Evidently, “Dixie” was not played again in university sponsored events.


Lois Bloom, October 23, 2013
Guest Editorial (p. 8; p. 33, in 10/10/1969 digital file)

1.a. “Black on White

“White America as a whole is a sick beast which thrives off of ethno-centric attitudes directed primarily at Black America. Most of its members whether they are liberal or conservative have the same goal in mind, racism. Here on this campus most of the so-called liberals are bigots. They sit around trying to convince people how liberal they are, but when it comes time to show liberalism they back down, or should I say become themselves. The William and Mary U. Va. football game was a prime example of this institution’s faceless students. On two occasions the school band played a tune that is indicative of the old racist south, the battle song of the confederate soldier “Dixie”. Dixie is now dead to the Blacks and to the truly liberal white. To the bigot, “Dixie” is a memory in American history that intrigues him. It’s a song that makes him proud to be a racist; it’s a song that keeps him dreaming of the slavery Blacks underwent.

“Thoughts and actions of this sort should be abolished. . . . The Black man. . . is angry at all the waste material he has had to swallow, and he is not going to take it any more. The Black man has his thing together and the White world knows it, but there is a setback which is keeping and will keep the White separate from the Black if nothing is done. That setback is the White W&M student who cheers “Dixie”; the armchair liberal who sits on the university staff. This is where the real bigot is, right here. . . right here in Williamsburg, the town which still think it’s a colony.

“The way to overcome this racist society is for concerned Blacks and Whites to stand up and destroy the idiots who behave like K.K.K. members at social gatherings. We need people who are not afraid to speak up and do what they believe in.

“I am such a man; a Black man. Because I am such a man I am a concerned student at William and Mary, I say to those of you involved in singing and cheering, not once, but twice, to, the bigot anthem ‘Dixie’. . . ‘Go straight to hell!’ [Warren Buck]

Letter to the Editor (p. 8; p. 33, in 10/10/1969 digital file)

1.b. “Dixie Crass Our Alma Mater?”

“Since we are members of a modern, enlightened university, I think we all acknowledge the fact that all men are created equal. However, as I watched the William and Mary-Virginia football game it occurred to me that we were all openly ridiculing every black man and woman in the stadium, including those on the field.

“On at least two occasions our fine, nearly all white marching band played DIXIE, and hundreds of students, all white I might add, stood and clapped to the music. We need to be reminded that DIXIE, although an innocent sounding song of the south, symbolized one of the worst periods in American history. It is also a slap in the face to every black and many whites within ear’s reach of it. It has absolutely no place on the [sic]
“At a time when the blacks and whites in our country desperately need unifying, playing DIXIE at football games demonstrates a “don’t give a damn” attitude on the part of our entire university. If it is necessary to play a patriotic song, then play something else, but please don’t play DIXIE. I appeal to you, Mr. Varner [the band’s leader], the band, and all students who stood, think a little about what you are doing before you endorse racism. Richard K. Hester”

10/10/1969
https://dspace.swem.wm.edu/bitstream/handle/10288/4225/fh19691010.pdf?sequence=1

1.c. “Area Moratorium Features Parade, Memorial Service” (p. 1)

10/17/1969

“... the marchers, wearing black armbands and carrying picket signs, gathered in the front of the Wren Building. The police along with the marshals, supplied by the Sigma Nu fraternity, cleared the way for the trip. ... Representatives of the major television networks and wire services followed the march. ... Estimates of the crowd size varied between a conservative 500 to [the] Williamsburg police Chief ['s]. ... figure of 1500, most of whom were College students.”

11/21/1975
1.e. “Where Have All the Radicals Gone” (p. 6)
https://dspace.swem.wm.edu/bitstream/handle/10288/4822/fh19751121.pdf?sequence=1

“Warren Buck first made a name for himself when he led a campaign to force the band to stop playing ‘Dixie’ during halftime celebrations at the Saturday football games. The band agreed to drop the song ... after Buck and his cronies publicly threatened to burn the Confederate flag if the song was played again. Shortly after... Buck moved to form the Black Students Organization in the face of considerable opposition from the College administration.”

10/24/1969
1.f. “Band Drops Dixie; Avoids Clash” (p. 2)
https://dspace.swem.wm.edu/bitstream/handle/10288/3697/fh19691024.pdf?sequence=1

“Fearing disturbances at last Saturday’s Homecoming football game, College Band Director Charles R. Varner instructed the band not to play “Dixie,” and furthermore revealed that the tune had been dropped from the band’s musical selections.

“The move came as a result of threatened demonstrations on the part of students objecting to the song. Graduate student Warren Buck advocated the burning of a Confederate flag in protest if “Dixie” were played. Buck also condemned the song in a Flat Hat column, calling it “the bigot national anthem.”
“Varner said the band omitted “Dixie” in order to prevent disruption of the Homecoming weekend. ‘We’re not about to play any song that may provoke an incident in front of ten to twelve thousand people,’ he said.

“Varner, in his sixteenth year as band director, says he has never before been confronted with a situation such as this.

“At the Virginia football game many college student[s] stood and cheered to the sound of “Dixie.” Also, a number of letters from alumni have urged that the song be played.

“However, to many others, especially Negro students, “Dixie” has objectionable racial connotations, and for this reason they feel it should not be played at the school.

“The Band, Varner concluded, cannot place itself in the position of causing a disturbance at such a large gathering regardless of the personal feelings about the song.”

*Letters to the Editor* (p. 6)

1-g. “Dixicrats Here: They Like It”

“We would like to present the Glass Navel Award to Richard K. Hester and others like him who persist in believing that “Dixie” symbolizes racism and bigotry. In reality that meaning of “Dixie” has long since been buried with the days of slavery.

“Dixie” today contains no racial overtones to those people who want to see them in it sic. We enjoy the song simply as a fast moving piece of music which inspires spirit and participation not bigotry.

“We entreat Mr. Varner and our vastly improved marching band to play “Dixie” often in our victory over V.M.I. this Saturday. Even Mr. Hester could learn to enjoy this song if he will listen to it with an impartial ear and see the enthusiasm and crowd participation it fosters.”

*Streetwalkers* (p. 11)

“The following question was asked on Tuesday afternoon in the Campus Center: Do you object to the playing of “Dixie” at College football games?

Freshman -- “You have come to the right person. I object to its playing because it arouses feelings of civil strife. Actually, I don’t object to the song. It’s the way that people react when they hear it played, giving the Rebel Yell. . . . if it was not used as a point of strife I wouldn’t object.”

Senior -- “I definitely think that Dixie should be played at the games. I was really mad on Saturday when the band didn’t play it. A group of us went down to make a special request that the band play it. . . . The only time that we cheer is when it is played; it has no meaning other than spirit.”

Graduate student -- “When President Lincoln heard the news of the final defeat of the South he was serenaded by the Marine band. The only song that he requested was Dixie. If he did that, I see no reason why it should not be played at football games.”

Sophomore -- “There is nothing wrong with playing it. The song does not represent any views concerning racism. It is merely a traditional song of the South and a part of the American heritage.”

Junior -- “I didn’t think that it should be played because it is offensive to certain people. It doesn’t bother me, I like the song but since some black students have indicated that it is offensive to them, so it shouldn’t be played.”

Junior -- ‘I love to hear Dixie played. I don’t think of anyone in chains when I hear it . . . . but not if I heard the Klan singing it. . . . The only thing that antagonizes me about playing it at games is trying to stop playing it.”
Freshman -- “I’m from the North but it doesn’t bother me. The words have no strong meaning for me. Actually the song has a lot of spirit. If you forget the words, the tune really gets people going.”

Junior -- “Because I never associate the song with slavery, don’t really care one way or another. If it offends people that might be different, but I think it is being blown out of proportion.”

Senior -- “I don’t object because aside from its social implications the song has musical value. . . it is an old American tradition. Too much is being made out of the incident.”

Junior -- “I don’t think the band should play ‘Dixie.’ It symbolizes oppression for the Negro people. Several of them have told me that they find it offensive, and it is particularly offensive with all the enthusiasm it receives when it is played.”
2. Kappa Alpha Secession

Summary

Every year in the spring, as part of an 80-year (in 1971) traditional “Southern Ball and Weekend,” members of the KA fraternity dressed in Confederate uniforms, paraded from the Capital to Jockey Corner (the intersection of Jamestown and Richmond roads with North and South Boundary streets†). There the fraternity president handed a sword to a member of the College administration to signify the fraternity’s temporary secession from the College for a weekend in Virginia Beach.

In 1971, the College Vice-President who was to accept the sword pronounced the parade and ceremonies “symbolic of the chivalry and traditions of the Old South. There is nothing racial in it at all.”

The Black Student Organization disagreed. They considered the event “an insult to the blacks on campus” and “an attempt to perpetuate the enslavement of the black people.” . . . We do not object to the staging of the parade per se. But we strenuously object to the symbols so plainly displayed during the procession.” A counter march was scheduled for the same morning. 2.a.

In two letters to the editor, the BSO objected to “certain elements in the parade: the Confederate flag, the Confederate uniforms and the singing of ‘Dixie’, etc., that are obnoxious, offensive and threatening to black people. . .” 2.b.

Both the KA march and the counter march went on without incident that year. “BSO president, Henry Tucker, stated that he was ‘really pleased’ with the way the protest was conducted . . .and pleased that support for the protest came from both black and white people.” . . . Rumors that the Klu Klux Klan had . . . offered to participate in the parade were flatly denied by the fraternity . . . but should the KKK ever participate, Tucker said, ‘It would make the potential to violence much greater.’” 2.c.

However, authors of two letters to the editor, printed in the same issue, were less than pleased. In one: “While the intent was not racist, . . . symbols of black suppression were displayed in the parade and a period of black enslavement was glorified. . .” and in the other:

“When they hammered their manifesto with its thinly veiled racial slurs to the Campus Center door, one would have thought they had given sufficient notice to the College as to what sort of people they are.

“Yet the following day, [by accepting the sword from Kappa Alpha signifying its secession, Vice President] Carter Lowance lent the mantle of his office to dignify this gaggle of adolescent yahoos.” 2.d.

In 1973, another voice was raised to protest The KA secession march:

“A person living in the town, not otherwise associated with the College, could easily conclude that the College condones an activity which brings back thoughts of a drastically unequal

social situation. What positive old South values can they draw from the show put on by KA each spring? None.”  

Evidently, no further protest was raised again until 1976, when an editorial decried the failure of students to take responsibility for the consequences of their actions. . . .

“like the annual Kappa Alpha fraternity ‘march,’ complete with Confederate flag, uniforms, and a rendition of ‘Dixie.’ [The authors of a letter to the editor in the same issue] did not feel the event to be so harmless. An over reaction, many will still say. It’s not as if the Ku Klux Klan had marched through town. Or is it? Both the KKK and KA carry the same flag.”

According to the letter referred to in the editorial, “. . . if Black and white attitudes will ever intermingle on this campus, things like KA marches will have to be abolished.”

Again, in 1977, another letter to the editor objected to the KA event.

“The Old South -- was it really glorious? Yes, it was for that segment of the population who enjoyed life on the plantation with the big mansion . . . and the catering services of hundreds of slaves. [but not for] . . . the millions of slaves who lived a dehumanized life of subservience and oppression, I am a descendant of some of those slaves.

“So what does the Confederate flag and uniform symbolize to me? The Confederacy is the symbol of a way of life in which my ancestors were raged and brutalized in a manner that despairs me to think about. . . . It was an ignominious chapter in our history that we all should want to forget. . . .

“The cause that the Confederacy stood for died 112 years ago; reminiscences of the Old South serve no constructive purpose. The Confederacy lost the War, the ‘cause’ died with the surrender at Appomattox.”

This time the president of KA had asked that a letter he had submitted beforehand be printed “only if there is any criticism of K.A.’s Old South Weekend.”

“Our Old South Celebration is a tradition that goes back to the founding of our order in the year 1865 at Washington College (now Washington & Lee). Robert E. Lee was president of that school at the time . . . a man noted for his integrity, virtue, and courage. He provided our founders with an ideal to which to aspire. It is this ideal, and also the gentle-mannered life of the Ante-Bellum South that we seek to celebrate each year as our heritage. . . . Any offense taken is due to a lack of information about our celebration. . . . we have taken several steps to better inform the college community of our intentions. . . . We can only apologize if there are some who are not satisfied with these efforts.”

No other citations to the Kappa Alpha march were found in The Flat Hat issues searched through 1980. However, it was not until 2010 that the executive council of the Kappa Alpha Order in Lexington, VA issued an edict forbidding “members of its chapters across the country from wearing Confederate uniforms and "Old South" regalia during fraternity-sponsored events.”
2.a. “Blacks Challenge KA Secession March; Plan Counter Activities for Saturday” (p. 1)
“Kappa Alpha fraternity’s traditional Secession Parade has come under fire from the Black Students’ Organization as ‘an insult to the Blacks on campus’ and ‘an attempt to perpetuate the enslavement of the black people.’
“The parade. . . is part of the KA’s 80-year-old traditional Southern Ball and Weekend. Dressed in Confederate uniforms, the fraternity members parade from the Capital to Jockey Corner where the president of the fraternity hands over the sword to a member of the College administration, representing the fraternity’s temporary secession from the College for a weekend in Virginia Beach. . .
“Executive Vice-President Carter Lownace will accept the sword this year. He sees the parade and ceremonies as ‘symbolic of the chivalry and traditions of the Old South. There is nothing racial in it at all.’
“The BSO contends, however, that the ceremony and parade symbolize, among other things, ‘the perpetuation of traditional Southern prejudices’ and ‘hinders efforts for understanding and co-operation.’” They have planned a counter march for the same morning, starting from the Sunken Gardens at 10.

Photographs captions: “Kappa Alpha ‘confederates’ march past the black student lounge while BSO leader Dance burns secession poster.”

2.b. *Letters to the Editor* (p. 2)
“Demands Freedom from Racist ‘Vestiges’”
. . . “It should be understood that the BSO is not demonstrating against the fact that KA is staging a parade per se. It is certain elements in the parade: the Confederate flag, the Confederate uniforms and the singing of ‘Dixie’, etc., that are obnoxious, offensive and threatening to black people that the BSO objects to. . .
. . . “The idea that is expressed by the symbols in this case is one of racism, racial oppression and black subjugation. These symbols are insulting and demeaning to black people. The racist groups that work toward that end are endeared to these symbols. . .
“The BSO has been more than fair in trying to arrange a compromise. . . Our most recent suggestion was that we would not demonstrate this year if the KA’s would agree to substitute a Southern gentleman costume for the Confederate uniform and delete the flag and ‘Dixie.’ . . .” President, Black Students’ Organization

And
“Flag, Uniform, Sword ‘Demeans’ Blacks”
. . . “We do not object to the staging of the parade per se. But we strenuously object to the symbols so plainly displayed during the procession. . .
“Since 1619, the Black American has been a near helpless captive, enslaved by the white man’s social, economic, and political systems. . . . Though slavery has ended, oppression persists. That very existence is, in itself, objectionable enough. It need not and must not be aggravated by such repugnant demonstration as the K.A. parade, with its symbols of bondage in proud display. . . . Black Student Organization

5/14/1971

https://dspace.swem.wm.edu/bitstream/handle/10288/5427/fh19710514.pdf?sequence=1

2.c. Photograph Captions: ‘Protesters, KA Soldiers March Peacefully” and “KA March Avoids BSO Confrontation, Protest” (p. 1)

“Kappa Alpha’s traditional Secession Parade took place Saturday morning, without any direct confrontation between the fraternity and the Black Students Organization which protested the parade. The BSO charged that the wearing of Confederate uniforms in the parade symbolizes ‘the perpetuation of traditional Southern prejudices.”

“. . . the parade stopped before it reached Jockey Corner, where customarily the president of the fraternity hands over the sword to a member of the College administration, representing the fraternity’s secession from the College for the weekend.

“This year the ceremonies took place a half of a block down Duke of Gloucester Street. Thomas said this was ‘to avoid any trouble with the blacks. . . . We don’t deny the right of anybody to protest, so long as no one denies us the right to have the parade.’

“BSO president, Henry Tucker, stated that he was ‘really pleased’ with the way the protest was conducted . . . and pleased that support for the protest came from both black and white people. . . . More extensive efforts’ will be made ‘to try to reach more organizations and interested parties and to see that the parade isn’t repeated.’ . . .

“Rumors that the Klu Klux Klan had contacted Kappa Alpha and offered to participate in the parade were flatly denied by the fraternity. Tucker also denied any belief in the rumors, but should the KKK ever participate, Tucker said, ‘It would make the potential to violence much greater.’”

2.d. Letters to the Editor (p. 2)

“Joint BSO and KA Weekend?

“While the intent was not racist, . . . symbols of black suppression were displayed in the parade and a period of black enslavement was glorified. . . .

“You may think of the secession parade as fun - but surely you don’t want fun at the expense of insulting others. . . .

“Finally, I would like to suggest that, in the future, the Southern Ball and Weekend be a joint effort between the Black Student Organization and the Kappa Alpha Fraternity. Let the weekend symbolize equality and togetherness of the races. Let it symbolize the South as it ought to be. . . . RIGHT NOW.

And

“Lowance Lends Mantle to ‘Yahoos’”
“When they hammered their manifesto with its thinly veiled racial slurs to the Campus Center door, one would have thought they had given sufficient notice to the College as to what sort of people they are.

“Yet the following day, [by accepting the sword from Kappa Alpha signifying its secession, Vice-President] Carter Lowance lent the mantle of his office to dignify this gaggle of adolescent yahoos.

5/11/1973

https://dspace.swem.wm.edu/bitstream/handle/10288/5230/fh19730511.pdf?sequence=1

2.e. “KA Parades” (p. 3)

“Unfortunately, the College does not exist in a vacuum; we do live in a community that among other ethnic segments, contains a sizable number of blacks, some of which work for this intellectual institution.

“. . . A person living in the town, not otherwise associated with the College, could easily conclude that the College condones an activity which brings back thoughts of a drastically unequal social situation. What positive old South values can they draw from the show put on by KA each spring? None.

“. . . When questioned whether the BSO planned to do anything about this nonesense (sic), President Eric Revis responded that nothing was planned except to just ignore it . . . Ah, but that is the way at William and Mary--ignore things and maybe they will go away. . .”

4/29/1976

https://dspace.swem.wm.edu/bitstream/handle/10288/5057/fh19760429.pdf?sequence=1

2.f. Editorial Page (p. 10)

“Consequences”

Failure to think about “the consequences of [one’s] actions. . . a rather common human flaw. Such can be the excuse for actions like the annual Kappa Alpha fraternity ‘march,’ complete with Confederate flag, uniforms, and a rendition of ‘Dixie.’ Perfectly harmless, many say. Take a look at the Letters to the Editor’ section of this paper. . . [names of the authors of a letter protesting the KA march] did not feel this event to be so harmless. An over reaction, many still will say. It’s not as if the Ku Klux Klan had marched through town. Or is it? Both the KKK and KA carry the same flag.” 2.g.

2.g. Letter to the Editor (p. 11)

“March Derided”

“We are utterly appalled at the Kappa Alpha march on last Thursday evening. . . .

“The white college community, we do not believe, can begin to understand exactly what’ Dixie’ and any other aspect connected with the confederacy represents to Blacks. Well, we will enlighten them. . . .
“. . . if Black and white attitudes will ever intermingle on this campus, things like KA marches will have to be abolished.

“All we can do now is shake our heads in disgust because we now feel, until something can prove to us otherwise, that a great many attitudes on this campus have not progressed far beyond confederate ideals.”

4/29/1977

Letters to the Editor (p. 12)

2h. “Those Offended . . . ”

“Today, I had the unfortunate experience of witnessing . . . behavior I find to be despicable to me -- a Black man.

“The Old South -- was it really glorious? Yes, it was for that segment of the population who enjoyed life on the plantation with the big mansion surrounded by the huge Magnolia trees and the catering services of hundreds of slaves. Yet, only fifteen percent of the population enjoyed this way of life. There were the small farmers who worked hard to earn a way of life. There were the millions of slaves who lived a dehumanized life of subservience and oppression. I am a descendant of some of those slaves.

“So what does the Confederate flag and uniform symbolize to me? The Confederacy is the symbol of a way of life in which my ancestors were raged and brutalized in a manner that despairs me to think about . . . . It was an ignominious chapter in our history that we all should want to forget.

So why would these individuals want to relive the old days of the South, knowing the discomfort and pain it invokes in others? Are these individuals proud of their ancestors who were rapists and acted like barbarians . . .

“The cause that the Confederacy stood for died 112 years ago; reminiscences of the Old South serve no constructive purpose. The Confederacy lost the War, the ‘cause’ died with the surrender at Appomattox . . .

2i. “. . . and Explanations”

The president of KA had asked that a letter he wrote be printed “only if there is any criticism of K.A.’s Old South Weekend.”

“. . . Last year our chapter’s image was dealt a serious blow by this newspaper in the form of a biting editorial at a time that offered us no chance to reply . . .

“Our Old South Celebration is a tradition that goes back to the founding of our order in the year 1865 at Washington College (now Washington & Lee). Robert E. Lee was president of that school at the time of our inception as a fraternal organization . . . a man noted for his integrity, virtue, and courage. He provided our founders with an ideal to which to aspire. It is this ideal, and also the gentle-mannered life of the Ante-Bellum South that we seek to celebrate each year as our heritage . . . Any offense taken is due to a lack of information about our celebration. Also, we have not been insensitive to the criticism spawned by our Old South weekend . . . we have taken several steps to better
inform the college community of our intentions... We can only apologize if there are some who are not satisfied with these efforts.”

4/23/2010

2) I could find nothing further on the KA march at W&M in The Flat Hat digital archives through 1980. However, in a news release dated Apr 23, 2010, Lexington, VA (WLTX, AP): “The executive council of the Kappa Alpha Order has forbidden members of its chapters across the country from wearing Confederate uniforms and "Old South" regalia during fraternity-sponsored events. . . . fraternity officials ask that chapters that hold such events should ensure that they are 'conducted with restraint and dignity and without displays of trappings and symbols which might be misinterpreted and objectionable to the general public.’”