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Banks, Michael Alexander, Ph.D.

City University of New York, 1993

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A

BLACK ATHLETES IN THE MEDIA

by

MICHAEL A. BANKS

VOL. I

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Sociology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

1993

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Abstract

Black Athletes in the Media

by

Michael A. Banks

Advisor: Professor Stanley Aronowitz

"Black Athletes in the Media" is a sociohistorical documentation of trends in the characterization of black athletes by the news media. This study seeks to demonstrate and explain the ambiguity and dilemma of black American acceptance in the American Ideal with respect to black sporting achievements over the Twentieth Century. The evolution of black stereotypes, depictions and generalizations are traced and exposed in contemporary media.

With respect to the media, as the foremost propagator of the black stereotype, it has the ability to shape, influence and arouse public opinion through the manipulation of controversial events. The social imagination is thus enhanced by this authority and "keeper" of American social values. The major focus on black athletes, by the media, represents and reflects a consistent pattern of racial assessments and stereotypical journalistic attitudes.

Racial characterizations in the New York media

is the major focus of this study. Strongly facilitating these assessments are the various and myriad genetic race-linked studies which have been learned through American "value channels" and inhabit the American social imagination, with respect to the perceptions and "beliefs" about the black athlete. The "controversial" black athlete usually receives a higher degree of these biased assessments, however, the "accepted" black athlete is also stigmatized in a perpetual format. "Black Athletes in the Media" focuses on the dilemma between these two archetypes and the emergence of the "white hope" in American sports. Selective black athletes over the Twentieth Century are used to observe this dilemma.

The nature of this study is an attempt to chart the evolution and transistion of racial asessments of black athletes by the media in terms of key categories and to demonstrate a modern popular perception of these assessments of black athletes and their effect on American society in a formal and historical analysis. The periodization that guides this study (as a methodology) groups characteristics in the relationship of black athletes to their respective sports (especially boxing). However overt or subtle the journalistic racial generalization, the individual attitude of the journalist is at once exposed through the semantics of chosen words and topics.

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Introduction

Over a century and a half of sport competition and fan enthusiasm in the American society has produced a dynasty of tradition and values through the media. These values and traditions have been passed down through the generations to a most willing and appreciative audience in Tentieth Century America. Symbolically, sport has represented the social acceptance of values, mores and laws, for the purpose of developing a common unity and a common goal among social members. With the help of the media, sport has transcended many boundaries, deliberately influencing its values over a vulnerable and impressionable public.

Among those boundaries are the political and the social. Sport has always generated heroes of national significance and excellence (and their heroism can be transferred into a model that can stand for success in many other fields). The creation of stars is part of the economics and nationalization of the industry itself. The acceptance of values that are manifested by the excitement and great interest in sport is ambivalent in nature. Much of this ambivalence is truly attributable to the media, as well as the social interpretation and identification of such. Sport as an institution has become a forum of racial ambivalence and, in this respect, has reflected the mixed aspirations of American society with respect to racial policy.

Much of what is stated by the media is interpreted as

pure fact (by a large public). This is so because the media acts as a one-way transmission source (of information) over a media-dependent public. The public has little to say (except through letters, demonstrations, and national elections, etc.) about the outcome of events, or events themselves, in the media. The nature of society is that it takes for granted this one-way source of information as fact. In that the media typically bombards the public with repeated and redundant information, the public has little choice but to become influenced (one way or another) by taking a stand on these messages. If individuals in society choose to debate over a controversial media event, it was the media that initially suggested the argument. In effect, the society is greatly influenced by the media (and its coverage of socially significant events).

Society depends on the media for (so-called) accurate news information, and, whether the news is accurate or not, it is acknowledged and accepted just the same. News errors (or similar errors in the media, such as misinformation, ethnic/racial misquotes or slurs, etc.), when they are discovered and exposed by the contemporary media, are routinely justified (through public apology and correction) in typical fashion. Rarely is the media chastised to any great effect (by the government and the society) for these. Instead, it succeeds in maintaining and gaining the public confidence and continued credibility. In a typical "Catch 22" situation

with the public, in terms of various social disagreement or or unacceptance, the media acts as a form of "chemical de-pedence" for the public, as evident by its consumption ratings.

Individual interpretations of the media are various ("one man's jewel is another man's stone"). However, mass social perception (or "popular opinion") has the tendency to reflect/adopt the stance of the values and mores posed by the support of the political viewpoint of the immediate mass media (for instance, local support of the "home team"). In most cases, the local mass media supports the ideology of the ruling political hegemony. The question is: suppose the ruling political hegemony is originally separatist/ biased in theory and practice, will the media, in turn, reflect these viewpoints and support racist attitudes in the broader society by its influence over a majority of its audience? A further question would be: is the media guilty of perpetuating these original values? The answer to these questions depends upon one's perspective. In this perspective, the American country was founded upon various cultural ideologies, among which are racism, ethnicism, ethnocentrism, as well as "classism", beginning with class conflict in the European homeland, the annihilation of the American Indians, and the enslavement of blacks. This racism was further perpetuated by laws and the increased continuation of the entrance of more and new immigrants. Racial and ethnic

attitudes and animosities between these groups were frequent and perverse, however, none is more distinct than the racism that is initiated by whites (which now include all Caucasian-American ethnic groups) against blacks (the descendants of American slaves). In many ways, as a political ideology, racist attitudes in the media continue.

The media is representative of sport with regard to the influence of racism. With the introduction of blacks into the major sports, the issues of race and racism were brought into the forefront of the sport media, influencing many negative values. Genetic typecasting is a commonly-used method of negative depiction toward black athletes by white sports announcers and journalists. Overt negative remarks about black athletes are prevalent throughout early-twentieth century American media (as black entertainers, in general, were typically denounced in character and ability)*. Historical and contemporary genetic studies (which allude to black mental inferiority and physical superiority, suggesting "animalism" or "primitivism") help to confirm these negative stereotypes, and also help to incorporate

*There are frequent examples of this practice, as this historical study will show.

their value judgments into the value system of the society at large (as the media is taken for fact and relevance). The fact that when the notion is accepted that "blacks dominate basketball", these notions of genetic physical superiority instantly comes into effect. The fact of the matter is, in that facts usually turn to rumor and vice versa, it is the immortalized image of Jerry West that has donned the official NBA insignia for the last 15 years (at least).

Values of sport that are gained through the media are various. For one, sport is a major source of ethnic stability and racial/ethnic pride. Very early in the twentieth century saw the rapid increase of migrants to the New World. Sport became a viable option for many of these immigrants, and individual representatives of greatness and success in sports would transcend these elements into the hearts of their countrymen. Such champions would help to bring about the freedom and equality (through symbolism) that perhaps was denied previously. As noted by Cary Goodman, sport benefitted the Irish immigrants:

> ...besides promoting manliness and solidarity, as in the past, sport also provided both a means to encourage and express Irish nationalism and a vehicle for social mobility.[1]

Great cultural significance is given to champion athletes by the media, as well as an emphasis on the stereotypical attributes that are given to their ethnic character.

Another value that sport would imply is acculturation in-

to the American way of life ("Americanization"). The early segment of the twentieth century (and late nineteenth century) witnessed much of this. Parks, recreational and sport organizations and government programs for the youth coincided with the great wave of immigrants, as an effort to assimilate them into the mainstream culture. The media handle the race and ethnicity aspect of sport in pro-Caucasian American dialect and idiomatic language, usually in terms of the general speech patterns of sports announcers and the slanted literature of sports journalists. Evidence will show that the glorification that is given to any respective champion athlete will vary in character (and/or content) and this will be directly coincidental with his ethnicity. The athlete's favorability in the press (despite his outstanding performance statistics) will also vary, and this will be coincidental with his media-perceived degree of "Americanization".

Aim of this Study

The object of this study is to gain an historical perception of the evolution of black racial stereotypes and depictions in the general media over a limited time span* (the twentieth century). This report will focus on sport as a main course of study. This will be a study of the media and its powerful force in helping to shape social

*This study is limited to black stereotypical depictions by the media and does not take into account disfavor toward Asians, American Indians or other racial/ethnic groups.

change. The twentieth century, as you know, has witnessed a remarkable turn of events. At one end of the spectrum there was a period of civil demarcation, and a separation of culture (in America). Overt discrimination existed in the media, with the newspaper its most powerful force, during this era. This era will be subtitled the "Jack Johnson Era", for it will coincide with Johnson's gaining of the heavyweight boxing title from Tommy Burns in 1908, and reflect the overt racism and ethnicism which was prevalent at the time. In reviewing the newspaper articles of this era, a full understanding of the legal system of "Jim Crow" is necessary, as well as general discrimination between social classes and specific immigrant groups (all of whom were fighting for equality and specific social and civil rights). These articles will be particularly demeaning against the character of blacks, and this tendency will be traced through the champion black athlete of this episode.

The next era will begin with the acquisition of the heavyweight title by Joe Louis over James J. Braddock in 1937. At this time, the media would undergo a transition in the depiction of black athletes (as well as the portrayal of blacks in other areas, such as the arts, entertainment, social portrayals, etc.). Joe Louis would gain fame among the American media with his conquest (which would be symbolically transformed into America's conquest over Germany and Japan) over the German, Max Schmeling. To add to the "Ameri-

canization" of Joe Louis was the fact that he participated in the military and in doing so, created overwhelming support for the government of the United States. At the same time, favorability toward blacks in the media tended to increase (as evident by the favorable images of blacks in the movies, newspapers, and other media, at the time). Toward the end of the Joe Louis Era, Blacks were gradually beginning to integrate the major league sports, and the media reflected their leniency toward them in more favorable depictions. Black participation in World War II (often a highly-neglected topic) was also a major factor in the media transition of black depiction. The "Joe Louis Era" will mark the transition of "Jim Crow" media into a less overt, "filtered" type of "Jim Crow" media, where the first black professional athletes to enter the major sports were heralded for this achievement. In many instances, the "Sambo" image of blacks became obscure (although many elements of "Sambo" were definitely still in existence). Blacks would not achieve full civil rights until 1965 (in terms of the demise of "Jim Crow" legality). For blacks to receive favorable characterizations in the sport media during the World War II years (as American discrimination against blacks was reaching its height) meant that maybe favorable attention in other areas of American life could be achieved as well (as the Government could be seen "bending" and responding to many black grievances, and more blacks were able to participate in new areas where they previously had been disal-

lowed). The desire to achieve more of the freedoms would come to fruition (through ultimate conflict) during the 1950's and 1960's, and the reign of Muhammad Ali would epitomize the next period.

Entering the limelight as Cassius Clay, the 1960 Olympic Gold Medal winner, Muhammad Ali's career would coincide with great mounting civil and political strife and unrest in America. Beginning with the refusal of Rosa Parks to give up her seat on an Alabama local bus line in 1955, leading to the boycott of several Alabama businesses for discrimination, this period is marked also by many other great movements for equality, such as the March on Washington and the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965, and significant political events such as the Cuban missile crisis, the assasination deaths of John F. Kennedy, Robert F. Kennedy, Malcolm X, Martin Luther King and others). It was a period of social and political turmoil that was slowly reaching the "boiling point". Ali himself would represent the transition of the passive American Negro into the assertive black nationalist of the era. Blacks, having taken on new meaning and identity, were denounced by the media, while others (in the Joe Louis mold), were exemplified as models for accepted Negro behavior. Ali himself would become deplored by the media because of his change of identity (from an American into a black nationalist) and the denunciation would continue until after he took his major political stand (the refusal of induction into the Armed Forces).

It became common knowledge that Ali was stripped of his title due to racism, by the governing forces of professional boxing and the media (which had been "calling for his head" up until then), when it was suddenly realized that the United States Constitution was actually what was being put to trial. Ali was actually being discriminated against according to the written words of the First Amendment (freedom of religion). More intelligent minds would prevail (not to mention Ali's support by anti-Vietnam War demonstrators) and re-license Ali to fight for a living again (in three years after the original stripping of his title in 1967). With discrimination so evident, the public would call for major adjustments to be made in the media and public policy toward minorities. Ali's career would lead him back to the heavyweight championship, as he would re-acquire it from George Foreman (of the Joe Louis mold) in Zaire, Africa in 1974. Although Ali was an 8-1 underdog, he took the Indomitable American flag-waver of the 1968 Olympics (during a time of black awareness and the black threat to boycott the Olympics), Foreman, to Zaire, Africa, for what could be called a "showdown" of the American imperialist dream versus black freedom. In that fight, America's previous racial policies and values were put to trial. In an uncanny display of showmanship, craftsmanship, and creativity, Ali would stop Foreman halfway through the bout, and the outcome would be a victory for black pride (although the American media did not play it up as such). Ali was ultimately invited to the White House, and proclaimed by Gerald

Ford "as American as apple pie". If Ali was to be "hung" by the media for his religious stand during his early career, this trend would change with the growing popularity and charisma that he attained from his stand and his remarkable triumphs in the boxing ring, in front of a wide (international) media public.

The total civil revolution of the sixties brought about more favorable attitudes and depictions of blacks in the sport media (and the general media), while racist media tended to become increasingly covert ("blaxploitation" movies are examples of the tendency of the media to camouflage, yet influence, racism). The tendency of the media to incorporate the rising popularity of genetic studies regarding blacks in sport, in their general analysis of sport, saw an increase in the 1970's and 1980's (inanimate nicknames, etc.). These general stereotypes, as perceived through the media (and have now become almost universally accepted), also have the capability to camouflage racism (in the form of the repeated stereotype over a susceptible media public, the messages of which are gradually taken as fact). This view is reflected in the work of Walter Lippmann:

> A stereotype may be so consistently and authoritatively transmitted in each generation ...that it seems almost a biological fact.[2]

This report will demonstrate the sequence of events stemming from early 20th Century media sporting events that involved black athletes, and the charting of the media tendency to

rely on those stereotypes in their depiction of the same.

Theory and Explanation

The American Ideal must always be (or appear to be) maintained and supported in the media. The theme of American superiority/victory must be incorporated into the American Conscience as a standard media social perception (in the American social imagination). Deviant to this tradition is the notion of increasing black athletic dominance in the major American sports (or major media sport, in terms of economics and exposure). As sport serves as a major American value sphere, by the incorporation of basic American values into its ideology (similar to the Armed Forces) and structure, blacks have, as a result, come to represent, as well as misrepresent, the plight of Caucasian America in the quest of athletics over the major portion of the Twentieth Century.

There are many examples which support this assumption. While a few blacks are incorporated into the American Ideal (e.g., Joe Louis, Jesse Owens, Jackie Robinson, or Michael Jordan), many others are rejected by the same standard and/or "punished" systematically and politically by the media (e.g., Jack Johnson, Muhammad Ali, Isiah Thomas, "Sonny" Liston, Lawrence Taylor, and Darryl Strawberry) for improperly representing the Ideal (and/or philosophically representing a "black", defiant, or radical cause). In representation of Caucasian-American supremacy, the logo of the National Basketball Association is a (white) silhouette of a legendary white ex-player, Jerry West, who has adorned this

emblem for almost two decades, despite increasing black dominance of the NBA during the same time period. The "Golden Era" of sports corresponds with the legendary sports heroes of the 1920's, all of whom are white due to the restrictions against blacks from participating in major professional American sports during this era. There is testimony as to the favorable calls that the Boston Celtics and Larry Bird received from the officials during the 1980's, and also to the number of white players that Boston employed in a league that was 70% black, during the same time period. Due to the enhancement by the media, the Boston Celtics have become another "America's Team". Many other great black athletes are neither incorporated into the American Ideal nor rejected by this Ideal, but are systematically "ignored"* somewhat by the media, due to their lack of "relevant" or significant political and/or social impact (such as Walt Frazier, Josh Gibson, Paul Robeson, Kareem Abdul Jabbar, Bill Russell, Nate Archibald, Wilt Chamberlain**, Joe Frazier, Satchel Paige, "Pop" Gates, "Cool Papa" Bell and Hank Aaron). Many of these great American black athletes are virtually unknown by the general American society, and this would be due to their systematic downplay by the American media.

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*In terms of legendary status or infamy.
**Chamberlain is the only man ever to score 100 points or more in an NBA game, one of various other unbroken records.

Modern America is familiar with the names of John L. Sullivan, Babe Ruth, Lou Gehrig, Ty Cobb, Vince Lombardi, Joe Louis, Knute Rockne, Joe Dimaggio. Mickey Mantle, Roger Maris, Jack Dempsey, Rocky Marciano, Ted Williams, Bobby Jones, Jack Nicklaus, Larry Bird, Jerry West, Bob Cousy, Don Mattingly, Jesse Owens, Joe Namath, and even Gerry Cooney, among many others. With the Negro support by Joe Louis and Jesse Owens (who were both media-casted as Negro-American gladiators and incorporated as black athlete exceptions into the American Ideal), these names represent the Caucasian-American quest for athletic supremacy in the Twentieth Century. The repetition of, and over-enhanced accolades, given to certain white individual athletic exploits in a constant media fashion, serves to downplay legendary and symbolic black athletic feats of equal (or greater) magnitude in the general American media.

Race-linked genetic studies also help to support the American Ideal by rationalizing black athletic superiority in primitive contexts. The theme of Caucasian racial supremacy is an important aspect of the American Ideal. Racial genetic studies indirectly help to maintain the notion of black subordination through reverse-logic and suggestion. Black physical superiority, as rationalized through these studies, facilitates the notion of Caucasian mental superiority, therefore, the psychological positioning ("stacking") of players has become a common practice.

This study seeks to expose negative depictions and con-

notations of black athletes in the sport media, and seeks to expose the American media as a "keeper" of the American Ideal (supportive of a "white" standard). The majority of the article-excerpts enclosed will demonstrate the "double standard" with regard to black athleticism as well (how some blacks are incorporated into the American Ideal, most others are not). The denunciation, stereotypification and generalizations of black athletes in the American media is an historical, yet continuing trend.

Literature Review and Theory of Sport

This section is based on various sociological perspectives of sport. Among the major theoretical perspectives are the structural-functional, symbolic interaction, and the radical (conflict) points of view. Sport is a social institution. It consists of a division of labor, input and output production systems, regulatory codes, and it exists as a living social entity among other institutions of society. In an functional sense, it serves as an integrative social mechanism which helps to preserve the stability of society. In a conflictual sense, sport has its roots in man's struggle (or competition) with the forces of nature. The fact that sport has become such a popular social phenomenon (playing and fan enthusiasm) indicates that it is a common ground of many social forces at hand (the meeting-place of agonistic and antagonistic forces in the society) and the cultural opiate of its members. Sport is a perpetual, somewhat self-regulating social entity which thrives on conflict, anxiety, rationality, predictability and unpredictability as a market*.

The American ideology of the American Dream is continually reinforced through the appearance of sport. Idealistically, sport proposes to transmit positive values across to

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*In this manner, sport serves society as a daily market of uncertainty (like the unpredictability of the stock market) and a forum for the release of social tension. Sport is not self-regulating, as it thrives within the existence of other institutions (media, etc.). Sport is self-regulating in that it generates its own demand (as play incites its own repetition - Huizinga).

the society at large. These values include character, diplomacy, fairness, morals, mental and physical fitness, equality and nationalism, among others. However, many of the opposite values are present in sport. Reverse-values such as cheating (recruiting violations, steroids, cheating within a contest, illegally altering the outcomes of contests, point-shaving, etc.), immoral behavior (obscene language and behavior on the part of the players, coaches and fans, violence, destruction and death as a result of the sporting contest, etc.), inequality (hierarchical sport roles, class division among fans, class inequality of players and management, etc.), and racism (general racism, minorities in front-office positions, myths of black dominance in certain sports and white "intelligence" notions which are backed by genetic race-linked studies, sociocultural barriers which prohibit minorities from engaging in other sports, etc.), have all become by-products of the American sporting establishment. These "good" and "bad" values are all imposed on the behavior and mentality of the masses who follow sport (fans, players, and management). In the words of the great football coach, Vince Lombardi, "Winning is the only thing".

Basic Theories of Play

(Johan Huizinga) Many sport theorists view sport in structural-functional terms, as an integrative force which helps to preserve and maintain societal equilibrium. Among the earliest of these theorists was Johan Huizinga ("Homo Ludens"), whose

theory of play is crucial to most sport studies. Huizinga initiates most sociology of sport theory through his elements of play. He saw play as a "primary and generative" feature of social existence, and a basis to social interaction. And although play is described by Huizinga in its most humanistic form, he does refer to modern play (and/or the rise of organized and professional sports) as "profane" in Western culture, having lost its basic "sacred" values, play having become corrupt by Western civilization (and capitalist ideology). Huizinga sees play in medieval society as "happier, richer, and more fulfilling" than what takes place in modern sport. This is said to greater enhance social development, as play belongs to the "realm of freedom and creativity". In play, as in society, Huizinga points to the mimicry (or microcosm) of self-regulation in both areas, as humans "create rules and abide by them". To Huizinga, play is an activity that is "central to the progress of civilization", and "its expression in the contest can be seen to infuse all areas of cultural life (law, polity and war)". Play, in its pure form, belongs to the "realm of freedom", according to Huizinga, as its "non-purposive activity leads to cultural creation".

(Thorstein Veblen) Most of Huizinga's theory depicts an analogy of sport and society. Given its confines, sport (or play) would thus be a mini-interpretation (or mode/microcosm) of the society at large. This is true to an extent, for few bureaucratic organizations or institutions that interact with

the society (such as educational institutions) represent as many phases of the outer society as play and (especially) sport. Huizinga notes that the "unreality of play becomes the bedrock of a higher reality", meaning that play is basic to the social development and roles that individuals play in society. Thorstein Veblen issued a direct challenge to Huizinga's theory of play. Although Huizinga agreed that modern sports were corrupt, Veblen insisted that all forms of sport (and play) were expressions of "violence, oppression and the predatory spirit". Unlike Huizinga, Veblen saw sport as "belonging to the realm of the unfreedom, wherever they are played." Veblen took a pessimistic view of sport (was cynical of many aspects of sport under capitalism), and sport was typical of the "conspicuous consumption" of the "leisure class" (in "Theory of the Leisure Class"). Some sports, he insists, are "status symbols" (like golf, sailboating, tennis, etc.) denoting class exclusivity. He considered social passion for sport of a regressive nature, an addiction developed from the primitive "archaic spiritual constitution" of man (reminiscent of hunting and feudal societies). In the final analysis, he noted that sport participants were usually members from the upper class; that these members became involved in sport as a wasteful and conspicuous display of wealth.

Veblen's point is radical in that he sees no practical use for sport. His distatste for this social form represents also his distaste for capitalism. Many would reason that he

is experiencing a "Marxophobia" when it comes to the area of sport, because he does not accept any of Huizinga's humanistic values in the area of play and recreation (he sees no purpose for it). But its the non-purposiveness that Huizinga relishes in play and sport, and its resulting enhancement of relative freedom and creation. Many would argue, however, that sport does represent the exploitation of the working class by the owners of the means of production, for sport has become a cultural opiate. It is a multi-billion dollar industry and has a faithful (and ever-increasing following. The players assume the role of a division of labor and the owners of sport assume the role of the bourgeoisie. Sport consumers, however, are represented by all social classes. Theodor W. Adorno sums up sport in his analysis of the Veblen approach:

> Modern sports, one will perhaps say, seeks to restore to the body some of the functions of which the machine has deprived it. But they do so only in order to train men all the more inexorably to serve the machine.[1]

Veblen would agree with Adorno's last analysis, in that sport is a popular cultural opiate and a mechanism which is manipulated to run the "machine" of capitalism more efficiently. Historically, sport was only enjoyed by the aristocracy of most societies, and Veblen sees this as a perpetuating trend in the final analysis*.

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*Sport team ownership is a modern example of the "conspicuous consumption" of wealthy individuals and corporations. Team acts as a satellite interest or "toy" to these individuals.

(Claude Levi-Strauss/Thomas Henricks) In another perspective, the symbolic interactionist approach to sport basically focuses on the ways in which different parties are reconciled in a particular activity through symbolic activities. The symbolic interactionist approach rejects the microcosm (of sport and society) approach that functionalism suggests. Sport is not a microcosm, in this regard, as it depends on other institutions to exist. Also, sport is not self-contained, but has permeable boundaries that allow the transcendance of national figures, ideologies, images, etc. On the other hand, its permeability also allows the invasion of corruptive and disruptive forces, leading to many negative images and ideologies that modern sport does generate. On the majority, however, sports creates "stars" in the media. The creation of stars and the incorporation of success in one field is transcended into a model that can stand for success in all other fields (which is a part of the commodification of sport as well).

Thomas Henricks (1988) develops the phenomenon of "meaning" with regard to play and ritual, in terms of symbolic interaction. Developed from an earlier study by Claude Levi-Strauss, Henricks devises a more fitting perspective to modern sport, the phenomenon of "ascending and descending meaning". In his analysis, he focuses on the spatial and temporal aspects of sport. According to Levi-Strauss ("The Savage Mind") <u>descending meaning</u> reflects the elements of ritual: <u>ascending meaning</u> reflects the elements of play. Strauss dis-

tingiuishes between ritual (order is imposed from the top down; sequence of stages and outcome of affair is known in advance; whole process is guaranteed by various officials or tradition itself) and play (emergent, creative activity; outcome in doubt; in its more regulated and official forms, it may well follow an established pattern; individuals try to impose their will upon each other and the world around them; winner and loser negotiated through confrontation, not officials). In the final analysis, Strauss insists that sport may partake both spheres of meaning (ritual and play). Examples of extreme rituals are synchronized swimming or exercise routines, while pure play could include juggling or "horse" basketball (as explained by Henricks). Henricks develops this concept further to the area of sport. He explains that the symbolic requirements of sport (uniforms, rules, associated values, beliefs, norms and skills) give a "subcultural flavor" to this area. He points out the spatial and temporal aspects of sport. He notes that enclosures such as fences or walls isolate games from reality; also the grandstand is set up so attention is focused on the field of play (which, in turn, encourages social engagement). Many games, he notes, operate within a certain time sequence (football, basketball, etc.) and others not (golf, baseball, etc.). Sport also creates attention and anticipation (and/or expectation) through schedule and the media, and thrives on (or follows) a logic "completely internal to the game itself". Henricks insists that to miss the interplay between competition and cooperation, between "com-

pliance and assertion", and between ascending and descending meaning, "is to miss something very basic about the character of sport in human societies."

Sociology of Sport Theorists

(Functionalist Perspective) Other sport theorists have built upon these three social perspectives. Eldon E. Snyder and Elmer A. Spreitzer (1989) take a position that defends the microcosm between sport and theater, as a functional approach:

> The essence of sport has been subordinated to entertainment. Even the desire for victory is no longer primary. This characteristic of sport is clearly illustrated in the commercial focus of pseudo-sports such as professional wrestling and the roller derby... When the audience openly laughs at physical events such as these, it is clear that we have crossed the threshold from sport into society.[2]

As a form of entertainment, sport does resemble theater. It consists of the setting of the plot (as reinforced by the media: history of the teams/players; statistics; rivalry between opponents; significance of the upcoming event; etc.), the introduction of the characters (players/teams who become sympathetic or unsympathetic to the fans/audience), and culminates with the unraveling of the plot (denouement; the outcome of the contest). The drama within the contest is expressed by the various emotions displayed by the interested onlookers (which can include happiness, sadness, shock, awe

and tragedy, with respect to the sentimental characters, and the ebb and flow of the contest). In most cases, functionalist sport theorists focus on the consensus and cooperation of sportsmanship, and the imposing relevant ("good") social values which contribute to the functional integration of the society at large.

Functionalist sport theorists argue that sport serves to act as a "safety-valve" outlet to human aggression. Originally formulated by John Dollard and Neal A. Miller (1941), the frustration-aggression hypothesis contends that "aggression is a logical and expected consequence of frustration, its purpose being to remove or destroy the obstacle to need-gratification". Most of the theories of frustration and aggression are subsumed in psychology literature (theories of catharsis, social learning, drive-discharge, and others*). Rewritten and reapplied to sport by psychological and social theorists, these theories have usually applied to sport spectatorship and participation. Peter Marsh (1975) discusses sport and fan behavior (soccer crowd disorders), with respect to the frenzy and contagion of collective behavior. Richard Sipes (1973), on the other hand, develops a

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*As noted by distinguished psychologists, Sigmund Freud, and K. Lorenz (who discussed theories of aggression and catharsis), Albert Bandura (Social Learning Theory), and L. Berkowitz (aggression).

theory of war, sports and aggression which serves to demonstrate the microcosmic aspects of violence with respect to sports and societies. In his analysis, he determines that war and combative sports are positively correlated and patterned by the presiding culture*. Although both theorists agree that violence is learned and reflected from the larger social structure, Sipes, however, concludes that, "cross-sulturally, war and combative sports do not act as alternative channels for the discharge of accumulable tensions". He also maintains that sport and war manifest no functional relationship across time, but across cultures. In a related study, Richard Gruneau (1983) presents another angle of spectator violence as readily attributable to class differences. According to Gruneau, there are class differences in sport spectatorship. While there is a good mixture of classes among fans of team sports (football, baseball, soccer, etc.), individual sports are overrepresented by the wealthy (like golf and tennis). Within these sports, the blue-collar overrepresentation of team sports tends to be more rowdy and militaristic, while the white-collar sports tend to be more passive in fan behavior. In this analysis, the type and class of sport and people is directly related to fan behavior.

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*Paul Hoch notes that sport transmits the values of the larger society, and the way they are played reflects the past and present development of that society (ex. He demonstrated that as the Vietnam War heated up, the more militaristic game of football replaced and surpassed baseball as America's favorite spectator sport).

Functionalism tends to examine sport through the micro-sociological, as a monolithic entity, having an autonomous and separate organization of its own. From the functional viewpoint the sports team thrives on consensus and cooperation in order to succeed. Also functional (as well as symbolic) is the notion that teamwork breeds success, and this symbol is carried over to the masses who are directly affected by the sport (or sport team). Borrowing Talcott Parson's A,G,I,L pattern of social equilibrium in his conception of sport, Jay J. Coakley (1978) implies that sport is an integrative function of society which standardizes other social relations of significance. In this manner, sport serves the function of increasing social cohesion and solidarity. Gunther Luschen (1981) is another of many theorists who have taken up the functionalist perspective to sport. Luschen emphasizes this approach to sport, in that sport is a major vehicle of socialization and interaction. According to Luschen, sports do not only represent social norms and values, "they socialize toward such values". Although he notes the intrusion of capitalism upon sport (sport is an "offspring of technology and industrialization"), he insists that sport has viable basic social functions such as pattern-maintenance and integration, which, according to Luschen, are its main functions. Luschen concludes that since sport implies basic cultural values (rules, laws, symbols, etc.), it has the ability to pass these values onto its participants (pattern-maintenance). Looking across time (from primitive to modern societies), Luschen acknowledges that overall,

"sport not only socializes to the system of values and norms but in primitive societies it socializes toward adult and warfare skills as well".

"Winning" is also a key aspect in the functionalization of sport in society. Winning reinforces the ideology of a capitalist society. What is also viable as a theme (or ideology) in the world of sport is knowing how to "take a loss". Through losing, individuals do not lose the social values and maintenance that sport provides, although losers are not celebrated, in most cases, in a capitalist society. To the pure functionalist, "losing" is functional because it reinforces morals and values that are inherent in a society. One major theme in losing is the "wait 'til next year" attitude of the society which, in turn, generates social optimism about the future and the need to improve. Losing is also functional because it helps to maintain affiliations. It opens up an avenue of criticism which increases communication between individuals. Parsons (1951) sums up the values of the culture of sport in a passage from his book, "The Social System":

> The sharing of such common value patterns, entailing a sense of responsibility for the fulfillment of obligations, then creates a solidarity among those mutually oriented to the common values. The actors...constitute...a collectivity. [3]

The consequences of winning or losing vary greatly in any social capacity, but sport understands this polarity, and thrives on the acceptability of uncertainty (or mystery).

In any type of social system, there must be mechanisms through which individuals learn appropriate norms and values. Through the sometimes violent uncertain and deviant atmosphere that the world of sport imposes, individuals learn positive norms and values in a reverse manner (as the sport arena allows individuals to "let off steam", acceptable social behavior is reinforced as individuals learn how not to behave in the "civilized" public; Sipes would see unruly fan behavior as a dysfunctional by-product of violent sports, however). Sport is functional in that it is a forum for the release of social tension, increases group solidarity whereby negating many group and individual differences, as well as constructive in helping to maintain the status quo. It is also constructive in the instrumentality of its important socialization techniques and in the discipline it idealizes. Much commerciality of sport centers around the teamwork necessary to bring about team success, as teamwork is necessary in any society or social institution. Many sport theorists adopt the functionalist view toward sport for these reasons, although this perspective does not allow for social change. Dr. Jay J. Coakley (1978) defends the position of these theorists:

> The continued existence of sport is taken as proof that it must be contributing to the well-being of society and its members in some way. This approach often leads to the conclusion that sport provides a context in which values compatible with the American way of life are learned, supported, and perpetuated and in which certain individual and system needs, unmet through other

> institutional structures are satisfied. In other words, sport exists because it contributes to the maintenance of social order and aids in the adjustment of individuals in that society.[4]

Much of the functionalist perception of sport is idealistic. As a microcosm, sport does reflect the values (both "good" and "bad") of American society. However, it is also an arena for deviance and conflict. In this manner sport reflects, tolerates and absolves much of the deviance from within the larger society. In a collective effort, ethnocentric fans, believing that their team is "best", seek out to discriminate, ridicule, degrade, and "hang" the opponent (because he has on the "wrong" uniform). This tendency somewhat reflects the collective pursuits of Americans throughout history (the "tar and feather" crowds, the anti-British colonial crowds of Eighteenth Century America; lynch parties; biased courtroom justice; collective racism expressed against blacks, Hebrews and other racial and ethnic groups by organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan; and current systematic racial devices used against blacks and other minorities that reflect general and collective racist American attitudes). The "homecourt advantage"* in sport is an offspring of earlier American collectivities.

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*The "homecourt advantage", as it is referred to in sport contexts, idealistically refers to familiar fans, practicing grounds and equipment. However, it can also be stated that the "home" fans are conducive in influencing and intimidating the officials' calls in favor of the "home team", as well as the generation of favorable adrenalin in the "home" players during the flow of the contest (through the contagious frenzy of the "home" crowd).

(Conflict/Radical Perspective) The conflict perspective usually sees sport as a social dysfunction. A leading proponent of this sports perspective is Harry Edwards (1973), who points out myriad flaws in American sporting values. Edwards takes the position that sport reflects the racism that exists in the larger American society (as formulated by George Simmel who regarded conflict as functional to any society; leading to social progress). Simmel (1956) infers that the social system survives "because of aggression and competition, not consensus and cooperation; as a way of achieving unity, even if it be through the annihilation of one of the adversaries". Although modern theorists like Edwards would not see racism or sport as institutions of functional conflict, he, nevertheless, adopts the radcal perspective in his rejection of functionalist perspectives (which suggest that sport imposes "good" and structural values upon society. Struggle is defined as disruptive to the purpose of functionalism, causing disequilibrium in society, yet it is conducive to conflict, causing progress, social change, self-regulation and homogeneity.

Paul Hoch (1972) and Richard Gruneau (1983) support a neo-Marxist interpretation of the conflict perspective to sport (as does Edwards, although Edwards and Hoch include many elements of the functionalist approach, including microcosm, integration, catharsis, and adaptation). Both note the dominance and preponderance of the upper class influence of American sport (going back to Veblen's "leisure class" preoccupation with sport). Gruneau notes that the

"history of modern sport is a history of cultural and class struggle". Gruneau sees sport as a spatially separate (or automous) social form that exists within other hegemonic institutions, absorbing most of the surrounding values. Paul Hoch insists that sport reflects capitalism. The "win-at-all-costs" attitude of sport is a direct result of the exploitative and coercive nature of capitalism. Edwards, Gruneau and Hoch would agree that the modern perversion of sport is a direct generative effect of its commodification.

Within sport, the trading of players is routine and plays a major role in its ongoing process. In a Marxian context, players are also interchangeable and can easily be replaced (in most cases). Players are the property of the team and are instantly commercialized. They become commodities of consumption and production (reflects the social inequality of wage laborers and the owners of the means of production). Sport, in this sense, in analogous to the increasing commodification of labor workers, as industrialization becomes more complex.

Hoch, in his argument, also points to the increasing alienation on the part of player personnel. Typical of athletics and capitalism is the depression due to the rigors of the business aspect. The negotiation and renegotiation of contracts, the advent of player unions, the right to free agency, etc., are all issues directed at bourgeois supremacy. This contradicts the idealistic and humanistic aspects of sport, as set forth by Huizinga, which is to "play by the rules" and "have fun". A player doesn't "have fun" if he is worried over a contract, involuntarily playing

with an injury or sickness, or bitter over his salary with respect to his production or with respect to other players' salaries (and the increasing cost of living). He therefore becomes a victim of objectification, alienated from the goods that he has helped to produce, namely profits. True alienation usually sets in when the players' careers are over. Many are reclusive in their retirement years, usually without any benefits from a service that they dedicated their lives and limbs to. On the amateur level, many athletes achieve this state of depression when they do not make it to the next level, particularly when they have put forth more than the usual effort. The suffering experienced on the part of the players (past and present) is a direct consequence of the perversion and corruption of sport by capitalism. This view is supported by both Hoch and Edwards.

Another aspect of sport in its relevance to capitalism is the emergence of the superstar. The superstar is the sport bureaucracy's favorite child, so to speak. He draws the most fans, usually creates the most offense (and/or specializes in defense), generates the most money, and has the most benefits on his contract above all of his team members. This makes him the "godchild" of the sport bureaucracy (even though he sometimes has grievances that are usually and quickly rectified). When the superstar nears the end of his career, he is not easily replaced. In direct contrast to the humanistic ideals of sport there is, idealistically, not supposed to be a "superstar". In

a team effort no one player should dominate the offense. The proverbial "ball" should be shared "equally". The superstar is, in effect, a creation of the capitalist demands of sport. In this sense, sport endeavors to create superhumans, the ultimate in human physical development, while the masses demand that such people be created. When he is created, he/she becomes ultra-commodified (by the sporting establishment and the media) and transformed into national figures of controversy (which results in fan consumerism). Hoch points out that:

> ...the sports pages were advertisements for... newspapers! With this kind of love affair going on, it wasn't long before "sports heroes" vied with royalty as a vehicle for selling newspapers, and incidentally provided the embryonic "fan" with a hero image to identify with and to compare with other aspiring sports heroes...[5]

Edwards, Hoch and Gruneau would agree that sport exists in a symbiotic relationship with the media, and the superstar is the "darling" of this relationship (profitability and exposure being the key elements). The superstar evolves from the social demand of entertainment. Society appears to need entertainers, people who can perform magic, and people to idolize. The notion of the "superstar" conforms to Max Weber's ( ) theory of charisma. Contrary to this notion, however, the superstar is a selfish sportsman. His selfishness is contrary to the humanistic and idealistic notions of play and sport (which is shared by Huizinga), and that is to "share" the ball "equally". This selfishness, along with his salary and media exposure, conforms to Marx'

conception of inequality (within the sport team). Obviously a higher-ranked individual within the sport division of labor, the superstar is the main attraction. Rarely is the whole team sold to the public. Rather, the superstar acts as the main event, and gets paid to have the "ball" most of the time (because this is what the fans want). Other members of the team play instrumental or remote roles on the team, but their play is usually centered around their star (or most marketed player). This style is emulated by many amateur sport teams as well, and may be a complementary reason for many sport dropouts (teamwork is replaced by showmanship). Harry Edwards is vehement about this very phenomenon, as he calls for the restructuring of sport in American society, although he admits that society itself would have to be restructured in order for sport to mimic its parameters. Harry Edwards favors a more socialist conception of sport, but he notes that values that are learned in society are mirrored in sport. Racism is also a major theme and sales pitch in capitalist sport. The colors of the referee's uniform (black and white) may be an indicator of the polarization (or separation) of the races and class struggle in a capitalist regime. Although the referee may also wear black and white to indicate neutrality, his ideas are based on a bureaucratic body of laws. As to which laws will be enforced, what extent of punishment, and to whom they will be directed, remains his decision (as an officer of the sports bureaucracy). The institutionalization of sport under capitalism has relatively destroyed its humanistic

Sport media is usually sensational journalism. It is powerful enough to "make or break" players, maintain fan enthusiasm (even for a losing team), enhance the quality and recognition of a player (even if he is marginal) in a selective and political (also discriminatory) process, while at the same time, can exclude, overlook, and neglect others (who may even be better). Although individual/team atheletic performance is, in general, what captures the public attention to the media, Hoch has noted that it is the spectacle (event) itself which is responsible for the packaging and selling of the sport media, not who wins or loses. In other words, winning isn't everything, but sport consumerism is. D. Stanley Eitzen and George Sage note that:

> Television, newspapers, and magazines have generated sports by creating heroes and by continually bombarding the citizenry with statistics, human interest stories, and coverage of the sporting events themselves.[6]

The media, one of the most powerful tools in forming social opinions, influences sport into our daily social existence. Radio, television, newspapers, periodicals and other forms of mass media have had far-reaching effects in the shaping of society. The media, consequently, is responsible for the trafficking and "pushing" (advertising and selling) of the sport opiate.

(Symbolic interactionist) Most of symbolic interaction, with respect to sport, focuses on the transcendance of

images, symbols and meanings (significance) to other realms of social existence (other institutions). The symbolism that sport transmits begins with competitiveness. The nature of sport is competition between individuals (even between individuals of the same team). It represents the competition between individuals and groups in society, the struggle of which is an ongoing process (according to Marx). In victory the devout fan can identify with or share the glory with his favorite player, or team, through role identification; he has shared the trials and tribulations of the competitive nature of the season (and/or his favorite player's career) as well as the player/team itself. For this reason sport is responsible for the imposition of certain values in the society. Among these values are teamwork, patriotism, health and fame, to name a few. One of the pioneers to the symbolic interactionist approach to sociology, Herbert Blumer, defined three premises as crucial to the perspective:

> First, human beings act toward things that these objects have for them...Second, the meanings of these stimuli emerge through symbolic interaction. Third, and most important, these meanings are not static but are modified through an interpretive process.[7]

The struggle of social competition leads to the production output of a capitalist society. Nevertheless, the struggle of sport competition symbolizes the intense and dedicated work involved in order to achieve prosperity. This is not to obscure the fact that one can also "cheat" to get ahead,

by bending the rules and/ or playing unfairly. Sport can also be interpreted as "destroying the competition" (willfully or unwillfully inflicting injuries* to opponents so that they can't compete, or using an abundance of talent to belittle an opponent) in the same manner as modern capitalists**. The interaction that sport has with society also involves the agenda of social roles. How the players will cooperate together as a team, and how they will "match up" with their opponents provides for big media coverage a day before the game. In order to achieve success, they must have the right "chemistry" (and that may also include fan support). The players must know each other's roles and what to expect from the other team. The role of significant and generalized others***, as well as knowing one's own role, is thoroughly explored by George Herbert Mead (1934):

> The self, as that which can be an object to itself, is essentially a social structure, and arises in social experience.[8]

This effort has many redeeming social qualities, in that the player and the spectator of sport enhance their own

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*Until the advent of the draft in sports, avaricious and wealthy teams were able to monopolize on talented players, by offering the biggest contracts for their services, a microcosmic aspect of the business world.

**Some sports, like boxing and football, have legitimated violence.

***The attitude of others, with respect to sport teams and teamwork, shared by Gary Alen Fine.

social development through the spectacle of a functional group affiliation. This type of attitude (teamwork) is positive for the social purposes of group cohesion, solidarity and nationalism. Mead insisted that "games are exercises in the meaning of social awareness and responsibility", which distinguishes it from the individual character of play. In the game, "the child learns how the network of group positions fits together, and how he or she must perform in the wider context", which is basic to the national symbol of sport in America. With regard to teamwork, Mead would agree that players must know each others' roles, in the event that one must "cover" for a teammate who is out of position on a given sport play. Knowing the role of the "other" is vital in team sports (or any social form where teamwork is necessary to a common desired social end/goal). In this sense, the individual (player and spectator) adjusts to the realistic demands of society through the interpretation of the reality of what takes place on the "ball field" or in the sporting arena.

Much of sybolic interaction in sport relates to values in American culture. Stephen K. Figler takes the position:

> Competitiveness, particularly the variety that emphasizes outcome rather than process, has been a cornerstone ethic in the growth and prominence of America. It is an inherent part of many of our institutions, including business, politics, education, and even religion, as well as sport. Competition is a dominant value, as close to an absolute value as exists in American culture. At least in the past, it has served individuals, groups, and American society well.[9]

National figures of sport, "superstars", if you will, are created for the purpose of transcending these "values" to other social institutions*. Individuals such as Babe Ruth, Joe Dimaggio, Joe Louis and Jesse Owens, etc., are created in the "American image", while others like Jack Johnson, Lawrence Taylor, Pete Rose, Muhammad Ali, Reggie Jackson, Micheal Ray Richardson, etc., are fundamentally tied to American "anti-establishment" by definition of the printed word. The "punishment" of these stars, by the governing bodies and the media, in the public light, helps to add the issue of deterrence at "alien" values, images, impressions, etc., that these stars have already imposed. The American value that "no man is above the law" is reinforced through this concept (to the point that even the President can be put to trial). National stars are created to uphold the "American Ideal", or the way things "should be", and in America, this usually means the upholding of some Caucasian standard/tradition (or elements thereof).

Gary Alan Fine (1986), along with Eldon E. Snyder and Elmer A. Spreitzer (1989), share many of the tenets of symbolic interaction, as set forth by Herbert Blumer and George Herbert Mead. In Fine's analysis, cooperation, communication, and symbolization characterize the sport

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*On the other hand, many of these national sports figures are admonished publicly by governing bodies (and the media) for the purpose of reinstitutionalizing "American values" (ex. Pete Rose, "Sonny" Liston, Ali, etc.).

team within the culture. The participation aspect of team play is defined by meaning, or shared understandings. Fine illustrates:

> Team members come to know each other quite well during a season. As a consequence they develop a set of norms, artifacts, and expressions, which I refer to as their *culture*. Because meaning derives from interaction and culture, a set of shared understandings is clearly implicated in the symbolic interactionist approach...Culture serves to enhance group cohesion. This culture is not given to the team, but rather it emerges from their play. In other words, the team, in addition to creating a win-loss record, also creates a set of meanings.[10]

Snyder and Spreitzer (1989) also emphasize the abundance of sporting values in the American public:

> Sport has emerged in modern society as an institution with patterned relationships that disseminate and transmit social values. By values we mean those ideals that are worth striving for. Values serve to provide social criteria for assessing what is desirable ...Sport as a social institution permeates and mirrors many levels of society...Thus we suggest that sport provides a means of expressing some of the dominant values of a society.[11]

Sport on any level is competitive and task/goal oriented. Sport, as a microcosm or a symbol, represents the nature of competition as well (which includes the elements of drive, tenacity, cunning, ability, and consistency), among others), Snyder and Spreitzer hold that:

> Again we emphasize that these values of a society as reflected in sport may be contradictory. Thus, the emphasis on competition and athletic success may lead to the use of

> undue violence to intimidate the opponent, cheating, and the use of illegal drugs to enhance one's performance. Such behavior not only raises ethical questions; it is inconsistent with the development of character through sports.[12]

A major example of the symbolic interactionist view to sport would be the impact and the transcendance of the effect of the raised black-gloved fists of Tommie Smith and John Carlos at the 1968 Olympics at Mexico City. As most of the symbolic interaction method, as applied to sport, usually represents the meanings derived from human action and behavior within the boundaries of a cultural context, the stand of these black Olympians had an effect on the very foundation of the American Ideology. As a deterrent, these athletes were publicly renounced for their effort, although the symbol of their action stated the position of revolution and desired social change within most American institutions by blacks (as an oppressed social group in America). The effect of this symbol may have led to tremendous social change within the media and other American institutions (especially major American professional sports), by exposing the hypocrisy of the American Ideal.

Conclusion

In a necessary and meaningful relationship with sport, the media serves as the propagator of positive American values through sport. Sport is not self-contained, but thrives on many American institutions for survival, especially

the media. The media is responsible for the creation and development of national "stars" in sport, to represent American values, as well as to demean and humiliate other sports stars/teams who do not quite "fit" the Ideal. The media transmits values through sport that are both positive and negative to the society at large. In a capitalist society, sport has lost most of the humanistic values accorded to play because of the "win-at-all-costs" attitude of the capitalist mode. This results in cheating, deceit and overall "unsportsmanship" in the quest of this accomplishment. "Winning" reinforces the concept of "good" American values (The American Ideal), no matter how it is obtained.

Modern American sport would conform most to Veblen's model. Hoch, Brohm, and Gruneau would all agree as to the capitalist perversion of sport. Hoch describes his experience in sport as influenced by the demands of capitalism:

> I joined the rat race. I remember spending incredibly long hours on the courts practicing. Every kid in the neighborhood was doing the same-or wanted to. I was only in my middle twenties, when I came across Leonard Koppett's book on the National Basketball Association, that I started wondering about what all the time I'd spent spent on sports had gone for. This neighborhood mania for basketball which had done so much to distort the values and lives of so many people was, in fact, something artificially created by the owners of professional basketball players and fans. The same thing had happened in every other sport. Owners were pushing their product into the brains of kids via the media, the schools, toy balls in crackerjack boxes, billboards, bank windows, posters, pennants, little leagues.[13]

Sport is conflictual an institution by nature, as society is. The nature of conflict in sport is functional for the spectacle (under capitalism). The cries of "kill the umpire", "kill the quarterback" and "beat their brains out" reveal that sport is no longer a game, or play, as suggested by Huizinga, but an obsession under the capitalist regime, as suggested by Veblen. It also reflects the "dog-eat-dog" nature of the way they are now being played (including legitimate violence*). Any effort to win, even if it means "bending the rules" or cheating, is normal and acceptable by modern standards. The Protestant notion (ethic) is therefore nullified by these vulgar and unfair practices. Under capitalism, the recreational value of sport is lost due to the imperialist notion of "win-at-all-costs". Jean-Marie Brohm (1978) acknowledges the distinct parallel between capitalist society and the sporting industry. He notes that sport is actually a "celebration" of the capitalist mode of life. Brohm's model is an extension of Veblen's earlier theory in that:

> ...sports treats the human organism as a machine in the same way as the worker becomes a mere appendage of the machine of the capitalist system.[14]

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*Going back to Veblen's interpretation of sport as a continuation of the "archaic predatory spirit".

Brohm also concludes that the symbolic representation of values and images that sport does convey serves to reproduce state capital:

> Sports ideology, like all ideology, contributes to the enlarged reproduction of the social relations of production.[15]

Brohm, like Veblen, takes the position that, " 'sport' is antithetical to 'play' ".

The media play the biggest role in sport consumption. The sport bureaucracy, along with the media, rapes the social imagination with the uncertainty of "big" sporting events. Sport media leave society to wonder about the sporting situation at hand (analyses, statistics, etc.), while through suggestibility, society is thus led to the ultimate confrontation (or spectacle). In this respect, according to Hoch, "winning" is <u>not</u> the only thing. Hoch explains:

> The "winning" of the spectacle of competition is in fact the *least* important part of this social process, for it is the spectacle itself which is socially significant... So that in *social* terms the losers are just as essential to the spectacle as the winners.[16]

In this way, sport resembles theater; the elements of which are mystery, drama, comedy, tragedy, and excitement. Individuals come to the sporting arena (listen to radio, watch television) to witness a cultural form of entertainment. They also want to release tension in the form of excitement, just as they do in an amusement park or penny arcade. The element of sport allows individuals to express

antisocial behavior, form subcultural groups, and express opinions openly. The main object of this permissibility is profit. Sport (and the media) confronts individuals with the stature of both teams (statistics, regional importance of game, individual star players, etc.) which results in the social apprehension of the event (who will win?), and then captures them with the spectacle (which costs a fee). The commodification process of sport is ongoing (ie. the selling of the media, sporting products, the recruiting of players, etc.).

The release of social tension has been explored by many sport theorists who have adopted the functionalist viewpoint. Sport allows social members to congregate, collect and release anxiety; as this is said to help preserve the equilibrium of a functional social system in a "safety-valve" effect. Many theorists have endorsed spectator violence in sports as a "catharsis to aggression" in the outer society, although in many cases spectator violence has carried over <u>into</u> the society, creating subcultural and political divisions, and having long-term negative effects. Sport is also an integrative function of society. As endorsed by Talcott Parsons:

> Integrative institutions are those which standardize other social relations of significance.[17]

Needless to say, the accepted social behavior in the sporting arena, including the players' aggressiveness and antics by the coach, is totally unacceptable in mainstream society.

In this manner sport acts as a "safety-valve", diffusing system "overload". It is an institution of society that legitimizes deviant behavior and demonstrations of violence.

As a microcosm sport serves to reflect the ambiguity and hypocrisy of equality and fairness, as idealized by the American Ideal. Racism against blacks in sport history parallels the general racism in American society (as vouched by Edwards and Hoch). As well, the notion of "fairness" and "playing by the rules" is taken out of context, in a functional sense. The humanistic ideal of sport is destroyed by the corruption of capitalism and severe competition (individualism). In this manner the structural-functional and conflict perspectives to sport are themselves conflictual. However, the genre of sport works its way to the collective conscience through symbols (power, health, money, fame, etc.) which are ultimately turned into profit by the owners. These symbols usually appear in the form of commercial advertisements and favorable journalism. In this manner capitalist theory of sport complements the functional aspect, tied together by the symbolization of supposed moral and ethical values that sport does represent. In reality, capitalistic values (the values of struggle, competition, and profit) are prevalent, and moralistic values are somewhat "lost" on the playing field.

In a symbiotic relationship the sociological perspectives of sport that are already mentioned can be said to describe the socialization pattern of the professional

athlete. First, he is taught how to play (learning of roles, rules, gestures, and humanistic values that sport does imply); second, he is enticed to play better than most (through symbols, meanings, and interpretations of the lifestyles of professional athletes); and third, he is marketed (becomes a commodity of production and consumption). Therefore, the functional aspect of sport conflicts with the capitalistic notion. However, each is necessary for the others' survival. The fact that sport consumers tolerate this deviance keeps this an ongoing process, for it is a reflection of the capitalist ideology.

Sport has become a very popular modern theater of society, although the purity of "play" has become perverted by capitalism. Even the "ticket scalpers" have become mercenary capitalists, in trying to get an even higher price for the spectacle. Sport allows social members to congregate, collect, and release anxiety, which is said to help preserve the "equilibrium" of the society through a "safety-valve" effect. The "superstar" loses his charisma coincidentally with the erosion of his skills in most cases (no longer able to perform "magic"). But while he is in stardom, he is thoroughly marketed (through endorsements). Marginal players suffer the consequences of worker depression (lower wages, objectification and alienation) and rejection (from chosen spoprt). Even a coach at the amateur level may be fired for not "winning" enough. And although the advent of capitalism has helped to bring

about a negative change in sport (or "play), in terms of morals and ethics it remains a very popular theater. The selfish player comes to the fore and is most popular (the superstar). He cannot be replaced as readily as marginal and above-average players, in which case he can demand his own price. Mass consumption and the increasing commodification of sport suggests the cultural opiate involved. The true ethic of sport and the ethic of the superstar sells tickets (and media). Sport, like gambling, persuades society to "try again". Winning reinforces this notion, as losing reinforces the notion of "wait 'til next year". Winning and losing are both schemes used by the sporting industry and the media, in that they are designed to lure society to the spectacle. The symbol of health has become profit.

The American Racial System / Caste in the United States

The American system consists of a hierarchy of racial groups (ethnic/racial stratification). Diverse ethnic and racial groups arrived in the New World at various points in American history, with each group claiming seniority over those that were newly-arrived. The first groups were basically Caucasian-European (Anglo-Saxon Protestant) and were to become the dominant ruling groups (in North America). With the entrance of blacks into the United States, the stratification system of Americans of Caucasian-European ancestry was well-formed and structured into the American society. Blacks and Indians were deemed subject groups and relegated to the bottom rung of the American racial system with little opportunity of racial group vertical mobility. Blacks as a group, in particular, first recruited to the United States as chattel (slaves), have taken on a connotative "animal-status" with respect to other ethnic and racial groups, most noted through racial theories, descriptions and slurs geared toward them*.

Oliver Wendell Cox develops a theory of race with respect to blacks as a caste, or the lack of class:

> Slaves are not the lowest class in a society; they are "out-classed"; that is, they are completely without class status. [1]

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*Indians as a group have been basically decimated by colonialism (the expansion of whites in the New World).

In another passage Cox reveals the status of blacks in the United States:

> Negroes - to consider the United States specifically - must not be allowed to think of themselves as human beings having certain basic rights protected in the formal law. On the whole they came to America as forced labor, and our slavocracy could not persist without a consistent set of social attitudes which justified the system naturally. Negroes had to be thought of as subsocial and sub-human.[2]

Justification of the system usually meant the discrimination of blacks in all phases of American life. Blacks as a group (or caste) could not claim seniority over any newly-arrived racial and ethnic groups, and to this day are still subject to the lowest rung of the American social ladder.

Much of the discrimination and resentment toward blacks is located in American psychology. The typecasting of blacks as inferior is as much a part of the American Experience as advertisements of McDonald's hamburgers and Coca-Colas, only more historical and imbedded in the American psyche. Slavery is the key stigma in the persecution of blacks by the American Majority, resulting in the assignment of inferior depictions of a whole racial group. With the ending of the Civil War blacks, for the most part, have taken one step up the social ladder. This is the step from slavery to poverty (in a broad sense). Dependency on welfare is a harsh reminder of the dependency to the slave master. It would be hard for the former (and

present) "masters" to recognize their former "chattel" as a class of people. It is in this way that blacks are discriminated against and given strong stereotypes. The fact that blacks weren't allowed to read or even perform on a "white" level meant that whites intended to perpetuate a negative image of the black character.

In the twentieth century, most negative characterizations of blacks take place in the media. With the entrance of the 20th Century, blacks were presented in a buffoonery, clown-like image as a rule, in theater and on screen (even though there were many outstanding black scholars and activists at the time). The character "Sambo" became the dominant representative stereotypical image of blacks in the white media psyche. The imposed role of "Sambo" upon blacks was an effect of the bigoted United States society. Prejudice was felt by blacks in every way, shape and form, in the general society. This same prejudice was exemplified by the media and its effect was twofold; (1) its impact on blacks as an inhibitor and (2) its impact as a reinforcement upon whites as the supreme race. The purpose of the "Sambo" image in American history was to perpetuate the image of the subordination of the black race to Caucasian supremacy. An article by Sterling Brown (as quoted by Thomas R. Cripps) states that:

> ...it is as though white America is torn between two conclusions: Negroes are America's anti-democratic nightmare and Puritan conscience and must be suppressed, or they must be depicted publicly as the stereotype because

it sustains the myth of Anglo-Saxon purity.[3]

The relegation of blacks to the lowest social and economic strata has been a perpetual conscious effort by the institutions of white American society. Demeaning images of the black race would persist despite growing and outstanding black individual and group achievements* (which, surprisingly, did little to increase the group image, or improve the stereotypical image, of blacks).

Another form of black denunciation by the media comes in the form of empirical and scientific genetic race-linked studies and the development of these "conclusive" results over a period of time. These particular studies are geared to the ambitious pronouncement of Caucasian supremacy, much to the demise of the Negro homo sapiens who are typically and usually used as the major parallel. These values are supported by the media in the Twentieth Century and have evolved into the American social, political and cultural ideology of the day. Most 18th and 19th Century American presidents were the chief propagandists of "Caucasian superiority", and endorsed the conclusions of the empirically investigated and scientific race-linked genetic studies. For instance, in the 18th Century, Thomas Jefferson

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*Group achievements could include the victories won by black American soldiers, the formation of the NAACP, others. Individual achievements would go to Harriet Tubman, Frederick Douglas, Booker T. Washington, WEB DuBois, George Washington Carver, Luther Burbank, others.

endorsed the view:

> I advance it, therefore, as a suspicion only, that the blacks, whether originally a distinct race, or made distinct by time and circumstance, are inferior to the whites in the endowment both of body and of mind.[4]

Later, Abraham Lincoln supported the social, political and cultural view of blacks as inferior, in his debate with presidential candidate, Stephen Douglas, in 1858:

> There is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. And inasmuch as they cannot so live, while they do remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I as much as any other man am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race.[5]

With Lincoln's words, the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation, and finally the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment, the course of the laws of "Jim Crow" would begin. For the latter third of the 19th Century and the better 2/3 of the 20th Century, social and political inequality and discrimination against blacks would persist and flourish. These social attitudes against blacks, by Jefferson and Lincoln, reflect the attitudes of the general white American public. The media also supported and enhanced these ideals to the point that the casting of blacks as inferior was widely accepted. An analysis of the foundation and role of American media discrimination toward blacks in the 20th Century is illustrated by Gordon W. Allport:

> In the analysis of 100 motion pictures involving Negro characters, it was found in 75 cases the portrayal was disparaging and stereotyped. In only 12 cases was the Negro presented in a favorable light as an individual human being... Several surveys have disclosed a common trend in the handling of the American Negro in the daily newspapers - a heavy concentration upon crime news and slight attention to achievement... And there are, no doubt, certain newspapers that have a deliberate policy for example, never to capitalize the word *Negro*. Spelled with a small *n* it seems, through some verbal magic, to help hold the race "where it belongs."[6]

Just as racial groups in the United States become uplifted by major contributions to the larger society (by representative individuals), sport became a major vehicle/avenue for black individual and group achievement (and vertical upward social mobility) in the 20th Century, with respect to increased favorable media characterizations. Dominant black sportsmen were instrumental in uplifting the image of their race, with regard to public perception. Heavyweight champion Jack Johnson was a first pioneer in this regard, having been one of the first blacks to help eliminate the preposterous "color line" of "Jim Crow":

> As for Jack Johnson, clearly his effect on black Americans was enormous. Johnson, more than anyone else, shattered the myth of white physical superiority.[7]

And although Johnson was perceived as a social menace in early 20th Century media, his breakthrough in sport helped to establish the "Americanization" of blacks as free and equal citizens (disproving the Caucasian myth

of black physical inferiority). Many future black sports superstars would be set up in the American Ideal* by the media, in an effort to support and sustain American values. Black champions had the ability, through visibility and public acceptance, to hoist the entire black race into a more accepted media light, although stereotyping would persist. Clearly, the myth of white physical superiority became eliminated in the 20th Century (for white superiority denotes the mental and physical superiority of Caucasians over and above all other racial types), yet the strength of the American Ideal, coupled with the powerful influence of the media and its support of the American Ideal, would continue to dominate the social imagination.

The American Ideal

Black slavery is incorporated into the American Ideal/ ideology. Slaves were as much a status symbol as they were capital, to the owners of the means of production. As a status symbol blacks were subservient and relegated to the lower class, or caste, from which there was little escape. They suffered from a systematic Caucasian "superiority complex", which always reminded them of "their place". That whites felt superior to blacks is an understatement

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*The American Ideal thrives on hypocrisy and duality of meaning of the term, "liberty and justice for all", along racial and class lines; the American Ideal represents the ideals of white supremists.

to the larger picture of black poverty, discrimination, disease, vertical social immobility, inequality of opportunity and political/social suffrage. The white ideal involves the subordination of blacks to an inferior position (or caste) from which they cannot escape, mainly due to the pigmentation of African skin (and shades thereof). Oliver Cox theorizes that slavery (and all of its horrors) is itself a direct product of the capitalist form of government, but notes:

> The interest behind racial antagonism is an exploitative interest - the peculiar type of economic exploitation characteristic of capitalist society. To be sure, one might say this cannot be, for one feels an almost irrepressible revulsion in the presence of colored people, especially Negroes, although one never had any need to exploit them. It is evidently the way they look, their physical difference, which is responsible for one's attitude.[8]

Slavery (meaning black slavery) is painted into the American picture as submission, powerlessness and inferiority, in an effort to compare and display Caucasian supremacy (causing embarrassment to some, yet re-establishing feelings of superiority in most others). The duality of this interpretation of slavery (ie. slavery: right vs. wrong) by American whites would reinforce the Black Cause, and help to expose much of the hypocrisy and dilemmas of the American Ideal. Some of the elements of the American Ideal also include:

1. Equality

The term, "All men are created equal, that they are endowed with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness", taken from the Declaration of Independence, represents the hypocrisy and ambiguity of what the definition of the American Ideal presupposes. Doubtful that Negroes were considered human beings, much less men, for that matter, the original document of the Declaration of Independence, legally and idealistically, did not exclude Negroes, but in reality it did.

2. Caucasian Supremacy

Abraham Lincoln's remark, "...I as much as any other man am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race", exemplifies the past and present attitudes of the majority of whites in the United States. There never was any intention of whites willing to co-exist on the same social level with blacks. The depiction of whites as the "master race" is deeply ingrained into the American social imagination and this attitude flourishes in the modern white American conscience. This attitude among whites denies the black race full equality, while limiting them access to upward social mobility, and this attitude is backed up by military might.

3. Denouncement of the black race in support of the American Ideal*

The Negro is characterized by his skin color and other physical features. He is considered less intelligent biologically than the Caucasian by geneticists. It is the society that sets the standards of the presiding culture, and of the rationality of the inferior depiction of Negroes. It is the lack of Caucasian traits that assigns second-class citizenship to minority and other oppressed racial groups. Biological inferiority of the Negro is perpetuated among black Americans (and others of African ancestry) through the myths of themselves that are experienced by the white majority. Blacks are isolated from the rest of society through the machinations that these myths help to perpetuate, into a certain caste or class from which there is no escape, due to heredity.

4. Americanization/Nationalism

Patriotism is the key element in the support of the American Ideal and American values. Devotion to the position of the United States, despite her obvious flaws and hypocrisy of meaning, is a requirement in support of the American Ideal. The perpetuation of the American way of life, under the concept and cultural symbol of the American flag, backed up by military might, is a pledge that every citizen, regardless of color, is forced

*Many blacks, in the throwback to the old antebellum model of Negro attitudes and behavior, also subscribe to this element of the American Ideal (#2 as well).

to accept. Racial groups must "pledge allegiance" to "God and country", despite it not being in their best interests. Racial tensions and stereotypes are eased somewhat through the assimilation and amalgamation of the minority individual to Caucasian standards (historically and categorically).

Considering all of these elements of the American Ideal, the greatest theme would be that of the image of Caucasian-American supremacy over her minority groups and imperialistic domination over nations. The media has historically represented the American Ideal on a daily basis. The American Ideal is racist in theory, and confused with the vague notion of "equality", in its representation of a so-called democracy. Josef W. Hall (as quoted by Cox) relates the fact that:

> The white man's conception of himself as the aristocrat of the earth came gradually through the discovery, as surprising to himself as to anyone else, that he had weapons and organization which made opposition to his ambition futile.[9]

America is a country founded and based on violence, beginning with the overwhelming of the American Indians, and war victories over aggressive confederate European armed forces. In that she is proud of these achievements, she incorporates them into her "Ideal" and concept of life. Also, the fact that she was built on black slavery is a significant (although minor to the purpose of the Ideal) symbol of Caucasian-American power, and this factor is

forced into the concept as well. In order to present a picture of deterrence to any aggressive groups which may seek to overthrow the United States, in theory the American Ideal/ideology takes into its concept four distinct elements. These are, equality, superiority, slavery (or subordination) and violence. Although somewhat ambiguous in the sense of their definitions, these terms represents what the United States is based upon (and what she is about), with violence acting as the "glue of society" (in that it is able to rationalize and justify equality, superiority and slavery). These terms also represent the division of social class lines which are inherent and characteristic of the United States.

Class and Caste in the United States

Racial tensions between blacks and whites have eased somewhat, since the Civil Rights Movement in America, but the struggle of class has been persistent. Blacks as a class remain near the bottom rung of the social ladder, due to political and economic factors and policies. Many blacks have risen above the lower class through education resulting in higher stratification, but on the whole they have not significantly risen economically. The various black movements of the 1960's enabled blacks to be recognized as literate human beings, but the effect of them have done little to increase the social and economic position of the black American community. The social impact of the history of American slavery is the basis

for spresent stereotypes, policies and prejudices resulting in this, the Negroes, low social ranking.

The Civil War happened to be a turning point in black American life. The freedom from slavery left millions of homeless, uneducated blacks without promise. Blacks got through this nomadic period performing menial and semi-skilled tasks (on the whole). Instead of forced slavery they now become "paid slaves". It is also during this period that they now become victims of the most severe dicrimination known to man. Blacks were not allowed to live as "equal" human beings among the majority and other minority groups. They were discriminated against in unbelievable ways*. These "unbelievable ways" were indoctrinated into law in most of the counties of the United States. Each state adopted its own "Negro Code of Behavior", as black and white polarization began to reach new dimensions in mainstream society (which blacks were never a part of). The skin pigmentation of human beings in America, at this point in time, becomes the key-deciding factor in the quality of life of those individuals. As former slaves, blacks were isolated into a caste of their own on the basis of skin color. Reynolds Farley and Walter R. Allen note that:

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*For instance, it was against the "blue laws" of the South for a black male to "eyeball" a white female. The violator of such a law would thus be subject to formal lynching (castration and formal hanging) without due process of law.

> Around the end of the nineteenth century in the United States, and earlier in Europe, a systematic doctrine justifying racial stratification crystallized and was institutionalized. The process by which these ideologies were articulated, propagated, and accepted into the society's mores should be investigated. The racial hierarchy theories espoused by the Social Darwinists nine decades ago no longer have scholarly defenders, but their legacy persists. Our society continues to accept stereotypes that whites believe. Quite likely, many young blacks still receive, and accept, the messages from the schools and from the media which say that they may aspire to become musicians or athletes, but that they should not hope to become mathematicians or physicians.[10]

Black communities that ultimately formed became areas of repugnance to the majority rule, were shunned, and resulted in the formation of ghetto slums. The carryover effect from this period perpetuates many of these trends, even though legislation forbids it legally. In the media, this discrimination takes the form of the stereotype, usually a negative characteristic description.

Oliver Cox distinguishes between race and caste bias:

> Race prejudice rests upon physical identifiability; caste prejudice is preoccupied with cultural distinction.[11]

It is the superiority complex of the Caucasian American toward the black American, in the case of "caste prejudice", along with the acquisition of power, that determines (and has determined) black inferiority. It is American policies that are signed into effect, and are altered to exclude

blacks from a higher social ranking. The fact that blacks are still prevented from moving into certain neighborhoods despite social class and ranking, shunned at many social events, and unable to join certain clubs, etc., on the basis of skin color, proves that unethical practices of racial inequality still persist. White attitudes toward blacks, which seemingly had eased after the Civil Rights era, have struck a new resurgence in the discrimination of blacks*. This political and systematic oppression of blacks is, once again, the desire of white ambition and delusion, and characteristic of the American Ideal.

Caste takes a special meaning in its application to black Americans. A perfect example of blacks as a caste is demonstrated by the "separate but equal" doctrine (which further illustrates the hypocrisy and ambiguity of the American Ideal). Caste is a <u>separate</u> phenomenon. To belong to a caste, one is put into a <u>permanent</u> situation due to some distinguishable characteristic, genetic or otherwise. In the instance of blacks as a separate caste, physical features (skin, hair, lips, etc.) predominate as the main criteria for discrimination. Lucille Duberman analyzes the caste system theory, as put forth by Oliver Cox:

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*White attitudes of blacks are evident in the media characterizations of "Sambo, as this character has evolved into modern media.

> Racial rivalry divides a society vertically, while a caste creates stratification by status hierarchy. Both systems prevent social mobility, but the caste system prevents occupational mobility, while the racial system prevents mobility across the color line...Cox has made two major points: First, inequality exists in both societies but it is illegal in the United States and legal in India; Second, castes do not exploit each other economically, while whites have exploited blacks in America.[12]

Although Cox is ambitious in his determination of castes, he fails to show how the black caste system of the United States evolved out of the American racial system (because of his preoccupation with the historical standard castes of the Far East, and trying to make a strict analogy with the United States). Duberman puts caste and race relations into another perspective:

> In the United States, with rare exceptions, blacks and whites are readily identifiable by skin color and sometimes by other features as well. A *Brahmin* is not easily physically distinguishable from a *Shudra* for example. Race relations, then, are concerned with physical differences; caste relations are not. Crossing the color line is an issue only in the United States, not in India.[13]

As far as class is concerned, many individual blacks have gained access to higher economic social ranking and status, although the majority of blacks, as an American social group, have remained in poverty. Blacks have attained a foothold on every step of the social ladder but are overrepresented on the bottom rungs. Farley and Allen note that:

> Common perceptions to the contrary, black Americans have also made tremendous strides in this country. The fact that their current position is one of considerable disadvantage relative to whites is sometimes viewed as reason for dismissing the progress that black Americans have made...The counterpoints to this remarkably accelerated development of the black population are provided by the disproportionate numbers of blacks who continue to be mired in poverty and by the examples of immigrant groups who arrived in this country generations after blacks had arrived, only to catch up and pass blacks on the ladder of success.[14]

The caste membership and white perception of black Americans inhibits their access to upper socioeconomic class ranking. The disbursement of American opportunities, with respect to blacks, are limited. Many American occupations are coded for color (race) on all levels, and blacks are systematically rejected (also through quotas)*. Farley and Allen react to racial inequality in the labor market:

> As Bonacich observed, a split labor market developed in the United States between the Civil War and World War I. Both management and workers agreed that blacks should be excluded from the prestigious and high-paying jobs. A variety of customs and institutional practices - often written into law or labor contracts - ensured that white men would be atop the occupational distribution... the exceptionally talented or highly trained black could not hope to compete with whites on the basis of merit.[15]

As such, blacks are relegated to the lower class by racism and systematic exclusion (or quotas), and this principle is based in American tradition*. Institutional racism has become the preferred practice against blacks in the post

*CBS' "60 Minutes" did a special on the very same topic in 1990. It showed how blacks and whites are screened and coded for career placement in corporate employment.

"Jim Crow" era. As Michael Reich notes:

> ...the shift from excluding blacks from industry to incorporating them into the working class has not by itself resulted in racial equality. Racial inequality is now reproduced by bureaucratic structures in large modern corporations that organize jobs and workers hierarchically...16

Racism as a continuing practice in America has affected blacks in all major American institutions. The quota of blacks that do achieve in the American mainstream are expected (as a duty) to support and represent the tenets of the American Ideal*. Those blacks who succeed in America, and reject American values, simultaneously reject "acceptance" by the American establishment (especially the media).

Race relations in the United States have improved since slavery and the "Jim Crow" era, although the element of racism has remained constant. In the latter 1980's, however, violent racism has resurfaced on a major scale in various areas of the United States. In the New York area alone, there have been more separate racial incidents than anywhere in the United States. The names of Michael Stewart, Yusef Hawkins, Tawana Brawley, among others, have incensed the American black communities against the persistence of white racism. The New York Times conducted a poll concerning race

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*Negro boxing promoter (and a pioneer in this regard), Don King, is currently a despised figure in the media. He, in turn, tries to balance this American unpopularity with pro-American remarks such as "Only in America" (for which he is famous).

relations in New York, and concluded in 1988. Richard J. Meislin reported:

> New Yorkers Say Race Relations Have Worsened in the Last Year
>
> New Yorkers say they believe relations between blacks and whites are "generally bad" in the city and have worsened in the last year, according to a New York Times/ WCBS-TV News Poll...In the survey, people were categorized as white or black based on their own descriptions. The categories, therefore, included some Hispanic people who also described themselves as black or white.[17]

The phenomenon of racism has incredibly become a highly-valued and profitable commodity in the sport media (and in the general media). The media is the greatest reflector and promoter of American racial issues and sentiment of all major American institutions; the individual ideas of which are biased, subjective and based on the prejudices of the journalist. In turn, the society must debate (or become divided) over these issues and the individual opinion of the journalist may be a key motivator in these arguments (as well as his expression*).

Blacks in the Media/The transition of "Sambo

The nature of blacks as having an inferior racial status

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*The expression of the journalist may help to intensify or inflame an already volatile American collective racial situation (which will be duly noted in Chapter III; the news expressions of the riots that took place after Jack Johnson (black champion) defeated Jim Jeffries in 1910.)

is characterized and imposed by the media. The stigmatization that took place as a result of the evolution of the character "Sambo", has had a demeaning effect on white attitudes toward blacks. Sambo is attached with the American stereotypes of the "lazy, shufflin' Negroes" of late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, although this image will evolve. In his discussion of stereotypes Walter Lippmann points out:

> To be sure, a stereotype may be so consistently and authoritatively transmitted in each generation from parent to child that it seems almost a biological fact.[18]

The character defined as "Sambo" is a satirical, antebellum-type Negro, who is projected in an image that is non-threatening to the established order (a controlled figure). Foolish and comical, Sambo is the typecast of blacks in early media (theater and radio). Sambo was "ignorant", "humble", complacent, and most of all, servile (he actually appeared to enjoy his role as subservient to white people). The genre which emanates and later becomes symbolized by this character is that of a buffoon who belongs to a caste system of buffoons. His act became stereotypical of <u>all</u> blacks Americans, regardless of social position and intelligence. He became the symbol of the "preferred position" and acceptability of blacks by whites in America. The theatrical, and other forms of the image of "Sambo", with all of their unceasing humor to white audiences, actually helped blacks to become more accepted, as second-class citizens, by white Americans.

For blacks the image portrayed one of many acts which were necessary for survival in America.

When the black character entered the media, it was this image that whites preferred to see (over other images of blacks) because: (1) it was entertaining to whites; (2) blacks were funny even in their misery; (3) blacks were distasteful to whites and the media portrayed this distaste through the projected image of Sambo; (4) blacks were "kept in their place" through white perception of the theory and method behind Sambo. For a number of years, blacks were not allowed to perform on the legitimate stage in America. Negro characters were played by white actors in blackface, although the genre was obvious. As Daniel J. Leab notes:

> The literature of the day viciously lampooned the black, glorified the plantation tradition, rationalized lynchings, and explained away inequitable treatment of blacks. Their depiction in early American movies, however, was probably influenced most profoundly by the treatment of the black on stage and in the minstrel shows - whose performers appeared with faces blackened by sooty burnt-cork makeup - followed an elaborate ritual in their burlesque of Negro life in the Old South...they succeeded in fixing the black man in the American consciousness as a ludicrous figure (already well-established before the Civil War)... [19]

The social and political implications that surrounded the image of Sambo were various. While one end of the spectrum saw blacks as inferior and were reaffirmed in their white "superiority", the other was appalled at the inhumanity of treatment of blacks in America (however, a minority).

It is well known that blacks have been presented as biologically, intellectually, and economically inferior to whites in the media. Actors and actresses such as "Rastus", "Steppin' Fetchit", Hattie McDaniels, and "Rochester" (of the Jack Benny Show) have all partaken in the reinforcement of this image, in the minds of whites. Black doctors, intellectuals, and officials are rarely represented in the media, because these positions represent authority (which is negative to the American Ideal). This is usually the "preferred" image of blacks by whites (the impression of blacks as inferior), in that whites naturally form (or reestablish) a "second-class" opinion of them. Hattie McDaniels once remarked of her role as the "ever-loyal black mammy" (in "Gone With the Wind"):

> "If I did not play the role on the screen,
> I would end up playing it in real life."[20]

As theater was a major form of American social entertainment in the 19th and 20th Centuries, public attitudes about the Negro were thoroughly structured and integrated into the American social imagination. The playwrights of these public satires of blacks were most responsible in shaping the public opinion and perception of blacks. These important figures devised the "coon songs" and satirical characters, who were given to eating watermelon and stealing chickens. Berry and Blassingame explain:

> Obviously, playwrights during this period wrote what they felt the public wanted. In this regard, they were doing what playwrights have always done: mirroring and molding public attitudes. Where the black

> was concerned (he) forsook both art and truth. In the very act of capitulating to the public fancy, he helped to rivet almost irrevocably in the mind of the white man two equally outrageous portraits of the black: the dangerous, lying, stealing, raping half-man on the one hand and the exasperating, obsequious, playful, loyal child on the other. The power of the playwright exercised over the American mind was awesome, for it was he who created and reflected the attitudes of the opinion makers...The portrait of the black on stage - as devil incarnate or as fool - reinforced the insurmountable barriers to his equal participation in American life.[21]

The Sambo image would influence a major perception of blacks in the white American mind. This character (and stereotypes) would evolve into different concepts throughout the Twentieth Century, reflecting the political and social "flavor" (attitudes toward blacks) during each particular era. He will next transform into the "good boy" image of humility, servility and "separate but equal".

The Good Boy" Era

The character "Sambo" would evolve into another image. No longer featured as a main attraction in theater, Sambo would now take on a strictly servile role. The black typecast during this era were maids, butlers, bell boys, doormen, and other sorts of mediated humble and servile people. While usually on the screen for a quick appearance, during which time he read his only line and had to either turn his back and/or fade out of the scene, this would mark the new unridiculed image of blacks. The theme of white supremacy and black dependency on whites was, however,

still evident. This era enhanced the status of the Negro image from the "poor Sambo" routine to the "good boy" image; always faithful, fearful, and loyal to whites. In the eyes of many, this new image seemed to uplift the black stereotype from a clown image to an image of respected servitude (in the mold of Booker T. Washington). Many blacks may prefer to call this an "Uncle Tom" image because of the inexhaustible servility of this black image. During this period, blacks became "colored". The black roles during this period were semi-accurately portrayed by these movies (excluding janitors and sanitation workers, or higher echelon positions such as doctor or statesman). The roles of porter and bellboy were not unusual in the movies or reality for black people. This preposterous projected social climb (as portrayed by this evolution of "Sambo") was indicative of the continued unacceptance of black Americans in the American mainstream. The white media was still perpetuating and influencing the ideology that blacks belonged to a caste system of inferior status to whites. Daniel J. Leab notes:

> But those sound films that were set outside of the South were scarcely an improvement. In th main, the black men on screen continued to be presented as emasculated, easily frightened semi-literates while the women were shown as fat, excessively jolly menials. Blacks of both sexes were to be found cleaning, cooking, or carrying suitcases; the stable or the train station. Director Fritz Lang recalls that MGM head Louis B. Mayer "at that time was convinced that Negroes should be shown only as...menials of some description."...But by and large, in the movies dealing with the

> American scene, blacks hardly seemed to exist. About the only films, outside of those set in the South, in which a black could be assured of a part, were prison films, a popular genre for much of the 1930's.[22]

An entire American audience is brainwashed with these ideas of the "inferiority" of the black race. Blacks who consider themselves "colored" were able to enjoy "new" favorable status among the majority, in their acceptance of this extension of "Sambo". This is because: (1) there was a great difference in the attitude and character of the black image; (2) blacks were willing to accept servility as a form of assimilation, so as not to enhance the wrath of hostile whites; (3) so as not to be discriminated in as many places; and (4) to be in a peaceful working relationship with whites. Leab presents the attitude of black social organizations, with respect to the new typecasting of blacks in films:

> Except for some left-wing organizations such as the National Negro Congress there were surprisingly little public outcry against *Gone With the Wind* from black groups. In large part the "clever elimination of the blatantly objectionable parts of the book," as one black newspaperman put it, accounted for this mild reaction. The NAACP had led the fight to cut or soften some of the more offensive scenes in the novel, and it was the organization's relative success in the pre-production phases of the movie that undoubtedly led to its near silence after the film's release.[23]

The black actors and actresses were acting out the new perception and definition of blacks as "colored people" by American whites. The black acceptance of the new identity, "colored" signifies that blacks (1) were ashamed of being black; (2) rejected the terms "Negro", black, "nigger" and other demeaning terms; (3) were willing to acculturate and assimilate to the likes of whites; and (4) assume that they are mixed with white blood and should no longer be referred to by the terms in (2). While no longer desiring to be outcasts, blacks accepted the "good boy" role (allowed themselves to be depicted in second-class roles). Many blacks during this period found their racial/ethnic classification to be a permanent handicap*.

During the "Sambo" days, when "coon songs" were popular, the white media would force portrayed black actors to sing songs which directly rejected blackness, such as: "I Wish My Color Would Fade", "The Coon and the Chink", "All Coons

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*Because of the severity of white oppression, many blacks openly cursed their blackness.

Look Alike to Me", "Dat Famous Chicken Debate" and Stealing Chicken Ain't No Crime", among hundreds of others. It is to be understood that this era begins with the end of the "Sambo" period. This is the period where blacks were allowed to have minor roles in major motion pictures and on stage. The black actor usually had portruding eyes (whites of eyes clearly visible) along with a full-face grin. This was the look of "servility" in the movies and on stage*. Characteristic black speech of this era was, "Yas sir, no sir, may I take your bags for you, Mr. Jackson, sir?" Though the familiarity of "Sambo" was present in this script, it was a marked change from the outrage of the earlier. Tokenism and stereotype were still present, however.

The black portrayed during this era was one of infinite servitude and complacency. It was as though he was on probation and given a second chance to redeem himself as a human being by performing these demeaning roles. He was

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*One of the foremost features of the black during the "good boy" era was the look of "wide-eyed bewilderment", which is a carryover from the "Sambo" image. This look portrayed a common "fear" of the white man. Among the actors who helped promulgate this look were white actors in blackface (such as Al Jolson). Black actors who promulgated this look include "Buckwheat" and "Stymie" from the "Little Rascals", Hattie McDaniels from "Gone With the Wind", the doorman from "My Little Margie", and various other portrayed black porters, servants and maids, in scanty roles.

in a state of servitude and had to make sure all was "going well" with the whites for whom he was working, even though his own life may have been in a state of flux. When everything was going well with the whites, this appeared to make the "good boy" happy and gratified. In some ways, this era marked a vertical rise from the "Sambo" era, but in other ways blacks were becoming more tokenized and stereotyped than ever. These roles did as much damage to the Negro image as "Sambo" had already inflicted, and represented the ultimate acceptance of social segregation and inequality by the American audience (both white and black). Blacks during this era were shown on pancake boxes, rice and cereal boxes, all displaying the same message: "we are humble, complacent, and at your service"*. The white media had the black image under control by pacifying the white audience with this image. Elements of "Sambo" still existed as blacks were depicted as having no thoughts of their own. As Leab notes:

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*For the same reason, there are not too many blacks advertised on the covers of "Vogue", "Madamoiselle", or "Penthouse" Magazines (etc.), where "white" is the standard of <u>beauty</u>, not servility.

> The most extravagant and outrageous portrait of the black in the Old South was, of course, the one painted in *Gone With the Wind,* a movie that in this respect has to rank with *The Birth of a Nation*... The one major difference was that *Gone With the Wind* emphasized not the blacks' supposed viciousness but the faithfulness, ignorance, and servility of what one character in the film called "the simple-minded darkies." Plantation life before the war was shown as idyllic for the blacks as belonging in the fields and in the servants' quarters. The most faithful of souls is Scarlett O'Hara's ever scolding but ever loyal mammy, who stays with her mistress through good times and bad, through the Civil War and after. Hattie McDaniel, ... played this role.[24]

As mentioned, blacks in this era were depicted as humble and servile in most instances in the media, but there was a conflict; blacks were beginning to rise to super-stardom in the area of major league sports and the Olympics. Little was known of the black athlete's capabilities during the "Sambo" era (aside from the great heavyweight champion, Jack Johnson, who was considered a public menace due to his exploits with Caucasian women), but the 1930's and 40's marked the beginning of this rise. Among the many black athletic leaders of this era were Joe Louis, Jesse Owens and Jackie Robinson, who were making the most noted black breakthroughs in white American sports. It is well documented that Jackie Robinson broke the "color line" of major league baseball, and Jesse Owens demonstrated the "power" of the United States when he helped to defeat Adolf Hitler's German team in the Olympics (prior to World War II). Tops among these exclusive Negro hall-of-famers was

Joe Louis, the indomitable boxing force whose victories as heavyweight champion brought confidence and hope to blacks. His defeat of Max Schmeling was a victory for white America (over Hitler again; victory by Louis and the United States defied Hitler's theory of "Aryan supremacy" as the "master race"). Despite the political symbolism of the bout, there were still many white Americans who wished for a Schmeling victory over Louis, due to the sheer fact that Schmeling was white (although a symbol of the deadly Nazi German "enemy"). Because major league sports (especially heavyweight championship boxing) has so much national and international media attention, the accomplishments of these athletes could not be denied. The heavyweight champion of boxing is more widely known than the President of the United States. There is another conflict though: when there is a great white athlete of equal proportions, the media tends to over-dramatize his accomplishments with respect to the great Negro athlete. The great Negro athlete is, therefore, cast in his "shadow", claiming the white athlete to be superior through continued praise (as in the case of Jack Dempsey, Rocky Marciano, Babe Ruth and Larry Bird, among others). In the event of black dominance, black athletes have to "share the spotlight" with white athletes when their success reaches national proportions (and on sports programs), because the media has the purpose of sustaining American values and doesn't want to "show" the black as being dominant (or in authority), with respect to the American Ideal (unless, of course, the black athlete is incorporated

into, or plays a great part of, the symbol of the American Ideal: i.e. Joe Louis, Jesse Owens, Michael Jordan, etc.). With the coming of the 1960's, the black superstar actor/athletes stood alone, for the most part, in their championship accomplishments.

Black Power Era

It was not until the 1960's, with the emergence of Sidney Poitier and the Civil Rights Movement, that blacks were allowed to cross the "color line" of the media. The major black social theme, at the time, was integration. Many ads at the time reflected racial inequality, and the assimilation of blacks to white standards. Ads calling for blacks to straighten their hair (as many musicians and other prominent blacks would wear the "Conk" hair-do), to lighten their skin (the slogan went, "get rid of those dark blotches with Nadinola skin lightener"), or to hide their napped hair (by wearing a wig) to increase their social acceptance by whites. With the emergence of Muhammad Ali as "The Greatest", and the various black movements, many blacks, through transition, returned to a more "natural" look. The symbol of the "afro" displayed that blacks had finally mobilized and rejected all white American beauty standards. Blacks in sport, music, the arts, law, and medicine, were making great contributions to their fields at the time (truly a Black Revolution). Glenn and Bonjean captured the new black image as portrayed by the motion picture industry:

> An important aspect of white reactions to blacks is the portrayal of blacks by the white-controlled media of communication, especially movies and television. The appearance of many Negroes in television programs and commercials during the past few years may or may not have had much effect on the racial attitudes of viewers, but it indicates that those who control casting have come to believe it is desirable, and perhaps in their self-interest, to have blacks appear in non-stereotypical roles... Whether or not the new image of the black is believable enough to white viewers to create more favorable attitudes toward blacks, and believable enough to blacks to improve their self-images, has not yet been demonstrated through empirical investigation.[25]

Another name for this era could be the "Sidney Poitier era" because he was the dominant black actor of this period (which began in the early 1960's). His impact was such that it began the revolutionary roles of black images on the screen. His counterpart and even more important co-actor in the athletic world was Muhammad Ali. His political partner was Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. All three of these men were the most publicized blacks during this era. It could also be mentioned that these men led the "media civil rights movement". While Martin Luther King was leading the actual Civil Rights Movements and the March on Washington, in which he achieved a national audience by demonstrating American bigotry to liberals, Sidney Poitier was becoming more noted for his revolutionary roles in major motion pictures. Sidney Poitier was doing things in films that were unprecedented by American standards (such as kissing white women, defying lynch mobs, or playing sheriff in a Southern town and basically getting the "upper hand"

on whites). Muhammad Ali became the spearhead of the Civil Rights Movement. His style of fighting coincided with his life outside of the ring, meaning that he was basically defiant and unorthodox to the white American tradition. He became famous for doing so. Ali became "the voice" of the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements. He gave black people a "voice", not passive resistance; he taught the philosophy of Elijah Muhammad who wanted a separate nation from whites, while King wanted to assimilate and integrate. Ali once asked: "why is angel food cake white and devil's food cake black? why does everything white have to be good and black have to be bad? (when, in reality, it is usually the opposite)". This is not what King taught but many blacks were listening to Ali and shared his verbal cockiness.

The signing of the various Civil Rights Bills were a direct result of the bigotry that Martin Luther King was wisely able to expose through indirect media attention. He atttained the sympathy of a national television audience by getting himself thrown in jail, getting himself beaten up, by causing national guards to run fire hoses and police dogs to attack black demonstrators, and by giving his own life so that bigotry would be exposed. His plan worked, as to the Presidential signing of the Civil Rights Bills and putting an end to the "Jim Crow" American system. King failed in the same respect. Black awareness was such that blacks no longer wanted to accept mere handouts, and wanted something more than the Bills provided. Chants of "more power to the people", "black power", "right on", the emer-

gence of the red, black, and green flag (in representation of "Black Power") to symbolize "the blood, the people, and the land", along with the black power handshake, were becoming commonplace in the renaissance of the Black Experience. This portrayal was also becoming commonplace in the movies and theater, as it opened up new confidence among blacks. Muhammad Ali provided the role image that these new theater characterizations, and new attitudes among blacks displayed. The media, as well as American popular opinion (mostly whites of whom became inflamed by the media) were hoping that Ali would be dethroned (or made to "shut his big mouth"), when in reality, the strength of his messages were usually directly related to his victories in the ring. Robert Lipsyte noted:

> Then, after Liston, the press had no choice. We were hooked into the story and had to follow it to the end. Clay was not dismissable. Most of the writers, particularly the older ones, felt more comfortable with the mob figures around Liston than with the Muslims around Clay. The older reporters were saying, 'This is the worst thing that ever happened to boxing.' And soon, that escalated to 'This might be the worst thing that ever happened to the youth of America, which needs a proper role model.' And this garbage about the heavyweight champion being a role model; basically, what they were talking about was the heavyweight champion, usually black, always poor, being a safe role model for the underclass...The heavyweight championship was a way for the white establishment to say to black America, '...Choke down your rage at how your people are getting screwed over, work very hard, make millions of dollars, have your pleasures in stereotypical ways, cars, women, wine, song, ultimately self-destruct, and keep our stereotypes in order.' And now all of a sudden, these people were stuck with

> a heavyweight champion who said...'I don't have to be what you want me to be!' ... And among the things he didn't have to be were Christian, a good soldier of American democracy in the mold of Joe Louis, or the kind of athlete-prince white America wanted.[26]

It was during this period that black people began to speak in angry direct defiance to whites, and this temperament would later evolve onto the motion picture screen. In a total reversal of the image portrayed by "Sambo", the "superblack", or black screen representative of the "Black Power" era, began to show form and technique that was unprecedented, however, black stereotypes still persisted (taking new forms). The Black Power Movement coincided with the illegal stripping of Muhammad Ali's title and the assasination of Martin Luther King (1967-68).

Typical of the Black Power era was the famous "blaxploitation" movies. The image that Ali portrayed in real life (in the media) led to Hollywood's endorsement of the "superblack" image. Actors and actresses like Jim Brown, Sidney Poitier, Richard Roundtree, Ron O'Neal, Max Julian, Pamela Grier, Tamara Dobson, Raymond St. Jacques and Fred Williamson have all played these roles during this era. The white media wanted to present a modern image of blacks (due to the defiance of blacks during this period), and one that was acceptable to a wider audience. Also noted by these movies is the high exposure of the many forms, velocity, and magnitude of white

racism against blacks (police corruption, general racism, government racism and corruption, racism in the workplace, etc.). The "good boy" image was terminated with "super-black", who spoke out and was frank with all. At this point, Sidney Poitier's image had become confused in the mind of the general audience, because some of his roles called for an intellectual and defiant black man, and some called for an "Uncle Tom", in the way he attempted to restore and influence "white values" to the American black community. Glenn and Bonjean state"

> In "The Death of Rastus: Negroes in American Films Since 1945," Thomas R. Cripps describes changes in the typical portrayals of blacks in the movies. He points out that the traditional stereotypical portrayals are now rare, but he believes the portrayal of the black as a paragon of virtue, as in the typical Sidney Poitier movie, is a substitution of a new, and totally believable, stereotype for the old Rastus portrayal.[27]

As this era progressed, black roles were becoming increasingly stereotyped to the point of degeneration. Typical roles included street hustlers, prostitutes, welfare recipients and other forms of degenerate black typecasting. The unsuccessful comeback of Muhammad Ali, in his loss to Joe Frazier, would coincide with the beginning of these degenerative roles (black media chaos).

The Return to Meniality

Sidney Poitier's movies, "Guess Who's Coming to Dinner" and "To Sir With Love", were vain attempts to restore white values to the screen, in order to offset the influence

of the "superblack" image, as well as an attempt to portray the Negro back to a state of assimilation , rather than defiance and contradiction. The sentiment behind "Black Power" had reached such heights that it appeared that the media was trying to moderate the powerful image of "superblack" to black audiences. During the latter part of the "superblack" era, the roles of blacks begin to degenerate. The roles of black men usually usually portrayed successful street hustlers, fictitious gangsters, hoods, indomitable cops, pimps, etc. The roles of black women, in these and other previously-made movies involving blacks, were never on a high level. In these movies black women were often portrayed as prostitutes, welfare recipients, show girls, etc. Many of these women were also portrayed as mothers of many children, husbandless (indicating the fidelity of black men) and still dependent on the white Establishment for security*. Even today, these values are strongly imposed by the media. It was a time for positive ideals (the "Black Power" era) and positive role models for blacks (such as Muhammad Ali, John Carlos, Tommie Smith, Stokely Carmichael, Jessie Jackson, Julian Bond, etc.), but this period ended with the reemergence

*Black women were often portrayed as sex symbols who used no discretion.

of black exploitation and the revival of white cultural standards of black portrayal in the media. With respect to the "Jim Crow" images of "Sambo" and the "Good Boy" eras, elements of both would re-emerge in this "Return to Meniality" era.

Examples that represent the reemergence of white values by black actors include singers, Michael and Janet Jackson. Michael began his career with an afro hair-do, a Negroid nose (his own nose), and thicker lips. His sister, Janet, underwent a similar transition. Subsequent to this transition, both have lighter skin and Caucasian features (due to plastic and reconstructive surgery). Is this not a recurrence of white imposed standards in the black community of America? Many black entertainers wear colorized contact lens (sclera lens) to give themselves the appearance of European descent (like Oprah Winfrey; i.e. blue/green eyes). The whole group, "The Jacksons", have undergone this transition with respect to the shedding of their afros, their symbol of fame and black pride. The Negro singers, "Prince" and Paula Abdul, boast of their European ancestry (to People Magazine). James Brown (the "Godfather of Soul") has returned to his "Conk" hair-do after previously shedding it for the afro. They even have Muhammad Ali endorsing roach spray (another black stereotype), something he would never have done under the guidance of Elijah Muham-

mad*. Richard Pryor even makes fun of the tragedy experienced by heroin addicts and "winos"**, in a manner that is degrading to blacks. The media attempts to renew the dominant image of whites with slogans like: "The pride is back, born in America, again", in reference to a modern symbol of white supremacy, the pick-up truck.

The most blasphemous media to the Black Cause is the sit-com called "Gimme A Break". This show features a fat "mammy-type" black woman who has devoted her entire life in the raising (or "wet-nursing") of a motherless white family***. She plays "mammy" to them all, including the elders. Although the white household claims to "love" Nell, she is often the sole object of criticism. The only person that Nell gets to ventilate her feelings with is her black woman friend, "Addie", who is usually the victim of Nell's frustrated assaults. Nell even refers to her sometimes as a "dog" and a "fool", and even strikes her. We notice, however, that she is completely subservient to her white clients, to whom she refers as her "family"

*Elijah Muhammad taught followers of the Nation of Islam not to become involved in American politics and endorsements, although the new Nation if more liberal and lenient, following Elijah Muhammad's death.

**Drug addiction and alcoholism are major plagues in the American black communities.

***In a symbolic context, Oprah Winfrey plays the stereotypical "wet-nurse" to America's women (as an extension of the "mammy-type" version of the "Sambo" black woman).

and her "babies". Her family always comes to her with their problems, but her problems are not that important to them. And finally, the theme song of this show states that, "I finally know where I belong", which is sung by Nell Carter (who plays "Nell"). Nell may as well be saying, "Gimme a break for all of the trouble that my people caused in the 1960's, for I finally know where I belong". The genre that the media attempts to create here is obvious, in that the theme song denotes that blacks "belong in the kitchen performing menial tasks and being servile to white people". In this show, the main character, a black woman, re-creates a modern-day image of "Aunt Jemima".

"All In The Family", starring Archie Bunker (Carroll O'Connor), was definitely the beginning of the re-degradation of the black image, as he was allowed to lash out bigotry to a nationwide audience. In more modern times, his daughter on the show, Gloria (Sally Struthers), who played the countercultural liberal along with her husband, is currently soliciting funds from a nationwide audience to enhance the welfare of black children around the world, playing on the sympathy of her role image in "All In The Family". Beginning also with the dying chants of "Black Power", and also Ali's loss to Joe

Frazier*, the degradation of black roles began to evolve. Even though the white audience conceded major American sports to blacks (especially football, basketball, boxing and baseball), there was still pursuit of white dominance over them. During this period (1972-93), super-stars such as Bill Walton, Larry Bird, Gerry Cooney, George Brett, Don Mattingly, and Tommy Morrison have emerged as "white hopes" in directly challenging black dominance over American sports. Even the "Rocky" movie series are a successful representation of the ideals of "white values", as Sylvester Stallone is the imaginary white heavyweight champion of the world. "Mr. T." (who is black), however, <u>because</u> of his loss to "Rocky", becomes an American folk hero**.

To the delight of the larger audience, the genre created by the fallen image of "superblack" became the preferred image of blacks on the screen (television and movies). The fact that "good boy" and "Sambo" are the preferred images of blacks in the media, for whites,

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*As Joe Frazier would enter the ring against Ali in 1971, he was endorsed as a symbol of the white American Establishment (due to Ali's noted stand) and wore green four-clover colored trunks in representation of that symbol.

**"Mr. T." is portrayed as an over-exaggerated buffoon imitation of Muhammad Ali, and in my opinion, the movie, "Rocky III" was created to destroy Ali's image. Stallone had previously confessed that his motivation for the first "Rocky" film was due to his participant-enthusiasm at the Ali-Chuck Wepner (white boxer) fight when it appeared that Wepner knocked Ali down; fans went wild.

is testimony to the quality of black roles in the media. The appearance of blacks is one of ethnic inequality, based on their Afro-American heredity. Society was not ready or prepared for the evolution (social or theatrical) of the "superblack". "Superblack" was an image of revolution that had to be denounced as a means of social harmony (or white superiority). Certain actors, actresses and sports figures are generated by the media to promote the image of white supremacy (in the face of truth and reality that doesn't allow it).

With the event of this fallen image, the scene of racial bigotry has returned in places like Long Island, Queens, Brooklyn, Philadelphia, Georgia, and Detroit (and elsewhere). Has it not to do with the way blacks are presented in the media? This is evident in the promotion of Gregory Hines, a black actor who specializes in tap-dancing. During the age of "black Power" and "superblack", tap-dancing was a definite taboo (or stereotype) for blacks. Blacks felt it was stereotypical of the "Sambo" and "good boy" images. Gregory Hines is presently attempting to revive the tap dance for the pleasure of a majority audience. Another related similarity is the media caricatures of the "California raisins", whose features and dance steps are an exaggerated mimicry of black dance and song entertainers. This form of depiction, among others,

is indicative of the revival of a dehumanized and re-emasculated image. These references to modern-day racial inequality are just a sample of many others. The white standard once again plays a vital role in the lives of all Americans. For example, an episode of the show "True Colors" (FOX Network) characterizes the transition of black media roles of the two eras. John O'Connor of the New York Times reported:

> When the name Malcolm X begins popping up, however casually, in prime-time entertainment, viewers are getting a signal that television may be gearing to portray black Americans in their true adversity, their aspirations and their occasional rage. Blacks can no longer be kept in their standard electronic ghettoes...Fox's "True Colors," constructed around the racially mixed marriage of previously divorced parties, a white woman with a daughter and a black man with two sons, was considerably more provocative in a recent installment. The younger son, Lester (Adam Jeffries), feeling neglected by the family, suddenly withdrew to read "The Autobiography of Malcolm X." In no time at all, Lester realized the error of his ways, especially after missing his own birthday party. Cake and ice cream, evidently, beat Malcolm X any day - on a television sitcom.[28]

This episode of "True Colors" is a modern reflection of the changing black image and attitudes, as preferred by the white American media. Many blacks once believed (and many still do) that skin color and physical features have most to do with the degree of racial inequality and social class position, as do many whites. Aside from the "Black Power" era, blacks have tried to assimilate to American whites. Though shameful, it is a device that

is used for survival. It represents the quest of the media to promote a dominant white image in the minds of the viewers. The imaginary, but major roles of blacks in American cinema, are instrumental in downgrading the true achievements of blacks in reality, because they rarely ever demonstrate any true blacks achievements. O'Connor reports further:

> A couple of weeks ago, Judge Clarence Thomas and Professor Anita F. Hill appeared live before the Senate Judiciary Committee hearings into sexual-harrassment charges, and the ratings knocked baseball playoffs and lavish mini-series for a loop. Purely in terms of the medium itself, here was powerfully significant television, its "stars" accomplished black professionals who were clearly an integral part of the American mainstream. But these are precisely the black people neglected on much of television entertainment. Prime time too often relegates them to scattered token roles...Without the calculated efforts of a Bill Cosby, the black middle class would be virtually invisible on the home screen.[29]

O'Connor is accurate in his estimation that the Thomas-Anita Hill investigation was the portrayal of "accomplished professional blacks" who provided "an integral part of the American mainstream", which is unusual for the television media. However, O'Connor neglects the nature of this exposure. The charges of sexual harrassment, and the specific nature of those charges against the second black man in history to be nominated for a seat on the Supreme Court, by an accomplished black female law professor, was a highly humiliating black media experience. And although Thomas was accurate in describing the whole affair as a "high-

tech lynch mob" to the Senate Committee, yet, after having been exonerated and promoted to the Supreme Court, Thomas stated, "Only in America could this day have been possible,"[30] after taking the oath. With the last statement, he preserves the image of the white American Ideal, although previously denouncing it. Regardless of his exoneration (presumed innocence) of the charges, Thomas, Hill, and other blacks will carry the stigma of those proceedings. Prominent blacks that are exposed by the media are typically attached with a (major or minor) negative stereotype (as the media makes it a duty to do this), in an effort to maintain white superiority, values and tradition (and discrimination).

Race-Linked Genetic Studies

Man as homo erectus has evolved over the years into what he is today; a series of racial groups with clear-cut lines of social demarcation. Of the major racial groups, the Negroid and Caucasian groups are of interest here (because of their roles in American history). The major question: what are the major reasons for the subordination of Negroes and the domination of whites in American society? It is a fact that blacks were taken from Africa against their will by Caucasians, who then forced their will upon them (in shipping them to the Western Hemisphere). This practice would continue for 3½ centuries. The relationship that would result from the parasitic situation (between ruler and slave) would be one of unequal proportions,

in theory, practice and fact. Slaves were beaten and tamed from the point of abduction, and later, mistreated and abused after being sold on the market. Many Caucasian intellectuals have rationalized the basis of Negro subordination due to their alleged "biological inferiority". These theories take into no account the unmatched force presented by Caucasians in their abduction of Negroes (namely weapons), other than the rationalized Caucasian mental and physical superiority (which was based on Caucasian technology that was used to invent the weapons and transportation for this cause). Theodosius Dobzhansky captures the popular mentality of "Caucasian supremacy":

> In 1953 Darlington declared that "some men are born to command, others to obey, and others again are intermediate" and that imperial races and governing classes "derive their dominant position from the fitness of their genetic character to the conditions they find and make for themselves."[31]

There are also many genetic factors that are attributed to each race (by Caucasian scientists). These factors are used politically to distinguish and separate the social classes in the United States (and many other countries). A recent development has further labelled America as a "white man's country". Ellis Cose (Editorial Page Editor) of the Daily News reports:

> Free, White, and Wondering; Whose Country Is It Anyway?
>
> Good politicians are masters at latching onto phony issues. But even Patrick Buchanan was reaching when he cast himself as America's shield against the Zulu peril. Wherever others might stand, Buchanan made clear,

> he stood for America "as a European country" and would not hesitate to admit a million Englishmen rather than swarms of Zulus. With neither hordes of Englishmen nor Zulus pounding at the door, Buchanan's ravings have little discernible relevance to reality. Yet, his Zulu doctrine has a purpose. It reassuringly defines American identity as Anglo-Saxon at a time when the nation's minority populations are sharply increasing - and when desperate Haitians and Latin Americans are pleading to be let in. That Buchanan's (and for that matter, David Duke's) message draws so heavily on a 200-year old notion says much about the idea's enduring appeal...Understanding why it remains so potent, in a country that has always celebrated its tolerance and diversity, requires understanding how deeply rooted it is in America's psyche. It also means that understanding the nativism is not something cobbled together from the political fringes but drawn directly from the fountain of America's founders..."No one who is not white can ever truly become an 'American,' " concluded one Khmer girl.[32]

This article-excerpt is a reaction to the U.S. refusal of Haitian migrants to the U.S., and the news announcer and Presidential nominee, Patrick Buchanan's supporting statements of this action. Key to note is Ellis' awareness of the perpetual negative acknowledgement of white American attitudes toward blacks and the continued quest of white synonymity with America (as in the American Ideal).

Biological inferiority of blacks as a class is influenced by scientists who further perpetuate the oppression of blacks in their literature. J.C. Nott and G.R. Gliddon in 1868 provided a unilinear scale of human races and lower relatives (in Stephen J. Gould's, "The Mismeasure of Man"):

> The chimpanzee skull is falsely inflated, to give the impression that blacks might even rank lower than the apes and an unsubtle attempt to suggest strong affinity between blacks and gorillas...Nott and Gliddon comment on this figure: "The palpable analogies and dissimilitudes between an inferior type of mankind and a superior type of monkey require no comment."[33]

These craniometrists suggested that blacks were on a class level with apes (if not lower). Studies such as these further rationalized the idea of Negroes as chattel, and unable to socially co-exist on an equal plane with white citizens. These theories of racial genetics have more than succeeded in reaffirming the principle that whites are the "master race". Past and present scientific theories which support this assumption have reinforced this attitude and opinion in many modern-day American whites. This type of thought established the myth that blacks were incapable of civilization and self-government, making it necessary to depend on whites for survival. This hypocrisy is embedded in the higher ego systems of many whites who, through delusions of grandeur, believe that they are part of a "master race"* that politically and biologically dominate the other

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*In this summary, the study of race will conform to American definitions of racial groups (for instance, the term "black" in the West Indian isles and South America usually refers to pure African features; others are "mixed" or white). At the same token, scientific theories of racial characterizations will act as a guide to social thought and perception of blacks throughout American history. Social scientific perception of blacks had much to do with the way blacks were treated in American society. As blacks became more literate, mistreatment may have increased. And as blacks were moving more into mainstream society, cultural (and racial) barriers were set up as obstacles. Scientific race-linked studies persist due to the increasing amalgamation of Negroes into American society. The more Negroes become involved, the more they are reminded that they are different.

races because of their natural superiority.

Another man of science, Dr. Robert Bean, provided more insight into the characteristics of the "inferior" Negro:

> In 1906, Dr. Robert Bennett Bean, an assistant professor of anatomy at Johns Hopkins University and later president of the New Orleans Academy of Science compared 150 white and 150 Negro brains and found significant racial variations. The frontal lobes of the Negro brains, he reported, were smaller in relation to the posterior lobes than was the case with the white men's brains. From this variation, Bean concluded that Negroes have some faculties - smell, sight, and the ability to sing and to build with their hands - better developed than do white men. On the other hand, they were inherently deficient in self-control, willpower, ethical and aesthetic insight, and reason.[34]

This is a strict declaration of white intelligence over blacks, as blacks are geared for manual labor and the ability to sing (which leads to modern stereotypes of blacks). Charles Darwin was a great propagator of the theme that cranial size (denoting brain capacity) was directly related to intelligence, and may have influenced later geneticists in this regard. Darwin observed that:

> With civilized nations, the reduced size of the jaws from lessened use, the habitual play of different muscles serving to express different emotions, and the increased size of the brain from greater intellectual activity, have together produced a considerable effect on their general appearance in comparison with savages.[35]

Other scientists also advanced the theory of intelligence with respect to cerebral and cranial capacity (upon the observation that Caucasian skulls were larger than that of the Negro; an observation that was used to facilitate

the notion of Caucasian superiority);

> In 1856 (Louis Pierre) Gratiolet in France advanced the theory that in Negroes the coronal structure of the skull closes at an early age, gripping the brain in a prison and arresting its growth. For this reason, although young Negro children are as intelligent as white children, at the age of thirteen or fourteen they begin to fall behind because their skulls prevent their intellectual development. This argument was sometimes used in opposition to Negro education in the North. The assumption was that any intensive mental work by a Negro would lead to his physical and mental breakdown.[36]

Scientific objectivity was not the goal of many of these early genetic scientists, whose actual purpose appeared to be to further advance the "biological superiority" of the Caucasian race. Scores of these theories would infiltrate the American media and popular opinion (helping to mold and shape social attitudes). Negro biological inferiority was confirmed in the minds of many Caucasian-Americans, as a result (and similar) studies and conclusions. These alleged studies had the ability to rationalize Negro second-class citizenship in the American social imagination.

There were many counter-arguments to the craniometry theories denoting Caucasian superiority:

> One of Bean's colleagues at Johns Hopkins, Dr. Franklin P. Mall, undertook to weigh and measure the same brains used in Bean's experiment. Mall's conclusion was that he could find no observable qualitative race differences in the white and Negro brains...Professor M.F. Ashley Montagu concludes that the Negro has an average

> cranial capacity of 1,400 cubic centimeters, 50 cubic centimeters less than the white man, but he denies that the difference has any significance as an indicator of comparative inherent intelligence...The fact that Neanderthal man had a brain 200 cubic centimeters larger than that of modern white men, Montagu says, did not make him superior in intelligence.[37]

Size of the human brain itself, with respect to greater intelligence and race depiction, had come under close scrutiny by 20th Century scientists. Stephen J. Gould also discards "scientific racism":

> Sizes of brains are related to the sizes of bodies that carry them: big people tend to have larger brains than small people. This fact does not imply that big people are smarter - any more than elephants should be judged more intelligent than humans because their brains are larger. Appropriate corrections must be made for differences in body size.[38]

Gould also sees a contradiction in the assertion that blacks are on a physical level with apes:

> The human body can be measured in a thousand ways. Any investigator, convinced beforehand of a group's inferiority, can select a small set of measures to illustrate its greater affinity with apes. (This procedure, of course, would work equally well for white males, though no one made the attempt. White people, for example, have thin lips - a property shared with chimpanzees - while most black Africans have thicker, consequently more "human" lips*.)[39]

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*A general observation, although a generalization, is that the Caucasian tends to have more body hair than the Negro, as this might suggest a more primitive relation to earlier forms of man. It has also been demonstrated that gorillas, once shaven, have white skin.

On the whole, the early genetic race-linked studies were ludicrous affirmations of black inferiority, which tended to justify and rationalize black mistreatment and second-class status to the white majority. These scientists were also supporting what has come to be known as the American Ideal (with whites on top and blacks on the bottom). Later, twentieth Century scientists try to rationalize black physical superiority, due to the emergence of the black champion athlete (as blacks have come to the forefront of major American sports). With Jack Johnson's great upset of white physical supremacy (over Jim Jeffries in 1910), rationale would begin as to the revision of time-worn fallacies of the genetic theories of racial attributes. Such fallacies were so imbedded in the American social imagination as truth that Johnson's victory was not easily accepted by the general American public (white rioters took to the streets and scores of blacks were killed, injured and arrested). Johnson's victory was unacceptable to the American Ideal, and America went to great lengths to try to remove the "blemish" that he represented.

Genetic Studies and Black Physical Superiority in Sport

Twentieth Century genetic studies deal primarily with the physical differences between the two races, as racial craniometry begins to wane. Genetic race-linked studies of black physical superiority are various (and many are

biased as well). These studies point blacks in the direction of ape-like "animalism"*, due to their physical characteristics (smaller brain/skull, longer arms/legs, etc.) that support their superiority in sport. Lapchick and Slaughter point out a typical "white" explanation of black sport supremacy:

> Dean Cromwell coached Jessie) Owens in Berlin. Later, as the University of Southern California's track coach, he wrote Championship Technique in Track and Field. In it he said: "The Negro excels in the events he does because he is closer to the primitive than the white man. It was not long ago that his ability to spring and jump was a life and death matter to him." That book was published in 1941.[40]

This ludicrous stereotypical generalization provides a typical basis of modern-day white myths of black athletes**. These studies also tend to ignore the cultural factors (economic status, relative deprivation, opportunity, values, etc.) that motivate most ethnic groups in sport. One of the foremost theorists in this area is Martin Kane (with Lloyd C. Winter) in "An Assessment of Black is Best" (Sports Illustrated, 1/18/71). His was an attempt to develop

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*Many genetic studies refer to the "wooly hair" of blacks, when wool comes from sheep (example of an animal connotation).

**If Cromwell is right, then why, in a sport that is as universal as boxing, have there been no African heavyweight champions?

"a logical and scientifically defensible foundation" that black athletic superiority was due to black characteristics (affirmed by mediacl doctors, athletic researchers and coaches), as told by Harry Edwards:

> In attempting to explain black athletic superiority, Kane invokes three major categories of factors: (1) race-linked physical and physiological characteristics (2)race-linked psychological traits (3) racially specific historical traits.[41]

According to Edwards, Kane's assumption is that "blacks were bred endogamously" and have maintained most of their "original genotypical traits". As well, Kane maintains, blacks are more efficient "heat dissipators" than whites, due to the elongation of the black body. Moreover, he maintains that blacks are socialized into sport from birth, due to limited career options. Within this context also, Kane maintains that blacks are "cool, calm and collected" under pressure. Such generalizations and stereotypes have come to be a part of modern assessments of black sportsmen.

Another genetic theorist, S.L. Norman, in his article, "Physiological and Anthropometrical Comparisons of Negroes and Whites" (1969), points out more specific differences of genotypical traits. Wilbert Marcellus Leonard II explains:

> These studies have shown that blacks have (1) longer arms and lower legs (2) greater hand/forearm length (3) less body fat (4) shorter trunks (5) narrower hips (6) greater muscle mass (8) wider bones in the upper arm (9) more muscle tissue in the upper arm and thigh (10) less muscle

> mass in the calf (11) a higher degree of meseomorphy (12) a lower vital lung capacity (13) a different heel structure (14) more muscle fibers needed for speed and power and fewer of those needed for endurance, and (15) a higher specific gravity. Additionally, there is evidence that black bodies function differently from white bodies. They mature more quickly, they are more likely to have hyperextensibility ("double-jointedness"), dissipate heat more efficiently, become chilled more easily in cold temperatures, and possess superiority in rhythmic abilities.[42]

This explanation is used for (1) superior black performance in running and jumping events (2) overrepresentation by "stacking" (a term used to denote stereotypical designated playing positions of blacks in the major sports) and (3) Negro "lack of buoyancy" (lung capacity and lack of body fat to stay afloat explains the deficiency of black swimmers). This theory also assumes that whites have greater endurance than blacks (in events such as cross-country track and marathons, etc.).

Morgan Worthy and Allan Markle imply that blacks are better at <u>reactive</u> sports (individual responds at appropriate time; reacts quickly to situation) and that whites are better at <u>self-paced</u> sports (unchanging stimulus; individual choice is voluntary in a relatively static, unchanging stimulus*):

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*These studies do <u>not</u> explain black superstars who are racially "out of position", such as Dwight Gooden, Roy Campanella, etc., or white superstars such as Larry Bird Bob Cousy and Jerry West who were all great "reactive" players.

> Examples of sports activities that are largely reactive in nature are boxing and defensive football. The boxer and the defensive football player, to be successful, must react quickly and appropriately to moves made by the opponent... Golf and bowling are examples of self-paced sports. The stimulus situation faced by a player in these sports differs from one time to another, but it is stable when he makes his response, and he is free, within limits, to respond when he chooses.[43]

Worthy and Markle demonstrate the game of baseball as a "sport that allows a within-group comparison of blacks and whites on both self-paced and reactive performance." Theirs is a typical and "convenient"* rationalization (as an explanation) of the increasing appearance of black prowess in the major American sport (in 1970). They explain:

> Pitchers are evaluated largely on their ability to pitch; nonpitchers, on the other hand, are evaluated more on their ability to hit. The job of pitching in baseball is self-paced - the pitcher throws the ball when he chooses. The job of hitting, on the other hand, is reactive - the hitter must react to the actions of the pitcher. We would expect, then, based on the thesis of this paper, that more blacks as compared with whites would excel as hitters than as pitchers. [44]

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*These theories are "convenient" with respect to rationalizing the emergence of blacks in different sports positions of the present moment. However, these declarations are altered in the event of a successful "white hope" (such as Larry Bird as a "great reactive player".

They also conclude a similar theory of basketball players; whites are better free-throw shooters (in an unchanging stimulus) and blacks are better field-goal shooters (changes in the stimulus situation). These studies infer that whites are more productive when given the opportunity to study a situation (better long-term goal "thinkers"), where the black is more productive in the physical spontaneity of sport (infers that blacks have better "reflexes", by their ability to react to the spontaneity of the action in these sports). This is, yet, another academic declaration which alludes to the myth that blacks are physically superior and whites are mentally superior in the broader society, and also rationalizes the cultural practice of "stacking" of blacks and whites in social and occupational positions*. This is typical of the abundant genetic race-linked studies (and formal declarations) which depict the black in an inferior perspective to whites, many of which are rejected by sport theorists. Harry Edwards stated:

> If blacks, whether athletes or nonathletes, give even passing credence to the possibility of inherent black physical superiority, how can they logically argue *against* the possibility of white intellectual superiority?[45]

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*This may explain the inequality of blacks at managerial sports positions, and positions in most American institutions.

Harry Edwards dismisses these theoretical assumptions as "false and racist", and perpetuated by the "myth of the so-called superior black athlete". He insists that to infer that blacks are inherently physically superior would be to admit that whites are mentally superior, by the same token. Further, the white athletes who do participate in sports "operate at a psychological disadvantage" because they succumb to their own predispositions regarding blacks as physically superior:

> If there is a psychological factor involved, it is quite possibly that many white athletes, some of whom may themselves be of exceptional athletic potential, *believe* blacks to be innately superior as athletes. These white athletes under such circumstances may start off at a psychological disadvantage. The "white race" thus becomes the chief victim of his own myth.[46]

If society is racist, as determined by Edwards, then all genetic statements and declarations which depict black athletes as physically superior are also racist. The recent statements of Al Campanis and Jimmy "the Greek" Snyder which allude to implications of black physical superiority, selective breeding of black slaves, and white authority due to intelligence, have led to the dismissal of these two prominent sports figures from their organizations. They were dismissed for their "racial" remarks on prime time television, yet their comments reflected beliefs that are ingrained into the American conscience and mythology on the subject. Lapchick and Slaughter note:

Jimmy "the Greek" and Black Dominance in Sport

> It was not enough that we kept black players around a shorter length of time and allowed them to play only select positions. Some of us still had to come up with a comforting rationalization concerning why blacks dominate certain sports. With Doug Williams leading the Washington Redskins on their 1988 championship charge, Jimmy "the Greek" Snyder was supposed to tell us how important it was to have the first black quarterback in the Superbowl. Instead he wanted to discuss thigh size. In the post-Jimmy "the Greek" atmosphere, a shocking number of respected people have seemingly agreed with a physical explanation of why blacks excel in sport. Whites can explain away that success with racist theories about genetics. Yet there were never any theories of white sport dominance in the 1930's with reference to white *physical* characteristics...Whites have conceded the physical superiority of blacks because it fits the image: whites still have the brains.[47]

Most of the genetic race-linked studies, throughout American history, attempted to rationalize and justify the racial "mood" of the society at that particular time. Modern genetic studies which rationalize the "physical superiority" of the black athlete, still operate within the American Ideal. In other words, if whites are more efficient than blacks in certain athletics (or other areas), it is due to their "intelligence", "hard work", and (team) dedication, which derives from their "natural superiority". If blacks happen to be more efficient than whites at certain athletic positions, then it is due to their "natural God-given physical talents", rather than "hard work" and "intelligence". In this event, an "excuse" (or "excuses") is made for Caucasian inadequacy, which thus "fits" the American

Ideal, or the American Ideal is altered to "fit" this inadequacy, but the principles of the Ideal remain consistent. As noted by Edwards:

> Bill Russell once stated that he had to work as hard to achieve his status as the greatest basketball player of the last decade as the president of General Motors had to work to achieve his position.[48]

Most theories of genetic racial attributes are incorporated into the American Ideal, and reflect white racial supremacy over blacks (and other races). The white race must remain, or appear to remain, at the top of the hierarchy of American races. This factor is imbedded into the American Ideal as a psychological phenomenon, with the purpose of reinforing this concept in the American social imagination. Oliver Cox noted:

> The ultimate purpose of all theories of white supremacy is not a demonstration that whites are in fact superior but rather to insist that whites must be supreme. It involves primarily a power rather than a social-status relationship.[49]

For instance, when the American Olympic Team wins Gold Medals, regardless if there is a disproportionate representation of American races (say, 75% black, 20% white and 5% "other"), these victories represent "American" victories, and very little credit goes to individual racial representations. American victories represent "white" victories. In some cases, the "ethnic" victor is indoctrinated into the Ideal ("claimed" by America), and must repre-

sent white America under strict guidelines. George Foreman, the 1968 Olympic Gold Medalist (in boxing) and eventual black heavyweight champion, who waved the American flag around the boxing ring after his Gold Medal victory, is a prime example. While Tommie Smith and John Carlos were suspended for demonstrating the hypocrisy of American "equality" to the world by raising black-fisted gloves (under their First Amendment Constitutional right), Foreman was praised for his demonstration. Shouldn't George have been suspended for his demonstration also? This situation represents the duality of justice that blacks have faced since their American inception. It is the same reason that Michael Jordan represents the American Ideal and Muhammad Ali does not, although they both brought Gold Medals back to America*. It is evident by this illustration that one black is "accepted" into the American Ideal as most other blacks of equal magnitude are not. Some media (television, newspapers, magazines, etc.) regard Larry Bird as "the best ever" over a list of other ex-NBA players

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*NBA superstar Michael Jordan happens to be the first black sportsman to be advertised on the "Wheaties-Breakfast of Champions" cereal box, which is peculiar given the long history of blacks in American sports. This is a recent development. Although he does represent the American Ideal in this manner, he still falls into the black stereotype when he proclaims in stereotypical "black language" and dialect, "Ah better eat mah Wheaties".

that includes : Kareem Abdul-Jabbar, Wilt Chamberlain, Magic Johnson, Oscar Robertson, Jerry West, Elgin Baylor, Julius Erving, Bill Russell, Rick Barry and others. How can the media, especially a national syndicate like CBS-TV, make so ludicrous a statement? The white endorsement of Bird has had an impact on American racial relations. Blacks do not dislike Larry Bird himself, as he has never said or done anything derogatory against blacks, except for the act of disspelling the current "myth" of black physical superiority (in basketball). Blacks would probably tend to dislike (or hate) the way he is represented by the media as "God's Gift to Basketball". He is a better basketball player than most, but certainly not the "best ever". He is presented that way because he is white, and not only that, but because he is better than usual (as his winning record indicates) and he is white*. Michael Jordan is incorporated into the American Ideal as somewhat of a "slave" representation, an "America's boy", and he willfully plays this role (for money), a role that many blacks might consider an "Uncle Tom" role, for the American

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*Bird holds a unique position and status in a sport that was once dominated by whites and now dominated by blacks. He is famous because he is the greatest of the remaining few white players in the league, and better than most of the blacks in the league. For this he is ultra-commodified and endorsed.

media (in support of the white American Ideal).

The American Ideal is selective in the endorsement of black representatives. These blacks have to provide incentive to the cause of American imperialism and represent white interests. The black players who support this image are encouraged (and paid well) by the white media to denounce their own race in their support of this cause (which is noted also by black depictions in American cinema).

The Jack Johnson Era (1908-1915)

Professional boxing is a very formidable American sport, having its roots in pre-colonial America. At the turn of the Nineteenth Century, however, boxing had become an international form with the addition of more civilized rules, and thereby attracted an increasingly greater following. According to The Ring 1983 Record Book and Boxing Encyclopedia (which will be used to verify the dates of all championship boxing events), Jack Johnson would enter the boxing ring as a professional in 1897. At the time, boxing represented values such as Caucasian-American physical and mental superiority, the heavyweight class perhaps being the most significant. The stature of the heavyweight champion of the world polled great social and political symbolic significance throughout American history (as it does in modern society).

Ironically, during the pre-Johnson era, the United States was the last of many nations to legalize professional boxing. It legally existed in various countries of Europe (Great Britain and France perhaps foremost), Australia, and very few American states*. While London, England stood as the international capital of boxing, it wasn't until

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*Las Vegas, Nevada, for one, had no laws or sanctions that prohibited boxing, but there were various illegal contests that were staged in the back of saloons, circus tents, social clubs, etc., in various states.

"...the enactment of the Marquis of Queensberry Rules (in 1865 which replaced the London Prize Ring Rules) which heralded the use of gloves and three minute rounds."[1] John L. Sullivan could properly be called the "father of American boxing", and his politically symbolic figure (along with James Corbett*) represented the social and political tone of early Twentieth Century America. Well-known for his anti-Negro sentiment, John L. Sullivan ("The Boston Strong Boy") is a revered and mythical American legend. His popularity is reflected in the work of Finis Farr:

> John L. Sullivan, the Boston Irishman who had been the last bare-knuckle heavyweight champion...made such good newspaper copy that he brought professional boxing from the barge, the back room and the private athletic club into public arenas where tickets could be sold and fortunes made. The numerous laws against professional fighting hung on until after the First World War; nevertheless, Sullivan had made his calling an accepted thing because somehow or other, ridiculous though it was in many ways, people felt that he was a great American.[2]

Until Jack Johnson came along to fight for the heavyweight championship, blacks, as a rule, were ineligible to compete for this highly-valued symbolic prize. Ocania

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*James J. Corbett defeated Sullivan to become the first of the modern champions under the Marquis of Queensberry Rules.

Chalk notes:

> ...the emergence of the legendary John Lawrence Sullivan and James John Corbett established boxing as a major sport. By now boxing was being divided into legal weight divisions. But the heavyweights were still regarded as the *sine qua non* of the sport. From the very beginning in America, title aspirants in this class had been restricted to whites.[3]

In most places in the United States, blacks were not allowed to compete against whites in the ring, except under rare and exclusive situations (for example, many of these "mixed" bouts were to take place off the record, or recorded as exhibitions). In many instances, the white fighter chose not to fight the black fighter, as a matter of personal choice. For instance, John L. Sullivan, James Corbett, and Jim Jeffries (among other earlier and later champions) vowed publicly never to compete with black fighters as a matter of preserving the purity of the sport, of the dominant Caucasian-American race, personal prejudice, and the observance of Federal and State laws and by-laws of the time*. The true image

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*This fact was solely based on the skin pigment, nationality or any other factor of the fighter which defined him as a member of the Negro race; this was the defining factor of membership to all professional major sport teams, especially baseball. Many light-skinned blacks of the day lived privately and personally as accepted members of the Caucasian race in that they defined themselves and lived (or "passed) as white. Obviously this is much harder to do in the public media light, although there were many successful attempts at early infiltration of professional baseball by blacks who posed as Hispanic. Interracial fights were perceived as "distasteful" in the public image, although there was a real attraction for them.

of these great champions is reflected by a quote from Sullivan:

> I will not fight a Negro, I never have and I never shall.[4]

A quote from Jeffries reflects the same viewpoint:

> I will not fight a Negro! If the public demands that I should fight (Jack) Johnson I will surely have to decline. If Johnson wants to fight for the championship he will have to fight somebody besides me. If I am defeated, the championship will go to a white man, for I will not fight a colored man.[5]

The true realization of this traditional and customary practice was more theory than practice because many "mixed" fights were held off-the-record or illegally, as the demand and gate receipts for these fights became increasingly profitable. With the entrance of Jack Johnson, whose public image had become very controversial at the time (via his civic "arrogance" and defiance in and out of the ring), boxing matches between fighters of the same race were becoming increasingly unpopular in comparison.

The press usually focused on the arrogance of Jack Johnson over the remarkability of his ingenious tactics and statistical performances. After working his way up the ranks of black boxers of the time (becoming the national Negro heavyweight champion), Johnson would eventually run out of worthy contenders (having fought and beaten many of the top Negro contenders several times). He was portrayed in the media with all the typical characteristics

of "Sambo", albeit a more primitive, threatening (to the established order), powerful, and more dangerous type than the one that is usually portrayed ("shufflin'", "smilin'", suspicious, cowardly, superstitious, etc.). He was constantly berated and scandalized by the media, yet his unpopularity (among whites) as an arrogant, but great, black fighter, led to his great demand (as it later would Muhammad Ali*).

This research was able to capture many of the negative and stereotypical characterizations of Jack Johnson through the press media, presenting in a chronological sequence these depictions, beginning with Johnson's first opportunity to fight for the title. But first, it is necessary to understand how he was to come about this undeniably amzing opportunity (it was amazing because of the bigoted political and social climate at the time). Due to public demand and curiosity, along with growing public disinterest in the general sport of boxing (and the desire of boxing businessmen, as well as the champion, Tommy Burns, to realize a more gainful profit), the black heavyweight champion, Jack Johnson, was offered to meet the recognized

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* Cassius Clay (later Muhammad Ali) said in 1964, prior to his bout with "Sonny" Liston: "100% of the people will be coming to see me (although),...99% of the people will be coming to see me get beat."

heavyweight champion of the world, Tommy Burns*, for the title in 1908. This offer was met by promoter, Sam Fitzpatrick, and it was to be held in Sydney, Australia (this bout was held outside of the United States for obvious reasons, and reasons for worldly exposure to boxing). Although there was major public (international and national) dissension against the "mixed" bout, the idea of it all had caught the public imagination and curiosity (for it was a chance to <u>prove</u> Caucasian "supremacy" on an international scale), For instance, Al-Tony Gilmore explains:

> Some whites, ...insisted that Johnson had a right to fight for the championship. Yet often it was not exactly a sense of fair play which provoked their actions but rather the fight would be another occasion where the superiority of whites would be demonstrated.[6]

Gilmore goes on to explain that:

> Living in an era which largely accepted Social Darwinism as natural law, they (Americans) sensed that the pervading element of the match was the issue of white supremacy.[7]

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*Tommy Burns ascended to the title by defeating Marvin Hart who had been "appointed" the title by retired champion, James J. Jeffries, after winning this elimination bout to determine the (white) successor to Jeffries' crown. Jeffries refereed the bout (in symbolic fashion) and appointed the winner, Burns, the championship.

Very few "experts" had chosen Johnson to win the bout, basing their conclusions on archaic and socially accepted conceptions (also genetic race-linked studies) of the mental and physiological inferiority of the Negro race (for boxing is a science as well as a show of brute force). Johnson also had the reputation of not performing to his potential (against white fighters, this was a potential danger, in the event that he might seriously or fatally maim the white fighter, which would most probably have lead to chaotic social and collective repercussions). Social apprehension and curiosity about this (first-ever) mixed heavyweight championship fight by whites led to the demand and execution of this event (which was billed as one of the many "greatest fights of the century").

The Johnson-Burns Fight

Optimism is the key in describing the apprehension of the pre-fight rhetoric of the Johnson-Burns match by the media. The sustaining of basic American values (although Burns was a Canadian) was the ultimate social goal, and to be carried out by Tommy Burns. Johnson was billed as the ultimate villain and nonconformist whose brazen lifestyle* would trademark his career (and would become John-

*The major reason for Johnson's unpopularity among whites was not only accounted for by racism in general, but to his lifestyle which included his preference for dating and marrying Caucasian women, breaking traffic laws, class conflict due to his wealth and fame, his cockiness and braggodocio, and his cutting across racial, political and social barriers.

son's "calling card" in the media; that and other general negative racial stereotypical denunciations). John L. Sullivan set the tone for the would-be American purists in an international statement:

> *Shame on the money mad champion who upsets good American precedents because there are Dollars, Dollars, Dollars in it.[8]

The "good American precedents" that Sullivan is referring to here may be translated to state, "If Burns loses, this will upset the tradition and maintenance of Caucasian "purity" of the Heavyweight Championship of the World. By fight time, all efforts to ban the fight had slowly diminished due to the mounting collective apprehension that was initiated and perpetuated by the media. Newspapers responded in fashion, quoting many anti-Johnson (or anti-black) sentiments. For instance, the former heavyweight champion, James J. Corbett, relayed to the New York Herald that his loyalty rested with Burns:

> ...as it does when a white man meets a Negro.[9]

Burns insisted**that Johnson had a "yellow streak", and

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* Burns had great financial interest in the fight, which is why he agreed to the fight.

**These references by Corbett and Burns represents the ingrained common social thought that Negroes are represented by the caricature of "Sambo", who includes cowardice as one of many undesirable, stereotypical, and demeaning traits; vaudeville minstrel shows were prevalent at this time and further influenced this thought and value pattern (or stereotype) among whites through constant repetition.

proclaimed that:

> All coons are yellow.[10]

Pre-fight press coverage of the Johnson-Burns match was minimal in terms of newspaper space by most of the New York newspapers and was vague (mild) in terms of stereotypical and racial overtness, as Johnson's negative popularity would not emerge until after the fight*. However, the general sporting public was well aware that a black man was going to meet a white man** in the ring for the heavyweight championship of the world (for the first time ever). The New York Times reported:

> ...it is the first time in modern history that a heavyweight title holder will meet a negro on equal footing in a battle of premier honors...Not since the days of Peter Jackson*** has there been a negro heavyweight whose claim to class and calibre demanded by the heavyweight requirements have been equalled by those of Johnson.[11]

Most of these early-Twentieth Century columns used a small "n" in their spelling of the proper noun, "Negro". Before this fight was to materialize, the press seemed almost

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*Although there were general efforts to ban such a fight, the public curiosity and apprehension of the outcome was overwhelming.

**Burns was 'appointed' the championship with his victory over Marvin Hart, and succeeded James Jeffries' retired throne through a hand-picked process of elimination on 2/23/06.

***Peter Jackson was one of many great black fighters who competed with whites during the 19th Century. Although this was typical of the lighter weight divisions, between heavyweights this was rare. Most of these fights were listed as "no contests" or exhibitions. Jackson also challenged Corbett to a 61-round draw.

kindly to the black opponent (in this instance), as public and media sentiment seemed to clamor for it. Ocania Chalk concludes that:

> At last the white champions were being forced by an impatient public to allow a black fighter to vie for the heavyweight championship...One of the big fellows that awed everyone was Jack Johnson. The only fear sportsmen had was that Johnson might be successful denied a title opportunity.[12]

As noted earlier*, this was more an collective attempt to establish white mental and physical superiority by the media than it was an effort to promote equality and equal opportunity**. The outcome of this fight spurred emotions by the media and the general public that was not so kindly.

The outcome of this fight exposed the underlying sentiment of the media. The former (retired) heavyweight champion, James J. Jeffries epitomized the incensed public opinion of Johnson's 14th-round knockout of Tommy Burns (12/26/08):

> Burns had no right to fight Johnson for the heavyweight championship.[13]

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*In many ways, this fight taking place set a precedent and played a role for future "mixed" competition in other areas.

**The Australian press seemed to have the most problems with this integrated match, due to their racist history, treatment of, and elimination of darker-skinned people (Africans and aborigines) by Australians of English ancestry.

Reporter Jack London of the New York Herald elicited the original calling for a "white hope" to regain the title from the new black champion and give it back to the white race:*

> The fight, there was no fight. No Armenian massacre could compare with the hopeless slaughter that took place in the Sydney stadium today. It was a fight between a playful Ethiopian and a small and futile white man...But one thing now remains. Jim Jeffries must now emerge from his alfalfa farm and remove that golden smile from Jack Johnson's face. Jeff it's up to you. The White Man must be rescued.[14]

Notice the capitalized "W" and "M" in the last sentence (an obvious reference to white supremacy). The writer is reacting to a threatened value system, as related to Johnson's victory over Burns. In the area of race relations, the magnitude of this single sporting event acted as a catalyst to social change in early Twentieth Century America.

The result of this fight reached paranoid proportions in the media, as a symbolic national "state of emergency" was declared due to this international "crisis". During the bout itself, Johnson became arrogant (in the way of smiling, mocking, jeering and joking with Burns and ringsiders**) in his work, while at the same time elicit-

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*This calling for a "white hope" by the media is original in terms of the black intrusion into the championship of major American white sports.

**In the manner that Muhammad Ali would later emulate.

ing cruel punishment and humiliation to Burns. The fight tooh place in Sydney, Australia but Johnson's punishing shots were "heard 'round the world". Johnson was an American black man* whose victories over white men were socially perceived as a threat to Caucasian dominance. He was resented because of the symbolic interpretation that here was a black man who was legally thrashing and punishing whites for their past and present sins (and don't think that he wasn't thinking along these lines). The racial temperament in Australia was obvious to Johnson. One Australian journal (the Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News) was intrinsically obvious in their sentiment in the following report (prior to the bout):

> Citizens who have never prayed before are supplicating Providence to give the white man a strong right arm with which to belt the coon into oblivion.[15]

This article overtly reflects the underlying sentiment of white supremacy (or white victory) in the media, and would continue.

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*Ironically, Johnson wore the American flag as a belt for his boxing shorts, as a form of national pride, but this was perceived by many Americans as a form of mockery (as would his lifestyle outside of the ring).

Having overcome the racial insults and scattered threats to his life, Jack Johnson went on to become the first black heavyweight champion of the world, although his true fight (which symbolically represented the black fight for true equality and opportunity) had just begun. Randy Roberts explains:

> A black man now wore the crown that had once belonged to Sullivan, Corbett, and Jeffries. As far as Australia was concerned, an 'archetypal darkness' had replaced sweetness and light; the barbarian had defeated the civilized man...The imagery in which the fight was reported clearly reflects the white Australian attitude toward Johnson.[16]

Roberts adds further:

> As the Daily Telegraph observed in doggerel:
>
> And yet for all we know and feel,
> For Christ and Shakespeare, knowledge love,
> We watch a white man bleeding real,
> We cheer a black with bloodied glove.[17]

To be sure, Johnson's victory over Burns was eventually taken as a farce by the general sporting public and the media. This is based on the claim that the fight was not for the "real" title, because Burns had attained the title "improperly" (having been "appointed" the title after his win over Marvin Hart). It was claimed that the real title rested with the retired champion, James J. Jeffries. The former champion, John L. Sullivan, acted as a special correspondent of the New York Times for the Johnson-Burns match, and exclaimed:

> I can't see where Johnson will be given a high position in the opinion of the general public. I am of the opinion that the American public is fast losing interest in the manly art of self-defense...Johnson will undoubtedly get two or three fights in this country after his return, and it will be only a question of time until he runs up against a better man as is always the case unless a man pulls out of the game.[18]

Here, Sullivan is implying that the only ethical method of removing Johnson from the Heavyweight Championship is for someone to defeat him in the ring, preferably white. However, Sullivan also seems to be giving the impression that he is hoping that Johnson will either stay in boxing long enough to be defeated by a white, retire, or be forcibly removed from boxing (and the championship). Sullivan criticizes the nature of the Johnson-Burns match:

> Even with his victory over the so-called champion though in my opinion Burns never was the champion prizefighter of the world, the negro can't assume that title, for the present-day bouts cannot truly be styled prize fights. They are boxing matches when padded mitts are used by the contestants.[19]

Here also, Sullivan is alluding to the belief that Jack Johnson either could not fight well, or could not have defated himself, in an effort to undermine his ability and success as a black fighter. By doing this, he is exposing his own latent racist attitudes. At this particular time, it was the hope of most Caucasian Americans that Johnson would stay in boxing until the indomitable and undefeated retired heavyweight champion, Jim Jeffries,

can be convinced into coming out of retirement and not only defeat Johnson, but to punish him for his perceived humiliation of Caucasian racial supremacy.

Jack Johnson vs. James J. Jeffries

The social impact of this match was tremendous. James J. Jeffries was urged by the media and the sporting public to come out of retirement to reclaim the Heavyweight Championship for the white race (as the best man to fulfill this task). Johnson had run off a string of victories against less capable "white hopes" since his championship victory over Tommy Burns (in 1908). Growing more incensed with each one of these victories, the sporting public practically demanded Jeffries' return to the ring in 1910 to accomplish this task. Not only was this an American request, but the quest to restore Caucasian dominance to the heavyweight championship of the world became a major international goal.

Two days following the Johnson-Burns fight, the New York Times read:

OFFER TO JEFFRIES PURSE OF $50,000.[20]

The demand for Jeffrie's return led to this offer, which would surmount any previous offer to two men for a boxing match. This offer was made by promoter, Hugh McIntosh, who had promoted and refereed the previous Johnson-Burns

match (he was Burns' manager as well). Still reeling from the impact of Johnson's punishment and humiliation of Burns, the New York Times column went on to read:

> At first it was thought that the negro's heavy swings had broken the white man's jaw, but it turns out that it was only badly bruised.[21]

The author of this article (which was not stated) could have written the same message in a straightforward manner (just mentioning only the extent of the injuries that Burns suffered), but instead chose to include the institution of rumor, which historically has shown to have been a major element in the arousal of collectivities. Neil J. Smelser reflects this notion:

> Rumors frequently preced short-term outbursts, such as panics, crazes and riots; they play a part in long-term disturbances, such as revolutionary movements and religious secessions.[22]

The rumor that is implied is in the description of Burn's broken jaw and the imagery provided by the term, "negro's heavy swings had broken the white man's jaw". General racist attitudes together with a high illiteracy rate during this era of American "Jim Crowism" may have caused statements like this* to be drawn out of context, and

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*Note that the New York Times is a northern conservative newspaper and that many northern programs were geared toward the liberation of blacks. Southern newspapers would not be so friendly toward this end.

certainly arouse the general public sentiment against the designated villain (and in the case of a public spectacle of this magnitude, Smelser's approach to this area would conclude an inevitability of violent collective behavior). Southern newspapers would take a different approach:

> A cartoon showing a caricatured thick-lipped, wide-eyed Johnson holding a watermelon and the championship belt proclaiming, "Golly, old Santy sho' was good to me" was carried in the Dallas Morning News.[23]

This "Sambo" description is typical of the media-portrayals of Jack Johnson, and is consistent with most black assessments in the media of the day, as many verbal and linguistic (and artistic) references of "Sambo" denoted Johnson.

Many American black newspapers produced positive attitudes in their account of the Johnson-Burns affair, the aftermath, and the re-emergence of James Jeffries:

> The Savannah Tribune voiced, "It is fit and proper that we doff our hats to Mr. Johnson.[24]

This excerpt contains the elements of southern black hospitality and admiration for Johnson. Naturally, it would have been unwise for a black newspaper (or blacks in general) to express excessive jubilance about the Johnson victories over white men, and normally many of these institutions kept a low profile in the publication of controversial events in this era of "Jim Crow" (although

high enough to maintain black sensibilities). *Articles and speeches by such noted blacks as Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois were among the most fiery and expressive of the day, but these elements were held to a minimum in black journalism. There were a few, however, who broke this custom:

> With the victory secured, the Gazette and the Afro-American Ledger saw fit to mock the efforts of whites to find a white hope. The Gazette correctly remarked that many white fighters now challenged Johnson for the honor of the white race. "Well boys," dared the Afro-American Ledger, "all we have to say is get in the ring and let the best man take care of himself."[25]

This is as severe a gloating over Jack Johnson's achievement and a berating of the Caucasian race that the black newspapers cared to elicit in 1908, but as years pass, their messages would become more formidable and assertive. For to flaunt the Johnson victory in the face of white readers would have been equal to black newspaper "suicide" and collective repercussions in the local community as well.

The anticipation of this fight (along with Johnson's rapidly-growing controversial popularity, in and out of

*Black journalism had the ability and tendency to escape American censorship, yet enhance the motivations of its audiences to a "fever" point.

the ring) was tremendous in the media*. Following the pattern of the Burns fight, Johnson was again proclaimed the underdog (this had more to do with public sentiment than a professional analysis of the efficiency of the two fighters). Gambling bets were overwhelmingly placed on a Jeffries victory, while there were not many "takers" on Johnson. The New York Times presented a satirical account of the much-awaited affair which features a large cartoon-caricature of Johnson and Jeffries across the title page (Fig. A-1). Johnson and Jeffries (also the host, John L. Sullivan) are placed in a boxing ring, and Johnson is distinguished as shorter in height than Jeffries and Sullivan; Jeffries with a portruding chest and more massive upper and lower body than Johnson, and the most obvious overestimation is a charcoal-black Johnson's long arms (long enough for the knuckles of his boxing gloves to lay flat against the canvas on the floor of the boxing ring while he is in a standing position). This picture also features a caricature of some cigar-chewing

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*If one can recall and relate the total popular significance and media coverage of the first Ali-Frazier fight in 1971, then they would understand the significance of this fight. The prime motivation for both fights was political and racial in the media. As we shall take this phenomenon to another level in the Muhammad Ali era, both these fights involved the persecution of the individual and controversial black champion athlete.

male ringsiders (all white) and a white woman standing in the bleachers and waving a small American flag (while the rest of the audience is sitting) in an obvious gesture of symbolic American ideals. The article, written by Wallace Irwin (nicknamed "Hashimura Togo") featured the following quotes:

> Mr. John Brownsville Johnson wishes it distinctly stated that the report of his Irish ancestry is untrue. He descended from Africa like a ton of coal. Born of black but shiftless parents, he soon learned to shift for himself. He first studied his art while driving mules, and after slight practice could whip every mule of his acquaintance. He has won many belts. He is now wearing the black belt which he won in Australia...He has met 1135 pugilists and never once turned pale.[26]

In a minstrel-type fashion, this article captures all of the basic stereotypes of the era ("black English", physical stereotypes, Johnson's head/skull is decidedly smaller in size as compared to his white opponent and Sullivan, and this alludes to genetic assumptions of cranial size and greater brain mass tissue; Johnson also has exaggerated portruding shoulders as compared to the more massive shoulders of Jeffries; and finally, Johnson is looking down at the floor which is characteristic of downtroddenness and dejection, while Jeffries is portrayed as looking straight ahead, confident and focused). Jeffries calves and thighs are more massive than Johnson's which alludes to the very same genetic studies which

determine these difference of racial types. In all, this characterization of Jack Johnson is a total denunciation of a black who is caught up in the middle of what Harold Garfinkel might refer to as a "degradation ceremony" (which was typical of the minstrel shows that denounced blacks during this "Jim Crow" era in America). In an almost assurance of Jeffries to restore the title to the Caucasian race, the New York Times promoted this fight (especially in the previous article) as pure minstrel entertainment, and one in which the outcome would result in widespread celebration (the date of the fight was set for July 4, 1910) as well as overwhelming satisfaction for the general white American public.

In a functional analysis, the success of Jeffries would help to solve the problem of "system overload", as presented by Talcott Parsons. This overload was a direct result of the emergence of the new black champion, Jack Johnson. A Jeffries win would help to return the American social system back to a state of "equilibrium". Johnson's gaining of the championship over Burns upset the racial "balance" that the American majority sought to maintain. In the quest for a "white hope" to defeat the black fighter, whites demonstrated a collective desire to return the "status quo". As noted previously, generalized beliefs arise in the presence of "system strain" and these beliefs

envision the reconstitution of a threatened value system (value-oriented beliefs) and a threatened normative structure (see Smelser, 1962), all of which Johnson's presence and status threatened to present. The media was guilty of perpetuating most of these beliefs. The New York Times reported:

> If the black man wins, thousands of his ignorant brothers will interpret his victory as justifying claims to much more than mere physical equality with their white neighbors.[27]

As most of the press was optimistic of a Jeffries win, there was this form of subtle fear, as indicated by this article, that a Johnson victory would be calamitous to the cause of "Jim Crowism". The over-optimism in favor of Jeffries could have acted as a shroud for covert-collective fear. The anticipation of this match by white Americans could be translated (using Smelser's collective approach) as a collective fear of a threatened value system. Much of this fear was also exposed in the media, in their preparation for a worst-case scenario. The New York Daily Tribune reported"

> BAN ON NEGRO PARADE
>
> Pittsburgh, Jul 2 - The police today interdicted a jollification and parade which the negroes of the Wylie Avenue district proposed to hold tomorrow in the expectation that Johnson would win...The police were informed by the white residents that

> if the negroes were allowed to parade there would be trouble. It was reported that the leaders of several ward gangs had planned to get on house-tops and bombard the parading negroes with bricks...The negroes are in an ugly mood, declaring that they have a right to celebrate on the Fourth of July, and there may be trouble.[28]

This article not only spews racist dialect (small "n" in the proper noun, "Negro", and the promotion of racial tension and rumor), but reflects Caucasian-American hopes and fears in the upcoming bout. This article also reflects the "double-standard" of whites and blacks in early-20th Century American life (as the mood of the "negroes" is "ugly" in their request to celebrate the Fourth of July). Blacks also feared a Johnson victory:

> E.L. Shear, black principal of the State Normal and Industrial College of Prairie View, viewed a victory by Johnson with apprehension. Incalculable harm, the principal reasoned, would come to blacks from angry Jeffries rooters. "If Johnson wins," Blackshear noted, "the anti-Negro sentiment will quickly and dangerously collect itself ready to strike back at any undue exhibition of rejoicing on the part of Negroes."[29]

Many blacks shared this sentiment by Shear (in the above article), however, the fight remained destiny. The nation, although factionalized toward the issue at hand, would similarly direct their attention to the fight returns (in all sections of the country) as the stage was set. The New York Daily Tribune reported:

> RING SUPREMACY AT STAKE IN RENO FIGHT
>
> Tomorrow afternoon James J. Jeffries and

> John A. Johnson will meet in their long talked of fight for the undisputed heavyweight championship of the world...And the son of a slave mammy of the Old South, Heavyweight Champion Johnson, or the son of a preacher, the undefeated Jeffries, will be declared the most perfect fighting machine in the history of the prize ring.[30]

In this article, the media is providing the imagery of black versus white for all of the stakes, in the upcoming bout between Johnson and Jeffries. Johnson is described as the "son of a slave mammy" in stereotypical dialect. Further factionalization of the American public by the media took the form of this pre-fight speech by Jeffries:

> When the gloves are knotted on my hand tomorrow and I stand ready to defend what is really my title it will be at the request of the public, who forced me out of retirement. I realize full well just what depends on me and I am not going to disappoint the public... That portion of the white race that has been looking to me to defend its athletic supremacy may feel assured that I am fit to do my very best...It is impossible for me to say just how I will fight this colored man...Suffice it to say...that I will win just as quickly as I can.[31]

This speech is more of a campaign for Caucasian justice (which had been upset by the exploits of Johnson) than it is a professional pre-fight analysis. Heavy sentiment and rationalization ranked Jeffries the favorite. Former heavyweight champion, Tommy Burns, predicted:

> Jeffries will defeat Johnson for the simple reason that in every way he is the champion's physical and mental superior.[32]

Burns is "hoping against hope" in his prediction, by forgetting the ring experience that he had in his fight with Johnson. Relying on early genetic studies, propaganda, and tradition, Burns made this statement while disregarding what could have been an expert critical analysis of the two fighters. Randy Roberts captured the mood of the general American public on July 4, 1910:

> By the Fourth of July the entire nation was a bit nervous. Henry Wales of the *Chicago Tribune*, reviewing his long career as a reporter and an editor, said that no event so captured the public mind until the Lindberg flight seventeen years later. It was fitting that the fight was scheduled for the national holiday, for the celebration and the excitement were intense.[33]

Jack Johnson stopped Jim Jeffries in the fifteenth round and gained recognition as the undisputed heavyweight champion of the world, but not without angry public reaction and media "disappointment" to this event. The New York Times headline voiced:

> CROWD IS SADDENED WHEN JOHNSON WINS - FEW NEGROES WERE PRESENT
>
> They Were Not Demonstrative and Cheering Was All For Jeffries When He Scored His Points
>
> "Johnson wins" was a bulletin that disappointed and saddened 30,000 men, women, and children who thronged Times Square yesterday. The cheers, if there were any for the negro champion, were drowned in a murmur of disappointment that came from the Jeffries' sympathizers that made up at least nine-tenths of that great crowd...Only here and there was a black face to be seen. The negroes in

> the crowd could not have numbered more than 200...But they were not demonstrative, and the joy with which they read the news favorable to Johnson was shown only in the smiles that wreathed their faces. They did no cheering and made no unpleasant comments on Jeffries's chances...the crowd yelling every time Jeffries got in a blow, but there was an ominous silence every time the negro got one in... "Johnson closes Jeff's left eye" was the unpleasant news fro Reno that dampened the enthusiasm of the Jeffries partisans in the sixth round..."Johnson wins in the fifteenth". In silence the 30,000 men, women, and children read the words. It was a terrible blow to them and they began to move away sadly...A negro who could not control his feelings ran through the crowd shouting, "Johnson wins," but the great crowd was too saddened to say a word and he passed on unnoticed.[34]

This article reflects a classic social situation of early-20th Century America, blacks as separate and unequal from whites in a common arena. This article gives the impression that it was in good taste to root for the Jeffries cause, but reprehensible to exclaim favor to Johnson during the fight. If blacks were to root for Johnson within audible distance of whites, this was considered offensive (rude) and a social taboo, however it was socially acceptable to root against the black fighter. Ex-champion, John L. Sullivan, captured the mood of the general boxing public in his post-fight coverage for the New York Times:

> I have never witnessed a fight where I was in such a peculiar position. I all along refused to announce my choice as to the winner. I refused on Jeffries account because he was sensitive and I

> wanted to be with him some time during the training. I refused on Johnson's account because of my well-known antipathy to his race, and I didn't want him to think that I was favoring him from any other motive than a purely sporting one.[35]

Sullivan is "honest" in his post-fight analysis, by his admission of prejudice (his "well-known antipathy to his race"). Fears which were based on natural logic (the fact that Johnson was an active champion, and the once-great Jeffries had been inactive for five years) had come to fruition. The Jeffries defeat would transform these fears into anger, and symbolically, the issue of Caucasian supremacy had been put to test for the very first time in front of a large public (international and national). Although Sullivan is here admitting that he secretly favored Johnson to win the fight, his hatred of Negroes prohibited him from making such a choice. In reflection of the humiliation suffered by Jeffries (which was also suffered by the white American race through symbolism), the San Francisco Examiner reported:

> JEFFRIES MASTERED BY GRINNING, JEERING NEGRO[36]

This seems to be a purposive provocation of angry white collectivities to action. In an effort to reclaim the symbolic theory of Caucasian dominance, mob violence took effect in many areas of the United States. The social aftermath

that occurred (and included racial violence) directly following this bout may be accurately labelled nationwide collective deviance. Whites and blacks took to the streets in symbolic, but real, confrontation. Most of the violence was directed toward blacks (as a result of their jubilation over the Johnson fight). The New York Times ran off a string of headline bulletins:

> EIGHT KILLED IN FIGHT RIOTS
> TWO NEGROES SLAIN
> BLACKS SHOOT UP TOWN
> HOUSTON MAN KILLS NEGRO
> NEGRO SHOOTS WHITE MAN
> MOB BEATS NEGROES IN MACON
> NEGROES ATTACKED IN ATLANTA
> MOB CHASES NEGRO
> THREE KILLED IN UVALDIA[37]
> MANY NEGROES LOCKED UP

And so on. In many of these articles, it is stated that mostly blacks were arrested as a result of these confrontations with whites (and the benefit of the doubt, the sympathy, and pardons by police, given to the white rioters). National security was actually sympathetic with the Caucasian rioters and the media shared in this disappointment. The above headlines may have acted as catharsis to many Caucasian-American non-rioting sympathizers, along with their article content. One of these NYT articles read:

> A cry of "Let's lynch the first 'nigger' we meet!" started a riot in front of a saloon on Eighth Avenue near 135th Street soon after Johnson was reported the winner over Jeffries. The cry was taken up and within a few minutes a crowd had gathered. Then an Eighth Avenue car came along and

> somebody shouted, "There's a nigger!" and a moment later a middle-aged man was pulled out of the car and badly beaten.[38]

This article reflects the dominant mentality of the Caucasian-American public in reaction to Jeffries' loss. Blacks were lynched and killed in great numbers to appease the shattered Caucasian-American ego. Equally disappointed is the media, whose linguistic style tends to condone the symbolism that is portrayed by the American public reaction. Ex-champion and special reporter for the New York Times, John L. Sullivan reported:

> It seemed only just to human nature that Jeffries must win, even in the face of all the features resting on the other side of the argument...it seemed to many that...he could obliterate this so-called blot on the pugilistic map.[39]

An obvious biased column, Sullivan gives the impression of the prize ring having been tainted by the emergence and presence of Johnson. It is at this point that Johnson becomes a symbolic American public enemy, the wrath of which would last for decades*. Although bitter in his disappointment, Jeffries ponders the American dilemma that was caused by his performance. The New York Daily

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*Even until modern times, Jack Johnson is not given the worded adulation given most other sport heroes, black and white. His legendary status suffers as a result.

Tribune reported:

> I guess its my own fault. I was getting along nicely and living peacefully on my alfalfa farm, but when they started calling for me and mentioning me as "the white man's hope," I guess my pride got the better of my good judgment...well, I guess the public will let me alone after this.[40]

Here, the once-great Jeffries is admitting that the spectacle was a public-induced promotion whose aim was to restore pugilistic supremacy (or physical supremacy) to the Caucasian race (on an international basis). The social Establishment sought to remove the public image of Johnson, who compounded the agitation of his victory with his "deviant" lifestyle.

One of the great symbolic fears of white Americans was the advancement of black males toward white women. However tabooed that this custom was in the early 1900's, Johnson would flaunt his Caucasian wives and others in the face of the American public:

> Southerners believed a Johnson victory would increase the possibility of physical contact between young, proud blacks and white women. This haunting specter led naturally to thoughts of racial warfare.[41]

The movie, "The Great White Hope" centers around the sexuality of the story of Jack Johnson, while paying little regard to the political connotations and social change that resulted. The New York Times presented large pictures of the saddened crowd (on 42nd St.) who was following the fight bulletin returns. The heading under one of these

pictures stated:

Interested Women in the Crowd[42]

In a photo that one can barely distinguish any women, the Times is guilty of promoting the idea that Johnson's victory may have been impressive to white women, who probably made up about 90% of the women in the Times Square crowd.

The disappointment of the American Government was highly visible following the Johnson-Jeffries "tragedy". Even the former President Theodore Roosevelt was rumored to have a reaction to the Johnson win. The New York Times reported:

> (The) time the announcement of Johnson's victory was made, and the operator who communicated the news to Sagamore Hill said later that he distinctively heard a noise like an expanding expletive. No information could be obtained as to who actually made the inquiry about the fight, but the voice, the operator said, sounded much like Col. Roosevelt's.[43]

There were many references made to the fight as "disgusting" and should never have taken place (as an effect of the undesirable outcome The media justified the disappointment of Jeffries fans by including the reaction of Roosevelt and many other public figures. The authenticity of the bout was never in question, and this may have caused realization that much harder to bear (resulting in increased antagonism among collectivities). Riots occurred because toleration levels had exceeded their normal capacity,

due to this symbolic crisis. Johnson's victory was interpreted as a first, of sorts, for here was a black man who was legally, and paid highly in this endeavor, punishing white men in the ring, and deviantly collecting white women as "trophies". These factors were too much for early-Twentieth Century white America to bear.

The media's tendency to reflect the political viewpoint of the American hegemony is well illustrated in the "rumor" of Roosevelt's angry reaction. The imagery provided by the linguistics characterizes the media position of a given issue. Although many of these statements are certainly overt in their viewpoint, many others are interpreted and enhanced through metaphor*. The riots were wide and various, resulting in many scores of deaths and injuries, but they were an action that was symbolically "endorsed" by the government officials and the media alike. The New York Times reported:

> St. Louis, Jul 4 - Rioting in the negro quarter in St. Louis...followed the announcement that Jack Johnson was the victor. Negroes filled the streets, pushing whites from the sidewalks and insulting men and women...Squads of patrolmen were hurried into the district...The negroes were clubbed into order finally.[44]

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*We are dealing in an era where racial connotations were heavy, in magnitude and number, with the concurrent impact of Reconstruction upon blacks, together with a slow, but deliberate, race for equality. The media news of Negro achievements usually attached a note of repulsiveness.

News of this kind would pacify the non-violent segment of white American society and act as a catharsis to repressed emotions. Agreat amount of social energy and emotion went into the support of Jeffries as a "white hope", and that created an overstimulation of confidence which rapidly spread through the society as a collective contagion or fad, and inevitably resulted in a national "lynch mob". White emotions had run so high that it became difficult to emerge from this ceremony without some "trophy" to show for it. The media is, once again, guilty of originating and initiating these emotions in the American public.

The American public "believed" what was general knowledge that blacks were mentally and physically inferior to whites, and felt that Negroes should be subject to ridicule. The popular entertainment of the day were the vaudeville shows and many whites became convinced of the racial depictions as characterized by these acts. The continuous bombardment of these depictions upon the media psyche led to a fever-pitch through the pre-fight slogans. As Arthur Rule noted in the Chicago Tribune before the fight:

> The Negro might be a clever boxer, but he has never been up against a real fighter before. He has a yellow streak, there was nothing to it, and anyway, let's hope he kills the coon.[45]

With the help of remarks such as these, the public became

a collective "lynch mob", surpassing the status of interested boxing fans by the time the Johnson-Jeffries fight began and was finished. Although this article contains the racial epithets, "coon" and "yellow streak", it does commend Johnson for his "cleverness", which defies the theory of mental aptitude on the part of blacks, however, Caucasian "supremacy" must be upheld regardless of this oversight*. Jim Jeffries himself admitted to the New York Times before the fight:

> Jeffries announced today that he was going to win quickly or take the most awful beating a man ever took in the prize ring. "And at that," he said, "even if I win quickly I will get a good punishing, because I realize that this nigger is a more clever man that I am."[46]

The impact of this fight on the American public, at this time, was a direct reaction to Jeffries' having been "out-muscled", as well as "out-thought" in an major arena where whites had traditionally been dominant. Although he will not go down into the record books or the history books as a great black liberator, this effort by Johnson has to be one of the greatest initial and individual black pioneer achievements that "forced" the equality of the

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*This author also capitalizaes the letter "N" in the proper noun, "Negro", which is unusual during this era.

races upon the American psyche, against the odds of a biased social and political establishment. Although his acts were interpreted as deviant, he truly exercised the provisions of the Constitution of the United States and the Declaration of Independence, although these documents were hypocritical, in fact, to blacks. He exercised his rights as an American as no other black had done, or dared to do, before.

The Decline of Jack Johnson

Johnson's decline would begin almost immediately after his victory over Jim Jeffries. As a natural American public enemy, his status as a United States citizen became erratic. Endorsing Johnson as a hero, in most segments, the black race claimed symbolic supremacy in the art of boxing. The search for a "white hope" would still continue, but attention would be more focused on physically removing Johnson, the obstacle, from the throne that was accustomed and reserved for white supremacy. Many reforms went into effect after the Jeffries' bout. One reform made it illegal to transport boxing films across state borders, while another made it illegal to display the films in public (the Johnson-Jeffries bout in particular). In the name of censorship, the Federal Government saw it fit to deny Constitutionality to its citizens for the purpose of preserving American morals. By displaying the films, they felt

that the "wrong" values would be portrayed.

Reforms would go so far as to ban boxing in several states, as the thought of a black heavyweight champion made life uneasy for the promoters of white supremacy. If luck should have it that Johnson would be dethroned by a "white hope", the new champion would almost certainly re-draw the color line of "Jim Crow", in an effort to permanently block Negro boxing aspirants, and to mandate the symbol of white supremacy. The media summed up the issue of the color line in the New York Morning Telegraph:

> Now that Mr. Johnson, the Texas dinge, is the Champion face smasher in the world, the color line question is receiving an unusual amount of public attention. The color line was...used in the most select pugilistic circles as a subterfuge behind which a white man could hide to keep some husky colored gentleman from knocking his block off and wiping up the canvas floor... with his remains...It is a handy little invention which costs nothing and probably has saved many a white man's life.[47]

This article, remarkably, takes a stab at racism for all its worth, however, a closer inspection reveals the sense of insecurity and anger over Jeffries' loss. The institution of "Jim Crow" was the rule of the day and the media sought to maintain this tradition even more vehemently after this fight. The Los Angeles Times reflected this post-fight mood in an editorial:

> A WORD TO THE BLACK MAN
> Do not point your nose too high. Do not swell

> your chest too much. Do not be puffed up... Remember, you have done nothing at all. You are the same member of society today you were last week...You are on no higher plane, deserve no new consideration, and will get none...No man will think a bit higher of you because your complexion is the same as that of the victor at Reno.[48]

This article may be translated into an overwhelming concession of the symbolic defeat of so-called physical superiority (of Caucasians) and media disappointment over this fact. By hoping to "keep blacks in their place" in his message, the writer (nameless) is also admitting "fear" of a perceived "threat", and that is, the fear of blacks existing on an equal footing with whites (as a direct result of the Jeffries defeat). Blacks were instructed not to demonstrate over-enthusiasm and public jubilance over Johnson because of its offensivity to whites (it wasn't "polite"), yet it would have been allowed and considered "perfectly normal" in the event of a Jeffries victory. Because of the victory by Johnson, however, the media could not restrain their disappointment. The New York Daily Tribune "sadly" reported:

> JEFF TRYING TO FORGET - JOHNSON SPEEDING EAST
>
> ...So long as they live, they will never forget the pitiful aspect of Jeffries at the mercy of the black panther in the fifteenth round.[49]

This article portrays the post-fight sympathy of white America, and the continued sub-human depictions of Johnson

and what he represents (blacks). Johnson is headlined as "speeding east", to reinforce a "coward" depiction that he is retreating from angry whites. The media expressed its excitement over the Johnson victory in typical fashion, in this article of the New York Daily Tribune:

> NO PARADE FOR JOHNSON
>
> Permit Refused in Chicago to Friends of Champion
>
> "If a white man wants to meet a black man in the prizering and gets licked, why, that's his business. Anyway, the permit you want is up to the police chief." With these orders Mayor Busse to-day frowned on a request for permission to hold a welcoming parade for Jack Johnson here to-morrow..."Nothing doing," remarked the chief. "I don't think such an affair should be dignified by an escort and a band. If you want to have a few automobiles at the train, its all right. It is not a public occasion."[50]

This article clearly reflects the discrimination by the body politic against blacks, as the newspaper saw it fit to print such an article in 1910. Efforts to ban boxing as a sport in the United States were led by former President Theodore Roosevelt and the media:

> "I sincerely trust," wrote former President Theodore Roosevelt, "that public sentiment will be so aroused, and will make itself felt so effectively, as to guarantee that this is the last prize fight to take place in the United States."[51]

Many of these advisements and suggestions by the press and the Government were a message to black Americans that

the outcome of the Johnson fight was meaningless and insignificant to the cause of racial equality. Along with the non-displaying of the fight, this was an attempt to downplay the significance of the symbolic victory (in that he not only displayed physical superiority over his opponent, but superior mental cleverness in his humiliation of Jeffries). Johnson's mental decisions in the ring were equally as awe-inspiring as his seemingly easy victory over the once indomitable and undefeated ex-heavyweight champion. This cleverness may have also fueled the wrath of angry whites who were unwilling to depart with their ancient ideologies of racial attributes, especially mentality and white supremacy. His defiance of most traditional stereotypes of Negroes led to his despised status among whites.

The media portrayed instances of anger and betrayal in subtle, yet descriptive terms (over the Jeffries' loss:

> Quite specific in its allegations, the Washington Post charged Jeffries for instigating the riots by touting himself as champion of the white race and by stating that his sole purpose was to uphold the white man's burden.[52]

This reference is an early allusion to the later great American sports motto, "winning is everything". Having only lost the first fight of his career, Jeffries is unusually decharacterized by this article, without mention of the great effort that he did put forth. By placing the blame of the violent aftermath on Jeffries, the media

is actually reflecting its own disappointment of the Johnson victory. The riots afterward represented a change in the old system. For blacks, this was the beginning of the Twentieth Century, and the time had come for new policies in race relations and equality. Moreover, the Johnson victory symbolized that blacks were an equal, if not superior, form of humanity, and collectively were ambitious in reaching these far-fetched goals (at the time). The impact of this fight had an effect on Senator Tim Sullivan of New York who was at ringside and passed out after he saw the result:

> The "great white hope" had failed miserably. Reno and all of white America were stunned with shock. At ringside, Sen. Tim Sullivan of New York passed out. When he was revived, he sadly said, "Like many others, I had come to Reno hoping that the white race would again triumph over the black. It was not to be."[53]

In typical fashion, this government official portrays the white American sentiment to the great defeat by Jeffries, as expressed through the media. For Jack Johnson was black, he proved himself to be a man, he was victorious, and he independently and freely exercised his Constitutional rights as an American, all of which became too much to bear for the fragile race-conscious mentality of his "superiors" in 1910. The Senator's post-fight comments are an excellent reflection of the American reaction to this fight.

Jack Johnson vs. Jess Willard

Johnson would have his troubles (basically due to his preference in women). He was literally "chased" out of the country, due to outstanding fabricated Government subpoenas and jail convictions. He was allegedly charged amd convicted of violating the Mann Act (for allegedly transporting women, including his Caucasian wife, across state borders for the purposes of prostitution and debauchery; better known as the White Slave Traffic Act) in 1913. The New York Times reported this event:

> JOHNSON CONVICTED AS A WHITE SLAVER
>
> Jack Johnson, negro champion heavyweight prizefighter, was found guilty to-night of violating the Federal White slave law in transporting Belle Schreiber from Pittsburgh to Chicago in 1910. He was convicted on all seven of the counts remaining in the indictments. The jury returned its verdict after an hour's consideration. The maximum penalty under the finding is five years imprisonment or $10,000 fine, or both...the negro was released on a bond of $10,000...He denied he ever had given her diamonds. Johnson also denied he had made improper use of the Schreiber flat here, and that he forcibly had taken money from the woman or had beaten Etta Duryea, his first white wife. "If you should find this defendant not guilty, knowing as you do the evidence in the case," said Asst. District Attorney Harry Parkin to the jurors, "I do not see how any of you can go home and look squarely into the faces of those you respect and admire."[54]

This article adequately reflects the public resentiment against Jack Johnson, which by 1913, had reached a "fever point". As these charges were fabricated against Johnson, the media (and the U.S. courts) helped to rationalize

these charges and portray him as a public villain. The charges against Johnson represented an historical American institution and symbol, the lynch mob. In what will be typical and routine American fashion, the U.S. Government, along with the media, adopted a "sour grapes" attitude in their consideration to Jack Johnson, forever "sore" because of his destruction of the white idol, Jim Jeffries. These charges are, what amounts to, ego-oriented Caucasian vengeance.

Soon after these charges were upheld against Johnson, and before his sentencing, he would flee the country. He sailed to Europe, via Canada, and finally settled in Paris, France. He sustained his championship while he lived abroad, usually fighting out of France, running off a string of victories against lesser "white hopes". It was in France where he also became heavily involved with travelling vaudeville shows. His next important fight was with Jess Willard, a somewhat projected "white hope" (though not nearly promoted/hyped as James J. Jeffries). As Johnson held the status of a fugitive of American justice, it was decided that this fight would be held outside of the American border, in Havana, Cuba. The media had little, although hopeful, confidence in Jess Willard. There was probably less than a small percentage (5%) of the pre-fight coverage that the New York

Times had given the Jeffries battle. There was even the vague concession of mental as well as physical superiority by the media, with respect to the Negro athlete over the Caucasian athlete:

> The burly negro finds it impossible to remove his surplus weight and must depend entirely on his science and hitting powers, but...Willard, in his battles has not been regarded as a quick thinker, and in this he is different from the black whose brain is active...and whose shiftiness and cleverness enable him to take advantage ...but the fact remains that the champion is risking his title against the best White Hope in the United States.[55]

By the time this article was printed, the cause of the White Hope" (or racial supremacy) has become a national social movement. The humiliation that was posed by Johnson's earlier victory over Jeffries is, at this point five years later, repressed into the media "subconscience". Most Caucasian-Americans were probably somewhat satisfied by Johnson's having fled the country, and made no attempt to arrest him in Europe. At this point, however, the media, in order to "cover all the bases", gives a more thorough analytic and scientific evaluation of the two fighters (and downplayed the "sympathetic" evaluation). Johnson's greatness as a bona fide heavyweight champion had its effect on keeping the media "honest" in this respect. The media, at this point, seems not to want to get caught with their "foot in their mouth" in developing their pre-fight scenario, by projecting a wrong "winner".

At this point in time (1915), the sport media had developed an attitude of respect for Johnson's athletic capabilities, although his personal life was well publicized and thoroughly exploited (via media "punishment"). Although the media played sort of a low-keyed approach in the devlopment of this event, public anticipation was high (due to Johnson's age and status as a U.S. fugitive). An example of the pre-fight attitude of most Americans to the upcoming Johnson-Willard battle is reflected in the Chicago Post:

> The Chicago Post also placed little confidence in Willard's ability to win the contest, but wrote that the United States would "be a better place to live in" should he emerge from the match victorious*.[56]

The excerpt, "(the U.S. would) be a better place to live in", in the event of a Johnson loss, reflects how "uncomfortable" white supremists were with the status of a black champion, and the non-ending search for the "Great White Hope". As it turns out, Johnson was projected an overwhelming favorite to retain his title, although within days before the fight, betting lines narrowed. This was due to the rumors that Johnson would quit in the fight

*Had Johnson retired at this point, he would have won a major battle over media sports analysts who only needed a Caucasian victory to release their suppressed support for white supremacy.

and fake being knocked out, in exchange for leniency and readmission privileges by the U.S. Government. The New York Sun reported in 1915:

> HAS JACK JOHNSON SOLD OUT? RUMORS AFFECT BETTING AND WILLARD BECOMES FAVORITE
>
> STORY AFTER STORY GOING THE ROUNDS IN HAVANA THAT NEGRO WILL LAY DOWN TO WHITE MAN IN THEIR TITLE BOUT TOMORROW
>
> DARKY TRIES TO KILL TALK BY OFFER TO WAGER $10,000 TO $8,000[57]

These headlines reveal the rumor, the intrigue of the restoration to the idea of Caucasian supremacy in the art of pugilism, and the racial epithet, "Darky", as selling items of the media. The idea of Jack Johnson "selling out" to the Federal Government would attract mass interest in the fight*.

Johnson was defeated by Willard in the twenty-sixth round of their April 5, 1915 bout. The jubilation that resulted from this victory is accurately reflected in the press. The New York Times reported:

> "It was a clean knockout and the best man won. It was not a matter of luck..." Such were the words of ex-champion Jack Johnson when he had recovered from Jess Willard's terrific left jab to the heart and right swing to the jaw in the twenty-

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*"Selling out" would imply the stereotype of "cowardice" upon Johnson as a black person; it has also been a definite taboo in black American culture since slavery.

> sixth round of the championship fight that restored pugilistic supremacy to the white race and made Willard champion this afternoon at Oriental Park.[58]

When Willard became the victor, he simultaneously won the championship and "restored pugilistic supremacy to the white race". However, this article makes it clear that this was a step-by-step process, as he first restored supremacy and then won the championship for himself (in that order). Although this article tends to compliment Johnson for the most part (which is unusual) in losing, the theme of "fair play" in sport once again emerges, and the example set by Willard takes precedence.

As well, the media sought to demean the ex-champion:

> Frank Force of the Police Gazette wrote that Johnson "is the vilest, most despicable creature that lives...In all sporting history, there was never a human being who so thoroughly deserved the sneers and jeers of his fellow creatures...He has disgusted the American public by flaunting in their faces an alliance as bold as it was offensive."[59]

This excerpt is a reflection and reaction of the general American public to the interracial marriages and affairs of Jack Johnson in early Twentieth Century America. In the same context, the New York Age (of the black press) commented:

> As a black champion he has given the Negro more trouble by his scandals than he did in twenty years as a black tramp.[60]

This article is an example of the conservative black viewpoint in America, as it serves to uphold the attitudes and sentiment of white supremacy in denouncing the fallen black champion before a large American media public. In this case, the black press is acting as an agent of the broader (white) American press, by upholding these values. What also is evident is the desire of this particular periodical to strictly dissociate itself from the symbol and image of Jack Johnson. Jess Willard would also take part in this degradation ceremony, with his intent to re-draw the color line in order to prevent maybe better-talented black boxing aspirants from competing with whites (who would then monopolize heavyweight boxing) for the heavyweight championship of the world. An agent for Willard spoke his cause to the New York Times:

> He will never fight another negro...Anytime, however, that a real white contender appears who gives indications of real ability and popular support, Jess will be found ready to meet him for the title in any part of the world.[61]

For the record, the statements made by the new champion, Jess Willard, would mark a temporary end to the first, although accidental, desegregation of the heavyweight championship of the world. And although Willard issues this statement of ultimate racism to the media, there there were few periodicals or media publications that

were opposed to his future plans.

Even though the previous Johnson-Jeffries bout resulted in legal precedents prohibiting the display of fight films and enforced the ban of boxing in many cities and states, there was an immediate renewed interest in the re-establishment of this custom (the point being that the black fighter would be cast as the "loser"). As Al-Tony Gilmore notes:

> Many who had opposed fight films while Johnson was champion quickly reversed their position after his defeat. Their reversal, explained the *New York Times* was "not based on approval of prizefighting or admiration for prizefighters." It now rested, so the *Times* claimed, on a general and instinctive distaste for censorship of any sort.[62]

This article represents the hypocrisy of the American Ideal and the duality of Constitutional interpretation as it applies to the civil rights of black and white citizens. At the same time, by violating their own man-made laws of the prohibition of displaying fight films, the symbolic image of Jess Willard is enhanced threefold, as a most important "American victory". Those states that did allow the showing would share in the symbolic victory, however, many others would suffer the fate of their own discriminatory-based laws. The New York Times reveals this hypocrisy:

> FIGHT PICTURES BARRED - FANS WILL HAVE NO CHANCE IN AMERICA TO SEE WILLARD'S VICTORY
>
> The law was passed 27 days after the Johnson-Jeffries fight at Reno, Nev. and it has been contended that a set-to was not a prizefight within the meaning of the law, but merely an exhibition of boxing given under the most select auspices with women in evening dress among the spectators. To decide this the Government is to submit an agreed statement of facts to a judge of the Federal District Court, and he will decide on the status of the films.[63]

This article reflects favorable rationality in justifying the right of citizens to view the victorious white champion, especially in comparison to the disfavorable media toward prizefighting in the aftermath of the Johnson-Jeffries affair of 1910. The pessimism and anger of the media in 1910 is clearly distinguished from the optimism, rationality, and "new" morals of 1915*. Popular sentiment would encourage officials to allow that the fights be seen:

> PROMOTERS SEE CHANCE TO SHOW FIGHT PICTURES
>
> Decision in Matter of Wells-Ritchie Films Now Before Courts Will Furnish Precedent - Is Bout a "Boxing Match" or Prize Fight
>
> There is a bare possibility that the Jess Willard-Jack Johnson fight pictures may be seen in the United States in spite of the Federal statute which expressly forbids not only the interstate transportation of fight films but the importation of such films from foreign countries...They contended that the pictures were merely reproductions of a boxing match...As it is a civil and not a criminal case the chances are that the pictures will be shown under bonds pending the final decision in the case.[64]

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*The Johnson-Jeffries / Johnson-Willard bouts are readily available to the public, although large segments are omitted from the original films.

This article is the continuation of a large series of sentiment favoring that the fights be shown "in spite of" (see above article) United States laws. In this case the American Ideal is to show the film that demonstrates white supremacy, for the "good" of society, whereas it had been repulsive to demonstrate Johnson's conquests.

The media revelled in Willard's success over Johnson. For instance, the New York Times reported:

> Jack Johnson, exile from his own country, today lost the heavyweight championship of the world to Jess Willard, the Kansas cowboy, the biggest man who ever entered the prize ring and a "White Hope" who at last made good. The negro was knocked out in the twenty-sixth round with a smashing right swing to the point of the jaw.[65]

This article accurately reflects Caucasian jubilation over the Willard victory, as expressed by the media in the term "a 'White Hope' who at last made good". "White Hope" is spelled in capitalized initials and "negro" continues to begin with the inferior "n" (as noted in the chapter on the American racial system). Popular evangelist, Billy Sunday, stated to the New York Times:

> "This is the pleasantest moment in months...I thought Willard was easy meat for Johnson, but the result is great. Every white man should be happy.[66]

The significance of the victory by Willard is reflected through the statements by Sunday, as endorsed by the media. The popularity that Willard received was equal to idolatry in the American culture, which was especially noted through the festivities that Willard encountered on his trek through the United States following his victory. Festivities were wide and numerous, as Willard was greeted by immense crowds and pre-planned parades, marching bands, confetti, etc., in every area of the nation. The New York Times reported:

> RIOTOUS CROWDS GREET WILLARD
>
> A crowd of several thousand who gathered on the pier (at Key West, Fla.) to greet the new champion became so demonstrative that they broke down fences and parted ropes in their eagerness to get near the Kansas giant. The police had great difficulty in preserving order...all the shipping flew flags of welcome and the crews lined the rails and yelled cheering words at the white champion. Several Government torpedo-boat destroyers opened their sirens in welcome.[67]

By reading this article, one does not have to wonder or imagine the great symbol that white America created of Jess Willard, for defeating the great black champion, Jack Johnson. The fact that he would re-draw the color line with respect to fighting other top-notch heavyweight black contenders became a factor that would last for another twenty-two years in the heavyweight division among

subsequent heavyweight champions. Although there were many integrated boxing matches during, and subsequent to, this period, blacks who were qualified as contenders for the heavyweight championship were void. The New York Times, in an effort to consolidate the title unto Caucasian barriers (after the Willard fight) printed:

BLACK HOPES TOO FAT[68]

This article was written in reference to the two top black heavyweight fighters, Sam Langford* and Jim Johnson. The heavyweight championship would be dominated by white champions in succession, Jess Willard, Jack Dempsey, Gene Tunney, Max Schmeling, Jack Sharkey, Primo Carnera, Max Baer, and James J. Braddock (who would be the first of this group to offer a chance at the title to a black contender, ignoring "Jim Crow". With the entrance of Joe Louis, the media would undergo a process of transition in their depiction of black athletes.

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*Langford, incidentally, was nicknamed "The Boston Tar Baby".

The Joe Louis Era (1937-1949)

The "Brown Bomber" (one of many nicknames and epithets) would have an impact on the improvement of race relations in the still racially-torn American society. This factor is reflected through the realm of sport and many other institutions of American life. Overt racial characterizations were somewhat slowly fading in the media, but never completely. General characterizations of black athletes (and blacks in general) were still evident, and would remain throughout the career of Joe Louis. Joe Louis' career would coincide with the black entrance to the other major sports (baseball, football, and basketball), as he represented by example the forthcoming of blacks into the American cultural mainstream. He would be the foremost of the few American Negroes to achieve hero status in the content of the media and in the minds of the general American public. His success in boxing, however, reflects and represents a transition (and evolution) from the overtness of racial characterizations by the media depictions which were reminiscent of the Jack Johnson era toward an increasing general acceptance of the talented Negro athlete. This transition would be directly effected through Louis' accomplishments in and out of the boxing ring.

During the pre-Louis era, with the entrance of Jack

Dempsey, Gene Tunney, etc., boxing would become more structured in terms of rules, regulations and the exclusion of black contenders from heavyweight championship competition. Jack Dempsey would help to bring back the pre-Johnson attraction to the sport of boxing, and especially, the heavyweight championship. In a victory over Jess Willard on July 4, 1919, Dempsey would emerge as yet another great American hero and a symbol of white supremacy that transcended future generations unto the present. Although Willard gained great popularity (in heroic proportions) over Jack Johnson, his uncharitable character (especially to the World War I effort and his reluctance to defend the title*) led to his increasing unpopularity as the heavyweight champion. Jack Dempsey would restore the excitement and popularity of boxing (that would characterize the sport during the pre-Johnson "Jim Crow" era) with his relentless efforts. He drew nationwide attention with his knockout victory over Jess Willard in 1919. The New York Times would grant this event with wide pre-fight and post-fight coverage. Although admittedly untrained for the Dempsey fight, Willard also admits that he was readily prepared when he met Johnson, in his explanation to the

*Willard defended his title only once in the four years since he stopped Jack Johnson; this and the fact that he was unwilling to contribute to the war effort made public his growing unpopularity.

New York Times:

> "I'll admit I trained harder for that fight, but the conditions demanded it."[69]

The obvious reference made here is the condition that the media helped to provide, in their quest for a Johnson upset (by any white opponent*), and widespread public support of a Johnson defeat. Although the pre-fight coverage of the Dempsey-Willard fight was extensive, it actually only consisted of the fighters' condition and other facts and figures (gate receipts, purses, etc.) that pertained to the fight. The one obvious "missing ingredient" to this coverage was the controversy or drama that would naturally occur had this been an interracial contest. Dempsey, a slight favorite, would easily win the bout in three rounds and the promoters would take notice of the weak gate attendance:

> The announcement that the bout drew only about 20,000 persons, less than one-fourth of the seating capacity of the arena, was a big surprise.[70]

This disclosure represents the major effect that discrimination played on heavyweight championship boxing after Jack Johnson, and proves that boxing thrives on controver-

*During the pre- Louis era, any opponent who was of Caucasian origin was given the tag of a potential "white hope" (because of Jack Johnson).

siality and racism, as well as individual talent. Dempsey, like Willard, vowed never to face any blacks in the ring in a statement to the New York Times:

> DEMPSEY WILL MEET ONLY WHITE BOXERS
>
> New Champion of Heavyweight Division Announces That He is to Draw Color Line
>
> In the first statement he has made since becoming the heavyweight champion of the world, Jack Dempsey announced today that he will draw the color line. He will pay no attention to negro challengers, but will defend his title against any white heavyweight as the occasion demands... Jack will pay no attention to any challenges which might come from Harry Wills, who is just now the kingpin of the black heavyweights.[71]

This article represents the rationalization of prejudice to a discrimination-based American media audience in 1919. Heavyweight boxing returns immediately took notice of the absence of black contenders from heavyweight championship boxing. With the exception of the above article, much of the post-fight commentary was repetitive and extensive to the point of overdone (as a symbolic victory was guaranteed from the beginning, in this bout between two white men). Although boxing was still illegal in many areas of the United States, Jack Dempsey's electrifying style and controversy would hold the interest of the major boxing public for the early segment of the pre-Joe Louis era. And although the Dempsey-Willard bout was much like a one-sided affair, the media seemed to adore the new champion (as it had once adored Willard):

> Although he was a slacker, unpolished socially, and rough in his habits, Dempsey was on the verge of becoming a hero...In order to make Dempsey the symbol of all-American masculinity, his rough, hungry features were touched up by the writer's pen...As a cultural symbol Jack Dempsey is interesting because his career spans the decade.[72]

His popular image would mirror the different cultural shifts and schisms of the 1920's, just as his personal life and boxing career would exemplify the age of heroes and the rise of commercialized sports (most notably baseball and football, as basketball was in its infancy). Highly successful, well endorsed, and highly popular, Jack Dempsey would take the image of folk hero (in the ring, on the screen, and on the stage) in the media and, simultaneously, as a symbol in the hearts of his idolators. His career* would end in back-to-back losses to Gene Tunney (the 2nd of these bouts involved the infamous "long count" which went to Tunney's advantage) in 1926 and 1927. The end of Dempsey's career in 1928 (Tunney would also retire after one successful defense of the title) marked a period (the pre-Joe Louis era) that witnessed a preponderance of increasing unpopularity in the area of heavyweight championship boxing. White boxers

*Boxing would be re-legalized during the early reign of Dempsey. This era would see the re-emergence of boxing advocates, including Congress members, who once fought to ban boxing (after the Johnson-Jeffries bout of 1910).

would rule the heavyeweight division until the entrance of Joe Louis (only the second black to compete for the title since Jack Johnson) in 1934.

Almost instantly, as he would begin his career in 1934, Joe Louis was listed in the top ten contenders (#9)[73] in the 1934 Ring Ratings. The following year, he was rated the number one heavyweight in the world (rated second only to the champion, James J. Braddock). Boxing, having suffered from rising unpopularity, scandal, and the lack of controversial and/or interracial heavyweight matches was eager to the development of Joe Louis*. In 1936, however, after a string of 27 victories, he would meet Max Schmeling in their first encounter. Louis, an easy winner over such notable ex-heavyweight champions as Max Baer and Primo Carnera, was heavily favored to win the match at 8-1 odds. Having achieved hero status in the American black communities through the significance of his victories, Joe Louis is introduced by reporter Fred Van Ness of the New York Times:

> Joe Louis, idol of millions and the larger part of the attraction in his fight with Max Schmeling tomorrow night...[74]

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*Joe Louis, like Muhammad Ali, would add a new spirit and "flavor" to the boxing game, thereby increasing its popularity through controversy and consecutive victories.

This article is a hint that Joe Louis had already won great sentiment in the white American community as well. The situation in Europe, with World War II becoming more of a reality, helped to create Louis as a modern hero (and the best American fighter to do the job against the German, Schmeling). At the same time, the legalized practice of "Jim Crow" still existed, and the Great Depression had taken its toll on economic and social conditions nationwide, but there was reason to hope. With the entrance of Franklin D. Roosevelt and his "New Deal", all Americans (black and white) fought to pull through these crises. The expectation of World War II and the desired defeat of the maniacal Hitler, Stalin, and Mussolini loomed large in the American psyche, along with the fear of being conquered. While the American invitation into World War II would not take place for another five years, this fight, the rematch, together with the 1936 Olympics, would act as symbolic American-German confrontations (although they were led by black American athletes) in prelude to an inevitable war. For maybe the first time in American history, whites and blacks alike rallied behind black representatives in a common defense of the symbolic stength of the United States flag. Although the media was heavily in support of Joe Louis, the media would still invoke racism into its commentary, in particular, reporter John Kieran of the <u>New York Times</u>:

> Younger, faster, the better boxer and the harder puncher, the Dark Destroyer looks like a winner as he heads for the ring... the dark-browed Teuton (Schmeling) is about eight years older that Shufflin' Joe.[75]

This reporter has his own featured sports column and probably was the foremost boxing authority of the New York Times at this time. His references to Joe Louis as the "Dark Destroyer" and "Shufflin' Joe" are racial nicknames and epithets that allude to racial stereotypes ("shufflin" is a trait of the character, "Sambo"). The next day (the day of the fight, June 19, 1936), he wrote "Shufflin' Joe" three times and "Dark Destroyer" twice in the same column. As the term "Shufflin" is an immediate reflection of the "Sambo" image of blacks in vaudeville, it seems that this reporter is trying to perpetuate that image upon the minds of the reader in his every account of Joe Louis (even though Louis had become somewhat of an American folk hero at this point). The "Dark Destroyer" tag is further reminder of Louis' second-class citizenship as a black American. Although Kieran chooses Louis to win the fight, there is a note of mockery:

> Yes sir, I'd pick him over Dempsey. Which shows you how high I rate Joe Louis. He's the best ever, bar none. If he doesn't slaughter Schmeling, I'll eat your hat. It's up to Shufflin' Joe to save the hat.[76]

The write of this article uses the white ex-champion, Jack

Dempsey, as the standard in his perception of excellence in prizefighting. However, the symbolic admiration of the Negro contender, Joe Louis, is also evident in the writer's linguistics. The desire for an American victory, rather than a racial victory, is also easily perceived. By "saving the hat", Louis would be doing two things: (1) victoriously representing his country over the dreaded German symbol and (2) fulfilling the role of Negro subordinance. As noted earlier, the collective conscience of American society is apt to break with tradition, in order to gain a moral American victory. It is a part of the American Ideal to have black support in American battles, however, few black "war heroes" are noted in American history. For his part, Joe Louis may have been one of the greatest of these symbolic black American heroes. Reporter Jimmy Powers of the Daily News stated:

> Joe Louis, unbeaten colored Detroit mechanic, will be 5-1 when he shoves his curly scalp through the ring ropes to face Max Schmeling, German ex-heavyweight champion, in Yankee Stadium at 10 o'clock tonight. Louis is so good the 70,000 fans who have purchased $750,000 worth of tickets will arrive early in the expectation of a quick knockout.[77]

This article reflects adulation for the new black contender, however uses the racial terms, "colored" and "curly scalp" (depicting napped hair), in a good-humored fashion.

Joe Louis was knocked out in the twelfth round of their bout of June 19, 1936. Reporter James P. Dawson of

the New York Times stated:

> In one of the greatest heavyweight battles of modern ring history Max Schmeling, sturdy, stolid German who formerly held the world's heavyweight title, last night provided one of the ring's biggest upsets when he knocked out Joe Louis, Detroit's famed Brown Bomber in the Yankee Stadium...(Louis) was counted out, his invincibility as a fighter a shattered myth, his vulnerability convincingly established and his claims to heavyweight title distinction knocked into the discard.[78]

The effect that the reader would assume from this reporting is not one of sadness and disgust, as was the case when the country rallied behind Jim Jeffries and were overly-disappointed (as evident in the media) after he was defeated by Jack Johnson. This article more resembles a harsh eulogy directed at the aspiring Negro contender, Joe Louis. The linguistics denote a cold finality (or farewell) to the fluke Negro contender whose overrated skills had been exposed (although this was Louis' first professional loss) at the age of twenty-two. In a manner of speaking, the general American media and public was only behind Louis with their words, and not with their hearts and loyalty, at this point (although blacks were generally disappointed greatly over this result). As a matter of fact, there seemed to be a jubilance on the part of white fans (who attended the live fight) over the result:

> Louis had to be carried to his corner while the shouts of 45,000 delirious fans rang in the ears of his battered, bruised, and bleeding conqueror.[79]

The "delirious fans" of this article were made up of mostly white Americans who cheered the success of the white fighter, although that fighter represented Hitler's Nazi regime. The "battle scars" that are described reflect a badge of courage that the author is imposing on the reader, in behalf of Schmeling, the victor. Although the Negro Louis was the "American", and the white Schmeling was the deadly German "enemy", this excerpt implies unquestionable praise for another symbolic display of white supremacy. References of Louis having inferior mental ability were made by the current champion, James J. Braddock:

> Braddock praised Schmeling, but added, "a smart guy with a good jab can beat him."[80]

This reference obviously refers to the allusion that Louis wasn't "smart" enough to beat Schmeling, which in turn reflects the impact of genetic race-linked studies of the mental inferiority of blacks. Joe Louis later commented on this negative depiction (well after his retirement):

> The papers the next day were saying any "smart boxer could outwit me." Shit! Were they saying I'm a dumb boxer? I knew I didn't finish high school and go to college...but I've never been dumb. Foolish yes - dumb, no.[81]

Louis' reaction obviously reflects the insult of this racial and personal depiction of low intelligence. As for the beating that Louis managed to inflict on Schmeling (interpreted symbolically as victorious "battle scars"

and badges of courage) the New York Times stated:

> ...his left eye almost completely closed from the Detroit Negro's sharp left-handed punching.[82]

The linguistic style of this excerpt demonstrates the growing subtlety of black characterizations in the media. The New York Post featured a photo of Louis laying on the canvas after a knockdown. The headline of this photo is entitled:

> Just a Scared and Beaten Boy[83]

The word "boy" is one of many racial epithets directed at Negro males, located in American antiquity. Also, the insinuation that Louis was "scared" after having fought 12 rounds with ex-champion Schmeling, plays into the stereotypical genre of "cowardice" among blacks. Descriptions of the fight were also carried in epithetical fashion (subtle racism) by reporter Al Buck of the New York Post:

> (Max Schmeling) went to sleep at 6:30 A.M. today, after a night of wild congratulations over his dope-upsetting knockout of Joe Louis, the supposedly invincible Brown Bomber of Detroit...In the late rounds, certain of victory, Schmeling smiled occasionally as, a thorough workman, he went about the business of cutting down the brown figure in front of him. They kept fighting after the bell in the fifth with Schmeling scoring one of the hardest punches of the fight flush on the Negro's jaw. Louis's face began to swell until it resembled a brown coconut.[84]

Buck is very descriptive, in terms of the epithets, "brown figure" and "brown coconut". The term, "Brown Bomber" is also a racial epithet describing a black athlete, however, this particular term (for Joe Louis) was accepted by both black and white Americans on a general basis. The author could also have chosen another phrase rather than "dope-upsetting" (which could have been taken as a negative reference to Louis, rather than an upset in the gambling odds, by less sophisticated fans of sport). Words such as these help to accomplish the effect of imagery through the synonymic pictures and relations of the word, and the actual meaning of the word*. This play with words can simultaneously convey two meanings (or more) of the same incident without changing its form, and its use is a clever guise for racism. Many racial meanings are conveyed by the media, using this tactic.

Almost instantly, Schmeling becomes a German national hero and symbol, receiving congratulatory telegrams after the fight. The New York Times reported:

> ...the fiery Minister of Propaganda (Dr. Paul Joseph Goebbels), who is one of the driving powers behind the Nazi's racial campaign when Schmeling...knocked out the Brown Bomber..."To your wonderful victory," Dr. Goebbels cabled him, my best congratu-

*The same can be done with photographs, as with words.

> lations. I know you fought for Germany; that it's a German victory. We are proud of you. Heil Hitler, Regards."[85]

There are many political repercussions here. As Germany is clearly united over the Schmeling victory, the American crowd (who attended the live fight) was clearly divided over the issues of American loyalty and the quest for white supremacy. American racism is, at this point, severely being tested. The media was prepared to honor the winner in any case, but Louis' loss to Schmeling would tend to revive many of the old myths and practices. It is noted, by Chris Mead, that the shift in this dilemma was to take place during the fight:

> Louis ducked a left jab and clinched again. He was barely hanging on. Schmeling heard people in the crowd yelling, "Kill him, kill him"...The American press praised Schmeling for his intelligence and courage and for his victory against great odds.[86]

This quote reflects clearly the theme of "racism vs. patriotism" in the United States. Post-fight coverage by the New York Times would reflect the preceding quote by Mead. Reporter John Kieran, in particular, returned to his racial epithetical style:

> He dropped the Dark Destroyer...He did it with one eye closed, and he might as well have done it with one hand tied behind his back...Herr Max let go a right in the first round. It missed but it showed that the Teuton meant to carry the war into Africa...It took courage and a punch.

> Herr Max had both...Ja, wohl!... And the Dark Tower crumbled to the ground.[87]

By "carrying the war into Africa", the author is suggesting racial opposition as a method of analyzing the fight. He is also opposed to the Nazi regime, as indicated by his references to Schmeling as "Herr Max", the "Teuton", the "Black Uhlan from the Rhine", etc. However, these are political nicknames of an ethnic nature whereas "Dark Destroyer", "Shufflin' Joe", and "Dark Tower", are racial in character. In this same article, Louis was referred to as Shufflin' Joe (or the "Shuffler") seven times, the "Dark Destroyer" four times, and the "Dark Tower" twice. The article was (in subtle terms) a lambaste at Louis' mental ability and boxing ability that the author obviously felt were overrated, as well as an reluctant appraisal for Schmeling.

Reports of Negro disappointment over the result were also announced by the media. Reporter Jerry Mitchell of the New York Post stated:

> Yes Sir! Headaches in Harlem, Yorkville
>
> But They Come from the Heart on Lenox Avenue - From the Beer in Gotham's Little Germany
>
> Harlem had a headache today and so did Yorkville, and Max Schmeling's dramatic demolishment of Joe Louis was the cause of both. In the city's German section the headaches were of the hangover variety, the result of a celebration that found every brauhaus tapping its last few kegs

> of beer by dawn. In Harlem skulls ached at every thought of the Yankee Stadium upset. When the Louis boy went down for keeps he carried a lot of hard-earned money with him.[88]

The practice of reflecting black disappointment over the black athlete's non-success in a major sporting event where there is a white adversary is evident by this article. If the media was more "patriotic", they would have concentrated on the reactions of all Americans, and not just blacks, in the wake of this fight. Stories like this help to facilitate the racial, rather than the political, overtones of this fight*. Louis' hometown, Detroit, Mich., was besieged by white American fans who had come to celebrate the Schmeling victory. The New York Times reported:

> Detroit June 20 (AP)...Police reinforcements were rushed into the Negro district as automobiles filled with exuberant celebrants swarmed through the streets. There were numerous fist fights, but no serious injuries. A Negro girl took the defeat so to heart that she attempted to drink poison in a drug store.[89]

These "exuberant celebrants" were obviously whites who saw it fit to drive into Louis' hometown community for the purposes of mocking the deposed figure of black supremacy in favor of the symbolically re-established figure of white

*This situation would improve with the Jesse Owens Olympic triumphs of 1936.

supremacy and also to provoke the Negroes into altercations. The issue of white supremacy created more loyalty among American whites than the issue of American loyalty toward one of her own, although of a different race. This article can also be translated into one of jubilance over the Schmeling victory and the redemption of Caucasian supremacy in the art of boxing. American whites showed the same type of support and loyalty to the Canadian, Tommy Burns, in the media pre-fight sentiment over the black American, Jack Johnson. It appears that patriotism is subordinated to the "more important" issue of white supremacy (racism). Historically, Americans have always showed interest in the displaying of blacks as inferior, not only as a deterrent to black revolution, but for the purposes of propagandizing blacks to the point of self-subordination and maintaining the symbol of Caucasian mental and physical supremacy.

With respect to the German adulation of Schmeling, the headlines of the New York Times boasted:

> GERMANY ACCLAIMS SCHMELING AS NATIONAL HERO FOR HIS VICTORY OVER LOUIS
>
> Reichsfuehrer Adolf Hitler cabled Schmeling: "Most cordial congratulations on your splendid victory." The Chancellor also sent flowers and felicitaions to the fighter's wife.[90]

Germany's version of white supremacy in 1936, as defined by Adolf Hitler, is "Aryan supremacy" (or the "master" race). The example set forth by Hitler is that the most perfect humans (mentally and physically) in the world

are the blonde, blue-eyed Aryan breed (although Hitler did not share these traits, he was considered Aryan). In subsequent years, he sought to prove this theory. As a form of Nazi ideology, or propaganda, he convinced this Caucasian subgroup (or gentiles) to carry out his proposed misdeeds.

In many ways, this fight (in that Louis lost this fight) was conducive to Louis' expeditious challenge for the title in the following year, because Schmeling had erased his aura of invincibility (that the press helped to create) and his destructive reputation as a fighter. Many white prizefighters, who once had fear of these elements, were willing to meet Louis in the ring. The Louis loss was deemed "good for boxing" at the time. One may reason that the loss was "good" for boxing because it shattered the myth of the indestructible black fighter (another potential Jack Johnson). The promoter, Mike Jacobs, stated to reporter Al Buck of the New York Post his prediction of the future of heavyweight boxing:

> Joe Jacob's prediction that Louis would be flooded with challenges now that Max has shown the way came true almost as soon as he uttered the words..."Nobody expected Louis to be beaten," the promoter declared. "I think it will be a good thing for boxing."[91]

Although the above promoter may also be interpreted in a business sense, in terms of return bouts and other attrac-

tive boxing matches in the future, it would have been a "good thing" for America had Louis won the bout (in a psycho-political sense). Although James J. Braddock was a white American champion, both Schmeling and Louis were favored to beat Braddock, a champion who had only defended his title once in two years*. Many American loyalists, however, would rather have Louis get a first chance at the title, thereby preventing Germany from gaining the title. The champion, Braddock, was anxious to give Louis a chance at the title, not just because of his loyalty to America, but because he knew that the interracial match would probably draw the biggest gate and he may have thought that his chances of winning against Louis were greater than against Schmeling. Schmeling, who won the fight with Louis, was the next natural contender for the title, but Louis would receive this privilege first.

Before the Louis-Braddock fight, another key political situation would emerge (patriotism vs. racial supremacy) in the public imagination. This took the form of the 1936 Olympics, which was held in Berlin (Nazi), Germany. The track and field events were the center of such political issues as German aggression, Aryan (German) supremacy over mankind, and black vs. white supremacy. The 1936 Olympics brought to the forefront a different perspective of national pride that was heretofore unprece-

*Like Jess Willard, Braddock "milked" the title for all its "commodity" worth.

dented by Americans (in support of her black Olympic representatives), which will be discussed in the last section of this unit ("Other Sports of the Twentieth Century").

Pre-fight coverage of the Louis-Braddock championship fight was extensive (although minimal when compared to the pre-fight hype of an outstanding challenger that was Jack Dempsey as he approached his battle with Jess Willard). John Kieran of the New York Times mentioned the epithet, "Shufflin' Joe" sixteen times in his column of 6/21/37, and the "Dark Destroyer" twice (both in reference to Joe Louis:

> Well, for one thing, it was demonstrated by Herr Max Schmeling that a resounding slap to the left side of Shufflin' Joe's face was enough to knock the Dark Destroyer in two directions at once-over and down. For another thing, the Louis who slaughtered Carnera and Baer was a young fellow only recently removed from hand-labor in the cotton fields of Alabama and the machine shops of Detroit. For years his idea of a sizable chunk of money was fifty cents. Until he entered the ring it is doubtful that he ever saw as much as fifty dollars in a group in his life*.[92]

The redundancy of such stereotypical characterizations, as

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*Although these statements may have some validity, there is also a stereotypical form to them. This form usually appears in media descriptions of black athletes in a universal format.

evident by this article-excerpt, would tend to affect the belief perceptions of the media psyche, as similar depictions would accompany most black athletes throughout the history of blacks in American sport. In his evaluation of the two fighters, John Kieran of the New York Times voiced:

> Considering the difference in age and the disparity in the records, the youthful Joe Louis would seem to be a sure shot over the veteran Braddock. But somehow there are thousands of fight fans who see it another way.[93]

The conflict that is designated by this article ("American" sympathy for white fighter versus the superior record of the black fighter as affecting betting odds) was not an unusual phenomenon during these early days of interracial boxing matches. As with Johnson vs. Jeffries, Burns, and Willard, the Caucasian-American public would usually deem the sentimental favorite as the betting favorite. In the case of the Negro projected as the betting favorite, the odds were usually written in reverse so that the smaller number coincides with the name of the Negro (in order to "keep" the Negro in the subordinate position) to give the impression of the opposite. For instance, in this fight, Joe Louis was proclaimed a 3-1 choice to defeat the champion, Braddock, although reporter James P. Dawson of the New York Times wrote:

BOMBER 1-3 CHOICE TO CAPTURE CROWN[94]

The way this headline is written (with "Bomber" preceding the number "1"), Louis would be considered the underdog because the lower number coincides with "underdog". The correct way to state this betting line would be: "BOMBER 3-1 CHOICE TO CAPTURE CROWN". This same article also stated:

> While the betting favors Louis, sentiment favors Braddock. Most of the people...hope Braddock can win. The majority of the critics who rely only on the records are convinced Louis will win.[95]

With regard to national and racial pride, scientific reasoning is somewhat overlooked in Dawson's pre-fight evaluation of the two fighters. This article represents a typical sentimental account of the values of the individual white sports journalist. Reporter Jack Miley of the Daily News gives an account of Braddock's pre-fight perception of Joe Louis:

> He says - and who am I to contradict him? - that Joe is a bum on rye, a punk on pumpernickel and a washout on whole wheat. He doesn't mention white bread, because it doesn't fit the color scheme...Braddock doesn't think Louis will last more than eight rounds and he wouldn't be surprised if he stopped the tan tiger in six... Jim isn't so sure he won't be knocked down a couple of times. He admits Joe has the hardest left hand he ever saw and expects to sample it. "But I'll get up one more time than I go down, and you break those colored boys' hearts when you keep climbing off the floor."[96]

A very biased article on the surface, including the stereotype of the intestinal fortitude of blacks ("you break those colored boys' hearts when you keep climbing off the floor"), racial depiction including "animal" reference to black athletic ability (the "tan tiger"), and the reference to "bread color". This is yet another example of the overtness of the media in demonstrating the values of the individual journalist. In his pre-fight column, John Kieran interjects a "chicken joke"* in his assessment of Joe Louis:

> One Chicken Coming Up
>
> "I'll tell you about that," said the Louis adherent. "I asked Joe what he would do if Braddock hit him with a right. He says: 'Wanta make a bet?' and I said, 'Sure, because you never won a bet in your life.' So he said "he'd bet me the biggest fried chicken either of us could eat that Braddock never would hit him with a right at any time in the fight."..."Once!" said the Louis adherent. "Say, Schmeling had to hit him with a million to make him stay down. But if Braddock hit him once, I get that chicken."[97]

In this article, the Louis "adherent" is never identified, although he is the main character and orator. It is not difficult to preclude that this entire article entitled, "Somebody Must Be Wrong", which is a reference to the query of scientific vs. "sentimental" choices to win the

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*The early minstrel shows, including characters such as "Rastus", "Sambo", "Amos and Andy", among others, featured many "chicken" and "watermelon" jokes, as noted in the chapter on the American racial system.

fight, was fabricated for the entertainment of the majority of fight fans who read the New York Times, who were probably white and middle-to-upper class in socioeconomic status (true boxing fans*). In addition to this pre-fight minstrel show, "Shufflin' Joe" and "Dark Destroyer" were mentioned throughout the article. The whole article is somewhat of a satire that surrounded the conditions of the upcoming interracial heavyweight championship fight, one that if Louis wins, he would be only the second black in history to ever hold the title (symbolically the second rechanging of hands of white supremacy to the black race in heavyweight championship boxing history).

Rumors of a "fixed" fight in the making were reported by sports journalist, Jack Miley of the Daily News:

> Glum Louis 3-1 Choice To Defeat Braddock
>
> Chicago, June 21 - Rumors of the "fix" were rife on Randolph St...Although there was little wagering, Louis was a 3-1 favorite...The colored fans on the South Side aren't betting a buck, because they're afraid the works are in against their idol. This is all news to Jim...A score of startled Sepians were trailing promoter Mike Jacobs around the Morrison Hotel tonight, seeking his personal assurance that the challenger wasn't to get the well-known needles.[98]

There is an insinuation here that the champion, Braddock,

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*Not unlike Veblen's "leisure class".

would be less informed about a "fix" than Joe Louis (by the term, "This is all news to Jim"), although it was Braddock who was actually rumored to have planned to take a "dive". The references of "colored fans" and "startled Sepians" are typical racial genre geared toward blacks. There is also the insinuation that Louis is "glum" as opposed to the confidence of Braddock, maybe in relation to the "fix" rumors. In another article, reporter Jimmy Powers also gives Braddock (the inactive champion) positive connotations over Louis, although he chooses Louis to win (Daily News):

> I can think of a million things wrong with Louis. He is green. He is slow-witted. He stands like a dope when he is nailed. He has absolutely no defense against a right cross. He has had a lot of easy fights. He was jabbed into a hospital by the 179-pound Bob Pastor. He must set himself to punch. He can't feint, jab, block, or in-fight for sour apples. A dancer, a cutie, can slap him silly. And, most important of all, in his last big test he was knocked out...I can think of a lot of nice things about Braddock, too. He is dead game. He is tough. He is experienced. He has a good left hand. He will get off the deck. He has never been cleanly knocked out. He lost to many tramps, but most losses came because he was so poor he was out of condition...I like Jim personally and would be pleased to see him win. But - I pick Louis.[99]

This article represents a 1937 rationalization of the two principals who are involved in this interracial heavyweight match. If the black principal wins, he would be only the second of his race to capture the title, and the first to win it on American soil. This journalist

stresses the good points of the white principal and negatively reports the flaws of the black challenger, regardless of however accurate these assessments might be. The following day, reporter Jack Miley of the Daily News reported his assessment of the weigh-in before the fight:

> Chicago, June 22 - "Why don't you scrape that fuzz off your face, Joe, before you get out there in front of all those people tonite?"...The colored kid grunted an unintelligible reply and rubbed a strong, square hand over the scraggly, pin-feather chin foliage he had nurtured so proudly for ten days. Joe was plainly hurt that Jim would ridicule a stubble Joe fondly hoped would resemble Jack Dempsey's awe-inspiring blue-black beard...When Louis and Braddock posed for publicity pictures here several weeks ago (Joe) Gould sidled over to the naive Louis and said to him: "You know, Joe, fighting champions is different than fighting those other palookas you've been licking. These champions are always tough guys - you gotta be, to be the champ! You'd better think that over, boy, and don't say I didn't tip you off!"[100]

This excerpt is yet another demonstration of the values of the individual journalist, with preconceived notions in the depiction of black athletes and the enhancement of the career and reputation of the white athlete (which exposes the writer's sentiment). The black athlete is depicted as unintelligent and "naive"; Dempsey has become the standard "bearded" image in heavyweight boxing; the use of the word, "boy", by Braddocks's manager, Joe Gould, in his authoritative advice to Joe Louis, and his question of the intestinal fortitude of Louis' qualification for

the championship, which is stereotypical.

Louis would win the fight and the championship, and alhough the media did not express the obvious disappointment that it expressed with Johnson's victories over Burns and Jeffries, it is evident that Louis' victory was "swallowed" with a "bitter pill" in the media. As Chris Mead observes:

> Ed Hughes of the Brooklyn Daily Eagle wrote, "Plainly there is a strong racial itch to see the white man conquer the Negro." Whites were rooting for Braddock even if they thought he would lose.[101]

This quote sums up the pre-fight "disguised" rhetoric of the quest of the "Great White Hope" in 1937. Although the media of the day was fairly subtle, with respect to racial sentiment, favoritism is clearly defined by the individual writer. James P. Dawson, writing for the New York Times, reflected some of the symbolic disappointment:

> The fallen champion's handlers, their white faces wearing a startled expression under the glare of the ring lights and the shock of Braddock's collapse, leaped quickly through the ropes, lifted the dethroned ring monarch bodily from the floor and carried him to his corner...Louis turned primitive with the savage instinct to kill when the great chance opened before him... Braddock had blind faith in his own supremacy, though that supremacy came late in his life to lift him...to the world's heavyweight championship.[102]

This excerpt clearly reflects the duality of the media (and public) sentiment in the outcome of this very popular

although perceivably disappointing inerracial affair. Braddock is depicted as the beloved fallen king, while Louis represents the hungry black "savage" who was his conqueror, in obvious imagery and metaphor. Exclusive photos of the fight in the Daily News featuring the new champion, Joe Louis, were inscribed:

> JOURNEY'S END FOR A GAME GUY! - Louis calmly turns his back on the fallen Braddock in 8th. Jersey Jimmy just couldn't get up-thàssal!
>
> S-W-I-S-H! - Braddock's right...a once lethal weapon...swishes harmlessly over Louis' kinky head. Jersey Jim shot his bolt early in the battle.[103]

These photo articles reflect the disappointment of the failure of the Caucasian athlete and the mockery of the black athlete. The linguistic purpose of the use of the all-in-one phrase, "thàssal", reflects an attempt to mock the black achievement through the stereotypification of "black" English. "Kinky head" refers to disappointment and mockery of the Negro achievement through the stereotypification of black hair texture. Jimmy Powers of the Daily News reported:

> "one, two, three...!" Here, the flabby, white body of the stricken defending champion shuddered. A reflex action caused it to stiffen...He was unconscious at "ten"...Louis began to circle and introduce some semblance of science in the third. He jabbed often, scoring with sickening results. Poor Braddock seemed to come apart at the seams.[104]

It is difficult not to understand the sympathy and favorit-

ism parted to Braddock by this reporter. The Negro success is classified as "scoring with sickening results", by Powers. "Poor Braddock" also deems the partiality of the writer. Mockery of the new black champion would continue. In quoting Louis, the Daily News reported:

> There was no hilarity, no blatant gloating over having won the heavyweight title, the first colored fighter to hold it since Jack Johnson...Joe looked at the fists that had brought victory: "They is going to make me the fightingest champion in history," he declared in the same monotone ..."I hit Jim the hardest lick I ever struck ...Braddock is the gamest guy Ah evah fought. He sho' can take it and he can hit some, too." ...even in victory (Jack) Blackburn picked flaws..."Okay, Chappie," the new champ said. "Yo'se the bossman and from now on I'se goin to do like you tells me."[105]

This article is obviously a mockery to "black" language (in Southern "drawl" and dialect), as well as a form of humility, as imposed on Joe Louis by the Daily News. "No blatant gloating" (offensive to whites) as opposed to braggodocio is mentioned of Joe Louis, as already the media desires that Louis uphold the "blue laws" of white America and not be "offensive" to whites the way that Jack Johnson was perceived. As whites were disappointed over the result, they did not want Louis to "rub it in". Hugh Bradley of the New York Post reported:

> It was not a great prizefight so far as technical perfection was concerned. Neither did Joe Louis, second of his race to hold the title, show himself to be such a master of his work as the dark-skinned Jack Johnson

> who knocked out Jim Jeffries twenty-five years ago...Jim Braddock was not a great world champion...Those final rounds were what too many of us who knew him well had dreaded all along...I am sorry that something prevents me from writing about those rounds here just as it possibly has prevented me from giving proper credit to a youngster who is the second of his race to win a coveted crown. But-well Jim Braddock as champion still was the same Irish youngster...A great guy and a real credit to his race. I sincerely hope the new champion is and can be the same.[106]

This article reflects personal bitterness over the Braddock defeat by Louis, and is evident by his disappointment and lack of accreditation to the performance by Louis ("It was not a great prizefight"*). There is also an over-concern of the topic of race by this author. In a follow-up article, the same author, Hugh Bradley, stated:

> Louis Can Go Far By Modeling Life After Paul Robeson (An Open Letter to Joe Louis)
>
> Dear Champ - I started something in yesterday's piece about the big fight and then left it hanging in the air at the bottom of the page...What I am referring to is two sentences. One of them said Jim Braddock is a credit to his race and the other carried a sincer hope that you will be the same. That's no malarkey, Joe...You-because nature pigmented your skin a different color from the majority of us fellow Americans-are particularly on a spot...You are bound to be an even more than usual victim because

*Because Louis won the fight, the author is demonstrating a "sour grapes" attitude with this remark.

> of your birth in an Alabam cabin...What I mean is that if, as a man you are a title holder to be proud of, the pigmentation of your skin which has brought so many indignities to men of your color will swing the pendulum far over on the other side. Men, whose ancestors came from Africa, are in a minority here, Joe. So just as their misdeeds must so often stand out, also their really worthy feats must command the attention that is due any great and unexpected minority performance. Look at Paul Robeson...Robeson was a greater athlete than you will ever be, Joe. Now, still a comparatively young man, he has achieved international heights in arts which have little connection with the swing music you adore. Underprivileged people of the same color which tints your skin have benefitted vastly by Robeson's example, Joe...You are champion now, Joe...You have connections which may eventually ruin you and sorely vex your people. You also have yourself. Robeson is a great Negro, Joe. He also is a greater man and an American. I sincerely hope you will be the same.[107]

This open letter is, actually, a guideline of rules for the new black champion and open criticism of the majority of blacks in America, including Louis (criticism of his management as well). Although this is only an excerpt, it contains the key elements of media social change in the transition of racist media from overt to more subtle terminology. This excerpt is no more than a guideline of American "acceptance" for Joe Louis. Black skin is perceived as negative throughout the article*. Using the

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*One of the subtitles in this article was entitled, "Color of Skin Will Not Matter If Man Under It Has High Standard", using Paul Robeson's example. This further illustrates the negative connotations of skin color by the author of this article. In other words, black skin matters if the standard of the person is not high, or unlike Paul Robeson.

Robeson model as a standard of acceptance, Louis is under severe caution and criticism throughout. Many sentences in this open letter end with ", Joe.", which designates authority, or superiority, on the part of the author, and subordinance or inferiority on the part of the addressee. Another perception of ", Joe.", would symbolize the plea of white America to Joe Louis, to conform with the ways of white American tradition by representing America first, his race second.

Media disappointment over the Braddock loss would continue. Reporter Al Buck of the New York Post stated:

> LOUIS AWAITS WHITE HOPES
>
> Chicago, June 23 - Another "White Hope" era has dawned today as Joe Louis, age twenty-three years, was established on the world heavyweight throne...The Brown Bomber came into his own last night at Comiskey park when he knocked out the game, courageous James J. Braddock...in the eighth round...."Ah started ma' right and Braddock done beat me to it," Louis explained..."Ah wasn't hurt,"..."Ah don't know what all held that Braddock up," the Bomber remarked ...Ah knowed ah had him when he all clinched in the fifth round," Ah could feel him weakening." He is world heavyweight champion today and a new white hope era has dawned.[108]

Although there is evidence of disappointment in this excerpt ("a new white hope era has dawned"), the author compensates by exaggerating the spelling of the linguistics of Louis' Southern dialect ("Ah knowed Ah had him, etc."), which, in effect, is subtle ridicule aimed at

Louis (and the American black population). It gives the impression of ignorance (or mental inferiority) on the part of the black fighter, by using the "Sambo" dialect. "White Hope" initials are capitalized in the first sentence, and inferior initials for the same words are printed in the last sentence, reflecting more disappointment, personal bitterness, and a lost cause. More disappointment and racial connotations are detected in the New York Post. Reporter Jerry Mitchell stated:

> Louis Victory is the Signal For Darktown Boys to Strut
>
> Chicago, June 23 - It was only an Irishman's dream. The Darktown Strutters Ball is still going on. They struck up the band the minute Joe Louis struck down Jim Braddock and haven't taken an intermission yet...pint-sized pickaninies offerd post card and parlor print pictures of Louis along the streets of the black belt leading to the park. Business was slow before the fight but the little bandits were getting from three to five dollars for their goods from jubilant colored gents afterward...many recalled a lot of Braddock rights landing where they didn't do the taffy-colored opponent any great good in the earlier rounds...someone asked Joe if he was going to have...fried chicken.[109]

Many racial connotations are observed here. "Darktown" and "Black Belt" refer to the black section(s) of Chicago; "pickaninies" refers to black youngsters; "taffy-colored" refers to the light-skinned black champion, and an "Irishman's dream" represents the white hope. Mitchell describes the black youngsters ("pickaninies") as "little bandits", although thay are observed doing an honest business.

This is, yet, more of the stereotypification of blacks in the media, including the insinuation that all blacks enjoy "fried chicken".

The German reaction was also well-publicized. They were well aware of the American "conspiracy" to keep Schmeling from fighting for the title, and they reacted in kind. Although joyous was Joe Louis and his following after the victory over Braddock, there was the previous defeat by Max Schmeling that still lingered in the public and media imagination, Germany declared that the Braddock-Louis fight was a sham and quickly announced Schmeling as the new champion by default. The New York Times stated:

> GERMANS SEE LOUIS AS SHAM CHAMPION
>
> Negro Victim of Schmeling No True Holder of Title, One Official Comments
>
> Berlin, June 23 - ...Joe Louis's victory over James J. Braddock in Chicago yesterday for the ring title is referred to as a "comedy". In the opinion of the press here, Louis already had been eliminated by his knockout at the hands of Schmeling. Wherefore Schmeling is now clearly "the world's best boxer." ...One Nazi sport authority says: "We can see from the fact that the Negro Louis now is proclaimed world champion how little this American title amounts to. The world's sportsmen never will recognize this American world champion. For Germany there is only one world champion and he is Schmeling." To which Angriff adds: "We have had enough of your crooked methods."[110]

The Germans are guilty of the same logic that was adopted after James J. Jeffries attempted to abandon his retirement

(of five years) to fight Jack Johnson for the title. By the fact that Jeffries had never lost the title in the ring, it was reasoned that he was still the champion by default. This ideology is usually perpetuated in the media to defend and benefit either the white athlete and/or American values, as to give them "reasonable doubt" if there is a question involving the competition with a "black" athlete (or "non-American values") in a sporting state of affairs. (As will be noted later, Muhammad Ali would not be given the benefit of such "excuses*" with his decision to resume his boxing career after his illegal "forced retirement".) The German attitude over Louis' gaining of the championship was also reflected in the New York Post:

> Berlin, June 23 - German sports pages viewed James J. Braddock's defeat with sardonic satisfaction today. It was the consensus of the papers that the man who "dodged" a fair fight with Max Schmeling got what he deserved from Louis. Indignation ran high in some papers, which pointed out that a Negro already decisively defeated by Schmeling is going around calling himself the world champion. The Nachtausgabe, one of the most excited papers, said such

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*Excuses (definition) - any logic or reasoning which castigates or denounces the achievement(s) of the black athlete to the benefit of the white athlete and/or American "values"; media action in support of American values: enhances performance of white athlete for the cause of white dominance (example: the 3-point rule was adopted with the inauguration of the NBA career of Larry Bird, a known distance shooter; this rule over-facilitated his performances.

> a condition was an indication of the "depths to which sport in America has descended."[111]

German newspapers, naturally angry over the Braddock snub of Schmeling, demonstrate their racial temperament as well in this article. A Negro champion is indicative of "the descent of American sports" (also "how little this American title amounts to" in previous article), in the German perception. The previous two articles represent a turning point in American affairs. For the second time in major American sports history (the first being the Jesse Owens' triumphs in the Berlin Olympics of 1936), the American media and public stood in support of their champion Negro athlete over the white adversary. Further support was demonstrated by Braddock and his manager, Joe Gould, in their public well-wishing of Louis. Statements such as these* were perceived by the American public and the media as anti-American and anti-Negro, in an ironical turn of events**. This would force black and white Americans to cooperate in the quest (which symbolized the quest of W.W. II) for world order, and it would the Negro, Joe Louis, onto "America's Team". When racism

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*The public snubbing of American Negro athletes in the 1936 Olympics by Adolf Hitler was perceived by the American media as distasteful.

**This is further proof of the hypocrisy of American life.

was exposed and displayed publicly, as the Germans had done*. American sentiment, in 1937, became supportive of her black population. Hugh Bradley of the New York Post explains the reasoning behind this newfound sentiment:

> Also there's that very crack you got at the title. You have some powerful friends, Joe, located in some high places as well as in some weird ones. But I'm not going to touch upon them right here. The reason I mention them merely is to remind you that with all their power-they scarcely could have obtained you your chance if the man who knocked you out a year ago had not come from a land torn with religious hatred. That's the picture, Champ.[112]

This is an admission of the American conspiracy to prevent Schmeling from fighting Braddock for the title, thus "keeping" the title in America. This is also an admission that Louis would not have received a chance to fight for the heavyweight title had it not been for the growing anti-Nazi sentiment in 1937, and looming world war. At once, "politics" would attach itself to the career of Joe Louis.

Joe Louis vs. Max Schmeling II

The public and media anticipation of the rematch

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*Years later, Martin Luther King would prove this in front of a national TV audience, demonstrating bigotry and racial hatred through his method of "passive resistance".

between Joe Louis and Max Scmeling became fever-pitched. By 1938, Hitler was in full control of Germany and had annexed Austria (March 13, 1938) in defiance of peace-keeping international treaties. Well known for his murderous exploits and his promotion of the Aryan "master" race, Hitler was increasingly perceived as an international threat to the free world (and most Americans) at this time. Max Schmeling became the sporting representative of Hitler's Nazi regime, and with this approach to his second fight with Joe Louis the political overtones of this fight took on a special significance. At the same time, however, the American quest for Caucasian supremacy (in and out of the ring) would not totally diminish in the American sports media (and definitely not in the major American society). On the greater part, however, Joe Louis was "forced" into, as well as felt a great personal responsibility for, the role of American gladiator. President Franklin D. Roosevelt would confirm this role on the new heavyweight champion, with his invitation of Louis to the White House:

> "Joe, we need muscles like yours to beat Germany."[113]

Although this is a symbolic American gesture of, finally, the acceptance of the American Negro, there is the overtone that America needs Louis' "muscles", not his "brain". Charges of racism would be sounded from the German camp

against the American media:

> DER ANGRIFF COMPLAINS
>
> Goebbels Organ Sees U.S. Press Making Racial Issue of Fight
>
> Berlin, June 21 (AP) - Der Angriff, organ of Dr. Joseph Goebbels, Minister of Propaganda today complained bitterly of the "unsportsmanlike" attitude of the American press toward tomorrow's championship fight between Max Schmeling and Joe Louis. Der Angriff accused papers in the United States of engaging in "baiting of the worst sort and stupid attacks" on Schmeling and Germany ...American newspapers were making "a racial question and political affair" out of the contest and making a "great organized campaign of lies." Der Angriff concluded: "Do Americans think so little of their world champion that they are trying to destroy Schmeling's fighting morale with such attacks?"[114]

With respect to the above article, the New York Times did express a sense of nervousness as to Louis' fighting condition (as Louis was chosen as the pre-fight American choice to win, with much sentiment attached). Sentiment was great for Louis, but this sentiment did not reach the level of overt in the media (until after the fight). New York Times reporter John Kieran reflected this sentiment by the reduced number of occasions that he referred to Louis as "Shufflin' Joe" and "Dark Destroyer". In his article of 6/21/38, he referred to Louis as "Shufflin' Joe" five times, and "Dark Destroyer" 0 times, basically using "Joe" or "Louis" in his references of the champion.

This may be indicative of increased respect of Louis by Kieran, although he does maintain the stereotype and denunciation. New York Post reporter, Hush Bradley, explains the typical American sentiment to the upcoming bout:

> Tonight two men swing fists for the heavyweight championship of the world. I do not like one of these men and greatly detest the system he represents. State, civic, and national authorities have, though, granted him full freedom to perform here.[115]

The anti-Nazi theme in America was enhanced by the symbol and specter of this upcoming fight, and this is reflected in the previous excerpt by Bradley. Pre-fight rhetoric symbolized a "war" between the United States and Germany, Louis and Schmeling the representative "armies". The Times reported that the fight was to be picketed by the "Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League to Champion Human Rights" (article of 6/19/38 sec. 5 p. 6, col. 1), in effect, to voice displeasure of the growing Hitler regime and Nazi aggression. As Hugh Bradley of the New York Post voiced:

> When nations prepare for the knockdown and dragout of a world war they first derange all sense of proportion. This is done by inserting doses of strife, greed, race hatred, and religious intolerance where the citizen least expects it...Twenty-six of the thirty-eight who pick Schmeling to win hope they have made a bad pick. They definitely do not like his overseas boss and the things that boss stands for or instigates. Nevertheless, they look upon facts as facts...there is no other sensible pick that they can make.[116]

Although Bradley's displeasure of Nazi Germany is evident (in the last two article-excerpts), it can be perceived that he is psychologically "torn" between the themes of "Aryan supremacy", American patriotism, and "white" supremacy. As a last-ditch effort, although he chooses Schmeling to win the fight through logic, his sympathy rests with the American, Louis. Were it not for Schmeling's enemy status, there would undoubtedly be more Schmeling favoritism, not just in Bradley's column, but in most major American media. Social and political circumstances caused the opposite.

The nickname, the "Brown Bomber" would take great significance in this political sporting battle, as a microcosm of high American military technology. The New York Times printed:

> LOUIS 2-5 CHOICE TO RETAIN CROWN
>
> Bomber Will Seek to Avenge Only Defeat in Schmeling...German Has Chance to Be First to Regain Title [117]

There is an obvious duality of favoritism in this headline ("Louis 2-5 choice" should be read, "Louis 5-2 choice"). Although Louis was highly the sentimental American favorite, the issue of white vs. black did not completely disappear, as certain racist elements in the linguistic style of various media (such as the above) denote this conflict. The issue of physical and mental supriority by race was

also a theme in this fight:

> Bill Corum of the New York Journal and American wrote:
>
> I don't believe anybody is going to teach Joe Louis how to fight. I do believe that he was born knowing and that he is the best...when he is fighting by instinct... There are certain gifts that the Negro race, as a race, and Louis, as an individual, have as a heritage. The ability carefully to work out a methodical plan and adhere to it, is not among them. That's for Schmeling.[118]

This is not only a duality of favoritism, leaning toward the white fighter, Schmeling, it is a denouncement of the mental ability of all blacks, as well as the enhancement of the mental ability of whites over blacks. Fighting by "instinct" is Louis' most outstanding quality to this writer, and denotes the influence of age-old and current myths and genetic race-linked accounts of the physical attributes of blacks. German newspapers also took up the theme of racial supremacy in their accounts:

> Teuton Agog Over Title Go
>
> Berlin, June 22 (AP)...German fans leave only one choice for Maxie...His German admirers - and there are millions from Reichsfuehrer Hitler town - hate the thought of defeat. Newspapers do not say it but it is tacitly understood that a Louis victory would be taken here as a disgrace from the Nazi racial viewpoint. Some sports followers predict oblivion would be Schmeling's punishment.[119]

As German media was overwhelmingly in favor of Schmeling,

in taking the upcoming bout as evidence of German supremacy (as indicated by this article), there was the caution of over-optimism. As reported by the New York Times:

> Berlin, June 21 - ...One commentator says that although he feels sure Schmeling will not lose, "he can scarcely win on points in America because his opponent won't be Louis only."[120]

An interesting notion about this pre-fight rhetoric is that both parties, Germany and the United States, claimed that the other was racist, as propaganda and cynicism reached new heights between these two countries. This article is an insinuation that if the fight were to go the full fifteen-round distance, the American judges would decide the fight unfairly and partial to Louis' favor. As well, some Americans believed (since the first Louis-Schmeling fight) that if Schmeling were to win the title, future title fights would be held in Nazi Germany and American contenders would be judged unfairly. Each accused the other of projected discrimination in the upcoming sporting event. Max Schmeling himself would reflect the racial overtones and characterizations of his first fight with Joe Louis:

> ...they had accepted a German champion in 1931, but a world champion that came from Hitler Germany was unacceptable to all. As I had come back to Germany after the first fight with Joe Louis, I saw my fight depicted in the headlines and cartoons as a racial battle. My victory had been a "German victory." On the other hand [the

> American] people blamed me for the congratulatory telegrams of the Nazi leaders and the occasional contact with them. Roosevelt had also invited Joe Louis into the White House before the fight. And the politicization of sport which was pushed so hard by the Third Reich found a sort of echo on the other side of the Atlantic. The one group came to emulate the other one, and this was bad for sport.[121]

Schmeling reflects the changing times in America (and Germany) between the years 1930-38. As the heavyweight champion from 1930-32, Schmeling did not receive half the attention that he would receive after knocking out Joe Louis in 1936, before Louis knocked out Braddock for the title in 1937 (Braddock having "dodged" a championship fight with Schmeling; considered an American "conspiracy" by Nazis), and with the pre-fight reportage of his rematch with Joe Louis for the title. Adolf Hitler, having come to power in 1933 and bent on his destructive crusade, would spread terror throughout the world (along with Joseph Stalin and Benito Mussolini). As Hitler's reign coincided with the "comeback" career of Schmeling, Schmeling would now be looked upon as a Nazi "puppet", a representative of Hitler's murderous Nazi regime. Symbolically, the Jesse Owens (American) triumphs in the Berlin 1936 Olympics, along with the first Joe Louis defeat by Schmeling and the events which took place thereafter, were the first "battles" between the opposing ideologies

before World War II. Joe Louis was also guilty of politicizing the upcoming bout. As Chris Mead observes:

> In a ghosted article syndicated nationwide on the day of the fight, he said: "Tonight I not only fight the battle of my life to revenge the lone blot on my record, but I fight for America against the challenge of a foreign invader, Max Schmeling. This isn't just one man against another or Joe Louis boxing Max Schmeling: it is the good old U.S.A. versus Germany."[122]

This quote from Louis is unusual, by the fact that he is speaking with perfect English diction. It is unusual, judging by the media standards of the day, and also because a black man sets out to defend the "Jim Crow" system that predominates the American ideology (not that a black would fare any better in Nazi Germany). It is a quote of extreme patriotism, and for this reason it is written in perfect dialect. Although Schmeling had fought in the United States on many occasions, Louis labels him a "foreign invader". Louis, up to this point, was usually quoted in a slang Southern "Negro" drawl (example: "Ah knowed ah had 'em"; "Ah don't know what all held that Schmelin' up"). The above quote, and especially in the perfect form that it is written, would represent a formal allegiance of Joe Louis to the American Cause, and a formal acceptance of Louis as a first-class American citizen, by Americans. Symbolically, the second black heavyweight champion, and his "American" quest to defeat

Max Schmeling, would greatly help to facilitate and increase the horizontal and vertical social mobility of blacks into the American mainstream.

The New York Daily News is more descriptive in the political and racial overtones of the upcoming bout:

> There are stories of how much Adolf Hitler wants that title for Germany. Reports have it Max will be exiled, that he and his pretty wife will be thrown into prison...if he fails to beat Louis. "That talk is so ridiculous I do not know how to begin to talk about it," said Schmeling. He laughed easily when we told him about the wildcat rumors preceeding him here. He did not laugh, however, when we asked if it would mean anything to his prestige if he were beaten by a colored man.[123]

This article, written by Jack Mahon of the Daily News, represents the typical political and race baiting of Schmeling by the media. Mahon is suggesting "humiliation" as a result, should the black fighter defeat the white fighter in an event of this magnitude. The author here exposes his own preconceived values of this situation by this suggestion.

The murderous exploits of Hitler were now well known throughout the United States, and Schmeling was perceived as his foremost representative in the media. The upcoming rematch between Louis and Schmeling would symbolize the "integrity" of the United States against the "tyranny" of the Third Reich, therefore, the issue of race was secondary to the over-politicization of

this event. With that in mind, the fight would take place on June 22, 1938.

Joe Louis would become an overnight American hero through the joyful contagion of his victory by the American press and public. In a symbolic (pre-W.W.II) American victory (Louis knocked out Schmeling in the first round at Yankee Stadium), the media would assume the role as (American) cheerleader. As this bout was the very opposite of the Jack Johnson-Jim Jeffries bout of 1910, in terms of the post-fight sadness and disappointment that was emitted by the American media, the press promoted the Louis victory over Schmeling as an "American" victory. Reporter James P. Dawson of the New York Times stated:

> ...In exactly 2 minutes and 4 seconds of fighting Louis polished off the Black Uhlan from the Rhine, but, though the battle was short, it was furious and savage while it lasted...[124]

This quote and the use of the word, "Black", designates Schmeling as the defeated "enemy". Although the words, "furious" and "savage", denotes "sub-human" qualities toward the black fighter Louis, they are perceived as "good" qualities, due to the magnitude and sentiment attached to the fight (as well as "good" qualities for the sport of professional boxing). The issue of Schmeling's fate, at the hands of the German Nazi government was taken up by Bob Brumby of the Daily News:

> Schmeling slowly shook his head. His left eye was half-closed by the cruel punches the colored lad had rained so unmercifully about his Teutonic head. It seemed Schmeling might have been thinking across the sea where an equally relentless Hitler would be waiting the returns of the fight that he hoped would definitely prove the "supremacy of the Aryan race." "What will Hitler think," you ask, recalling how Baron von Cramm was tossed into a concentration camp because, many believe, he failed to defeat Don Budge last fall at Forest Hills after gaining a comfortable lead in the finals of the National Tennis Championship. "Der Fuehrer won't say anything," Max declared, but without too strong a conviction. Schmeling will leave shortly for Germany and what the fates hold at the hands of the Nazi government.[125]

Although the tyranny of the Hitler regime was well known in America, this article (and others) represents the national "rumors" that alluded to Schmeling's "fate" upon his return to his homeland. Germany quickly answered this charge, assuring Schmeling of a safe return:

> Berlin, June 23 (AP) - "We sympathize with you, Max, although you lost as a fair sportsman. We will show you on your return that reports in foreign papers that you would be thrown into jail if you lost are untrue." ..."The title had to remain in America. That was the purpose of all the maneuvers against the German."..."And therefore, Schmeling was not allowed to climb into the ring until the time when there was a chance that Schmeling, two years older, no longer was too great a danger."[126]

The latter part of this article represents the German "excuse" for Schmeling's poor showing. The other insinuation is that the Germans believed that there was an

American conspiracy to maintain the title, as well as a defense of the American rumors of Schmeling's "inevitable" punishment by the Germans.

There are many descriptions of the fight which contain racial stereotypical genre. Jack Kofoed of the New York Post stated:

> Like a lot of other experts and impostors I thought the German's will to win, his ruggedness, experience amd right hand would repeat the bruising knockout he had scored over the Brown Bomber two years ago. It seemed reasonable to believe that even so unimaginative a soul as Louis would remember what had happened to him before - and let that memory build an inferiority complex in his heart...Max fired his right hand, and it...cracked against the brown jaw...Max Schmeling never saw the day he could have stood up against the devastating brown man as he was last night...[127]

Louis is described as "unimaginative" by Kofoed, which alludes to the mental "inferiority" of the black fighter. He also admitted that he thought the first encounter between Louis and Schmeling would have affected Louis' courage through an "inferiority complex", which alludes to the negative stereotype of "cowardice" in blacks*. Other reports described the boxing attack by Louis in "savage" and animalistic terms, as compared to the "will tp win", the "ruggedness" and "experience" terms that Schmeling is described in the above article. Jack Mahon of the Daily News stated:

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*Recall the infamous "yellow streak" that was imposed on black fighters during the Jack Johnson era.

> For massacre it was, Louis with all the vengeance and fury of a man reaping long-sought revenge, never was more vicious. The Brown Bomber proved conclusively last night his right to that title. And, as long as he is around, the United States need have no fear of relinquishing the most prized crown in pugilism.[128]

Although Louis is depicted here as "vicious" and vengeful (which is also "anti-Christian"), Louis is accepted as an "American" in his newly-found status (this is opposite the symbol of Jack Johnson, as he was thorougly rejected by, and an embarrassment to, American whites). And although media praise for Louis was high and wide, they would usually accompany common stereotypical depictions. An account of the fight by James P. Dawson of the New York Times describes Louis as predatorial:

> With the opening gong, Louis crept softly out of his corner, pantherlike, eyes alert, arms poised, fists cocked to strike from any angle as he met Schmeling...And Joe, like a tiger, leaped upon him...with the fury of a jungle beast.[129]

This article represents a descriptive "animal" depiction of Louis, as it is filled with adjectives of ("jungle") primitive and savage genre. This article, written by Dawson, although it is in high praise for Louis as a great American champion, does not infer that Louis was scientific or calculating in his approach to the fight as Schmeling himself was in his previous triumph over Louis. Basically inferring of Louis' performance as

"primitive instinct", the media now denounced the mental skill and science that a great champion boxer must possess if he is to be successful (that of which Louis was suspect). Chris Mead sheds light on the various terminology used to describe Joe Louis:

> Henry McLemore of the United Press used some of the most blatant jungle-killer language:
>
> The slow motion picture...is probably the most faithful recording ever made of the savagery. The picture is more terrifying to watch than the fight was...I was appalled by the knowledge that this ruthless, unmerciful killer there on the screen was one and the same man as the Joe Louis who I had just left a few minutes before... I didn't feel fully comfortable around him. It was if I had seen a savage tiger behind the bar of a cage suddenly loosed to walk free among the people who had been watching him... He is a jungle man, as completely primitive as any savage, out to destroy the thing he hates...He fought instinctively and not by any man-made pattern.[130]

This article represents a more direct and "confirmed" image of the black heavyweight champion, Joe Louis, as a jungle savage ("animal") than the previous passage by James P. Dawson, which included these depictions in a more adjectival-based description*. McLemore was "appalled" at Louis' "savage" American victory**.

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*Dawson's article was a much larger work than I have shown. I show excerpts from this article in a unified form, where Dawson's original article had these references spread throughout, as an occasional reminder that Louis demonstrated savagery. McLemore is not subtle but directly stereotypical.

**Although Louis won this major event in the name of the United States, McLemore is racially appalled at the result.

The fact that Louis may have committed a serious foul against Schmeling during the match was given "excuse" and basically overlooked. The foul was a right hand punch to the kidney area, to which Schmeling said "paralyzed" him. The excuse was made that Max was turning at the time of the punch, and this loopholes and evades the hard interpretation of a foul blow (one which lands in foul territory*) Although the kidney punch was well publicized (and obvious to the viewer), the media would downplay this issue, so as not to interfere with the American victory. Reporter John Kieran of the New York Times stated:

> ...Any mention of foul is foolish here but probably will serve, as intended, for a painkiller in Naziland, where the agony must be intense over the defeat of their hero...[131]

Noticeable in this (whole) article are the reduced number of the nicknames, "Shufflin' Joe" (3) and "Dark Destroyer" (0), and the increased number of references to Schmeling as "Herr Schmeling" and "Herr Max". The other noticeable element is the complete support of Louis in this matter, which is obviously more political than humane. Although there was medical proof that the blow was indeed foul,

*One would have to wonder if this foul would have created more controversy had Louis' opponent not been Max Schmeling, representative of Nazi Germany.

the sentiment for the American victory would not allow this claim:

> Dr. Brennan's description of Schmeling's injury and a statement from A.A. Jaller, executive officer of the (Polyclinic) hospital...'Mr. Schmeling has suffered a fracture of the transverse vertebrae, with a hemorrhage of the lumbar muscles.'[132]

Joe Louis had actually broken his back with the punch, an obvious foul. Nevertheless, the foul was overlooked and Joe Louis was an immediate American hero. The New York Times reported:

> Major Gen. John J. Phelan, chairman of the State Athletic Commission, who visited Schmeling in the hospital...declared the commission had no grounds for investigation and intended making none. He said no foul was committed, no foul warning was issued to Louis by Referee Arthur Donovan and that it was merely an unfortunate circumstance that Schmeling exposed himself to the disputed blow by half-turning his back to Louis.[133]

With this note, the State Athletic Commission dismissed and denied any inquiries into this matter. In this respect, it is the German government who is treated as the "second-classman", and the United States is symbolically supporting the institution of "unfair tactics" in this confrontation with Germany. The Louis events with Schmeling, coupled with the Owens' Olympic triumphs of 1936, amount to "pre-World War II baiting" by both countries, in the name of these events. These men, by the fact that they

were black, and American, were able to humiliate the theory of "Aryan supremacy" by their seemingly easy victories, and through these events, both countries issued a direct challenge to each other, for what would symbolize the future affairs of World War II (in a sporting context).

The post-fight media coverage would contain a wide variety of political (and racial) innuendos:

> A Chicago Daily News editorial cartoon pictured a plane labeled "Brown Bomber" flying off as a bomb exploded behind a dismayed caricature of Hitler.[134]

This cartoon may have acted as a premonition to World War II, with Louis leading the way* (as the pilot). Germans would probably picture such a cartoon as "aggressive". Although greatly disappointed, the German press, nevertheless, lauded Schmeling for his attempt. The Daily News reported:

> Schmeling Still Idol of German Nazis
>
> Max Schmeling remains the pride and model of his countrymen, despite his "fantastic" defeat under the bone-crushing blows of Joe Louis. Nazi leaders and newspapers declared tonight their affection for him has increased...The affection which remains for Schmeling among the German people, after his whirlwind defeat at the hands

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*It is said that Joe Louis may have inspired most of the thousands of black war recruits who played an instrumental role in the Allied victory.

> of a colored fighter was shown late today...
> "Louis was lucky..."[135]

This article represents a demonstration of German national pride despite the "American victory". The American press translated the German news information for the American public, and in this article used the sentence phrase, "after his defeat at the hands of a colored fighter", in reference to Schmeling. The press is suggesting that it is more demeaning to be defeated by a black fighter, as opposed to a white American fighter. That Louis was "lucky", in reference to the foul blow, compromised the feeling of physical inferiority to Germans. The misery of defeat, however, was reportedly shown through the morale of the German people. The New York Times duly noted:

> IDOL'S DOWNFALL SADDENS GERMANS
>
> Gay Radio Parties in Berlin Stunned by Louis's Quick Knockout Triumph
>
> ...It was said Adolf Hitler at his bavarian mountain retreat was among those who heard the disheartening news...[136]

It is obvious that if Adolf Hitler was German, at the time, as well as the ruler of Germany, that he would at least be among those Germans who had received the results of the fight (at least within the hours between the fight and the time of this publication). This is the media's way of bombarding the public with redundant stim-

uli in the processing of information. Statements such as these serve to reinforce the American victory by rejoicing over the enemy's disappointment (influences the public to "rub it in their face"). It had been done to Jack Johnson (in his loss to Jess Willard, the black race was the "enemy"), and this time Germany (and Germans) was the designated enemy. Joe Louis made the point:

> Schmeling represented everything that Americans disliked, and they wanted him beat and beat good. Now here I was, a black man. I had the burden of representing all America...White Americans - even while some of them still were lynching black people in the South - were depending on me to K.O. Germany.[137]

Louis is absolutely correct, for he defended a system that would deny him access to a chair in a restaurant that, at the same time, would provide one for the "enemy", Max Schmeling and Adolf Hitler, in theory and practice. Symbolically, and in reality, the future black American soldiers of W.W.II would do the same. In this context, the hypocrisy of the American Ideal is plainly evident, especially in the treatment of blacks according to the system.

The duality of black existence was indicated in the media, despite the Joe Louis triumph:

> In a world and at a time when almost all the news we get is fraught with significance, the prizefight doesn't mean anything. It doesn't mean that...the Negro race is or is

> not rising in the economic scale or anything else...Tomorrow will be exactly what it would otherwise have been. Nothing has happened.[138]

In an effort to downplay the significance of the Louis triumph, the author (nameless) gives an obvious indication of his personal witnessing of the destruction of the "white supremacy" myth, in his reference to the stationary position of blacks on the American economic scale. This reaction to the big fight is held to be more important than the support of the enlightened American political symbol. As Louis would symbolize the accepted entrance of blacks into mainstream America, the still many dissenters to this process would continue to support the "Jim Crow" establishment and the systematic oppression of blacks, especially in Southern media. This author definitely shares sympathies with Southern ideology.

More German disappointment would pervade the media. The New York Times stated:

> It is bitter, Angriff said, "but it is not a national disaster. There is just as little ground today as yesterday for Germany to make of a fight a race or political question as the other side did."...a dejected Schmeling fan remarked, "I certainly feel badly about the beating Schmeling got last night." To which his friend replied, "Yes, Schmeling may have been almost killed, but Beethoven's Ninth Symphony still lives on.[139]

In this American column, the German sentiment is stated

to imply that although the sporting battle is history, the "real battle" has yet to be fought. "Beethoven's Ninth Symphony" is expressed to implicate the complexities of Hitler's tyranny and growing power. The other implication by this American article implies the charge by Germans that the United States was playing a political and racial "game", using the symbol of dissension between the two countries and the question of racial supremacy. Chris Mead notes:

> Louis was often introduced...as the first American to kayo a Nazi.[140]

This statement was made in <u>anticipation</u> of an American war with Germany. Statements such as these represent post-fight baiting of Germany by the United States, as American outrage against Hitler continues. Louis himself would sum up the political significance of his victory, in his own way:

> I even heard that when the Germans learned how badly I was beating Schmeling, they cut the radio wires to Germany. They didn't want their people to know that just a plain old nigger...was knocking the shit out of the Aryan race...[141]

Although unconfirmed, there were reports of censorship of German radio channels when it appeared that Schmeling's plight had become an exercise in futility, as Louis was upsetting the tenets of the German Ideal (Germans on "top"). Louis is also admitting to the political sym-

bolism that the bout represented.

Blacks were naturally enthusiastic about the result of this fight. Black reaction was accorded in each of the major New York news media, in the usual stereotypical language:

> "Too bad it ended so early," he said. "That gives them so much more time to celebrate. We'll be on duty here all night." On the steps of tenements pancake mammies sat and screamed to neighbors in upstairs windows. Taffy-colored gals dressed in the height of Harlem chic broke into spells of sidewalk truckin' with dark dudes. Cabs carried free loads of celebrants on the running boards, back, roof and even the radiator hoods. "Maybe it'll rain," said the older cop next to him, "It sure looks as though it might. Rain'll get 'em out of the streets and it'll be all over." It started raining ash can covers, empty beer and whisky bottles and cans. The storm cleared the streets of every one but the coppers who came up with immediate reinforcements and went hustling to the roofs, to bag a few bewildered sons of Ham who thought they had discovered a fine way to celebrate Joe Louis' victory.[142]

This article, written by Jerry Mitchell, contains myriad instances of racial epithets. The phrase, "pancake mammies", depicts <u>all</u> overweight black women (with or without hair scarf), a depiction which gathers its believability from the popularity of the general media ("Aunt Jemima pancake" advertisements, vaudeville minstrel shows, movies, etc.). The phrase, "taffy-colored gals", refers to light brown-skinned black women, who went "sidewalk truckin' with dark dudes", is written in stereotypical liguistics which

has come to be the universal media-accepted imagery of blacks and the black community, in typical format. General disorder is viewed as commonplace among blacks, and the "cops" reflect an alternative viewpoint to this American, although black, "victory", in their wish that the festivities were "all over". The "sons of Ham" term that is applied to the disorderly blacks is a covert form of the phrase, "sons of bitches". The total picture that is printed by the words of Mitchell is <u>total chaos</u>, rather than a joyful occasion, and this chaos is presented in stereotypical genre. The <u>Daily News</u> reported of the Harlem incident:

> 2,000 Cops and Fire Hose Keep Harlem Peace
>
> ...Two thousand policemen...were engulfed by the roistering throngs. At 130th St. and Seventh Avenue, police unleashed a fire hose to break up the massed thousands... Though Police Commissioner Valentine announced: "This is their night-let them be happy," disorders frequently struck a non-festive note...The resident population, savoring Louis' one-round knockout of Herr Maxie as an international incident, quickly took up the chant of "Down with Hitler and Mussolini!" It may have been a bleak night on Berlin's Unter den Linden-but all was star-spangled brightness in Harlem.[143]

This article reflects the elements of 1) the American oppression of blacks is demonstrated through the use of fire hoses, 2) American support of this black demonstration is demonstrated through the "lenience" of the New York

Police Commissioner, and 3) American political humiliation of the German government is supported through the anti-Axis slogans of the black celebrants, as well as the anti-German linguistics directed against Max Schmeling and the German government by the media.

Although black and white Americans had a common interest in their celebration of Joe Louis (which would later set the path of black entrance into the other major league sports), the media did not abandon the custom of stereotyping (along with the adorning of racial epithets onto) black athletes. For instance, as previously mentioned, in the blow-by-blow account of the fight, the New York Times reported: "Louis was on him in a jiffy, with the fury of a jungle beast". Some writers believed, from observing the performances of top black athletes up to that point in time, that blacks were not too far removed from the primitive state (using jungle animals to depict and analogize the ferocity and severity of fighters like Joe Louis and Jack Johnson). It was Jesse Owens' track coach, who coached him both in the 1936 Olympics and at the University of Southern California, Dean Cromwell, who made the following statement to Championship Technique in Track and Field:

> "The Negro excels in the events he does because he is closer to the primitive than the white man. It was not that long ago that his ability to spring and jump was a life and death matter to him."[144]

The American media begins to concede the theory of athletic (physical) supremacy with genetic assessments such as these, however, the tendency to stereotype does not become less. With this in mind, the media begins to over-emphasize the supposed mental "superiority" of whites, with respect to blacks. Chris Mead reflects this notion:

> Syndicated columnist Hugo S. Johnson wrote:
>
> "The average of white intelligence is above the average of black intelligence probably because the white race is several thousand years away from jungle savagery. But, for the same reason, the average of white physical equipment is lower...If the black men had an equal oppurtunity to compete in athletics there might not be any white champions at all...It is nothing for us to weep about and seek white hopes. These black boys are Americans - a whole lot more...than...recently arrived citizens of, say, the Schmeling type ...For all their misfortunes and shortcomings they are our people - Negroes, yes, but our Negroes."[145]

This article is an honest attempt to encourage adulation and equal oppurtunity to blacks in sport, however, it includes many racial characterizations and assessments, therefore it is biased. These were the signs that pointed to the various Civil Rights Acts, and the inevitable destruction of the "Jim Crow" system in American social life*. The latter quote, "but they are our Negroes", is a direct indication of the residual slavemaster-to-slave perceived relationship of white attitudes toward blacks

*Although many "invisible" barriers still remain in the area of sports and various other American institutions, the practice of "Jim Crow" is outlawed.

during this era. In his comparison of ethnic types, Johnson prefers the "American black boys" above the "recently arrived citizens of the Schmeling type". This type of reasoning helped to expose the hypocrisy of "Jim Crow" ethics, which were imbedded into the American legal system. John Kieran of the New York Times would depict Louis as:

> ...the stealthy stalker who deals out dark lightning wrapped in leather. [146]

Along with the "Shuffler" and "Dark Destroyer", Joe Louis now "deals out dark lightning wrapped in leather." Although the media would depict and emphasize Louis' victory as an "American" victory, racial epithets would remain. Another article illustrates this American triumph:

> The Governor (Frank Murphy of Michigan) admittedly was "full of hero worship" as he shook hands with the Detroit boxer who, on his own account, was immeasurably pleased with Murphy's visit..."I'm glad I made it short for you, sir" responded the champion, who looked exactly like a wool-gathering youngster standing in awe of royalty, instead of a young man who had just earned about $400,000 in 124 seconds.[147]

This excerpt is meant to display the image of subordination on the part of Louis (the "wool-gathering youngster"), as compared to the "superior" status of the Michigan Governor (as Louis was "standing in awe of royalty"). As the hypoc-

risy of the American Ideal is clearly reflected in the double connotations of the black American hero, Joe Louis, in the media, blacks saw reason to hope. As Louis and Owens were endorsed as official American heroes, other blacks would follow their example by making significant contributions to the cause of America.

The media would continue to laud Joe Louis with praise, admiration, and stereotypical epithets throughout his career (and especially in the wake of his symbolic victory over Max Schmeling, which was an important psychological American victory over Germany in prelude to World War II. It was psychologically important because it helped to suppress some of the American "fear" of the myth of Adolf Hitler and his "superior" Aryan race). Although Louis had become somewhat of a national hero at this point, the search for the Great White Hope (although subtle) and the restoration of Caucasian supremacy in heavyweight boxing was ever-present in the media psyche and the national social imagination. This idea would again re-emerge on a national scale during Louis' heavyweight championship fight with the light-heavyweight champion of the world, Billy Conn.

Joe Louis vs. Billy Conn

After a string of victories since the Schmeling fight, Joe Louis was to meet the Light-Heavyweight Champion

of the World for the heavyeight championship on June 18, 1941. Headlines of the New York Times read:

> LOUIS, NEAR DEFEAT, STOPS CONN IN 13TH AND RETAINS CROWN
>
> ...men and women, envisioning a transfer of the title, yelled themselves hoarse encouraging the challenger as he seemed about to succeed...He leaped in savagely ...both hands with a crushing fire...fighting with savage fury...Billy was within two rounds of what appeared a victory*. [148]

This article, written by James P. Dawson, reflects the same subtle disappointment that was evident in the American media reaction to the Johnson-Burns fight of 1908. In this victory, Louis would realize just how much, and how deep, of the American sentiment that he had really captured. The aura that this match imposed on the public is "what if?" It was said that Conn was very aggressive and was winning on points, when he became overconfident and wasted his energy in trying to knock Louis out in the 13th round. It seems as though Billy was listening to the cheers more than staying with his battle plan (which was working). This controversy is still at the center of most boxing arguments, although the fight ended

*One would believe that George Foreman showed a more realistic chance at winning the heavyweight title in his recent bout with Evander Holyfield than Conn showed in his first bout with Louis. Although there is a shallow cry for a rematch by the media, they were more impressed by Conn's showing; Conn was knocked out in decisive fashion; Foreman forced Holyfield to win by decision. The media played up the Conn loss as the greatest stride toward the reaffirmation of white supremacy in the ring. Media does not mention how close the 42-year old Foreman came to stopping Holyfield.

in a clear-cut knockout for Louis (a controversial decision would be a more valid debate). In the previous article, Louis is depicted as "savage" and referred to as the "Alabama Assassin", terms used to describe a sub-human killer. John Kieran of the New York Times stated:

> He stabbed and hooked the Shuffler and, when he had the champion confused, hauled off and really belted him...Maybe the 'little feller' could beat the 'big feller' after all. Maybe the great Joe Louis was going to be dethroned.[149]

This excerpt is a direct indication that the quest for Caucasian supremacy in pugilism went unfulfilled (as 'little feller' and 'big feller' designates the "white guy" and the "black guy", respectively). Despite the accolades that Louis was yet accorded by the media, the quest for a "white hope" was still evident (as the "wish" was still present). Another article by Kieran is also written in "hidden racism":

> Whistles and cheers heralded the approach of one of the parties...Billy Conn...Half a minute later J. Shufflin' Louis...appeared ...He received a general cheer with a few boos interspersed, probably imported from Pittsburgh for the occasion. It was in the third that the Pittsburgh contingent had a real chance to roar...In the fifth and sixth rounds the Dark Destroyer gave Pittsburgh Billy a real raking...Then came the thirteenth and greatest of the rounds. It seemed that Billy was on the way to winning the crown-and then, overconfident, he chose to slug it out with the Dark Destroyer...Conn was counted out.[150]

Kieran refers to the group from Pittsburgh (Conn's hometown) or the "Pittsburgh contingent" as the white sentiment in Conn's favor during the fight. Joe Louis is referred to as "J. Shufflin' Louis", and the disappointment of the author is evident, although it is disguised by the accolades that are given to Louis. The fight was described as "thrilling" by the media, for the sole fact of Conn's display of relative power and courage.

Pre-fight media rhetoric of the first Joe Louis-Billy Conn bout would assume the continued racial stereotypical depictions. Dick McCann of the Daily News reported:

> Louis Mad at Opponent For 2nd Time in Career
>
> ...Conn's taunts about Louis' dumbness, his slowness, his hand-picked opponents, his "Bum of-the-Month Club"...have stirred Louis...Usually, Joe, when he completes his daily workout, is as light-hearted as a cotton-picker shuffling home from a day's work in the sunfields..."When do you expect to catch him, Joe? the champ, his brown body glistening..., was asked. Louis' thick lips parted in a thin sneer..."I hope to catch him with his mouth open."[151]

Regardless of Conn's attempt to promote the fight, he used the epithet "dumbness", denoting mental inferiority on the part of Louis (and blacks). McCann is guilty of expressing stereotypival genre in his statement, "Joe is usually as light-hearted as a cotton-picker shuffling home from a day's work in the sunfields", as well as the

implication of stereotypical physical traits in his statement, "Louis' thick lips parted in a thin sneer. McCann also took up the theme of Conn as a "white hope" in a subsequent article:

> The railroads reported five excursion trains - will haul thousands of loyal and loud Ould Sodders here today to see the Irish boy, Billy Conn, avenge fellow-Irishman Braddock's defeat and return the title to his race. From Boston, too, came word of 20 planeloads of Irish heading here. Specials are coming in from Detroit, Washington, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Chicago ...You see, its been a long time since the Irish have had a fighter to cheer and they are making the most of it...not only have the Irish waited a long time to cheer but they may have only a short time to do it in.[152]

This is an indication of the theme to restore Caucasian supremacy to the art of pugilism, despite Louis' previous "American" achievements. Many writers also blamed the Irish ancestry of Conn as the sole reason of his defeat. Stanley Frank of the New York Post reported:

> Because he is a wonderfully courageous and crazy and cocky Irishman, Billy Conn is not the heavyweight champion of the world today. Because he is all of these things, and more, Conn lost a million dollar property he practically had in his golden gloves last night...Conn was knocked out in the 13th round, because he was licked by the Irish in him, not by Louis...by walking up to the world champion and belting him with magnificent abandon and contempt...the wild-eyed Irishman elected to win it the hard, bold way...Had the bell rung two seconds earlier, Conn might have survived... and gained the decision...(Conn) became an enraged, impetuous Irishman.[153]

In this article, the term, "Irish" takes on a racial connotation. "Irish" is seen as blind anger, ignorance, and contempt directed at Louis (in reaction to the failed purpose of removing the obstacle to white supremacy in boxing). There is also the excuse, "Had the bell rung two second earlier, Conn may have survived to win a decision", as Conn was ahead on points when the fight was stopped and would have been "saved by the bell". The theory is that he may have survived the final two rounds and won the fight on decision. The knockout blow by Louis, however, had another theory.

The Louis-Conn fight exposed many of these racial-madia implications, however, it would also mark a period of relative anxiety due to the growing war in Europe. American participation in the war would present itself in another 5½ months (Dec. 7, 1941). Joe Louis would thus increase his popularity in the American mainstream with his military political stand (when he joins the U.S. Army in 1943). He would donate huge fighting purses to the armed forces military effort, which was well publicized by the media. At this time, many people claim, that Joe Louis would help change the attitudes and tolerance of American whites toward American blacks*. His

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*See a full account of the evolution of "Sambo" in the Twentieth Century and note how his character reflects the changing times.

army record alone set changes in American racial policy toward blacks. In his autobiography, Joe Louis would note:

> Well, along around this time, I found myself and Sugar Ray at Camp Sibert, Alabama. We were waiting at the port bus station and sat down on the front bench. Along came an M.P. and said we had to move to the colored section. I told him, "We ain't moving."...I told him, "Listen, I'm an American, I'm fighting in this war like anybody else, and I expect to be treated like anybody else." Told him that I'd go along with the Jim Crow laws in the towns, but I didn't see any reason that I had to sit in the back of an Army bus station...I just looked at him and said, "Let me call Washington." Well of course they didn't, but news travels. Soon after, an order comes-no more Jim Crow busses in Army camps ...But you know, if I was just an average black G.I., I would have wound up in the stockades.[154]

White tolerance of blacks did indeed undergo a transition with the military stand (beginning with Louis' symbolic victory over Max Schmeling) of Joe Louis (1943-1946). He would return to the ring in 1946 for the long-awaited rematch with Billy Conn. The media would still envision an upset, although Louis had become a national hero in many ways. Louis' return to the ring would coincide with the entrance of Jackie Robinson into baseball, and the desegergation of pro football (1946). The symbolism behind the Joe Louis stand was that he was willing to fight <u>for</u> whites in a national conquest, as well as against them for capital gain. He was also generally ad-

mired for his lack of deviation from an accepted social code of behavior, set up by his managers in an effort to "not let him become another Jack Johnson". His public disadmiration for Jack Johnson also led to his popularity (as Johnson was once chased from his camp by handlers). Much of this popularity was on the "surface", however, and the rematch with Billy Conn exposed much of the underlying sentiment in the media. James P. Dawson of the New York Times reported:

> In every other ring essential, Conn excels. The challenger is a better boxer on the offense, his defense is more effective, more difficult to penetrate; he is faster afoot and with his fists. He will be more confident and he undoubtedly will be more careful...Louis will be fighting on the exact tenth anniversary of the only knock-out he ever suffered: the only defeat in his record. It was on June 19, 1936 that Schmeling toppled Louis in the twelfth round. Does history repeat itself?[155]

This article reflects and suggests that the American public would be particularly enamored in the event of a Conn upset. Superstion* also plays a part in the dialogue, suggesting that this date, June the 19th, might play a psychological (and/or astronomical) role in helping to defeat Louis (and maybe a little "Irish luck", (as Conn was an Irishman). Arthur Daley of the New York Times also reflected a hopeful debate in the quest for a Conn

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*Superstition has played an historic role in American sport.

victory:*

> Here's another contradiction. The Brown Bomber at his peak had to go thirteen rounds before he could put the crusher on the 174-pound Conn the last time. And the wild Irishman had to get very wild and very Irish to give him the chance. Louis hardly can be at his best while Conn has grown bigger and stronger in every physical characteristic.[156]

This article represents, yet, another "wishful thought" for Conn (including negative statistics in behalf of Joe Louis) in the rematch with Joe Louis. The media, by now, knew especially well the effects of inactivity on a champion boxer**. Joe Louis had been basically inactive for over three years, only boxing in exhibitions. If there were a time to beat Joe Louis, the media perceived that this would be the time (because of his inactivity and the fact that he appeared older, reflexes slower, etc., to the sport media while in training). Although the media would stress Louis' perceived weaknesses, in sentiment with Billy Conn, statistical logic could not be overlooked, and the overall media prediction was that Louis would win. As John Kieran reported for

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*Arthur Daly was, at this time, the editorial sports writer for the New York Times, a position previously held by John Kieran; title of column - "Sports of the Times".

**This was shown in the return of Jim Jeffries, Jack Dempsey and James J. Braddock after years of inactivity.

the New York Times after the first Louis-Conn fight:

> Most of the onlookers wanted to see Conn win. It had to be that way. Not because of any difference in color in the warriors. If there were any present who felt that way, they were an insignificant minority, But the Shuffler was the champion...The crowd usually goes for the newcomer, the challenger...[157]

This author tries to disguise his feelings for Conn (the white counterpart), as well as for the "white hope", through this subtle rationality of the sentiment favoring Conn. In an interracial match with a black contestant, it seems that the American crowd (depending on location) applauds loudest for the contestant who most resembles the Caucasian, even if the black is Joe Louis, conqueror of Schmeling and a U.S. soldier who helped to recruit thousands of other blacks (and whites) into the World War II effort through his model. Kieran states "It had to be that way" as his explanation as to why the crowd favored Conn, noting that "the difference in color" had little or nothing to do with it. The article may have been written in covert racial style (or "coded" racism), however, it cannot "disguise" or obscure the underlying sentiment and the reasons for this sentiment.

The second match with Billy Conn would end even earlier than the first, with Joe Louis the victor after eight rounds. The media would reflect its hypocrisy in the post-fight coverage (the hypocrisy that supports

Joe Louis, the national hero, and the other which supports Conn, the messiah, who was supposed to re-establish fistic supremacy to the Caucasian race). Reporter Jimmy Powers of the Daily News reported:

> Louis outboxed Conn. Many (reporters) were under the impression that Conn was a superior boxer. He definitely is not. ...Have they no sense of obligation to the fans? Fortunately, most of the press has a clear conscience. There was little wastage of white space or photographs. The radio erred in pumping up the fight, crying shrilly for the fans to come and be fleeced is scandalous. The fight and the bad taste it has left has hurt boxing, not helped it...We also wish to salute Joe Louis. Joe is a credit to his race.[158]

It is evident that Conn's loss was disappointing to this writer by his statement, "The fight and the bad taste it has left has hurt boxing, not helped it". Although Conn did not show the tenacity and competitiveness that he displayed in the first fight, the result was the same (with a difference of five rounds). It was also noticed that both Conn and Louis had deteriorated as fighters, at this point in time (1946), and this may explain some of the "anger" in the above writer's disappointment. The "bad taste" may refer to the spectacle of an older Joe Louis, obviously not the same fighter of 1938, cleverly outboxing the best "white hope" in the world with ease, using an assortment of strategic and scientific tactics. The fight also displayed the "mental superiority" of the black fighter as the prime

feature. In stereotypical fashion, the author congratulates Louis, and commends him as "a credit to his race". James P. Dawson of the New York Times stated:

> Striking with the accuracy of a cobra, Joe Louis crushed his foremost rival in defeat...For seven rounds Louis had stalked his rival before unloosing the murderous fire that ended the battle...in this first post-war battle between two ex-soldiers for which boxing followers waited five years.[159]

Joe Louis is depicted here as part predator, part snake, part boxer, and part U.S. soldier, in the same article. It is this ambivalence of feeling and sentiment which would reflect the American attitude (as demonstrated by the press) of the face-off between Louis and Conn. Another article by Daley would reflect more of this ambivalence:

> There was one little incident in this fight that was truly typical of the Brown Bomber. In the fourth, Conn's foot slipped and he was sprawled out helplessly in front of that killer who was trying to destroy him. The champion had a clear-cut shot for a blow that the rules permit. But Louis is bigger than the rules. He stepped back and permitted his foeman to recover. That's why folks idolize him with almost reverent fervor.[160]

In this article, Daley is portraying Louis as a "savage humanitarian", a hypocrisy of terms which reflect a hypocrisy of sentiment. The reason that "folks idolize him (Louis) with almost reverent fervor", because of his

humanitarian and sportsmanlike display, in this instance, indicated that he was not an angry black man* (angry at the ways of American whites, and especially at their "betrayal" of him in the two Conn fights). Louis' life-style out of the ring is typified by the "gentlemanly" temperament that he displayed in this instance. It was this desirable and acceptable temperament of Negroes by whites, from a social standpoint, that is greatly noticed by this writer (for Louis had "mercy" on the author's idol and America's current "white hope"). Jimmy Cannon of the New York Post would reflect the American sentiment for Billy Conn in his article:

> Lightning Hit Conn 3 Times
>
> It ceased to be a sport when Louis let the big right go, then another cobblestone of a right and then the left hook as Conn fell off the rim of the conscious and crumpled into the dark privacy of the night he alone possessed. It was like watching a friend of yours being run over by a trolley car but looking at it quietly, the curiosity dominating the horror and compelling you to be attentively quiet...Louis, who was suspected by many of being an ignoramus in the ring with nothing but strength to lick a man, was out-boxing him...[161]

Although the sentiment is for Conn in this article, the reporter acknowledges the exposed myth of Louis' alleged

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*Angry at the laws of the American government, as well as the continued treatment which stifled Negroes throughout American history up until 1946.

mental "inferiority" ("suspected by many of being an ignoramus") as he "out-boxed" Conn (or out-thought him). The sentiment is noted in the phrases, "like watching a friend of yours being run over by a trolley car" and "it ceased to be a sport" when it appeared that Louis would be the undisputed victor. Another article by Jimmy Cannon of the New York Post reflects the exposure of Louis' alleged mental inferiority:

> ...up jumped Joe Louis and I think he is the greatest fighter who ever lived. There are many who will quarrel with me when I endow him with perfection. They say he is stupid and confused...[162]

Cannon explains that "there are many who will quarrel with me when I endow (Louis) with perfection", however, he never identifies the sources who are negative to Joe Louis. This could either be a fabrication, or an ambivalence of feeling toward Joe Louis, on the part of the writer.

The media always reported the reaction from the black communities after these interracial heavyweight championship matches of national (and international) significance. An article by Gene Ward reflects familiar stereotypes:

> Harlem, In Holiday Mood, Waits in Vain For Louis
>
> ...the crowds flowed through the streets like sluggish rivers, and it had a liquid quality, too, for men were carrying bottles of beer and hard liquor. And there appeared to be no shortage of scotch whiskey, either. All were dressed in their finest and a majority wore Louis buttons on their lapels.

> "I've got Conn buttons, too," shouted one slow-witted hawker, and he barely escaped with his life.[163]

This article gives the inference that the Harlem celebrants (or blacks) are given to alcoholism, as a general stereotype. Also stereotypical is the inference that any well-wishing of Billy Conn, in such a community, is tantamount to suicide, rather than a free expression of democratic American civil rights.

The stereotypical genre would continue in the media. Arthur Daley, who had, at this time, became the editorial sports writer for the New York Times, replacing John Kieran as author of this editorial column ("Sports of The Times"), would retain Kieran's label of Joe Louis as the "Dark Destroyer". In his article of 6/21/46, although in praise of Louis, would refer to Louis as "Dark Destroyer" four times (as this would be his custom throughout the final days of Louis' career, however less frequent than Kieran). The media now begins to show a transition in the ferocity of the black stereotype. One final note on the Louis-Conn II match: *

> The Conn-Louis fight was the first boxing match broadcast on television. In the summer of 1946 there were fewer than 10,000 sets in the country.[164]

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*Conn, like Jim Jeffries, and later Gerry Cooney, exclaimed his post-fight (white-hope) apology after his interracial bout of major national, political and social significance. Conn: "I'm sorry I let everybody down".[165] ("Everybody" = whites)

Joe Louis vs. Rocky Marciano

Joe Louis would defend his title another three times after the second Conn victory (according to the Ring 1983 Record Book and Boxing Encyclopedia), all of which were sub-par performance for him (against "Jersey" Joe Walcott in particular). He would announce a brief retirement in 1949, only to return to the ring against the new champion, Ezzard Charles, in 1950 (which coincided with the black entrance into pro basketball). Charles would defeat Joe Louis in a 15-round decision. By now, Louis had become a sentimental favorite* with the media and the public. Although now an ordinary contender, having run off a string of victories in his comeback after the Charles loss, he would run directly into the up-and-coming undefeated challenger of 37 straight victories, with 32 by knockout (and a year away from winning the title against "Jersey" Joe Walcott, who had won the title from Ezzard Charles three months before this fight), "Rocky" Marciano (or the new "white hope"). The media did not build up the fight between Louis and Marciano in customary fashion (using the "white hope" rhetoric). Much of the "white hope" rhetoric would fade into the strong sentiment and sadness that would mark Louis' final attempts at heavyweight boxing (as well as the sadness that would mark his deteriorating personal

*as George Foreman would later become in a match with heavyweight champion, Evander Holyfield

life). Sentiment for Louis would defy statistical logic (for the first time in heavyweight boxing history, in terms of sentiment for the underdog black fighter against a white fighter), as the New York Times reported:

> LOUIS RATED EVEN WITH MARCIANO
>
> Marciano, with a record of thiry-two knock-outs in his thirty-seven professional fights, is considered the best of Louis' recent opponents. There are some not convinced that Marciano can be considered championship material. They say his record has been built up by his manager, Mart Weill. Marty is the son of A.J. Weill, matchmaker for the IBC, a man who knows his way around the boxing world.[166]

The author of this article, Joseph C. Nichols, is actually denouncing the "white" opponent's stunning knockout rec ord*. Although media sentiment was high for Louis, there was the fear of what damage he might incur at age 37. The previous article by Nichols also stated:

> ...While the Bomber of old would have been a 'sure thing' to topple a fighter like Marciano, who is 27 years old, the Louis of today is no such certainty. The betting on the outcome is at even money, a levelling off of a situation that had Joe the favorite earlier in the week...It is generally believed that if badly beaten, Louis will make this his very last fight. The 37-year old champion retired once before...[167]

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*This type of negative Marciano-media, at this point in time, may have been a residual effect of World War II, as the Italian symbol of Mussolini stood alongside that of Adolf Hitler in the collective American social imagination. In fact, Italians were, historically, often portrayed negatively in the American media (usually as hoods, gangsters, Mafia, and other "untrustworthy" roles).

This article represents pure sentiment for Joe Louis, and a premonition of his inevitable boxing destruction. Other media would also reflect this sentiment. Reporter Gene Ward of the Daily News stated:

> Not since he first faced Max Schmeling and was knocked out in 12 rounds, has Louis been up against as aggressive a puncher as Marciano. He has met far better boxers, of course, and tougher single-wallop belters, but not a rival who could pitch punches with the conviction and confidence of the sturdy Italian. In Joey's heyday, when he was barraging down his opponents with blistering flurries of leather, it would stack up as a different story...So, the pick in this corner is Marciano but the selection is made from the brain, not the heart...[168]

This sentiment for Louis would grow in proportion even *after* his knockout defeat by Marciano. The element of "excuse", usually given to prosperous white athletes in defeat by the media, made Joe Louis an uncustomary and untraditional beneficiary (in symbol). Joseph C. Nichols if the New York Times reported:

> At least, the record books will say that it was Marciano who beat Joe, but everybody knows it was age...Louis showed his years.[169]

Although most of the post-fight articles display sentiment for Louis, Marciano's victory is not given the "savage", "murderous", or "predatorial" description that is given a typical Louis or Jack Johnson victory over a white opponent in the media (especially the New York Times). It is the power of Rocky Marciano's fists that are stereotypically over-emphasized, in terms like "sledgehammers",

"rocks", or "thunderbolts", etc. These superlatives enhace the media descriptions (therefore the public perception) of the perceived fighter in terms of dominance over savagery (although Louis was knocked down and out of the ring by a punch which ended the fight in the eighth round).

The New York Times displays the awe of Louis' sudden defeat to Marciano, as well as the disappointment of the loss by the American hero, Joe Louis, and the destructive force that was used to remove Louis from the sport of boxing. Arthur Daley of the New York Times reflected the disappointment:

> The referee had done his usual competent and unbiased job. But this was no ordinary occasion. Ruby (Goldstein) tried hard not to show any emotions, but this ringsider watched him curiously. He walked away with head bowed. He wiped his hand across his face, almost as if he wished to banish from memory what he had just seen. He gulped unconsciously, swallowing hard. A great champion had reached the end of the trail.[170]

This article reflects the symbolic American disappointment over the Louis loss, which was more focused upon by the media than the victory by Rocky Marciano (a successful "white hope"). Daley would admit as much in a subsequent article:

> Perhaps the Dark Destroyer was not the most nimble-brained fighter ever to enter the ring...Perhaps he was not especially fast afoot. But no fighter ever had faster

> hands. Joe struck with the speed of a cobra. That's why it hurt so much to see him in the Garden against Marciano. This wasn't the Louis of old. It was the old Louis... Maybe this random review of the fight should be more about Marciano...than about Louis. But this reporter has been carrying the torch for Joe much too long to start any new flirtation. It's still love. Louis losing is more important than Marciano winning.[171]

In this article, Louis is remembered for his epic battles in the ring, and his popular political stand. Although his career would come to an abrupt end with this fight, the legend of Louis would begin with these articles of disappointment. As Daley noted:

> The Dark Destroyer was no longer the champion of the world, hadn't been for more than two years. The Dark Destroyer was no longer the Dark Destroyer. He was just a worn-out actor in a Greek tragedy who was playing his role mechanically...But the sight of Louis, a once proud champion, lying flat on his back is not a pretty memory. It hurts to recall it. Better by far is it to remember the Dark Destroyer in his supreme moment, his ruthless annihilation of Max Schmeling. That is the one which will be forever treasured here...[172]

In this article-excerpt, Daley epitomizes the sentiment of most sports reports of the Louis defeat, however, the use of "Dark Destroyer" and other characterizations ("fast as a cobra", etc.) would continue. Gene Ward of the Daily News shared an alternative viewpoint of the Louis loss:

> Rocky Rocks Louis to Sleep - Out of Ring - in Eighth
>
> A great ex-champion on his way down met a block-busting youngster on his way up last night and the career of the fabulous Joe Louis ended with the old, faded Bomber flat on his back on the ring apron of the Garden. A tremendous right-hand smash to the jaw by swarthy, heavymitted Rocky Marciano was the finishing punch. Referee Ruby Goldstein...raised Rocky's hand in victory...the howling 17,241...rocked the arena for the new sensation, Rocky Marciano, uncrowned king of the heavyweights.[173]

This is one of the few articles (in the New York City media) that relayed more praise for Marciano than disappointment in Louis' defeat. Ward also takes note of Marciano's "swarthy" appearance (which is "anti-American" with respect to the tenets of the American Ideal)*. This defeat also marks the end of another era of blacks in American sport, the end of categorical denial**.

The Post-Joe Louis Era

The end of the Joe Louis era would mark the increasing entrance of blacks into the major league American sports (mainly due to the triumphant conquests of Joe Louis and Jesse Owens, along with black participation in World War II). There would be few socio-political

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*Marciano was the "black man" in this fight (or the major adversary in the media perception; based on current American affairs).

**Louis' defeat may have actually been "good" for blacks in this respect.

changes for blacks in the larger society as well (desegregation of certain schools and institutions, increased voting privileges for blacks, and increased tolerance of blacks in the general society). In boxing, Marciano would eventually challenge "Jersey" Joe Walcott for the title in 1952. Although Gene Ward of the Daily News remarked that Marciano was "the uncrowned king of the heavyweights", before ever challenging for the title, the general media was somewhat skeptical of the rising new contender for the throne. As he approached his battle for the heavyweight championship with Walcott, the media would expose their repressed admiration* for the new "white hope", who was projected to defeat the 38-year old Negro champion.

Rocky Marciano vs. "Jersey" Joe Walcott

Walcott was not given much chance to retain the heavyweight title, which he won in a knockout victory over Ezzard Charles a year previous. Marciano, having defeated Joe Louis and 43 others (38 by knockout), up to this point, would enter this fight with a fierce reputation as a knockout puncher. Arthur Daley of the New York Times makes an analysis of his perception of the "Brockton

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*Much of this admiration was repressed for Marciano, due to the American loyalty toward Joe Louis.

Block Buster":

> The Brockton Block Buster
>
> In the strictest definition of the term, Rocky Marciano doesn't qualify entirely as a gutter fighter...But he has all the traits the boxing mob most admires and they have accepted him as a member of their lodge even though it be an associate membership* of sorts...Marciano is colorful. Marciano is exciting. Marciano can hit. Marciano would be a champion who could and would breathe new life into the comatose Busted Beak industry...The boys along Jacobs Beach already are speaking of Rocky as "another Dempsey"." This could be a bit of wishful thinking...Marciano may not qualify precisely as a gutter fighter. But he sure fights like one.[174]

Daley's definition of "gutter fighter" is a fighter who possesses "the killer instinct and the big wallop". Daley goes on:

> In the generic sense it means a fighter who learned his trade in the gutters, every battle being a battle for survival. Jungle tactics always proved the most effective. The gutter fighter swarmed all over the other fellow, spurred by his inborn lust for combat, and swung away furiously until the other fellow dropped.[175]

In his analysis, Daley describes fighters, Jack Dempsey, Stanley Ketchel, Rocky Graziano and Mickey Walker as "gutter fighters". Although Daley is not making a racial stereotypification out of the term, "gutter fighter",

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*The statement, "they have accepted him as a member of their lodge, even though it be an associate membership of sorts" indirectly refers to Marciano's secondary ethnic stratification acceptance (as an Italian).

he does not include any black fighters on this short list. Also is the fact that in the previous excerpt, the chance that Marciano would become "another Dempsey" is "wishful thinking". Note that Dempsey ruled the heavyweights during the "Golden Age", a period when blacks were barred from "Jim Crow" American professional sports. There is a sudden note of optimism in Daley's attitude toward the possibilities of Rocky Marciano (the same Marciano who was somewhat despised by Daley after he knocked out the aging Joe Louis) as he approaches his challenge to Joe Walcott. The anticipation of the fight (with undertones of Caucasian restoration of pugilistic supremacy) became of keen interest to the media.

> Marciano Rules 8-5 Favorite To Whip Walcott for Title
>
> Jersey Joe Walcott, a crafty old codger of 38 with a knockout punch in either hand, defends his title Tuesday night against unbeaten Rocky Marciano, a swarming youngster with the blunt wrecking power of a bulldozer...Marciano's rise has been spectacular.[176]

This (authorless) article by the New York Post is unusual. Instead of sub-human or "animal" epithets (as given to black fighters like Joe Louis and Jack Johnson), Marciano is given the description of a powerful machine ("the wrecking power of a bulldozer"). The title of the column, "Marciano Rules 8-5 Favorite", could have been written "Marciano 8-5 Favorite". The author chose to include the word, "Rules" in his title (maybe in the context

of "wishful thinking", domination, and anticipation of a Caucasian victory over the Negro champion). Notice also how the odds are stated correctly, in terms of the placement of the numbers, "8-5", rather than in reverse order (as this would often be the case in a Joe Louis or a Jack Johnson heavyweight championship fight).

The fight itself would end in a 12th round knockout by the victor, Rocky Marciano, who would again restore pugilistic supremacy to the Caucasian race by becoming the heavyweight champion of the world. The media was naturally jubilant over the results of the fight, but consciously sought to quell the tendency to endorse Marciano as a "white hope". This fact would result in an overemphasis of the boxing skills (especially punching power) of the new champion. Reporter James P. Dawson of the New York Times portrayed the media attitude of the bout he had just witnessed:

> MARCIANO ANNEXES TITLE IN 13TH BY KO OVER JOE WALCOTT
>
> Hundreds Besiege Philadelphia Stadium in Wild Rush to Acclaim New Champion
>
> ...The knockout was the cue for a tremendous demonstration...He (Marciano) was the first white heavyweight to hold the title since Jim Braddock was stopped by Joe Louis in Chicago in 1937. Here was the new champion and nothing could halt the crowd in its eagerness to acclaim him. Walcott had only the cut over his left eye to show for the fifth knockout in a career that extends back over twenty-two years. His ribs must have been sore, his body must have been weary, and his nervous system certainly was upset under the pounding to which he had been subjected. But he had made a gallant stand, one that came near to completely

upsetting the hope...[177]

In this article, Dawson completely acknowledges and understands the social and political symbol of the results of the Marciano victory, from a white American viewpoint. He admits that the crowd (which is always predominately white at a heavyweight championship fight) was as anxious to see Marciano win, as they were "eager to acclaim him". There was also fear that Walcott, who put up a good fight, knocking Marciano down in the first round, might defeat the challenger, and therefore "completely upset the (white) hope", as explained by Dawson. He is completely descriptive throughout the whole article of the beating suffered by Walcott (as imposed by Marciano), although the facial wounds of Marciano made him appear to be the loser of the two.

The 1952 quest and attainment of a "white hope" (which was Marciano) is summed up by Milton Gross of the New York Post:

> (Jimmy) Johnston illustrates the extremes fight managers will go for the man who can make them a million. In the so-called era of the White Hope, Johnston placed advertisements in newspapers all over the world. He received thousands of replies and he cut the applicants down to a thousand. Then he cut them down some more, weeding them out as though he were running an amateur tournament and the likely-looking hulks who were left he brought into the old Madison Square Garden for an elimination of a sort. .."It shows you" said Rocky Marciano's trainer, "the kind of average you got against you trying to bring out a fighter. It's a million to one picking up a guy, like

> we picked up Rocky, and getting him to be the champ."[178]

When Gross speaks of the "era of the White Hope", that is any time period when any black fighter, or succession of black fighters, holds the heavyweight championship of the world. Here he speaks of the elimination process in the attainment of worthy white challengers to the throne. At this time also, the "white hope" issue reaches exploitative proportions in boxing (as noted by the media and fan reaction to the build-up of the second Louis-Conn fight, which was triggered by the disappointment due to the nature of Conn's loss in the first fight). The quality white heavyweight contender becomes a most highly valued and prized commodity, moreso than the issue of the politics and symbol of white supremacy*. Arthur Daley of the New York Times observed:

> Rocky not only proved anew that he is one of the ring's most paralyzing punchers but he also handled himself respectably enough as a boxer. He's still no Corbett or Tunney but he didn't do too badly against one of the canniest craftsmen of them all...It was the best fight this ringsider has seen in many years, packed with action, drama and excitement.[179]

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*This process will also take place in the future, for the other major American professional sports (noted in the development of athletes such as Larry Bird, Gerry Cooney, Don Mattingly, Tommy Morrison, Jerry West, Bill Walton, Danny Ferry, Mark Gastineau and others).

Daley is reflecting his new growing sentiment for Marciano, using the white standard (Gene Tunney and Jim Corbett) as his measure for excellence. The fight was "the best in many years" to Daley, because of the satisfaction of his sentiment (as Rocky won the fight). Fight manager Charley Goldman (speaking out of Milton Gross' New York Post column), gives his analysis of the new champion:

> "Rocky," he said, "hasn't reached his peak yet. He's still improving. There's no telling how good he can be. Maybe the best ever...[180]

This analysis represents the classic over-emphasis of the white athlete in the media. This analyst is basing his judgment on the two major victories in Marciano's unbeaten career to this point, against a 37-year old Joe Louis, and a 38-year old Joe Walcott. Granted that the fight between Marciano and Walcott was exciting, the New York Times (author nameless) announced the prospective for a rematch:

> Miami or Chicago appeared to be the leading candidates for a January rematch of this battle, called by boxing men the most exciting heavyweight fight since the Jack Dempsey-Luis Firpo thriller in 1923.[181]

The quality of the fight is based on a bout in the heyday of the career of Jack Dempsey (the Golden Era), as a standard of excellence. Of the old fighters, never is a Jack Johnson bout used as a standard of excellence (as well as championship bouts which featured the other

black champions, Joe Walcott, Ezzard Charles and Joe Louis) with respect to the white champion's greatest bouts, up to this point in time. As American media and public admiration would increase with Marciano's popular career, he would move to another formidable black opponent, the ex-heavyweight champion of the world, Ezzard Charles.

Rocky Marciano vs. Ezzard Charles

Marciano would again defeat Joe Walcott by a knockout in the first round of their rematch bout of the following year (May 15, 1953). The media would continue to endorse Marciano as the official "white hope" by their comparisons of him to other great white champions. Arthur Daley was a prime culprit of this type reporting:

> ...the Jeffries-Corbett fight...a strange parallel...It is not a precise parallel, of course. But it is close enough to tomorrow's presentation for a closer study. Big Jeff was the young, strong heavyweight champion just as Marciano is. Their differences in ages also is approximately the same, ten years, give or take a year. However, Big Jeff didn't win his title directly from Gentleman Jom as the Rock had from the grandpappy guy...Marciano...has the ability to recoup everything with one punch. He isn't quite as strong as Jeffries. Nor is Walcott as clever as Corbett. But the parallel is there for those who like to ponder such things.[182]

When Daley parallels Rocky Marciano with the older champs, Dempsey, Tunney, Corbett and Jeffries, he bypasses the whole career of Jack Johnson (as a parallel to Marciano),

which interlocks the time periods between these fighters. These articles are of mostly relevance to the theme of white supremacy, or Caucasian-dominated boxing. In a subsequent article, during the pre-fight hype of Marciano-Walcott II, Daley reflects more of his growing sentiment to Marciano:

> His right hand is murder and his left hand is at least justifiable homicide...No heavyweight champion has ever regained the title and eight have tried...It just wouldn't seem historically fair for the Old Gentleman to achieve that which has eluded so many great ones. So the rooting interest of this ringsider will be for Marciano, a switch from last time, when he found himself cheering Walcott's gallant bid. Jersey Joe is an extraordinary stimulus for the morale and ego of every middle-aged man. But boxing is primarily a young man's game. The Rock has the youth and equipment to be an exciting champion for many years to come.[183]

At the top of this excerpt, Marciano is described in "killer" terms (although legal, not primitive terms). However, sentiment is with Marciano as the author admits to his "switched" allegiance from Walcott. Although he did respect and admire Walcott from a reporting standpoint during the pre-fight hype of the last Marciano-Walcott fight, there were all indications that he favored Marciano in the first fight from a sentimental perspective. With the news of Marciano's one-round defeat of Walcott in the second fight, Joseph C. Nichols of the New York Times reported:

> Marciano, a 22-year old resident of Brockton, Mass., possesses a ring record that eclipses in point of figures the marks boasted by such illustrious previous champions as Jack Dempsey, Joe Louis, Gene Tunney and Jim Jeffries. The current champion has won all forty-three of his professional fights.[184]

Again, a sports reporter totally neglects the outstanding ring exploits of ex-heavyweight champion, Jack Johnson, as a comparative analysis. The author uses the same fighters (minus Louis and Corbett), as the standard of excellence in boxing, as Daley. Daley's impression of marciano reaches phenomenal proportions in his post-fight analysis:

> Marciano...is an even more destructive puncher than the Brown Bomber was. He may be the best puncher of all the heavyweights, including Jack Dempsey...no one should overlook the fact that the Rock is an exciting and thunderous champion. It's the only important fact to emerge from the wreckage.[184a]

Daley is now proclaiming Marciano to be the greatest puncher in the history of boxing (as well as the greatest boxer), in only his first defense of the crown. Marciano has reached immortal/legendary status in only his first fight as champion (the rematch with the 39-year old Walcott, who Daley himself suspected of being a lot older). In approaching his premier bout with Ezzard Charles, the media accolades of Marciano would increase, although he would achieve an ambiguous media-popularity that is unusual for a Caucasian-American heavyweight champion.

In approaching his bout with Ezzard Charles, Marciano gained a reputation of modesty, which suitably fit his taciturn demeanor. Criticism of Marciano began due to the 9-month layoff since his last fight. Jimmy Powers of the New York Post explained:

> There are rules on the books designed to prevent a fighter from putting his crown into the deep freeze. Technically, each champion should be seen in action every six months...Marciano has been inactive since Sept. 24, 1953...By fighting infrequently, you reduce the chances of challengers knocking you off.[185]

This was the practice of many Caucasian heavyweight champions, up to this point in time, in order to "milk" the championship for all its worth (Willard, Dempsey, Braddock and Tunney, among others, were all "guilty" of "sitting" on the title). It was rare, however, prior to Braddock, for the media to have complained about this tactic. Subsequent to the dethroning of Jack Johnson, it was in the interest of white America to monopolize the heavyweight title for the Caucasian race, which meant discrimination, "sitting on the title", and other similar tactics for this purpose. Powers article is important for the "rules of fair play" in sport, as he exposes Marciano. American professional sports of the 1950's would take on a more structuralized form, with the adoption of new and more complex rules, regulations and expansion*.

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*For instance, Wilt Chamberlain insists that the NBA widened the three-second lane so as to disadvantage his height and basketball savvy around the hoop, when he entered pro basketball in 1959.

Marciano won a 15-round (and somewhat controversial) decision over Ezzard Charles. Al Buck of the New York Post reported:

> The champ won, but what a licking he took. Slashed, battered and bruised, with an inch and a half cut above his left eye, stout-hearted Rocky Marciano counted his stitches as he paid tribute to Ezzard Charles, a gallant loser in the 15-round shambles at the Yankee Stadium last night.[186]

This article is attributable to the beginning of a "sensitive era" in the area of blacks in the media, with regard to stereotypes, racial epithets and descriptions. In most cases, the media would laud the champion black athlete even in defeat. With respect to the description of the black athlete, even the term, "the Negro", had faded in redundancy to a minimum. Actually, if one were oblivious to the world of sport and read the articles of Marciano's fights with the top black challengers of his time, it would be difficult to determine which fighter was black (or white)*. In fact, the media was more cynical and suspicious of Rocky's abilities and capabilities, and in certain instances, would criticize the champion to the point of denouncement. Jimmy Cannon of the New York Post reported:

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*During the Dempsey era, and up until Joe Louis, fighters were not mentioned by race in the media, as boxing was restricted to whites, it was not necessary. The "sensitive era" (1952-1964) would resemble the Dempsey era in the media, although professional sports was integrated.

> ...Marciano has the talent of an armored truck. It was as though Charles were trying to demolish a tank by flinging pebbles at it. The cut disturbed Marciano and...also made him more grotesque because during the fight his face folds into a collapse as though he had spit out his teeth and his jaw bone...an absent-minded man addressed by the voice of doom who refused to answer the page. It was a barbaric fight and at the end of it Charles' face was bloated and lumpy and bruised and lacerated...It resembled the serrated landscape of a planet seen through a defective telescope. ...It was like watching a hamburger, thrown into a lion's cage, taunt the animal about to consume it...It is doubtful if a champion in any class ever appeared as foolish as Marciano. But he refuses to allow himself to acknowledge this constant disgrace...Marciano weakened Charles just by colliding with him, as though the impact of their bodies bumping was part of Marciano's brutality...Some day, I'm positive I shall see Marciano stuffed and mounted in a taxidermist's window. He is a guy who should interest the anthropologists because it looks like he made the round trip back to the apes.[187]

This author, surprisingly, praises Marciano with condemnation. Marciano is depicted as barbaric, ignorant and inhuman in one and the same article (not customary for previous white champions). Marciano's popularity in the media would grow in stature after his retirement.

Marciano's last fight would come against Archie Moore (Sept. 21, 1955), and ended in a knockout defeat of Moore in the ninth round. Marciano would retire undefeated on April 27, 1956 (49-0). The next champion would be Floyd Patterson (through an elimination tournament set up by boxing officials, Patterson would defeat Archie Moore in a fifth-round knockout, and was awarded the

vacated heavyweight title on Nov. 30, 1956). The remaining segment will mark a period known as the Muhammad Ali era, of which Floyd Patterson is very much a part. This era will witness a "new awareness" among black culture, and this awareness is directly reflected in the sports of the day. Muhammad Ali, himself, would forever change the image of the black sportsman in the media, and his attitude would be reflected in the actions of the American culture.

The Muhammad Ali Era (1964-1979)

The 1960 Olympic light-heavyweight champion (Gold Medal Winner), Cassius Clay, would certainly have an effect on the political frustration of racial ties that had developed in the 1950's. Most of these issues dealt primarily with the lingering social problems of segregation and inequality. Many issues would mark this period (e.g. the Rosa Parks incident of 1955, the rise of Martin Luther King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference [SCLC], and the demand for political and civil rights, in general). This period would mark what Neil Smelser would refer to as "system strain" and "conduciveness" which would lead to various riots, demonstrations, and uprisings in the black American communities. In 1959, black heavyweight champion Floyd Patterson would challenge Ingemar Johansson for the heavyweight title (after holding the championship for three years), in what would turn out to be another controversial state of affairs concerning another "white hope".

Pre-Ali Era - Floyd Patterson vs. Ingemar Johansson

The media did not give the Swedish Johansson much chance to win against Patterson, but there was hope for an upset. As reported by Oscar Soderlund of the New York Times:

> Patterson can cut down an opponent with his terrific combinations of flashing punches. But Ingemar can take out a man with a single punch. And he can do it in the

> first as well as in the last round...What is my prediction? Well I'm sorry to say that I fear Patterson will win on points. But-I give Johansson a 50 per cent chance to knock him out.[188]

It is obvious where the sentiment lies with this writer (by his statement, "I'm sorry to say that I fear Patterson wil win...But-I give Johansson a 50 per cent chance to knock him out "), despite the fact that Patterson brought to America the Olympic Gold Medal in boxing's middleweight division in 1952, and Johansson was a foreigner from Sweden. Joseph C. Nichols of the New York Times also stated:

> Most boxing followers are convinced,...that no "worthy challenger" for Floyd's championship can be found in the list of his victims. Instead, they point to Ingemar Johansson ...as the one man among current heavyweights likely to give Patterson a real test...Johansson will extend the American Negro more than any one of his previous challengers has done.[189]

Although Patterson is described here as the "Negro"*, this was not a common practice during the "sensitive era" (1952-1964) of sport media. This summary also depicts Johansson as the leading "white hope" contender, although the overtness of this thought is suppressed by the unbiased language . The giveaway of the author's racial sentiment

*Patterson is referred to here as "the American Negro", in a basic tribute to his Olympic honor, and his accepted attitude as a black American, by whites. Although Patterson and other black athletes were referred to in the media as "the Negro", in some cases, this practice was not as frequent as in the Johnson, Louis, and post-Louis eras.

is ecxposed in his description of Patterson as "the American Negro", instead of "the American", as Johansson is described as "the 26-year old fighter from Sweden" (omitted from the previous article). This may indicate that the perception that the author wants to portray is that the racial connotations over the result of this fight may be more important and/or productive than the political connotations (in that Johansson is the greatest "white hope" available). In other words, a Johansson victory may mean more to a racially-torn American society than an "American victory" against Sweden. Jimmy Powers of the Daily News makes the point:

> The key principal for making this a fight worthy of the world title is Johansson. We have a fair estimate of Patterson's worth after four defenses. I feel Johansson fully realizes the responsibility of his role as the first Swedish-born boxer to fight for a world title...He is a wealthy business man in Sweden. He expects to return there. He therefore needs the good will of those nearest and dearest to him. I think he wil put up a brave battle. It might even be one of the most sensational in modern times.[190]

This excerpt is a covert "calling" for white American support in behalf of Johansson (as "he needs the good will of those nearest and dearest to him"), as Johansson was a "fellow Caucasian", although a foreigner (who needed enthusiastic "white" support). Johansson "knows the responsibility of his role" (similar to Jeffries as he approached his bout with Jack Johnson), which is making the bout a political, yet racial affair on the "foreign" soil

of Yankee Stadium. The author is more concerned about Johansson's "Swedish dignity" ("He expects to return there..."), rather than "American dignity" in a victory by Patterson. The fact that the author believes that Johansson "needs those nearest and dearest to him", is a clever, although covert media form of calling for white American support of Johansson over Patterson (as "we have a fair estimate of Patterson's worth").

The bout was originally scheduled to take place at Yankee Stadium, N.Y. on June 25, 1959, but because of a rain delay, the bout would be staged the following day. It was thought that the delay might benefit Johansson (superstition?). Joseph C. Nichols of the New York Times stated:

> ...Because of the delay some observers felt that Johansson's chances had improved because Patterson had attained his peak form for last night. Nevertheless the betting odds remained 4-1 in favor of Patterson*.191

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*Favoritism employed against the reasoning of logical odds on the favorite would denote the media sentiment; the prolific employment of ways to win against the negative opponent; Fighter Max Baer and ex-fighter Jack Dempsey would cue Joe Louis on boxing points before the second Louis-Schmeling fight, as Louis was the odds-on and sentimental favorite (the American "symbol") to win the fight. It should also be known that once Rocky Marciano attained the sentiment of the American public, upon his retirement, it would never again shift to any of his opponents, as it had done in his bout with Joe Louis (the same as Dempsey, for Dempsey is credited with being greater than the opponent who defeated him, Gene Tunney, in his immortalized personal stature, as perceived by the media).

The fight would end in a third-round knockout of Patterson by Johansson. Johansson would win the heavyweight title, and the surprised media would react in kind. Joseph C. Nichols reported for the New York Times:

> JOHANSSON CRUSHES PATTERSON WITH 7 KNOCK-DOWNS IN THIRD
>
> Ingemar Johansson knocked Floyd Patterson down seven times in the third round at the Yankee Stadium last night and won the world heavyweight boxing championship. The 26-year old native of Goteborg, Sweden, struck with his right hand, and it was the same as striking with the Hammer of Thor.[192]

Johansson is immediately immortalized with this physical reference to the "Hammer of Thor" (the god of war, thunder and strength in Norse mythology). Johansson's right hand, which was well-publicized before the fight, is analogous to the might of the god's weapon (one which creates thunder), as well as the dominance of the mythological white god. As well, Al Buck of the New York Post reported:

> Patterson went down to defeat in 2:03 of the third round. He was battered down seven times in all, as the Swede, turned savage, never relented. The end came when Referee Ruby Goldstein mercifully stopped the slaughter. It was raw drama. There hasn't been anything like it since Rocky Marciano...Johansson's victory, scored against 5-1 odds, is the biggest upset since James J. Braddock, a 10-1 underdog, outpointed Max Baer...The Swede's right reminds one of Max Schmeling's, and he fights with the fury of Jack Dempsey.[193]

In order to defeat Patterson, the "Swede turned savage", as an only possible boxing maneuver, according to this article. He is immediately given the physical comparisons of Marciano, Schmeling and Dempsey, although he is not compared to any black champion. This is for the purpose of the morale of the white media readers, the sporting establishment (records, Hall of Fame, etc.), the sense of "Jim Crow" (in reference to Dempsey and Braddock who were illustrative white champions during the "Golden Era" and prior to Joe Louis), and white supremacy. Interracial heavyweight championship boxing matches are usually reported in this jubilant tone when the white fighter wins. The fight, which had all the ingredients of re-establishing fistic supremacy for the white race was subtly done so in the media. Arthur Daley of the New York Times reported:

> The end was in sight because Johansson has all the instincts of Jack Dempsey and Rocky Marciano. He was not one to let a helpless foe escape. Implacable and destructive, he surged in, like a tiger who had scented blood. There was blood to scent, too, because a red smear was covering Patterson's mouth.[194]

In this article, Johansson is rated with Dempsey and Marciano, the greatest "white hopes" of the Twentieth Century. With relation to Johansson's power and courage, he is given the positive traits of a "tiger who had scented blood" (although not the predatorial and negative "savage killer" that Louis, on many occasions, was depic-

ted). In practical terms, Johansson was more of a "boxer" (like Tunney, Walcott, and Conn) showing craftiness and skill, moreso than a "slugger" (like Dempsey and Marciano), who overpowered their opponents with brute force), however, the media immediately compares him with the great "sluggers". The only actual similarity between Johansson and Dempsey/Marciano as prizefighters is their Caucasian heredity (in terms of skin color and its American significance).

Reaction to this fight stirred the public imagination:

> Ingemar Johansson's knockout victory over Floyd Patterson created so much excitement in the Forest Hills Stadium last night that play in the tennis Tournament of Champions was interrupted briefly. Transistor radio sets in the press section were tuned low as the bout got under way. But when Johansson put the champion on the floor in the third round, the sets blared forth...Malcolm Anderson of Australia was playing Pancho Segura of Ecuador. They stopped and turned their eyes toward the marquee. Agitated tournament officials hurried into the press section and asked for quiet. But they forgot their mission and stood by eagerly to take in the thrilling drama of the seven knockdowns.[195]

This article reflects the sentiment of the biased institution of professional tennis, of the results of the first Patterson-Johansson fight (the tennis audience, players and officials became stunned over the media-perceived

unlikely turn of events*). "Shocking" news of the Johansaon triumph was able to interrupt professional play at Forest Hills Stadium (Tournament of Champions) because of its significance, value and interest appeal.

Adulation ran so high for Johansson, that even New York City was planning to celebrate his victory. James Tuite of the New York Times reported:

> ...Richard C. Patterson Jr., the City's Commissioner of Commerce and Special Events... would like to arrange an official city reception for Johansson for having knocked out the other Patterson, Floyd...[196]

This invitation to Johansson represents an immediate reaction in the symbolic cause of mental and physical supremacy that was displayed by the fighter (a planned "white celebration" although Johansson could not be reached at the time). It would have been a first**, in terms of celebrating the foreign opponent on the soil of the unsuccessful local national hero (as Patterson was a New York resident). Patterson also noticed the inconsistencies of being a black American heavyweight champion:

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*By this point in time, the myth of the black athlete, as physically superior to whites in certain sporting events, has begun to take root in the American social imagination. White Americans were stunned over the turn of events leading to his victory, as most whites were ready, at this time, to concede the sport of boxing to the black race, believing that blacks would naturally be better at such a "primitive" sport.

**Most of Joe Louis' post-fight celebrations of victories on a national scale (Schmeling and Conn) took place in the American black communities.

> Patterson, a sensitive, introverted man, was deeply hurt and humiliated both by the inglorious whipping, and the immediate acclaim the country lauded upon the European champion. In quick succession Johansson had movie offers, television appearances, and seemed to be everywhere at once. As the ex-champ brooded, he could not help but think that in the nearly three years he was champion, he received no television or movie offers.[197]

The new "white hope" champion was thoroughly celebrated in this country, in his own country, and around the world, and the issue of white supremacy, evident although subtle, was reflected by public opinion through the media psyche. In the above article, Patterson is experiencing the "double standard" of being a black champion, as compared to the public and media treatment of the white champion. Baseball great Jackie Robinson, writing for the New York Post, stated:

> It is different and that is probably the best thing about tonight and tomorrow. Thirteen years ago, when Schmeling knocked out Joe Louis, he knocked out more than a good opponent. He knocked out the hopes, the aspirations, the self-identification of almost a whole race. You must remember, Joe was all a lot of Negroes had to depend on, then. There was no FEPC, no Supreme Court which spelled out his rights so frequently as a human being, no high tribunal which held that all Negro children were as good as all white children and entitled to go to the same schools with them at the same time. It is not that they liked Floyd less than Joe. It is only that they no longer need the symbol that Joe represented to

> them at that time. That's tonight's difference- and it's good."*[198]

Robinson reflects the transition of the "Jim Crow" period and the black experience in America, in the above statement. He acknowledges that Patterson is a less important "symbol" than Joe Louis, in the cause of American blacks struggling against the American system, meaning that blacks had less of a reason to be disappointed or angry over the outcome of the fight. The statement of Robinson reflects the growing political assertiveness of the black race in the struggle for civil rights in America, and the increasing democratic nature of the media for publishing a black viewpoint (as well as providing Jackie Robinson with his own sports column).

Not all American media was favorable to Johansson. Dick Young of the Daily News called Johansson a "bum" the day before the fight. After the fight he explains:

> "...I gotta see him do it again." That's how I feel about Ingemar Johansson's fine kayo of Floyd Patterson...I suppose if I had any class of my own, I'd say I'm sorry I called Ingo a bum before the fight, and in my abject humility, I'd declare publicly that:

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*In the same manner that it was "good" that Louis lost to Marciano, whereby "removing" the mythical and stereotypical symbol of black physical superiority. Joe Louis was heralded by the white sports media despite that loss.

> Ingemar Johansson is the greatest..
> Dag Hammerskjold is the greatest.
> Anita Eckberg is the greatest.
> Nils Asther is the greatest.
> Dimpled chins are the greatest.
> Swedish punch is the greatest.
> You'll be hearing a bit about Swedish punch at bars in the next few days. Suddenly it has replaced Scotch on the rocks as our national drink...Willingly and without humility, the admission is made that Ingemar Johansson is no bum...But into admitting Johansson's right is the greatest instrument of destruction...that's going too far... Personally, I think Ingo is on a streak - two flukes in a row.[199]

Dick Young is uninhibited in his criticism of Johansson. Regardless of the outcome, he believes the performance of Johansson is overrated, and he is cautioning others of the same. In a rare article after this fight, Young shows a pro-American "disappointment", rather than a pro-Caucasian "jubilance", which is evident in most other articles that produced the results of this fight. His line, "Swedish punch...suddenly...has replaced Scotch on the rocks as our national drink", may be perceived that he recognizes the transference of allegiance from the (black) American champion to the (white) Swedish champion. Young's American patriotism is more pronounced than his racial attitude, at this point.

Patterson would attempt to avenge this defeat, and win back the title from Ingemar Johansson one year later (June 20, 1960) at the Polo Grounds in New York. Optimism for Johansson in this fight was high. Joseph C. Nichols reported for the New York Times:

> This return match has generated more interest than any championship clash since the second bout between Joe Louis and Billy Conn in 1946...The odds favor Johansson at 8 to 5. In the first fight Johansson smashed Patterson to the canvas seven times in the third round, mainly with right-hand punches to the head. It is in the belief that this right hand contains the same power that it did last June that the majority of fight fans favor the champion.[200]

The author admits, in subtle language, that this interracial match has "generated more interest" than any championship bout "since the second bout between Joe Louis and Billy Conn". Sentiment, in this article, is directed towards Johansson. In another article entitled, "Guessing Game", Arthur Daley reports another outlook of the fight (sports editorial) in the New York Times:

> Logic says that Johansson must win. But the hunch in this corner is that Floyd will blunt Hammer of Thor and win by a knockout before the tenth...the more vibrant change has been effected by the colorful Johansson, who has awakened a drowsing division by the excitement of his own personality. No longer is he viewed suspiciously as just another foreigner whose credentials are suspect. His right-hand punch and his all-around ring deportment have convinced the skeptics that he is a fighter with class and will.[201]

The author gives off the impression that he is favoring Patterson to win the fight, but his sentiment is noted throughout the article (the "Hammer of Thor" is outright praise and symbol of dominance). The two opposing arguments

(pro and con Patterson; although the weight of the Johansson arguments are heavily in favor of) protects the author from making the wrong decision about his preconceived outcome. The phrase, "he has awakened a drowsing division", infers that the elimination process that produced Floyd Patterson to succeed the abdicated throne of the retired Rocky Marciano brought forth many unexciting Negro contenders (or pretenders), which, in turn, discouraged many fight fans away from live heavyweight boxing*. This particular fight would be the first of its kind, as it would be shown live at theaters as a closed-circuit television rematch of the top black and white heavyweights in the world, and was indicative of the profitability and popularity of interracial heavyweight championship matches.

After Patterson defeated Johansson in the fifth round of their rematch, he became the first heavyweight champion of the world to regain the title, and Johansson would become the last white champion to hold the title. The media reflected the subtle disappointment of these factors. Jimmy Powers of the Daily News stated:

> Frankly, Ingo's defeat saddened us because...we have been a long-time admirer of the relaxed

*Television would also ruin the live gate of boxing, at this time.

> approach to work. We happen to like sports heroes...who do not take themselves too seriously. We long admired Babe Ruth's nonchalant approach to the business of fashioning home runs. Paul Waner, Chuck Klein...were long ago admitted to our personal gallery of gods...The dimpled, blue-eyed, charming Ingo, we thought, was of this stripe...Life is too short for Ingo to hide away from family and friends and steam himself up for vengeance for a year. That ascetic life is fine for Trappist monks and Patterson, but not for a certain blue-eyed dimpled Swede...[202]

This is an admission of the obvious disappointment over the failure of "white supremacy" to overcome Patterson, and the premature classification of Johansson with white American sport legends, such as Dempsey, Marciano and Ruth, in subtle terms. Also subtle is a denouncement of Patterson, who Powers estimated "hides" when he is defeated, and had to build up "vengeance" (or revenge) to defeat Johansson. The reporter is also admitting that the American public and the media took for granted the prowess of Johansson, in that the other white heroes spoiled the public with their "nonchalant approach" in their success. Also the term "blue-eyed" takes on positive connotations which reveal the author's sentiment.

Another incidence of this disappointment is reflected in an article by reporter Howard M. Tuckner of the New York Times:

> Governor Rockefeller attended, surrounded by a cordon of police. A bystander slipped through to ask his prediction on the outcome. The Governor shook his head and said, appar-

> ently not without thought, "I'm torn, really torn." The quandry was posed because of the Governor's son, who married a Swedish girl.[203]

The first impression one might obtain from reading this article is that the Governor was "torn" in disappointment, due to the Johansson loss. There is also the opinion that there are restrictions on what the media is allowed to report on government opinions. This article is located amidst myriad articles that covered the results of the fight (post-fight coverage). In other words, why is the New York Post reporting a pre-fight opinion after the fact? If the Governor, in turn, was torn in devotion to his country and in devotion to his race, his popularity may have suffered if his comments were communicated as post-fight remarks. The fact that he had a Swedish son-in-law probably had no significance in his comments (yet a clever devise that the media used to deliver his "torn" statement). If the Governor was torn in loyalty between the two principals, he may have concluded that one was white, one was black, one was an American, and one was a foreigner. After weighing these issues, he would still pick his personal favorite fighter to win the bout. But during a period of racial tension in America, and the fight for democracy and equality by blacks, the Governor would make a wise choice in not commenting. However,

his statement, "I'm torn") may have actually been an initial "disappointed" reaction to the results of this fight (as opposed to the results of the last fight), in reflection of his sentiment. By this time, also, the New York Times refrained, somewhat, from using the term, "the Negro", in reference to the black fighter (as it had done on occasion the year previous). Black dissension in the struggle for civil rights was simmering in response to Dr. Martin Luther King, and the media began to take up the struggle in wide format.

Reporters presented a more liberal tone in their depiction, description and denunciation of black athletes. As noted by Harry Edwards:

> The mass media in America, particularly television, have done a great deal to bring about a greater awareness on the part of whites regarding the problems and life circumstances of Afro-Americans. There is little doubt but that the various desegregation drives in the South would have failed were it not for the fact that through television the grim realities of "southern hospitality" were brought into America's living rooms. It is also true that, through all forms of the mass media, many Americans have become for the first time aware of the depths of the frustrations and anxieties suffered by black people in white America. This is not to say, however, that the newspapers, television reporters, and radio announcers have been unfailingly fair to Afro-Americans.[204]

This excerpt represents the transition of the media that is taking place during this era, however, covert racial

media depictions and assessments would continue. In an effort to conceal racial connotations about blacks in athletics, the media would begin to reverse this process by the stereotypical depiction of the white athlete. Arthur Daley of the New York Times gave this tacit assessment:

> ...The knockdown timekeeper tolled 7 and suddenly the tableau sprang into motion. Patterson did a dance of joy. He knew then that the Smorgasbord Smasher was out colder than a Swedish mackerel and that he himself had regained the heavyweight championship of the world...The Viking went down as though felled by a bullet, flat on his back. Not a muscle flickered.[205]

Many of these ("sensitive era") articles would address Johansson as "The Swede" or "Ingo", rather than Patterson as "The Negro" (as was the case a year before). This may have also been a method used by the (Northern) media, to quell the sensitivity of the Black Liberation Movement, which had come to the forefront of most political issues at this time. In an unusual turn of events, the customary "disappointment" that is usually interpreted in the media after one of the many interracial championship fights where the white principal is defeated by the black is almost non-existent, however, still perceivable (if one can understand the sublety and the change of form that it is presented). Another incident of this "cloaked" media behavior is shown in the following New

York Times article:

> JOY ON EIGHTH AVENUE
>
> Fans Outside Polo Grounds Celebrate After Knockout
>
> There were about a dozen groups of people around radios on Eighth Avenue outside the Polo Grounds during the fight. When the fifth-round knockout came, the listeners broke into a wild display of joy, leaping and shouting on the sidewalk and in the street.[206]

Not once was the mention of "Negroes" or "blacks" in reference to the celebrants of this Eighth Avenue (and 155th St.) Harlem neighborhood in the media (in 1960). The media of the Jack Johnson/Joe Louis eras would be untypical to reproduce this event in the same manner. And although the majority of the New York media was giving praise to Patterson after the fight, Caucasian "disappointment" was not totally discounted. Frank M. Blunk of the New York Times reported:

> FALLEN CHAMPION SMILES, DEPARTS
>
> The defeat of a world champion is a stunning, jarring thing. Especially to the man who has been conquered. To imagine invincibility, then suddenly to find yourself a piece of common clay, is a sad thing. Ingemar Johansson was stunned, and afterward, despite a brave front, he was sad. How could he wave aside with a gesture or a word the devastating defeat he had just suffered at the hands of Floyd Patterson?[207]

This article depicts the perceived "humiliation" that the author imposes on Johansson, and the defeat he "suffered at the hands of Floyd Patterson" (or the "black man").

At the same time, the New York Times would downplay the sadness and disappointment of Johansson's loss with an unperturbed Swedish account of the fight. Werner Wiskari reported:

> MOST OF SWEDEN REMAINED ASLEEP
>
> The Few Who Heard Fight Showed Little Emotion Over Ingemar's Fate
>
> Goteboro (Sweden) newspapers reported that an hour or so after the fight, telephones began to ring and the callers were openly critical of Johansson...Commented the sports editor: "That's how it always goes. If Ingo had won, he would have been great. You can expect a rash of critical comments and everyone concerned with him tomorrow. The loser can't expect to get a break. The same thing happened to Patterson last year when Ingo won."[208]

This might tactfully be termed, "sour grapes media", as we have seen this media attitude constantly and especially during the Jack Johnson era. The title of the column misrepresents the message being delivered by the body of the article, as most Swedes were very well informed over the results of the fight, simultaneous with the fight's conclusion (however, it does not reflect the general disappointment that would naturally occur among the Swedish).

A key to the relative and latent "American" disappointment to the second Patterson-Johansson fight is printed in an article and a photograph of Jack Johnson standing over the humiliated and defeated ex-champion, Jim Jeffries,

in their 1910 bout (Jeffries' purpose of which was to "restore white supremacy to the Caucasian race"). The article is entitled:

TRADITION SUCCUMBS TO PATTERSON[209]

The title of this article is based on the fact that no ex-heavyweight champion had ever regained the heavyweight title. The picture that is printed, when compared to the subject matter of this article, is misleading. While there was a great percentage of illiterate Americans (along with literate Americans) in 1960, one might re-interpret and re-construct the perceived "disgust" and "disappointment" by white Americans at that time, which was absorbed and reflected in the nationwide violence that took place in the aftermath of that fight. The nature of the picture, alone, is a reminder to those who may, or may not, have been around at that time, and may or may not have been affected negatively by the conditions surrounding that fight, that this is a similar situation, however, given less "disappointment" coverage (although the picture itself is the epitome of the "sad" reminder). The "sadness" depicted in the picture of Johnson standing over Jeffries is "cloaked", or clouded, by the subject matter (which infers that Patterson became the first man to ever regain the heavyweight championship), although the picture is more ostentatious (and <u>larger</u> than the article). Even the wording of the title, "TRADITION SUC-CUMBS TO PATTERSON", is a "cover" to the main underlying

issue of the downfall of tradition, and in this case, the re-emergence of the downfall of white pugilistic supremacy, and little prospect for the future. At this point in time, racial assessments and depictions in the sport media would begin to take new forms, most probably for the pacification and appeasement of racial civil strife, which had become rampant and rambunctious at this time.

Special writer for the New York Post, ex-baseball great, Jackie Robinson, brings forth uncommon media praise in his evaluation of Patterson's achievement:

> When I reached Floyd's dressing room, his first words to me were, "Thanks for your confidence." You can imagine how that made me feel. I asked Floyd what was the one thing he was happiest about in winning the fight. He replied that he had wanted most of all to bring the championship back to America. In losing it, he felt he had... let...down...his country. But now that it was back in the U.S., he felt satisfied and grateful. I think his country should be grateful, too,...even when people regarded him as little more than a bum after he lost his title.[210]

Robinson is concerned over the "ingratitude" that the media showed her American champion, Patterson, from a social and political viewpoint. Most notably is how quickly and to what extent the media "switched" to enorse the white champion, Johansson, after the first fight. In a subsequent article, Jackie Robinson stated:

> Incidentally, it will be more interesting to see if Patterson now gets a crack at some of the paid public appearances, commercial endorsements, movie contracts and all the rest that Johansson was showered with while he wore the crown.[211]

The Post seems to be moving toward a more liberal viewpoint, in "allowing" this article, written both by a black and having a "black" viewpoint, to be printed. Robinson makes the point, reflecting the duality (double-standard) of life in American society. As the media reflects a sudden transition in the treatment of blacks (depictions, stereotypes, etc.), covert sentiment was still evident. The "culture shock" of the 1960's in terms of the black experience, would be the major catalyst of this "sensitive era" media transition. Heading into 1962, Patterson had defended the title twice (once again defeating Johansson) before meeting the indomitable "Sonny" Liston.

Floyd Patterson vs. "Sonny" Liston

The media would decrease the use of racial epithets and characterizations of black athletes in exchange for the increased usage of personal negative characteristics, in the downplay of the same and as a new form of clouding the race issue over the major course of the 1960's. Charles "Sonny" Liston would enter professional boxing in 1953 after a five-year term in the penitentiary for an armed robbery conviction. It was also stated that he was controlled by the underworld (Mafia) when

he entered professional boxing. Although the alleged implications were never tacitly proven, as an ex-convict heavyweight contender, he would suffer at the hands of the media. He was labelled deviant, almost unanimously, by the media, in his continued quest for the heavyweight championship. Gene Ward of the Daily News reported:

> Floyd Sentimental Favorite But Sonny Rates 8-5 Pick
>
> ...It is a fight which the champion, who is giving away weight height, reach and punching power, could have avoided. Liston, hoodlum-connected and with a long list of anti-social acts on his record, had nothing going for him in his quest for a title shot.[212]

This article represents a preliminary character assassination of Liston, by Ward. He also demonstrates that tactics of avoidance ("he could have avoided him"), which was used by Dempsey, Willard and others for different reasons (such as the Caucasian monopoly of the title, the American monopoly of the title, and the personal monopoly of the title, among other reasons), to prevent the champion from facing certain contenders*. It is a "legitimate" American malpractice, historically, in the sport of professional boxing.

The Patterson-Liston fight was being hyped as a "morality play" of good vs. evil. Most major interracial

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*Represents the ambiguity of the "rules of fair play" as set forth by Huizinga, and how sports are played in America.

heavyweight championship fights, from the second Louis-Conn fight and before, were also morality plays of "good vs. evil", but in terms of white vs. black. The Louis second match with Schmeling made Louis the first Negro heavyweight champion to be endorsed by the American media, and therefore, the American public. In this first fight with Liston, Patterson would become the second Negro fighter on an American "crusade", in terms of media sentiment. In retrospect, Patterson is the first black heavyweight champion to be viewed in terms of a black "white hope" in the American media (due to the fact that both fighters were black, one is made the "good guy" and vice versa; the term "good" being synonymous with "white"). Milton Gross of the New York Post stated:

> But there is something inside of Patterson which seems to have made him the natural for the role he will have tonight in the morality play which will be acted out violently inside the 20-foot square ring. This is more than a prize fight for the richest reward in all of sports. It is the opposition of good and evil, whether Patterson wishes it that way or not... Floyd said: "The way they're writing this fight it is the good guy against the bad guy and I'm the good guy. That's not the way it is at all. We're both good guys or we're both crooks."[213]

Patterson is correct in that Liston is depicted as "bad" because of a criminal record (as Patterson himself spent a great deal of his childhood in a reform school). This

article bestows Patterson the role of American "gladiator". Gross continues his bestowal:

> The chambermaid who cleaned my hotel room this morning didn't think so. "That Liston, he can be bad for the people." She was echoing the sentiments of the Negro community here as I've heard them expressed in New York and elsewhere, but it is not only the Negro community which is concerned... How then, can this morality play end with good triumphant over evil?...This is not my sentiment. It is fact. Floyd is my pick in eight rounds.[214]

Gross is making a rare prediction, by most of the sports-writers who favored Liston, in this upcoming fight. He tries to rationalize his sentiment in his "non-sentimental" analysis of the pre-fight. The pre-conceived bastardly image of Liston, in the media perception, became the major factor in the gambling odds and sentiment placed on Patterson. Gene Ward of the Daily News voiced his opinion:

> Fight forecast from the head, not the heart. Liston (will win) turns tiger, with cold, calculated fury...That's the way we think it will happen in Comiskey Park to-morrow night. But we're experting from the head, not the heart. And we hope it will happen the other way.[215]

Ward is expressing personal sentiment for Floyd Patterson, while depicting Liston as inhumane and remorseless. Al Buck of the New York Post makes a similar selection:

> If the reader accepts the good boy vs. bad boy theme, this is a choice of evil over virtue, but the judgment, based on

> the physical, has to be Charles (Sonny) Liston. I am predicting that Liston, the cop fighter with a long police record, will win the world heavyweight title... Patterson overcame a disturbed childhood to fight his way to the top of a violent profession. Should he prevail he would become the most popular athlete in the world. He is a man of fine moral character, but in making a selection sentiment had to be discarded.[216]

As Buck reflects the majority of the American sentiment for Patterson, he also acknowledges the reality of the situation that Patterson must face. Liston, coming in with record of 34 victories, 23 knockouts and 1 loss, was perceived as a public menace, and a threat to the morals and values of the American social fabric. It was up to Floyd Patterson to "save" America (and boxing) from this perceived menace.

Liston became the heavyweight champion of the world with his first-round knockout victory over Floyd Patterson on Sept. 25, 1962, and the ultimate "disappointed" reaction to this fight is reflected in the media. Gene Ward of the Daily News reported:

> Liston Blitz KOs Floyd in 2:06 of 1st
>
> It was short, sweet and all Sonny Liston here tonight. The hulking slugger with the vicious punch to match his personality teed off on Floyd Patterson, knocked the champion down and out at 2:06 of the first round and won the world heavyweight championship without raising a bead of sweat on his malevolent countenance.[217]

Sonny Liston is described here in malicious terminology by Ward ("hulking", "vicious"*, and a "malevolent countenance"). One may perceive an image of "power", in reading this analysis of Liston's victory and ability, however, these harsh adjectives also inflict a negative depiction and image upon the character of the new champion. The shocked disappointment of Liston's victory is reflected by the New York Times:

> Liston Victory Clouds Boxing's Future Here
>
> One of New York's top legislative leaders declared last night that the crowning of Sonny Liston as world heavyweight champion "could spell the death knell for professional boxing in New York State."...Within seconds** of the first-round knockout...the legislative leader said the accession to the title of a man with a long criminal record could result in outlawing the sport in the state...The legislator asked that his name not be used because he did not want to prejudge the report of the joint legislative committee investigating boxing which completed two days of hearings just today.[218]

Sonny Liston's reputation in the media began to take on "Jack Johnson" qualities and connotations. This article displays the hypocrisy of American values when collective American interests are not met. This article calls for the

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*All fighters are, idealistically, vicious. However, not all fighters are described as "vicious", or depicted as merciless "killers".

**In reviewing these historic articles of boxing news, it is interesting to note how one boxing event can reform government officials (boxing fans, once-removed) to the point of encouraging the total dissolution of the sport, if the result of the event at hand does not represent their interests. On the other side of the coin, it is equally interesting and noteworthy how a single event can revive and rejuvenate interests in the same sport. These collective interests have been noted throughout.

dissolution of boxing, due to the media-perceived character and personality of the Jack Johnson-like "Sonny Liston"*. As Arthur Daley of the New York Times would term the first Marciano-Walcott fight, "the best fight ever", he would also term boxing "a seedy business", after the sentimental favorite Patterson was easily defeated by Liston. It is usually the media and the governing bodies that call for the ban of boxing in these instances, and they are the same forces that encourage the sport when symbolic interests are met. It should also be noted that the Patterson-Liston fight was the first of its kind. It would be the first heavyweight encounter that included a black "white hope" (meaning Patterson) against another black, in light of Liston's criminal background and alleged criminal ties. This trend would continue.

Unable to produce any hard evidence on Liston, with respect to alleged ties with organized crime, the media began attacking his criminal background, and denouncing his mental ability (and other personal characteristics). Reporter Howard M Tuckner of the New York Times stated:

> Sonny Liston, who had the reputation of being a tough and moody man, changed abruptly tonight from a brooding giant to (of all things) a good winner...He quickly proved

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*Sonny Liston is perceived as "Jack Johnson-like", in this terminology, as his character is assassinated in group fashion by the majority of media sport writers and government officials, resulting in white American condemnation and ostracism.

> he could spell by signing five and six word autographs...With his spectacular victory over Floyd Patterson, Liston's rehabilitation was virtually completed. ...Liston...lived up to his reputation of being the hardest hitter since the neanderthals.[219]

The personal attack against the character of Liston, by Tuckner, is "cloaked" by the imagery of the dominant sport contestant (in "primitive terms"). This article is also one of the few "throwbacks" to the Jack Johnson and Joe Louis eras* (in the description of the black fighter as unintelligent and closer in nature to primitive man). It would appear that as Floyd Patterson was "tolerated" as a black heavyweight champion by the media and the public, Sonny Liston's image was "overbearing" to the media-enhanced social imagination. Pete Hamill of the New York Post reflected an appraisal of Liston:

> "Sure there's hate in this guy," said one of those who know him well. "If you lived the kind of life this guy lived, you'd have hatred in you too. He hates lots of people. Cops, for sure, and most white people, especially strangers, and he is suspicious of sportswriters too...Much of Liston's suspicion of the press is based on race. "He doesn't like us," one reporter said, after his fourth confrontation with the Liston wall of silence, "because he figures guys like us put guys like him in

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*This is partial proof that the media "cloaks" its racist and/or personal discriminatory attitudes, with the description and the emphasis of negative personal characteristics (such as Sonny Liston's background).

> jail."...What makes Liston more furious than than anything else printed about him are the frequent references to his past. At various times in his life, of course, Liston has been a headbreaker for labor racketeers, a cop fighter, an armed robber, a mugger, and a petty thief. He has also been arrested on a number of other charges. ..."What they gotta write that kinda junk all the time," says Liston. "That is over and gone. That is all behind me now."[220]

Liston is acknowledging the brunt of the impact of the power, influence and effect of the media, as it is negatively applied to his character in this article. And although Liston had "paid his debt to society", the media would maintain his state of alienation, as apart from civil society, and also helps to deter public sentiment away from the new champion. His achievement over Patterson is downplayed and less of a feature than his criminal background and perceived ferocity (physicality).

The demure personality of Liston would also add mystery to his character. Most sportswriters thought him to be an older man than he stated (birth records destroyed). The goal of the media was to dethrone him (physically or legally) through negative depictions, because his image was proclaimed "bad" for boxing* (even with the history of illegal activities in American profes-

*Boxing is, idealistically, "a clean American sport", however, it historically has been ridden with deceit, scandal, criminality and brutality. The background of Liston is, actually, conducive and suited to the sport (the way it was played in America). The media is hypocritical with respect to Liston and professional boxing.

sional boxing). He became the media antithesis to the values and tradition that sport had hoped to portray. Arthur Daley of the New York Times reported:

> So pugilism has a new champion - for better or for worse. Liston hardly will be a model for American youth. About all he demonstrated is that boxing is a safer short cut toward becoming a millionaire than some of the illegal methods Sonny had previously tried...Patterson bobbed and weaved at the bell in an effort to confuse Liston. But Liston was too single-minded to be upset by minor confusion...There was no blood, but Sonny has sharper reactions than a jungle beast. He smelled it anyway. He struck for the kill...Whether this seedy business can endure with an ex-convict as its ruling monarch is uncertain at the moment. Its future lies in his massive hands for what may be a long time to come. He looked invincible and overpowering...Poor Floyd. The knight of shining armor who was jousting against the forces of evil needed armor plate after all.[221]

As indicated by this article, rather than jubilation for Liston's triumph, the media would scorn Liston for having won the title (in a manner similar to Jack Johnson's triumph over Jim Jeffries), using his criminal background to justify its cause. Liston's physical stature, like Jack Johnson, could also be responsible for the negative media accorded him (an overpowering, awe-inspiring, indomitable, stern-looking, dark-skinned black man). His menacing stare may also have been perceived as threatening to news journalists. With that, he may have given the impression that there would be no successful "white hopes" (black or white) for years to come (through his

intimidating appearance). Most "fear" of Liston was based on his physical appearance, moreso than his criminal background.

Controversy is usually the greatest "pull" factor in reference to drawing fans to the sport of boxing (whether the match be interracial, interreligious, one involving an ex-convict, a first black contender to cross interethnic and/or intermoralistic barriers, one contender perceived to be anti-establishment, or one involving a symbolic/sentimental favorite, among others). Boxing usually suffers when there are no "pull" factors, such as a match between two purists (in the ideological sense), two fighters who draw the "color line" with respect to black opponents, or a match where there are few differences between otherwise inept, or skillful, opponents. The advent of television and the radio also helped to "kill" the live boxing gates of the 1950's, but the symbolic "controversial" championship match would always draw (guarantee) a heavy live attendance (also proven by the pay-per-view live closed-circuit theater attendances).

Arthur Daley of the New York Times helped to further berate Liston in his comparison of the champion to past champions:

> Jim Braddock will never rank as a great

> heavyweight champion but he is certainly a vastly admired one. At least he imparted to the title some of his character, dignity and integrity...[222]

Using the white ex-champion Jim Braddock as a standard of "character, dignity and integrity", Liston is further berated by Daley. At the same time (in the previous article-excerpt), Daley also applied "jungle-killer" terminology in his appraisal of Liston. Liston is described as having "sharper reactions than a jungle beast", by Daley (in stereotypical genre). With respect to the combination of the last two articles, the latter article is a direct symbolic comparison of Liston to the former champion Braddock (who defended his title only once in two years, before his loss to Louis), who supposedly represented American values (Caucasian-American interests), and the former article which depicts Liston as a savage human predator and the antithesis of "good" American values, is indicative of Daley's personal sentiment and racial preference (as he could have easily used a direct comparison of Joe Louis and Sonny Liston, using another black fighter to draw out his analogy, for instance). The term, "he has sharper reactions than a jungle beast", also gets back to the inference, by genetic race-linked studies, that blacks are closer to the primitive than the caucasian, and more physically adapted to

certain sports because of the conditions of a primary society.

Throughout most of the articles of the post Floyd Patterson-Sonny Liston match, Liston is depicted as a public menace, although he had already "paid his debt to society". The media was more favorable to this same fighter before his challenge to Patterson, although his criminal background was usually an issue to sports journalists. The symbolic representations of Jack Johnson and Joe Louis are also captured here (as indicated by the loathsome image presented by the Johnson demeanor, and the heroic and "accepted" image of Joe Louis to white Americans). In this day and age (1962) of the black struggle for civil rights and equality, the Jack Johnson image has still a negative effect on the media, when it should be realized that Johnson made the initial successful attempt at the integration of American professional "Jim Crow" sports. Johnson would never receive the proper accolades and credit for this feat by the media (as the Joe Louis and Jackie Robinson image will continue to win admiration through the value channels* of

*As will be noted later, "value channels" of the American social system will be defined as the transfer of information of symbolic values vertically through generations, and horizontally across social individuals of the present, such as the popularity of Babe Ruth, Joe Dimaggio, Jack Dempsey, Rocky Marciano, etc. as legendary masters of their sports. The status of legendary greats (and their records) usually increases in magnitude over time, rumor, and discussion (usually perpetuated by the media).

American society). Relatively, and not until the movie, "The Great White Hope", in 1970 (and Muhammad Ali's public admiration for), was Jack Johnson given any notable credit as both a great champion prizefighter and a champion freedom fighter. It is obvious that Daley shows a great need to align Sonny Liston and Jack Johnson in character. The truth is that Liston, as Johnson, was a great and intimidating fighter, although the media assigned his ring demeanor to his social behavior. In the case of the tenacious and "savage" white athlete, the media would accentuate the positive in the daily depictions of their sports performances and the decency and integrity of their personal lives. The black (non-symbolic) athlete would suffer mockery, despite his outstanding skills. In Liston's case, the media would perpetuate an entire personal and social criminal image. In a consciuos effort to change his image, Liston announced to the New York Times:

> LISTON SAYS HE WANTS TO PROVE HE CAN BE A GOOD AND DECENT CHAMPION [223]

Liston is apologetic in this statement, due to the negative pressure of the media. At the same time, the media is facilitating the release of tension toward the "threat" of Liston, with these amiable and accomodating words,

as atated in the headline, yet the hope continued that he would be dethroned. This statement by Arthur Daley epitomizes the Liston dilemma:

> Horatio Alger used to write that there was only one road to success for a red-blooded American boy. He reached the top by hard work, clean living, strict observance of the Laws of God and man, honesty and all the nobler virtues. But Sonny Liston jarred that theory last night. He seemed to prove that being a cop-fighter and labor goon also could bring rich rewards...His 19 arrests and two jail terms are as much a part of the record as will be the line in the boxing history books showing that he knocked out Patterson...It's strictly up to Liston now. He's facing a fork in the road toward redemption. He can conduct himself with the nobility of a Joe Louis or he can plunge this crumbiest of sports back to the dissolute days of Jack Johnson.[224]

The examples of Joe Louis and Jack Johnson are pitted as direct opposites of black acceptance by white America, by Daley, who is giving Liston a choice of direction between these two lifestyle symbols (a modern "guideline of rules" for the new champion). Daley is also naive in his adopted theory of American success (as many ciminals and illegal acts by individuals have contributed to and gained success in America*).

The rematch between Patterson and Liston, scheduled

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*In modern times, the ghettoized background (including poverty and criminality) is sine qua non as a stereotype in the mediazation and procurement of many black athletes.

for July 22, 1963 at Las Vegas, would spell familiar accolades in the media. What once was a great sport to Daley during the reign of Marciano is now "the crumbiest of sports" because of the conflict of interest that is posed by the Liston "image". Daley would make his prediction on the rematch:

> Most of the experts here are doing considerable wishful thinking...The majority will be rooting for Patterson and he will be the sentimental choice. Yet when a guy stays in this gambling capital long enough, he develops a profound respect for the percentages. And the percentages dictate Liston. That's why Sonny will have to be the reluctant choice of this observer.[225]

In the manner of this excerpt, Patterson becomes the closest representation in the symbolism of a "white hope", in support of American values and to restore the "dignity" to the world heavyweight championship. John Kieran (during the Joe Louis era) previously stated that the crowd usually pulls for the "newcomer" in these boxing events (when the champion has been around for some time), in reference to Louis' match with Billy Conn. This theory did not hold true in the two fights between Patterson and Liston, for Floyd had been champion (on and off) since 1956. If Liston had been a white ex-convict contender, this theory would probably hold true. But Liston was black and intimidating to whites, as Jack Johnson was, and this gave the media the opportu-

nity to "cloak" their racism toward Liston in the guise of Liston's past criminal convictions and alleged ties to the underworld (his purse for the first Patterson fight was held up due to investigation by governing authorities), and also in the guise of the "endorsement" of Patterson as the sentimental favorite and "token" Negro.

The basic resentment of Liston, by the media, is that his image was the total antithesis of the ideal heavyweight champion. His so-called "black anger" became ingrained into his portrayal by the media and stirred "fear" into the media psyche. As a result, the media would again call for a "white hope" (or some semblance thereof) to again restore pugilistic supremacy to Caucasian America (or to her interests). A black heavyweight champion, idealistically, was supposed to uphold basic American values despite his skin color (which was <u>not</u> an idealistic American value) and citizenship status, as Joe Louis and Floyd Patterson (in the 1952 Olympics) had done. One of the primary media "Liston-bashers", Arthur Daley, would continue to promote this character assassination of the heavyweight champion:

> Poor Floyd has always been riddled by complexes and doubts, a fit subject for a psychiatrist.

> Although lacking a formal education, he has acquired a cultural veneer. He speaks beautifully, articulately, and grammatically. He's a man with imagination, sad to say. Liston has no imagination, He's currently learning the three R's - reading, 'writing and religion. In fact someone in Chicago last week characterized the bout as being between a delinquent and a neurotic.[226]

The disparity of sentiment is clearly evident by this article-excerpt. Liston and Patterson are posed as cultural opposites, although both were black ex-delinquents. The most unusual phenomenon of Sonny Liston's media conviction is that he was never found guilty, and ultimately cleared, of any criminal wrongdoings with regard to boxing (which was an active charge by the Federal Government at this time), however, he was never "cleared" by the media. His name today is synonymous with crime, bribery, "fixed" fights, the Mafia, and fraud, although these charges were not verified (and as a result, some of his purses were detained pending investigation). Liston was a sports "suspect" of sorts, and the media would have liked nothing better than for someone to assume the role of the "white hope" and dethrone him, or to create as much anti-Liston sentiment to make it possible for the Government to "legally" strip him of his title. If this could be accomplished the media would have served its goal.

Prior to the rematch between Liston and Patterson,

the NAACP was planning a demonstration at the arena (and all of the Strip at Las Vegas) where the fight was to be held. Al Buck of the New York Post reported:

> Another problem confronting the former champion is the civil rights demonstration the NAACP will make on the Strip Monday night. It will be directed against discrimination in employment and the gambling casinos will be picketed. "We have been discriminated against for 100 years. Why wait until Monday to demonstrate?" said Floyd Patterson. "If we can wait until Monday, we can wait until Tuesday. I have a fight Monday."..."I was terrible in the (first) Liston fight...I didn't last a round. You have no idea of the pressure. The NAACP didn't want me to fight Liston. Dr. Ralph Bunche asked me not to fight him. I was the good guy and Liston was the criminal. I was ashamed when I lost."..."The pressure is off. I have nothing to lose, and no title to defend." [227]

In this excerpt, Patterson shows an attitude of self-centeredness, with respect to the black struggle for civil rights. At the same time, through Floyd's admissions, the supreme black American organization of the day, the NAACP, is guilty of further demeaning the image of the new black champion. Media enhancement of the negative Liston image helped to further perpetuate the non-endorsement of Liston by black agencies. Patterson is also shown here as non-sympathetic to the black struggle during the age of "Jim Crowism" (1963) in his statement, "We have been discriminated against for 100 years. Why wait until Monday to demonstrate?" In acting out his role

as a black American "puppet" in this fight, Patterson is forsaking his natural duty to his race in defense of the Caucasian-American standard. The non-endorsement of liston, as well as the attempt to conspire with Patterson against Liston by the NAACP, may have acted as sensitive political and social issues in the black American community. It would appear that Patterson would appeal to the "Uncle Tom" or "fair-minded" segment of the black community (or integrationists) in this upcoming bout*. In relevance, this is closely associated to the public and media treatment of Joe Louis. In the process, the reaction to both fighters may have caused a "split" in the black community over the actions of the NAACP, and the media characterization and categorization of Patterson as compared to Liston (as many groups of blacks openly admired Liston despite his media image). The position of Floyd Patterson may also have caused a stir among radical black segments and civil rights advocates, and Patterson's "adoption" by the NAACP may have also alienated that group from large segments of the black community (as heavyweight championship boxing had become a major

*Patterson was publicly humiliated by the media following the first Johansson fight, and angered over the lack of media space that he was accorded in comparison with Johansson. For the first time, he is supported by the media as the national gladiator, and takes the attitude as such (and is content in this role).

cultural form among blacks at this time, in symbolic significance). Major black support of Liston may have occurred due to the Patterson position (as a black "white hope" in support of American values, despite "Jim Crow-ism").

Liston would again knock Patterson out in the first round of their championship rematch (as Arthur Daley's "reluctant choice" emerged victorious). Although Liston appeared indestructible, the legendary Caucasian champions whose boxing exploits were further transported across generations via the media "value channels" would still take precedence. As Arthur Daley noted after the first Liston-Patterson fight?

> Was Patterson frozen by fear when he left his corner? No one will ever know. He acted that way. What made his knockout so distressing to his supporters was that the Liston punches didn't seem to carry much oomph. None was a dramatic killer such as the right Rocky Marciano threw to flatten Jersey Joe Walcott in their first bout...Fear is a strange thing in boxing and it can bob up unexpectedly. No one ever was bolder and braver than brash Billy Conn in his first fight with that dread destroyer, Joe Louis.[228]

Again after the second Patterson-Liston fight, Daley wrote:

> Johansson had a right that he respectfully called the Hammer of Thor. It was a tremendous punch, one of the best in the business. Liston's right is nowhere near so effective and it doesn't come like a lightning bolt as Ingo's did...There is nothing wrong with Liston's left, though. His hook is as terrifying as Jack Dempsey's and is

a matchless instrument of destruction. [229]

The accolades given the ex-Caucasian champions in these excerpts by Daley suggest the typical tendency of the white sport media to base the quality of champion athletes on a Caucasian standard. Daley also used the term "dread destroyer" in an exaggerated replacement of John Kieran's old tag of "Dark Destroyer", in reference to Joe Louis. In both excerpts, the whites are described in a dominance context, with respect to the black fighters. Although Johansson and Liston potentially had the oppurtunity to compete against each other, this never emerged. If that occasion were to have come about, the previous article would be a most preposterous assessment of both fighters. Having most recently been knocked out by Patterson twice (in 1961 and 1962), and Floyd having fallen twice in the first round by Liston, Daley is, at this time, too experienced a sports analyst (although his linguistics are somewhat biased) to give Johansson, at most, a one-in-ten chance to dethrone Liston in such a fight. Another reporter of the New York Times entertained thoughts of a Liston-Johansson fight, although slightly different to the image created by Daley:

> A title fight against Ingemar Johansson, the Swede who once held the title, would be acceptable to Liston if Johansson, now retired, would consider a return to competition. Some observers shuddered at the prospect of such a bout.[230]

When a champion has retired, the inevitable predictions and conclusions of such "invisible matches" (the "what ifs") are constantly pondered by the media and the public (for instance, when the public writes to the sports editor in the quest of matching intergenerational athletes; ex. what if Joe Louis were matched against Ali?, etc.). The bombardment of opinionated media helps to reinforce some of these predictions with value-laden and biased generalizations. The above article, however, gives off the impression, should the proposed Liston-Johansson bout become a reality, that Johansson might be severely injured in such a fight, and/or the (psychological) issue of Caucasian supremacy would sink further into hypocrisy and mythology. The basic impression from reading this article is the continuing desire for a "white hope", and the helplessness due to the "threat" (or "fear") which was imposed by the Liston image (by the media onto the public/society). Also, at a time of civil unrest between the races, there probably was fear that Liston would issue a severe beating to Johansson in a symbolic public spectacle of black anger against the oppressors.

Liston would win the laurels of the prize ring, but his character would suffer in the media, and inevitably, the public imagination. Dick Young of the Daily News gives his appraisal of Liston:

> Nobody knows yet how Liston will rate among the champions, but one lofty position seems assured him. He is the most unpopular champion in history, moreso than Jack Johnson, and for better reason. This isn't a race thing, as it was in Johnson's day. Then you heard often of a search for the "White Hope," which is a pretty ridiculous phrase when you think of it now. Grownups said things then that a child wouldn't say today. The racial resentment against Johnson doesn't exist against Liston. He is despised on his own, for he is a hood, and most people would be quite happy to have a "Black Hope" come along and knock Sonny's head off. Not that it figures to happen...[231]

In an era where liberalism in America had reached new heights, Young attempts to suppress racism toward Liston with "new" American values and morals. Using the guise of Liston's criminality, he vents his distaste for the champion using Jack Johnson as the standard measure of black unpopularity. Young is attempting to elicit as much unpopularity for Liston as the media had for Johnson, yet he denies racism. With respect to Jack Johnson, Liston's unpopularity is exaggerated by Young. The media post-fight coverage for the second Liston-Patterson bout was very anti-Liston, while it showed sympathy for Patterson. Liston himself would acknowledge his personal unpopularity during the fight:

> Sonny Liston, with the boos of the crowd still ringing in his ears, said grimly tonight: "The public is not with me, I know, but they'll have to swing along until somebody comes to beat me." ...Boos had greeted Liston when he entered the ring. Cheers and applause marked Patterson's appearance.[232]

Since his first bout with Patterson, Liston had not committed any criminal acts, as he was given a normal round of applause upon his introduction in that bout. As a matter of fact he was cleared of all criminal charges that were held against him, up to that point. However, for one year, the public had absorbed the tremendous negative media content with respect to Liston's criminal biography into the social imagination, and popular opinion to razz Liston became customary practice and an accepted mode of crowd behavior*. With the media ability to influence the majority sentiment of the crowd, Liston is unanimously rejected and dehumanized. Negative journalism would be responsible for the formation of the collective sentiment against Liston, creating white and black foes of Liston alike. The media is now in full support of the black "white hope" (idealistically in representation of American values) in the quest to dethrone Liston. As noted by Milton Gross of the New York Post before the Patterson-Liston rematch:

> Says Marty Kutzen, the Desert Inn executive, who is a fight buff beyond description, "I think it will go eight at the most, but the only real betting there is, is that Patterson don't show for five. To me it's an out fight. I can't see any-

*As explained by R.H. Turner's "emergent norms" theory of crowd behavior, the crowd develops new "norms" (rules, meanings, definition of the situation, etc.) with its progression.

> body but the animal." Says Benny Goffstein, ..."If Patterson gets by five he might have an outside chance, but against the elephant how the hell can you do more than hope..." Like the gamblers, I allow myself the luxury of sentiment for the ex-champ, but the hard fact is Liston seems much too formidable...Floyd asked me the other day how I'll pick. I had to say against him. Liston in seven. As Floyd said: "You have a right to your opinion, but you could be wrong." I hope so sincerely.[233]

In this article Liston is described as "the animal" and "the elephant", connotations of the sub-human variety, while Patterson is basked in sentiment. Although Patterson failed in this national quest to remove Liston from the throne of heavyweight champion, this crusade was taken up by the new (black) "white hope", Cassius Clay, who had won the 1960 Olympic Gold Medal at Rome, Italy, in the light-heavyweight division, and had emerged in 1963 as the number one heavyweight contender.

Sonny Liston vs. Cassius Clay (Ali Era)

At this point, the media would shift the attention away from Liston and focus more on the 1960 Olympic hero, Cassius Marcellus Clay. The loquacious Clay became a natural favorite with his Olympic triumph and statements:

> As Cassius Clay, he had won the light heavy-weight Gold medal at the 1960 Olympic Games in Rome by defeating a more experienced Russian boxer. Asked by a Soviet reporter about racial prejudice in the United States

> he responded with a statement that could have been authorized by the press secretary of the State Department. "Tell your readers we got qualified people working on that, and I'm not worried about the outcome. To me, the U.S.A. is still the best country in the world, counting yours."[234]

Whether these were Clay's personal values and ideas, this was not the image of the Muhammad Ali that would emerge later. Subsequent to his Olympic victory, the media depicted him as the charming and loquacious Olympic hero, who happened to be Negro, as the media had faith in the Clay representation of symbolic American ideals. However, by 1964, his media characterizations reached schizophrenic proportions. The once beloved and humorous Clay was beginning to annoy the media (and ultimately large segments of the American public) with his braggodocio, complete with poetry, predictions and boisterousness. Many articles expressed the desire for someone, even Liston, to "shut his mouth". Arthur Daley of the New York Times expressed the majority sentiment of the media attitude with respect to Cassius Clay:

> "I am the greatest," he has brayed on two continents. But when Liston swatted down Patterson with the disdainful casualness of a man swatting a fly, no one could have blamed Cassius if he had second thoughts about provoking Liston into combat with him. But earlier provocations have had their effect. Doomsday for Cassius will be Sept. 30 in Philadelphia. That's when

> the Loudmouth from Louisville ids due to have Liston jam a fist down his throat. By now Cassius may feel like moaning: "Me and my big mouth! Why did I ever get myself into this fix?"[235]

Although Arthur Daley, in this article, shows disdain for Clay's verbal character, at the same time he displays the need to have the championship removed from Liston's possession. In the same article he demonstrates this ambivalence:

> The public instinctively dislikes Liston, and that's grossly unfair. The average fan doesn't even know the man. One really has to know Liston to dislike him with the proper intensity. He's arrogant, surly, mean, rude and altogether frightening. He's the last man anyone would want to meet in a dark alley. But who can beat him? ..."maybe it would be a guy like Rocky Marciano...I don't see nobody around now who can do it." (responses from an anonymous interviewee)[236]

As Daley has denounced both Clay and Liston, he is left with no sentimental endorsement of either, and is "forced" to chose Liston as an overwhelming favorite to win the fight. In the event that someone would ultimately defeat Liston, Daley uses the Rocky Marciano standard of excellence toward that possibility. At this time, Cassius Clay began self-promoting a championship match with Liston (as Clay was nicknamed the "Louisville Lip" by the media). Many thought that such a proposed bout with Liston would be premature for Clay, the young contender.

He would verbally issue taunts, insults, jeers and boasts of his self-proclaimed superiority toward Liston in the presence of the press. Clay would respond to the outcome of the Patterson-Liston rematch:

> "It was a disgrace, a disgrace to the fight game," the 20-year old unbeaten contender from Louisville yelled. "I want that big bum as soon as I can get him...I'm tired of talking. I've been talking for five years. I want action. If I can't whip that bum, I'll leave the country."[237]

Clay's insulting comments were directed toward Liston. As a result, he would acquire increasing attention from the media. Arthur Daley would capture the basic media perception of Clay:

> Cassius is a delightful young man, aged a mere 21. He has all the charm that Liston lacks, but the Louisville Lip talks too much. What began as an amusing by-play has started to pall. The exceedingly likable Clay is lousing up his public relations by his boasting and it's high time he eased off and let his fists serve as his spokesman. Unfortunately, they don't speak anywhere near as eloquently as his vocal cords. First of all, he has made Liston mad at him. No sane man would ever make Liston mad.[238]

As the Clay-Liston bout approaches, the media would become even more incensed with Clay's antics, which were untraditional to boxing (although a replication of professional wrestling promotion). And although the media began to hope that Liston would win for the purpose

of "shutting up" the young contender, they had also hoped that Liston would not seriously or fatally injure Clay. Nevertheless, Clay would rant and rave, "I AM THE GREATEST!". The media did not give him any chance to win the fight, as already, Cassius did not represent the symbolic qualities of decency and sportsmanship that are usually attached to the "white hope" in quest of the heavyweight championship of the world. The media, therefore, could not fully endorse Clay, nor could they endorse the image of Liston, as representatives of traditional American values.

> The thing that grasps you about Liston is that he has a grasp for the essentials. He is an illiterate man, who only recently mastered the mechanics of writing his name. However, somewhere on the road from the dirt poor sharecropper's cabin in Arkansas to the heavyweight championship of the world, he not only developed his body in prison and as a labor slugger, but also refined his mind to the point where any point he makes is as sharp as his blows are blunt...Liston is a direct man. So is the way he fights. In his world as he grew up there was no room for niceties and decencies. There was just muscle and destruction. You ran until you were caught and when you were cornered you fought any way you could...he'll club Cassius handsome face and his beautiful body and try to destroy it. It's as simple as that. The play-acting is over. Cassius...never met a beast like this before.[239]

Gross is guilty of perpetuating the negative media image of Liston with his derogatory and stereotypical depictions

of Sonny Liston. In another article, he reveals his impression of Cassius Clay (who had now been "rumored" to be affiliated with the Nation of Islam):

> From the kind of life he's led, one of a family of 25 children, Liston probably never was a kid, but there are many other sides to Liston than the grumpy, scowling, defiant one he shows to the public and the press. In the promotional buildup for the Clay thing, attempts have been made to present Sonny as completely rehabilitated. They have failed, although Cassius' own public personality has magically transformed Sonny into a much more palatable person.[240]

Although still Liston-derogatory, this excerpt shows the transference of allegiance and sentiment from the 1960 Olympic champion to the feared ex-convict, Sonny Liston, by the media. As Leonard Schecter of the New York Post observed:

> Then there is the strong suspicion that Clay holds with the opinions of the Black muslims. The reaction to that is nothing less than fear. What more poetic way to strike down this monster than with lovable non-Muslim Liston. (We'll ignore the erudite man from Philadelphia who said, "Anybody who doesn't like Clay is a White Muslim") If your feelings run in this direction, you have to believe that 7-1 is an underlay.[241]

Schecter is correct in the new media appraisal of Clay's religious preference versus Liston's criminal background as a choice of sentiment going into this fight. Most media not only overwhelmingly predicted a Liston early-

knockout victory, but were hoping to silence the young braggart from Louisville. With respect to the Nation of Islam (or the Black Muslim Movement) in the early 1960's, white America (via media) felt threatened by its tenets and moderate black following. With this attitude, the media would endorse the criminal background of Liston over Clay's adopted religion.

Arthur Daley would reflect Clay's chances in the New York Times:

> A Boy on a Man's Errand
>
> At the moment Cassius Marcellus Clay may very well be - to borrow his own florid description of himself - the "prettiest and greatest" of all heavyweight fighters. Before Tuseday midnight, however, the situation could undergo a rather violent metamorphosis. On that evening the loud mouth from Louisville is likely to have a lot of vainglorious boasts jammed down his throat by a ham-like fist belonging to Sonny Liston, the malefic destroyer who is champion of the world. The irritatingly confident Cassius enters this bout with one trifling handicap. He can't fight as well as he can talk..."If that big, ugly bear should knock me out," he said, "I'll crawl like this and kiss his feet..."[242]

As demonstrated in this article, Clay himself shows the tendency of stereotyping his black opponent ("the big ugly bear")*. Clay knew the value of the interjection of controversy into the promotion of heavyweight champion-

*Clay would do this frequently, with the intention of promoting himself, his social and political viewpoint, and the live gate, rather than personal racism. He would label and denounce many of his black adversaries.

ship fights, and from this point throughout his career, he would thrive on it. At this stage in his career, though, when he would face a black fighter that did not represent his socio-political stand, he would vicariously denounce that fighter by spewing insults, which, in effect, would raise the media sentiment in favor of the other fighter (thereby creating more controversy to what would otherwise be an "uninteresting" match, on paper, between two black opponents). With respect to the previous article, also, Sonny Liston was gradullly becoming assigned the role of the sentimental favorite (white hope?) due to the increasing antagonism created by Clay*. With respect to Schecter's previous article, the statement "Anybody who doesn't like Clay is a White Muslim", is testimony to the white "anti-Clay" sentiment, among white separatists and supremists.

Clay's ego-orientedness was well known. Arthur Daley stated:

> There was one thing, though, that Cassius did with consummate skill. It was when he was shadow boxing in front of a mirror. The mirror gave him an exquisite oppurtunity to admire himself. ..."I've been fighting since I was 12 years old," he

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Notice the positive accolades in reference to Liston as "champion of the world", the "malefic destroyer" (in of the "Dark Destroyer" reference to Joe Louis), and the exclusion of other criminal references, yet Clay is thoroughly belittled.

> says with an engaging grin, "and I learned how to protect my beautiful face. Now you take Floyd Patterson. He was too dumb to back up but I'm so fast that not even slow motion pictures can catch me. I promise you this..."[243]

At this point, the media rumors to the effect that Cassius Clay was affiliated with the Black Muslim Movement reached more significant proportions. The media was curious and became suspicious about certain members of Clay's training camp. Reporting for the New York Times, Robert Lipsyte noted:

> Archie Robinson, a slim, bespectacled 27-year old has the job of "exchanging views" with Cassius..."We have been together about a year, Cassius and I," says Archie. "We were brought together by certain persons who knew us in New York. I am involved in personal business for Cassius, and most often make flying trips." He smoothly evades discussing the persistent rumor that he is a representative of the Black Muslim movement. "There are those who would not understand what I do, and would make a villain of me," he says.[244]

The Nation of Islam (more popularly referred to as the "Black Muslims" by the media) was promoted a "hate group" by the media, as their religious doctrine called for the physical separation of the races and whites were considered the offspring of Satan, due to their misuse and mistreatment of blacks throughout the world and throughout history. At the same time, the Islamic doctrine called for clean and healthy living (no alcohol, drugs, tobacco, pork, etc.), a program which was ideal for a professional athlete. Objectively, many would agree

that the Muslim program would fit the American ideal of a black athlete perfectly (prior to the various civil rights legislations), with the continued American practice of "separate but equal", but the media did not take kindly to a black group that was conforming with, and benefitting from, the very same American doctrine of physical separation which was intended to "keep blacks in their place". It had become a "Catch 22" situation for the Black Muslims (who preferred to be called the Nation of Islam). The purpose of the movement was to create a separate and distinct nation from white American society, for the purpose of re-purifying the black race, a race that had become contaminated through slavery, rape, general mistreatment, and the promotion of "sinful" American values and lifestyles. Instead of jubilation about blacks' willful desire to be separate, the American loyalists of the media became very dissatisfied, indifferent and insulted by a black group that was "calling the shots" on racial separation, despite the continued practice of "Jim Crow". This attitude gave the impression that whites could not live <u>with</u> blacks or live <u>without</u> them (as Martin Luther King proved this in the economical sense with his boycott of an Alabama bus service).

The pre-fight coverage of the Clay-Liston fight would minimize Clay's chances against the so-called indomitable Liston. Arthur Daley, who constantly doubted

Clay's ring ability and promoted Sonny Liston's awesome power, reported in a final note on the day of the fight:

> Cassius just doesn't have the equipment to do the job. Had he waited two years to learn his trade in a steady schooling against a constant stream of opponents, even the brutal Sonny might present no problem to him...So he goes into this fray as a raw novice who still fights like an amateur...It is true that Sonny is slow of foot and slow of brain. But his left is pure dynamite and his right is adequate enough to do damage. He can even hurt with an inaccurate blow so that his off-the-target punches deliver the severest kind of punishment...Haunting memories invite caution, however. After all, Jim Braddock once dethroned Max Baer, a swaggering 10-to-1 favorite. But at least Braddock knew how to fight. Cassius doesn't. So the choice here is Liston within three rounds.[245]

In this article, Daley is again guilty of using the white champions (Braddock and Baer) as the standard in evaluating the two black principals. As well, Sonny Liston is described as "slow of brain", with respect to his mental ability, although he is given credit for his physical prowess* (referred to as "brutal"). Sonny Liston, who would have the negative criminal reputation in the media, would champion the cause of the black race in America in his own way. Prior to the fight, when he heard that certain theaters would not allow integrated

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*This may be a time when the media began to accept the so-called genetic race-linked studies of the physical superiority, yet mental inferiority, of blacks in sport (and in life).

seating for the closed-circuit telecat, he reportedly threatened to cancel the showing of the fight in those places. Leonard Koppett of the New York Times reported:

> All theaters and arenas carrying the closed-circuit television picture of Tuesday's world heavyweight championship fight have agreed to provide non-segregated seating. But refusal to observe this agreement is threatening the showing of the fight in New Orleans...Three other cities - Montgomery, Ala.; Jackson, Miss.; and Waco, Tex. - applied but boggled at this clause. They are not getting the fight. Many other cities throughout the South, however, accepted the clause and signed it. "I'd like to add (said Jack Nilon, Liston's manager) that this provision was put in at Liston's insistence. That ought to be on record." "I feel" said Liston, "that the color of my people's money is the same as anyone else's. They should get the same seats. If not, I don't want those places to have the fight."[246]

This article went on to report that via Liston's suggestion, that this would be the first time that such a clause was demanded. The "Jim Crow" legality was beginning to see its last days, and with this event, Sonny Liston played a major role. The popular interest and ballyhoo created by Cassius Clay would act as the "pull" factor for this fight, and this would help to overcome the quest for segregation in this matter also.

Although only three out of forty-six boxing writers picked Clay to win, he was confident of his own ability years before. In 1963, Clay acted out a theater production script based on English literature on a record

album entitled, "I AM THE GREATEST!". A boxer whose predictions of his own fight results had come true (he would actually successfully predict the round that he would win the fight and the referee would stop the fight), up to this point in time, had chosen round eight as Liston's fate.

> Some say the greatest was Sugar Ray
> But they have yet to see Cassius Clay[247]

Clay was obviously much more than an average boxing contender, for he was also part comedian. He was humorous, although his humor centered around his ego. He would, in fact, make history in his seventh-round upset win over Sonny Liston, and became the new heavyweight champion of the world in 1964 (as this fight became Clay's first missed prediction). Liston tore his shoulder muscle trying to hit the elusive Clay. Edwin Pope of the Miami Herald announced that he "didn't give Clay a chance in hell" to dethrone Liston, although Clay, however, won in easy fashion, thoroughly outclassing, mocking, toying with and outmaneuvering his opponent. Clay, who had bombarded the media (the media usually bombards the individual) with his verbal braggodocio before the fight, would live up to his claim as "The Greatest". Therefore, most of the media and other boxing experts had to "eat crow" in their pre-fight failure to correctly pick the

winner:

> Immediately after he had been announced as the new heavyweight champion of the world, Clay yelled to the newsmen covering the fight: "Eat your words." Only three of 46 sports writers covering the fight had picked him to win.[248]

Although Clay was an 8-1 underdog to win, much of the doubt was created by his pre-fight antics and histrionics, when it was believed that he was in terror of the anticipation of meeting Liston in the boxing ring, and the fact that he became a media "nuisance" by his flippant and loquacious character. In beating Liston, Clay would become the symbol of pugilistic supremacy, although he created as many (or more) American enemies as he did fans. Clay would also re-awaken much of the suppressed and covert racist attitudes in the public and in the media throughout the course of his career (in a manner similar to Jack Johnson). The media expressed the results of the Clay-Liston fight in reported shock. As Robert Lipsyte of the New York Times noted:

> Poetry and youth and joy triumphed over the 8-1 odds. And until it had happened ...people laughed at the thought that a night like this could happen[249]

Gene Ward of the Daily News expressed a similar reaction:

> We've been pinching ourselves black-and-blue all day trying to ascertain whether what happened in Convention Hall last night really was for real or a goony nightmare

> in which the big, bad indestructible man, Sonny Liston, turned over his crown on a silver platter at the end of round six. It must have been a dream. There was Liston with blood pouring from a wound under his left eye, and everybody knows Liston doesn't bleed. There was Liston crying in his dressing room, and everybody knows Liston doesn't have a tear duct to his name. Then there was Liston in the hospital, everybody knows it had to be Clay.[250]

Ward retains the "inhuman" popular depiction of Sonny Liston, although he is obviously disappointed about the Clay upset. The "shock" that was ostentatious about the Clay performance greatly had to do with his "hit and-run" tactics and elusiveness in dethroning Liston, in that it took remarkable ability (mental and physical) to accomplish this feat in that manner. Dick Young of the Daily News explains:

> If Cassius wants me to say he's the greatest all right, I'll say it, but I'll also say he scored the greatest retreating victory since the Russians suckered Napoleon into a snowbank. I never saw Joe Louis run away and win, or Rocky Marciano, and I'm sure my father never saw Jack Dempsey run away and win, and my grandfather never saw John L. Sullivan run away and win. So, if Cassius wnts to be rated, he'd better stand still long enough. That's not to say Cassius wasn't the winner.. He beat Liston when most everyone didn't think he had a prayer. But when you think about it, who is Liston? Some people said he belongs up there with Joe Louis, and even Joe Louis said he belongs up there with Joe Louis, which is the trouble with Joe Louis. He's too modest to know how great he really was. He rates himself with bums.[251]

Young is blunt in his straightforward opinion of black and white heavyweight champions. Liston is depicted as a "bum", and Clay is considered unorthodox, by Young, in comparison with his "list" of all time greats (Louis, Marciano, Dempsey and Sullivan). He does not mention that the white ex-champion, Gene Tunney, defeated Jack Dempsey in a manner similar to how Clay defeated Liston (in the famous "long count" bout). Also, the reader of this article by Young is able to perceive an arrogant "tone" in Young's attitude toward the two principals. Arthur Daley of the New York Times, who before the fight considered Clay a "novice", would join in the post-fight accolades of Clay:

> ...Unbelievable as it had to appear, Clay was the new heavyweight champion of the world...Nothing about this fight followed the script. Liston was the indestructible man, (and Clay was) the loud talking braggart whose every credential was suspect...But in this fight, the put-up-or-shut-up point in his career, he didn't fight like an amateur at all...Among other things he did was destroy the myth of Liston's invincibility...Clay had enough to win the heavyweight championship of the world, much to the embarrassment of the experts, most of whom gave him not the slightest chance of victory...[252]

This article, entitled "Clay, Who Knew He'd Do It, Was the First to Know He Had", contains the elements of an "about-face" opinion in Daley's evaluation of Clay. However, the title suggests a subtle inference to the to the effect that the fight was "fixed", and that Clay

was a conspirator (which became a popular rumor). This became such a tremendous issue that Liston's purse was again held up by the governing authorities pending investigation. This rumor proved great enough for the New York Times to feature the article on page one:

> A team of eight physicians said in a statement issued early this morning that the defeated heavyweight champion, Sonny Liston, had suffered an arm injury that would have prevented him from defending himself in his title fight with Cassius Clay. Liston's purse had been held up pending the medical findings. The physician's statement said a recommendation would be made that the purse be released.[253]

Regardless of the doctors' confirmation of the injury to Liston, the rumor would still have value to the media. It was a convenient mechanism which could be used to discredit both Clay and Liston. Milton Gross of the New York Post examined the situation:

> The Cassius Clay-Sonny Liston heavyweight fight was weird, but according to Las Vegas bookmakers and gambling men, no more weird or ridiculous than the stories floating about the country that Clay won the title on a fix. "If there's a fix," said Ash Resnick, a vice president of Las Vegas' Thunderbird Hotel, "then there's got to be money bet and the finagling's got to show up in the price...the price on Liston was going up. If there had been money bet on Clay to make some business worthwhile, then the price had to go down, and it didn't." ..."the guy did have a bad arm. I took him to the hospital after the fight. I was there when the doctors stuck pins in the arm and where the muscle was torn. Sonny had no feeling at all. They stuck him elsewhere and he felt the pins. They went back again to the bad spot and he didn't feel anything. He was hurt all right."[254]

Clay himself would respond to the accusation in an article by Leonard Koppett of the New York Times:

> "You can't call it a fix because I didn't stop the fight, the doctor stopped it. Oh, I'm so pretty. Whatcha gonna say now, huh?...I'm too quick for him, too fast, too fast for any heavyweight alive."[255]

Most of the New York media would attempt to dismiss the notion of a "fixed" fight, however, it would remain a media sport topic. Torn between the jubilation of the Liston defeat (which was, perceptibly, a restoration of morals), and the dread of the victorious new champion (whose values were deemed "un-American"), the notion of a "fixed" fight between Clay and Liston may have originated in the media. The journalists who continued to deny and dismiss the notion were actually supporting it through redundancy (keeping the rumor "alive"). As Leonard Schechter notes:

> Liston, it turned out, was indeed overrated on the basis of his psychologically inspired knockouts of Patterson...Clay, despite the idiot animosity he engenders, was as quick and able as he told everybody he was. Nor do I believe at this point that the fight was less than pure. I don't believe that Liston is the kind of man who would lend himself to such a scheme. But since there could have been no betting coup and Liston had nothing to gain by losing I believe it was simply a case of Clay being the superior fighter. The injured shoulder means nothing. Liston was beaten in the first round when Clay refused to fall down the way Patterson had.[256]

Schecter demonstrates his lack of admiration for the two fighters in this article. He is sarcastic in his

remark, "I don't believe that Liston is the kind of man who would lend himself to such a scheme" (meaning just the opposite), in his appraisal of Liston. He also demonstrates his distaste for Clay by his reference to the "idiot animosity he engenders". With the conclusion of the bout, Clay's new alleged affiliation with the Nation of Islam became a major issue with the "threatened" media.

As a surprising result of the Clay-Liston bout, was the fact that the fight made a major breakthrough in putting an end to racial segregation in America. After the fight, the evidence was reported in the New York Times:

> Integrated New Orleans Crowd Sees Fight TV Without Incident
>
> New Orleans - A racially mixed audience of about 3,000 watched the telecast of the Clay-Liston fight tonight in Municipal Auditorium without an incident. About half of the crowd was Negro...The fight was the first to be presented for a mixed audience in New Orleans. The fans were more interested in the bout than the fact they were making history. Many thought the bout was "fixed".[257]

This article reflects the growing "liberalism" that began to take effect in 1960's America, yet Clay appeared to many to be defeating that purpose (as the Black Muslim ideology was anti-integration). With the defeat of Liston, Clay's career as the heavyweight champion would begin in controversy, due to Liston's manner of defeat, his cri-

minal background, Clay's braggodocio and the increasing innuendos of his affiliation with the Nation of Islam (the media found it more fitting to address this group as the "Black Muslims"). His Islamic affiliations would increase, and the basic media reaction was disgust. The media perception of the Nation of Islam was that of threat and suspicion of black militarism (unrepresentative of American ideals and values).

Most articles of Clay would be signed with a "Black Muslim" note attached, of his alleged involvement with that "revolting" black organization. As the rumor of Clay's "Muslimism" increasingly began to take a more definite form, the media would try to appeal to his "better" sense through black and white groups (and individuals). For instance, a New York Times article stated:

> NEGRO LEADERS CRITICIZE CLAY FOR SUPPORTING BLACK MUSLIMS
>
> Three Negro leaders expressed their displeasure over Cassius Clay's avowed membership in the Black Muslim movement, calling it "a delusion, a disservice to his race, nation and the world." The Rev. D.E. King, the pastor of the largest Negro Baptist church in Kentucky, said the heavyweight boxing champion was "not helping the soul of America". Lyman T. Johnson, the president of the Louisville chapter of the NAACP, said he hoped Clay "will shake himself out of this delusion, lest he ruin his chance to be a great champion". He said that Negro leadership here was embarrassed for Clay, "who is naive". A Louisville lawyer, Harry McAlpin, a member of the State Board of Education, had this comment:

> "In a hero-worshipping society, it is regrettable that Cassius Clay, against a limited background of education and experience, and riding high on a reputation gained by his fists and comic rantings, should suddenly turn philosopher." McAlpin said Clay "has a right in our democratic society to be a Black Muslim or a blue goose. He has a right to speak and say whatever he may chooose. It is regrettable, however, that he has chosen to speak as a wise man on a subject in which he shows a great naivete." The Black Muslims advocate the separation of the races.[258]

Many prominent blacks resented Clay for his affiliation with the Nation of Islam, as noted by this article. This is because the goal of the majority of American blacks was integration, not the Islamic ideology of separation. Sammy Davis, Jr. was quoted to have said, "Clay has set the Civil Rights Movement back 50 years". Clay was perceived as a threat to this cause, by many blacks. Although much of the media and the public showed resentment toward Clay before he became champion (because of his "big mouth"), they not only resented but felt "betrayed" by his position as champion which he used as a platform for the advocacy of the black Islamic movement (and his loquacity of the personal practice of his religion*). His explanation of the Muslim ideology

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*This situation is extremely similar to the public and media resentment of Jack Johnson's personal preference of dating Caucasian women, where whites, as well as blacks, would publicly denounce the black champion for his personal actions.

only helped to further incense the attitude of the media against himself. Malcolm X, who was a spokesman for the Nation of Islam, and also despised by the American media for his black separatist lectures and anti-white philosophy, would help to recruit Clay, and this was acknowledged by the media:

> CLAY TALKS WITH MALCOLM X HERE
>
> A subdued Cassius Clay checked into the Hotel Theresa in Harlem yesterday afternoon. He had a one-hour private conference with Malcolm X of the black Muslims.[259]

This article-excerpt is obvious in its message of "betrayal" by Cassius Clay, and its subtle resentment of the new champion over this matter. Art Rust revealed much of the resentment of Clay's religious choice and the appeal by whites to make him re-conform:

> By this time Clay had joined the black Muslims. Dundee, when he found out, told Clay his career would be over. Bill McDonald, the promoter, questioned Clay about his Muslim affiliation. McDonald pleaded with him not to associate with those "black avengers", who would ruin his life and certainly the promotion of the fight. When Clay refused to denounce the Muslims, McDonald declared that the fight was off. The Louisville sponsors also tried to no avail to get Clay to disavow his connection with the Muslims.[260]

The media resentment to Clay's conversion to the Islamic faith was met with general resentment because it represented and signified the betrayal of American values to

"communism". By Clay's actions, the media would interpret this as the "denouncement of America". The symbolic representation of Clay's conversion would take place in the form of his new identity, that he wished to be called "Muhammad Ali" (originally changed from "Cassius X", while dropping the "slave name", Clay; "Muhammad Ali" was a name given to him by his leader, Elijah Muhammad).

Muhammad Ali was a slightly different character than the man once known as Cassius Clay. He would never lose his humorous loquacity and demeanor, or the ability to promote a fight, but he had now become a philosopher of sorts. His philosophy, although most of it painstakingly accurate, was thoroughly rejected by the media and majority public opinion, who continued to address him by the name, "Clay". Elijah Muhammad, leader of the Nation of Islam, would defend Muhammad Ali's position:

> You must remember that slave-names will keep you a slave in the eyes of the civilized world today. You have seen, and recently, taht Africa and Asia will not honor you or give you any respect as long as you are called by the white man's name. The example was evident when I took Muhammad Ali (the World's Heavyweight Champion) out of the white man's name (the name itself made him a servant and slave to the white man). All Africa and Asia then acclaimed him as also being their champion. This shows you that all previous black men of America who were bestowed with the title of the world's heavyweight champion were only exalting the white man of America, Europe, and Australia. Their people said nothing because they were not theirs and were not enhancing the people of the world. Just a change of name has given Brother Muhammad Ali a name of honor and a name of praise that will live forever (its meaning). His

> people of the near and far East acclaimed him and laid the red carpet for him to come among them as a prince...Watch how anxious the white man is to hold you and call you by his name. He still would like to call the champion, Cassius Clay, after himself, and he would like to call me Poole, after himself. This is to keep the blind, blind; the deaf, deaf and the dumb, dumb to the knowledge that even the name alone is sufficient to free you of this evil people.[261]

Using the "Joe Louis" model of acceptance by whites, the media wanted Ali to be "a credit to his race", but Ali and the Nation of Islam practiced a "radical" doctrine in that they wanted to uplift the black race through truth and committment by liberating them from the wrath of their former "slavemasters". Ali. having grown up in the South (Louisville, Ky.), was much aware of "southern hospitality", in that he was very familiar with (and knew the extent of) the laws of "Jim Crow" (and would not go where he wasn't wanted). Along comes a religion which fulfills this desire (the practice of racial separation), and one in which he embraced wholeheartedly, yet he is scorned by the media for his commitment. The double standard here represents the historical strife of blacks in America (the hypocrisy of the American Ideal). Ali would insult the American media and public for <u>not</u> desiring Caucasian women, for applauding "Jim Crowism" (as Muslims did not take part in civil right demonstrations/marches, or encourage black integration with American whites),

and for promoting his own independence, among other ironies. He did not fulfill the transitionized role of "Sambo" in theory (the media-conceived character depiction of all blacks, or "coons", having undergone the change of minstrel clown to passive subservience), as most black celebrities were doing. Although civil rights for blacks were becoming more of a reality, the media was not ready to accept the independence of blacks in the manner that Ali sought to exhibit:

> The white want me hugging on a white woman, or endorsing some whiskey, or some skin bleach, lightening the skin when I'm promoting black as best.[262]

The media would refuse to acknowledge the Ali ideology, although his reasoning is accurate with respect to most of the top black athletes (and entertainers) of the day*. As well, the media would refuse to acknowledge Ali by his new name and continued to address him as "Clay"**. An article by Robert Lipsyte of the New York Times reported:

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*In modern times, the endorsement of alcohol and tobacco in the black communities of America is well noted on the many billboards and contributable to crime. Many black athletes have endorsed these products. As well the promotion of the Caucasian-American standard in various products was well-taken up by black athletes.

**Earlier media would address him as "Cassius" or "Clay" indiscriminately but after Ali took his stand in 1964, the media predominately addressed him as "Clay" in an arrogant sense. Many of Ali's future black foes would take up this cause for America, using the excuse, "his mother named him Clay".

CLAY DISCUSSES HIS FUTURE, LISTON AND BLACK MUSLIMS

...Speaking softly (for the first time in recent history) he talked of the fight, of his unresolved immediate plans, and of the tenets of the Black Muslim movement. At first, he pleased his predominately white audience with amiable and measured statements about his victory...But they began to shift a little nervously when he put them down with...gentle truths... And finally, there was a trace of antagonism when he refused to play the mild and socially uninvolved sports-hero stereotype, and began to use the news conference as a platform for sociopolitical history. "I go to a Black Muslim meeting and what do I see? I see that there's no smoking and no drinking and their women wear dresses down to the floor. And then I come out on the street and you tell me I shouldn't go in there. Well, there must be something in there if you don't want me to go in there. I know where I'm going and I know the truth and I don't have to be what you want me to be. I'm free to be what I want. ...In the jungle, lions are with lions and tigers with tigers, and redbirds stay with redbirds and bluebirds with bluebirds. That's human nature, too. I don't want to go where I'm not wanted." Clay put down the civil rights movement ("I'm a citizen already"); defended Malcolm X the Black Muslim leader ("If he's bad why don't they put him in jail") and questioned those who attacked his leanings ("I catch so much hell, why? Why me when I don't try to bust into schools or march around or throw bricks?").[263]

This article captures the essence of the Muhammad Ali mystique in the media. The media becomes frustrated when they can't have the stereotypical black champion prize-fighter who is unable to conversate at much length on

various matters, and who represents American values. Black champions are supposed to represent "good" American values and "forget" about racial discrimination, poverty, unemployment and suffrage, among other negative American qualities. Ali was the type of champion who was "doomed" from the start (the Liston fight) as Jack Johnson (in the Burns fight) was. He did not represent any "redeeming" American social values in the media psyche, although he would increasingly win many fans in the process (white and black). Ali was unique in his ability to philosophically reason as a prizefighter, and his reasoning powers were the antithesis of the stereotypical black boxer (the one portrayed by the media). Remember, boxing is a so-called "rich man's sport", and the majority of the applause goes to the principal who has most in common with the majority of the audience. Fascinated with Ali's abilities, after he beat Liston, the media "wanted" Ali to represent America, to act as a black "white hope", if you will, but Ali refused and the media felt betrayed. As Dick Young of the Daily News reported:

> As champion, and as someone to be idolized by kids, Clay is an improvement over Liston. He is a braggart, but that's no crime or there wouldn't be enough jails. The shame of it is that Clay will be used by the Black Muslims, to shill for their brand of hate-mongering.[264]

In this excerpt by Young, he reflects the dilemma of choice between the two champions, in terms of character and public influence. Ali's action, not to become an

American "puppet", would uncover and reveal much of the basic covert racism which had become further suppressed with the advent of the March on Washington in 1963, and the signing of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (and various other drives and mobilizations that were in the name of freedom and equality). On Febrauary 27, 1964, Ali declared his religious conversion:

> CLAY SAYS HE HAS ADOPTED ISLAM AND REGARDS IT AS WAY TO PEACE
>
> "They call it the Black Muslims," the 22-year old Clay said. "This is a press word. It is not a legitimate name. But Islam is a religion and there are 750 million people all over the world who believe in it, and I am one of them." He said he made an extended study of the religion over a period of months and had become convinced it was "the truth and the light." "A rooster crows only when it sees the light," he said. "Put him in the dark and he'll never crow. I have seen the light and I'm crowing." ..."The real name is Islam. That means peace. Yet people brand us a hate group. They say we're Communists. That is not true...I like white people. I Like my own people. They can live together without infringing on each other. You can't condemn a man for wanting peace. If you do, you condemn peace itself...I don't join any integration marches. I don't pay any attention to all those white women who wink at me. I don't carry signs. I don't impose myself on people who don't want me. If I go in somebody's house where I'm not welcome, I am uncomfortable. So I stay away..."[265]

The media would depict Ali's religious conversion as revolutionary and unrepresentative of American values. Many reporters, especially Dick Young and Gene Ward of

the Daily News, among others, became professed "Ali-bashers". The persistent use of the name, "Clay", by the media, gave the impression that this black man was the property of a slaveholder (a "runaway slave" who must be returned to his "master"). Ali made it clear that to call him "Clay" = "slave". Dick Young would begin his crusade against the Nation of Islam in this primary conviction:

> If I could say one thing to the young men who might follow him into the meetings, it would be this: Make better use of your time. Pick up a book and read, study, or set a job and work hard at it to better yourself. Sitting in a hall and sucking up hate won't do it.[266]

Young is expressing his personal bias against the Nation of Islam, although at this point in time, Muslims were a peaceful sectarian establishment in America. His address here is to young Negro men who would be so impressed with Muhammad Ali as to follow him into the religious orgaization. His advice to those blacks, "Pick up a book and read, make better use of your time, and get a job and work hard at it to better yourself", are insinuations that most young black males are unemployed, academically handicapped, and unworthy of recognition due to low socioeconomic status, and that those blacks may be so unsettled as to join with this organization that thrives in antithesis to the American tradition.

A rematch with Sonny Liston was set for May 25,

1965. Ali would again be the underdog, and the media would shift in sentiment, leaning towards Liston to win. The Liston image remained suspect, however. The media would include the usual depictions of the two fighters, however, this event would fall in the wake of the assassination of Malcolm X. The media created the idea that avengers of the fallen primary Muslim spokesman were out to assassinate Muhammad Ali, and made that idea into a theme for the fight*. As the rumor of a death threat toward Ali became increasingly popular in approaching the rematch with Sonny Liston, reporter Al Buck of the New York Post gives his reaction:

> Auburn, Me. May 24 - No police escort protected Clay on his four-hour bus trip to what some fear will be the scene of his execution. The Black Nationalists, seeking to avenge the murder of Malcolm X, are supposed to be plotting to shoot Clay, a Muslim. Two Auburn policemen, wearing blue pants, white shirts and black ties, are on 24-hour duty at Holiday Inn, where the champion and his wife Sonja are staying. A lone Maine state trooper was present yesterday..."There is only that flight of stairs leading to his room," said an Auburn police sergeant. "To get at him, they'd have to throw a bomb." Clay is in room 250. His wife is in room 252."[267]

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*Earlier in training, there were rumors of a genuine death threat to Ali, as his camp provided police security. The threat allegedly came from the followers of Malcolm X, who had split with Elijah Muhammad, formed his own organization with many ex-Elijah followers, and was thus murdered as a result.

Hopefully, Ali switched his location following this article, if the rumors of an assassination attempt were true. The author is actually providing the information which would be useful to any potential assassins, in a purposeful attempt. Ali would dismiss the rumors:

> "All lies, just newspaper stories," charged Cassius Clay..."I'm here. I ain't afraid"... "I am protected by Allah," said Clay, who prefers to be known as Muhammad Ali, his Islam name.[268]

For maybe the first time in American history, and certainly to the widest degree, is an individual's chosen religion regarded as a major national issue*, by the media. The media would even plead to Ali's parents to consider a reversal of his religious stand:

> "We have tried to tell Cassius about his mistake. We think it's hurting his image nationally. But he is stubborn. After all, he is only 23. We must wait for him to find out for himself"..."My husband is a Methodist, I am a Baptist. We brought the boys up in a Baptist church. They went to Sunday school every Sunday. I don't know how in the world they got caught up with these ideas."[269]

The influence of the media pervaded the black community, as well, with a negative image of the Nation of Islam.

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*Harry Edwards discusses religiosity as being a major factor tor of the American Sports Creed, in that it is ideal that an American athlete be Christian (sse Sociology of Sport, 1973).

With the death of Malcolm X, the group became even more suspect. Dick Young of the Daily News expressed his sentiment of the upcoming rematch between Muhammad Ali and Sonny Liston:

> I'm torn between two losers, to use an old racetrack witticism. Perhaps, the best bet would be to predict a tie and hope for a double knockout. I went for Liston in the first fight, because I didn't think much of Clay. I still don't. But I worked myself up to the point of a switch. I'm going for Clay, by a decision...[270]

Young is evident of his sentiment by his attitude toward the two fighters ("hope for a double knockout"), whom he describes as "losers".

The second Ali-Liston (formerly Clay-Liston) bout would end in controversy, just as the first had. For the first time in his career, Ali wore the name, "Muhammad Ali" on the back of his robe (also emblemized on his team's shirts). Ali, in what many believe to be the best form of his career, knocked out Liston in the first round with a punch that many would claim "did not see". These factors would further antagonize the media, in their growing distaste for the symbol of Muhammad Ali. The media would thus encourage the idea that this bout was "fixed", although the original analysis confirmed the

punch*. The controversy that Ali and this bout generated was highly reflected in the media. Robert Lipsyte of the New York Times reported:

> Clay Knocks Out Liston in One Minute;
> Bout, Like First, Ends in Controversy
>
> It will be listed as the fastest knockout on record in a heavyweight title bout, but some of the 4,280 spectators yelled "Fake, fake, fake!" Many were as angered by the ontroversial ending as those who witnessed the confusing finish of their first bout 15 months ago...Clay, a member of the Black Muslim sect, went into the ring wearing a robe bearing his Muslim name: Muhammad Ali. He was introduced from the ring by that name...The crowd began to boo as Clay walked in, wearing a white terrycloth robe with Muhammad Ali written in red across his back.[271]

Here, Lipsyte reflects the controversy of Liston's knockout defeat, as well as American social resentment of the Ali religious and political conversion to the Islamic faith. In an article by Deane McGowen of the New York Times, Sonny Liston would confirm that he had been hit with a "good" punch:

> Liston said: "I got hit with a real good punch. It was an overhand right that landed on my cheekbone. I was stunned, but conscious.

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*The media influences its preferred beliefs over time (through redundancy). The punch that Ali hit Liston with would later be named the "phantom punch" by the media. Although the media originally acknowledged the fast, twisting, downward, snapping punch (through witnesses at ringside, Liston and the referee), most of the motion-picture camera angles are to Liston's back, making it difficult to visualize. With having only this camera angle to analyze in the moments, days and years after the fight, the rumor of the "phantom punch" by millions, would outweigh the positive ring accounts held by the few live ringside witnesses. Rumors, over time, have depicted this event a "fixed match".

> I was listening for a count. I couldn't hear it."[272]

Although Liston gives a first-hand account of the situation, the media, nevertheless, promotes the popular rumor of a"fix" (as the media thrives on the fabrication of such ideas). The influential power of the media would "confirm" this rumor to the general public opinion (just as it would the Kennedy affair with Marilyn Monroe, the assassination of J.F.K. by Lee Harvey Oswald, or was it the C.I.A.?, the arrest and imprisonment of a black man as prime suspect in the Atlanta children murders, the "false" accusations by Tawana Brawley, etc.). The "rumors" in the aftermath of this fight would begin. Art Rust would "confirm" an unconfirmed revelation made to him by the late ex-champion, Joe Louis (years after his death):

> The author was told by the late Joe Louis that Liston had admitted to him that both fights had been fixed, but that Ali had no knowledge of this. Two days before the Lewiston fight, Liston told Louis, "I got my money, I got my money! I ain't gonna put up a fight".[273]

The Rust book, which was printed in 1985, represents 20 years of media influence on this subject. If Rust is correct, then Joe Louis (the American symbol) is also implicated in the scheme to "fix" a heavyweight championship match. If that is so, why did Joe Louis only admit this to Art Rust? Why didn't he "tell" this to other media or boxing authorities, if he is such a great foundation

and representative of American values? Did he himself "throw" fights against Schmeling, Charles and Walcott? Did others "throw" fights against him? Hardly*. It would be a practical assumption to imply that Rust is negative to the campaign of the Ali ideology and character as much as other reporters of the black press who wrote the value-laden articles that (1) suspected Ali's boxing ability and (2) denounced Ali's character. Joe Louis' original reaction to the bout was stated in the New York Times:

> Clay Punching Power Proves Puzzle to Louis
>
> Joe Louis, the former heavyweight champion, said in a post-fight radio interview last night that Sonny Liston had taken harder blows than Cassius Clay's without going down. Louis said he saw the knockout punch and didn't think it was powerful enough to put Liston away. "I don't see how any man can get so much power while punching on his toes," Louis said of Clay.[274]

This is, also, either a tribute to Ali's ability, or an admission which alludes to the idea of a "fix", by Joe Louis (but not in the manner that Rust describes, as it doesn't strike the reader that Louis is aware of it). If Louis had pre-fight knowledge of a "fix",

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*Although by 1985, after Ali's retirement, much of this Ali-bashing is residual, due to the fact that Ali had already proven his greatness and was cleared in a Supreme Court decision of the nature of his character; most media, by this time, would admit to Ali's greatness.

he would have been best to "quietly" conform with the plot. This article shows no evidence of what Rust was trying to determine in his interview with the late Joe Louis. One has to wonder, had Ali been white, or the black "white hope" that the media wanted, if there would have been a controversy at all* (in either bout with Liston).

In another article, the referee of the bout, ex-champion "Jersey" Joe Walcott was interviewed by Steve Cady of the New York Times:

> "The guy was hit with a real good punch," he said. His knees were shaky. He was in real bad shape. If he hadn't been able to pull out of it-which I doubt he would have-I would have had to stop the man from being seriously hurt. There's no remedy when you get hit a good solid punch..." said the ex-champion, who was knocked out in a similar one-punch, first round ending by Rocky Marciano in their second title fight.[275]

The author is correct in his analogy between the two fights (Liston-Ali II and Marciano-Walcott II). The only difference is the media coverage of the two fights, with the more controversy going to the Ali-Liston II bout. The other aspect is that the media, government and boxing officials

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As Joe Louis' obvious foul and temporary paralysis of Max Schmeling in their championship rematch was discounted as a non-issue by the general American media (as Louis represented positive American values).

did not campaign for the ban of the sport of boxing after the Marciano knockout of Walcott as they did for the hated Liston and Ali. The champion described his analysis of the knockout punch that many fans failed to witness:

> "I told you, please be there early" the unmarked champion said. "Please, from here on out, listen to me!" Then the champion shouted, "The punch is so fast you can't see it! But if you were hit with it, all of you'd be down." He described the knockout blow - a chopping, downward right - as his "anchor punch". "It's a twisting right hand punch that's hard to see," Clay explained. But you can't use it unless the other man is coming at you. It's like a head-on colis-sion."[276]

The media did not forthrightfully accept Ali's explanation of the unexpected results, and preferred to entertain the more popular idea of a "fake" fight. Many experts who analyzed the fight films, however, would conclude that Ali's humorous description was quite accurate. Despite positive testimony (including Liston, Walcott, Ali, and observers) toward the authenticity of the bout, the media's "hot" item was that of a "fix", as it was also a popular item due to Ali's religious and political stand, and Sonny Liston's suspected criminal re-emergence. A page-one headline of the <u>New York Post</u> stated:

ALL ABOUT THE FUNNY PUNCH[277]

With all of the controversy involved (Clay's conversion to Ali, the "phantom punch" and Liston's background), this would set the stage for Ali's increasing unpopularity

in the media. The black communities of the American society were growing in impatience, as noted by the riot in Watts, 1965, the assasination death of Malcolm X, the emergence of radical black leaders (H. Rap Brown, Stokely Carmichael, Eldridge Cleaver, etc) and increasing overall black awareness. Muhammad Ali, although rejected by the white media and community, would become the symbol of a series of mini-movements, most of which differed in philosophy (and, in turn, would be fused into one Black Liberation Movement). Ali, in 1965, was the symbol of black anxiety, oppression, and impatience, and would become the symbol of black pride and excellence (supremacy). He was aware, and made the public aware, that the general media was in a combined effort to discredit him at this time*. Ali himself would express this idea to the New York Times:

> CLAY IS CRITICAL OF ALL HIS CRITICS
>
> - Champion Not Surprised at Unfavorable Reaction
>
> Cassius Clay...said today the unfavorable reaction to his title defense against Sonny Liston was from critics who "just hate to give me credit for being so good. I expected them to do this. If I knocked him out in five rounds Tuesday they'd have said something was wrong. If I beat him on cuts they'd say something was wrong.**277a

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*although he would later intrigue and "win' the media

**the old "Catch 22",

Ali's cynicism toward the press is justified by the attitudes of many sport journalists. As explained by Gene Ward of the Daily News:

> Boxing will continue its tobaggan ride to oblivion as long as Cassius Clay, the ridiculous egotist, rules the roost. He missed his calling. His act belongs to the wrestling circuit. In fact, you can catch the same histrionics -the grimaces, fist-shaking, stamping around, the fallen foe, the whole bit - every week on Channel 5, and they do it better. As for Clay's boast about being the fastest heavyweight of all time-strictly baloney. Jack Dempset would have pounced on Clay and eaten him alive before he took one mincing step of his ballet dance routine. Rocky Marciano, who was no speedster, would have herded him into a corner and destroyed him. The myth of Clay's speed in the ring has become full-blown on just two fights, both of themagainst old, slow, spiritless Sonny.[278]

This article implies that the white fighters, Dempsey and Marciano, were, easily, both better fighters than Liston and Ali*. It was also Gene Ward (and writers like Arthur Daley) who over-enhanced the achievements of Rocky Marciano after two victories over "old" ex-champion fighters, Joe Louis and Joe Walcott**. Throughout this article, Ward is ventilating his suppressed resentment

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*This is due to the increased enhancement of their legendary status by the media after their retirement: the status of these fighters is increased through myriad and redundant tribute.

**It was Gene Ward who termed Marciano the "uncrowned king" of the heavyweights one year before he won the championship, among other myriad media praise for the fighter, yet claims Ali as overrated after his successful rematch with Liston in defense of the heavyweight title.

against Ali and Liston through his continued debasement of the character of the two fighters and the denunciation of their acquired boxing skills.

Once again Liston's purse was held up pending investigation, and there was even talk of an "anti-boxing" bill (not requested in the United States since Jack Johnson defeated Jim Jeffries and represented black "anti-American" values in the media) using boxing brutality and corruption as a motive. As noted by the New York Times:

> (State Senate Majority Leader) Zaretzki (D-Man.) said the Clay-Liston bout was "a horrible example of this so-called sport. I hope the rules committee will see fit to put my bill out and end this evil once and for all."[279]

Supporting this anti-boxing proposal, Maine government officials saw the Ali-Liston bout as a fraud. Norm Miller of the Daily News disclosed:

> For those True Lovers of Boxing still confused over Tuesday night's smeller with Sonny Liston, you have lots of company. In fact, at Augusta, the state capital, State Senators Peter Bernard, Emile Jacques, and Donald O'Leary, in verbal tirades, demanded an official investigation. "It was disgusting and there should be an investigation by the attorney general." Bernard declared. Jacques agreed: "It looked to me like a fix and I shall ask the Maine Boxing Commission to conduct an inquiry." O'Leary was the most outspoken: "It was a debacle. We got our million dollars worth of publicity, but we don't want any more of this. If this is the death of boxing, I think it is a good thing."[280]

With respect to the Jack Johnson loss to Jess Willard, these articles are in direct contrast, when it was suspected (and later admitted by Johnson) that Johnson took a "dive". As well, the word "disgusting", as used above, reflected the attitude of most whites after Johnson defeated Jim Jeffries (a fight whose result contradicted the interest of those whites). It could be assumed that an Ali-Liston bout would always end in controversy (as the first one had), because neither fighter was a sentimental favorite of the American media (and both were deemed social menaces). With respect to his interests, Arthur Daley of the New York Times noted a positive redeeming social factor that emerged from the result of this fight:

> Was it a fix? This ringsider does not think so. A fix would have been more artfully arranged. This was so bad that it had to be believed, including the chicken-with-his-head-off antics of Jersey Joe Walcott, the miscast referee. But for small favors, let us be thankful. At least the boxing racket is completely rid of the deflated ogre, the unsavory Sonny Liston. That alone makes the Lewiston charade worthwhile.[281]

With the demise of Liston from the heavyweight championship spotlight (as he would never again contend for the crown), Muhammad Ali would begin his transcendant career. Daley, in the above article, appears as if he is contented with what he might consider "the lesser of two evils" in his hubilance over the lIston loss. Daley does not consider the fight a "fix", yet he terms it a "charade", while de-

picting Sonny Liston an "ogre" and "unsavory". The official timekeeper of the match gave his opinion as to the cause of the knockout controversy (New York Post):

> Knockdown timekeeper Francis E. McDonough blamed Cassius Clay today for the confusion over the count in his one-minute knockout of Sonny Liston at Lewiston last night. "If that bum Clay had gone to a neutral corner instead of running around like a maniac, all the trouble would have been avoided," McDonough tole a Portland Evening Express interviewer. McDonough said the kayo punch was a beauty and there was "no doubt in my mind Liston was hurt and hurt badly..."[282]

Although the official timekeeper displays his affection for Ali ("that bum Clay"), he nevertheless testifies as to the authenticity of the bout ("Liston was hurt and hurt badly"), in this edition of the New York Post. However, the same topic reported in the Daily News (by journalist, Norm Miller) stated:

> McDonough labeled the fight a fiasco...[283]

It is evident that the New York Post is more tolerant of Muhammad Ali and the fast knockout of Sonny Liston than the sports journalists of the Daily News (with the possible exception of Post reporter, Al Buck), who appear to be more conservative during the era of the black struggle for civil rights. Directly quoted in both periodicals, McDonough's opinion of the fight is, however, misconstrued, with both versions seeming to fit an adopted social and political viewpoint. The requotation of his reference to Ali as, "that bum Clay", in both periodicals,

is directly associated with the "threat" of Ali's popularly abhorred affiliation with the Nation of Islam, and his loquacious verbosity. Ali's popular "unpopularity" would increase in the media, and would follow him into his next fight with Floyd Patterson.

Muhammad Ali vs. Floyd Patterson

Ali's growing upopularity was revealed even before his first bout with Liston and his conversion to the Islamic faith. James Feron of the New York Times stated:

> Cassius Clay, alias Muhmammad Ali, is about as well known here as he is in the United States. The arrogance and bombast that preceded his 1963 fight against Henry Cooper, the British and Empire heavyweight champion, made hime a household word, albeit an unpleasant one. The fact that he stopped Cooper in five rounds as he had predicted, did not endear him to British fans [284]

The personality of Muhammad Ali had become well-known internationally, at this time. His social and political stand in the United States, which was directed at the laws and precepts of Caucasian America, was also well publicized. His basic stand was against racism, but his ideology conflicted with the still-racist fabric that the country was founded upon. As heavyweight champion of the world, his public image contradicted with the traditional media stereotype. As the Muhammad Ali-Floyd Patterson bout was set for November 22, 1965 at Las Vegas, Patterson would become the immediate media sentimen-

tal favorite and would voluntarily propose himself to the task:

> PATTERSON SEEKS TO REGAIN TITLE FROM CLAY 'AND BLACK MUSLIMS'
>
> "I disagree with the precepts of the Black Muslims, just as I disagree with the Ku Klux Klan-in fact so much so, I am willing and desire to fight Cassius X to take the title from the Black Muslim leadership..." Patterson, a Roman Catholic, told Clay in his statement: "You may feel that since I was so decisively defeated twice by the man whom you say you so easily defeated with the help of the Black Muslims, I give you this oppurtunity to see what help they may give you in a fight against myself." Patterson said it was a "shocking revelation" to him that Clay "turned to the Black Muslims, gave away his name and took the designation Cassius X (Muhammad Ali)". "Cassius, I have admiration for you as a boxer, and feel that you should be a symbol that all Americans should look up to," Patterson said. "However, I don't honestly believe you know what the Black Muslims portray. I am proud to be an American and proud of my people, and no one group of people could make me change my views. Therefore, I challenge you not only for myself, but for all people who think and feel as I do."[285]

The religious issue of Muhammad Ali had taken on great significance, in approaching the fight with Patterson. The nation of Islam became synonymous with racism, except that the "fear" and "threat" that the group imposed was a mirrored-image reflection of traditional American racism (of whites against blacks). As the fear of certain groups to overthrow the United States became a fetish reality in the media during the 1960's (the popular fear of "Communism"), the Black Muslims had become a focal

issue. There was fear that other blacks would increase support of this media-perceived revolutionary black ideology, however most blacks, like Floyd Patterson, were striving for integration and civil rights in America (under the leadership of Dr. Martin Luther King). Ali's image would symbolize the rationality of black disturbances and black rage.

By fight time, Patterson became so obsessed with the sentiment and praise from the media (and the general public, whites and blacks*) for his symbolic American stand, that it would become a personal "Crusades" for him to wrest the title from Muhammad Ali and the Nation of Islam ("Black Muslims") and restore it to America and Christianity. Robert Lipsyte of the New York Times reflects the "mood" of the upcoming fight:

> Las Vegas - Cassius Clay was the 3-1 gambler's choice to retain the world heavyweight boxing championship against Floyd Patterson tomorrow night at the Convention Center here. But Patterson, twice the champion and now challenging under a self-raised banner of righteousness and redemption, was the sentimentalist' choice to draw 100 million radio listeners and half a million closed cirsuit television watchers, and to fill the local arena...It was thought at the time that people would come to see Clay-a charming braggart who rose to

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Ali had not, as yet, won the total sentiment of the black community in America, as many blacks were irritated of his braggodocio, his stereotypical "names" of other black fighters which were deemed offensive to some blacks (ex. Liston was "the bear", later Frazier was "the gorilla", and now Patterson is "the rabbit" which designates "fear") and also their distrust for the black Nation under Elijah Muhammad.

> international fame with the litany, "I am the greatest. I am the prettiest" - get his handsome head knocked off...Patterson also has publicly stated his aversion to the tenets of the Muslims, written of his devout Roman Catholicism and of his crusade to redeem the image and repay his sport by bringing the title "back to America". Clay, who calls Patterson "the rabbit" and predicts his early fall, will not be drawn into any rebuttals of Patterson's ideology. "There are too many wonderful Catholics in the world," says Clay, "for me to talk against them because of one fool."[286]

Here, the media is promoting the fight as a racial-religious "war" between the opposing ideologies of the two fighters. At the height of civil rights disturbances and reformations, the ideology of the Nation of Islam would rise in significance to many blacks. Whites became the designated enemy ("whitey") and blacks who still stood for American values were designated "Uncle Toms". Blacks who were sympatheitc to the plight of Ali were applauding his symbol of black defiance and success (and the first black athlete since Jack Johnson to publicly defy the American system). Dick Young of the Daily News gave his pre-fight analysis:

> I am assuming, in making this elementary appraisal, that everything is kosher (you should pardon the mixed metaphor); that Cassius will be trying to win for the glory of Islam, and that his goons, or enforcers, or whatever, haven't terrorized Floyd into lying down...Most people I know are picking Patterson because they don't like Clay. Or, at least, they don't like what he stands for. I'm not crazy about the Black Muslims either, but if that's what Cassius Clay wants to believe in, let him. I'm not for starting any witch hunts and besides, it says somewhere that an American is entitled to worship as he pleases,

> or does that apply only to people who do it the way we happen to approve of?[287]

Although Ali previously stated that he did not wish to make a religious affair ouf of the Patterson fight, he is accused here of wanting to "win for the glory of Islam", by Young (or the sport viewpoint of the Daily News). He is also alluding to the insinuation that Liston "quit" in both fights with Ali, due to the pressure from Muslim "goons" or "enforcers". Young stated previously (after the Ali rematch with Liston and the infamous "phantom punch"):

> "What do you think?" somebody asked me. "Was it crooked?" How the hell am I supposed to know? In the hours since the fight, maybe 100 people have asked me that, like if it was crooked I would have the information..."What do you think?" the guy said. "Was it crooked?" I told him that Elijah Muhammad didn't call me up to tell me how the thing was supposed to come out, so I really didn't know.[288]

Young, who previously stated his support of the United States Constitutional right to religion, is here denouncing the black religious group and leader, Elijah Muhammad. As most of the media was slanted against the black Islamic ideology in America, in favor of Christianity and the "American Way", Patterson was the sentimental choice, although his chances were perceived as small.

The fact was, Ali's religion was the main reason for his anti-sentiment by the media, although many reporters categorically deny this. Gene Ward of the Daily

News denied this fact:

> Never have so many rooted with their hearts for one man to beat another with his fists. All kinds of people from all walks of life - people who never have seen a prizefight - are pulling for Floyd Patterson to beat Cassius Clay. It is not a simple thing to explain. This mass fervor in favor of one man-Patterson, the quiet Catholic family man, against another, Muhammad Ali, champion of the Black Muslim hate-sect-goes far beyond political or religious bounds. It has to do with the fact that Clay is a posturing braggart, Patterson, a soft-spoken introvert. It has to do with the very small chance Patterson is being given against the all-conquering Clay, because the whole world loves an underdog.[289]

This is, yet, another instance where the journalist denies that Ali's political and religious stand is relevant to his sentimental choice*, using the excuse, "the whole world loves an underdog". Other media would show direct criticism of Clay's religious and political stand (as Ward himself does). Al Buck of the New York Post explains:

> On Monday night there'll be a new pairing - Clay vs. Patterson with Liston in the audience. ...This time Patterson, never a popular champion, plays the hero. He is the attraction. He is the good guy fighting the "evil" Clay, a card-carrying Black Muslim. Boastful and calling himself Muhammad Ali, the flamboyant

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*The position of this article is reminiscent of John Kieran's New York Times article of the post Louis-Conn I fight (6/20/41), where he stated that the fans favored Conn over the champion, Louis, because he was the "new-comer" and the "underdog", but not because of race (or racial ideology, as in the case with Ali and Patterson). This is an example of how the journalist conceals, yet reveals, his underlying racial sentiment.

> Clay is openly contemptuous of his challenger. Much of this may be a pose, as Cassius does have a sense of humor, and when not on stage can be a charming likeable boy. Unfortunately his public image is bad. Clay would pack 'em in if the fans thought he would lose, but he's favored at 3-1...Patterson, humorless and always serious, looks upon the fight as a crusade. He would regain the title now held by the Fruit of Islam, for the United States.[290]

This reporter makes no secret of the reasons behind his sentiment for Floyd Patterson, and no effort to curtail his denouncement of Ali (to whom he refers to as "Clay" and "boy") and the Black Muslim movement. This is the same reporter who printed Ali's hotel room number in his article (of 5/24/65), when it was feared that assassins were after the champion (before the rematch with Liston). In that same article, which was written subsequent to the Malcolm X assassination, Buck also reproduced the name of the hotel and room number of Ali's wife, Sonji Clay. He takes a similar approach to the upcoming bout with Patterson:

> Cassius Clay and Floyd Patterson both have problems above and beyond the 15 rounds or less they will fight tonight at Convention Center. Clay's problem is domestic. Sonji, his estranged wife, has arrived in town. "Give her a ticket," Cassius told Angelo Dundee, his manager. Mrs. Sonji Clay will be sitting third row center tonight.[291]

As a journalist, Al Buck shows no respect for the privacy of Ali and his wife, and it would appear that he is attempting to provide the anti-Ali sentiment (or would be assassins and/or kidnappers) with pertinent information.

As well, most sport journalists prior to this bout made little effort to conceal their sentiment for Patterson. Pete Hamill of the New York Post stated:

> A Wish For Floyd
>
> Sentiment is for suckers; so all the high rollers are betting on Cassius Clay. But I can only wish that for an hour this evening Floyd Patterson becomes again the fighter he was when he was young...I like Cassius Clay and think he is a fine prizefighter. But Cassius Clay is a boy and Patterson is a man, so I want Patterson to win because I am tired of heroes being children. In a time when Joan Baez advises us on foreign policy, it is no surprise that Clay is the heavyweight champion of the world. But maybe if he gets lucky, Floyd Patterson can give us all back something...Maybe he can give us back the heavyweight championship of the world. I like him to do it in the fifth round.[292]

Although this author (Pete Hamill) "likes Cassius Clay", he terms him a "boy" and a "child", while maintaining the name "Clay", against Ali's beliefs. In a direct analogy to his denouncement of Ali, he uses a woman celebrity, Joan Baez, to make his point. He also makes no effort in concealing his sentiment for Patterson (which is really sentiment against the Ali ideology), hoping that "maybe he can give us back the heavyweight championship of the world". Milton Gross of the New York Post would relate his sentiment:

> A Matter of Sentiment
>
> (Sid Wyman) is a man who knows numbers, knows fighters, knows people and knows that you can't put sentiment into a slot machine or lay it down on the crap table...This is what is bothering so many of the experts,

> who are rooting for Patterson but can't see their way clear to support him. They wonder if Floyd's become a shell, but at the same time they do not hold Clay in too much esteem because of his Muslim connections...I like Patterson in an upset in 10 but like Sid Wyman it's more sentiment than sense.[293]

In representing America in this fight, and the two with Liston, Patterson was the overwhelming sentimental favorite, which is quite a disparity from the media reaction at the time of his loss to his rematch with Ingemar Johansson (as Patterson complained bitterly about the duality of the media treatment of Johansson as compared to himself). In the previous article, Gross is maintaining the all-around sentiment for Patterson, the black "white hope". Eldridge Cleaver would capture the essence of the "holy war" waged by Patterson, in his book, "Soul On Ice":

> To Eldridge Cleaver, Floyd Patterson was the "leader of mythical legions of faithful darkies who inhabited the white imagination," while Ali was "a genuine revolutionary, the Fidel Castro of boxing," who had inflicted a "psychological chastisement on 'white' white America similar in shock value to Fidel Castro's at the Bay of Pigs."[294]

With the increase of black radicalism, to which Muhammad Ali was a prophetic symbol, the media would begin their quest to dethrone the verbose champion. The battle with Floyd Patterson succeeded in "exposing" the covert racial anger of the media, which was directed toward the ideology and character of Muhammad Ali. Although there was an

increase in the liberalism toward blacks in the media, at this time, Muhammad Ali was made the "scapegoat" of repressed white media anger toward the black cause*. While many blacks complained about the injustices which were created by whites in America, Muhammad Ali became a pioneer in the anti-American ideology of black "proudness". While many blacks saw their black skin as a hindrance, or a negative system of caste, Muhammad Ali was a colorful, talkative and vibrant heavyweight champion who promoted the ideology of "black is beautiful". And although he defied and beat the odds, he was not the stereotypical black or athlete, and as a result, his public image would suffer at the hands of the sport journalist's pen.

Ali would defeat Patterson by technical knockout in the twelfth round. Robert Lipsyte of the New York Times described the outcome of the fight as follows:

> Like a little boy pulling the wings of a butterfly piecemeal, Cassius Clay mocked and humiliated and punished Floyd Patterson for almost 12 rounds until the referee halted their heavyweight championship bout because the challenger was "outclassed."

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*Sammy Davis, Jr. is quoted to have stated "Clay will set the Civil Rights movement back 50 years". Many blacks were afraid of the white "anger" that Ali might generate with his new philosophy, in much the same way that Jack Johnson was feared by blacks for his defiant lifestyle and of the white repercussions that he might generate.

> ...It was bravura showmanship, a tour de force, but a sad and hopeless fight. From the moment the 23-year old Clay stepped into the ring, cheered only by his Black Muslim cohorts who call him Muhammad Ali, he dominated the stage with contemptuous waves at Patterson, with rights just hard enough to hasten the swelling of Patterson's bewildered face...After 2 minutes and 18 seconds of the 12th round, Harry Krause threw his body in front of Patterson's and the attempt at a third world championship was blissfully over.[295]

This article emanates disappointment over Patterson and anger toward Ali and the Black Muslims, although covertly so. Ali drew the media ire in his seemingly taunting humiliation of Patterson, rather wanting to punish him in a cruel sense over a long period of time than to quickly finish him. Lipsyte continued:

> Patterson had no chance against his bigger, younger, faster stronger opponent. He could only hang on, wobbly but game, to take the slow punishment. He had to stand there, weak and shaky, as Clay screamed, "No Contest, get me a contender." And he had to keep trying with his leaping left hook, although Clay easily danced away from it every time.[296]

These article-excerpts represent the ensuing sentiment that Patterson received before the fight, and the inevitable disappointment and anger that followed his defeat in the media. Ali's unpopularity with the media would simultaneously increase because of the disappointment, which was enhanced due to the tactics that he used in winning the fight (which were unorthodox but fair).

Patterson was the "white hope" that did not live up to expectations, although there was little reason

to doubt the outcome. Ali was soundly booed by the live audience after the fight, and responded by waving his hands in a mocking gesture toward them. Robert Lipsyte continues in his post-fight article:

> It seemed as if all Clay wanted to do tonight, before 7,402 paying spectators including several movie stars, was destroy Patterson forever as a boxer and as a dignified human being.[297]

The obvious resentment and displeasure for Ali was due to his non-representation of American values, and his symbolic "punishment" of America as seen through his tortuous thrashing of Patterson (the self-proclaimed, media-supported Christian-American gladiator). Many felt that Ali "carried" Patterson into the later rounds in an attempt to "punish" his foe for his pre-fight statements against his religion, when he could have easily stopped him earlier (which would have been more "humane"). Arthur Daley of the New York Times provided his opinion of the subject:

> Perhaps he was ashamed of the way he had stripped a valiant foe of his dignity before winning a technical knockout in the twelfth round. If he wasn't, he should have been, because he heaped ridicule and punishment on a grossly outclassed Patterson. Most experts at ringside were convinced that Clay had carried him instead of going for a clean knockout that had seemed easily within his reach from about the fourth round on...Clay hit Patterson almost as if he were exercising on the punching bag. ...In his prefight blatherings Clay offered... he was going to stretch it out to punish his opponent for disparaging (his) Black Muslim connections.[298]

This was the general media interpretation of Ali's convincing victory. Ali is described as a savage, cruel, non-humanitarian in covert media language, by Daley. Gene Ward and Dick Young of the Daily News, however, take a more overt approach in their analysis of the fight (and their denouncement of Muhammad Ali). Gene Ward stated:

> I had to feel sorry for Patterson, who wanted so desperately to subdue this brash exponent of the Black Muslim hate-sect. Floyd regarded it as something which he had to do He told me in a private interview three days before the fight, "I'm not against Clay's religion. It merely is that I disagree with the Black Muslim's belief in segregation because I've been for integration all my life." Speed Clay has...But class he hasn't and punch he can't...He had a man whose back hurt him...but our big beautiful heavyweight champion of the world couldn't knock him down.[299]

Contrary to the Ward analysis, Ali did knock Patterson down in the sixth round. Ward is also guilty, in this pre-fight report, of continuing the preposterous crusade of Patterson ("he wanted so desperately to subdue this brash exponent of the Black Muslim hate-sect"). Not being able to defeat Ali in the ring, Ward defends the quest of Patterson by denouncing Ali's punching power, in typical "sour grapes dialect (which was also taken up by many other sports journalists). With regard to Ward's exaggerated denouncement of the Ali punching power ("can't punch"), one does not achieve the heavy-

weight championship of the world without being able to punch. Dick Young provides an alternative analysis of the fight:

> The referee, Harry Krause, believed Clay deliberately prolonged the agony until Krause could not stand it any longer and stepped between them in the twelfth. Krause also supplies a pretty clear motive for Clay's torture method. "Right from the start," says Krause, "Clay tortured him with remarks like, 'come on white American; come on white American'." There is a sick bigotry within Cassius Clay, just as there is within all of his type, and that is too bad because bigotry breeds bigotry, and the ignorant people on one side provoke the ignorant people on the other side, and some small church is bombed out, and some innocent woman is shot to death on an American highway. Cassius Clay uses his bigotry as a commercial. He is making a million dollars with it. He flames the emotions of the bigots on the other side, and they pay for the privilege of hating him. They pay their money and they root for him to get his head knocked off, and he laughs at them. He takes their money, and he laughs at them. He will be laughing again this spring, and they will boo him. They will root for Ernie Terrell, who suddenly will be the new shining knight with broadsword, out to slay the Muslim. This man who ran away from George Chuvalo for 12 rounds, and who is nothing, will be the new Christian crusader.[300]

Dick Young, in criticism of Ali, acknowledges the economics of racism in a heavyweight title fight, as though it were a new idea (or one that Ali had originated). Here, Young is in total detestation of Ali and Islam (addresses Ali as "the Muslim"). In much the same manner as Jack Johnson, Muhammad Ali becomes a symbol, and a victim,

of media lambaste. Young seems to take the perceived punishment and humiliation of Patterson by Ali on a personal basis, as Ali symbolically imposed his ideology upon the American ideology in front of a wide American audience. White Americans like Young were angered at this demonstration by Ali. Needless to say, a great social change was taking place in the form of black media stereotypes (from servility and complacency to intelligence and aggressivity), due to this demonstration by Ali and increasing black activism. Ali had become, also, a radical American folk-hero, at this point, and hero to many counter-cultures. As subtle American racism began to emerge in the media, as it does in the previous article by Young, the basic course of the black freedom movement, as set forth by King, begins to take a new direction with Ali and the Nation of Islam.

The media continued its denouncement of Ali, as it praised Patterson for his "gallant" effort. The self-proclaimed Christian-American warrior, Patterson, would respond to his well-wishers:

> Floyd Patterson, in obvious pain, but game and dignified in defeat, apologized to the American public tonight for not putting up a better fight against Cassius Clay. "I'm very sorry about what happened tonight," he said in a low voice in a delayed inter-

> view. "I had hoped to give Americans a better fight. Unfortunately, I was not able to do so..."[301]*

The great excuse was made of "Patterson's bad back", however, short-lived. His failure to uphold the American Tradition is reflected in his above statement, which is typical of failed "white hopes". Gene Ward relates more disappointment over the fight result:

> According to the crew which shot the fight movie, so objectionable was much of Cassius Clay's taunting commentary, directed at Patterson, the sound track had to be thoroughly laundered for public consumption. Just another example of the lack of class of the so-called heavyweight champion...The compulsive talking Clay, hereafter known as Clay the Clack, was at his nauseating worst in the post-fight press conference Tuesday...There was the Clack's habitual boasting and his blatant praise of a defeated opponent...Oh, for an uncomplicated champion like Rocky Marciano who let his fists do the talking.[302]

Ward finds "nauseating" Ali's "blatant praise of a defeated opponenet" after the fight, otherwise known as "sportsmanship". Most boxers, football, baseball and basketball players exchange verbal oddities during their contests, but it is common for them to congratulate each other and forget

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*Similar apologies were made by fighters, Jim Jeffries (after the bout with Jack Johnson), Billy Conn (after his bouts with Joe Louis), Gerry Cooney (after his future bout with Larry Holmes), and Tommy Morrison (after his future bout with Ray Mercer), as all were projected "white hopes". Patterson is the only black "white hope" of the lot.

about the game differences after the completion of the contest. This conversation that evolves between sporting opponents is common, especially in heated matches (and it can also involve the referee/s), otherwise known as "sport chatter"*. The rapport that usually ensues (between players) after a contest (or a season) amounts to an "apology" for the "dirty" tactics and conversation that may have occurred. Ward, here, refuses to accept Ali's "apology" to Floyd Patterson, because American tradition was defeated and appeared vulnerable (in the symbolic form of Floyd Patterson). Ward later gets angry at Patterson for entering the fight with a slipped disc in his spinal cord, a fact that Patterson was able to hide from the boxing commission doctors:

> Las Vegas, Nov 23 - Floyd Patterson defrauded the public, deceived his friends, duped the doctors and destroyed himself. So boxing took it on the chin again last night. The latest heavyweight championship bout - the fifth in a series of stench-ridden title bouts - presented a challenger who was physically unqualified to fight against a champion...Perhaps the complex-ridden Patterson, who is so desperately striving to wipe clean the black marks placed on his escutcheon by Sonny Liston, has no conception of the wrong he has done. I'll

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*Many sociology of sport journalists cover this topic, however, focus upon the conversations and gestures between teammates and coaches. Little has been reported of the conversation between opponents, and players with referees, the two antagonistic forces placed as obstacles in the drive of an athlete. In the case of track and field, the opponent can be a record and/or a statistic. (See Allen Guttmann, 1978; Jean-Marie Brohm, 1978)

> give him the benefit of the doubt there. That still doesn't change the fact that wrong was done-and he did it.[303]

Engulfed in American disappointment of the Ali humiliation of American "values" and tradition, Ward turns his anger towards Patterson, and even denounces Patterson's mental ability (reinforcing a black stereotype) by the terminology, "he has no conception of the wrong he has done. I'll give him the benefit of the doubt there." The question is, would Ward have been angry with Ali if he lost due to a bad back? (or, were Americans angry when Joe Louis paralyzed Max Schmeling with an obvious foul blow, although overlooked?) The "wrong" that Ward refers to is the defeat suffered by true Americans in support against Ali (and "black values"). Ali represented black independence and few media were in support of such a theme, at this time. On this day, Ali made his point.

Arthur Daley witnessed the bout via closed-circuit theater television. He recollected the showing of old fight films in a pre-fight movie documentary that featured ex-champion Jess Willard in his knockout victory over Jack Johnson, and his loss to Jack Dempsey (both Willard and Dempsey are great white symbols of American values). Daley stated:

> The documentary made a tasty appetizer for the Clay -Patterson main course.[304]

To Daley, these films may have represented that the possibility of victory by another "white hope" may emerge in the forthcoming fight (article is written in past-tense), although he would take the form of a black man in Floyd Patterson. And although Ali "broke the promise" of these films, Daley is still content with these memories. Robert Lipsyte would reflect Ali's newfound status:

> Clay has never lost a professional fight, and there are those who are beginning to think he never will. There are those who say he would have beaten even Rocky Marciano and Joe Louis. Clay says he could have beaten anyone who ever fought, except perhaps Jack Johnson, that other great Negro champion whose ways were offensive to whites.[305]

Here, Lipsyte uses Jack Johnson in analogy with Muhammad Ali (as Johnson is termed, "that other great Negro champion whose ways were offensive to whites"). Also, as noted in the above article, it is true that the media will use Joe Louis, Jack Dempsey and Rocky Marciano as a standard of measure when rating the greatest heavyweights, although rarely do they use Jack Johnson for this purpose (because he was so despised), not lacking in greatness. Pete Hamill of the New York Post captured the "torment" that Ali inflicted on Patterson:

> He did it, as he always does, with his mouth. "C'mon Rabbit," he would say, "meet your doom. You're a big white American baby, ain't you? You the whitest man I ever seen." Through all of this, he was hitting a stumbling, pain-wracked Floyd Patterson with a cruel monotony...We will never know, we might never know about Clay now because there is not a heavyweight

> around, now that Patterson is gone, who is capable of even extending him..With luck, Patterson might have...And for a few rounds,...he had a hell of a shot at it.[306]

Hamill recalls the Ali "cruelty" to Patterson in this article, which reflected a demonstrative symbolic display of the growing factionalization and opposing ideologies of the black freedom movement. The results this display by Ali sumbolized a victory for the Islamic ideology over the ideology of "old world" blacks, such as Patterson (and Joe Louis). The racial terminology used by Ali, as depicted by Hamill, is evident of the linguistics which will be used in the future radical Black Power movement (which is an offspring and fusion of both the ideologies of "old" and "new world" blacks*). Hamill also makes it plain that Ali was the despised antagonist of the two principals by his statements, "With luck, Patterson might have (won)...he had a hell of a shot at it." In the final analysis, Hamill is disturbed over the tactics and humiliation which were employed by Muhammad Ali in order to bring about this "un-American achievement, and the symbolic destruction of traditional American

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*Definition - "Old world" blacks refers to the Negro supporters of integration, assimilation and amalgamation to American whites. "New world" blacks refers to the Negro support of the black radicalism of the 1960's

values. While Patterson was married to a white Swedish woman and raised mulatto children, much like Jack Johnson (an indication of the changing times, as this was once a definite American taboo), the "new" black ideology of Muhammad Ali was deemed the "enemy", and the hypocritical image of Patterson represented "Americanism" (a hypocritical display of "equality").

Ali would build a tremendous following himself (usually with those who identified with the victims of American oppression). Floyd Patterson's trainer, Cus D'Amato, in an interview with Robert Lipsyte of the New York Times, would subtly portray the aura and magnitude of Muhammad Ali:

> The fight proved nothing, except that clay is the most beautiful, the most graceful heavyweight we ever had, certainly the best businessman, maybe some day the best fighter," said D'Amato. "The more obnoxious he becomes, the more they'll look for a white hope, a Holy Grail, and that is very good for our business."[307]

D'Amato is accurate when he speaks about the economics/mechanics of racism and controversy in professional boxing ("they'll look for a white hope, a Holy Grail, and that is very good for our business"). In spite of Ali's boxing greatness, the values and image that his championship would impose on Americans were pro-black (in the media), and this was unsuitable and contradictive to the American sport creed* (ideology). As a "compassionate" Ali told

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*See Edwards, Harry in Sociology of Sport (1973)

Patterson after the fight:

> "You are considered the good, clean American boy and I'm the bad Muslim. You have no reason to hide. If you lose every dime you got the government should give you money. If you had whipped me, you would be the biggest thing ever lived..."[308]

Muhammad Ali vs. Ernie Terrell

Ali's increasing Muslim stand would coincide with increasing involvement of the United States in the Vietnam War. Ali, who as Cassius Clay, would fail his initial Army entrance examination in 1964 (1-Y status), would be reclassified in 1966 (1-A) as Muhammad Ali without having been re-tested, making him eligible for service duty. As this would conflict with his Islamic affiliations and coincide with his public humiliation of the cause of Patterson and other would-be opponents*, the media, in much the same manner as they "treated" Jack Johnson, would clamor for Ali's demise. With Ali, it was not enough for his opponent to merely be black. If the black opponent did not conform to the rules and religion of Elijah Muhammad, Ali would publicly ridicule, berate, humiliate and punish his black opponent in the ring.

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*Although similarly confident against white opponents, Ali did not inflict the same wrath, in verse, as he did against many black opponents, with the possible exception of British Henry Cooper.

Milton Gross of the New York Post noted

> He is supposed to be a man of peace. He has suddenly developed a kind of compassion for Patterson who was completely outclassed. Cassius was as much sound as he was fury in the ring. He spit out dirty, demeaning phrases at Floyd all night as they faced each other. As a Muslim, Cassius says he doesn't profane. But he cussed out his outclassed foe. He called him a "white man's black man." He spit out, "Come on, black man, fight for America." Clay held Patterson in disdain.[309]

Most of Ali's greatest social and political statements were made during his torture and cruelty to black "white hopes". In those contests, Ali was at war with the American political system (represented by the difference in the ideologies of old and new world blacks), and those who wanted to return him to an inferior status in the media and in the social imagination. Joe Frazier would later recall that he was "offended" by an Ali remark:

> He once called me an "Uncle Tom". I didn't know what an Uncle Tom was. I thought it was somebody peeking through people's windows...If you wasn't a Muslim, you were just as bad as being white.[310]

The Federal Government was well aware of Ali's mockery of "symbolic" opponents, and his making a futility of any cause of Caucasian pugilistic supremacy, as well as his Islamic stand. However, his assumed and proven invincibility defied any attempt to dethrone him in the ring, up to this point in time. The Federal Government, nevertheless, was determined to make an American symbol

and example out of this great extraordinary champion.

An article by Robert Lipsyte stated:

> FIGHTER CHARGES BOARD WITH BIAS
>
> Cassius Clay, reclassified 1-A today by his Louisville draft board, said that his lawyers would appeal the decision and charged that he was being "picked on" because he was a member of the so-called black Muslim sect...Clay had originally been classified 1-Y, reportedly on the basis of failing the pre-induction mental examination, almost two years ago. Since that time, and in rising proportion to the escalation of the Vietnam War, there have been official and unofficial reevaluations of Clay, Joe Namath,...and other athletes.[311]

This article attempts to rationalize and justify the reclassification (although untested) of Ali using a white standard of athletic excellence in ex-New York Jets quarterback, Joe Namath, who eventually was turned down by the army due to knee problems. After Patterson, Ali was matched against four successive white opponents (four chances of a "white hope" upset), who took the forms of George Chuvalo of Canada, Henry Cooper of Great Britain, and Karl Mildenberger of Germany. It is natural that these opponents were "longshot" sentimental favorites against Ali, but he would handle them easily. With his appeal still pending (as to his army status), Ali's next political controversial match would come against heavyweight contender, Ernie Terrell*.

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*Terrell was recognized by the World Boxing Association as their champion.

A day before the Ali-Terrell fight, Ali was seen giving a lecture (as Ali is now a minister of Islam) at a Texas mosque in Houston, by newsmen. Robert Lipsyte of the New York Times gave his report:

> The heavyweight champion of the world "in that world," Muhammad Ali, spoke for 1½ hours today as a minister in a mosque of Islam before several hundred Negroes, most of them nonmembers. Half a dozen white newsmen and photographers were allowed to attend through the first 15 minutes of his lecture...While the whites were present, Clay ridiculed Negroes "so wrapped up in sport and play you'll fly across the country to see me box a few rounds, but you won't leave your boogaloo hangout to walk over and hear Elijah."...Once the whites were ushered out, however, according to sources, Clay bitterly castigated white men, Christian religions and integrationists. He had waited, he said, because he "didn't want to hurt the feelings" of the newsmen.[312]

As Ali was equally as tough on the black contingent of the congregation, Lipsyte emphasizes the Ali harshness toward the white contingent. Resentment toward Ali, by the media, was now fever-pitched, as Ali and the Federal Government (as spoken through media sentiment and popular opinion) became more loathsome to each other. Ali had now become a large symbol and spokesman of the new and untraditional black radicalism in the media, which was beginning to take form among multitudes of blacks. So involved in black politics at the time, the government would seek to make an "example" of Ali in order to satisfy American interests and remove the symbol of black dominance

and independence (in revenge of the humiliation of traditional American values by Ali).

The Terrell fight was symbolic of this "cold war" (between Ali and the United States), as Terrell acted the part of the typical "Uncle Tom" by his "Clay-calling", using the excuse that "his mother named him Clay". Most media were also persistent in this manner. Ali became infuriated (because, by now, most of the world was appraised of his chosen name) and promised to punish Terrell in the ring*. As Ali was the overwhelming favorite to win the bout at 5-1 odds, Terrell would naturally take the role of the sentimental media favorite**. Terrell explains his position to Gene Ward of the Daily News:

> Joe Louis was his idol and he admired him not only for his ability as a boxer but for the way he conducted himself and the amazing effect he had on people. As for Clay, Ernie claimed he doesn't know him as a person and, so, can't judge him. "All I know," Ernie said, "is that I don't like what he stands for. It's wrong to use boxing, to exploit it through religion and politics. You never heard Mickey Mantle or Jack Dempsey talk like Clay does." The Black Muslims tried to recruit Ernie. They had no luck.[313]

Although Ernie Terrell stated that he "doesn't know"

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*Most fighters at this time (retired or active) referred to Ali as "Clay" in a manner of defending American values (fighters such as Dempsey, Louis, Conn, Marciano, Terrell, Patterson, Frazier and others).

**The New York Post was on strike at this time.

Ali and, therefore, "can't judge him", he does so in criticism of the Ali character, stating "it is wrong to use boxing, to exploit it through religion and politics". He also emulates the white media by using Mickey Mantle (superstar of the New York Yankees) and ex-champion Jack Dempsey, as his standard of excellence for athletic character (as well as Joe Louis). His show of admiration for Joe Louis is also based on the overwhelming acceptance that Louis attained from the American public (as a black athlete).

This fight featured an "angry" Ali (as retold by Arthur Daley:

> This was unquestionably the finest exhibition of Clay's tempestuous career from the standpoint of boxing craftsmanship. He was superb. ...He rode punches with disdainful ease and then just toyed with him the rest of the bout...It was in the next round that Cassius remembered the script he had outlined for himself in advance. He had said that he'd "whup" Ernie until that misguided individual addressed him by his adopted name of Muhammad Ali instead of his given name of Cassius Marcellus Clay...He also promised to continue the spanking until Terrell gave him the answer he sought. So Cassius connected with a thunderous right to the jaw. "What's my name?" he snarled. Ernie was too busy defending himself to answer. Wham, wham, came a whistling left-right combination to the jaw. "What's my name?" he muttered again.[314]

This bout, like the Patterson bout, became another adversarial contest between opposing ideologies, and it would help to further factionalize symbolic American values and the growing black resistance (for Ali had punished

black "uncle Toms" as well as white American society). For many blacks, "What's my name" had become a symbolic war cry against the very American establishment. Significant was the fact that Ali could be heard saying, "What's my name?", across the broadcast, although he was in the boxing ring of the noisy arena (the Houston Astrodome). Ali would win a 15-round unanimous decision. Gerald Eskenazi of the New York Times reported of the New York black reaction to the fight:

> More New Yorkers are coming over to the Clay camp, to judge by the shrill rebel yells that accompanied the champion's shuffle, or his grunt-accentuated punches. After round seven, a particularly damaging one for Terrell, three young Negroes leaped out of their seats and started to pound one another on the back.[315]

Eskenazi uses the term, "More New Yorkers", in reference to black New York fans (who attended the fight at closed-circuit theaters) who exclaimed praise for Ali. Eskenazi is somewhat surprised (and disturbed) about his evaluation, as the media overwhelmingly had deemed Ali an unpopular American enemy. There is also the sense here that Eskenazi is worried or threatened by the growing spread of the philosophy of the Nation of Islam, or other revolutionary black and "anti-American" ideologies, to other black Americans. This is the image that the media wanted Jack Johnson to refrain from imposing on the black American public, as that image, assumedly, would likely uplift

the morale of American blacks. At the end of the fight, the "seed" of black revolution was planted in the minds of the black American public. The media would reflect the disappointment of the total humiliation of symbolic (traditional) American values (as reported by Robert Lipsyte:)

> ...some fans seemed a bit disappointed at the outcome. There had been a sentimental feeling that Terrell...would become the conventional, kind, thoughtful, highly intelligent and articulate champion that many wanted in place of the controversial Clay.[316]

Although Ali possessed all of these adjectives (excluding "conventional"), he was not what the media had in mind. Ali, having brandished Terrell as a "white man's nigger", was symbolically at war with American values. In support of American values, Lipsyte makes it clear that "many wanted (Terrell) in place of the controversial Clay". The Daily News was not as subtle in their criticism of Muhammad Ali, as noted by Gene Ward after the fight;

> A sportswriter should be a just and unprejudiced abserver of the sporting scene. I know it and you know it. But, you'll have to pardon me, friends, because I sat here at ringside tonight and rooted like crazy for lanky, kindly Ernie Terrell, with his soft voice and pleasant manners, to take Muhammad Ali Cassius Clay apart, bone by Muslim bone. I confess it. I wished and wished, and kept crossing my fingers in the fervent hope that lanky, kindly Ernie would let the wind out of this big-mouthed bum and separate him from large portions of his draft-dodging skin...He had the man beat. Now he taunted him. Now he was going to extract his pound of flesh. It

> was a disgusting exhibition, and I felt the urge to jump up and bash Clay in the mush myself. At the same time, I felt a tinge of sorrow for this handsome Negro for the great champion he might have been. ...He could have been the most popular heavyweight champion of all time. But the Muslims own him body and soul now...[317]

The over-patriotic Ward confesses to journalistic prejudice, in this article, mostly in an attempt to preserve American values and to demonsstrate his venomenous hatred toward the ideology of the Nation of Islam*. In outright contempt for Ali and the Nation of Islam, Ward acknowledges what "could have been", if Ali would have let himself be "claimed" by ("Jim Crow") America. In that this does not happen (at least to the satisfaction of the media), Ward becomes frustrated, angry, and relieves these emotions by revealing them in his report. Arthur Daley, who still refused to acknowledge or address the name, Muhammad Ali, reported for the New York Times:

> About all that Clay achieved was to keep destroying the image he once had of being the likeable charm boy. He showed himself to be a mean and malicious man. His facade continues to crumble as he gets deeper into the Black Muslim movement. Even before the fight he delivered the insult supreme

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*One of the goals of the Nation of Islam that was achieved with the recruiting of Ali was made by their theory of separation. It is a theory that has proved to be able to turn racism "in the face" of the oppressor, in that the oppressor suffers (or becomes outraged) because he now becomes the "victim" of his own discrimination, as demonstrated by Ward in the above article-excerpt. In that Ward is obsessed with the Muslim "control" of Ali, he is wishing that America could claim him. He becomes frustrated, as this does not happen, and, subsequently, denounces Ali's character, tactics, and boxing ability.

> from one Negro to another. Cassius called Ernie an "Uncle Tom," merely because Terrell addressed him as Cassius Clay instead of his Muslim name of Muhammad Ali. So Clay thumped away at the almost-blinded Terrell in the eighth, punctuating his punches with the taunt, "What's my name?"...Sportsmanship? Clay doesn't know the word...The more he improves as a fighter the more apparent becomes his retrogression as a man. It's a pity. The worst of it is that there is no foe left worthy of his talents - unless you want to include the Vietcong. And Cassius wants no part of them.[318]

Ali is depicted in this article as "distasteful". The author (Daley) has overestimated this distastefulness, with respect to the black community. For many blacks, Ali had become a symbolic athletic "saviour" (or patron saint), in terms of uplifting the morale of blacks and re-awakening a dormant race", in his victory over Terrell (and Patterson). Whether one disagreed with Ali or not, they were in awe of his prowess and uncanny ability. Those journalists who did not agree with him may have possessed a certain fear, or were threatened, by his image. Growing unrest in the American black communities, at this time, are paralleled to the many controversies of Ali's championship career. Had this been an earlier era (such as the Joe Louis and Jack Johnson eras), Ali may have conformed to American values and tradition in

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*"Re-awakening", in terms of shedding "new light" on a subject (namely the approach and acquisition of black freedom and independence).

a joint effort to suppress the growing black dissension. But this was the 1960's, and Ali had become synonymous with protest. Finally, Daley is correct in his assessment that Ali had beaten the very best heavyweight contender in the world, the only fight left being with the Federal Government over his draft status (which would later prove to be his greatest battle and his greatest victory).

In explanation of his behavior in the ring with Terrell, Muhammad Ali explained (to the Daily News):

> Clay said he was not sorry he had taunted Terrell by asking, "What's my name?" during the eighth and ninth rounds. "I do what I want to do in the ring," he said. "I'm the boss. I know what will happen if I lose. I have a right to fight back when a man insists on calling me by my slave name (Cassius Clay). But that's all over now. He (Terrell) is a gentleman..."[319]

Here, Ali compliments his foe after the fight ("He is a gentleman"), in his usual manner of sportsmanship, yet the media insists he is "classless" and "unsportsmanlike" (in what they wanted the public to believe about Ali), in their continuing denouncement of him.

The most popular frequent denunciation of Ali, by the media, would begin to center on Ali's political and military stand, which stood parallel to America's increasing involvement in the war in Vietnam. Ali made it plain that he felt sympathy for the brown-skinned Asian people that America had chosen as her enemy. Ali

would declare, "I ain't got nothing against no Vietcong... No Vietcong ever called me a nigger!..." These statements would have a high emotional impact in the national media. These statements would also uncover much repressed collective racism against Ali. They were interpreted as highly embarrassing to conservative white America, but Ali would gain sympathy from liberal white America, many of whom were in disfavor of the Vietnam War. For all practical purposes, the New York daily newspapers showed little of this liberalism toward Ali, although on many other issues of civil rights and anti-war rhetoric, were lenient, as well as favorable (after the execution of the March on Washington, the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965, and other events that helped to prepare the way for American "equality"). The "anger" demonstrated by Ali represented a deeper underlying dissatisfaction of the American society than mere inequality and segregation. It represented the unyielding oppressive, separatist, and dominance-minded nature of Caucasian-Americans against the dismal and conformist nature of black Americans, and black resentment to these conditions in 1967. Never one for lack of bluntness or clarity, Ali "insulted" the white American establishment with his remark (however, true), and they would respond in angry embarrassment. Wilfred Sheed notes that:

> Jack Johnson taught Ali how to rub our noses in our own racism and Ali acknowledges the debt. (even an original has influences; in fact he identified totally with Johnson when he saw the play *Great White Hope*.) Yet were they so really alike? And do people really hate Ali because he is black? At times he almost seems to be forcing us to make racism the issue. Johnson at least had no such problem...Compared with other American sports, boxing may seem like a miracle of tolerance, but the ghost of racism still hangs around the gym: only now, we convert one of the two black boys to white, and root for him. At least Ali seems to see it that way, and taunts us with it.[320]

The previous quote supports the idea of a black "white hope", which was a position assigned to most of Ali's black opponents after he first won the championship (both Ali and the media would designate the black "white hope"). The mediated racism that emerged against Muhammad Ali would culminate in his banishment from the sport of boxing. He would defend his title once more, taking on and defeating Zora Folley in March 1967 at Madison Square Garden, before being stripped of his title on April 28, 1967 for refusing to take the oath of induction to the Armed Services. His next foe would prove to be the most difficult.

Muhammad Ali vs. The United States (Round One)

Arthur Daley of the New York Times reported:

> This is the day when Cassius Clay is confronted by the most important and fateful decision of his young life. Will it be induction or imprisonment? The heavyweight champion of the world has indicated that he will

> take jail rather than be drafted into the Army. Military service, he claims, in contrary to his religious beliefs. It would appear that he doesn't think the United States is worth fighting for...People change in seven years and few have changed more than Clay. The delightful boy of 1960 has become a mixed-up man. If there was skepticism about the sincerity of his motives when he first fell under the sway of the Black Muslims, it exists no longer. He has been so thoroughly brainwashed that he now believes what he says even if the words are put into his mouth by the Muslims.[321]

Daley seems angry at the fact that Ali accepted the tenets of the Nation of Islam, rather than the tenets of white America, yet, as the article continues, he admits at being impressed by Ali:

> This reporter was captivated by Cassius the first time he met him at the Villagio Olimpico in Rome. Not even the intermediate developments have completely broken that hold, even though such an admission might be a rebuke to intelligence. But it just can't be helped.[322]

In this excerpt, Daley shows his "conscience" in his hypocritical admiration of Ali. Part of the mystique of Ali was that although he was hated, he could not be ignored (as many others would confess to a love-hate admiration for Ali). Jack Johnson won no such admiration by the white media, although he was the phenomenal equivalent to Ali due to his dashy ring performances and untraditional public behavior. But, like Johnson, the media provided the "noose" which was used to help destroy his public image. Both fighters would be reprimanded for exercising their Constitutional rights, and in both cases

anger and prejudice would win over admiration.

The Nation of Islam was a black nationalist group that promoted black supremacy in the name of peace (unlike the Ku Klux Klan, a group that practices and promotes the aggrandizement of one group to the destruction of others). Although the Nation of Islam prophesizes the destruction of the Caucasian race, it doesn't take matters into its own hands (like the lynchings committed by Klan members), but leaves it to the will of Allah (God). The philosophy of the black Islamic movement in the United States is radical to basic American values, but it provides and serves as a more practical religious alternative to many ex-oppressed blacks. With the death of Malcolm X, Muhammad Ali became its major national spokesman and recruiter. The object of the United States government was to silence Ali in an attempt to quell the movement, thereby removing and replacing his image from the throne of the heavyweight champion* (in the face of growing liberalism and civil protest). For Ali, his Islamic teachings were a way of life and much more practical than his earlier teachings in Christianity that he deemed "a white man' religion" used to "keep Negroes in their place". Ali would comment:

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*A puzzling factor about the "stripping" of Ali's title in the United States has to begin with the question, how can any <u>one</u> particular country's legal system and sport governing bodies legally dethrone the heavyweight champion of the <u>world</u>, without the unanimous consent of the other countries? Does the U.S. <u>control</u> the heavyweight titleholder?

> "...dumb Negroes come out dumber Negroes," after worshipping in Christian churches. He said that Jesus Christ was dead, while the Muslims' God was a living man. "Other churches preach pie in the sky when you die," he said. "We want something sound while we're around on the ground."[323]

The first round of the Ali-v.-United States bout took the form of a Garfinkel-type "degradation ceremony" in the media. Collectively, the Federal Government along with the various boxing commissions of the United States and Europe, as well as the media, would spew their wrath toward Muhammad Ali and "legally" remove his title:

> CLAY REFUSES ARMY OATH; STRIPPED OF BOXING CROWN
>
> Cassius Clay refused today, as expected, to take the one step forward that would have constituted induction into the armed forces. There was no immediate Government action. Although Government authorities here foresaw several months of preliminary moves before Clay would be arrested and charged with a felony, boxing authorities instantly stripped the 25-year old fighter of his world heavyweight championship. "It will take at least 30 days for Clay to be indicted and it will probably be another year and a half before he could be sent to prison since there undoubtedly will be appeals through the courts," United States Attorney Morton Susman said.[324]

This article-excerpt, written by Robert Lipsyte, reflects the <u>anticipation</u> of the Ali conviction, although Lipsyte acknowledges the illegal "stripping" (before Ali had gone to trial). He doesn't, however, make a case for Ali, but seems more bent on Ali's destruction. At this

time, Ali had merely refused to take the oath and had not been formally charged with a crime. The boxing commissions were premature in their rulings to dethrone Ali, and thus deprived him of a right to earn a living, as these rulings were illegal at best (Ali had not yet had his day in court). Thomas Rogers of the New York Times reported of this illegal maneuver, as initiated by the New York State Athletic Commission;

> NEW YORK LIFTS CROWN IN SWIFT MOVE
>
> Only a few hours after he had refused to be inducted yesterday into the armed forces of the United States, Cassius Clay was stripped of his world heavyweight boxing championship by the major gocerning authorities of the sport in this country and Europe. The New York State Athletic Commission, in a statement issued by Edwin B. Dooley, the chairman, announced it had "unanimously decided to suspend [Clay's] boxing license indefinitely and to withdraw recognition of him as the world heavyweight champion." Mr. Dooley said, "His refusal to enter the service is regarded by the commission to be detrimental to the best interests of boxing."[325]

This decision not only did not silence Ali, but gave incentive to the other forces of protest to the Vietnam War and support of the Black Liberation Movement. Dick Young of the Daily News stated:

> ...Cassius Clay is a fine young man who is destroying his life. Not for an ideal, as he thinks, but for a nothing: for a sham, for a group which pretends to carry on the good fight for the colored people but which only exploits them more than the white man has exploited them. The

> Black Muslims have led astray Cassius Clay. They have rebaptized him Muhammad Ali...He forgets at times that he is an American...The Black Mafia has brainwashed Cassius Clay...The ironic touch to the case of Cassius Clay is that the Army could have had him three years ago, before he contended he was a Black Muslim minister. Then, he wasn't even Muhammad Ali. He was just Cassius X, apprentice Black Muslim, and that's where the U.S. Army goofed. They said he flunked the Army mental exam, and they rejected him, a very bright young man.[326]

Young is ambitious in his statement, to the effect, that the Nation of Islam "has exploited (blacks) more than the white man has exploited them". In anticipation of a jail sentence for Ali, Young reminds his audience that although he greatly admires Ali, he is equally as greatly betrayed by the Ali stand (and symbol) which many Americans considered "Communistic"*. In hindsight, he "wishes" that the U.S. Army had drafted Ali years before, when his first affiliation with the Muslims became apparent (whereas Ali would have been thoroughly "Americanized"). Not only is Young angry over the "betrayal" by Ali, he is actually envious over Ali's "anti-American" comradery with the Muslims, by his statements, "He forgets at times that he is an American...The Black Mafia has brainwashed Cassius Clay...They have rebaptized him

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*The "fear" of Communism was rampant in the media, during the 1960's.

Muhammad Ali". Young considers the feelings of other "Americans" like himself, however does not present a case for Ali's Constitutional right to religion or the other ongoing illegalities which were collectively being imposed on Ali, as he had done two years previous (before the Patterson fight, when Young mentioned, "it says somewhere that an American is entitled to worship as he pleases, or does that apply only to people who do it the way we happen to approve of?"). Young's increasing "anti-Muslim" sermons have hypocricized his earlier statement.

Robert Lipsyte noted that this was "the most widely observed noninduction in history". He would also demonstrate the liberal extent of his opinion, as a representative of the media, in his response to the various milling demonstrations that took place outside of the induction center simultaneous with Ali's refusal to take the Army oath:

> ...a small demonstration (formed) outside the Custom House. During the morning, five white youngsters from the Friends World Institute in Westbury, L.I., who had driven all night from a study project in Oklahoma, and half a dozen local Negro youths, several wearing Black Power buttons, had appeared on the street...The white group merely asked for the end of the Vietnam War and greater efforts for civil rights. The Negroes eventually swelled into a group of about two dozen circling pickets carrying hastily scrawled, "Burn, Baby, Burn" signs and singing, "Nothing kills a nigger like too much love."[327]

Here, Lipsyte makes an analysis and comparison of the demonstrating white and black groups outside of the Houston Induction Center. The white group is depicted as the more "orderly" of the two, and does not take into consideration the anger felt by blacks over this unjust act (a symbolic "lynching" of Ali). The media demonstration of the collective injustice that was imposed on Muhammad Ali touched off fiery reaction from the black community (to various other injustices suffered by blacks). This event may also have been one of the many "sparks" to the militarized Black Power Movement. Ali would state his religious convictions as the reason for his action:

> "It is in the light of my conscience as a Muslim minister and my own personal convictions that I take my stand in rejecting the call to be inducted in the armed services. I do so with the full realization of its implications and possible consequences. I have searched my conscience and I find I cannot be true to my belief in my religion by accepting such a call...I am dependent solely upon Allah as the final judge of these actions...I strongly object to the fact that so many newspapers have given the American public and the world the impression that I have only two alternatives in taking this stand: either I go to jail or go to the Army. If justice prevails, if my Constitutional rights are upheld, I will be forced to go neither to the Army nor jail. In the end I am confident that justice will come my way for the truth must eventually prevail...As to the threat voiced by certain elements to 'strip' me of my title, this is merely a continuation of the same artificially induced prejudice and discrimination."[328]

The media and governing officials are accused by Ali of "artificially induced prejudice and discrimination", in a statement which is demonstrative of their collective influence in his conviction. This collective discrimination is reflected in the rulings of British boxing authorities:

> BRITISH AGREE
>
> London, April 28 (AP) - Europe and Britain will almost certainly follow the lead of the Athletic Commission and the WBA in stripping Cassius Clay of the heavyweight crown, a British official said today. J. Onslow Fane, president of the British Board of Boxing Control and vice president of the European Boxing Union, said the world title will be declared vacant and an elimination tournament started to find a successor.[329]

Although Ali's stand was an internal affair of American proportions, the predominately-Caucasian continent of Europe saw fit to take defense of America's stand against Ali, despite inherent social and political contrasts and opposing ideologies*. Moslem countries chose a different path. They proclaimed Ali their champion, despite Ali having been denounced as the "recognized" champion (which brings forth the idea of significance; the "recognized" champion depends upon the masses who recognize him as champion, not a group of three people or one nation,

*Even the despised Jack Johnson succeeded in finding asylum in Canada, the various countries of Europe (especially Great Britain and France) and Australia. The intense racial persecution of Ali contributed to this international collusion (except Moslem nations), as advanced by the media.

or 15-20 nations; it also depends on who is doing the "recognizing"*). It is here that Ali becomes an institution in defense against American values and tradition. As stated by the Daily News:

> A UPI newsman told Clay there had been a statement from a spokesman for the United Arab Republic inviting Clay to fight there anytime. The spokesman said in Cairo the UAR and other Middle East Moslem nations continue to recognize Clay as world heavyweight champion. "Clay is welcome to come to Cairo any time," the spokesman in Egypt said. "Cairo opens its arms to Clay at any moment he chooses to come. Six hundred fifty million Moslems throughout the world stand behind him and recognize him as champion. United States government conspiracies against him do not affect his recognition.[330]

This statement, which is just a short wire or sub-article, is rare in comparison to the multitudinous American sentiment and popular (or white) opinion, however, it represents a case and a defense for the persecuted Muhammad Ali. The hint is, actually, that he could always leave the country (an open invitation by the media), in much the same manner of exile that was accorded Jack Johnson and other black "undesirables". The collective media persecution of Ali was intense, and Dick Young of the Daily News reflected this sentiment:

> "I am certain," said Cassius Clay, "that the sports fans and the fair-minded people

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**And what makes this recognition legitimate, "whiteness"?

> throughout America will never accept such a titleholder." Cassius Clay said that as, one by one, the various states of the United States...were stripping him of his title as heavyweight champion. Cassius Clay is wrong about that. He is amusing and he is wrong. He is amusing because he is trying to blow smoke at the sporting instincts of the 'fair-minded people" of America, and if he were to take a poll he would discover that the fair-minded people of America, by about 9-1, are cheering as the buttons are torn off his championship jacket, and they would like very much to see him put in jail for failure to live up to the military rules of his country...I have visions of Cassius Clay getting socked one afternoon in the jail yard by Humphrey Bogart, and the next day by Mike Mazurski, then by little Edward G. Robinson who might have to use a length of pipe to get the job done. There are no Marquis of Queensbury rules in prison, and it is very difficult to soar like a butterfly in a jail yard. They have a way of backing you in a corner, and those heavy prison shoes make it uncomfortable to do the Ali shuffle.[331]

Young's concept of the "fair-minded people" that Ali was referring amounts to the collective attitude of bigotry that surrounded the popular sentiment in the original castigation of the champion, and their jubilance in the resultant "stripping" of his title and the threat of jail. Young displays a revenge-motive in his characterization of Ali being assaulted by movie-star gangsters, and this helps to explain the satisfaction sought by the group represented by his version of the term, "fair-minded people". Ali's concept of this group probably

represented a like-minded group to his interests (which was a massive group but basically unheard in the media at this time). Gene Ward of the Daily News also gives his opinion of Ali's non-induction:

> So, the Black Muslims have scored a stunning victory and America had lost a champ who might have gone on to be the greatest of them all. The awful tragedy of it is that Clay has sacrificed himself for nothing. Elijah Muhammad, his spiritual leader and the head of the "Nation of Islam," does not preach peace. He preaches violence and he awaits the day when his sect will have become strong enough to practice violence for the acquisistion of power. The Black Muslims are not out to help improve the lot of Black Americans. The Black Muslims couldn't care less about civil rights. The Black Muslims don't give a damn about the housing problems of the Negroes...It's such a terrible waste of a man who had such a high potential for good - for his people, for all Americans, and for all the world. Muhammad Ali Cassius Clay has become a martyr without a cause. He has martyred himself for nothing.[332]

In a total denouncement of the Nation of Islam, Ward discusses, as many other journalists, "what might have been", if Ali had conformed to the values and traditions set forth by the United States, instead of admiration for his steadfast position. The famous cartoonist of the Daily News, Bill Gallo, took up a similar theme. He printed a cartoon entitled, "Requiem for a Heavyweight".[333] The cartoon depicts a humbled and sad Ali looking up at an enshrined statue of the legendary heavyweight champions. The fighter at the top of the statue is a small character-

ization of himself with the inscription (Fig. A-2):

> RESERVED FOR THE MOST POPULAR OF HEAVYWEIGHT CHAMPIONS
>
> JOHN L. SULLIVAN - JACK DEMPSEY - GENE TUNNEY - JIM BRADDOCK - JOE LOUIS - ROCKY MARCIANO

and the inscribed poem:

> For of all sad words of tongue or pen
> The saddest are these: "It might have been!"
> -Jean Greenleaf Whittier

The order that these fighters are arranged represents the personal opinion and Americanized values of the author (Joe Louis is ranked five in a field of six, and the only black on the list). The "imaginary" statue figure of Ali on top of the monument represents, also, the author/artist's opinion of the athleticism of Ali, had he conformed*. Yet, had Ali conformed, there is no promise by the author/artist that he would have ranked Ali on top (due to his no. 5 position of the "beloved" Joe Louis). The cartoon may have been a "last-ditch" effort, or lure, for Ali to rejoin America and conform to its unjust laws (Constitutionalized "blasphemy"), with the promise of immortality. Ali refused.

Much protest would follow this illegal act against Ali. Harry Edwards would form the Olympic Project for

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*With the idea of Edward's "American sport creed", popularity and legendary ranking have a great deal to do with how the athlete is socially perceived, to the detriment of statistics and ability, as noted by the contrasted media perceptions of Jack Johnson and Joe Louis.

Human Rights Committee during the 1969 Olympics, in an effort to boycott the Olympics and call attention to American racial discrimination. One of the original demands (which was number one on a list of grievances*) was the "restoration of Muhammad Ali's title and right to box in this country". The 1968 Olympic boycott culminated in the Black Power salutes of John Carlos and Tommie Smith, and similar displays of black athletic protest (the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King would also add a major "spark" to the emerging Black Power Movement).

Robert Lipsyte would give an outlook of the future of the heavyweight division without Ali:

> In recent weeks, Clay has repeatedly stated that "When I'm gone, boxing will go to the graveyard." He cited, with absolute validity, the enormous international interest he had created in the unsteady sport, the use of satellites and new electronic techniques to telecast his championship bouts. He obviously didn't realize that he was just too good a fighter to make money with any longer...The eight boxers involved in the elimination tournament will probably be Floyd Patterson, the key figure; Ernie Terrell, George Chuvalo, Karl Mildenberger, Oscar Bonavena, Thad Spencer, Joe Frazier, and Manuel Ramos...Patterson has a strong desire to win the championship again and this has always been promoted as a magnificent obsession. He has been the most consistent "white hope" among this generation's Negro prizefighters.[334]

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*The 1968 Olympics will be discussed in the next chapter, and will give an account of media racism in the other sports.

In this article-excerpt, Patterson is depicted as the "key figure" and "the most consistent 'white hope' among this generation's Negro prizefighters", as Lipsyte appears hopeful of Patterson's success in the proposed elimination tournament to succeed Ali as champion. If Patterson is counted as a "white hope", then there are only three other black fighters on this list (Frazier, Terrell and Spencer), at a time when blacks were dominating the heavyweight division (other outstanding black heavyweights that could have been included on this list are Sonny Liston, Cleveland Williams, Zora Folley, Eddie Machen, Buster Mathis, Jimmy Ellis and Leotis Martin, not necessarily in this order). Lipsyte openly admits that Patterson represents basic white American interests and values more closely than the other black fighters on this list. As the article continues, Lipsyte would underestimate the aura of Muhammad Ali:

> Where does this leave Clay? Although few people now can consider anyone else a rightful pretender in the heavyweight throne, publicity and official declarations will eventually bury Clay's claim. It seems doubtful that any state commission would license him to fight in this country, certainly not until his legal status is clarified by either successful civil action or victory in a criminal proceedings. Even if he should be licensed, no boxing promoter would take the chance of going against the new combine or incurring the wrath of his local patriotic organizations...[335]

The "new combine" that Lipsyte refers, could be equated to represent the "Ali lynch mob", or those who collectively participated in his degradation. Here, Ali is ostracized as an American, his civil rights severely curtailed. He was also refused the right of intercontinental travel, with the fear that he would continue practicing his trade, and thus sustain his aura and symbol of defiance and greatness. He was invited to many American colleges, in the aftermath of his conviction, to lecture about American injustices and the increasing unpopularity of the war in Vietnam, and once appeared as the casting star of a Broadway theater production, "Big Time Buck White", although he was not allowed to practice his chosen profession. Most media did not acknowledge the injustice that was done to Ali, as they played a major role in the collectivity that helped to dethrone and criminalize him. Harry Edwards notes:

> The large majority of white sports reporters in America have remained aloof from the problems of racial justice and injustice in the United States. As a group, they have seemingly been singularly unmoved by the frustrations and fate of black people, even of black athletes. With few exceptions, - such as Howard Cosell and Jerry Eisenburg - many white sports reporters approved or stood mute as Muhammad Ali was immorally, unethically, and illegally stripped of his heavyweight boxing title.[336]

Evidence of the latter statement, by Edwards, is noted throughout the media, with rare exceptions in 1967. The Daily News even made the comparison between Joe Louis,

ex-U.S. soldier and Negro keeper of American values, and Muhammad Ali, "traitor" of the United States and American tradition:

> A GOOD JOE
>
> Joe Louis was the heavyweight boxing champion during World War II. He entered the Army when called in 1946. It was the accepted procedure to freeze all titles when the champion entered the service.[337]

The title "A Good Joe", is a subtle reference to the preferred white stereotype of blacks (since vaudeville). Although the article does not mention Ali, it is written in comparison of values, as Ali tended to refute the popular stereotype and Joe Louis supported it (through his public image, as promoted and perpetuated by the media). The article also infers that if Muhammad would succumb to American tradition and disregard his personal convictions, that his title would be preserved (as if an athletic honor means more to his ego than his religious principles).

The New York Post was on strike during the month of April, 1967, at the time of Ali's non-induction and the stripping of his title. They would resume print on May 1, 1967, and their predominant viewpoint of the Ali situation represents a transition in attitude (noting a rare defensive attitude in the case against Ali). Where the Daily News and the New York Times were greatly "anti-Ali" in their attitude.. and the fact that they did present a case for Ali (based on the freedom of

religion or his stance as a "conscientious objector"). Larry Merchant and Milton Gross of the New York Post would originate this new media attitude in defense of the Ali position. Larry Merchant would report:

> 210 Pounds of flesh
>
> Little Johnny can sleep well tonight. Muhammad Ali is no longer heavyweight champion. The world has been made safe for democracy again. The politicians and the super patriots and their vigilantes have had their 210 pounds of flesh. They have-with rare unanimity, with military precision, with transparent relish-taken the title from a heathen. The streams and the air are pure again.[338]

Merchant is original in his sarcasm of the victory of the Federal Government and the patriotic following over Muhammad Ali. This is a reflection of the symbolic heights that Ali had achieved, however, perceived as anti-American by the collective majority. This being the first round of the bout between Ali and the United States, the United States scores two knockdowns in the round (his conviction and his dethroning), however, his steadfastness and rigidity in his commitment to his proposed faith would have him survive this round. As this is an original reaction to the Ali controversy, it is a "first" in recognizing the bigotry, the conspiracy, and the denial of Constitutional rights that was imposed on this black figure. Merchant continues:

> It seems most basic that the rights and the property of a citizen have been violated. Until the courts rule otherwise, until he is clapped in irons, Ali baby is entitled

> to the privileges and protection of the law. It is, or should be, as simple as that. No jocko surrogate has, or should have, the power to override a legal right with a moral judgment. This is exactly what Dooley and friends have done. Their arbitrary action mocks a fundamental concept that Ali Baby is damned for not defending. Where does it leave everyone if the courts uphold them? Beyond this, it seems evident that the boxing establishment, a righteous fist at the end of a flag-waving arm, is motivated at least in part by the hysteria of the times...In the last week...the whole fabric of his faith has been challenged.[339]

The "hysteria" to which Merchant refers, is the premature action of the boxing establishment (and the media) to denounce the champion in immediate, anxious, and collective fashion, in an effort to "preserve" American values and tradition. Merchant is, in the full article, exposing the bigotry and the "lynch mob" mentality of the condemnation of Muhammad Ali, and should this unjust conviction eventually be overturned through appeal, Merchant asks, "Where does it leave everyone?". The anxiousness to condemn Ali overlooked the legality of this condemnation. Merchant continues:

> The substance of the challenge is that the Black Muslims are a poor excuse for a religion, the implication being that they don't practice the non-violence they prach, the subliminal charge being that it is a racket. And, of course, Ali Baby is being used, is a tool, a mouthpiece and so on. None of which is germane. Ali Baby is 25 years old. He is entitled to worship and be used as he pleases. He may indeed be naive about the cult, but that's his problem. Anyone who has been around him for any length of time understands that he is a zealot. The Muslims fill a

> need in him. That's his problem too...As a Muslim, but more important, as a Negro in America,...is it any wonder that he refuses to serve in this war? The wonder is that there are not more like him...The fact is that what Ali Baby is doing takes far more courage, as a matter of principle and physical well-being, than going into the Army.[340]

Merchant appears to be in disfavor of the war in Vietnam, and creates Ali as a symbol in that respect. He is appalled at the conviction (and subsequent dethroning) of Ali, and challenges the bastions of society who doubt the validity of the Black Muslims as a religion and Ali's faith thereof.

Growing sentiment in behalf of Muhammad Ali would begin to emerge, due to the "positivity" that was growing popular with his stand. The fact that he stood rigid to his beliefs (whether "acceptable" or "unacceptable" to the guardians of social values) would help to increase this "new" admiration. As much of the society was in an anti-establishment mode (due to the persistent problems of racism, inequality, the war in Vietnam, etc.), the stand by Ali was considered by many to be heroic (white and black), even among non-fans. Milton Gross this growing alternative viewpoint in his (semi) support of Ali:

> "Burn, baby, burn," some shouted and put matches to their draft cards and others chanted, "Hell no, we won't go." The terrible irony of the scene is that Cassius, who began as a fun boy,...ends up the symbol

> of dissent, mouthing words that have come from those older, shrewder, and more adept in the machinations of protest...He fought on his own, but has danced on strings manipulated by others. Elijah Muhammad has been his Bill Baird, but when he twice refused to take that one step forward, he stopped belonging alone to the Muslims, who owned him body, mind, soul and money. He became the vortex of the most turbulent problems of our day: Civil rights and Vietnam. Whether or not it is right or whether he realized it or wanted it that way, it has happened. ...Even in this era of revolt, confusion and conflict, it is difficult to see others encouraged by what Clay has done and following his example of defiance to the extreme he has gone[341]

Gross is ambivalent in his support and non-support of Ali. He admits that Vietnam and civil rights were the "most turbulent problems of our day", yet Ali is considered a puppet (he "has danced on strings manipulated by others"), and Gross does not speculate "to see others encouraged by what Clay has done and following his example of defiance to the extreme he has gone." Gross also puts Ali at the "vortex" of the great peace and freedom movements and issues of 1960's America, as this was not just a Muslim stand, but a stand which transcended myriad institutions, and ultimately, a re-evaluation of American values would be incited. Max Lerner of the New York Post stated:

> The case of Cassius Clay, with his refusal to accept induction into the Army, compels a re-thinking of the relationship between conscientous objection and the draft. His position is that he is a member of a peace-

> loving sect; that he is a minister of religion; that he feels morally opposed to this war. But Clay's latest supporter, the Rev. Martin Luther King, puts the case for Clay not on theological grounds but on strictly moral ones. Clay, he tells us, "is giving up millions of dollars in order to stand up for what his conscience tells him is right." And he adds that everyone "who believes that this war is abominable and unjust should file as a conscientous objector."...This may well prove to be a perfectly good principle on which to base a war that America is fighting halfway around the world, and one to which so many of its students are morally opposed.[342]

Lerner provides a humanistic approach in his analysis of Ali and the growing resentment to the war in Vietnam. Ali's stand, although black and separatist-oriented, appealed to the interests of growing white resentment to the war. Larry Merchant notes:

> Mr. Reston of the Times tells us that the Yalies oppose Vietnam almost to the last of them. Ali Baby lacks the intellectual background their stance presumably is based on, but the two are related and we are fools if we do not recognize and respect it as something that is happening in the country, and not merely as a personal dodge...Ali Baby joins an illustrious stable of fighters - Jack Dempsey, Sugar Ray Robinson, Rocky Graziano - who somehow failed to go off to wars that were more popular than this one. John L. Sullivan didn't charge up San Juan Hill either. Somehow they and the nation survived.[343]

The question becomes, why was Muhammad Ali persecuted to such a greater extent than the boxer-athletes mentioned by Merchant? As Merchant is over-sensitive to the Ali cause, he is also sensitive to the American position in this matter:

> He challenges our values when he says, We are fighting for the freedom of the Vietnamese. Why can't I have my freedom to worship as I please? Implicit in his claim that he is a Muslim minister is the question: does the government or a church body have the right to decide who is ordained or not?...Thus, when he was matched with George Chuvalo, he identified him as a "white hope," scandalizing the boxing community which acknowledged it in private...In short, he makes us uncomfortable. Which is why the American Civil Liberties Union charged this week that he was being punished by boxing authorities for his unpopular political and social beliefs.[344]

Merchant understands the American sentiment against Ali and the hypocrisy of American ideals (which were in a process of transition). Ali taunted a racist American public and that public responded in kind (in symbolic terms). Although growing public sentiment would help to soon restore Ali's boxing career, the general media would not let the American public forget the "injustice" done by Ali, for failing to be inducted into the Army, for humiliating and punishing white and black "white hopes", and for creating havoc in the American social imagination.

Muhammad Ali would also gain sympathy from various black factions of the civil rights movement, with his denouncement as champion. Milton Gross explains:

> Equating Clay with Dr. Martin Luther King seems almost preposterous to contemplate, yet they are related now in more than color. The winner of the Nobel Prize finds common ground for conscience and refusal to serve with the man-child, who called Floyd Patterson a white man's nigger and taunted and humiliated Ernie Terrell, who took his beating with

> dignity because he refused to call Clay by his murdered and beaten by the musclemen name...Floyd McKissick has used Clay as an example of prejudice, harrassment and the victim of the so-called "white power structures," and Stokely Carmichael has found him a handy device to further the concept of Black Power...The hell with boxing. What about this divided and confused land of ours? The punch line for this 25-year old, who played a game of "What's My Name?" and may wind up with a number, was delivered by Lt. Col. J. Edwin McKee, who announced that Clay had refused to be inducted. He referred to him as, "Mr. Muhammad Ali." Dupe or devout, Clay had won one fight, but at what a cost and in what curious company.[345]

Gross is sensitive to the racially-torn plight of the American system in the late sixties. He is obvious in his adulation of Martin Luther King, placing him in eminence among the variety of black leaders, and seems concerned about the King alliance with Ali (by his term, "they are related now in more than skin color"). He is concerned about the future of white America and American ideals ("To hell with boxing. What about this divided and confused land of ours") with respect to the new black awareness, yet, he is, somewhat, in total condemnation of the Ali symbol. Growing liberalism in the media did not necessarily mean that this sentiment was pro-Ali, with respect to civil rights activism. The majority of the positive sentiment that Ali would receive would emerge from his position on the Vietnam War ("No Vietcong ever called me a nigger"), which was once taken as anti-American by

a majority of the media. The transition of media and popular attitudes would make itself evident during the period of Ali's exile (1967-1970). The evidence of these attitudes would expose itself with Ali's return to the ring in October, 1970.

Muhammad Ali vs. Jerry Quarry (or Ali vs. U.S. - Round 2)

Muhammad Ali would resume his boxing career against the top-rated white contender in the world, "Irish" Jerry Quarry, after three and one-half years of inactivity. During his years of inactivity, he would gain newfound support for having stood his ground on the matter of his religion, his political stand and the cause of American blacks. The sympathy that Ali would gain in the media, upon his return, would result from the growing tone of major radical collectivities in the years 1966-1970. Ali achieved the status of martyrdom among many of these groups, during this period. Popular opinion would help to shape government policy towards the Vietnam War. President Nixon would respond to much of this social unrest by abruptly decreasing American involvement in the war, in an effort to appease many of these groups. The reinstatement of Ali's boxing license (in the state of georgia) would symbolically reflect the "new deal" that the government made with radicalism. Ali would again be allowed to box when it was suddenly found, in a Georgia courtroom, that convicts freed on bail or bond have a right to pursue a living while their case is pending on appeal.

Thus, the states that were guilty of denying Ali's right to pursue his legal living, whether it be boxer or shoesalesman, had committed and unjust and illegal act (along with the boxing commissions of the various states that stripped him of his title).

Ali's case of draft rejection due to his Muslim ministry was still being appealed by the United States Supreme Court, at this time. Ocania Chalk notes:

> A war weary nation took up Ali's cudgel and he was suddenly redicovered by the antiwar renaissance. National magazines interviewed him and even some network talk shows overcame their former timidity and beckoned. Speculation was rife that his judgment was near and that he had a favorable chance for acquittal. Still he waited. At long last a court in New York ruled that the New York State Athletice Commission had been unreasonable and arbitrary in taking his license. He had yet to be convicted of a crime...Finally, through the intervention of a black state senator, Leroy Johnson, and a nonpolitical boxing commission in Atlanta, Georgia, Muhammad Ali returned to the ring. Some of the court's findings were that boxers (and others who had been dishonorably discharged and convicted of crimes), had been granted licenses in some of the same states that had denied Ali a license to pursue his career.[346]

In an about-face, the media took up the sympathy and and discarded the lingering resentment of the society against Muhammad Ali. (In the meantime, Joe Frazier had become the recognized heavyweight champion through an elimination process and his defeat of Jimmy Ellis,

an Ali sparring partner, on Feb. 10, 1970.) For the first time, the media was in favor of the name, Muhammad Ali, as the legal alias of Cassius Clay. The Daily News, however, retains its 1967 stance with respect to Ali, in the upcoming bout with Jerry Quarry. The acknowledgement of the Federal misdeed to Ali, along with the evident frustration of patriotic anti-Ali sentiment, were both portrayed and reflected in the media prior to the Ali-Quarry bout. Needless to say, Quarry was the unheralded "white hope" that was especially chosen for the task, and the state of Georgia would be the setting. Phil Pepe of the Daily News explains:

> The story is Clay. The show belongs to Clay. The controversy is Clay. The attraction is Clay and all the strategic speculation revolves around Clay...Quarry is the party of the second part. He is the opponent, the other guy. That, too, is nothing new for Jerry. He has always been the other guy - the guy who made it all the way up to the top and slid back before that last hurdle could be overcome...But he fights with the hope of meeting Joe Frazier. He knows, too, that if Clay is to be beaten, the time to beat him is early after a 3½ year layoff, first crack out of the box. It is never going to be easier than it is right now.[347]

The fight would draw worldwide curiosity, drama, and anticipation about the deposed black champion who defied traditional American values and stood for his beliefs, in the face of harsh criticism and punishment. In many ways, the new media sentiment for Ali was an overtone of much deeper sesentment (as Ali had legally won the

right to again perform in the ring, this would symbolize yet another failed test of white supremacy, and Ali would "win" this round in his bout with the U.S.). As noted in the previous article, there was much media speculation of the condition of Ali, as an athlete who had been inactive for 3½ years. Ali began training the Quarry bout six weeks prior to the bout, and the thought of a Caucasian victory loomed, although it was undertoned by the media. The curiosity of the bout ranged from the anticipation of the sight of the once-dazzling Ali, to his favored and unfavored political stand, and to how well he would perform due to his inactivity. Despite these curiosities and speculations, they would provide the question to the greater underlying concern; what are Jerry's chances? Dave Anderson (NYT) explains:

> Just as Muhammad Ali's effectiveness after 3½ years of inactivity is an unknown quantity for Monday night's heavyweight bout here, Jerry Quarry's style is equally unpredictable... But the twenty-five year old Californian indicated today that he would attempt to pressure Ali with an aggressive attack. ...With the bout scheduled for 15 rounds, the longer it lasts, presumably the better Quarry's chance will be...But when the bell rings, the tendency of Quarry, a counter-puncher, to be headstrong might occur. Bentham realizes this, knowing that his advice could be ignored under competitive pressure.[348]

This article reflects the undertone "white hope" sentiment, with the caution to Quarry fans of their idol's tendency

to display his "Irishness" (or stubborn temper), as he had done in other fights, which may cost them. The message is also obvious that that Anderson is counting on Ali's loss of prior abilities to increase Quarry's chances for a win. If Quarry were to win the bout with Ali, he would have legitimate claim to the heavyweight title that was "stolen" from Ali, and would be thrust into a major public light (endorsements, etc.). The governing bodies did sanction this fight a legitimate championship fight, in the manner of scheduling it for 15 rounds (non-championship major heavyewight bouts were usually scheduled for 12 rounds). Another article-excerpt by Dave Anderson would further reflect the under-tone of white sentiment for Quarry:

> Suspense is the sales pitch for Muhammad Ali's return on Monday night against Jerry Quarry. After an absence of 3½ years, Ali, also known as Cassius Clay, will be boxing in a shadow of a doubt. With his reflexes perhaps dulled, and with his legs and hands perhaps unresponsive to his mind, his unbeaten record perhaps will be in jeopardy against a heavy puncher. And if that's what develops, the promoters keep repeating, Ali might lose. You can almost hear a carnival barker sneering, "Step right up and see the draft-dodger get beaten up." The idea that Ali, whose draft-refusal conviction is on appeal, might lose has emerged as the most appealing aspect of the scheduled 15-round bout...Ali's foes must buy tickets with the idea that he might lose.[349]

Anderson, among others, displays his biases through the use of fictitious examples and situations. In this

case, his use of the "carnival barker" camouflages, yet exposes his opinion; biases are worked through the third person. Through the use of such imagery, it is obvious that he is in disagreement with the Ali Muslim stand, the draft refusal, and the reinstatement of his boxing license, although subtly (as he addresses the name, "Muhammad Ali" throughout his report). Another reference to the resentment of Ali's draft refusal is mentioned in the same article by Anderson:

> Despite his uncertainty, (Angelo) Dundee has demanded a 20 foot ring in order to permit Ali as much room as possible for his fancy footwork. No such ring existed here, but one will be trucked in from Charleston, S.C., naval base, an ironic twist considering Ali's military situation.[350]

In a note of sarcasm, Anderson is insinuating that the U.S. Armed Services helped Ali in this manner (by providing him with a special boxing ring for the Quarry fight) despite his refutation of the military. Much of the media resentment and racism toward Ali was "camouflaged" in the form of outrage toward his draft position (racism vs. ethics). His desire for a Quarry victory exposes Anderson as a subscriber to the notion of the "Great White Hope", instead of the rectification of injustice as imposed on a black American citizen by the Federal Government and surrogates, which were the two "schools of thought" going into the Quarry fight. As the media

becomes more divided over these issues, they would simultaneously expose much suppressed (and "liberalized") racism in their reports. Milton Gross of the New York Post explains the growing racial and political overtones that surrounded the upcoming fight:

> Sometimes promotional tub-thumping can get out of hand and it may well for the return of Muhammad Ali to the ring after 3½ years and Jerry Quarry puts it into its most extrene terms. "It's a black and white thing," says Quarry, who no longer divorces himself from "the Great White Hope" viciousness of the early part of the century...Consequently, if there are two black doctors at ringside in official capacity, Quarry says he will not get into the ring. "They want equal rights and that crap," said Jerry. "I want it, too. I'm not climbing in there if there isn't a white and black doctor. I could have a slight nick and the doctor could say that's it..." Ali, who is the attraction for Monday night's fight, thought it was funny. "Soul doctors," he said...Afterward, an Ali sparring partner needled Quarry. "You know no white man's gonna whup the champ." Jerry's brother, Mike was going to jump black Willie Johnson.."If you beat him, what do you become?" I asked Jerry, who had never before expressed any color bias. Fighters were fighters to him. They went at each other and if either bled, it was red. "Not if I beat him," said Jerry. "When I beat him. I guess I'll be the Great White Hope again." ...Jerry anticipates being taunted by Ali. That is as much a part of Ali as the hand and foot speed and the fantastic action and reaction..."If he hits that big sonuvabitch," said Ben then, "he'll break his neck." "You can make it big black sonuvabitch," said Jerry...against Joe Frazier...his Irish temper made him a loser. It is not a pleasant thing. Ali is playing it cool. Jerry is not.[351]

Gross, who is admittedly scornful of the racial motive as

a theme for the fight, is also one of its greatest propagators, in this reproduction of what could be referred to as "gymnasium talk". The article is obviously written to draw interest to the fight (a fight that didn't need that much publicity, other than where tickets were sold), for Ali's quest was no longer as racial as it was political. Quarry explained his viewpoint of Muhammad Ali and rigid American patriotism:

> "I don't condone what he (Ali) did, but that's his business," said Jerry. "Anybody says I shouldn't be allowed to fight him, they can go to hell." It could be a fight that surpasses a fight. It could be something that reflects the torment of our time.[352]

Quarry's last statement represents a transition of attitude by the popular majority, despite his often racist comments and pro-American remarks. It is an "anti-Vietnamese War" remark, of the sort that benefitted Muhammad Ali's comeback. Gross' column helped to promote the fight through politicization and racial overtones geared toward Muhammad Ali, who for once, put forth a minimal effort in the promotion (didn't "talk" as much as he did for previous fights), and Quarry assumed the unlikely role as "Muhammad Ali" ("It's a black and white thing") in the pre-fight promotion.

Governor Lester Maddox of Georgia, noted for his racial acts and opinions, made an unsuccessful effort at preventing the bout from taking place in his state. He proclaimed Monday, October 26, 1970 a "Day of Mourning"

in the state of Georgia. Dave Anderson of the New York Times reported:

> Governor Lester Maddox issued a proclamation from the gold-domed State Capital here that Monday will be a "Day of Mourning" in Georgia because of Ali's draft conviction. Maddox, referring to the deposed champion as Cassius Clay, urged Atlantans to boycott the fight...He also criticized Atlanta officials for permitting the fight to be licensed and urged patriotic groups to let the city "know how they feel" about it..."I would hope that Clay gets beat in the first round" the Governor said, "and that he's flattened for a count of 30." Maddox called the bout an "insult to Georgians who have fought for their country and served in a military uniform. Maddox, a foe of racial integration, has no legal power to prevent the bout, but his influence could be a factor.[353]

Maddox, an avowed bigot, expresses his opinion in the best language that the media saw fit to print. It is apparent that there are many citizens and elected officials who do not respect the laws that they pretend to serve, as shown by the Maddox reaction to the then recent legal rulings of Ali's Constitutional right to earn a living while his case is pending on appeal. Maddox' remarks although they represented much of the sentiment against Ai. were an insult to the Federal legal system, of which he was very much a representative. Anderson is "pessimist-ic" in behalf of Ali by his statement, "His (maddox') influence could be a factor".

Quarry's protestation of the black doctors became a mini-concern before the fight. Dick Young of the Daily

News comments:

> News Item: Quarry Protests Use of Negro Doctors For Fight With Clay
>
> This is strictly a publicity stunt. Both fighters are trying to make a race war out of it in order to give the gate a last-minute jolt. In truth, Cassius Clay would seem to have greater apprehensions about white officials, who will be casting the decision, than Jerry Quarry should have about black doctors, unless he sees one of them holding a blonde toy doll in his corner. At any rate...two white doctors are to be added at ringside to the two black doctors.[354]

The issue of the doctors, a bit overdrawn, is also an insult to the American medical profession (who, idealistically, are "colorless"), as well as blacks and black doctors. Young also adds a "voodoo" joke in his reference to the black doctors, in his statement' "unless he sees one of them holding a blonde toy doll". In the previous statement, "Cassius Clay would seem to have greater apprehensions about white officials...", Young is unjustified by this insinuation, as Ali never had previously complained about officiating in any of his bouts. This is an admission of the American reality, moreso than assumed position of the "old" Muhammad Ali. The "new" Muhammad Ali was verbally deliberate, subdued, yet candor in his discussion of sports, race and politics with the media (prior to this fight). When confronted by the Maddox decision, Ali provided his comments to reporter, Robert Lipsyte of the New York Times:

> Since arriving here Oct. 14, Ali has taken great precautions to avoid any statement or incident that might force the local or state government to cancel, or harrass, his first fight in 3½ years...He is very circumspect..."What do you say when they ask you about the draft, war, racism?" (he was asked) "I'd rather not talk about that," he said. Today, after his workout, he was asked to comment on Gov. Lester Maddox' proclamation of Monday as "a day of mourning"..."What does mourning mean, I can't comment because I don't know what it means," said Ali...someone defined Maddox' statement as declaring Monday a "black day" for Georgia. Without smiling, Ali said, "Oh yeah, they'll be a lot of my folks here," and he was let off the hook. Ali's caution is not only political...He obviously wants this fight to happen and he wants to win it.[355]

Contrary to the belief that Ali was "making a race war" of the fight (as noted by Dick Young of the Daily News), Ali shed little pre-fight commentary. Although being drilled by the various reporters in the above article, Ali remained focused on the immediate goal, deliberately so as not to incur the wrath of local politics. Ali explained to the New York Post:

> "It made people angry," Ali said of his mighty mouthings. They said 'he talks too much. He needs a good whupping. I can't stand him.' Then they fill up all those $100 seats and I go to the bank laughing. Here, 1970, we have another Great White Hope so I don't have to talk anymore." Someone asked about Gov. Maddox and his day of mourning..."I can't talk against the governor and what he believes. I'd be a hypocrite. I expect the governor to respect my beliefs.[356]

The fight between Ali and Quarry took on great social significance. Ali would not ridicule his opponent or engage in any behavior that would provide racial and/or political overtones (that were typical of an Ali fight). The fight would become a battle between two political ideologies and subsequently, a battle for "justice". The winner would be able to claim, "I was right and you were wrong", in symbolic terms. Leonard Lewin states the significance of the match for the New York Post:

> CAN ALI MAKE IT BACK?
>
> Atlanta-Municipal Stadium, a beat up old building here in "The Gateway to the South," will be the capital of the world for one night. Muhammad Ali will walk into the 5,000-seat arena and out of the darkness that has enveloped his ring career for three and one half years and engage in a fight with Jerry Quarry that has sociological, political, and even racial overtones.[357]

The media is, here, reproducing the racial and political issues of the fight, solely relying on the Ali symbol of defiance ("...out of the darkness that has enveloped his ring career..."), as Ali had not taken a verbal stance himself, prior to the fight. As noted by the Daily News (reporter Phil Pepe) in support of the Lewin (Post) position, the fight would take on more symbolic connotations than that of a typical athletic contest. Pepe stated:

> The fight that couldn't happen is about to happen...It will happen despite a proclamation by Gov. Lester Maddox declaring tomorrow a "Day of Mourning." And it will happen despite a five-year legal battle

> and a three and a half year layoff from the ring by the defrocked heavyweight champion Cassius Clay, who fights under the Muslim name, Muhammad Ali...It has all the excitement, all the interest, all the glamour of a championship fight. It is more than that. It is a crusade, an event of profound social significance, a single sporting event crammed with political overtones and racial undertones, with deep feelings and emotions and convictions. Cassius Clay is the most controversial, most talked about, most charismatic athlete in the world. He is the No. 1 figure in sports. There is no No. 2.[358]

The staging of the fight, promoted entirely by the media, would result in the intended goal to draw worldwide interest. Pepe demonstrates his intrigue by the Ali character (in the latter statement of the above article-excerpt). The once again theme of "good" vs. "evil", right vs. wrong, justice vs. injustice, would envelop around the anticipation of the fight, by the media, however, perceptibly, the positive ("good") connotations did not necessarily apply to the white contestant (in all media) for this fight with Ali. The quest for a white "hope" would, however, remain consistent. Robert Lipsyte of the New York Times, while shunning any chance for a Quarry victory, would imply superstition as the only "white hope":

> The only basis for predicting a Quarry victory is on the cyclical theory of history. Ali keeps marvelling that the opening of the movie "The Great White Hope" should be coincidental with his return. The film is an adaptation of a play based on Jack Johnson's return after an exile from the ring in the early part of the 20th Century.

> Johnson lost his title in the fight some historians are convinced he dumped in return for an end to his persecution.[359]

Lipsyte engages the similarities between Jack Johnson and Muhammad Ali, both of whom were "exiled" from America, in symbolic terms, and persecuted by the Government for their beliefs and practices. Ali would assume the role of the defiant Johnson, in this pre-fight scenario, and "hopefully" (according to Lipsyte), Quarry will be the victorious "white hope' whose role was originally performed(?) by Jess Willard. With his reference to "the cyclical theory of history", Lipsyte implies superstition and/or the cycle of reoccurence, with respect to the white (Willard) victory over the black (Johnson), as a basis for a far-fetched Quarry victory over Ali.

For Ali, the proposed fight was poetic long-last justice. He assumed that the public demanded his return because of the characteristically-inept "surrogate" champions that the media and boxing authorities deceptively imposed on them (especially Joe Frazier). Ali stated:

> "All these so-called champs they've been making, Thad Spencer, Buster Mathis, Quarry, Joe Frazier, people knew something just not right...My ghost was all around.[360]

Ali, however, underestimates his own demand in this article-excerpt. He was labelled a "villain", and hated by the society that defined him as one. The only thing is, when people are hated, other people want to know why.

Ali became a symbol of anti-establishment with his stand, and with this, a noted controversial figure. It has already been established that controversy is a necessary ingredient in the formation and success of professional heavyweight boxing matches (especially between interracial figures, or symbols thereof).

In his first fight since the revocation of his heavyweight championship, Muhammad Ali would T.K.O. Jerry Quarry in 3 rounds, in a form that was reminiscent of his earlier boxing career. The outcome represented a symbol of justice and redemption for many blacks, as expressed by Robert Lipsyte of the New York Times:

> At the (post fight news) conference were such other black symbols as the Rev. Ralph Abernathy, who presented Ali with the annual Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. medal, calling him "a living example of soul power, the March on Washington all in two fists," and Dr. King's widow, Coretta, who said Ali was not only a boxing champion, but also "a champion of justice and peace and unity."[361]

Lipsyte is very aware of the symbolic meaning(s) of Ali's triumph, although there is underlying antagonism. In the same article, he stated:

> Perhaps more than any of his fights, this one represented a triumph for the 28-year old boxer whose problems began the morning after he won the championship from Sonny Liston nearly seven years ago, and said: "I don't have to be what you want me to be, I'm free to be who I want."...While fights stopped early on cuts are often unpopular, the crowd of 5100 here, seemingly predominantly black, roared when the referee's decision after the third round was announced.[362]

It can be conceived that Lipsyte was disappointed by the early defeat of Quarry, and the approving cheers (which were "predominantly black") by the live audience in behalf of the black champion who stood up to the Establishment (in the guise of Jerry Quarry) and won. Lipsyte may have been "angry" because the cheers and applause were perceived as a mockery (and/or sarcastic) to white America. Other media were also perturbed over the "anti-American" demonstration of applause and satisfaction of this black victory*. Gene Ward of the Daily News explained:

> Quarry was made to order for Clay, the perfect pigeon in every respect, from his comparatively diminutive size to his talent deficiencies right down to the color of his skin. He is white, relatively harmless and as dumb, in ring sense, as they come...It was pure adulterated Clay all the way, from his attempt to stare down Quarry at the traditional mid-ring insructions by the referee. His patented snarl was there and his customary vituperation, the mouthpiece bobbing up and down like a huge white tongue as he poured vitrol on Quarry as he had done on half-blind Ernie Terrell and sacroiliac-wracked Floyd Patterson. The Garden crowd loved it. They screamed their adulation of Clay from the moment he first appeared...His every move...all brought fresh outbursts filled with fanaticism for their Messiah that narrowly bordered on hysteria. It was as close to a Sieg Heil atmosphere as I've ever witnessed at an American sports event.

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*This was equivalent to the "rudeness" of blacks who applauded for Jack Johnson over Jim Jeffries in 1910.

> Any little pockets of fans who favored Quarry were screamed into quick submission. This wasn't a fight crowd per se. It was a crowd which had come to see the self-proclaimed "greatest" put it to the Establishment...right the alleged wrongs committed on his person...and vindicate himself at the expense of all who had stood against him.[363]

Although obviously frustrated by the victory of Ali and the Madison Square Garden crowd reaction (by those who witnessed the fight closed-circuit) and demonstration, Ward is abslutely correct in his demonstration of this "Ali Revival". He seems not to understand why Ali is so popular in comparison to American values, which he perceives as not so popular (with respect to the Ali adulation by the Garden crowd), He is also still "angry" over the Ali humiliation of Patterson and Terrell, and the fact that Quarry has just joined this group ("He poured vitrol on Quarry...the perfect pigeon...right down to the color of his skin..."). He is also "angry" at the American public who had come in support of Muhammad Ali, after years of lambaste by himself and most other media ("...at the expense of all who had stood against him."). Ali emerges a hero although he was historically labelled a villain/enemy (a "unanimous" media verdict of Ali).

Subsequent to Ali's triumph over Quarry, he would win new friends in the Soviet Union, as the political impact of this professional sporting events was even felt by Communist nations. James F. Clarity of the New

York Times reported:

> Ali Awarded the Red Badge of Courage
>
> Moscow - Official propaganda floated like a bear and stung like a sledgehammer today as the Soviet public saw Muhammad Ali beat Jerry Quarry...It was believed to be the first time an American professional boxing match was allowed to appear on television in this country. The implied losers of the fight judging from the commentary on the television tape were American racists and supporters of the United States war in Vietnam...Pravda, the Communist party paper, said Ali had "refused to serve in the army of the United States and participate in the dirty war in Vietnam." "The campaign of persecution of Muhammad Ali," Pravda said, "was supported by racists who wanted to curtail forever the career of the man who was called 'The Black Hope.' It is hard to state the agitation that rose around Atlanta."[364]

Here, the Soviet Union takes a stab at American politics and racism. In this paragraph, Muhammad Ali is a hero due to his anti-war/anti-racist American stand. The Russian-Communist newspaper, the Pravda, is more straightforward (blunt) about the plight of Muhammad Ali than any of the American newspapers, at this point in time. Here they capture the essence and symbolic meaning of the Ali triumph, much more exact and truthful than the American media. The media of other countries would also portray Ali's symbolic defeat of Quarry:

> London - Muhammad Ali was acclaimed in many parts of the world today...and many experts predicted he would regain the championship. Some commentators said Ali, formerly known as Cassius Clay, had struck a blow against racism...In Beirut, Lebanon

> the newspaper Al-Anwar said: "Clay is still the wonder boxer of the 20th Century." The Austrian paper Die Presse said Ali's comeback "was a rehabilitation, a settlement of accounts with hypocrisy and political business, after sports officials had let themselves be used for politics. For many Americans Clay, after his refusal to go into the army, became the prototype of those Negroes who betray their fatherland. He became the shooting-alley figure of white racial fanatics, and his punishment even became a national duty."[365]

Like the Soviet Union, these various accounts demonstrate the political significance of Ali's victory over the American Establishment, as Ali now becomes an international sympathetic figure. The world witnessed as Ali was unjustly stripped of his title and deprived of earning a living at his chosen trade because his beliefs conflicted with American tradition. In that Ali stood by those beliefs rather than succumb to American propaganda, the above article-excerpt is accurate by its statement, "He became the shooting-alley figure of white racial fanatics, and his punishment even became a national duty" (or a matter of white American pride*). Dick Young of the Daily News provided a testimonial defense of the American stand against Ali, and reflected the moral sentiment:

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*The phenomenal aspect of Muhammad Ali was that he was the very best of his chosen profession (a profession that ranks very high in the social imagination with respect to the legendary white champions). His claim was that he was the greatest of all time, and provided living evidence, much to the irritation of frustrated white fans who heralded the likes of John L. Sullivan, Rocky Marciano, etc.

> In any discussion of Cassius Clay, clear ground rules must be kept in mind. Are you talking about Clay, the fighter, or Clay, the man? Are you talking about Clay, the heavyweight, or Clay, the lightweight? There is no reason to dispute Clay's place as a boxer...Clay as a man is something else. He does not rank that high...I am interested in a comment made by James Whitmore, who's a good actor, in the wrinkled-brow tradition of Spencer Tracy. "He exemplifies some of the best things in our country," said Whitmore. I cannot believe that. I do not believe Cassius Clay, or anyone who thinks like him, is good for my country. He is for black man against white man. Why is it that a white man who preaches such things is a bigot, but a black man who does it is some sort of idealist?...Therefore, there are many people who do not care for Cassius Clay, the man, while they admire Cassius Clay, the boxer. This is a consistency far stronger than those who choose to call him Muhammad Ali, his hate name. No, I cannot agree that Cassius Clay exemplifies some of the best things in our country, and I could not believe it even if Paul Newman were to say it. To the extent that Cassius Clay believes in peace, he is good for the world, not for my country, but that is a Utopian world. Ask any Czech.[366]

Young clearly distinguishes between the United States as separate and distinct from the rest of the world. While his interviewee, actor James Whitmore, makes the point that the case of Ali benefits the idealistic notion of the American democracy, by the recent legal rulings which promoted his comeback, and the growing support of Ali's anti-draft/anti-war position, Young's persistent patriotism obscures the more important phenomenon of society in change. The social change that took place in America between the years 1967-1970, entailed a change

of attitude, especially in the area of white sensitivity to black issues. In the case of Ali, however, many journalists, like Young, remained conservative. In the last sentence of the previous article-excerpt, he equates Ali's religious beliefs with Communism. Ali's breaking with American tradition would remain a character-mark that would distinguish him from other American athletes, and affect his American social and athletic ranking. For blacks, the white reaction to Ali's stand would act as an incentive for increasing black awareness.

Most of the true boxing fans were anxious for an Ali victory in that he would move in direct contention (in ratings) for the heavyweight title held by Joe Frazier, which was a long-awaited and anticipated match. The way Ali handily eliminated Quarry would help to expedite such a match*. In describing the black jubilation over the results of the Ali-Quarry bout, Murray Chass of the New York Times stated in his headline:

ALI'S ARMY CHEERS...AND CHEERS[367]

This headline suggests the frustration and the covert disappointment of the Quarry loss to the more dominant

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*The boxing public, in desperate anticipation of a Frazier-Ali match, congratulated the Ali victory, some of whom hoped that Frazier would inevitably thrash Ali for past misdeeds; this bout was also expedited because of Ali's questionable appeal to the United States Supreme Court was approaching decision.

and symbolic black pugilistic supremacy, and fostering of new black values to the American social imagination. The southeast Asian country of Thailand also viewed the bout:

> THAILAND'S CABINET TAKES TIME OUT TO WATCH ALI BOUT
>
> Bangkok, Thailand (AP) - Thai cabinet ministers headed by Premier Thano kittikachorn, stopped state matters to watch the Muhammad Ali-Jerry Quarry fight on a telecast beamed to Thailand via satellite. An audience estimated at 3 to 4 million in 30 provinces watched Ali's successful comeback on two television channels.[368]

This article alludes to Ali as the "hero of Southeast Asia", with respect to his war beliefs (as "3 to 4 million watched"). Ali had now become a symbolic international figure, with respect to his views against the United States and racism (and synonymous with the worldwide growing unpopularity of American involvement in the cruel and brutal war in Southeast Asia). On the trail to meet Joe Frazier in the ring, Ali's next contender would be the high-ranking fighter from Argentina, Oscar Bonavena*, for a test and tune-up of his re-established boxing ability (before taking on Joe Frazier).

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*Oscar Bonavena was also the highest-ranking contender, and closest physically and genetically to the Caucasian archetype, in the top ten heavyweights of 1970.

A

BLACK ATHLETES IN THE MEDIA

by

MICHAEL A. BANKS

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Volume II

Muhammad Ali vs. Joe Frazier

Oscar Bonavena would provide another test for Ali. On December 7, 1970 (the 29th anniversary of the bombing of Pearl Harbor), Ali would defeat Bonavena via knockout in the fifteenth round. This bout would automatically set up a championship fight date with Joe Frazier, the "recognized" heavyweight champion. The Bonavena fight brought out much of the anti-Ali ("draft-dodger") sentiment, due to the ironic fight date, as well as the pro-Ali praise by the media. Murray Chass of the New York Times reported:

> ...black vendors held up portraits of Muhammad Ali and Angela Davis. Miss Davis, the civil rights activist charged with being involved in a California courthouse slaying, was not in the Garden, but Ali was and the crowd of more than 19,000 greeted his arrival with a boisterous and prolonged standing ovation. "Muhammad! Muhammad!Muhammad!"...Jesse Jackson was cheering too...Jackson is the civil rights leader from Chicago who has become a close friend of Ali. "He represents a champion of manhood," Jackson said..."For him to have forgone the money and to risk going to jail, which appears inevitable, for his principles - this puts him in the tradition of Socrates and Dr. King, which is more than being a boxer. He hasn't let his ideas be polluted by the price of fame."[369]

This article places Ali in direct relation to the modern black activism of the day (although Muslims were, idealistically, separate from American politics, black or otherwise). He is aligned with black activism, although he took his stand alone. Ali was also depicted as a

black who "spoiled" the American Ideal, in covert linguistic style. Robert Lipsyte is one of the "guilty", in his post-fight reportage of the Bonavena fight:

> Last October in Atlanta, returning to the ring after a 3½ year exile, Ali apparently felt it was more important to re-establish himself with a decisive victory over a recognized opponent. Quarry was particularly well recognized by those who wanted Ali put away in the ring...Bonavena seemed clumsy and wild at first, on the track to a panicky and stupid fight, like Quarry...It is noteworthy that the two fighters who have given Ali the most trouble since he became champion, Bonavena and Karl Mildenberger of Germany, were both outside of the immediate impact area of Ali's symbolism, legend and "psyching" powers. Both are non-English speaking white men, stars in their own country.[370]

This excerpt, by Lipsyte, immediately suggests the quest of Caucasian pugilistic supremacy as well as the quest for the restoration of American values that were once again threatened by Ali's return. Lipsyte uses the two Caucasian fighters, Bonavena and Mildenberger, as "measuring sticks" for this quest, unmindful of the fact that Ali stopped them both before the full fifteen-round limit. The word, "stupid" in reference to Quarry and Bonavena's failed plan of attack against Ali, suggests the disappointment and animosity of the media over these failures (generated by like-minded whites). Had Quarry or Bonavena won, the media would have expressed jubilance*

*In the manner of exuberance that the media has historically shown when a "white hope" upsets a black champion

at the feat, giving either man legitimate claim to the (without having defeated Joe Frazier) in a rational context (that Ali was the legitimate heavyweight champion*). Ali, himself, would not get this same respect. His sub-par effort against Bonavena, in contrast to his magnificent previous performance against Quarry, led to serious doubt about his future chances against Joe Frazier (along with "hopeful" doubt).

In an attempt to beat the Supreme Court decision deadline, Muhammad Ali would sign to meet Joe Frazier at Madison Square Garden in New York City. The battle of the undefeated champions was scheduled for March 8, 1971, only six months after his initial return from a 3½ year exile. The media description of the fight took on political terms. Dave Anderson of the New York Times reported:

> Ali, because of his bombast and his appealed draft-refusal conviction that is awaiting decision by the Supreme Court, is a hero to many, a villain to others. Frazier, quietly aggressive, has created his own cult of traditionalists.[371]

The "traditionalists" that Anderson refers to are the American traditionalists in support of American values.

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*Judging by the Jeffries' claim to the championship, when he came out of retirement to face Jack Johnson, and the German claim of Schmeling as the champion, after Louis won the championship from Braddock.

Frazier, who came to prominence during Ali's exile, had never spent one day in the armed forces, yet he would win overwhelming traditional media and public sentiment in his quest to defeat Ali (as another black "white hope"). Although Ali's symbolic plight represented a quest for impeccable American justice, most of these American traditionalists were set to deny Ali a "fair trial" (in previous days). In the same article, Anderson demonstrates the anti-Ali sentiment:

> "This ain't the biggest sports event in the history of all sports because of Joe Frazier," Ali has said. "They're not comin' to see Joe Frazier." But in another sense, many of them are. They're coming in the hope of seeing Frazier silence Ali after a decade of noise, and Ali knows it. "People will come to see this fight," Ali acknowledges, "because I'm undefeated and unscratched. People want to see me whipped-because I'm arrogant, because of the draft, because of my religion and because I'm black. And for other reasons I might not even know about. If I win, a lot of people all over the world will be crying. And if I lose, a lot of people all over the world will be crying too..."[372]

Anderson and Ali state the politics of the fight, although the magnitude of the event would overshadow the politics. This fight, billed as a showdown between two undefeated heavyweight champions, was historically the first of its kind. Joe Frazier would also help to politicize the fight by assuming the role of the "white hope" in the media. Anderson quotes Frazier:

> "The thing I want most," Frazier said..."is to fight Clay and settle this thing." Ali prefers to be called by his Black Muslim name, but Frazier has continued to call him "Clay," much to the deposed champion's annoyance. "I'm going to make him quit," Frazier has said. "No matter what name he goes by, he'll quit."[373]

Noticeable in the Anderson column is the continued use of the name, "Muhammad Ali" by Anderson, while Joe Frazier (black heavyweight champion) continues to address him as "Clay"*. Frazier intentionally and voluntarily assumes the role of the "white hope" in this manner (the quest to perpetuate American values and to denounce the Ali position). Although it is conceivable that Frazier's position may be connected with the promotion of the fight, the Ali position was his own. Anderson entitles this column, "Frazier and Ali: Morality Drama Unfolds", as the bout did raise a question of morality (specifically, American values and tradition). Morality was a major theme in the sale of this production, yet, the undefeated talent and determination of the two principals involved was the greater selling item. In other words, neither fighter had to promote his stand

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*For a black American, or any black worldwide, to address Muhammad Ali as "Cassius Clay" in 1970, and voluntarily so, it is highly likely that that black desires to integrate and assimilate into a Caucasian-American standard, by succumbing to, what in 1970 is known as, racist attitudes and traditions. The persistence of the name "Clay" is the "acid test" to that fact.

verbally in order to guarantee worldwide attention and success to the bout (the fight sold itself). The title of Anderson's column accurately portrayed the promotion (a battle of "good" vs. "evil"). Frazier was the "good" counterpart. Robert Lipsyte discusses the Ali role in the "morality drama":

> When Ali was 22, he shook his head in cold and deadly fashion as the sporting press congratulated him on his new championship and told him how he would be a force for integration and Christian behavior and the American Way, "I don't have to be what you want me to be," said Ali. "I'm free to be who I want." He has continued to say that for seven years, bewildering and outraging all the people he leaves at the turns and switchbacks of his road, people who mutter, Oh if only he had just...Ah, we would have given him the world.[374]

Lipsyte is naive to the magnetic attraction, publicity wise, that the controversy of Muhammad Ali had already created, at this point in time. He also shows the common American "disappointment" by white Americans, by Ali's decision not to conform or succumb (or "sell out") to the American Establishment ("Oh if only he had just..."). Because Ali would not conform, he was hated (because America has always got to prove she is number one). In retrospect, Ali's position did conform to the guidelines of the Constitution, and it was those who tried to coerce him into re-establishing his beliefs who were in violation of the Constitution and its precepts. This would indicate more hypocrisy within the United States Government,

its "patriots", and the so-called laws that American citizens are sworn to uphold.

The bout with Joe Frazier was to be the greatest (in public and media apprehension) international sporting event in history, because of the political connotations and controversies that were instituted by Muhammad Ali. The New York Times would acknowledge the Ali dilemma (in the way of media and public disfavor toward Ali beginning with his two controversial bouts with Sonny Liston:

> But the fistic controversies were mild compared to Ali's sudden allegiance to the Black Muslim faith and his break with the Louisville syndicate*. When he defied the draft on the ground that he was a Muslim minister, he alienated another segment of the public. Stripped of his title in 1967 by the New York State Athletic Commission and the World Boxing Association, he became a boxer without a ring. Because of that he soon developed into a martyr of the black revolution. Suddenly, last year, he returned to boxing. "I'm just as good as ever!" he shouted. "I've stayed in shape. I'm the real champion."[375]

This paragraph represents the formal divorce of Muhammad Ali with American sentiment, in return for a position

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*The Louisville syndicate was the "lily-white" business group who represented and managed the boxing affairs of Cassius Clay, after he won the Olympic Gold Medal. Ali adopted the Nation of Islam business representative Herbert Muhammad (a son of Elijah Muhammad) as his manager since the termination of his Louisville contract.

of leadership and martyrdom for the Black Cause of the 1960's (a position that traditional America hed to reluctantly accept in 1971). Symbolically, the upcoming bout with Joe Frazier would represent a milestone, or turning point, in the career of Muhammad Ali. Dick Young and gene Ward of the Daily News, noted "Ali-bashers", were overcome with the apprehension of the fight, and this resulted in minimal personal criticism of Muhammad Ali. They did find it convenient to compare the skills of Ali and Frazier, and Frazier would benefit from their criticism. Gene Ward provides his analysis of Muhammad Ali in this excerpt:

> If Jack Dempsey deteriorated in the course of a three-year layoff...If Sugar Ray Robinson needed 11 months and six tuneups to regain championship form after a similar span on the sidelines...then I can't see Muhammad Ali beating Joe Frazier. Ali couldn't carry Jack's gloves, or Sugar's either, and I can't see him lasting 10 rounds with Joe Frazier.[376]

Ward is guilty of using the Dempsey standard in rating Ali. His obvious personal dislike for Ali is directly related to his comment, "Ali couldn't carry Jack's gloves". He also uses the black ex-middleweight champion, "Sugar" Ray Robinson, as a "smokescreen" for his racial attitude toward Ali (although naively so, as Sugar Ray Robinson also avoided the draft in W.W.II; Jack Dempsey avoided the draft in World War I as well). It could be concluded that Ward's animosity towards Ali stems from Ali's affiliation with the Nation of Islam and his rejection of Ameri-

can standards. One of Ward's reader-correspondents delivered him the following message:

> Dear Bigot: ...Boy, it's really going to kill you, Mr. Bigot, when Muhammad Ali knocks your boy, Frazier, into your lap. You're going to look beautiful dead. -S. Waters, NY
>
> To which Ward replied:
>
> Omit flowers, please, and send contributions to Marine Corps. League, Veterans of Foreign and American Legion.[377]

This charge of bigotry, obviously by a Muhammad Ali fan, portrays the attitude of racism that Ward has displayed towards Ali throughout the years. In his reply, Ward tries to rationalize his animosity towards Ali because of his draft refusal stand. Dick Young also entertains the issue of racism in a conversation with Teddy Brenner (boxing matchmaker for Madison Square Garden):

> Brenner Can't Sell a Fight on Basis of Color
>
> "I'll tell you something about this fight," said Teddy Brenner. "They say it's a black man's fight, and that it's priced too high for them. I'll bet you that if I priced every seat at $10, all 19,900 seats and said no whites allowed, it wouldn't sell out. You know why? Who are the black people trying to impress? Why do they wear those chinchillas and those silk shirts? Not for each other. But if I made it $150 for every seat in the house, and said whites only, I'd sell out.[378]

Young saw fit to print this hypothetical and racial scenario by Brenner as if to make his own point, that he never does. Brenner makes a generalized "clothing

stereotype" of blacks who attend the major fights ("they wear chichillas and silk shirts"), and that these blacks are out to "impress" wealthy whites. His hypothesis is inconclusive, due to the impossible parameters of his argument. These are deeply stereotypical accounts that are endorsed by Dick Young, as Brenner continues in the same article:

> Two or three visiting newsmen lounged around the office. "I watched Cosell the other night," one of them said. "He had Joe Louis on, and Howard kept saying Ali this and Ali that, and every time he did, Louis said Clay. It was funny the way Joe wouldn't give in." "Louis says it right to Clay's face," said Brenner. "Clay once said to him, my name is Muhammad Ali, and joe said, did you change it legally? A lot of those guys can't stand it that Joe gets along with everybody. When we had the Mildenberger fight over in Frankfurt, Jimmy Brown was there, and he kept calling Joe Louis Aunt Jemima. He said an Aunt Jemima was an Uncle Tom with a bandana. I said to Jimmy Brown, why do you say things like that? He said he was sick and tired of people asking him, why aren't you like Joe Louis? I said, well, Joe will be here in about 20 minutes, so why don't you tell him that to his face. When Joe arrived Jimmy Brown threw his arms around him and said, Joey Baby, how are you!"[379]

In this humorous description, Brenner, with the support of Dick Young, is equating Ali with ex-football star Jim Brown (who is also perceived by the white media as a militant and controversial black athlete), and Joe Louis as a "keeper" of American values. In their statement, "A lot of <u>those</u> guys can't stand it that Joe gets along

with everybody", "those" could stand to represent blacks, while "everybody" could stand to represent whites (who may not particularly care for most blacks). In the end of this monologue, Brown is depicted as succumbing to American values and tradition (or "selling out").

Frazier would win over Ali in a hard-fought decision over 15 rounds*, as Ali would suffer his first professional defeat. The New York media would express overt jubilation over the Frazier victory. Bill Gallo of the Daily News displayed a cartoon characterization of Ali with a closed zipper between his lips, depicting Frazier's symbolic victory over the "Louisville Lip" (and also a great American victory over the controversial Ali). Frazier became another black "white hope" that made good, in the spirit of Louis vs. Schmeling II. Frazier's victory represented a white American victory over the major symbol of the Black Revolution (and most black political achievements, and Joe was the unsuspecting American gladiator. Dave Anderson of the New York Times reported:

> In a classic 15-round battle, Joe Frazier broke the wings of the butterfly and smashed the stinger of the bee last night in winning a unanimous 15-round decision over Muhammad

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*Frazier entered the ring wearing green trunks, embroidered with four-leaf clovers (a symbol of Irish "luck"), as the black American representative of (white) American ideals.

> Ali at Madison Square Garden...In his failure, Ali not only lost, but more embarrassing, he was silenced.[380]

In an instant, after reading the whole article, one can sense Anderson's representation of the American jubilation over the Frazier victory. He attempts to defame Ali by ridiculing his motto, "Float like a butterfly and sting like a bee". The immediate collective sentiment that was imposed by the win overshadowed the dynamic effort put forth by both men, in this scintillating classic heavyweight championship match. Contrary to Anderson's viewpoint, Ali had nothing to be ashamed of, or "embarrassed" about, with respect to his excellent performance after a 3½ year exile, and he certainly was not "silenced". Anderson shows poor character also by his lack of sportsmanship toward the defeated Ali, although the gloat reflects the collective jubilance of this American victory. Jodging by the physical appearance of the two fighters immediately after the fight, it was Frazier who looked more like the loser than Ali, and there were many who believed that Ali had actually won the fight (by the fact that he landed more punches). Others believed that Ali was predetermined to lose the fight (e.g. Jack Johnson and Jess Willard), maybe in return for political freedom. Arthur Daley of the New York Times reported:

> The packed house in Madison Square Garden obviously agreed with the verdict and so, it is believed, did most viewers on closed-circuit television. But not in the Harlem armory where Ali was a black folk hero. "Whitey won again," shouted one heartbroken watcher, angrily dismissing the Frazier victory as a prearranged coup by the Establishment. It matters not that Joe's skin is darker. Ali is their boy and he can do no wrong.[381]

Many blacks were naturally disappointed over the result and skeptical of the white American government in this case. While the charges of official intervention in the results of the fight were basically anger and disappointment over the Ali loss, and skepticism by many blacks toward the Federal Government, their was a later claim of some validity to his notion. Robert Lipsyte, as quoted by Art Rust, Jr., noted an outside influence on the ring officials for that fight:

> Besides Ali, there were many who felt that Ali had won the fight- a close fight, granted, but still an Ali win. Robert Lipsyte in his book Sportsworld, states:
>
> The ring officials had a bias...The Madison Square Garden press kit had declared of Frazier, "Not since the days of Joe Louis has a black man done so much for his race. Not since the days of Joe Louis and Ray Robinson and Floyd Patterson has a black man brought so much dignity to boxing.
>
> It was a clear mandate.[382]

Joe Frazier is identified with such names as Louis and Patterson in his new role as American gladiator. If there was a doubt by the officials on any given round,

they would have the accolades given Frazier in the pre-fight Garden press kit to recall, as they made their judgments. This revelation could be considered pure "official-tampering", unfavorable and unfair to Ali. Frazier had become an overnight black American hero, much the same as Joe Louis, with his victory. Elated over this victory, the South Carolina State Legislature (Frazier's home state) would invite the undisputed champion to address the assembly (which was the equivalent of a black invited to speak at a Ku Klux Klan meeting:

> FRAZIER ASKED TO TALK TO STATE LEGISLATURE
>
> Columbia, SC - Joe Frazier, the world heavy-weight champion, who spent his early years on his family farm in Beaufort, SC, was invited today to address the State Legislature here at his convenience.[383]

The above article is an example of what Harry Edwards stated in the previous chapter on race:

> Anytime racists honor a Negro, that Negro must have done something offensive to his race.[384]

This congratulatory meeting to laud Joe Frazier is equivalent to the Louis invitation to the White House to meet with Roosevelt, prior to his rematch with Schmeling. It is a symbol of an American triumph.

Gene Ward and Dick Young of the Daily News displayed a change in their attitude towards Ali after the fight,

for the first time. Both were surprisingly congenial in their attitude of newfound respect for the ex-champion (perhaps also because he lost, but showed great courage in defeat). The old tendencies were there (denouncement and criticism of Ali by both sport journalists), but this "new respect" was surprising and untypical. Gene Ward gives an account of the fight:

> For all their boasting - Ali predicting a knockout in the sixth and Frazier within ten - there was only one knockdown, and it didn't come until the 15th round... But what a windup it was...a round the Ali-haters had been waiting for many years. Frazier really gave it to him, digging down for some hidden reservoir of stamina to pull out the punches that laid Ali flat on his back and led him to the very brink of destruction...But he refused to go down again...he just wouldn't quit, and those moments, until the final bell rang down the curtain on the first defeat, had to be among the most magnificent of his career. Never again can he be called a quitter. That is one charge he never will have to face again.[385]

Ward is sympathetic to the now-deposed Muhammad Ali, and granted Ali the championship accolades as he had never done before. In defeat, Ali attains more respect from Ward, in a few paragraphs, than he had received from him in his entire pro career. Jack Johnson would receive similar accolades from the majority media in his loss to Jess Willard in 1916. Ward is honest, as well, in his estimation that the round (the 15th) that Ali suffered his only knockdown, was "a round the Ali-

haters have been waiting for many years". Although he identifies with this group, his praise and solace for the Ali performance in defeat may also be representative of the feelings of many in the group. However, the jubilation over the Ali defeat was enormous in the media. Dick Young provides a similar account to Ward:

> The mystique is gone, and it was the mystique that got the big prices. The whites paid it to see Ali get his lumps, and they saw it. They do not shell out a lot of dough to see it again. The American people are big for that first thrill. The second time they yawn. Ask any man who has flown to the moon...Somebody else said something on the way out. "I wanted to see him get his rump whipped, and I did," said a man, white at the temples, and a cigar in his teeth, the Establishment. "But I'll say one thing, he has guts." They will question his greatness now, but the thing they question most, those who can't stand him, they question no longer. His heart.[386]

Young is accurate in his description of himself and the "Establishment", as Ali receives more honor in defeat than Young had paid him during his glory years. In a subsequent article, however, Young neglects the post-fight American sympathy for Ali and exaggerates his enthusiasm for the Frazier win:

> "He has tasted punishment," said the man in Toot's Shor. "I don't think he'll want it again..." He was white, and middle-aged, and there was a certain positiveness in his voice. The white man was Billy Graham,

> the fighter, who sometimes does some preaching, around bars...It was no contest. Joe Frazier whupped him good. Joe Frazier gave him the ghetto whupping that Ali had promised to dish out...The ghetto whupping was complete. With such copied contempt that none of Ali's people there, the beautiful people, raised a voice in protest, a fist in anger. Joe Frazier, whether they liked it or not, was the undisputed heavyweight champion of the world, one title, his, undisputed, Joe Frazier's, Smokin Joe. Joe Frazier did not lie to them. He did not tell them he was fighting for them. He told them he was working for himself, and for his family, and if they were smart they would do the same. They can feel a pride in Joe Frazier. It is the pride of realism.[387]

Young's address, in this excerpt, is toward the masses of black Ali fans (to whom he stereotypes in various phrases). He is also guilty of "rubbing in" and overdramatizing the undisputed championship that Frazier could now claim as "his", in an effort to spite the Ali fans. He also infers that those fans are not "smart", and do not "work for themselves and their families". The "realism" that Young claims to be the source of the new black "pride" for Joe Frazier is actually a beckoning for blacks to return to the old "American Way" and follow the lead of this Joe Louis disciple in support of American values and tradition.

The bout was not as decisive as Young claims, as there were many who felt that Ali had actually won the decision, despite the 15th round 3-second knockdown.

Muhammad Ali, himself, did not agree with the official scoring of the fight, although his corner conceded the victory to Joe Frazier. Robert Lipsyte of the New York Times reported Ali's version of the decision:

> Ali claims he won nine rounds, that his loss was merely the opinion of three officials appointed by the same commission that originally stripped him of his title and, in effect, gave it to Frazier...My scorecard had Ali ahead 8-6 with one round even... Bruised, misshapen, Frazier's face looked as though he had led with it all night, as indeed he had.[388]

The fight ended in considerable controversy, but there was little doubt that Joe Frazier won the fight itself. There was enough room for doubt, which Ali helped to propel (along with the Ali "mystique", of which Young stated is no longer), that incited popular and media demand for a rematch. Even in defeat, Ali would acquire most of the public and media attention to the sport of boxing. Sympathetically, Ali would now be billed as "The People's Champion". Although the traditional American public was elated over Ali's failure, they too would be drawn into that sympathy. The public and the media would demand a rematch, but first, Ali had to get by his toughest opponent, The Supreme Court of the United States, which would soon come to a decision on Ali's draft appeal. Ali would win this next bout by unanimous decision.

Muhammad Ali vs. The United States (Round 3)

One could speculate that maybe the Justices of the Supreme Court were also caught up in this newfound sympathy for Muhammad Ali after the Frazier loss. Maybe they too wanted to see the rematch between Ali and Frazier. In a total, about-faced, reversal of the original State Supreme Court decision, the United States Supreme Court voted in favor of Ali in an 8-0 decision (Justice THurgood Marshall abstaining), and the famed "draft-dodger" is judged innocent. The case set new precedents in American law, in the area of conscientous objection. The New York Times reported:

> ALI WINS IN DRAFT CASE APPEAL
>
> Calling Up of Boxer Ruled Improper
>
> Washington - Muhammad Ali was cleared by the Supreme Court today of the charge of refusing induction into the Army. Four years after he was convicted by a jury in Houston, and sentenced to five years in prison and then stripped of his heavyweight championship by boxing commissions, the Court declared that Ali was improperly drafted in the first place. The vote was 8-0 with Justice Thurgood Marshall abstaining. In an unsigned opinion, the Court said that the Justice Department has misled Selective Service authorities by advising them that Ali's claim as a conscientous objector was neither sincere nor based on religious grounds.[389]

The collective racism against Ali had finally subsided, coincidentally with his loss of the heavyweight championship, an event that he was symbolically and supposedly

"silenced" by the Establishment. As a martyr, he had won popularity with his courage, bravery, and firmness of stand. Such personal and professional qualities tended to spill over into modern popular thought. President Nixon would also take a stand in the appeasement of widespread radicalism and protest (basically geared toward the Vietnam War and inequality). The basic American racist mode was beginning to shift* (in tradition) to a more liberal-minded democracy (although racism and racist media would metamorphose into new shape and covert forms). The 1970's would bring the rise of the black exploitaion theater industry, in replacement of the contemporary and stereotypical black theater (although the industry would fall into a new stereotypical pattern, coincidental with the destruction of the "dangerous" Ali image). The militaristic Black Revolutionary image would begin to fade from politics through suppression, and take form on the screen. "Black Power" was put into the hands of "Superfly" and "The Mack", movie-portrayed successful street hustlers, but not clean-living athletes like Joe Frazier and Muhammad Ali, or distinguished

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*Since most of the action taken against Ali, up to this point, was judgmental and opinionated, as well as unconstitutional, maybe it was best that Ali lost the Frazier bout and was symbolically "humbled", giving him the ability to acquire the public, media, and legal sympathy of which he was previously denied.

statesmen like Julian Bond and Thurgood Marshall, etc. The image of Muhammad Ali was symbolically "erased" from the social imagination, yet it was enhanced by his promise as "The People's Champion" to regain his rightful title, and to re-establish justice and his rightful place in boxing and American history. Ali's reaction to the verdict was recorded by the New York Post:

> "I thank Allah and Elijah Muhammad...I thank the Supreme Court for recognizing the sincerity of my belief in myself, and my convictions." Asked his feelings about the government's long effort to send him to prison, Ali said, "They did what they thought was right and I did what I thought was right...I have been living right and clean, and I'll just continue to try to do good."[390]

As Ali shows his sincerity to his beliefs, he shows no remorse to his executioners. Even with the Court's decision, the country was still divided on the issue of Muhammad Ali. A statement made to the New York Post explains the polarity:

> The World Boxing Association...stripped Ali of his title April 28, 1967, with then President Robert Evans saying Ali has defied "the law of the United States regarding selective service protection..." Today Evans, now WBA executive secreatary, said in Louisville, "He is just another boxer now" and that the Court's decision was made "in strictly a legal framework, not from a moral standpoint."[391]

Gene Ward and Dick Young of the Daily News agree with Evans, however their resentment to the decision is less

vindictive than their previous (pre-Joe Frazier) malcontent with Muhammad Ali. Their attitude reflects this change, as Ward explains:

> The Supreme Court's decision on Muhammad Ali changed nothing insofar as his image with the nation is concerned. The sentiment against the Vietnam War, which didn't gather full momentum until long after his draft conviction four years ago, won him ever-increasing numbers of followers in proportion to the rise of militant protest, but the number of those against him grew, too, and we're still a nation divided on the subject of Muhammad Ali...Perhaps we will always be, and a misunderstanding of the Court's ruling - in many cases, a complete lack of understanding - will contribute to that division, perhaps even widen the gap...Meanwhile, the nation remains divided on the subject of Muhammad Ali, as it has been from almost the beginning. It always has been either love him or hate him, with a few in-betweens, and the polarization of blacks vs. whites has grown because he, himself, is an ardent separatist.[392]

Ward is concerned over the "polarization of blacks and whites" on the issue of Muhammad Ali, which is an over-estimation. Throughout American history, Americans rarely become so divided on a decision handed down by the Supreme Court that there is racial conflict. The issue that Ward covertly discusses is racism, and the polarization of blacks and whites have been consistent since American inception. The issue of Muhammad Ali would highly unlikely have any effect on the widening of this gap. This is a case of the journalist trying to justify his historical position of an issue, and refuses to accept an outcome that he deems unfavorable. With this issue, this attitude

can be equated to "racial stubborness"*. Dick Young held a similar, although more explicit viewpoint:

> For the most part, blacks are pleased that Ali is free, and whites are divided. For the most part, the Muhammad Ali case has become a black-white theme...There are broad inconsistencies in the Muhammad Ali makeup that I cannot understand. He is thrown out of his religion for engaging in violence, in prize fighting and yet the Supreme Court finds his Islamic beliefs to be genuine..."It seems to me," said Gil Hodges, "that if he is a minister, as he claimed, it is unusual for any minister to go into a ring and beat up somebody." There are always the after-effects to such landmark decisions. One would be a sharp upturn in recruitment of black Muslims and Black Panthers among the young black men. Another is the firm conviction that any young man who from this moment forth goes into the army is a fool.[393]

Young is most concerned with black radicalism and its future effect on white American society, because of the decision handed Ali. He assumes that the majority of black men would follow Ali's lead and revolt against the Establishment, which is unfounded. He is also concerned with the recruitment of blacks (and whites) into the armed services, as blacks make up a great part of that branch of government service. In all, Young is

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*"Jim Crowism" evolved out of a similar subject, the 13th Amendment and the Emancipation Proclamation which led to the freedom of black slaves in the United States; a subject that stubborn traditionalists refused to accept, although mandated by the Constitution.

against the Court's decision in favor of Ali. In 1967, Ali explained the difference between fighting in a boxing ring and fighting in a war:

> My intention is to box and win a clean fight, but in war the intention is to kill, kill, kill and continue killing innocent people.[394]

Ali explained his position at the time of his draft, but the American traditionalists weren't listening. While it is true that the vietnam War did play a great impact on the final court decision of Ali, he was also torn between racial sentiment. At the time of his conviction, Martin Luther King and other black leaders rallied to Ali's behalf, in spite of differences in their political and racial philosophies:

> ...the Rev. James Bevel, an aide to Dr. Martin Luther King, labeled the Vietnam war "a program of genocide." "We American Negroes will not stand idly by and watch Muhammad Ali lynched by the racists of this country," Bevel said.[395]

The acts committed against Ali were more contributory to racial disharmony in the United States than was intended. The Government wanted to make an example of Ali, yet he became a martyr of the various social causes of the 1960's (early 70's) turmoil. Sports writers such as Gene Ward and Dick Young did not acknowledge the re-establishment of justice that was accorded Ali in

the final analysis, but were only half-hearted in their continued denouncement of him, as the aura of invincibility (which played a major role in the white animosity toward Ali, as it did Jack Johnson) had already been destroyed by Joe Frazier, and this led to their increased satisfaction and content of this matter.

Milton Gross of the New York Post adopted a more liberal viewpoint of the Ali matter than the attitude he previously exhibited. Gross reported:

> For the past several years, the Justice Dept. had been trying to build a wall around Ali as he appealed his draft conviction of five years and a $10,000 fine. Nobody can estimate what that cost has cost him in legal fees and expenses and the rich purses that could and should have been his for the time he was prevented from earning his livelihood by sundry boxing commissions and yahoo patriots who wrapped themselves in the flag but would not grant him the privilege of the protection of the Constitution. One wall goes up. The other goes down. The Supreme Court has reversed his conviction and Ali is free to be what he wants to be...It is a triumph of will and conviction...for a man who stands by his beliefs and is prepared to suffer for them need not serve in an immoral war. But it is more than a victory for Ali...He has become the crystallization of all shadings of dissent, not just black, not just Muslim. He could have become a martyr. Now he is more than a symbol. He... told the system to shove it and now stands there with his arms raised in vindication, which in a sense, was far deeper than a personal victory...It is not what a formal religious group believes, but what a man believes. Dr Abernathy said that Ali was "the March on Washington all in two fists." The metaphors have been slightly mixed.... but what has been clear from the start is that nobody unprejudiced could ever have doubted the sincerity of Muhammad's

> convictions...As Mr. Justice Douglas said in a concurring opinion: it was a matter of belief...conscience...religious principle.[396]

Gross makes it clear that "nobody unprejudiced could ever have doubted the sincerity of Muhammad's convictions", and there were many. He is, however, more supportive of Ali here than he has ever been. This "new" Ali sentiment would increase in the general media and public perception of Muhammad Ali, and Ali, in turn, became less harsh toward American political and social matters. In what is to come, the adversity of Ali's loss to Joe Frazier and the recent Supreme Court decision in his favor would be instrumental to the determination of his success and greatness. Sport journalists like Dick Young and Gene Ward would begin to be held in contempt by journalists like Larry Merchant and Milton Gross on the matter of Ali, and this "new" sentiment would overcome the "old" patriotism (traditionalism) of the media (as the media undergoes yet another transition). Racial stereotypification would remain, however, in new and more covert forms and instances, although less frequent.

Muhammad Ali vs. George Foreman

Ali's quest to regain the heavyweight championship of the world would continue despite the Frazier loss.

He would again receive the chance three years after the Frazier fight, but not against Joe Frazier. George Foreman*, the 1968 Olympic Gold Medal Winner in the heavyweight division wrested the title from Joe Frazier on Jan. 22, 1973 at Kingston, Jamaica in a two-round knockout. In indomitable fashion, Foreman sent Joe Frazier to the canvas a total six times before the referee halted the bout in the second round.

Another obstacle to Muhammad Ali's quest to regain the heavyweight championship came in the form of an ex-United States Marine, the number three ranked heavyweight in the world in 1973, Ken Norton. Norton would win a 12-round decision over Ali, while breaking his jaw on March 31, 1973**. Ali would avenge this defeat against Norton in a quick rematch on Sept. 10, 1973 by a 12-round decision. It became obvious that both Joe

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*George Foreman was most popularly noted for his waving of the American flag and displaying his undivided patriotism at an Olympic event during a time when other black Olympians (most notably John Carlos and Tommie Smith) were displaying black pride and solidarity, in reaction to the American oppression of blacks; discussed in next chapter.

**After this fight, Norton would star as a Mandinka slave, named "Mead", in the movie, "Mandingo". Mead was an obedient and aggressive slave bred for inter-plantation slave prizefights, and cherished by his master until he was seduced by his master's fianceé. Mead was ultimately boiled for his troubles. The fianceé was poisoned by the master, after the newborn mulatto baby was bled to death at his orders. In all, it was a degrading role for Norton, the man who had just beaten the black warrior, Muhammad Ali (in a subtle attempt to further denounce the Ali symbol and return blacks to an image of meniality in the media social imagination). Mead was also used to track down runaway slaves, as a cooperative black media depiction. One particular runaway slave addressed him as a "hound dog".

Frazier and Muhammad Ali had seen their best days in boxing, at this point in time. The proposed lucrative championship rematch of Ali and Frazier was upset by Foreman's victory over Frazier and further dulled by the lackluster Ali affairs with Ken Norton. Frazier and Ali would nonetheless agree to a heavyweight rematch at Madison Square Garden, although not for the championship, on Jan. 24, 1974. Ali would win an easy unanimous 12-round decision in a fight where Joe Frazier was saved from a second-round knockout by the referee. Two months later, the new champion, George Foreman eliminated Ken Norton, also in two rounds, in Caracas, Venezuela on March 24, 1974. Ali, having regained number one status in the rankings, was the logical next opponent for the champion Foreman. The bout was officially billed as "The Rumble in the Jungle" (by Ali), and was set for Oct. 30, 1974 in Kinshasha, Zaire, on the continent of Africa.

Foreman would enter the fight as a 4-1 favorite and as an unbeaten fighter whose total bouts lasted an average of 3.0 rounds per bout, at this point. The general thought and anticipation was, "could Ali get past the second round", a similar situation to the first Clay-Liston bout. The fight, which was to be staged in Africa, took on a political theme as well. Ali, the "non-patriot", upholder of black freedom and dignity, was to take on George Foreman, the "flag-waver", the

1968 "Uncle Tom" amidst black rebellion against American oppression and supporter of American ideals, in a 15-round bout for the heavyweight championship of the world. This was to be Ali's first shot at the title since his loss to Joe Frazier in 1971.

Going back to the Frazier-Foreman fight, for a moment, Arthur Daley of the New York Times was among the few (in 1973) sports journalists who still referred to Ali as "Cassius Clay":

> Cassius Clay, who has since changed his name to Muhammad Ali, a name that is disregarded by many in the boxing racket. Everyone in Frazier's camp refers to him as Clay. So does Joe Louis, perhaps the gratest of them all. Joltin Joe flew into this Caribbean paradise from London the other day and promptly was installed as the resident expert...Virtually no ringsider would place the Foreman jab in the class with the cobra-like flash of Clay's. Sorry, Cassius. Let's change that to Muhammad Ali. On second thought, let's not. In the Frazier and Louis terminology, he's still Clay.[397]

Not only does Daley insist on the name "Cassius Clay", two years in the wake of the Supreme Court decision favoring Ali, he is using it as an object of torment to Ali and his following (with the help of two ex-black "white hopes, Louis and Frazier, in this day and age). He is also guilty of a more historical stereotypification in the term, "Joltin Joe", used in place of John Kieran's, "Shullin' Joe" and "Dark Destroyer". It seemed that the only way that Ali would regain his self-respect on the

matter was to regain his heavyweight championship, which had thus eluded him for 7½ years after he was stripped of it. The fact that he had to take it from a powerful, awesome (perhaps moreso then Liston, judging from his knockout record) black gladiator of American ideals, and another black "white hope", made this fight more intriguing than your usual heavyweight championship fight. The appeal had it, also, that this giant of a man (in physical and pugilistic stature) which was Foreman, had easily defeated (in a total of four rounds) Ali's two greatest nemeses, Joe Frazier and Ken Norton (the two men who had given Ali the most trouble in his boxing career). Foreman was seen as an early overwhelming pre-fight favorite over Ali. As a matter of fact, many were concerned for the 32-year old Ali's health in such a bout, as his skills and reflexes were apparently diminishing with age (and previous ring wars). Dave Anderson noted:

> Ali doesn't have a punch to keep Foreman away from him. Foreman will walk through Ali's weak jab and demolish him as soon as he hits him with his best punch. That could happen in the first round.[398]

During the pre-fight period to the Foreman-Ali fight, Dave Anderson becomes the foremost propagator of American values of the entire New York sports media. His lack of confidence in Ali represents more than a personal opinion of the two fighter's skills. Ali's "anti-American" stand during the sixties has influence in Anderson's

pre-fight analysis. In the same article, Anderson notes the political impact of the Foreman-Ali bout from the perspective of the emerging African nation of Zaire (formerly the Belgian Congo):

> The bout is advertised here as a "Gift from President Mobutu (Sese Seko) to the people of Zaire"..."A fight between two Blacks in a Black Nation; organized by Blacks and seen by the whole world; that is a victory for Mobutism." "The country of Zaire which has been bled because of pillage and systematic exploitation must become a fortress against imperialism and a spearhead for the liberation of the African continent." "...It is not enough for us to condemn colonialism, imperialism and racism, but it is necessary also to measure our capacity and our weakness and be united in order to face the challenge of development." "The Foreman-Ali fight is not a war between two enemies, but a sport between two brothers." (words of President Mobutu Sese Seko.) The last sentiment is an idealistic political philosophy but not a realistic boxing theory.[399]

Anderson's last statement reflects the envelopment of American political ideals and connotations with regard to the proposed bout. Strangely enough, the New York Times downplayed much of the American interest in the match, maybe due to the fact that Ali was totally and overwhelmingly "outclassed" on paper, however, the reality of the anti-American Black Muslim "draft-dodger" that would be facing the patriotic black-American symbol of American ideals and tradition would capture wide international interest and curiosity. Ali always credited Allah with the favorable outcome of the Supreme Court decision and the many trials and tribulations of his

life and career. The question now was, could Allah save him from the insurmountable odds that were posed by the United States in the guise of George Foreman? in order for Ali to regain his rightful title and remove this symbol of "white hope", Ali would have to remove, what seemingly had to be, historically, the most massive obstacle in the path to the heavyweight championship (the pre-fight scenario of the first Clay-Liston fight was again constructed by the media). The immortalizing of George Foreman began soon after his second-round knockout of Joe Frazier. Bill Gallo of the Daily News explains:

> Ali is such a popular fighter and so well-liked that I suspect his fans are hoping for a miracle. But, with the reality of recent past performances of both fighters, how can they honestly believe Ali can do it? The fight purists will tell you it's a fight of styles and Ali has the style to beat Foreman. I may be wrong, but styles don't figure here. Not when Ali has grown older and slower and the mustard is missing from his punches. The picture of Joe Frazier bouncing up and down like a basketball against Foreman is in front of me. I see the same picture but this time Ali's the basketball. They'll stop it inside of five rounds.[400]

It is easy to acknowledge that Gallo is not an Ali fan, nor does he believe that Ali can win the fight (he also predicted Liston over Ali in 1964). So shocking was the Frazier-Foreman fight to many boxing fans that Ali's fans even questioned his chances. The initial shock

of this bout would turn into relative fear, or anticipation, as to what round would George finish Ali. Arthur Daley reported after the Frazier-Foreman fight:

> It was a fight that flouted every preconception and put a strain on credulity. They say that seeing is believing, but I still couldn't believe what I saw on Monday night under tropical skies in the open-air stadium in Kingston, the capital of Jamaica. Foreman, the relative novice, moved in aggressively from the opening bell and was unawed by Frazier's reputation, his deadly left hook or his championship glamour. The challenger handled him with an ease that bordered on disdain.[401]

The upcoming fight was officially declared "impossible" for Ali to win, and most other issues such as "patriotism vs. anti-Americanism", good vs. evil, etc., were quelled by the media.

As for Foreman's reputation (among many blacks) as the "Uncle Tom" of the 1968 Olympics (due to his flag-waving gesture), Michael Katz reported his response to this charge:

> He became known when he won the 1968 Olympic heavyweight title and waved a small American flag around the ring, only days after Tommie Smith and John Carlos of the United Sates had raised clenched fists in a black power salute on the Olympic winner's stand. "It's my flag," he told a television interviewer. Then later he added, "I was just glad to be an American. Some people have tried to make something of it, calling me an Uncle Tom, but I'm not. I just believe people should live together in peace.[402]

This passage acknowledges the favorable and patriotic media attitude in defense and support of George Foreman's Olympic victory gesture and American ideals (although it is the victory salutes of Smith and Carlos that will forever enshrine the public and media perception and interpretation of the 1968 Olympics). Harry Edwards, coordinator of the 1968 Olympic Committee for Human Rights and spearhead of the Olympic demonstration, saw the Foreman act as deplorable:

> Twentieth century Negro gladiators, under the tutelage of old-school Negroes, boxed their way to gold medals and then, on one occasion, marched around the ring and calling for "United States Power." George Foreman, the boxer guilty of this particular act, never seemed to consider that the flag he so proudly flaunted was the same flag under which four black girls were murdered in Alabama; the same flag under which Martin Luther King, the generation's chief advocate of non-violence and brotherhood, was violently shot down in cold blood...For his blatantly political performance, Foreman was not criticized or ejected from the games. For his behavior was in the interest of the establishment and of white folks. On his return to the U.S., he was treated as a hero-by whites...But the event that really cast his performance in the proper perspective for black people was his appearance as guest of honor during the half-time show at the Cotton Bowl in racist Dallas, Texas. A Negro as guest of honor at an athletic event that more appropriately might be called the "Cracker Bowl," featuring the University of Texas, which doesn't ever recruit blacks, and the University of Tennessee, which has recruited just one. Any-

> time racists honor a Negro, that Negro* must have done something offensive to his race. And many people-black and white-felt that Foreman and his coach had done just that. Foreman's act and the manner in which it was received, proves that white racism dominates the United States athletic establishment. It once again pointed out that what is in the interest of whites is de facto acceptable, and what is in the interest of blacks is de facto condemned in white America.[403]

This is testimony to Foreman's "Uncle-Tomism", in the eyes of blacks and whites alike. It is also testimony as to the course of American values and tradition (noted by Edwards' final statement in the previous apargraph), as Smith and Carlos were expelled from the Olympic competition and their medals retracted due to their gesture, while Foreman is honored and praised for his gesture. After turning professional, Foreman would always appear with the same color markings on his boxing trunks, red, white and blue. He was a willing and enthusiastic patriot, where Ali was anti-establishment in the media-perceived sense. The bout between Muhammad Ali and George Foreman, although it was to take place in the heart of Africa (and locally billed as a sport between two "sons of Africa"), nevertheless created increasing political tones.

This is very similar to Joe Frazier's open invitation to speak before the South Carolina State Legislature after he defeated Ali in 1971.

Ali himself would label Foreman a "Belgian", the political enemy of the Zairian people. Although this reference to Foreman was preposterous, bordering on absurd (although there is a great similarity of the pillage and oppression between American and Belgian whites toward blacks), Ali had already won the adoration and adulation of the Zairian fans due to his well-known American political stand. He would proceed to his meeting with Foreman under the pre-fight slogan of "Ali-boma ye" (meaning, "Ali-kill him"). Dave Anderson reported of the promotional hype by Muhammad Ali:

> "I'm dedicatin' this fight to all the African people who are fighting for their freedom and independence," he said"..."I'm looking at this man as a Belgian, he is the oppressor of all black nations." In this emerging African nation, once known as the Belgian Congo, the insult was obvious. But any similarity between George Foreman and a Belgian is not apparent. In the audience of black faces listening to a French translation of Ali's remarks, even the Zairians could not accept the comparison. They're smarter than Ali thinks. "To me, this is a Holy War," Ali was saying now. "Therefore all the powers of the heavens are against him. I predict I will have no problem. The same powers that got me victory over the draft, the same powers that got me past Ken Norton and Joe Frazier will get me past George Foreman. I leave you by saying, 'War'".[404]

Ali's remarks here depict a symbolic confrontation between the black oppressed against white oppression, which is universal. The same racism that black Americans had experienced, up to this point, was practiced throughout the continent of Africa. In symbolic form, Ali tried to

transcend both varieties into this single affair with Foreman. Ali labeled Foreman a "Belgian" in the same manner that Floyd Patterson and Joe Frazier became "white hopes" against himself. Anderson states that "they're smarter than Ali thinks", but this is a referral to Ali's American upbringing that Africans are "primitive" and less intelligent than whites, and this represents Anderson's own American-conceived myths, estimations and propagandized stereotypical summary of African blacks. Phil Pepe of the Daily News recalls the controversial American Ali in comparison to the historical legendary American heavyweight champions:

> Down Memory Lane With Cassius Clay
>
> There was once, a time before Muhammad Ali, but was there ever a time before Cassius Clay? Was there ever a man of muscle, a gladiator of the ring who stirred the emotions of so many, who fanned the flame of controversy so often for so long? John L. Sullivan, we are told, brought out legions of idolators and Jack Johnson, we read, enraged men with his vanity, his seeming invincibility and for flaunting his white mistress. Jack Dempsey came along during a time of flappers, spats, and bootleg hooch, a time glorified as the Golden Age of Sport, and Joe Louis was a saviour, a champion even a white man could love and admire...and then came Cassius Clay... And then he betrayed us and it was as real as if he slapped us all in the face, individually. He found a new religion and a new name and he refused to take the step that would make him a common soldier. His title was stripped, prematurely and unjustly, and he was suspended and his popularity waned. But in the end, he was right, and he survived and he became bigger and better known as Muhammad Ali than he was as Cassius Clay...Make no mistake. In some perverse way, Muhammad Ali is defending a title he does not own and

> George Foreman is trying to win a title he does own. Muhammad Ali sustained us through the hungry days, hero-less days, days of inaction, of boredom. Now, less than 48 hours before what may be his final chapter, we can only wonder, and worry, what are we to do when he is gone.[405]

Ali also enraged men with his "seeming invincibility' during the days of his original affiliation with the Nation of Islam and unprecedented athletic ability in the ring (as well as his verbosity). The article surveys the whole ordeal that Ali put America through, and what America put him through, and in the end, there is concern for his health and welfare.

In a classic bout that witnessed in shocked disbelief, an undeniable revival of old skills and the innovation of new and original boxing techniques, Muhammad Ali upset the indomitable George Foreman in an 8th round knockout in dramatic fashion and against tremendous odds and became only the second man in history (besides Floyd Patterson) to regain the heavyweight championship of the world. As noted by Phil Pepe prior to the fight, the results of this bout defied common logic.

> It is a conclusion based more on hunch than on logic, for if logic were the basis, the only basis, the conclusion would be inescapable - George Foreman will destroy Muhammad Ali tonight, he will crush him, break him in half, pulverize him into a fine tan powder.[406]

The reference to "a fine tan powder" is undeniably a reference to Ali's black political stand and the American

resentment to it. Although this article was written before the fight, and Pepe chose Ali to win the fight, he is aware of the historical American attitude toward Ali and provides the "Ali-haters" (of the American society) with appreciable metaphors. Foreman appeared amateurish and confused (bewildered) due to the professionalism that Ali displayed throughout the bout (Sonny Liston had suffered a similar defeat in his first bout with Ali). The media would, for the first time, praise Ali in immortalized and legendary proportions (a living boxing legend). The media would now acknowledge Ali as one of the three greatest (if not the greatest) heavyweight boxers of all time, along with Joe Louis, Jack Dempsey and rocky Marciano*. Ali had, once again, humbled the white sports media, although this time more emphatic and convincingly (without the usual negative controversy). He had also regained the championship that was stolen from him, by challenging, commanding and winnig a fistic showdown with America (and her ideals) in black Africa, three years after having won his day in the Supreme Court. In that it is "poetic justice" that Ali should win back his crown in Africa, this event could have been considered

*Historic American racism does not allow the fighter, Jack Johnson, to co-exist in immortality among these three, although many claim Johnson to have been the very best. After the Johnson-Willard bout, the media tried to dismiss and "forget" about Jack Johnson. Ali, in the latter 1960's, helped to revive Johnson's great image and place in boxing history.

an international black victory, but the media would downplay such significance (for America was thoroughly "whipped" in this African showdown). The New York Times would entertain the Foreman version of defeat:

> Foreman sounded confused over his knockout by Ali after registering 24 consecutive knockouts himself. "I followed instructions," Foreman kept saying. "I thought I was in control until the end. I never saw the punch that knocked me out-a man never does. Ali is a true champion. He deserves resoect. He has been a credit to his family, his race, and boxing."[407]

The term, "his race", used by Foreman, denotes the self-uncertainty of Foreman's black nationality. He uses it in the way that his was a quest for American ideals/tradition and the further suppression of blacks, as if he himself were not black, but American or white. he does acknowledge that his defeat represents a victory for the international black race, however.

Although stung by the Foreman defeat, the media had to acknowledge the greatness that Ali displayed (especially at 32 years old) and give him the credit which was due. Dave Anderson, who had earlier predicted a Foreman victory, gave his statement:

> Muhammad Ali has been looked upon as a buffoon. He has been defiled and defrocked of his title for defying the military draft because of his Black Muslim beliefs. He has been castigated for his cruelty. But he has proved he is a gladiator. He just might be "the greatest," as he always proclaimed.[408]

Anderson gives his personal opinion of Ali through the

third person in the term, "Ali has been looked upon as a buffoon", yet he praises Ali the "gladiator" in his victory over Foreman. Phil Pepe gives an appraisal of Ali's regaining of the heavyweight championship:

> Boxing lives! Muhammad Ali is back! Forget the flowers, cancel the eulogy, scrub the dirge. Get ready for more talk, more boasting, more poetry. Muhammad Ali is heavyweight champion of the world again. In the most stirring, most spectacular fight of his career, the 32-year old former, and once again, heavyweight champion of the world became only the second man in boxing history to regain the heavyweight title last night when he knocked George Foreman flat in 2:58 of the eighth round in their "rumble in the jungle" in Kinshasha, Zaire...Muhammad Ali...upsetting the oddsmakers who had made him a 3-1 underdog, upsetting the experts who said, at 32, he was too old, and removing the cloak of invincibility that had been draped around the broad powerful shoulders of the 25-year old Foreman. The cloak had been put there because Foreman had won all 40 of his professional fights, 37 of them by knockout, giving him the best knockout record in the history of the heavyweight division, better than John L. Sullivan, better than Jack Dempsey, better than Joe Louis, better than Rocky Marciano, better than everybody.[409]

Pepe is earnest in his respect and admiration for Ali, however, he states his personal preference of historical heavyweight fighters at the end of this article-excerpt. If he were stating the knockout records of these great heavyweight fighters, from best to worst, the order would be, Marciano (49-0, 37 KO's), Sullivan (42-1, 33 KO's), Louis (74-3, 57 KO's, and Dempsey (78-6, 49 KO's). It is obvious that Pepe is partial (maybe through historical legendary and stereotypical enhancement by the

media, in keeping with American values) to Sullivan and Dempsey, with Louis third and Marciano last. Jack Johnson and Sonny Liston, among others, also had great win-loss-knockout ratios, but heither is mentioned by Pepe. American values are clearly and evidently passed through the generations (through "value channels"), having an effect on Pepe's personal and consecutive choice of greatness in fighters (the same as a modern Caucasian-American youth would have idolatry, affection and admiration for Babe Ruth, Joe Dimaggio, Ty Cobb, and Mickey Mantle over the likes of Willie Mays, Ernie Banks, Hank Aaron or Reggie Jackson, without having seen either of them perform). At the same time, however, Pepe is enthusiastic about the Ali re-coronation, and is defiant to the Ali-haters, by his praise for Ali. Even Dick Young of the Daily News became jubilant over the mastery and execution of the Ali victory over Foreman:

> Through the wonders of satellites,...while two Americans fought in the Heart of Africa, I sat among the towering mountains of Nikko, Japan, watching Muhammad Ali handle George Foreman with absurd ease. Muhammad Ali is the heavyweight champion of the world again, and boxing is reborn...There really is no need for Ali to retire. At 32 he is better than ever. He said this before the fight, and I didn't believe him. He said he would lick Foreman for the title just as he had licked Sonny Liston for it 10 years before, because he is a better fighter than he was 10 years ago. And he is, you know. Ten years ago, he was half fighter, half dancer. Now he is all fighter. The test of greatness is consistency and longevity. Ali has proven his greatness... Don't write off George Foreman. Don't laugh

> off George Foreman, although it was laughable, at times, the way Ali toyed with him and talked to him before taking him out...George will learn to listen...Dick Sadler, who can teach him how...and to Muhammad Ali, who is worth listening to, and watching. Ali is so good at what he does...The scientific use of the ropes...He was so good, so competent, so efficient. He didn't waste a bit of energy, not a kilowatt, and just before leaving the ring, he put out the lights.[410]

This article-excerpt, by Young, represents newfound admiration for Muhammad Ali. Ali's greatness is finally conceded by Young, who sets unprecedented standards of greatness for this fighter. Only Floyd Patterson had ever regained the heavyweight championship, and until Ali succeeds at this tremendous feat, against tremendous odds, does Ali receive any respect from Young (as far as championship greatness). Throughout the entire article, Young does not mention the Black Muslims (which is another "first" for Young) in accordance with Ali, or make any derogatory racial remarks in the same context. He does refer to Angelo Dundee, Muhammad Ali's trainer, as "the token white in Ali's camp" in the beginning of the article (although unmentioned in this excerpt), however, this is untrue, as Dundee was with Ali from the beginning of his pro career (and greatly "instrumental" to the development of Muhammad Ali, as opposed to a "token" member of the Ali staff). This statement by Young is also untrue because Ali generally associated with many whites (especially his friend and confidant, Howard Bingham). In Ali's own words:

> "Everybody says I love people, so it's only fair that I have the best friend in the world, and that's Howard Bingham. He never asks for anything; he's always there when someone needs him. There's no one like him. He's the best there is. And if you write that, I don't want Howard to think I'm getting soft, so write down that he's lucky I'm his friend too. And tell him I said I'm the only person in the world who likes him."[411]

Verified by numerous accounts in his biography, Howard Bingham (who is a Caucasian-American) is Ali's most trusted and loyal friend (including blacks and whites), and this contradicts many racial assertions made by Young (and Gene Ward) in the past about Ali. Larry Merchant of the New York Post brings a metaphorical account of the Ali victory over Foreman and his effect on traditional America:

> In one of the sublime moments of the sporting life, Muhammad Ali turned what was to be an electric chair into a throne last night. A right hand, prefaced by a right and a left, and seven and a half rounds of calculated terror, sent the fatal juice through George Foreman instead. Six years after he had been unseated by the guardians of our morality, Muhammad Ali reseated himself forever more. At age 32 he still was wiggling his ears at convention and dropping banana peels under propriety like a manchild. But when the bell rang he reminded us that beneath the bombast he had bombs, beneath the fun and games he was a very great athlete. The decisive clue, it developed, was his remark several weeks ago that, "if he don't get me in seven, his parachute won't open." Ali was convinced that Foreman could not sustain his invincible act past the middle of a big, tough fight...Foreman, never on the floor before, liked it so much, he stayed there. It is one thing to perceive the flaw in Foreman's armor, but quite another to survive

> until it could be pierced. Never in the history of championship head-knocking had Ali's survival plan been employed. He leaned against the ropes and said to a devastating puncher, in effect, "Go ahead, punch."[412]

Overwhelming media praise of Ali's feat would continue, in the manner of the previous article by Merchant, concerning this "story-book" fight classic. Young and Merchant both (among most other sport journalists) publicly stated that there was little, if any, chance for an Ali upset, and react to the fight result as if they had seen "magic", by the tone of their astonishment. Merchant, however, is more proud of the Ali factor and influence in America (which was even more greatly enhanced by this climactic triumph), while Young is "humbled" and "forced", through self-awareness and honesty of opinion, to recognize the astounding event that he had just witnessed (and is magnanimous in his praise of Ali). Most, but not all, sport journalists saw the event in the same context. Bill Verigan of the Daily News gave his reaction:

> The fight certainly had not been taken out of Muhammad Ali in the ring. He continued his attack on George Foreman in the dressing room, verbally. Indeed, if there was a "champion" in the dressing rooms, it was Foreman, who refused to criticize. Ali was vehement, calling Foreman a "sissy, a humiliated fighter, a nothing." Foreman was gentle, saying he would "never bad-mouth an opponent." "I'm a pro, he was an amateur. All of you suckers bow. Now you have to recognize me as the professor of boxing." In his inimitable style, Ali had won with a brainy scheme that no one expected would work. He had let Foreman beat himself... "I only hope the people were happy," (said

> Foreman). The people were happy. Despite the 3-1 odds against Ali, he had the people's support. It was not a good fight. It had been rather dull artistically...Foreman's reign was short, but he went out like a champ. Ali returned like Ali-loudly.[413]

Reporter Verigan was obviously displeased with the result of the fight ("not a good fight...rather dull artistically"). He criticizes Ali's post-fight scenario, while other media stood flabbergasted at the turn of events, too amazed to notice their denouncement (and Foreman's denouncement) by Ali, or too humbled to make a retort to the "professor of boxing" while he was lecturing. Verigan represents the "malcontent" of the "class" being held by Ali, in his "insolent" criticism of his "instructor". Jose Torres (ex-light heavyweight champion and boxing writer for the New York Post) held a different view:

> Al Barren, publisher of Black Sports Magazine, embraced me and we both jumped in joy. Young people went wild. And meanwhile, Muhammad Ali walked slowly to his corner with the coolness of a man who had done the job exactly as planned. He was the only man who showed no surprise at the outcome of the fight. In most championship fights the winner is the one with the stronger will. It is the real pro who always walks out with the crown. But in the case of Ali it was not only the real pro. It was the greatest thing the sport has ever seen.[414]

Most media were in acknowledged over Ali's spectacular feat (despite their historical position of the Ali stand). Ali, had, in fact, represented the "little people" (as

he has stated) and George Foreman, the Establishment (or oppressors). Ali insisted that the victory represented the power and proof of a Divine source. Dave Anderson reflects Ali's interpretation of his victory:

> Behind him, the Africans began to shout, "Ali, bomaye," the chant that had become his war cry here..."George was the champion but all these people were yelling, 'Ali bomaye' for me," Ali continued. I learned a special prayer for Allah in helping me win. That must have been Allah in there because I can't punch. My hands were so sore for Frazier and Norton, I needed Novocain. But they were good this time. I'm not known for being a big hitter. Can you picture me making Foreman helpless?" ..."Did it mean more to you," he was asked, "to win back the title here in Africa, the home of your ancestors?" "It's a good feeling but it don't mean nothin," Muhammad Ali said. I'd rather have done it in Madison Square Garden or Yankee Stadium because that's where the bulk of the non-believers are. The non-believers, the real fight crowd.[415]

The reporter who asked the question of whether it meant more for Ali to win his title back in Africa, the land of his ancestry, is obviously referring to the "justice" that Ali gained in Africa (where the majority of the people were in favor of the, then, ex-champion), as compared to the "injustices" (the stripping of the title and threat of jail) that were imposed on him in the United States (along with the defeat of the black "white hope", American gladiator, flag-waver, and "keeper" of American values, George Foreman). The Foreman-Ali bout awas denoue-

ment to the tragedy of collective racism against Ali, who was a major representative of black freedom and dignity. It was a fitting victory with respect to the Ali controversy, and at a fitting location. Ali would erase the symbol of "white hope", and crush the racist ambition of American ideals with respect to Negro conformity (for he had defeated the "undefeatable"). He thus became an international hero who stood up to the wrath of racist American society*. And although the Ali saga would seem to have come to a fitting conclusion after the Foreman bout, it would nevertheless continue.

Ali would defend his title another 11 times until he met Leon Spinks, the 1976 Olympic light-heavyweight champion, on February 15, 1978, in what could now be considered the beginning of the post-muhammad Ali era. Leon Spinks would win a 15-round decision over Ali and become the new heavyweight champion of the world. Definitely near the end of his boxing career, Ali would use the Spinks loss as a platform to campaign for an unprecedented third heavyweight championship. Although Ali had commanded newfound respect from the media, by

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*Ali was invited to the White House, after the Foreman fight, in a symbolic show of concession to black pugilistic supremacy, despite racism which tried to prevent it; a show of "no hard feelings", and a final attempt to try and "Americanize" Ali with kindness.

his startling victory over George Foreman, as well as the respect of the White House (in their final attempt to "Americanize" him through President Ford's invitation), certain suppressed hatred and covert racism would emerge from the Spinks victory. Billy Martin of the New York Yankees was one who let his feelings be known. Martin is quoted by Fred Ferretti of the New York Times:

> In Fort Lauderdale, where he is getting ready to take another run at the American League title, Billy Martin...had a few words about Ali..."I wouldn't watch that fraud," he said. Ali hasn't fought in four years. I could beat that draft dodger." "Tell you what," he continued, "I'll put up a million dollars and he'll put up a million and we'll meet right here in the parking lot. I'll even throw in my three houses and six cars on the side...I've taken on bigger guys than Ali. He's a fraud." Later Martin suggested that the fight would be under his rules. It would be without boxing gloves "and I'll have something in my hand."[416]

The greatest effect that Muhammad Ali had on Martin, in the above article, is that Martin continuously addressed him as "Ali", despite Martin's animosity and denouncement. A rematch of Ali-Spinks was set for Sept. 15, 1978 at Las Vegas. Ali would again shock the world by regaining the title in a 15-round decision, which featured a crisp, yet stale, Ali. He would then hold the title for an unprecedented third time. After holding it for a year with no title defenses, he would announce his retirement in 1979. An elimination tournament for the title was set up and resulted in two finalists, Ken Norton (who

fought Ali three times, losing two of three) and Larry Holmes (an ex-sparring partner of Ali). Holmes would win a hard-fought decision after 15 rounds of boxing and become the tournament champion for the vacated heavyweight title. With the entrance of Larry Holmes, racism in sport and society would begin to re-emerge, in both subtle and overt fashion.

Larry Holmes vs. Gerry Cooney (post-Ali era)

Larry Holmes would enter the post-Muhammad Ali era with an undefeated record as champion. As the previous collective racism against Ali appeared to have subsided by the mid-1970's and early 1980's, new forms were beginning to emerge. For one, on screen (television and theater) there were replacement sports heroes which enjoyed more than moderate success for the staged heroism (in the quest of the appearance of a "white hope" made successful). The most visible of these heroes became "Rocky" Balboa (Sylvester Stallone), the uncrowned American white heavyweight champion of the world* (in an effort to "revive" Rocky Marciano). The 1980's also brought in the "Vietnam Revival" movies, which depicted draft-

*Stallone admitted that he got the inspiration for this movie-series while attending the Ali-Chuck Wepner (white heavy weight contender; the "Bayonne Bleeder") fight of 3/24/75 where the challenger was totally outclassed, yet the crowd was anxious for a white upset (in reaction to a Wepner "knockdown" of Ali). The referee, Tony Perez, awarded Wepner a knockdown, although Ali was clearly tripped. Referee later, and unsuccessfully, sued Ali for ethnic slander following the bout.

dodgers as "wimps" (a subtle reference to Ali) and soldiers as forgotten "heroes" (no longer the murderers of the 1960's), as in Stallone's "Rambo". On the social front, the re-emergence of the Ku Klux Klan and Nazism (e.g. David Duke), the rise of racism in Cummings, Ga. (e.g. Lester Maddox), Atlanta, Ga. (murders of black school children), Howard Beach, Bensonhurst, etc., would mark the decade of the 80's and early 90's.

Larry Holmes would uncover much of the suppressed racism (formerly against Ali) and collective quest for a "white hope" (probably spurred on by the many "Rocky" movies) in the form and image of the Irish-American heavyweight contender, Gerry Cooney. The Holmes-Cooney bout was scheduled for June 11, 1982. This fight brought out media racial hype for a heavyweight title fight, not seen since the days of Jack Johnson and Jim Jeffries. Cooney's credentials consisted of a boxing record of 25 wins, 22 knockouts and 0 losses, including a recent one-round knockout over Ken Norton (May 11, 1981), and an Irish ethnic background. Phil Pepe of the Daily News helped to promote the fight:

> For weeks now, the most frequently asked question nas been, "Who do you like in The Fight?" That's a capital T in "the" and a capital F in "fight" to emphasize the magnitude of this confrontation...I have a problem with the question...rather with the semantics of the question...I "like" Gerry Cooney. I like him for his outgoing nature, for his affability, for his personality...I like Gerry Cooney for his youth and the refreshing newness of

> him in a sport that needs new faces and new heroes with the departure of Muhammad Ali and the uncertainty of Sugar Ray Leonard's future...I like him because I think he owuld be a wonderful champion, a good role model for the average man, an inspiration to young people, Rocky come to life. For all these reasons, it is easy to get emotional about this fight, to allow your heart to see things your eyes miss. The romantic in me would like to see Gerry Cooney beat Larry Holmes tonight in Caesar's Palace, to become the heavyweight champion of the world, and to start a whole new era in boxing...But I don't think it will happen...If Larry Holmes beats Gerry Cooney, it will be regarded not so much as a great victory for Holmes, but as proof that Gerry Cooney was a product of men's minds, their emotions, and their hopes...the white man's fighter...To have to represent millions of people, to carry the banner of the underdog, to be a symbol for white America may be more of a burden than Gerry Cooney can shoulder...This is one time I wouldn't mind being wrong.[417]

Pepe's sentiment is evident as indicated by the preceding article. According to Pepe, if Cooney should win the fight, he would be "Rocky come to life", in accordance with the motion-picture production. His sentiment is directly based on the Caucasian-American perspective of the continuing quest for the Great White Hope. The media hype for this fight resembled the promotion of the Jack Johnson-Jim Jeffries match of 1910, and to a lesser extent, the promtion of the Joe Louis-Billy Conn match of 1946, in that these promotions were strictly based on race and racism. These are grudge matches, not in the sense of a fighter wanting to return a vendetta

against another fighter, but in the form of white American society wanting to return a vendetta against blacks (who are represented by the symbolic figure of the heavyweight champion, in these cases). A white victory in either of these matches would represent the restoration of Caucasian mental and physical (and pugilistic) supremacy. Michael Katz of the New York Times gives an analysis of the upcoming bout:

> RACIAL HYPE FOR A TITLE FIGHT
>
> Every day, Larry Holmes, the black undefeated World Boxing Council heavyweight champion, and Cooney, the undefeated challenger, have tried to fend off questions about race as their Friday night showdown nears. Relations between the two camps have been hostile and today, at a news conference, the two fighters had to appear separately and Homes apologized for it. "We cannot get along," said the champion. "But we can understand one another and should be able to to put up with each other until it is all over...Cooney's management has been successful in portraying the sympathetic underdog as a true-life "Rocky." But if Friday fight is "Rocky IV", it's a black and white movie...[418]

Katz accurately portrays the tension surrounding the upcoming bout. Holmes became disturbed over the perceived racism, and to the fact that the media was downplaying his career as champion. The "black and white movie" that Katz refers to represents the racial issues involved in the fight. The fight also symbolized and paralleled the growing racial tension in America that marked the major part of the 1980's.

For the first time in heavyweight championship

history, the challenger was given parity in wages with the champion (excluding the first Ali-Frazier fight where both had legitimate claim to the championship), and Larry Holmes became disturbed over this fact. Michael Katz reports of the Holmes reaction to his turn of events:

> "Cooney has fought only setups," he (Holmes) said. "If he weren't white, do you think he'd be here, getting the same money as me?" That kind of talk has led to accusations that Holmes is a racist. Holmes...believes "we are all God's children if we've been born under the sun." Cooney's managers, Dennis Rappaport and Mike Jones, have decried the racial issues and have blamed Holmes for them. The slogan in Cooney's camp, worn on shirts, is "Not the White Man but the Right Man."[419]

Holmes refers to the quick ascension of Cooney to a challenge for the heavyweight championship, despite having fought only marginal opponents (aside from Ken Norton), up to this point. Whether Holmes or Cooney is racist is a vague point, however, it is the media that persistently entertained the racial issue. While the general overt media attitude is to condemn racism, the overwhelming treatment of the issue is more conducive to the racial hype of the promotion than the racial differences between the two fighters. For instance, Ali's bout with Quarry, upon his return to the ring, was not as publicized from a racial standpoint (although it was a given) in terms of media racial hype as the Holmes-Cooney fight. It is because Cooney was given a great chance to dethrone Holmes that Caucasian sentiment

became over-apparent. In an article by George Vecsey of the New York Times, it is claimed that the Holmes resentment toward Cooney began years before the promotion of their bout:

> Cooney went out of his way to insult Holmes in Mexico City two years ago. Apparently, Holmes has been seething ever since. Because Cooney is white, Cooney's promoters can chatter about turning him into the next Mark Spitz or Bruce Jenner if he wins this fight. They can get him lucrative commercials which Holmes cannot get because he is black. Holmes resents this, as well as he should. Like many blacks coping with inequity, he has usually managed to temper the bitterness into a survivor's realism. Yet the waiting, the hype, the gossip of a championship fight has steeped the fires within Holmes.[420]

Although this article instigates the racial promotion of the upcoming bout, reporter George Vecsey of the New York Times is accurate in his analysis of the double standard that is imposed on the black champion with respect to commercials and endorsements (the same was true of Patterson and Johansson as Patterson was disturbed over a similar fact). In fact, this has been a persistent truth throughout the history of blacks in the major American sports. With respect to sentiment, Cooney is overwhelmingly portrayed as the pre-fight sentimental choice (against statistical logic). Bill Gallo provided a checklist that covered the following categories: power, stamina, jab, defense, speed, experience, and boxing. Five members of the News staff were polled (as Gallo

is a member) and all, overwhelmingly, chose Holmes as superior to Cooney in all categories (29-7), however, Cooney was picked to win the fight by three of the report- Gallo gives his explanation:

> On paper, Holmes is the easy winner. But forget the charts; a Cooney left hook will drop the champ and Cooney will go left-handed crazy, stopping Holmes in six rounds or less.[421]

This is obviously an exposure of Gallo's sentiment*, and not a logical choice according to his ranking of the fighters. It is a hopeful (or wishful) prediction flourished by the media redundancy of the same. Phil Pepe gave a similar explanation (although he chose Holmes to win, he "wouldn't mind being wrong"):

> If you want something badly enough, you can convince yourself that it can happen. If I close my eyes, I can allow myself to see Gerry Cooney sending devastating left hooks into Larry Holmes' body. Then I can allow myself to see Gerry Cooney switch to the head with a volley of crushing left hooks. I can see Larry Holmes on the floor and I can hear the referee count to ten and I can picture Gerry Cooney's right hand being raised in victory. I can see all these things in my mind's eye, because those are the things I want to see. But I don't think it will happen.[422]

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*Gallo never picked Ali as a "sentimental favorite" in any of his fights, and in many cases was wrong in his choice of the Ali foes in many of his major bouts, or bouts that centered around political and social overtones.

Pepe is more honest than Gallo in his logical and sentimental choices (or prediction) to win the fight. In his supposed situation, Pepe exposes his conscience as the root of his sentimental choice ("If I close my eyes...I can picture Cooney's right hand being raised in victory... because those are the things I want to see.").

An article by George Vecsey entitled, "Get It Over With", reacts to the media publicity hype of the Cooney-Holmes fight by dismissing it as a game being played by predatorial merchants. The guilty parties in such a hype are usually the sport merchants (owners, managers, etc.) and the media (newspapers, television, etc.) working hand-in hand in confluence (a symbiotic relationship) to make a profit from the athletes and the public, who are the victims of such a relationship (and the recipients of racial instigation and influence):

> The hype has reached dismal and dangerous limits this week, as Gerry Cooney has been painted as a "great white hope", resented by Larry Holmes, who was forced to defend himself against the suspicions of racism. Many people have had a role in this ugly game: the fighters, their camps, the promoters, the hotels and casinos and restaurants of Las Vegas, the closed-circuit and television people, and of course some writers who do not seem to understand they are playing with fire.[423]

Vecsey is concerned about "over-hype". It is evident that Vecsey is concerned about the racial backlash of the social masses, in the event that an undesirable social decision turns to chaos (as it did when the negative

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verdict was rendered against Jim Jeffries in his loss to Jack Johnson; nationwide racial violence).

It is already known that racism sells boxing productions, but this fight took on extra meaning, in the form of Conney as a projected "white hope". The year 1982 would mark the twenty-third year since the world has had a Caucasian champion (since Ingemar Johnsson won the title from Floyd Patterson), and the sentiment for Cooney would reach outspoken and magnificent proportions*. The "Rocky" series helped to promote the production of Holmes-Cooney in major proportions. Time Magazine featured a cover story photo of Gerry Cooney and Sylvester Stallone (as the character, "Rocky" Balboa) which emphasizes a relationship between American values, "white hopism", and racism. The issue of race proved to be a greater selling item for this fight than Cooney's remarkable boxing record. Most of the fans and reporters who anticipated the match would be conscious of the "Rocky" series (which had become imbedded into common American psychology):

> COONEY COUNTY CHEERS
>
> Beer and champagne flowed throughout the fight. "This is Rocky I, II, and III all

*The events of the period of the 1980's would uncover much suppressed racism.

> in one night," said Michael Murphy. "I went to see Rocky III last night just to get warmed up for tonight."[424]

The above article-excerpt represents a typical fan's conception and merger of fantasy and reality. In his last statement, he converges sport, theater, and racial sentiment in one phrase. Cooney's manager, Dennis Rappaport*, remarked that Gerry Cooney would represent an instant American symbol should he win his fight with Larry Holmes:

> "What you see with Gerry is what you get," says Dennis Rappaport, Cooney's manager. "We're going to sell reality. There's going to be a love affair between the rest of the world and Gerry Cooney,"..."There will be America, apple pie, Wheaties and Gerry Cooney," he says.[425]

Rappaport's statement, "We're going to sell reality", represents the Caucasian-American ambition of the quest for a "white hope". The "reality" that Rappaport refers to is the reality of a white champion of Irish-American ancestry, in replacement of a black, or auxiliary black "white hope" such as Louis and Patterson. "America, apple pie, Wheaties, and Gerry Cooney" are more metaphorical terms that are used in a sense of the merger of American ideals and the collective sentiment in the promotion of

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*Cooney's manager, Dennis Rappaport, was accused by Larry Holmes of promoting racism.

Cooney as a "white hope".

The media attention given sport was considerably less during the pre-Jack Johnson era, than that of the later eras (with the exception of major interracial heavyweight championship matches involving Jack Johnson; total sports media coverage would begin to increase during the 1920's, with Babe Ruth and Jack Dempsey, etc.). However, with consideration to the *total* sports coverage of a specific event of the same proportionate magnitude, there is more discussion of race as a factor in a sporting event *per article* in the Holmes-Cooney pre-fight coverage than any of the interracial or political athletic events in the 20th Century. Ken Norton and Larry Holmes were both fighters who had given Muhammad Ali trouble in the ring. Cooney had already destroyed Norton in the first round, the year previous (at Madison Square Garden). Norton, also, had given Holmes trouble in a grueling 15-round match in 1978 for the vacated heavyweight championship of Muhammad Ali. It may have seemed practical for a Cooney upset on paper, based on the one-round knockout of Norton, enough so that the fight drew the richest gate in history (up to that point). By the day of the fight, black-white anticipation of the results of the fight grew to a frenzy. The promise of Cooney's aides to have him "fight dirty" in retaliation to Holmes' supposed "dirty" tactics became well known by the day

of the fight. The sports headline of the New York Post read:

> 'KICK HIM IN THE GROIN'
>
> Aides to Cooney: Fight Dirty if Holmes Uses His Thumb
>
> "We have instructed Gerry to drive his knee into Larry Holmes groin if Holmes tries to blind Gerry with his thumb, as Holmes has a history of doing."[426]

The New York Post is guilty of promoting racial antagonism through the accentuation (back-page sports headline) of "locker room" conversation, as such an act, understood by all boxers, in entirely against the rules. The intimidating effect that such a statement has on another fighter is minimal compared to the racial instigation that an article-headline of this magnitude can have on society. In analogy, such a headline brings to mind the collective lynchings, and ultimate castrations of thousands of blacks throughout American history, by whites. Holmes gives his reaction to the Cooney camp:

> "I don't like Cooney-and this ain't no pre-fight hype....I've developed a strong dislike for him and the people around him. They've built Cooney up into something he ain't, a top contender. I believe in earning what you get in life. Cooney hasn't earned this shot. He hasn't earned the right to be rated among the top three contenders. He's where he is because he is a white heavyweight. Who did Cooney beat? Nobody!"[427]

Holmes appears disturbed over the racial innuendos surrounding the fight, and the over-rating of Cooney as a cham-

pionship contender. In that these articles foster racial curiosity toward the fight, the media neglects the well-being of the American society that is forced to deliberate these issues. Michael Norman of the New York Times Magazine captures the dilemma which is posed by Gerry Cooney:

> ...But there is still constant discussion about Gerry Cooney's race. In some quarters it is considered a liability. White heavyweights, it is argued, have not in recent years shown the same skills as their black counterparts, so as a white fighter, Cooney carries the stigma of mediocrity and failure. Larry Holmes puts it another way. He recently dubbed Cooney, "The Great White Hype."[428]

The issue of race, as applied to the promotion of this fight, was thorough, persistent and resulted in tumultous public apprehension of the spectacle. The "Great White Hype" term used by Holmes is accurate in the social and economic sense, however, Cooney's boxing record, up to that point (25-0, 21 knockouts), had to be considered, as he was the most impressive Caucasian heavyweight fighter in the world. In terms of equal opportunity, Cooney did deserve the match.

In the same article, Norman goes further, as he discusses the economics and politics of boxing and Gerry Cooney:

> In other quarters, his race is considered an asset. Publicly, the sport's top promoters and matchmakers insist that it is *great* fighters who sell tickets, not *black* or *white* fighters. But privately, many echo the words of Dennis Rappaport, when he says, "The reality is, a lot of people will pay to see Gerry because he's white." If history is any gauge, Gerry Cooney is

> in a familiar position. "The black-white conflict has been one of the great recurring themes in boxing" says John P. Heinz, a boxing historian and a law professor at Northwestern University."...And in general, I think you can say that in boxing, ethnic and racial enthusiasms have always been exploited.*[429]

The execution of this real-life promotion of "Rocky" was perpetual in the media. As noted in the previous article, "race is a recurring theme in boxing". Media-wise, the over-enhanced hype of the upcoming bout can suitably referred to as "promotional overkill". This factor reached symbolic proportions, as noted by Jerry Lisker of the New York Post:

> Cooney, meanwhile, received a visit from Sylvester Stallone. The two talked about fights, strategy and tomorrow night's historic encounter. Cooney, 25, uses the underdog theme of Stallone's *Rocky* movies as a source of inspiration. I love the *Rocky* movies and it's true I associate with the Rocky character," Cooney said.[430]

The movie actor, Stallone, would receive a public statue from the city of Philadelphia in direct acclaim to his character, "Rocky", that he played on film (yet publicly interpreted as a symbol of white morale; could also

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*Heinz used the historical reference of a bout between Tom Molineaux (an ex-slave who won his freedom through boxing victories for his master) and Tom Cribb (the British bare-knuckle champion). Molineaux was cheated out of a knockout victory, as the referee allowed Cribb to continue, two minutes after he was knocked unconscious (Dec. 10, 1810). Cribb won the bout in the 40th round.

have helped to "spark" the racial tension of the 1980's and early 90's that exists in nationwide America as well as sit-coms and other media; films depicted Caucasian dominance and Negro subordinance). Should Cooney win this fight, his popularity would soar beyond description. If Holmes wins, it will be "just another day at the job", with respect to the inequality of significance, in the media. Bill Verigan of the Daily News (the reporter who stated that Ali vs. Foreman "wasn't a good fight") actually promoted the "inequality" between the two fighters:

> Even now he is being treated like an equal to Cooney, a mere challenger. It is galling to Holmes to see Cooney's face staring at him from the cover of Time and Sports Illustrated when he passes the newstand on his way to his workouts. One day, Holmes' name was even spelled wrong on the marquee in front of Caesar's Palace and the hotel bosses showed up at Cooney's workouts, but never came to his. These are difficult times for Holmes. The fight has even taken on racial overtones..."He wanted parity, he got parity," Holmes said, "but parity ends when we step in that ring. Then there's no parity, no controversy, only the two of us."[431]

Verigan assumes innocence ("the fight has even taken on racial overtones") in his camouflage of the previous racial remarks, yet he is accurate in his description. By fight time, the depictions, denunciations and issues based on a racial nature would come to a peak. The "inequality" of Holmes (because he was black) and Cooney (because he was white) was plainly evident to the eager

American fans. Jerry Lisker of the New York Post promoted and billed the fight in his sport headline:

> EYES OF THE WORLD FOCUS ON COONEY-HOLMES WAR
>
> D-Day Here At Last
>
> When the desert sun drops below the mountains, Holmes, the sharecropper's son from rural Georgia, will stand eyeball-to-eyeball with the construction worker's son from Exit 49 on the Long Island Expressway.[432]

Holmes is depicted in stereotypical fashion ("sharecropper's son") as coming from an inferior background to Cooney ("construction worker's son"), who is depicted in the American "mold" and in a favorite light. With all said and done, the fight would take place.

On the evening of June 11, 1982, Larry Holmes knocked out Gerry Cooney in the 13th round of a very competitive fight. Unusual and for the first time, the champion was introduced before the challenger. Thus, the failure of, yet, another "white hope". There was immediate disappointment and anger by the media, which took the form of harsh criticism of Cooney in the post-fight reportage (although he put up a good fight). Dave Anderson of the New York Times:

> His mother probably had a better right hand. His jab has no power...He never appeared to hurt Larry Holmes, except when he accidentally thudded a left hook into the champion's abdominal protector.[433]

This article-excerpt represents covert anger and major disappointment over the Caucasian loss in the racial

showdown, and an insult to Cooney, who fought as best he could under the circumstances and did a workmanlike job (although this is downplayed because of the nature of the loss). The author, Anderson, does not pretend or make any attempt to withold his anger towards Cooney.

The Holmes-Cooney fight raised other queries as well. One had to do with the scoring of the fight. Except for scoring deductions made by the referee of Cooney's constant fouling (hitting below the belt), the judges of the fight had Cooney ahead in points at the time of the knockout (in a fight most witnesses considered to be a one-sided Holmes affair). At one point, the action had to be stopped for at least two minutes, with Holmes in obvious pain from a Cooney low blow. The correct action of the referee should have been to disqualify Cooney from the contest, however, he saw it fit to take away 3 point from Cooney for three separate fouling incidents (although there were more). Prior to the fight, the Holmes camp was disturbed over the choice of officials (whom they thought to be incompetent). Bill Verigan of the Daily News reported:

> Fight Cards Show Holmes Was Right To Doubt Officials
>
> All week long, Larry Holmes' entourage fretted over the officials. Most people thought they were protesting too much. But their protests became very valid last night when the scorecards for the bout were tallied. A poll did not reveal a single writer who gave Gerry Cooney more than

> four rounds. If referee Mills Lane had not deducted three points from Cooney for flagrant fouling, two of the three judges would have had the challenger ahead when the bout was stopped...(Holmes) said, "I want to compliment Gerry Cooney. I think he's a great fighter. I don't think he has anything to be ashamed of."[434]

The "anger" over Cooney's loss is reflected in this clear defense of Larry Holmes, by Verigan. The author is hinting at racism among the officials of the bout (and witholding his own; comes to Holmes defense because he is angry and disappointed over the symbolic Cooney loss, and also his ambitious pro-Cooney remarks made before the fight). With the end of this fight, Verigan becomes a "morality guardian", in his stand against racism ("white hopism"), scandal (conspiracy to "create" a white champion), and foul play (Cooney's foul tactics). In a subsequent article, he vindicates himself further:

> Judges Almost Robbed Justice
>
> Cooney Led 2 Cards On Rounds, but Holmes Ended Possible Scandal
>
> Holmes appeared to win at least nine of the 12 rounds..."The scoring was deplorable, disgraceful," said Don King..."It mystifies me. I had concern before the fight started. I think we were playing against a stacked deck."[435]

Verigan is honest about the racial scandal to dethrone Holmes on points, and subsequently clears his readers' consciences of any sentiment for Gerry Cooney.

Budd Schulberg of the New York Post gives his analysis of the scoring:

> If there is any such thing as a justifiable riot, this would have been it. On the card of this observer, admittedly a personal friend of Gerry Cooney's, it was 116-110 going into round 13, and at that point, a cryptic note reminded us: *Gerry needs KO to win*. Any other reading is suspect. Either they were blinded by the incessant Nevada sun or they brought their prejudices to ringside and dabbed them on their score-cards.[436]

Although the controversy of the scoring was a moot point, in that Holmes stopped Cooney in the 13th round, the media confirmation of the unfairness would continue. For the most part, the media was angry over their own hype of Cooney, and his resultant failure to win. In effect, the media would begin "pointing fingers" at each other, with respect to the racial hype fostering. Schulberg, author of a four-part series on racism and professional boxing prior to the fight, gives his reaction to the racial media hype:

> ...Victor Valle mercifully jumped through (the ropes) to save our most promising but still novitiate contender to fight another day...Now for the soggy part: the pre-fight hype, with unfortunate emphasis on race hostility, was triggered in part by unabashed allegiance to white hope-ism a chauvinism that refuses to die and was aggravated by Larry Holmes' bitter conviction that only the color of his skin relegated him to the ghetto of the inside flap while Cooney graced the cover...there were charges from promoter Don King and the Winner and Still Champion that the black man was still getting the short end.[437]

This battle between Cooney and Holmes was epic, with regard to racial media hype. After the bout, the sport media would deny personal fostering and promotion of racial issues and Caucasian-American values.

The overwhelming immediate hype for Gerry Cooney emerged through the sentiment of the live fans, most of whom razzed/booed the champion (in a manner similar to the Louis-Conn bout of 1941*, when it appeared that Conn had more then a chance to win; a bout that also ended in a 13-round knockout). George Vecsey of the New York Times noted:

> Gerry Cooney was more popular than Larry Holmes. The roars were thick, as Cooney, wrapped in a bright green cape, moved toward his corner. And there were boos, plenty of boos, for Larry Holmes, the undefeated champion. The truth was clear, and at least a little sad: More Americans who could afford the tickets and the air fare...were rooting for an undefeated white man with a marginal ring record than were rooting for the champion, who is a black man...But did Larry Holmes deserve the boos? Did Larry Holmes do anything more than be a non-charismatic champion in the post-Muhammad Ali era? Did Larry Holmes - who as he puts it - do anything more wrong than be black?[438]

Vecsey refers to the collective white sentiment against Holmes by the live fight fans, which he termed was "at least a little sad". He stereotypes the fight crowd

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*The Joe Louis-Billy Conn bout led to many "what ifs" by the media, and the Holmes-Cooney affair would be no different.

as "the ones who could afford it", as most of them were white and anti-Holmes. As noted historically, the white establishment of America will accept a white championship (or victory) even if it is obtained unfairly, as noted through the unjust dethroning and exiling of champions such as Muhammad Ali and Jack Johnson, respectively; or unfair scoring and/or illegal manipulation of rules, as noted by the Tom Cribb-Tom Molineaux bareknuckle bout of 1810 where the referee allowed the white champion, Cribb, to continue after being knocked unconscious for over two minutes. The referee of that bout's actions were recorded:

> Tom Molineaux was bilked out of his rightful victory. Molineaux knocked Cribb down-and-out in the twenty-eighth round. Cribb's second, Joe Ward, leaped into the ring and accused Molineaux of having lead weights concealed in his hands. Meanwhile the referee, Ap Rhys Price exhorted the slowly reviving Cribb, "Now, Tom, now! For God's sake, don't let the nigger win. Remember the honour ot Old England."...Cribb lay unconscious two minutes. Finally Ward's trick paid off. Cribb regained his feet. The fight continued and Tom Cribb "won" in the fortieth round...[439]

This historical example of racism in professional boxing typifies the sentiment of American whites in favor of Cooney ("don't let the nigger win"). In an article by Dave Anderson of the New York Times, the "what-ifs" are demonstrated:

> ...if Cooney somehow had been able to win the 13th round, and also the 14th and 15th, he would be reigning as champion. On the scorecards of both Duane Ford and Dave Moretti through 12 rounds, Larry Holmes was ahead on points, 113-111; if Gerry Cooney had been able to win the remaining three rounds, even if only by 10-9 in each round he would have finished ahead on both those cards, 141-140. "And the new World Boxing Council heavyweight champion," the ring announcer, Chuck Hall, would have intoned, "Gerry Cooney."[440]

This supposed scenario (or "wishful thinking") was also depicted after the first Joe Louis bout with Billy Conn, and set the stage for a rematch that Louis won more easily than the first. The quest for a "great white hope" ended, once again, in failure and disappointment, as well as anger. Steve Serby of the New York Post noted the crowd reaction to the low blows by Cooney:

> The crowd roared its approval when Cooney doubled Holmes over in the ninth round with a low blow that caused a short delay.[441]

This is proof that unfairness and victory work hand-in-hand, with respect to American tradition.

In the final analysis, the Holmes-Cooney bout brought out the "worst" in the fans and the media, in exposing racism. The majority of national media sentiment was apprehensive about a possible victory of another "great white hope", although this was 1982, a time of technological, educational, and civilized advancement. Up to this point in time, the American society had always turned its back on the black "white hope" and symbol

of American values and ideals, in favor of the white "white hope", who represented these causes more seriously because of the color of his skin. This appeared to be the case with Patterson and Johansson, Louis and Conn, and now Holmes and Cooney (although Holmes was less of a black "white representative" than Louis and Patterson).

Jerry Izenberg of the New York Post called for American reform in its racist attitudes:

> "I didn't fight this fight for all the black people in America."...Certainly the agony of what both fighters endured in the brutal heat for nearly 39 emotional minutes was for their own pride and motivation as opposed to their assigned roles of breathing life into a tired and dangerous mythology, which should have been sent to a dishonored grave centuries ago. Gerry Cooney never was Rocky I, II or even XII any more than Larry Holmes ever was (although Hollywood scenarios, no matter how redundant, would never have given him black skin)...As the fighter rose from his stool to go out...Rappaport shrieked at him: "America needs you... America needs you."...I think it is time for America to grow up...I think the time has come when a dangerous myth should be neither sold nor believed ever again.[442]

Izenberg discusses American racism and the "mythology" connected with the course of the "great white hope" throughout history (as it found its way into the ring with Holmes and Cooney). The shriek of Cooney's manager, "America needs you", is equivalent to "the white man needs you". At this time, much of media racism is either

"camouflaged" through linguistics (imagery, semantics, metaphor, opinions attitudes, etc.) or overtly stated (in some cases). The "Rocky" issue was convenient, in that much of this racism could be "umbrellaed", or shielded, by this movie phenomenon. Many would claim that the movie itself may have encouraged the enthusiasm and apprehension of the Holmes-Cooney bout from a racial standpoint. George Vecsey of the New York Times explains:

> This is a country that loves Rocky and roots against Apollo Creed until Creed gets smart and goes on Rocky's side. Then there will always be another black protagonist who will be meaner and uglier than the last one. These are the movies Gerry Cooney watched as he prepared for his title fight. These are the dreams that led one of Cooney's managers, Mike Jones, to say last week: "Gerry is not only a great fighter, he is an image of America-the America we like to think about." But what does he mean, "We?" So the great collective We was cheering for Gerry Cooney on Friday night...waiting to see which version of Rocky would come out of the can. And everybody lucked out...Holmes knows he will never be Muhammad Ali or Joe Louis, in black eyes or white eyes, but Larry Holmes deserves better than to be cast as the heavy in America's pop-culture dreams. Gerry Cooney also deserves better than perceiving himself in terms of a movie... Gerry Cooney can tell people to bag the black-white stuff and respect him for himself, and to respect Larry Holmes for beating him. That would be better than any movie.[443]

According to Cooney's manager, Mike Jones, "Cooney is an image of the America we like to think about". This is an indirect inference to Caucasian supremacy, or

dominance, in the major American professions. Vecsey uses the images of Muhammad Ali and Joe Louis as contrasting American symbols, and Holmes as neither a subscriber, nor a protegé of either conception. This article-excerpt reflects all of the racial insinuations and connotations that were focused upon the two principals, and used as an instrument in the promotion of the fight (and indirectly, the promotion of the "Rocky" movie series). The hypocrisy of the American Ideal is reflected in the American adoration of its movie idols, one of which became the President of the United States. Cooney was merely filling a real-life role, based on the prejudice and support of American fanfare. The ironic twist is that the sport journalists who ultimately dismissed and denounced the racism involved in the promotion of the fight, were also the foremost propagators of this idea.

At this point, the post-Muhammad Ali section will close. The next chapter will discuss the major American sports of the 20th century, in terms of the Johnson-Louis-Ali eras. Select sporting events of major significance will be used to represent the media racial attitudes over this time period.

Other Sports of the Twentieth Century

This section will take into account the other major sports of the Jack Johnson, Joe Louis and Muhammad Ali eras, and will chart sporting events and players for the differences and comparisons of media appraisals by race. Baseball is the oldest of the modern American major sports. Although blacks would not formally enter major league baseball until 1946, baseball would thrive with its early legendary and immortalized heroes. Among these heroes is first and foremost, Babe Ruth*. Other early American baseball heroes include Ty Cobb, Ted Williams, Lou Gehrig, and later Joe Dimaggio. Football is also deep-rooted into the American conscience. Names like Knute Rockne, Y.A. Tittle, Johnny Unitas, Joe Namath and O.J. Simpson, have become enshrined in sport media. Basketball is similar. National white figures such as Bob Cousy, Bob Pettit, Jerry West and Larry Bird stand in parallel to black figures such as Oscar Robertson, Wilt Chamberlain, Bill Russell, Kareem Abdul-Jabbar, "Magic" Johnson and Michael Jordan, in the quest of top legendary honors. The immortalized white sports heroes

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*Brings up the notion of statistical performance of athletes. baseball statistics have become a convenient mechanism that the media uses to display white superiority in the sport of baseball. Even with statistics, there is no means of comparing or measuring historic with contemporary baseball athletes and teams accurately, except through actual competition (which is impossible).

(along with tokenized black sports heroes, past and present), have become symbols of white supremacy by the media enhancement of their legendary status.

Babe Ruth is probably ranked highest of all white (and black) legendary sports heroes (even above the legendary boxing champions Jack Dempsey and Rocky Marciano). In symbolic terms, he is the standard of excellence of many American institutions. Marshall Smelser (1988) gives an appraisal of the Ruth contribution to the American Ideal:

> No one was more persistently popular, not even Lindbergh. The press used hundreds of tons of extra newsprint to tell of Lindbergh, but the story ran out in a few years. Babe Ruth's story went on and on. He met an elemental need of the crowd. Every hero must have his human flaw which he shares with his followers. In Ruth it was hedonism, as exaggerated in folklore and fable. If he had been nothing more than an exceptional batter, he would have been respected, but he attracted more than respect. The public love of Ruth approached idolatry, and his reputed carnality was necessary to the folk-hero pattern.[444]

Ruth's legendary counterpart in the American Ideal is Jack Dempsey, as both made their heyday during the 1920's (The "Golden Age" of sport). Nat Fleischer acknowledges the American phenomenon which took the form of Dempsey:

> He was truly one of the Golden People of sports in the Golden Decade, the 1920's, along with Babe Ruth, Red Grange, Knute Rockne, Gertrude Ederle, Bobby Jones, Helen Wills, Ty Cobb, and Gene Tunney - that immortal group which has been placed on Olympian pedestals.[445]

With all due respect, Ty Cobb, who is more popularly known as baseball's first "superstar" of the 20th Century, was a sports figure during the pre-Johnson era, and had his heyday before the 1920's. Fleischer, who seems anxious to group Cobb with legendary sports heroes of the 1920's, overlooks this fact (maybe purposely so). Note also the exclusion of blacks on this list (as there were various sports leagues which were exclusive to blacks, and produced a great share of "immortals"). Babe Ruth became the symbol of this era (early 20th Century), and his enigma would be incorporated into the American conscience thereafter. His 714 home run career record provides the main strength of his immortality (including 60 in one season with the New York Yankees). Paul Gallico of the Daily News provided a weekly feature of the great white athletes of the "Golden Era" (from Feb. - Mar. 1964) entitled, "The Golden People":

> Ty Cobb, Stormy Petrel of AL, Was Greatest Baseball Player Ever
>
> ...If Babe Ruth was the best loved player of all time, Ty Cobb was the most hated and in our story-book era; he must go down as the undisputed champion of the heavies. ...He was the most aggressive, tryingest, never-give-up, get the hell out of my way fighter who ever rattled a pitcher, stole a base, or tore into home plate, spikes high. There isn't anyone even remotely like him operating on any diamond today, or probably even living, for the breed he represents...[446]

This is a typical aggrandizement of the legendary white athlete, much to the denouncement and/or exclusion of black athletes of equal or more ability. Through the power of the pen and the opinion of the sport journalist, less statistical proof, the white athlete is hoisted unto "unreachable" heights with respect to legend (and the media determines this as "fact").

Incidents of Racial Sport Media

With Babe Ruth setting the standard for excellence in sport, other "white" figures would emerge to standardize excellence in the other sporting fields, as previously mentioned. In this section, incidents of racial sport media will be grouped in a chronological sequence (not by sport). The Jesse Owens' Olympic triumphs of 1936 will begin this chronology of the other sports. The 1930's also saw the re-emergence of the black sports superstar in white sports, not previously seen since the dispersal of the immortal and legendary black heavyweight champion, Jack Johnson, who lost his championship to Jess Willard in 1916. Johnson was the first black to break the "color line" of white sports, in major league and championship terms. With his loss to Willard, the color line of major league sports was redrawn by Willard, Dempsey, Tunney and others who followed. With

the emergence of Joe Louis in boxing and Jesse Owens in track and field (which is a professional amateur sport) in the 1930's the color line of sport would again break.

Jesse Owens began setting world records in track and field while in high school. He continued to improve his championship form while at Ohio State University, where he seized the opportunity to join the United States Olympic Team in 1936. His Olympic debut coincided with young contender Joe Louis' first defeat in the boxing ring (to Max Schmeling six weeks previous). Louis' defeat was taken hard by American black communities that stored great faith in his victorious career, up to this point. Although this would be a temporary setback for Louis, he and Owens were the two most popular and accomplished black athletes in the world of white (American) major sports. William J. Baker makes the point:

> Jesse Owens rise to prominence coincided with the emergence of another black athlete, Joe Louis. While Jesse blazed his trail at Ohio State, Louis turned from a highly successful amateur boxing career to enter the professional ranks. By the summer of 1936 he had made quick work of black and white opponents alike. Jesse Owens and Joe Louis stood together as stellar black athletes, exceptions to the rule of white dominance in the mid-1930's.[447]

The 1936 Olympics provided Jesse Owens with a major political arena. This Olympics was held in Berlin, Germany, in the midst of political terror and turmoil, under the reign of Adolf Hitler and his Third Reich. As Joe Louis had recently lost a major bout with the Nazi representative, Max Schmeling, Jesse Owens would symbolically carry the weight of America in his quest to disprove the theory of Aryan supremacy; a theme that many countries feared and also has a desire to disprove. Americans feared that with the defeat of Joe Louis at German hands, and uncertainty toward Louis in a possible rematch with Schmeling*, that other top black athletes might also fail in an attempt to eliminate the Nazi myth. However, in a historic and record-breaking performance, the American Olympic track and field team destroyed the myth of Aryan supremacy in symbol and performance. Jesse Owens led the victorious Americans with four Gold Medals. As reflected by the media, the American society was basically ecstatic over this glorious symbolic achievement. However, even with the ecstasy over this symbolic achievement, the media still referred to black athletes

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*When Schmeling beat Louis, it was feared that he would be a logical choice for the next shot at the championship, held by James J. Braddock; a predicted "easy" win for Schmeling. It was feared that Louis would thus never get another chance at Schmeling (and Germany would monopolize the championship), but Braddock opted to fight Louis. After Louis won the championship, Schmeling would challenge Louis for it when they fought again in 1938.

in negative media usage. Arhur Daley of the New York Times reported the first Owens triumph in the 1936 Olympics:

> OWENS CAPTURES OLYMPIC TITLE, EQUALS WORLD 100 METER RECORD
>
> Jesse Owens, Ohio State's Negro ace, stepped into his destined role as Olympic champion. ...German nationalism and the prejudice that seems to go along with it revealed themselves somewhat disagreeably this afternoon. The Fuehrer...wished to avoid shaking hands with the Negro high jumpers, Cornelius Johnson and Dave Albritton...If Hitler is going to avoid the Afro-Americans, he is going to have his work cut out for him. John Woodruff, Pitt freshman, spread-eagled the field in his 800-meter semi-final... Woodruff is also a Negro.[448]

Daley is evidently referring to Hitler's well-publicized "snub" of the victorious black American athletes, with respect to the traditional congratulations of the representative leaders of the Olympic host nation. With the demonstration of perceived racism by Hitler, in the media, the issue of race became a major issue in the United States. With ambiguity and hypocrisy, the media stood in behalf of the Negro Olympic athletes and Owens, and denounced the portrayal of racism as demonstrated by Hitler, although the duality of life ("Jim Crow") was still being practiced in the United States. Hugh Bradley of the New York Post was one such reporter:

> Like Hitler, Critics Should Study Text of 13th Amendment
>
> These boys stem from a race which has in turn been persecuted, neglected and exploited.

> No matter what form the treatment has taken, the race usually has emerged sorely tried and baffled. Right now it is being victimized by maudlin sentiment. History and more immediate evidence indicating that silly shouting about one man's color blindness probably will have no more effect upon Jim Crow law in the South than it will have upon the greedy exploitation of Joe Louis in New York. What would do the world - as well as the more vociferous quacks of the United States - some good would be an honest reaffirmation of the constitutional guarantee that all men are created free and equal. With that might come some realization that the three boys to whom Hitler was guilty of gross discourtesy are dark-skinned merely by the chance of centuries ago. By choice, as well as right, they are American citizens...and should be treated as such abroad as well as at home.[449]

Bradley is obviously caught up in the excitement and proudness of the black American Olympic achievements, as well as the popular and increasing American displeasure and distaste for Adolf Hitler and the Nazi supremacy myth. He is undeterred by personal opinion (or racial reservations) in his unquestionable praise and admiration for the Negro track and field athletes, and his liberal evaluation of the black race within the American system. In a subsequent article, Bradley espouses:

> Definitely the rise of the American Negro to world-wide athletic distinction only parallels previous comings to glory of the Irish and several other immigrating races. Indeed right now Italians, most of them second generation boys, are going through much the same process...the point I am trying to make is that a nation - woefully neglectful in the past and still far from provident enough - has lately been providing these young men with some

> oppurtunity. Handicaps, bars, taboos, have at least been partially lifted. Playgrounds, trained instructors and far more intangible aids have been made available for the Johnsons, the Owenses, and the Woodruffs. That they have made good use of them, as have other races in the past, is something of which every American can be proud. Probably more than even similar occasional success in the professions and arts, it indicates that we are advancing toward settling a problem that has itched far longer than Hitler. [450]

In this article-excerpt, Bradley makes a plea for the full equality of the black race in America, based on the merits of Owens and the other black American Olympians of 1936; noting also the gains made through sports by other immigrant groups. Although his is basically a lone journalistic voice on the matter in 1936, Bradley, nevertheless, is optimistic (in a foolhardy sense) that the black American situation will change. Not a popular idea at the time, one reader of Bradley's column denounces his notion of black equality:

> Dear Sir:
>
> ...First I wish to say that on several attempts made to follow your writing...I caught at least some broken fragments, which, when pieced together, one makes out a new decalogue, in behalf of the African species. But when you go to the Declaration of Independence, you merely invoke something that is quite abstract. The historians could tell you that our early settlers had no Negroes in mind. This was merely a declaration against a ruling force, which knew no Negroes...Aside, you refer to early Southern history for historical facts, for

> reference of the Oglethorpes, the Scotch settlers of Daniels, who said, "The Negro has no place on this continent. The white man is bringing upon himself a burden that will constantly plague him. It will cause a decadence in his moral fibre." And he closes by saying, "return those Negroes to Africa, from whence you brought them." To that I wish to add, there are thousands of white people who still subscribe to that sentiment. By your own words of admission, the words you speak have been disregarded entirely upon white man's sentiment, and that collectivity is the basis of man's law. If you wish to crusade and champion the Blacks, and your words help point the way, when you state they have been exploited... you fail to mention that the European powers have done the exploitation. So why not take yourself over there...Tell them...how they rape white women...when they are given some freedom as here in New York, that when a white person has to go through Harlem how they call him White Bastard, and that probably includes the Bradleys. But don't tell them some of the things the policemen can tell you in private. Tell Mussolini and Hitler, you are making a mistake, in not learning how to use a razor, crap shooting, and that if you want to see polygamy at its best to see some Africans. Tell them of the cultural music, and yea! man stuff. I'm sure Europe would enjoy this. You really have so much crusading to do, that I don't know why you're wasting your time over here. And when you go, please take with you all the other John Browns, and the Negroes, but please forget to come back. Please tell your chocolate writing editor that if the Harlem report was let out, it might incite the whites to riot against the communists and a few of your type.
>
> H. Stoluraw,
> Manhattan[451]

This is an angry racist reaction (typical of 1936), although it starts out somewhat intellectual and historical,

to the content of Bradley's "pro-black" articles. The reader cites the typical steretypes ("crap-shooting", "razors", polygamy, rape against white women, etc.), innuendos and denunciations of the entire black race. At this point in American history, white Americans (what the reader calls the "collective white sentiment is the basis for man's law") were unready to accept the image of equality of blacks. The reader is angry at Bradley for even suggesting the idea, and the New York Post saw it fit to print this popular racist rebuttal.

Reporter John Kieran of the New York Times referred to Jesse Owens as the "Dark Streak from Ohio State" or "Dark Streak" indiscriminately, throughout his analysis of the Negro track star (as he constantly referred to Joe Louis as the "Dark Destroyer" and "Shufflin' Joe"). Black Americans were winning the majority of the track and field events and the American media was emphasizing that point as a gloat (in a quest to "rub it in their faces, specifically meaning Hitler and the Nazis). One German official referred to the victorious black American athletes as "black auxiliaries". Frederick T. Birchall of the New York Times relates this point:

> The Angriff is attacking the Americans for bringing "black auxiliaries" to the Olympics. It says incidentally that the Americans are not as good as they were expected to be while the competitive capacity of the Europeans, particularly the Germans, has increased remarkably.[452]

The German viewpoint that "the Americans are not as good as they were expected to be", is obviously an estimation of the American team without its "black auxiliaries", judged on a white athletic standard. This opinion also reflects disappointment and the "sour grapes" attitude of the defeated German leadership (in symbolic terms).

John Kieran referred to Owens as the "Dark Streak" in an attempt to captivate the American audience with the illusion of American dominance and black subordination in this symbolic cause (a symbolic prelude to World War II). At this time, blacks in America had not yet achieved equal rights with the majority and still lived lived under the rigors of the "Jim Crow" system. John Kieran's articles provided a continuation of the minstrel image of blacks in the media, and evidence of the perpetual attitude of most white Americans toward blacks:

> There He Goes Again!
>
> When the Dark Streak from Ohio State took the 100-meter sprint, the onlookers were warned by those who know that Jesse was just starting. Or as they had it in the "Show Boat" script: "Only the beginning, folks! Only the beginning!"...Jesse also plays the saxophone. It's a good thing there is no saxophone championship in the Olympic arena or Herr Hitler might have to leave early again on account of bad traffic conditions near the Brandenburg Gate. After Corny Johnson had taken the high jump and Owens had taken the 100-

> meter sprint and the broad jump, along came John Woodruff, another Negro athlete, to win the 800-meter final. According to certain sections of the Nazi creed, things must have looked very dark by that time...Jess Owens runs faster than the wind.[453]

Elements of this analysis of Jesse Owens are depictions which have evolved from genetic studies and generalizations which allude to biological myths of the Negro. The "saxophone" comment may refer to the mythical Negro quality of rhythm and musicality, while the exaggerated comment of Owens' speed ("faster than the wind") may allude to myriad genetic studies conserning conveniently-placed muscle fibers for speed, "cultural quickness", "reaction" in certain physical situations, etc. Many of these studies, along with inferior depictions of blacks in the general media, were accepted as fact by the general white society, in that they accomodated the rising show of talent demonstrated by emerging blacks in major American sports. Outright racial genre is demonstrated in Kieran's humorous phrase, "things must have looked very dark by that time", in his estimation of the German reaction to America's black-dominated Olympic track and field triumphs. Arthur Daley of the New York Times gives another appraisal of Owens:

> No human being ever moved faster. The Buckeye Bullet caromed around the turn from the staggered start and when he hit the home stretch he was at the head of the parade. Calmly,

> Owens glided along- no strain, no sign of exertion, but an automaton, moving on to fulfill his destiny...Owens fled like a frightened deer.[454]

This article-excerpt features both inanimate and animate objects in reference to jesse Owens (the "Buckeye Bullet" and a "frightened deer"). The black, in this case, has no human qualities (an "automaton" or programmed robot that does not proceed under his own will, but by the orders, or command, of white American intelligentsia). John Kieran continues his negative usage of Negro depictions in the media with this article-excerpt regarding the American triumph:

> But for short work, the Dark Streak from Ohio state is the fastest thing without wheels...The Dark Streak from Ohio State is just a neat bundle of steel springs. Not too tall, not too broad. Just medium to well-done.[455]

What Kieran could be explaining, in symbolic language, is that Owens is "not too black", and that it is alright for whites to identify with this black American athlete*. Owens is also described in non-humanistic terms by Kieran ("just a neat bundle of steel springs" and "the fastest

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*In the sense that he was also a medium brown-skinned black man, and America, at the time, seemed to dispense attitudes toward blacks based on a color stratification. This fact is prevalent in the West Indian islands and South African apartheid.

thing without wheels").

Aside from Jack Johnson, Joe Louis and Jesse Owens led a black crusade toward equal opportunity in America, and they did this through athletic victories. They also did this through their acceptance by the general media and public (a quality that lacked in Jack Johnson's campaign). They helped to re-establish the nature of blacks in the perception of white attitudes, although inequality still existed socially and politically. William J. Baker sums up the crusade of these black athletic pioneers to the cause of civil rights for blacks:

> America's black community fixed its attention on both men, viewing them as leaders on the road to a new era of black achievement and recognition. Their prowess, according to one spokesman, would alter "the usual appraisal of Negroes by the rank and file of the American public." Whites might continue to ignore the talents of such artists and intellectuals as Paul Robeson, Louis Armstrong, Langston Hughes, and W.E.B. DuBois, but they could not, and would not, fail to appreciate the athletic feats of Joe Louis and Jesse Owens. "If these two mere boys have done nothing more than just awaken curiosity in Negroes in million of white minds," a black journalist noted in 1935, "they have served their race well."[456]

Another sporting incident occurred on October 23, 1945. Jackie Robinson signed a contract with the Montreal Royals to become the first black to break the "color line" of major league baseball. This action took place in the wake of the victorious American campaign in World War II, of which blacks (men and women) played a very major role. This action also coincided with Joe Louis'

return from the Armed Forces*. With the effort of Louis and Jesse Owens, as well as major black support in W.W.II, black equality in the United States seemed a real possibility, as cultural barriers were beginning to weaken in some phases of American life. Sport, for blacks, is one of the first "doors" that would "open". Jules Tygiel notes:

> During the mid-1930's the spectacular successes of blacks in other sports provided ammunition for baseball's critics. The emergence of Joe Louis as the world heavyweight boxing champion and a national hero led many Americans to re-evaluate their prejudices. The dramatic triumphs of Jesse Owens at the 1936 Berlin Olympics and his alleged snubbing by Adolf Hitler also injected the race issue into the sports pages. If Americans could cheer the efforts of Joe Louis and Jesse Owens, why should they object to blacks in baseball?[457]

This excerpt underlies the reasoning involved in the signing of Jackie Robinson. As for the armed services, blacks had participated in every major American war, although restricted to segregatory conditions. The opportunity that Jackie Robinson encountered, the opportunity to play (formerly all-white) American major league baseball, was an historic event that received international attention and curiosity. Reporter Joseph Sheehan of

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*Joe Louis was a U.S. soldier who greatly contributed whole fight purses to the Army and Navy Relief funds, which was well-publicized. Robinson also served.

the New York Times sums up Jackie Robinson's debut:

> Performing before a capacity throng of 25,000 at Roosevelt Stadium, the 26-year old U.C.L.A. graduate, a four-sport star in college who attained the rank of first lieutenant in the Army Air Forces, left little doubt that he has the innate ability to succeed in a field up to this time barred to members of his race...He looked as well as acted, the part of a real ball-player and on the base paths was a positive demon.[458]

In characteristic language of the "white" sports media, the black Robinson is portrayed as a "demon" (an object of hate/evil) in description, whose athletic mannerisms gave him the appearance of a "real" (or white) baseball player (with "innate ability"; a reference to the "natural" or "God-given" athletic physical talents of blacks; conceded by whites at this time). Although Sheehan's article reflects the shock and awe of the black intrusion of the white American pastime, rather than focusing on the accounts of the game itself, he nevertheless perpetuates the stereotypical language of the white media. One can, however, sense the enthusiasm experienced by Sheehan over this momentous occasion, for he makes it no secret.

The entrance of Jackie Robinson as the first black to integrate major league baseball is better known as Branch Rickey's "experiment". Branch Rickey was the president of the Brooklyn Dodgers who had political and economic interests (not necessarily in this order)

in signing black players into major league baseball years before the Robinson signing. Many viewed Rickey's efforts as the ultimate humanitarian deed, and compared him to Abraham Lincoln. Jules Tygiel accounts for this appraisal:

> The end of baseball's color line appeared in some accounts as comparable to the freeing of the slaves. Reporters and cartoonists caricatured Rickey as another Abraham Lincoln. A cartoon from the Montreal Gazette showed Rickey with the Emacipation Proclamation in hand, gazing up at Lincoln, and musing, "Wonder how I'd look in a stovepipe hat?" Dan Parker wrote,..."Any resemblance between Branch [Rickey] and Abraham Lincoln is purely coincidental...True [Rickey] is given to making addresses, but he modestly disclaims credit for having topped Honest Abe's Gettysburg effort, at least to date."[459]

This and other accounts of Rickey's action were taken as skeptical by the media. While certain media rejected the action entirely, others voiced cynical attitudes (and displeasure), insisting that it "wouldn't work". It was a true reflection of the American racial conscience in 1947, also noted by Tygiel:

> Many commentators openly questioned Rickey's wisdom and motives...In a lengthy editorial, the Sporting News argued that Rickey's surprise announcement left "the racial problem in baseball as far from a satisfactory solution as ever."...Several southern newspapers objected vehemently to the integration breakthrough. "I don't see why a top flight Negro ballplayer would be so anxious to play in the white leagues when he is doing so well in his own organization" wrote Atlanta Journal sports editor Ed Danforth...George White of the Dallas News described the Dodger action as "unfair" to both Robinson and the South,

> where an established way of life was threatened...Rickey's old nemesis Jimmy Powers (of the New York Daily News) charged, "We question Branch Rickey's statements that he is another Abraham Lincoln and that he has a heart as big as a watermelon and that he loves all mankind."[460]

This biographical quote represents the ensuing argument, on the part of whites who disfavored baseball integration and the emergence of Jackie Robinson. Rickey is described as having "a heart as big as a watermelon" in stereotypical genre. Other than Jimmy Powers if the Daily News, most of the New York media accepted the Robinson (or black) coming of age in sport (as it was expected). Gene Ward of the Daily News reported of Robinson's debut:

> Mayor Hague opened Jersey City's 1946 baseball season with all his typical fol-de-rol and flourish before 51,872 constituents in neat, bunting-draped Roosevelt Stadium yesterday, but a young Negro ball player named Jackie Robinson stole the show! Making modern diamond history with this debut for his race in organized baseball, Robinson performed prodigious feats as he led last year's flag-winning Dodger farm club from Montreal to a 14-1 triumph. Seldom has a ball player found himself in such a spotlight, but the cool colored lad was the sensation of the day...Robinson poled a 335-foot homer, stole two bases, forced a Jersey pitcher into a balk, and wound up with four-for-five at bat. He had a hand in seven of the Royals' 14 runs, scoring four himself and batting in four...Again in the seventh, the speedy colored boy stole a base...[461]

During this era, the term, "colored", as applied to black people, became a popular epithet among blacks and whites in America. Here, Ward is describing the

feats of the first black man in baseball in typical genre (of the day) and astonishment.

Although frustrated by his major league experience*, Robinson would bear the racial repercussions of this racial breakthrough in sport. As noted by Robinson (quoted by Jules Tygiel):

> "For one wild and rage-crazed minute I thought," 'To hell with Mr. Rickey's "noble experiment." ' The ordeal tempted Robinson to "stride over to that Phillies dugout, grab one of those white sons of bitches and smash his teeth with my despised black fist." ..."Plenty of times I wanted to haul off when somebody insulted me for the color of my skin,"..."But I had to hold to myself. I knew I was kind of an experiment...The whole thing was bigger than me."[462]

Robinson suffered typical racial abuse from opposing teams and fans; verbal abuse, etc.). The above article serves as a reflection of 1946 racial hatred of whites toward blacks. Overall, however, the entrance of Robinson into baseball was generally accepted by the media (although the general American public had to get used to the idea). The events of over a little more than a decade (Owens,

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*Jackie Robinson was, by far, not the greatest baseball player (black or white) statistically or otherwise, but his presence as the first black major league baseball player added a certain "drama" to the reality of the game. Usually this drama occurred because he was often involved in the middle of the main action that was taking place (as a key player), or was the obvious and visible recipient of prejudicial tactics by opposing players and fans (during a game), while heavily supported and cheered by black fans (leading to white fan and opposing player resentment).

Louis and Robinson) would help to change the course of racial politics in American history.

In the ensuing years, black athletes would integrate the major league sports of football in 1946 (Marion Motley and Bill Willis) and basketball in 1950 (Chuck Cooper and Nat "Sweetwater" Clifton). Typical of these black athletic pioneer efforts were local and state ordinances which banned their participation. The New York Times reported:

> Negro Star is Barred
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> A scheduled basketball game between Duquesne University and the University of Tennessee was called off at the last minute when the Southern school refused to take the floor unless assured that Charles Cooper, Negro freshman star, would not play for Duquesne. Duquesne officials said (Coach) Davies had agreed not to use Cooper "unless he had to, in a close game," but that this did not satisfy (Coach) Mauer. More than 2,600 fans were already in the gym when the cancellation was announced. Cooper...was the first Negro to play with a white college team at Louisville, Ky.[463]

By the 1950's however, the sight of blacks (although token representations) on the college and professional playing fields was not uncommon, but, in fact, was accepted by most of the general American society, for better or for worse. With the rising demand for civil rights by blacks in the 1950's and 60's, black athletes, by becoming more visible, would play a major role in American politics. The media, simultaneously, would continue subtle stereotypical depictions of blacks in the public imagination.

Before Jackie Robinson's entrance into major league baseball, black had already begun an close identity and affiliation with this American sport. Readily identifiable with the hero legends of Negro baseball (the separate and exclusive black baseball leagues which included stars such as Josh Gibson, Buck Leonard, Satchel Paige and "Cool Papa" Bell, among many others), the increasing entrance of blacks into "white" baseball would divert this attention to the emerging black stars in the American tradition. The black leagues would soon fold into oblivion when top black stars became monopolized by the white leagues. The same was true of the other major league sports of football and basketball. By the 60's, most black sport attention and identification lay with the national black stars of all these major sports (especially boxing), The 60's also saw the transition of heavy black sports attention and identification from baseball to basketball, with football attention remaining relatively static in this respect. This may be because of the mass migration of blacks from the rural environments to the urban environments of the United States, where the black elders hung onto their earlier heroes of boxing and baseball, and the most practical and feasible team game for youngsters took the form of "court sports" (such as basketball), as opposed to "field sports" (such as baseball and football). Television is also probably partly responsible for the "urbanization" of

the American sports fan (black and white), as well as giving popularity to the rising and phenomenal American black stars of basketball (such as Bill Russell, Wilt Chamberlain, Oscar Robertson, Elgin Baylor, etc.). The touring black basketball team, the Harlem Globetrotters (one of the few remaining teams from the Negro League), also put "black" basketball on the "map", encouraging its popularity among increasing American basketball fans. The new "urbanized" form of basketball, as played by blacks, would revolutionize this sport in the 60's. Steven A. Riess discusses the urban effect on major sport:

> The process of urbanization was both the crucial factor in shaping the rise of organized sport and a major influence in shaping the growth of recreational sports. The salient characteristics of modern sport first emerged in cities, where sporting structures and facilities were established, sport became institutionalized, and athletes competed in organized and unorganized games. Yet the city was more than simply a backdrop or site for the flowering and maturation of sport or a catalyst for those changes. The principal social and cultural elements of urbanization (its physical structure, social organizations, and belief and behavior systems) that combined to produce organic urban communities also strongly influenced the direction of American sport history.[464]

As for black representation in the sport of basketball, Riess notes:

> Class and environment-the main reasons that blacks achieved ethnic succession in boxing-are also the primary factors behind current black dominance in professional basketball

> (75 percent of the NBA in 1980). Professional ballplayers had always been disproportionately urban, particularly from major cities, and that pattern still holds. In the 1960's and 1970's nearly all NBA players (91.3 percent) were urban; and nearly half, from large cities (49.5 percent)- usually from the inner city, where boys did not have much money or many constructive alternatives for their free time other than sports...As Pete Axthelm pointed out a few years ago, "Other young athletes may learn basketball, but (inner) city kids live it."[465]

The turmoil created by the civil rights issues of the 50's and 60's coincided with increasing black dominance in the major sports. Many of these athletic accomplishments acted as the spearhead against racial and political injustice, the unpopular Vietnam war, and the ill-defined meaning of American equality (American Ideal). This led to American social disequilibrium which, in many cases, resulted in widespread American social and political violence. The unfair stripping of Muhammad Ali's title coupled with the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King (and various other prominent black assassinations and instances of injustice) led to social chaos on the homefront. The cumulative effect of this chaos reached a climax in the 1968 Olympics, where black American athletes symbolically displayed the theme of American injustice to the world. Sociologist Harry Edwards initiated the drive for black Olympic athletes to boycott these Olympics under the heading: The Olympic Project for Human Rights. Unique to this demonstration was the raised

black glove-fisted stand of Tommie Smith and John Carlos (while lowering their heads during the playing of the American National Anthem), along with the boycott list of demands which were:

1. Restoration of Muhammad Ali's title and right to box in this country.
2. Removal of the anti-semitic and anti-black personality Avery Brundage from his post as Chairman of the International Olympic Committee (IOC).
3. Curtailment of participation of all-white teams and individuals from the Union of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia in all United States and Olympic athletic events.
4. The addition of at least two black coaches to the men's track and field coaching staff to coach the 1968 Olympic team. (Stanley V. Wright is a member of the coaching team but he is a devout Negro and therefore is unacceptable.)
5. The appointment of at least two black people to policy making positions on the United States Olympic Committee.
6. The complete desegregation of the bigot dominated and racist New York Athletic Club.[466]

The news media was naturally perturbed over this "un-American' demonstration (although the Constitution encourages individuals to petition the government in the event of political malfunction; another incident of the hypocrisy of the American Ideal). In symbolic reflection, these athletes represented the majority of blacks who were dissatisfied with the American government in terms of policies such as "affirmative action", urban renewal,

institutional racism, busing, and the progress of the overall Civil Rights Movement in general. The media had been somewhat lenient toward the cause of blacks in the late 50's and early 60's, yet took an "about-face" (beginning with the stand of Muhammad Ali) in their attitudes and their expression of displeasure and condemnation for the black stand of the 1968 Olympics. Arthur Daley of the New York Times sums up the American reaction to the Smith and Carlos stand:

> When the two sprinters stood on the podium with black-gloved fists clenched overhead and with heads bowed in defiant refusal to look at the American flag while it was being raised, they precipitated reactions that were violent but mixed. Some thought it was legitimate to drag a protest movement onto a global stage, but a majority condemned it as disgraceful, insulting and embarrassing.[467]

It is obvious that Daley includes himself in the "majority" that condemned the action of Smith and Carlos. What is forgotten by Daley is the mistreatment and abuse suffered by blacks at the hands of whites who support the symbol of the American flag that Smith and Carlos were objecting to. Apologies were quickly sent by the U.S. Olympic Committee to representative countries of the 1968 Olympics (the International Olympic Committee0 as well as the Mexican government that hosted the Games, however, these U.S. Olympians were justifiably protesting the racist United States Government and its treatment

of blacks; an internal protest that was staged on a world platform. The U.S.O.C. would have been more practical to address its apology to black Americans who have suffered as a result of slavery, "Jim Crow" legislation, imposed poverty, lower educational standards, and many other abuses and injustices directed at blacks, which were characteristic of social and political life in the United States of America. Using Daley's terms, what could be more "disgraceful, insulting and embarrassing" than the above mentioned? Why should Smith and Carlos (or any black American) stand and respect a symbol that supports the above mentioned in theory and practice? These issues are not even raised by Daley. In America, blacks have a tradition of inequality among whites. Blacks were not allowed to take part in elections, or any other facet of the American society as full citizens. It is 1968 and black athletes, in one of the few areas of American life where they have demonstrated equality and ability in great numbers and outstanding proportions, are criticized (and punished) for "acting" American (that is, the right to unionize, form boycotts, right to free speech/expression, right to religion, etc.). It is obvious that the white press (in support of the U.S. Government) desired to have blacks act according to a slave mentality and not complain about injustice and inequality. With this event, it is also obvious

that although blacks had been granted full citizenship by the various Civil Rights Acts, they were still not entitled to the full and equal protection of the laws (as guaranteed by the Constitution). In fact, the press was angry that these black athletes did not "know their place". Gene Ward captures the popular white American reaction to the stand of Smith and Carlos:

> The Olympic oath taken by all participants of all races, creed, color and national origin reads like this: "I swear that in taking part in these Olympic Games I will respect and comply with the official rules as true sportsmen, for the glory of sports and the honor of our teams." It's a shame that Tommie Smith and John Carlos have no understanding of its meaning. Words like "respect"..."comply"..."sportsmanship" ...and "honor" simply do not register with people like Smith and Carlos. They're too wrapped up in their own hate. If you didn't catch their act on TV, I can give you a quick review. It was revolting. It was sophomoric with both overacting like two-bit scene stealers...As the first strains of the Star Spangled Banner sounded in the cool, Mexican air, both shot out their fists, encased in black gloves, in a gesture of defiance against their country and that part of the world which isn't Negro. It was the most despicable, arrogant, and ruthless piece of business to happen in the world of Olympic sports since Adolf Hitler's snub of Jesse Owens...Minutes later...they conducted their forum of Black Power venom. That is the sum and substance of what Smith and Carlos did here last night, and how they dishonored their country... When the shock wore off, and the anger, it left this onlooker with shame and sadness. I believe in their right of protest...But there is a time and place for protest and this is neither the time nor the place... Lew Alcindor has my respect because he simply chose not to compete.[468]

Ward admits to his being "shocked" and "angry" over this turn of events, which is representative of the popular American attitude of the same Ward also feels "shame", which can account for a duality of sentiment. His "shame" could derive from (1) the "anti-American" action demonstrated by American representatives, or (2) lingering Caucasian-American "shame" derived from the guilt of American historical treatment of blacks (on an international podium). Ward is also "respectful" of Lew Alcindor (later Kareem Abdul-Jabbar), the greatest amateur basketball player in the world at the time, for not participating on the American team, as in keeping his views to himself. Most patriotic American loyalists admitted their embarrassment by the Smith and Carlos stand. Dick Young (Daily News) explains the foundation and basis of this "embarrassment:

> Tommie Smith and John Carlos wore black, obviously to tell the world that black is beautiful. It was a symbolism. It also was impractical...The fist-clenching gesture while the American anthem was being played is something that shook all Americans. It shook some with shame, some with resentment, some with childish horror. "Look at that! Look what they are doing! Isn't that awful? Disgusting! Despicable! Ruthless!...I was hardly pleased by what I saw, but neither was I so enraged...I am inclined to think that you react to such things in direct ratio to your guilt. If you feel strong prejudices, you feel strongly about being being reminded of your prejudices. If you have suppressed someone, either by action or by inaction, you become angry when you

> are told about it, and the degree of anger can very well relate to your degree of guilt. I felt angry that, if only for a minute, Tommie Smith and John Carlos shamed my country before the world, but I felt just as bad that they found it necessary, and I felt just a little bit ashamed of my country, too. How Tommie Smith and Jon Carlos did it may not have been the perfect way, but is there a perfect way? What is the perfect way to overcome a lingering wrong? What is the proper place, the right time, and who is so pompous as to declare it so?[469]

Although Young does not agree with the Olympic black rebellion, he undertands (and makes a case for) the cause involved ("I felt just a s bad that they found it necessary, and I felt just a little bit ashamed of my country, too"). Having been a media leader in the "anti-Muhammad Ali" parade, by denouncing his religion and spewing his often racial remarks toward Ali, Young finally acknowledges that there is a problem between America and her black minority; that America is not perfect. This stand by Young represents a milestone, or transition, in his attitude toward the black protest movement.

Muhammad Ali had previously set the tone for the Smith and Carlos demonstration, by his refusal to be inducted into the Armed Forces, thereby sacrificing and ultimately negating his championship and the right to practice his chosen trade. His major offense was that he accepted the tenets of the Nation of Islam, which many felt to be "anti-American". In reality,

the media felt betrayed because Ali did not play the stereotype that was desired of him. Anti-American, in this case, means the right of a Negro to be independent and self-sufficient, while simultaneously able to reject the roles that are pre-designated. Huston Horn presents the Ali dilemma in the American conscience:

> "There was a time between planes, so we went to a root beer stand. And what I remember is, they served mine in a frosted glass mug, but they filled a paper cup for him and said, 'This one's for the boy.' I was embarrassed and angry, but he wasn't... Then we got to Miami, and he checked into the hotel that Angelo Dundee had arranged for him. It was in the black part of town; a scruffy motel actually, not a hotel, not a very nice place. And he said, 'You can stay here too.' But you know, I was from a big magazine in New York. I had reservations at a fancy hotel in Miami Beach. And I was embarrassed by that because it meant I was participating in the same sort of thing I'd seen at the root beer stand, but I didn't like the look of the place he was in, so I opted for the fancy hotel. I think about that sometimes now. I'm not proud of myself, but that's what I did. And despite those incidents and others like them, when he joined the Muslim movement, I still felt resentful and betrayed."[470]

This author clearly reflects the duality and hypocrisy of the American attitude towards blacks and Muhammad Ali. In the midst of blatant discrimination toward Ali in the above paragraph, the author still felt "resentful and betrayed when he joined the Muslim movement", a movement which denounced the prejudicial and exploitative attitudes of whites toward blacks. Blacks who took a stand, like Smith

and Carlos, were victimized and negatively labelled by the American Government and the media, who would rather have these blacks accept the racism and fulfill the familiar stereotype without complaint. With respect to the 1968 Olympic demonstration, Smith and Carlos were expelled from the team and given a 48-hour deadline to leave the country of Mexico for their action. Like Muhammad Ali, the symbol of their greatness took the form of their anti-American stand, coupled with their athletic victories and achievements. It was unusual and unacceptable for blacks to demonstrate such obvious independence and a thorough understanding of their Constitutional freedom (which was clearly evident in the white reaction to the exploits of Dr. Martin Luther King) to petition the government; considered "rude" and tabooed behavior for black Americans who were supposed to understand (through conformity to American values and tradition) "their place" in American society. Although highly embarrassed by the act of these young black American sportsmen, Young, in an unprecedented personal attitude, actually supports and understands their plight. The bombardment of civil rights issues for 13 years, beginning with the Rosa Parks incident of 1955, began to show its effect and influence upon the American media, as noted by the increasing double-nature of Young's changing attitude (although he maintains his "patriotism" in the phrase, "they shamed my country before the world",

he also "gives in" to the understanding of the black cause and the meanings of civil and Constitutional rights). Here is an example of Dick Young's attitude in 1982 (New York Post); after the Cooney-Holmes fight:

> The liberals of the world preach the obvious, yet choose to overlook the reality of human nature. They are lost in Utopia. A few years back, I went to see a preview of Ken Norton in Mandingo, a story of slaves and the Civil War. The audience seemed 90 per cent black. In one scene, a band of marauding black horsemen slaughter a plantation household. The white bodies, women and children, were left lined on the lawn. The audience cheered. I must tell you, I felt uncomfortable. I didn't like it, but I understood it.[471]

Not all the media was as understanding of the black plight, as the new resurgence in Young's attitude indicates. Most media considered the act "shameful" and embarrassing. Sonny Liston, an ex-convicted felon who supposedly had ties with a major criminal underworld, is now considered less dangerous (despite his alleged and confirmed criminal actions) then Ali, Smith and Carlos, in that, as martyrs, they influenced the "wrong" message to black people through symbol and sacrifice; messages of awareness which would help to unify the race on issues of the bigoted power structure. Through the widely displayed "punishment" of these major black athletes, America was hoping to preserve the status quo. As Jesse Owens and Joe Louis led the crusade for blacks under the "Jim Crow" system by victoriously representing and supporting the American way of life. In a complete turn of events,

Ali, Smith and Carlos petitioned and denpunced the American way of life through victories and symbolic protest.

Some black athletes of the 1969 Olympics persisted in symbolically defending the racist American way of life. Foremost in this respect was Gold Medal Winner, George Foreman. Subsequent to the black power salutes of Smith and Carlos, George Foreman would parade around the boxing ring displaying a small American flag. His trainer, Robert (Pappy) Gault defended this action in an article by Steve Cady of the New York Times:

> U.S. Boxers Spurn Racial Fights
>
> "I've never met Mr. (Avery) Brundage," said Gault. "I don't even know him. But I think he's a great man, what I'd classify as Mr. Olympia." Brundage has been accused of racism by some of the black members of the track and field team..."None of my fighters have been involved in any of this demonstration stuff," Gault said. "We came here to fight. We're proud to be fighting for the United States. This is our country. We're all brothers, aren't we?" Nine of the 11 American boxers are black.[472]

The Avery Brundage dilemma goes back to the 1936 Olympics, where he was accused of anti-Semitism in support of Hitler's decision to disallow Jewish members from competing on the German team. The threat of American boycott persuaded Hitler to include token Jewish members. William J. Baker explains:

> American Jewish organizations rose up en masse to accuse Brundage and his committee of political naiveté, insensitivity, and light-veiled anti-Semitism. Nor did American Jews stand alone in their opposition to the "Nazi Olympics." From all quarters, Protestant and Catholic Churches, labor unions, city councils, and civic groups insisted that American athletes should not honor the Nazis with their presence in 1936...Others looked eagerly toward the Berlin games as an oppurtunity for black athletes to display their prowess, thus striking a blow against both German and American racial arrogance.[473]

The black American boxing trainer, Robert (Pappy) Gault, staed that he "did not know" Brundage, yet "considered him a great man...a Mr. Olympia". He is obviously reacting to the perceived white American attitude of the stand by Smith and Carlos, and fearing that the color of his skin might automatically dismiss his American boxing team from the Olympics, as it did the two track stars. He denounces the movement and pledges his loyalty to America, and at the same time glorifies an alleged bigot (Brundage), so as not to be disqualified from competing for the American cause (as he stated, "We're proud to be fighting for the United States. This is our country. We're all brothers. aren't we?"*).

Arthur Daley of the New York Times held a pessimistic view of the stand by Smith and Carlos. In an excerpt

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*He doesn't seem so sure.

from an article in the aftermath of the black stand, Daley provides an American opinion from an unnamed source:

> When the ultrabelligerent Carlos stomped out of the Olympic Village yesterday, he was asked where he was going. "I'm going home," he snapped, brushing interviewers out of his way. "Do you mean the United States?" maliciously asked a bystander.[474]

With the exception of the location (Olympic Village) and the quote by Carlos ("I'm going home"), the scene depicted in this excerpt could have been totally fabricated by Daley, in that he does not provide a source as to the name of the "bystander". A reference could be made that he is actually telling Carlos, "If you don't like it in America, then go back to Africa!"* Other black Olympians also denounced the stand of the proposed boucott. Black Olympic wrestler, Bob Douglas, reacts to the proposed boycott in an article by Neil Amdur of the New York Times:

> "Winning a gold medal would be a big thing promotionally for getting black athletes interested in wrestling," Douglas said. "And I want to prove that Prof. Harry Edwards and his boycott ideas were wrong. I want to prove that I can do more by competing than by sitting on the sidelines and yelling black power."[475]

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*A popular statement made by American patriots like Dick Young, who requested it to Ali, and most recently adopted Senator Al D'Amato in an address to Mayor David Dinkins of New York City.

Bob Douglas is an example of the black Olympian athlete of 1968 that detested the movement, for whatever reasons. Here, he speaks out against Harry Edwards, coordinator of the movement, and blacks who yell "Black Power". Smith and Carlos, in contrast, provide their reasons for the demonstration:

> "We are black and proud to be black Americans. White America only gives us credit when we win things like Olympic championships. Black America understands. When we raised our fists, we did it so people could understand that black America was with us all the way."... "Tommie Smith and John Carlos wpuld like to put in the papers - print what I say or don't print it at all - that white people feel that black people are nothing but animals, something to do a job...We received many boos out there today. White people turned thumbs down on us. We're not lower animals...If we do the job well, we get a pat on the back or some peanuts. And someone says, 'Good boy'. I've heard boy, boy, boy all through the Olympics. "I'd like to tell white people in America that if they don't care for the things black people do, then they shouldn't sit in the stands and watch them perform."[476]

The stand by Smith and Carlos clearly illustrated the reality of mistreatment and inequality as impinged on blacks by white America, in an international context. Its effect was the embarrassment of exposed truths before a world audience, felt by conservative white Americans (and blacks who may have feared white repercussions, or who may have been ashamed of their own race through

American "conditioning" and/or black "denial", ie. "Uncle Tomism"). The black gladiators of the Black Cause, Smith and Carlos, were referred to as "two militants' by Gene Ward of the Daily News (which is nonsensical), yet their stand gave essence to increasing black awareness.

In an article which did not include the author's name, the New York Times wrote:

> Another Negor boxer, Harland Marbley, declared: "Everybody has a personal opinion. I have got mine and I keep it for myself. I am for me."[477]

One might say that the spelling of the word, "Negor", is a typographical error, on the part of the New York Times. However, the word "Negro" was left spelled incorrectly maybe in order to increase the drama of the situation, and also to reaffirm the anger and racist attitudes of the conservative white reader towards the demonstration of black rebellion. This excerpt was from a lengthy but authorless article which did not show any other typographical errors, as most articles of the New York Times are very well proofread. A homonym for the misspelled word, "Negor" would be the widely-used racial epithet, "nigger". The subject of this, boxer Harland Marbley, either cared not to discuss the matter, or did not want to be affiliated with the black demonstrators, as this is a reflection of the overall mixed black sentiment. Many of the athletes (both black and white) reflected this timidity. For instance, the

members of the Harvard rowing team stated at the outset that they were in support of the Olympic Project for Human Rights (as many whites were originally much involbed:

> "We-as individuals-have been concerned with the place of the black man in American society andhis struggle for equal rights. As members of the United States Olympic team, each of us has come to a moral commitment to support our black teammates in their efforts to dramatize the injustices and inequities that permeate our society...It is not our intention or desire to embarrass our country or to use athletics for ulterior purposes. But we feel strongly that the racial crisis is a total cultural crisis. The position of the black athlete cannot be, and is not in fact, separated from his position as a black man or woman in America. America can only acquire greater dignity and greater hope by facing its most grievous problem openly and before the world.[478]

After Smith and Carlos were banished from the olympics for taking their stand, the Harvard team quickly reaffirmed the seriousness of their support:

> "It is unfair and very tragic,"..."Rowing is a team sport and those of us who disagree with this decision have an obligation to the boat and to the crew."[479]

The Harvard team backed away from their seemingly serious political support of the black cause to the more "serious" obligation to their rowboat, in a drastic turn of events.

Other black athletes of the U.S. team took a "softer" political stand. These athletes were Larry James, Lee Evans and Ron Freeman. They wore black berets and raised

gloveless clinched fists on the track and field (400-meter run) victory stand, but their action was not interpreted as defiant as that of Smith and Carlos. Joseph M. Sheehan of the New York Times reported:

> While three United States flags were raised on the flagpole atop the stadium rim and the Star Spangled Banner was played, they removed their berets and stood erect facing the flags. On arriving at the victory platform and on leaving it, they did raise clenched fists, but they were smiling and apparently not defiant as they did so.[480]

These athletes performed the same symbolic stand as Smith and Carlos, however, the difference rested in their perceived attitudes in victory. They demonstrated respect to the symbols of the United States (flag and anthem), and their smiling faces reflected their joyous demeanor, as compared to the "anger" and "disrespect" toward American symbolism that Smith and Carlos portrayed. When asked about the adorning of the black berets, Evans explained:

> Did the berets represent a private social message? "It was rainin'," Evans said with a smile. "We didn't want to get wet."[481]

The athlete, Lee Evans, clearly avoids the issues involved wit his own (semi) stand. When asked about his stand, Evans explained:

> "I feel I won this gold medal for black people in the United States and black people all over the world."..."I learned a lot about people by being in the boycott movement. If I had to do it all over again,

> I'd support the movement. I never knew people until I supported something people were against."[482]

In explaining his stand, Evans seems half-hearted in his support although he leans in favor of the black cause. The examples made of Smith and Carlos (retraction of gold medals, suspension and banishment) acted as a deterrent to subsequent black athletes in the 1968 Olympics, none of whose stands or demonstrations equalled the magnitude of the original impact and effect. Many of these athlets demonstrated in his own way (black socks, scarves, berets, etc.), yet each conformed to the traditional Olympic principles and American symbolism. The Smith and Carlos stand differed because it openly and outwardly defied the same, despite the consequences (much like the courage, conviction and sincerity of Muhammad Ali).

Arthur Daley of the New York Times took the inquiry of Evans, James and Freeman a bit further, labelling Evans a "militant":

> ...the suspension of the two most bristling American black militants did serve to prod a couple of non-militants into sympathetic gestures. Larry James, a nonmilitant, diplomatically wore a black beret to take the heat off Lee Evans, the winner, and Ron Freeman, who was third, when these two militants took the stand with him.[483]

While labelling Evans and Freeman "militants", James is excused for coincidentally possessing a black beret

(he "diplomatically wore a black beret" that he just happened to have, in order to "take the heat off Lee Evans). The dictionary definition of the word "militant" is:

> combative or warlike; aggressive [L *militaire* to be a soldier[484]

Aside from the non-violent role as black athlete soldiers for the Black Cause, Daley's tag of "militant" is (popularly) misused. He seems to value his own opinion (and the sentiment of disturbed white Americans) in his description of these events.

Boxer George Forman helped the United States to "save face" in the aftermath of the Smith and Carlos demonstration. The sight of Smith and Carlos on the victory stand in protest of racism in America, and the sight of George Foreman's victory parade in support of American values, are the two most profound statements that were to emerge from the spectacle of the 1968 Olympics. Both acts represent the dilemma of blacks in the United States, as some blacks are accepted into the American Ideal while most others are not. Joseph M. Sheehan of the New York Times captures the essence (and white American sentiment) of the Foreman stand:

> Foreman, who had won the hearts of the crowd, not only by his performance, but also by presenting to his conquered rival a bunch of roses he had received and by holding aloft an American flag during the victory ceremony...[485]

At the same time, the essence of Smith and Carlos is captured by Harry Jerome, who was one of three blacks on the Canadian track team:

> I think they are sincerely trying to make an awareness that will lead to a better United States. The black man wants to be looked on not only as an entertainer, but also as someone with a place in the social structure.[486]

The images provided by these political stand will live in the American social imagination. The symbolism provided by these contrasted images bears an impact on the American social perception of Negroes, in general. A national Negro figure in the American Ideal and tradition, Jesse Owens, had this to say about the 1968 Olympic demonstrations:

> "The black fist is a meaningless symbol," he insisted. "When you open it, you have nothing but fingers-weak empty fingers. The only time the black fist has significance is when there's money inside. That's where the power lies."..."I know no other country in the world...All that I have and all that I expect to get is under this flag." As he boldly announced to a black college audience, he considered himself "an American first and a black man second."[487]

Owens was vehemently against the actions of the black Olympians, Smith and Carlos, for their actions. He also drew ire from the countless black supporters of the movement, for his "Uncle Tom" stand. The initiator of the boycott movement, Harry Edwards, responded to

the Owens "sellout' in kind:

> ...Owens pointed out, Brundage always had been fair and cordial toward him...Owens claims no knowledge of Brundage's ownership of the Montecito Country Club in Santa Barbara, California. (Brundage has been accused of owning and running the racially exclusive club.) Owens explained that Brundage could not be charged with discrimination even if he did own the club and even if the club did exclude all Jews and Negroes from membership. His reasoning? Brundage probably had someone else run the club for him and thus was free of all blame...Does it occur to Jesse Owens that blacks are ineligible by color line and by endless economic obstacles to compete in some 80 per cent of scheduled Olympic events?[488]

Edwards' criticism of Owens advances the position of the black Olympic demonstrators, and brings to light other instances of modern institutional racism (in parallel to racism practiced in the Olympic Games). As for the flag-waving charade of George Foreman, Edwards noted that:

> Twentieth-century Negro gladiators, under the tutelage of old-school Negroes, boxed their way to gold medals and then, on one occasion, marched around the ring carrying an American flag and calling for "United States Power." George Foreman, the boxer guilty of this particular act, never seemed to consider that the flag that he so proudly flaunted was the same flag under which four black girls were murdered in Alabama; the same flag under which Martin Luther King...was violently shot down in cold blood; the same symbol of hypocrisy and inhumanity under which black soldiers have died over the decades to keep George Wallace safe from communism. For his blatantly political performance Foreman was not criti-

> cized or ejected from the games. For his behavior was in the interest of the establishment and of white folks. On his return to the U.S., he was treated as a hero-by whites...It once again pointed out that what is in the interest of whites is de facto acceptable, and what is in the interest of blacks is de facto condemned in white America.[489]

In the previous paragraph, Edwards exposes the duality of justice accorded blacks and whites in the United States (which was the basic reason of the Olympic protest). Labelled "pro-Negro bigots" by Jesse Owens, Edwards and the Olympic demonstrators were reacting to the bigotry that is prevalent in the American society, in type and kind. William J. Baker acknowledges:

> A vast ideological chasm separated Owens from the younger athletes.[490]

The previous quote represents two schools of thought, concerning the Black Cause (for equal opportunity): conformity vs. non-conformity (or radicalism). Jesse Owens obviously applies to the Negro conformist school of thought, as a black representative of American values. His style and presemce is contrasted with the modern black radicalism of the late 1960's. Harry Edwards concludes:

> I'm sure Jesse Owens grasps the whole Olympic picture, agrees deep-down with us and would move to our support but for the bonds forged long ago.[491]

Edwards is inferring that Owens has been so thoroughly amalgamated into the American system (esoecially as an honorary Negro), that he refuses to identify with the new black vehemence toward the racial policies of whites. Owens' "patriotism" had also been confirmed by the media (although he was black), due to his symbolic triumphs over Nazi Germany in the 1936 Olympics. The new black awareness absolutely rejected complacency, subservience and conformity as a means of survival and acceptance for blacks in a Caucasian-based nation.

When Muhammad Ali regained his illegally stolen heavyweight championship from George Foreman in Kinshasha, Zaire, on the continent of Africa in October, 1974, that would represent the ultimate athletic and symbolic victory of the black Olympic protest of 1968. When Ali was invited to the White House by President Gerald Ford subsequent to that fight, that symbolically reflected the United States meeting of the demands of Smith and Carlos (and the protest movement). However, this did little to improve the socioeconomic position of blacks on the American homefront. The overall effect of the demonstration by Smith and Carlos is summed up by Joseph M. Sheehan of the New York Times:

> This demonstration produced a mixed reaction among United States officials and members of the United States squad, black and white. Some hailed it as a gesture if independence and a move in support of a worthy cause. Many others said they were offended and embarrassed. A few were vehemently indignant.[492]

The "many others' sentiment probably refers to the general conscience of white America, while the "few" woul probably refer to the perceived "black militancy" and activists; "some" probably refers to "Negroes" and white liberals in favor of the movement. The reporter purposely camouflages, yet reveals, his own personal and racial sentimient/opinion through the third person ("some", "many" and "few" others). Note how the negative phrase "vehemently indignant" refers to blacks who are angrily dissatisfied with bigotry and injustice, which is unacceptable to the American Ideal (for blacks are ideologically not supposed to "complain", but are expected to conform to subordination and second-class citizenship. White journalists like Sheehan (and Dick Young of the Daily News) realized that the black demonstration was rational, given the long American tradition of black oppression, however they are also appalled by the perceived defiance and gall by this alleged "complacent" and "subordinate" racial group. Dick Young explains:

> Apology of American Olympic Committee to IOC for Black Power gestures of Tommie Smith and John Carlos is ludicrous. Or doesn't anybody remember that the IOC backed down to international Black Power by booting South Africa out of the Olympics after the majority had voted for admittance? Smith and Carlos and the others who feel so strongly for their beliefs must also be prepared to take the consequences, just as Cassius Clay must be prepared to go to jail...From the standpoint of pure sport,

> Olympics are overplayed. If it weren't for political and sociological implications, few people would care.[493]

Young is obviously displeased with the white faction (of the International Olympic Committee) yielding to the "Black Power" request of excluding South Africa from the Games (because of her apartheid policy). He also condemns Smith and Carlos to the same fate as Ali (mainly American ostracism), yet is naive to their level of martyrdom among blacks, especially. These men would have a positive effect on American society, in terms of the re-evaluation of the black stereotype (however, new stereotypes and depictions would soon emerge). Going into the 1970's, the perceived image of black athletes in the media would undergo transition new, yet familiar, forms and connotations.

Hank Aaron

The next major sporting incident involves the breaking of Babe Ruth's immortalized home-run record by the black baseball star, Henry Aaron of the Atlanta Braves. As the media was very careful in the 1970's of the inclusion of racial overtones in the depiction of stereotypes upon black athletes (in light of the black activism and radicalism of the 1960's), most of the racism that took place in sport hindered upon Aaron's approach of the Babe Ruth record in 1974. Receiving numerous death

threats up until the time he reached this goal, Aaron stayed focused on the task at hand. Aaron admitted:

> "The average person can't realize what a nightmare this has been. The last 10 days of last season, all winter, spring training, right up until today. Now I'm just tired. Not let down-just tired. I'm beat. I'll play tomorrow, but not tonight."[494]

Aaron is evidently referring to the threats of death and other instances of racism that he encountered during the months preceding his anticipated and pivotal athletic feat, yet he dismisses it to general stress. The anticipation of Hank Aaron's tying, and ultimately passing, of the Ruth home-run record increasingly became a black-white issue in the media, unable to remain subtle. Dick Young explains:

> Hours before he starts swinging, Bad Henry will make an announcement. It concerns something special that has been arranged for The Moment, that special time when homer No. 715 will fly over the fence. Henry would like wou to send him a wire of congratulations. It's not an ego trip. Believe me, he's not like that...What he is really doing is utilizing the event to work some good for kids...in cooperation with Western Union...$1 of the charge shall go directly to the Hank Aaron Scholarship Fund. Hank Aaron has pledged that 50¢ of every $1 earmarked for his scholarship fund will be redirected to the Babe Ruth Foundation in Baltimore...something that should appeal to both sides of the controversy, if there is a controversy.[495]

If there were no "controversy", as Young puts it (with respect to the Aaron challenge of the Ruth record),

then Young is suggesting that there be one ("if there is a controversy"). He also begins his paragraph by addressing Hank Aaron as "Bad Henry". "Bad Henry" represents the black assault on an athletic record of great symbol and magnitude which was held by a legendary white American hero. Aaron's gesture in the previous paragraph represents an effort to "pacify" antagonistic forces on the Ruth side of the "controversy".

Conspicuous in his absence at the record-breaking sporting event (at Cincinatti, 4/4/74) was Bowie Kuhn, Commissioner of Major League Baseball. His excuse:

> "I had no committment to be there [Atlanta]," Kuhn said. "I was invited both to Atlanta and Cleveland and I decided to accept the invitation here...[496]

When asked about this obvious snub by Commissioner Kunh, Aaron replied:

> "I wasn't interested," Henry replied with an edge.[497]

Through myriad post-game comparisons of Aaron and Ruth, the reader gets the feeling of natural disappointment over the shattering of Ruth's seemingly unreachable home-run record. "Excuses" are thus formed to rationalize the appearance of the destruction of Caucasian supremacy (using the symbol of baseball legend) by the media. For instance, the New York Times reported:

> Aaron's 714th home run occurred on his 11,289th major league time at bat, compared to 8,399 for Ruth.[498]

This excerpt is an inference to the Rith higher percentage ratio, with respect to home run hits. The reader, therefore, must assume that Ruth must be the superior baseball player of the two. Dick Young takes this reasoning a step futher:

> It will say in the record books, perhaps for the remainder of your lifetime: most home runs, career, Henry Louis Aaron, and after it will come a number. Right now, that number is 715, because Monday night, with a flair for the dramatic that would have made the Babe smile, Hank Aaron smashed a home run to place George Herman Ruth No. 2. And for the rest of your life there will be arguments about that...Who is really the greatest home run hitter who ever lived? Is it Hank Aaron, who hit the most, or is it the Babe, who hit them when nobody else was doing it; who hit his 714 in 8,399 at bats, compared to Henry's 11,295. Accentuating some debate, unfortunately, will be the fact that Hank Aaron is black, and the Babe was white.[499]

Young is obviously inferring that Ruth was the superior athlete (and home-run hitter) of the two, and implies racial reasoning as a factor. He attempts to display this non-fact (unjustified claim) despite the record book statistics which he hopes to discredit (by inferring that a white man is unacceptable in the position as "No. 2" with respect to a black man, in the minds of the readers). The only statistic that Young and other media respected in this situation is the home-run-to-

at-bat ratio of the two sluggers, of which Ruth had the higher percentage (although Young does not contrast the quality of pitching in the two eras, among other factors). Whatever these arguments conclude, Aaron is in an ambiguous ("Catch-22") situation with the media perception of the legendary Ruth.

The pitcher who "allowed" Hank Aaron to tie Ruth's record, Jack Billingham of the Cincinatti Reds, explained:

> "The ball was slippery," Billingham said later. "On the next pitch, I threw a sinker. It was going toward the outside part of the plate and it tailed in. It was my mistake."[500]

Pitcher Billingham (who was white) admitted that it was a "mistake" to let Aaron hit the fateful home run, even though his team won the game. Billingham was under close scrutiny following Aaron's record-tying home run, generally based upon racial implications. As noted by Dick Young:

> All the conflict and the controversy were gone. All the tawdry chauvinism of where and when he should play was swept aside today by one mighty Hank Aaron swing, the first swing of his 21st big league season, sending homer No. 714 soaring over the left fence - the homer that equals the career total of the immortal Babe Ruth... Hank Aaron grounded to third base his next time up, walked on four pitches by starter Jack Billingham (Booooo), and lined out...[501]

Young demonstrates his sentiment by his introduction of the opposing pitcher Jack Billingham in the expression, "Booooo". This is in reaction to Aaron's tying of the

Ruth record on a Billingham pitch, and although it is made in sentiment for Ruth, it is an unsportsmanlike gesture in contradiction, yet compliance, to the ambiguous American Ideal. Young, as well as other media, rationalizes such an off-color reaction because of the racial implications of the record-tying feat. The manager of the Cincinatti Reds, Sparky Anderson, explained the amount of pressure that would be placed upon the pitcher who eventually gives up the tying and tie-breaking home runs to Aaron, prior to these feats:

> "I sure hope he doesn't hit those two homers against us," he added. And I'd hate to be the pitcher who is the victim of the big one. Those old Babe ruth fans will annihilate him with mail."[502]

Much of the media sentiment was against Aaron's breaking of the Ruth record, once tied. He eventually broke the record in his home stadium in Atlanta against black pitcher, Al Downing, of the Los Angeles Dodgers. A cynical Dick Young explains:

> Hank's 715th...Don't Call It Groovy
>
> Did Al Downing groove it for him? Did he do a favor for a soul brother? "Groove it?" He laughed....Being the party of the second part to a big piece of sports history will not leave a traumatic scar on Al Downing. He did not lose any sleep over it, he says. ..."People make such a big deal of the pitcher in these things," said Downing. "The pitcher is just a bystander. The moment belongs to Aaron."[503]

Young is guilty of incorporating stereotypical black "language" ("Did he groove it for him?") in his overt accusation of racial favoring (in an effort to downplay Aaron's significant feat) on the part of Al Downing ("Did he do a favor for a soul brother?"). He suggests this idea to the reader, and simultaneously, dismisses any opinion in the same regard ("Don't Call It Groovy"). As Aaron ended his career with 755 home runs, which is 41 more home runs than the Ruth record and against black and white (mostly white) pitchers, Young's point is moot. For the record, Al Downing was dismissed for the remainder of the game, after relinquishing the Aaron tie-breaker.

Another writer of the New York Times equated Aaron's shattering of the Ruth myth with the imagery provided in the movie, *"Gone With The Wind"*:

> To many Atlantans, it was like the city's festive premiere of "Gone With the Wind" during the 1930's when Babe Ruth was still the hero of the New York Yankees and the titan of professional sports. All that was needed to complete the evening was home run No. 715, and Aaron supplied that.[504]

The author of this article is obviously engulfed with the idea that black freedom has, "disappointingly", come into reality. "Gone With the Wind" is a movie that displays the disappointment shared by slavemasters over the destruction of the "old way of life" (with the ending of the Civil War). Aaron supposedly represented the victorious Union soldiers in genre, and his tie-breaking home run

provided the guns that finally forced the Confederacy to surrender. Even with the breaking of Ruth's record, the media still had the ability and determination to push Ruth into the forefront of the baseball social imagination as legend, and this could be equated with the inequality and subordination that blacks still faced, despite the outcome of the Civil War. Even Aaron accurately stated:

> "It's the Cadillac of baseball records," Henry said. "But Babe Ruth will still be regarded as the greatest home run hitter who ever lived..."[505]

Aaron is undeniably referring to the American value system and tradition of enshrining Caucasian-American heroes in redundant media fashion. By the same measure, black American heroes have suffered. Hank Aaron continues:

> "Ruth has his record, I have mine. He will be remembered always. I can only hope I will be remembered."[506]

Aaron fears that his achievement will be downplayed over the media years to come, as the most significant black sports achievements have been. It is the white sports achievements that are generally replayed in the social imagination and enhanced over time.

In an effort to further downplay the significance of Hank Aaron's feat, Leonard Koppettt of the New York Times makes a comparative analysis of past and present players of the game of baseball, and alludes to the

idea that the present players have a considered advantage over the previous players of the game. He distinguishes everything from the materials used in making baseballs to the dimensions of the ballparks. Koppett concludes that:

> The difference is more a matter of style and intent, in response to the surrounding circumstances, than of inherent abilities of different generations. Baseball today is the home run game. It didn't start out that way, but it did flourish that way, and it's unlikely ever to change again.[507]

In retrospect, baseball was <u>always</u> the "home run game". Koppett is obviously trying to rationalize the seeming overthrow of baseball, as played by whites, to the new black efficiency at the game (by this time, blacks predominated the list of top hitters in the major leagues). Dick Young makes a similar analysis:

> Now that he has done it, now that he has hit more home runs than any man who ever lived, step back and take a look at Henry Aaron, a long analytic look. How does he rank among his peers? Is he the greatest ballplayer of all time?..More importantly, is he being used? First things first: "Are you the greatest ballplayer?" he was asked..."I couldn't say," he said. Then innate frankness overcame embarrassment. "I'd say I'm one of the best." Then he clicked off names that flashed in his mind: Joe Dimaggio... Willie Mays...Jackie Robinson; those three, in that order. Another disarming gurgle, "I wouldn't say Henry Aaron is gonna be fourth," he said. "I'd say Henry Aaron is gonna be second or third." He left it up to you and me to find his niche, being impeccably honest, yet with the soft warning

> not to place him too low. Where does he belong? Behind Joe DiMaggio? Ahead of Willie Mays? Surely, there are others whose names weren't mentioned in the excitement of the moment, men like Mickey Mantle, and Ted Williams, and Babe Ruth. What about the Babe? There's another argument...The dispute is in the wording, the semantics... But does hitting more than Ruth mean he is greater than Ruth? It required almost 3,000 more at bats for Henry to get there than it did the Babe. This irrefutable piece of arithmetic has been thrown in Aaron's face time and time again, until he hates the sound of it, until he found himself growing angry at the mention of Ruth's name. "What do you want me to do, stop playing baseball because I've gone to bat more times than Babe Ruth?" ...With that particular run, he set a big record virtually unnoticed. While everybody was watching for him to pass Babe Ruth, Henry Aaron passed Willie Mays for the most runs ever scored by a National Leaguer...[508]

Throughout this article, Young is inferring that white supremacy in baseball is sustained, through Aaron's own words and placement of all-time greats, Joe Dimaggio, Willie Mays and Jackie Robinson, as Young explains, "those three, in that order". Young, here, is trying to dismiss the significance of Aaron's greatness, giving the impression that the total of home runs scored is not a measure, or standard, of the greatest excellence in baseball (although Babe Ruth can be measured by this standard). In downplaying Aaron's achievement, young brings up comparisons to great ballplayers of mediocre status, talent and stature to Aaron (and raising legitimate comparisons and controversy), before coming

back to the comparison with Ruth, which would seem to the trusting reader to be an impossibility, because of Ruth's mastery of all phases of the game, as well as home-run hitting and power (in a true example of biased reporting). Babe Ruth's widow was asked her opinion of her husband's shattered record, by the New York Times:

> "Babe was a pitcher as well as an outfielder, remember. He was a great all-round player. And really, he never thought so much of his home-run record."[509]

The emphasis goes toward Ruth's "all-around play", after Aaron surpassed his greatest achievement and record. Ruth's widow also seems to forget that the position of pitcher was basically reserved for white abseball players (through the element of "stacking"), as she tries to further downplay the significance of Aaron's achievement with comparison to Babe Ruth ("he never thought so much of his home-run record"). Before Aaron's breaking of the record, Ruth's unparalleled success in this category was considered, by many, to be the greatest single sporting achievement in all of sports. After the Aaron feat, this achievement is somewhat down-played (because the white is no longer on "top").

New York Times reporter, Joseph Durso, like Dick Young of the Daily News, made a reference to Aaron as

"Bad Henry", before Aaron's attempt to tie Ruth's record:

> Workmen, meanwhile, continued to repair a long section of the left-field fence that was battered down by high winds Monday night. They were trying to prop it up again, so that national attention once more could focus on Bad Henry's campaign to knock down fences on the trail of Babe Ruth.[510]

Aaron is "bad" because of his home-run achievements which led to the approach of Ruth's record. Aaron's wife, Billye Aaron, made this statement:

> "he'll be damned if he breaks Ruth's record and he'll be damned if he doesn't," she said.[511]

Mrs. Aaron is obviously citing the "Catch-22" option and existence of blacks in America, with respect to Aaron's breaking of a symbolic record of Caucasian achievement. Aware of the racism and sensitivity of the American conscience with regard to the shattering of the Ruth myth of white supremacy, Aaron declared part of the funds that were sent to him to be forwarded to the Babe Ruth Foundation. Aaron was interested in taking some of the pressure off himself and preserving harmony between the two races (over the mass reaction of his feat). The "sensitivity" that Aaron showed by this act would serve to combat the acknowledged racial implications and reactions from his feat. Under the unwritten "Negro Code of Behavior" in Atlanta, Georgia and other American towns and cities, Aaron's tying and breaking of the Ruth (or Caucasian) record was considered "rude" in

1974 (and previous). Aaron knew that his success would reflect in sadness and disappointment (and anger) among the white reaction.

Among the racial overtones that accompanied Aaron's feat was the fact that he tied the record on April 4, 1974 (in Cincinatti, Ohio), which was the sixth anniversary of the death of Dr. Martin Luther King. His request to observe this fact was denied by Cincinatti baseball management:

> Aaron's pleasure in tying Ruth's record was dampened by the refusal of the Red's management to comply with his request for a moment of silence during the pregame ceremonies on the sixth anniversary of Dr. Martin Luther King's assasination. "For some reason," Aaron complained quietly..."they found that their schedule wouldn't permit it...But it would've been appropriate." ..."It should not have been necessary to request a moment of silence," added Mrs. Billye Aaron, the slugger's recent bride. "It should have been done without asking."[512]

The action of the Kuhn snub and general racism surrounding Aaron's major feat is discussed by Dave Anderson of the New York Times:

> But the commissioner was wrong tonight in not being here. He had stood up gallantly, but suddenly he had sat down again. Henry Aaron should have ordered the commissioner to be here...Through the years, Cobb and the Babe were the ultimate in hitting, but noe they must move over...Perhaps that will convince the skeptics who minimize his accomplishments as a hitter. Some of the skeptics are traditionalists, some

> are racists. Statistically, their argument is that Henry Aaron needed 2,896 more times at bat than Babe Ruth in order to break the home-run record. Those skeptics ignore Henry Aaron's durability and consistency, attributes as important as Babe Ruth's charisma. And when his 715th home run soared over the fence tonight, Henry Aaron never lost his dignity, his essence as a person. "You don't know what a tremendous weight it was off my shoulders," he said later, "a tremendous weight."[513]

Anderson is one of the few reporters to give Aaron his just dues. For the record, Aaron was minimally endorsed (excluding "Magnavox" and the "Oh Henry!" candy bar) and the fact of his race excluded him as a representative of the American Ideal (in value and tradition), in the perception of the white American media. It is the image of Babe Ruth (among other white superstars in the game) that is redundant in the media.

In the finale of this record-breaking episode by Aaron, is an article by Leonard Koppett of the New York Times entitled: "In Henry Aaron's Footsteps: The Man Who Isn't There Yet" (Fig. A-3). Directly below this bold headline is a cartoon caricature of a baseball player swinging a bat. The key striking feature of this caricature is that it has a head and no facial anatomy (eyes, nose, mouth, etc.), but the face, arms and hands are white. The "hope" perceived from this caricature is that the man who follows "Aaron's footsteps" and breaks his record will be white. In the analysis, Koppett lists all of the hopefuls (Harmon Killebrew,

Johnny Bench, and Reggie Jackson), but the point is made by the skin color of the caricature.

Larry Bird vs. Magic Johnson

Moving to basketball, the New York Knickerbockers of the National Basketball Association (N.B.A.) featured the first all-black NBA team in history (including a black coach, Willis Reed) in the 1978-79 season. By this season, the NBA was predominated by blacks*, and the results showed in the decreased live attendance. In an article by John Papanek, he askes the question:

> How do you sell a black sport to a white public? "This is something we must no longer whisper about," says Denver's (Carl) Scheer. It's definitely a problem and we, the owners, created it. People see our players as being overpaid and underworked, and the majority of them are black..."[514]

NBA television ratings also suffered during this period, according to Papanek's article, and this is also due to the 70% black composition of the league, and few white superstars. In the above article-excerpt, Scheer is implying that the black athletes appear lazy (or "underworked") to the white audience, a statement which offspringsitself from the stereotypical characterization of "Sambo". Although some teams, such as the Phoenix Suns

*In 1979, 75% of all NBA players were black, and 75% of NBA fans were white, according to Papanek's article.

and the Boston Celtics, normally produced a majority of white players during this era, the major tendency of most teams was to draft and/or sign black players; the result of the full-blown popular belief that blacks are better basketball players due to hereditary physical and genetic attributes*.

One way to redraw the white fans to basketball would be the inclusion of the white "superstar", who has come to the forefront of the sport as a highly valuable commodity. At the time of Papanek's article, NBA attendance was suffering. The following year produced a unique black-white confrontation in college basketball (N.C.A.A.), Larry Bird (of Indiana State University) vs. Earvin "Magic" Johnson (of Michigan State university), for the National Collegiate Athletic Association championship. This rivalry would renew great interest in the sport.

Larry Bird achieved national success while playing for ISU. The premier Hoosier was forced on the American public through great media coverage of his individual achievements. This does not mean that he didn't have help (with his individual achievements). Coach Ray

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*Harry Edwards previously stated that whites are the "chief victims" of their perpetuated "myth of the racially superior (black) athlete".

Meyer of Depaul University voiced his opinion:

> As Meyer returned to the bench after talking to his squad in the dressing room, the senior in the Final Four expressed considerable displeasure with the officiating. First he complained because the officials did not call three-second violations against Bird, and then he said, "You front him and you get a foul automatically. This is ridiculous."*[515]

Bird's reputation for receiving favorable calls from officials would emerge while playing for Indiana State. Voted NCAA College Player of the Year in 1979, Bird's exploits would achieve national attention in the pregame hype of his confrontation with Michigan State University, whose star, "Magic" Johnson, became an American nemeses in the same regard (due to the Caucasian stature of Bird, and resulting American sentiment). Bird's Indiana State team was undefeated up until the point of the national championship. Bird himself had the highest scoring average in the nation (which is equivalent to being a "home-run king" in baseball, during a particular season). His other achievement, at this time, was that he was the NCAA fifth leading all-time scorer. Comparisons with Magic Johnson would begin a major

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*After Bird reached the NBA, many players also complained of the many favorable calls that went in favor of the Boston Celtics, and Larry Bird in particular.

black-white adversarial hype that has lasted throughout the 1980's. Lee Daniel Levine notes:

> On Monday, March 29 (1979), it was evident that the upcoming game featuring Larry Bird and Magic Johnson would be the most popular game ever televised. The game, for many, had become more of a "Bird versus Magic" contest than an Indian State versus Michigan State battle.[516]

The championship game between MSU and ISU took on added significance because of the racial implications surrounding the two representative college superstar athletes. This was evident in Jack Rohan's scouting report for the New York Times. Conspicuous in his analysis is his introduction of Indiana State and Michigan State (in that order) players. Neither Bird nor Magic were presented with any visible flaws in their ability to execute their basketball skills, but the article alluded to Bird's superiority as a player. Bird is accorded the value of being a great "reactive" player, a value that is usually attributed to black athletes (by some sport sociologists*). In Rohan's analysis, Bird is noted:

> Surprisingly there are other players comparable to Larry Bird in basic skills. The one ingredient that sets him apart is his remarkable court

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*Previously noted by Worthy and Markle in the section on "The American Racial System" (under "Genetic Race-Linked Studies").

> sense. He utilizes an awareness that is unusual for anyone playing so complicated and quick-moving a game.[517]

With respect to Magic Johnson, Rohan noted:

> Critics, looking for a possible weakness in this amazingly gifted player, say he isn't a good shooter beyond 15 feet. I don't believe this. It is possible that Johnson occasionally shoots when he can't pass. This is simply a lack of concentration.[518]

In subtle terms, Bird is depicted as the more intelligent of the two ("awareness" and reaction), while Johnson's talent for the game is "gifted" and he "lacks concentration" as a shooter. With Larry Bird's reputation as a long-distance shooter and a high percentage scorer, along with his team's undefeated record, as well as Magic Johnson's leadership of a team that had come all the way to participate in the championship finals, the stage was set. Both teams were exciting to blacks and whites alike because of the representative college stars, and in this ultimate confrontation the media succeeded in dividing a black and white national audience*. Whites unanimously supported Bird and blacks unanimously supported Johnson. Which team would win this confrontation was not as important an issue as *whose* team would win, putting

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*NBC sports announcer, Brayant Gumbel, who announced MSU-ISU game, supported the Larry Bird cause througout the telecast with the slogan, "Bird is the word". Gumbel has thus been promoted to more serious capacities within the NBC television media structure. Could his endorsement of Bird be a coincidence to his achievement? (Gumbel is referred to, by many blacks, as an "Uncle Tom")

it into the proper perspective. The theme of racial supremacy emerged as a major theme for the Bird-Magic confrontation, and would re-emerge as a theme in their resulting professional careers. Lee Daniel Levine explains the theme of white "hopism", as the media had imposed upon Larry Bird:

> On top of all those skills, Larry had a very high marketable quality; he was white. And the game was desperate for white superstars; there had not been one since Bill Walton left UCLA in 1974. Since then there had been a growing sense among many fans, most of whom were white, that a white player was incapable of being the best in the game. When Larry had been chosen as the best college player in the nation, it alleviated a sense of inferiority that many white fans felt...When Larry received the Adolph Rupp Trophy in Chicago he was peppered by questions about being "the great white hope." Indeed, even Al McGuire (ex-coach of Marquette Universtity), with an unmatched reputation for racial sensitivity, told it like it was when he too admitted that Larry was the great white hope.[519]

The "sense of inferiority" that Levine mentions, results from the increased appearance of blacks in the NBA league throughout the 1960's and 1970's, along with the increased believablity, by whites, of the myriad genetic studies and rumors depicting blacks as naturally endowed for the sport. In eceonomic terms, the apperance of a great white college superstar would have a tremendous impact on white re-interest in basketball (college and pro). The natural racial rivalry between Bird and Magic was expressed by Paul Zimmerman of the New York Post:

> Larry Bird vs Earvin (Magic) Johnson. It sets the pulses quickening...Has there ever been a superstar matchup like this in an NCAA final? Well, maybe, but you have to go back 25 years. Tom Gola vs Bill Russell in 1955. It didn't have the spice of this one, because they did different things. But it was still Star Wars at the highest level. The NBA can't wait for the 6-8 Johnson and the 6-9 Bird.[520]

Zimmerman is subtle in his racial promotion of the upcoming basketball game. He compares the anticipation and excitement to the pre-game build-up (hype) of an earlier NCAA championship involving a black-white match-up between Bill Russell and Tom Gola in 1955, although he does not admit that this is a racial promotion. Instead he promotes the intrigue through the basketball skills of Bird and Magic. He also states that the game between Russell and Gola "didn't have the spice of this one", probably in reference to the fact that both the NCAA and the NBA were predominantly white, with quotas upon newly-arrived Negro athletes in 1955. With the source of white players somewhat depleted in the NBA in 1979, and the increased number of black college stars, the emergence of Larry Bird would arouse great white re-interest and anticipation of American basketball fans. Larry Schwartz of the New York Post is also subtle in his racial hype of the upcoming basketball game:

> Larry Bird hates being a hero. But tonight, in his final college game, he will have

> to be more heroic than he's ever been. Tonight, the dream of every basketball junkie in America comes true when Bird and Michigan State's Earvin Johnson clash for the NCAA title (Ch. 4, 9 P.M.). For Bird, the game is more than a personal war, more than a battle between the city slicks from East Lansing and the country hicks from Terre Haute.[521]

The racial factor of the game became the greatest promotional hype, although in subtle terminology. Other than the race factor, this was a typical NCAA championship confrontation involving a star player (and All-Americans) on each team. The point that Schwartz is trying to make in his term, "...he (Bird) will have to be more heoic than he's ever been", could relate to Bird's new and imposed position as "white hope". On a national platform such as the NCAA basketball championship, and the expected wide media audience, Bird was to serve as the gladiator-representative of American values and tradition, alluding to white supremacy. Johnson, as well, would be thrust as the black representative in the quest of sustaining black dominance in American basketball. The "country hicks" of Indiana State and the "city slicks" from East Lansing Michigan comment, by Schwartz, is a subtle inference in the promotion of an urban-rural rivalry featuring a racial adversarial contest. As most black basketball players (and the general black population) were urban, at this point in time, the racial implications are obvious.

The "country hicks" comment is rooted in basic rural American tradition (working together, pulling together, and cooperating together in a basic American team effort to acquire victory, no matter how crudely accomplished), and it is obvious where the majority of American sentiment lay, according to Schwartz. For the record, Magic Johnson and Michigan State won the championship by defeating Indiana State, 75-64, however, the rivalry and the them fo white hopism would continue to persist throughout their professional careers.

The pro ranks would perpetuate this rivalry, as Larry Bird was drafted to the Boston Celtics and Earvin "Magic" Johnson was drafted by the Los Angeles Lakers. It is here that the theme of white hopism (leading to the perception of white supremacy) would flourish, with Bird's presence on the Celtics. Larry Bird, known for longer-range shooting proficiency than most players (which is his greatest basketball asset), the NBA quickly and coincidentally adopted the 3-point rule* (a long shot, about 25 feet away from the basket; most NBA basketball players do not take this shot, as it is out of practical and feasible range, although some players, such

*The NBA adopted the three-point rule on Oct. 12, 1979; coincided with the beginning of Bird's first pro season; Indiana State may have fared better against Michigan State with this rule.

as Bird, are very proficient). Larry Bird and the Boston Celtics had turned this shot into a lethal offensive basketball weapon during the 1980's.

The Celtics, during this era (the "Bird" era), had become one of the few NBA teams who employed more white than black players, in a throwback to blacks' early entrance to pro sports. In this era, the overrepresentation of whites on this team has led to three championships with Larry Bird*. This is a team molded in an Irish tradition (four-leaf clovers, leprechauns, and the color, green), and many players and fans have noticed the perpetuation of this trend. In an article by Filip Bondy of the Daily News, the racial phenomenon of the Celtics is explored:

> Celtic Green is Actually Celtic White
>
> This season (1987-88), the Celtics have been winning with between seven and 10 whites on their roster. That number includes the only three white All-Stars in the NBA - Lrry Bird, Kevin McHale, and Danny Ainge - plus former All-Stars Jim Paxson and Bill Walton..."The Celtics recruit the best white guys who play the game." (Gerald) Henderson (a black ex-Celtic) said. They're catering to the paying fans. It's a format that's worked for them for years. Why go against it, if it's accepted by the surrounding society?"..."The Celtics are popular because of the winning and the tradition"," said one CBS official. "And being white doesn't hurt."[522]

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*These teams have also been fortunate in receiving favorable "NBA calls" by the officials, especially in the Boston arena, not taking anything away from their greatness.

From the very beginning of Larry Bird's career as a Boston Celtic (1979), the above criticism comes nine years too late. The practice of hiring mostly white players, and the fact that the Celtic's tradition is Caucasian-oriented from inception, has been clearly evident, historically. This article was written after Larry Bird and the Celtic's seeming demise from championship form and contention (and the rise of another national star, Michael Jordan). To have written this article during Larry Bird's heyday would have been inconsistent with the white American sentiment for Larry Bird and "America's Team", the Boston Celtics.

An example of the favorable calls that Boston receives from officials, especially at the Boston Garden, is noted in a championship game with the Los Angeles Lakers, by Sam Goldaper of the New York Times:

> Boston made 43 of 51 foul shots and Los Angeles 18 of 28.[523]

18 of 28 foul shots, although a below-average percentage of made free throws in an NBA game, is an average statistic for free throws attempted in an NBA game. 43 of 51 free throws is an extraordinary figure for fouls called by NBA officials in one game, and suggests favoritism. For the record, Boston won the game by only 9 points (111-102), and the influence of this win by the officials is obvious. Since then, Larry Bird has been addressed by

sports journalists as "Larry Legend" and "the best ever". The term "best ever" is strong, considering the abundance of talent that the NBA has produced since its inception. Rarely, if ever, is this term used for outstanding black players.

In 1897, Larry Bird and the Boston Celtics would enter the Eastern Conference playoff finals with the Detroit Pistons. The Celtics would handily defeat the Pistons in six games, but the end of this series is more noted for the comments made by black Detroit stars, Dennis Rodman and Isiah Thomas. Rodman and Thomas explained the media (as reported by Ira Berkow of the New York Times:

> In regard to Bird he (Thomas) said, "I think Larry is a very, very good basketball player. An exceptional talent, but I'd have to agree with Rodman. If Bird was black, he'd be just another good guy." Dennis Rodman, the teammate to whom Thomas had referred, had said that Bird was "over-rated," and that the only reason he had won three straight most valuable player awards...,is because he's white. "That's the only reason."[524]

These statements would cause considerable controversy in the media, and problems for Thomas and Rodman. However, Thomas would bear most of the criticism for these remarks as he is the most-focused upon athlete out of the two. However, Isiah continued his remarks:

> "What I was referring to," said Thomas,..."was not so much Larry Bird, but the perpetuation of stereotypes about blacks. When Bird makes a great play, its due to his thinking,

> and his work habits. It's all planned out by him. It's not the case for blacks. All we do is run and jump. We never practice or give a thought to how we play. It's like I came dribbling out of my mother's womb. "You hear it on television, you see it in the papers. I remember watching the NCAA finals between Syracuse and Indiana. I listened to Billy Packer,...and he said when Inidiana was sending in Garrett and Smart (two black players), 'Well here come the athletes.' The word 'athletes.' I think that's an unconscious statement concerning race."..."Magic and Michael Jordan and me, for example, we're playing on God-given talent, like we're animals, lions and tigers, who run around wild in a jungle, while Larry's success is due to intelligence and hard work. Blacks have been fighting that stereotype about playing on pure instinct for so long, and basically it still exists - regardless of whether people want to believe it or not...And maybe I was more sensitive to it because Boston has more white players than any other pro team, and maybe because it's so hard to win in Boston Garden. I feel that it's not so much the fouls that the referees call there, but the ones they don't call..."[525]

Isiah Thomas' remarks epitomize the entire subject matter of this paper. However, he would apologize for these same remarks shortly afterward. He would dismiss these remarks as a "joke", maybe due to reasons regarding the popularity of his organization (the Detroit Pistons), or his own personal popularity and endorsements, therefore neglecting the ingenuity and accuracy of his statements. Roy T. Johnson of the New York Times reported:

> He attempted to back his contention by playing a tape of the comments he made in the locker room at Boston Garden, hoping the audible laughter at the end of his remark would prove his sarcastic intent.

> "My mistake was in joking in a manner and with someone who did not fully understand that I was joking," Thomas said. "I'm really hurting about this...It was definitely one of the worst days of my life...I lost a game, was accused of being a racist and I'm a bad guy now."[526]

Although Thomas did publicly apologize to Bird, he attached himself with a negative charisma in the media for his original commenets. His reference to himself as "a bad guy now" is accurate within the majority public and media perception, and his team, the Pistons, were nicknamed the "Bad Boys" by the media after this incident. The author of the previous article, Ira Berkow, remarked that he agreed with Isiah on the nature of the perpetual stereotypification of the black athlete in modern times, however, he still defended the American loyalty to Larry Bird as the game's "best ever" basketball player:

> Thomas is on-target in regard to his views of stereotyping blacks. When you hear "athlete" these days, it often means "black," and in the context Thomas stated...In the case of Larry Bird, though, his record - both personal and in regard to team performance - speaks with eloquence for him. Black, white, or fuchsia, Larry Bird must be considered not just "another good guy," but one of the best players to ever tuck in a jersey. It says here, the best[527]

Despite modern and legendary basketball superstars, Berkow stands by his claim that Bird is the "best ever" player to play the game. With American sentiment completely behind him (excluding the majority black American senti-

ment), Bird is heralded by the media, and Thomas becomes alienated by the same. Thomas "apologized" to Bird on a public podium at the Los Angeles Forum, prior to a championship game between the Celtic and the Lakers. On hand was a black player, Jawann Oldham, of the New York Knicks, who gave his opinion of the controversy:

> Tangling With Celtics is Bad For Image
>
> Jawann Oldham, visiting Los Angeles at the time the Thomas spectacle was staged, said..."You can't say anything bad about Larry Bird. That's like saying something about the Grand Wizard himself."[528]

Oldham explained, in symbolic terms, that to publicly criticize a person of Bird's stature in the American Ideal, is to ridicule the symbol of white supremacy ("the Grand Wizard himself"). It was an insult to the fabric of American society (her legendary Caucasian athletic heroes*). For no matter how well blacks play the game of basketball, it is still, and originated as, a "white man's game".

Magic Johnson, altgough extremely low-keyed about this topic, insinuated that Bird was his greatest challenge; a rivalry that stems from the NCAA championship between

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*Larry Holmes made the mistake (similar to Isiah Thomas) of denouncing the boxing abilities of Rocky Marciano, following his first professional loss (to Michael Spinks), via a close decision. Had Holmes won the fight, his record would have equalled Marciano's 49-0 record. After the loss, Holmes stated, "Rocky couldn't carry my jockstrap", and was severely criticized by the media.

Michigan State and Indiana Stae in 1979. Peter Vecsey of the New York Post interviewed Johnson:

> "How do you manage to stay so hungry after all the awards you and your teams have pocketed?" I asked recently. "I just love to win!" replied Magic..."And I'm never satisfied"..."My father instilled that drive in me," Magic continued..."But Larry [Bird] keeps me going."..."And I keep him going. Not that I need an incentive to play, but sometimes you need a push...to keep your level of play above everybody else's." Supplying the big push is Bird.[529]

Although Johnson does not admit it, his ambition, motivation and incentive to his pro career is based on the racial implications of his rivalry with Larry Bird, as provided by the media. Larry Bird himself would concur with Johnson. After the whole incident with Thomas and Rodman, and the ultimate loss to Magic Johnson and the Lakers in 1987, Bird returned the following year a puzzle to media reporters who believed that past incidents might have an effect on him. Reporter Bill Lyon of the Times Herald Record noted:

> But you couldn't help but wonder whether Larry Bird would be perceived differently from then on. Would Larry Bird, though he might not admit it, feel especially driven this season, feel as though he had a point to prove? He showed up 21 pounds lighter, with lines of definition only weights etch into your physique. Was all this because of what Rodman (and Isiah) had said? Bird's response: "More because of Magic." He meant, of course, Magic Johnson. Because Johnson, not Bird, had been the NBA's MVP. Because the Lakers, not the Celtics, had won the championship.[530]

Although Bird and Magic do not concede race as a factor (or undertone) of their rivalry, it is evident in the American conscience. For this reason only, Johnson is not cast into the American Ideal as, say, Larry Bird or Michael Jordan (who has recently been "adopted" into realm by the media). Magic has, to this date, "out-championed" Bird in the NBA, leading Bird in championships, 5 to 3, in the 1980's (including having won two out of three that the Lakers have won in championship series with the Celtics). It is widely known that Bird's major basketball asset is his ability to shoot the ball accurately from long range. Known for his championship status as a 3-point field goal shooter, it can be assumed that the NBA (along with media input) "tailor-made" the game of basketball in 1979 to suit Larry Bird's advantages in this regard, as the new three-point rule was adopted coincidentally with his entrance to professional basketball. With this advantage, and favor by the referees, he was able to dominate other NBA players (most of whom were black), except perhaps Magic Johnson and the Los Angeles Lakers. Ira Berkow of the New York Times sheds some light on the subject of Larry Bird:

> Could it be that William Sampson, a sociology professor at Northwestern University... was correct in his column of last week? "Mr. Bird is a great jump shooter. That is his only asset!" wrote Mr. Sampson. "He is slow, cannot jump, cannot play defense and would never get his jump shot off if the referees didn't allow him to take three

> steps (as opposed to the legal one and a half steps) every time he touches the ball. Further his teammates are allowed to set illegal picks for him all the time. What's more, a defender better not think of playing Mr. Bird closely. The refs simply will not allow it. All this goes on while the fawning announcers dummy up and act as though Mr. Bird is the greatest thing since sliced bread. It's part of the plan. The plan to have a Great White Hope in a sport that is dominated by blacks. Indeed, even the players come to believe Mr. Bird's press clippings, and that stuff the announcers spout about how he is the best and smartest player in the game. He is nowhere near being either." In a column in Newsday last week, Les Payne...wrote that Bird was "over-rated." "Simply stated," Mr. Payne wrote, "Bird has been marketed, for reasons more psychological than commercial, as the Irre-proachable White Hope." Mr. Payne added, though, that Bird, "who is a very fine forward, is not as great as sportswriters would have us believe."...No rational person can dispute that there is racism in this country...But these two writers, both black, picked the wrong target. Anyone who truly knows basketball - anyone who knows sport, for that matter, and is thinking and seeing clearly - can appreciate Bird.[531]

Although all three journalists of the previous column (Smapson and Payne, as quoted by Berkow) make valid points, Berkow shows his disagreement with the black writers in their criticism of Bird, and alludes to their not "thinking and seeing clearly" (which could be a reference to alcohol abuse, drug abuse, and/or unintelligence). Using Berkow's reasoning, the two black writers are "damned" for their opinion of Bird, no matter how accurate or inaccurate.

On the whole, white America is "disappointed" with Magic Johnson for those championship victories over

Bird's teams, and have displaced that anger with their celebration and support of Michael Jordan. Heroic accolades for Bird have suddenly switched to Michael Jordan (on a national scale), with Bird's seeming demise as a player and a national superstar. Jordan has also recently won a championship with the Chicago Bulls over the Lakers and Magic Johnson in 1991. He has numerous endorsements, including the first black sportsman to be advertised "Wheaties-Breakfast of Champions" cereal boxes (amidst the long history of spectacular individual black sports achievements). Jordan has taken up Bird's cudgel as the greatest national sports figure, although in black representation of the "white" American Ideal (as Joe Louis, Floyd Patterson, Jesse Owens, Joe Frazier and George Foreman, among others, have done).

Georgetown Basketball

Another controversy in the American sports media surrounded Coach John Thompson and the Georgetown Hoya's basketball team. The Hoyas hosted the only all-black NCAA basketball team in the 1980's, featuring Patrick Ewing (presently the center for the New York Knicks). The controversy that surrounded Thompson was his usual selection of all black basketball players to represent the predominantly-white Georgetown University. Under close scrutiny throughout the 1980's, Thompson has

been accused by the media of being a black racist, although his teams have been very successful (won NCAA championship in 1984, and two runner-up places in 1982 and 1985). With the growing number of black players in college and professional basketball, Thompson rationalizes his action by stating that he tries to acquire the very best available players, who happen to be black. In recent years, however, he has included white players on his teams' rosters, although they have played non-major roles. Although his recruitment of white players may be due to media, or other external pressure(s), which remains a mystery, his teams are still overwhelmingly and predominantly black. The black players on his teams are also highly visible in the sport media (television, newspapers, magazines, etc.) because of their national success.

Upon Thompson's appointment to coach the 1988 Olympic basketball team, CBS-TV sports analyst Brent Musburger made the comment:

> Musburger told (David) Sims that people are wondering whether there will be a white player on the Olympic basketball team. "What's the No. 1 question on the talk shows in New York? Is John Thompson going to put a white basketball player on the United States Olympic team? Is that a question that can be asked? Certainly it is. I mean, take a look at his team down at Georgetown. I think a lot of people wonder about that," Musburger said.[532]

Coach Thompson became outraged at the racial implications made by Musburger. Bob Raissman of the Daily News explains:

> Thompson called the statement dangerous. "I'd like to ask him whether the people calling in the talk shows are asking why there are no blacks on most of the teams in Calgary," Thompson said..."I think that's a very dangerous statement for anybody in Brent's position to say because I interpret that as (him) saying there should be a quota of blacks on the Olympic team..."[533]

Coach Thompson is also known for protecting his palyers from the media, which he considers dysfuntional for the student/athlete. Patrick Ewing was the most visible, in this respect, as he continuously denied interviews with reporters throughout his college career (as instructed by Thompson). Musburger also made remarks on this topic:

> In his interview with Sims, Musburger talked about the problems of media access to the Georgetown basketball team before saying: "I think that's terribly unfortunate because it overshadows some marvelous things that he (Thompson) has done, with a lot of, again, underprivileged city black kids that he brings there, and they get an oppur-tunity to graduate from a great school."[534]

Here, Musburger, in front of a nationwide audience, makes another over-generalization about blacks; this in reference to his stereotype of Georgetown players as "underprivileged kids" from urban environments. Thompson was vehement in his reaction:

> Thompson called the statement biased. "...has Brent seen the financial statements of my students? He's saying a lot of socially deprived kids (play for Georgetown)," Thompson said. "That's a generalization and a very biased statement. I've had several kids who happen to be black that haven't been poor and from disadvantaged families."... Thompson said Musburger was restricting his judgment of him to one aspect of his life; how he assembled the Georgetown basketball team..."You can't take one aspect of my life - that is predominately black - and say bacause that aspect of my life is predominately black, John Thompson is a biased person. I'd be willing to bet that my life is far more integrated than Brent Musburger's."[535]

The comments of Musburger represents the new trend of black athletic depictions by the media in the 1980's, as opposed to the subtle nature of the same during the 1970's. The "mood" of the American media begins to shift in this area, as evidenced by the generalizations and stereotypifications in the previous paragraph.

With respect to the Georgetown University basketball team, and their high visibility in the 1980's (due to their success), the general American media was also "anti-Georgetown" (and/or "anti-John Thompson). This team, because their "blackness" was coincidental with their success (and vice versa), the American media becomes (and public) becomes "sensitive" to their high visibility (media may have become "offended"). It seems that although blacks were highly successful and predominant in the game of basketball (on the pro and amateur levels),

the American public was still "not ready" to celebrate a visible all-black national pro or college team, success withstanding. An example of this is evidenced by the media reaction to an NCAA playoff game in March, 1989 featuring Georgetown University and Princeton University. An article by Wayne Coffey of the Daily News captured the event in American symbolism, as Georgetown is nearly eliminated (or Princeton nearly wins):

> Georgetown Escapes
>
> Until the very end, the final tick, a beautiful and utterly unthinkable thing happened here last night. Princeton was outplaying mighty Georgetown. The Princeton Tigers, alleged Ivy League pointy-heads, were dictating the pace...back-dooring Georgetown to near ruin...attacking the vaunted Hoya press with poise and precision.[536]

Why was outplaying Georgetown "a beautiful thing"? Throughout this article, Princeton is credited with playing a more intelligent game than Georgetown, having gone up by as many as ten points in one period. It didn't occur to Coffey that Georgetown may have taken the game too lightly and underestimated the superb skills that Princeton showed, or that Princeton's team was equal in ability to Georgetown (although this does not fit the stereotype). Georgetown may have underestimated Princeton's ability in all aspects of the game, because of the influence of the stereotype of black physicality versus Caucasian "intelligence" with respect to basket-

ball (Georgetown may have thought it would be an "easy" game, playing into the "brawn over brains" with respect to the perceived physical nature of basketball, although the game requires a realm of equality in both the strategic ["intelligence"] and the physical). For the record, Princeton employed all-white players. Coffey has preverbially "killed two birds with one stone" in his stereotypical analysis of the two teams. Earlier adjectives of the "mighty Georgetown" may be perceived as the physical and athletic prowess of the black athletes, as compared to the "Ivy-League pointy-heads" of Princeton, denoting mental superiority. Why was it "beautiful and utterly unthinkable"? The perception may be that, "how can five intelligent white guys win against five strong (and less intelligent) black guys in a game of basketball, which blacks tend to dominate (except in the case of Larry Bird and the Boston Celtics)"? Could it be that they used their superior intelligence in bringing about this near-win? (The author does not mention the "intelligence" that it took for Georgetown to pull out the win.) Coffey was obviously hopeful that this event (a Princeton victory) would occur. He is generalizing about the prowess of black athletes while simultaneously labelling them mentally inferior. He is also stereotyping the "intelligent" white athletes by his state of "shock" over this event (calling it "unthinkable"), alluding to the idea

that this couldn't happen. He forgets that they are all human beings, equally matched and involved in a common sport, and both sides must be given a chance for that reason. If either side was not given a "chance" to win the game, then there would be no purpose for the paying spectators. Another perception is that it was "beautiful until the very end" because the five white guys and Princeton University (which has always been a predominantly white institution and its high representation of American values) almost won the game over the blacks from Georgetown.*.

Bob Raissman acknowledges the theme of "Georgetown-bashing" by the media (Daily News):

> Time to Squash Georgetown-Bashing
>
> Maybe the situation is out of hand. Maybe things are just too far gone. Georgetown-bashing on TV has gotten so outrageous, the dweebs behind the micrphones have no clue when they're engaging in it. We offer the Hoya's St. Patrick's Day escape from Princeton as Exhibt A. ESPN's Mike Gorman and Ron Perry were in the anti-Georgetown mode early and often. We're not suggesting it's premeditated or done consciously. Call it anti-Georgetown, call it anti-John Thompson, call it subtle racism. Call it anything you want. Whatever it is, it stinks. It's stinking up the airwaves...While the

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*Although Georgetown is represented by John Thompson and the black basketball players, it is a predominately white institution, as is Notre Dame, which makes Coffey's "illusion" that much more ridiculous. Coffey would have been better to neutralize his own "American values". For Princeton to have actually won the game would have meant nothing in terms of black and white, except for the players.

> announcers heaped deserved praise on Princeton - the usual "heady", well-prepared, "gutsy" cliches associated with a predominately white Ivy League team - they never gave Georgetown any credit for eventually solving the Princeton puzzle. They never mentioned that the Hoyas had not encountered a similar offense this season. Isn't there something to be said for a team hanging in and pulling out a win?*[537]

Much of the media racism and stereotypical depictions of black athletes during the 1980's was "unconscious" as Raissman, and previously Isiah Thomas, clearly stated. It is so ingrained into the media psyche that many times it goes unnoticed. It has thus emerged from the "believablity" of genetic studies, common stereotypes, and rumors of the second class nature of blacks, and incorporated into the belief and value systems of the white American society.

Jimmy "the Greek" Snyder, Al Campanis and the 1988 Super Bowl

Another racial dilemma of the sport media has to do with the 1988 Super Bowl, which would feature the first black quarterback ever to play, and start on the first team, in the history of the Super Bowl. Two weeks prior to the Super Bowl, however, racial remarks made by Jimmy "the Greek" Snyder (Las Vegas oddsmaker and CBS-TV sports analyst) in connection with the black quarterback, Doug Williams, would gain national attention.

*For the record, Georgetown beat Princeton, 50-49.

Snyder's remarks of January 15, 1988 followed the racial remarks set forth by Los Angeles Dodgers' vice president, Al Campanis, seven months previous (April 6, 1987). Both sets of remarks were made before a national television audience, and both were overt generalizations and stereotypes of the black race. As the American public and media sources became outraged at these two separate incidents (a reflection of the changing times and a further example of American hypocrisy), not to mention black resentment, it became evident that the Caucasian-American attitudes and perceptions of blacks (and black athletes) were based on age-old and current genetic studies, stereotypes, rumors, movie-portrayals and athletic performance, and ability*.

**Snyder's remarks were reported by the Daily News (reporter Bill Verigan):

> A regular on "The NFL Today," the CBS Sunday pregame show, Snyder said that it's "lucky" if there are two white players on the court in a basketball game, and said blacks "were bred" to be better athletes. Snyder said that blacks were superior athletes because they practice rigorously, but also "because this goes back all the way to the Civil War when during slave trading the slave

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*In the words of Isiah Thomas, (the white sports announcers refer to us) "like we're playing on 'God-given talent', like we're animals, lions and tigers, who run around wild in a jungle."

**Snyder usually appeared on CBS together with Brent Musburger in sports analyses.

> owner would breed his big black to his big woman so that he could have a big black kid. You see, I mean, that's where it all started." He said blacks were bred to have "high thighs and big thighs that go up into his back. And they jump higher and run faster because of their bigger thighs, you see. The white man has to overcome that, but they don't try hard enough to overcome it."[538]

These and similar comments made by Snyder led to his immediate dismissal from CBS, although Snyder was exercising his own opinion under his Constitutional right to free speech as provided by the First Amendment, and as a citizen of the United States. However, the furor that resulted from his comments amounted to a collective perception of "fire", and the immediate public reacted in kind. His remarks, up to this date, were no different than the various genetic studies (and racial depictions, epithets and innuendos made by various sports journalists who were not dismissed from their positions) which infer that blacks are physically superior and mentally inferior to whites. Also, as a sportscaster of the media, his remarks were racial in theory and text, yet the history of sport media with regard to black athletes propagated the same myths. The overall denouncement of Snyder, by both blacks and whites, reflect the lynch-mob ideology and mentality that is incorporated into the American Ideal (conviction before trial), and is encouraged by the

media*. His remarks, overtly racial as they may be**, accurately portrays the media conscience with respect to black athletes. The total denouncement of Snyder by the American media, amounts to racists calling a racist, "racist"***. In theory, America symbolizes freedom and equality in her Ideal, however in practice, she represents bigotry and injustice. Snyder was guilty of scarring the American symbol by exposing her true attitudes, beliefs and practices****.

With respect to the 1988 Super Bowl, Snyder remarked that Doug Williams "would choke" under pressure. Williams, of the Washington Redskins football team, was to face John Elway, the white quarteback (and national star) of the Denver Broncos for the championship of American professional football. This would yet be another black-white confrontation as imposed by the media, and dividing American sentiment (like Bird and Magic). The Redskins were projected underdogs (by Snyder's own betting line)

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*In much the same manner that the various boxing commissions (from all 50 states), along with the Federal Government (and encouraged by the media), prematurely stripped Muhammad Ali of his title and his right to earn a living

**"I may not agree with what you (Snyder) say, but I will defend your right to the death to say it" -Voltaire exaggeration.

***Much like the U.S. and Germany over the trials of Owens, Louis and Schmeling. In Snyder's analysis, he insulted whites as well as blacks

****When it comes to blacks and other groups/individuals being discriminated against, the symbol of Justine peeps through her blindfold.

to win the game, however, they would win by the total, 42-10, under Williams brilliant passing game (which included a 35 point second period). If whites are "lazy" athletes, and black athletes are better because of physical endowments and they "practice harder", as Snyder stated, then why did Snyder predict Williams downfall to Elway (who had greater experience and was no stranger to the Super Bowl)?

This situation also brings up the theory of "stacking", that has been explained by Harry Edwards (who coined the term), John Loy, Gerald Kenyon and various other sport sociologists. "Stacking" refers to the over-representation of athletes at certain positions according to race. Although disproved in basketball (because of increasing black predominance), stacking by race has it that blacks are more relegated to the physical, non-thinking or decision-making positions of their chosen sport (for instance, blacks are usually given defensive assignments and speed positions in football; outfield in baseball which implies blacks in the batting order, etc., while whites are relegated to the thinking and decision-making positions in sports that include blacks, like guard in basketball*, quarterback in football, pitcher/catcher and other infield positions in baseball, etc.). Curry and Jiobu note:

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*Disproved

> Over several weekends of television watching, anyone, sports aficionado or not, would notice how many blacks play halfback, wide receiver, and defensive back in football, and how few play center, quarterback, or middle linebacker; or in baseball, the number of blacks playing the outfield and the paucity of blacks playing the infield. It's alomst as if Jim Crow signs had been hung around the athletic field: "This Position Reserved for Whites"; "This Position Reserved for Blacks." The existence of this reservation system, called "stacking," has been known for many years...Even though the studies...lag behind the current state of affairs, they still show a pattern, one that has remained constant over time: Afro-Americans are overrepresented in some positions and underrepresented in others. Stacking goes on. Stacking would be reprehensible on moral-ethical grounds alone, but it also has negative socioeconomic consequences, both during the black athlete's career and after he retires.[539]

What Doug Williams did was eliminate the myth of black mental inferiority at these positions, in one single game (and sport). He proved his ability in numerous other games, college and pro, but the Super Bowl provided a national lectern on which this myth was disspelled. In the wake of Snyder's remarks, and the sudden emergence of the black quarterback, Doug Williams, New York Times reporter, Ira Berkow, reflects the developing sequence of events:

> Williams Makes His Point
>
> There are times when the elements of time and space and improbable coincidence converge to make dramatic events. This afternoon was one of those moments...Much has been

> written about Jimmy (the Greek) Snyder and his confused theories of anthropology and history...After the game, someone said to Williams, "To be direct, the reason that there have been only a handful of black quarterbacks in NFL history is because people said-" "We're not smart enough," he interrupted, with a sardonic look...The black man at the alien position, the position of leadership and authority and brains, the position that, according to once prevalent thinking, only whites were supposed to be able to handle...The theory was unshakable for a long time...others surely thought that black men didn't have the "necessities" to play quarterback in the NFL , and certainly would not have the intellectual wherewithal to lead a team to the biggest game on the pro football calendar, the Super Bowl..."I think this can give some other quarterbacks hope, and hope for other blacks who want to play quarterback." His thoughts now on Jimmy the Greek? "Don't want to discuss him." And his thoughts on the black quarterback who was supposed to choke in the big game? "I've choked all the way to San Diego," he said. "That's fine with me."[540]

Stacking by race and position is based on general racism and also brings up the reality of the lack of black managers and executives in American professional sports. Almost a year previous to the 1988 Super Bowl, the Los Angeles Dodgers' vice president in charge of player personnal, Al Campanis, remarked that blacks did not have the "necessities" to manage a team in major league baseball. Many "stacking" theorists note that certain positions on the playing field hierarchically lead to certain managerial and executive positions, with respect to certain sports. For instance, most baseball managers are not previous outfield players, and therefore, not black. These sport theorists contend that

certain sports positions are necessary in the smooth transition from player to management. Curry and Jiobu explain:

> Stacking has another long-term consequence. After retirement stacking makes it difficult to go into coaching or management. A respected sociologist writes, "One's position in the formal structure of an organization contributes to the development of role skills which are essential to career movement."...Some positions require more social skill than others. Outfielders, of whom a disproportionate number are black, are isolated far away from their teammates, and do not have the oppurtunity for much interaction. Infielders and catchers must frequently interact with teammates, opponents and umpires. As a whole, the infield shows leadership and spirit ("infield chatter"). Spirit, smooth social interactions, and leadership are important skills for moving up the organizational pyramid...Three fourths of all baseball managers are former infielders or catchers.[541]

The implied major consequence of "stacking" by these and other sport sociologists is that it implies the separation of blacks and whites on the playing field, although the "color line" of sport has been banished (as noted by the outfielder, Jackie Robinson); sport "Jim Crowism". It allows the white fan to observe interracial sport teams working in a joint effort, however, it implies the non-interaction between the races, working simultaneously (equal but separate), in keeping with the American Ideal.

It is clear, however, that managerial positions are more accorded to race than previous player position (most executive and coaching positions in professional

sports have been filled by non ex-professional white players), especially in basketball. For instance, the vice-president of the New York Knickerbockers organization is presently, Ernie Grunfeld, who was previously a non-pivotal and seldom-used player for the New York Knicks. He received this position despite the myriad number of black athletes who have contributed greatly as players over the years, including Willis Reed (who was the first black coach of the Knicks in 1977), Walt Frazier and Earl Monroe, among others who also played major roles and were major heroes in the Knicks only two championship seasons. However, Dave Debusschere was appointed as commissioner of the now-defunct American Basketball Association (ABA) and more recently was vice-president of the New York Knicks. Bill Bradley furthered his accomplishments and now is the United States Senator of New Jersey. Seldom-used ex-Knick Phil Jackson is the coach of the World Champion Chicago Bulls, featuring Michael Jordan. The once-spectacular Julius Erving ("Dr. J") has no present affiliation with the NBA, and there are few black coaches in the college and professional ranks. Along with his negative comments about black athletes, Jimmy "the GreeK' stated:

> ..."if blacks take over coaching like everybody wants them to, there won't be anything left for the white people. I mean, all

> the players are black. The only thing whites control is ('a few') coaching jobs. Now I'm not being derogatory about it, but that's all that's left for them. They've (blacks) got everything...I'm sure they'll (blacks) take over that pretty soon."[542]

Snyder seems to forget that 100% of the owners in all professional major league sports are white, and that whites overwhelmingly predominate the coaching and executive sports position, which makes his statement a generalized exaggeration. With regard to the seldom-used and non-pivotal white ex-player of the New York Knicks, Ernie Grunfeld, and his sudden appointment as vice-president of the New York Knickerbockers organization, Fred Kerber of the New York Post analyzes his credentials for that position:

> When he assumed the position of Knicks president March 1 (1991), Dave Checketts listed the qualities he sought in his vice president of player personnel. He wanted NBA experience. He wanted someone familiar with the physical and mental grinds of a pro season. He wanted someone who knew the league and the Knicks. Ernie Grunfeld fit all the categories. And yesterday-Checketts, as expected, gave Grunfeld the job...Checketts drew up a list of 20 candidates for vice president and "interviewed fewer than that," he said..."I talked to a lot of people and built a list of candidates that I narrowed down,"..."I wanted a guy who knew the game either as a player or a coach...Most of all I wanted a winner with a real desire to win. Someone with integrity. Someone I could be in the trenches with...I felt Ernie was the choice." Checketts noted that as he interviewed candidates, he asked them "Tell me what you think needs

> to be done." "Ernie's answer was so far beyond whatever anyone else said," Checketts said. Neither Checketts nor Grunfeld would elaborate.[543]

It is perceivable that Grunfeld was chosen because he was the most available white, due to the obvious bypassing of more veteran and experienced black ex-players who ordained professional basketball uniforms, and worked in coaching and managerial capacities. Although there was not much criticism over this hiring, by the media, one Knick fan did speak out:

> Slap to Blacks
>
> The Knick appointment of Ernie Grunfeld to VP of Operations is once again a slap in the face to all ex-black athletes. Even Willis Reed had to leave the Knick organization to obtain career advancement. Grunfeld went from player, to commentator, to assistant coach, to executive, to VP in four years. Why was he given these oppurtunities when so many qualified blacks were not even considered? The message the Knicks are sending out is clear - black athletes are only qualified when it comes to putting the ball in the hoop, and not for the intellect, administrative and/or managerial skills.[544]

Once again, according to this fan's perceptible reaction, and with respect to Snyder's remarks, the major criteria for managerial duties in major sport appears to be skin color, while athleticism is sine qua non of the black sports representative.

When Al Campanis spoke of the "necessities" required of baseball managers, necessities that weren't apart

of the black physical, mental and experiential makeup, he epitomized the hiring of Ernie Grunfeld. Although Campanis' remarks took place before (and set a precedent for) the remarks made by Snyder, they bring to the surface the attitudes of the white American conscience with respect to black athletes (and blacks in general). While Campanis voiced his opinion of the reason for the lack of black managers in baseball to a nationwide audience, he also recounts ancient and modern depictions of black athletes through genetic studies (studies which seem to "fit" and provide an "excuse" for the political "flavor" of the time):

> (Al) Campanis, who had been with the Dodgers' organization since 1943 and was vice president for player personnel since 1968, uttered the words that led to his forced departure on "Nightline," the ABC News program...Asked by Ted Koppel, the shows host, why the majors had no black managers, general managers or owners, Campanis denied that prejudice was the reason. "I truly believe," Campanis said, "That they may not have some of the necessities to be, let's say, a field manager or perhaps a general manager." When Koppel asked if Campanis really believed that, the executive said, "Well, I don't say that all of them, but they certainly are short. How many quarterbacks do you have, how many pitchers do you have, that are black? A moment later, Campanis added, "Why are black men or black people not good swimmers? Because they don't have the buoyancy."[545]

Since the black entrance into major league baseball and other sports, these sports have, only recently, been represented by blacks in executive and managerial

positions in token numbers, maybe through "affirmative action", but least likely through the hierarchical merit system of sport that produces the Ernie Grunfelds. Ex-baseball player, Billy Sample, gives the following account:

> It has been exactly two months since Al Campanis, the former Dodger executive vice prsident, revealed to the world a hint of baseball's racist philosophy when he commented on blacks' qualifications for managerial positions...the names of qualified black baseball men such as Joe Morgan, Bob Watson, Bill Robinson, Frank Robinson, Bill White, Don Baylor and Willie Stargell have been mentioned as a corrective alternative to traditional hiring practices. Yet the only relevant speculation to date is that managerial firings will be delayed this year because no club will want the pressure of having to fill the vacancy with an applicant who is a member of a minority...According to Northeastern University's Center for the Study of Sport in Society, there are 17 members of minority groups among the 879 front-office employees. When I think that Willie Stargell applied for two coaching vacancies last year and didn't get an interview, well its time for an attitude adjustment...When deciding between two people, an employer will hire the one he feels most comfortable with, and with the history of institutional racism before and since integration, this ideology can extend from owner to president to general manager to the scouting system and throughout the front office.[546]

By no means are blacks represented in major league sports executive and managerial positions, with respect to the percentage of blacks as players. These trends are an ideology, imbedded in the American Ideal, and for which

purpose is to sustain the subordination of blacks as a class (as they are practiced in most American institutions). The trends of white attitudes that are based on the genetic explanations of black athleticism (why they are dominant in certain sports and failures at others) are ingrained* in the American psyche through value and belief systems (practice and repetition), and are perpetuated upon the American conscience through the media

Etcetera

Instances of continued racism as perpetuated through sport media will be cited and reproduced in this section. As mentioned, the racism expressed by these media makers and sport journalists is frequently "unconscious", in the manner that it is expressed freely and without second thought. In the words of Al Campanis:

> "I just feel the injustice of the situation. Everybody knows I'm not prejudiced. I worked with Jackie Robinson...Jim Gilliam... Maury Wills...Then to be classified as a racist just doesn't make sense. My expression may have been twisted but never did I mean that blacks aren't intelligent.

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*Ingrained with respect to the bombardment of these ideas through the daily media. In many cases, the media announcers/writers are unaware of their practice of racism (such as Jimmy "the Greek", Billy Packer, Al Campanis, John Kieran, and others), as it has become ingrained into their conscience, by their beliefs and values of genetic and racist ideas, and results in their expression of thought.

> There was no malice aforethought...I apologize to the American people...and particularly black Americans, for my statements and my inability...to accurately express my beliefs."[547]

and the words of Jimmy "the Greek":

> "I'm terribly upset, I'm terribly sorry for my remarks, and I offer full heartfelt apologies to all those I may have offended, and that is from my heart."[548]

Apologies under pressure do not rectify the continued situation of the propagation of racist attitudes in the media. If such were the case, then most media-makers and writers (as well as race-linked genetic scientists and sport coaches) would also have to offer apologies, which obviously does not happen. It is not even the case that these two figures (Snyder and Campanis) are the most overt instances of sport media racism. In reaction to the remarks made by Snyder, the NAACP, represented by Willis Edwards, president of the Beverly Hills-Hollywood chapter, stated:

> "What a beginning for 1988,...How long must the black people of this country endure these publicly touted demeaning and humiliating attitudes?"[549]

An intelligent reaponse to Willis Edwards would be that the media reflects the racist values in the society through the value systems of the reporters and the media-makers (who are the subjects of the media, such as Snyder, Campanis, and Isiah Thomas). Harry Edwards would agree that until the values of the American racial system, which are various, can be restructured into one unilateral

monolithic system of values, racism in all institutions will continue to persist. This change would have to include black, as well as white and other representations in the media and sporting institutions, all having their input in the restructuring of the American value system.

The following will include excerpts of news and television media denoting modern instances of media racism as applied to sport. References will also be made to perceived racism in the general media (such as television sit-coms and specials). Most of this racist genre is "unconscious" media, while other instances tend to be purposeful. Each selection is perceived by the author to represent contemporary forms of media racism, and each selection shall be open to criticism (in terms of the author's perception).

1. 11/12/87 (sport) Daily News p. 77 (Filip Bondy): "In a league comprised of 70% black players, the Celtics have 10 white on a 14-man roster. Nobody says Boston should trade Larry Bird, but dumping (black player) Sam Vincent for nothing and keeping (white player) Conner Henry around as decoration leads to some obvious questions."
   [Bondy is obviously referring to the majority-white tradition of the Celtics, and alludes to a previous study of sports which contends that "marginal black players (do not) survive as long as marginal white players."[550]]
2. 12/3/87 (sport) Daily News p. 132 (News photo)
   [Dwayne "Pearl" Washington, a black basketball player recruited by the new Jersey Nets from Syracuse University, is featured in a total-page photo covering the back page of the newspaper. Shocking is the two-inch (in width) "FOR SALE" sign posted diagonally across his

photo, and across the bottom of the page. Pearl, who has retained major primordial African features (especially skin color), resembles a slave on the trading block in this photo; an obvious reference to slavery. The newspaper is guilty in this instance, not the Nets organization, who were merely dissatisfied with his services. (Fig. A-4)]

3. 2/5/88 (sport) Daily News p. 45 (Earl Caldwell): "When Joe Louis won his championship, it helped lift a whole race of people. When Jackie Robinson broke the color line in baseball, it was the signal that a lot of barriers in American society were about to fall. Now Doug Williams. His victory, in a way, represents black Americans saying that we can do more than just play. We too can think and inspire and lead."
[This is an obvious rebuttal to the theories of Caucasian mental superiority and "stacking", which were demythed in the black-white confrontation between Doug Williams and John Elway in the 1988 Super Bowl.]

4. 5/3/88 (sport) Daily News p. 85 (Filip Bondy): "During the Cavs-Bulls game Sunday on CBS, Tommy Heinsohn used the word 'intelligent' to describe only two players (who happen to be white): Mark Price and Craig Ehlo. But then, as Isiah Thomas knows, people don't want to hear about that."
[This is an obvious reference to the contrasting attitudes of the general media depictions of white and black athletes, although Bondy, who is white, is honest enough to point this fact out to the media public.]

5. 6/2/87 (sport) New York Times p. D27 (Isiah Thomas, as quoted by Ira Berkow): "I listened to Tommy Heinsohn on tapes of the games, and he kept going over plays by Bird, like the left-handed bank shot, where he might not with someone else."
[Heinsohn is depicted, by Thomas, as a sports media commentator who is guilty of perpetuating various racial stereotypes of athletes; favoring whites.]

6. 1/19/88 (sport) New York Times p. D25 (Doug Williams, as quoted by peter Alfano): "It's the ultimate, like going to the mountaintop, like Martin Luther King said, ...After the Super Bowl, if I never play another down, I'll be satisfied."
[Williams relates his achievement through the Martin Luther King-Civil Rights of the 1960's symbolism. For Williams, he is enthusiastic about his achievement from a black standpoint; a victory for blacks.]

7. 10/12/88 (sport) Daily News p. 56 (New York Mets fan Charles Wilson, as quoted by Filip Bondy): "I was a fine booster as far as the Brooklyn Dodgers were concerned...They were a great source of pride. Guys like Jackie Robinson, Don Newcombe, Roy Campanella...When they went to Los Angeles, when the Mets came here, I changed allegiance...I still root for the Mets in the series, because I'm a baseball fan first. But they don't give us much to root for."
[In 1988, no team had fewer black players than the Mets. Each black player, Dwight Gooden, Darryl Strawberry and Mookie Wilson were all employed in major roles; marginal black players were non-existent.]

8. Al McGuire, the successful ex-basketball coach of Marquette University, has suggested that many of the young black athletes he has come into contact with experience pressure to be outstanding performers in sport. According to him, a black athlete "could never justify an understudy's role to himself or to the brothers he left behind in the playground. Thus, there is no point in recruiting blacks who will not start."[551]
[A typical coach's rationale for the overrepresentation of blacks in starting roles, and underrepresentation of blacks in marginal (or bench) roles in college basketball in 1971.]

9. 3/9/89 (sport) Daily News p. 47 (Richard G. Carter): "A few years ago, the New York Knicks - who hadn't won an NBA championship since 1973 - took a dramatic, albeit altogether very predictable step. They fielded an all-black starting lineup...And lest you think the Knicks new, colorful lineup wasn't a bold stroke, none other than the holier than thou New York Times proclaimed the event with a major story headlined, 'The All Black Knicks.'...Happily, however - given the fact that the team was mediocre at best until this year - New York and the fans survived the all-black starters without much fanfare. Which brings us to the present. With about two-thirds of the season gone, the Knicks are one of the true scourges of the NBA. They're solidly ensconced at the top of the Atlantic division, having set a new home winning streak along the way. They're a well-oiled, fast-footed machine...almost all of whom are black. So what does General Manager Al Bianchi do? He swings a trade for Kiki Vandeweghe - a player the Knicks don't need. Kiki is a 31-year old, slow-footed former scoring whiz with a bad back. And he just happens to be white...Chris Mullin ...(is) being furiously courted by the Knicks. And he's white too. What, you may ask, am I driving at? Just this: The all-winning, 1988-89 Knicks, who just happened to be almost totally black in makeup, didn't need much tinkering...Who knows, maybe Bianchi thinks Vandeweghe will become another Dave Debusschere. And if he's able to pry the crew-cut baby-faced Mullin away from the Golden

State Warriors, maybe Bianchi thinks he'll become another Bill Bradley."
[This is a black reaction to the highly-pursued Knick acquisition of Kiki Vandeweghe, in what may be perceived as a racial tactic to pacify white New York Knick fans, as well as the drive to bring another white player, Chris Mullin, to a New York team that already had a winning chemistry.]

10. 3/9/89 (sport) Daily News p. 47 (Richard G. Carter): "But everyone knows what the presence of white sports heroes can do for the psyche of white fans. It makes 'em feel oh, so good. And it goes right to the top. For example, remember the congratulatory phone call President Reagan was set to place to the dressing room of heavyweight challenger Gerry Cooney after his expected defeat of Larry Holmes in 1982? Of course Holmes demolished Cooney and Reagan, true to form, deep-sixed the call. Seems the big guy didn't fancy the 'Easton Assassin' as a hero-type. It was business as usual in these United States. Some things never change."
[Carter gives an account of the duality and hypocrisy of the American Ideal, as demonstrated through the act of President Reagan's snub of Larry Holmes after the Cooney fight. Reagan's disappointment reflected continued "white hopism" in the American media.]

11. 10/12/88 (sport) Daily News p. 56 (Filip Bondy): "Blame Met management if you want. Not everyone does. Black jazz musician Branford Marsalis,...says the Mets are only exercising good business judgment: reading their market, making smart economic decisions, every time seven white players take the field...Three million fans come to see the Mets even though outside of their pitching they are a mediocre team. 'If I owned a team, maybe the whites would have to be much better than the blacks to make the team.'"
[Marsalis' statement reflects the general sporting practice of the overrepresentation of marginal white players and the exclusion of marginal black players in major league baseball. He also brings up the notion of the high marketability rate of the white athlete (especially the white superstar).]

12. 3/27/89 (sport) New York Post p. 1 (photo)
["America's Team", Duke University, is featured in front-page headline after defeating Georgetown University, 85-77. Full-sized photo of an angry John Thompson is on the back cover. Headline states: "Duke Humbles Hoyas." This is a subtle statement of white supremacy and successful "white hopism".]

13. 4/25/89 Daily News p. 49 (Filip Bondy): "Then there are the Celtics, official team of the Columbia Broadcasting System. They face the Pistons, and the ultimate dilemma." [Bondy is evidently referring to the Celtic endorsement and favorable comments by CBS-TV, which was prevalent in every broadcast game involving the Boston Celtics and Larry Bird. Celtics are "America's Team" in ultimate playoff showdown and dilemma with the Detroit Pistons (nicknamed the "Bad Boys" by CBS) and the controversial "Bird-Basher", Isiah Thomas.]

14. 6/6/89 (sport) Daily News p. 73 (Filip Bondy reports of a fan letter): "Think it's fun being a sports writer? Here's part of a letter in my mail on the MVP vote, from Mike McCarthy of Brooklyn: 'Let's be honest: Magic Johnson and the other black runnerups, like Michael Jordan, have lots of athletic ability, but they can't think on the court the way Larry Bird and some of the other white players, like Kiki Vandeweghe, can." [Fan alludes to the Caucasian mental superiority myth, despite Magic Johnson's unchallenged brilliance of the game of basketball; many refer to Magic as a "player-coach" and a great reactive player, as demonstrated by his successful instant decisions. The letter by this fan stereotypes Magic and Jordan with "athleticism"; fan neglects logic in this statement. Isiah previously remarked that the term "athlete" as used by sports announcers and journalists, with respect to black athletes, often denotes racism.]

15. 9/29/89 (sport) New York Post p. 82 (Gerry Cooney as quoted by Michael Marley): "I can't change the past, but the past is over. There are different questions... but the Irish develop late." [In preparation for his fight with George Foreman, Cooney refers to his loss with Larry Holmes, a fight that resulted in white media disappointment and anger toward him. The "Irish develop late" statement by Cooney, is a latent sales pitch to the white American fight fans, in the promotion of his latest match.]

16. 9/29/89 (sport) New York Post p. 82 (Michael Marley): "Some in boxing think Foreman-Cooney will do big business because of name value and the fact that it's a racially mixed match. The good-natured minister...had fun with that thought. 'You mean because I'm white and he's black?' a laughing Foreman asked." [Although Foreman's question is stated to be humorous, Marley reflects the intrigue of popular interracial boxing matches, as rooted in American history, when a "white hope" is given a chance to win.]

17. 2/25/90 New York Times Sec. 8 p. 1 (Joe Sexton in a discussion of blacks in the National Hockey League, featuring Willie O'Ree, the first black player in the NHL.): "The scene was Madison Square Garden. The year was 1961. O'Ree, a forward with the Boston Bruins, had gone hard into the endboards in the defensive zone of the Rangers. The wire mesh, which protected the fans from the puck and the players from the fans, had given way. And O'Ree, the first black to pay in the NHL, was being yanked into an angry mob...'I don't even like to think now what might have happened had they got me up there,' recalled O'Ree...For blacks trying to make a career in the game, this can make for a lonely and difficult life. Organists in minor league towns can still strike up their warped version of 'jungle' music to accompany a black's appearance on the ice. The verbal sparring...can still include racial slurs. A tactless joke among teammates, a joke born of ignorance and not hate, can still leave a locker room silent with embarrassment and hurt."

18. 4/22/90 (sport) Daily News p. 61 (Bob Klapisch in a discussion of Dennis "Oil Can" Boyd, controversial black pitcher of the Boston Red Sox): "Talk about Boyd, you talk about two subjects: his arm and his turbulent days in Boston. The Can says, 'I'm glad I'm gone' from Fenway, far away from what he saw as racism from the Sox' front office. Because he is black, Boyd says, advancement in the Red Sox' organization was nearly impossible...'This is a white man's game, mentally, physically, every aspect,' Boyd says. 'Everyone who's ever played for the Red Sox knows that. Every black player there has had a problem...It was the organization I couldn't live with.'...Bob Ojeda, a teammate of Boyd's from 1982-86...says, 'Boston is definitely rough for a black player, any black player'..."
[Boyd and Ojeda shed light on general racism within the Boston Red Sox organization.]

19. 4/22/90 (sport) Daily News p. 59 (Jose Canseco of the Oakland Athletics): "Jose Canseco says racism was the reason the Oakland Athletics didn't offer him a big-money multi-year contract-like the one the neighboring San Francisco Giants gave Will Clark. 'To me, Will Clark can't do anything wrong. He represents baseball, America, and you know the rest,' Canseco said."
[Canseco discusses the enhancement of the white All-American superstar by the media, and how that reflects in the difference in salaries, endorsements, and the portrayal of images between black and white sportsmen of equal ability.]

20. 11/16/90 New York Post p. 47 (Matthew Flamm on the movie, "Rocky V", starring Sylvester Stallone and heavyweight prospect, Tommy "the Duke" Morrison): "...And there are touches of authenticity, such as Duke's telling Rocky that he represents 'the little people,' who identify with a 'pure white' fighter. Enlightened comments like those don't change 'Rocky V' - it's still a white man's fantasy, even if there's no bout with a black man - but they do show how weirdly real the whole phenomenon has become."
[This is an imposed genre of Caucasian supremacy in the world of boxing and an accurate reaction to the perpetuation of psychological media, as the entire *Rocky* series would portray the same. This time Stallone uses an actual fighter who is currently rated in the top ten heavyweights of the world.]

21. 11/17/90 (sport) p. 24 (Nicholas D. DeCurtis wrote letter to the Post which involves the hiring of black managers and coaches in the NFL): "Regarding the controversy over Arizona losing the 1993 Super Bowl for voting down a holiday for womanizer and plagiarist Martin Luther King, I'd like to tell NFL Commissioner Paul Tagliabue this: Stop being political. Instead of trying to win public-relations points for your league by appeasing the black community and sanctimonious liberals, do something much more meaningful - like insisting that team owners hire more black head coaches and general managers."
[This fan, although he frowns upon Dr. Martin Luther King and American liberalism, illuminates the fact of the scarcity of black head coaches and the non-existence of black general managers in the NFL.]

22. 12/3/90 (non-sport) New York Post p. 5 (AP): " 'Ali Brings 47 Hostages Out of Baghdad' - Former heavyweight champion Muhammad Ali flew out of Baghdad yesterday with 47 hostages - including 15 Americans - who had been held as human shields...Ali and the hostages were welcomed in Amman."
[With war in the Persian Gulf impending, Muhammad Ali was able to secure the release of American hostages being held by Saddam Hussein, in a voluntary effort. The Post saw this event important enough to feature it on page 5. The Daily News, however, on this same date, featured the article on page 11. The reader of the Daily News gets the idea that Alis effort was not as meaningful as the Post had it; and next to the article was posted, 'Saddam's Deadline-Days Left: 43'. Ali is neither given credit as instrumental in a momentary

break of the tension in the Iraq-U.S. cold war, or as an effective diplomat in an emergency situation. By placing the article on page 11 of the Daily News, it rendered Ali's feat insignificant and meaningless, given Ali's Islamic history in the United States. The families of these freed hostages were basically unheard, in their opinion of Ali's deed, some of whom may have once disagreed, or hated, Ali's views and political stand. The media did not want to present this aspect, as it was in the process of imposing 'anti-Islamic' rhetoric and propaganda*. This article also shows how a national sports figure can transcend other institutions, as suggested by the tenets of symbolic interaction**.]

23. 12/12/90 (non-sport) New York Post p. 48 (reader Mike Glazer reacts to Ali's political deed in the midst of the impending Iraq crisis): "It is strange how heroes are born - it's never planned. America has had its share of great people, leaders; but true heroes are harder to come by. Muhammad Ali is a hero, the kind of person that should be prized as an American treasure. Unlike many of us, Ali is a man of convictions - brash, outspoken, cocky, the embodiment of the American spirit. Bigger than life in his boasts and his caring for others. Last week, in ill health,...Ali traveled a quarter of the way around the world to free people held hostage by a tyrant. Unlike others before him, with nothing to gain personally - no interest beyond the freedom of those held against their will...Ali told us more than a quarter of a century ago: 'I am the greatest!' It's time we all recognized this fact."
[Unlike the media publications, this reader recognized Ali's feat for what it symbolized; an individual act of American bravery and diplomacy, amidst the worldwide chaos surrounding the situation of the impending war. This act, by Ali, was downplayed and unheralded by the general American media to date.]

24. 1/8/91 (sport) New York Post p. 62 (Michael Marley on the economics of the white boxing prospect, Tommy Morrison): " 'Morrison's White But Can He Fight?'- He's white, he's bright and he's polite. That is what makes heavyweight prospect Tommy 'the Duke' Morrison

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*An example of this "anti-Islamic" rhetoric, coincidental with impending war in the Persian Gulf is shown in a cartoon-photograph of an Arabic soldier, supposedly Saddam Hussein, yet it does not discriminate Iraqian origin from other Arabic cultures. A target-scope is aimed at the soldier, who could represent all Arabs; in discrimination of all Arabs. (Fig A-5)

**See Literature Review.

stand out among his colleagues. The key word is white, for the 22-year old puncher is a minority in his chosen profession. Like Jerry Quarry, Duane Bobick, and Gerry Cooney before him, you've got to give the 6-2, 225 pound Morrison a Caucasian's chance to cash in big in the fight game. Is he pugilism's version of Vanilla Ice, the white homeboy who is riding high in the black-dominated rap music world, or is he just another fistic faker? Is he just jive, a bit player who got lucky with a big role in 'Rocky V'...Every black heavyweight should be rooting for Morrison. They should be because, as no less authority than Muhammad Ali often noted, white plus black equals green."
[Marley promotes the new heavyweight prospect Morrison, in this paragraph, using many racial epithets in his dialogue. This is a subtle inference to "white hopism", as imposed on actor/boxer Tommy Morrison. He uses the successful white rap star, "Vanilla Ice", in his analogy of the fighter as the "homeboy" who succeeded in a black-dominated profession.]

25. 1/11/91 (sport) New York Post p. 107 (Michael Marley quote): "Tommy 'the Duke' Morrison...is so white he sleeps on a tanning bed."
[Further promotion of "white hopism" by Marley.]

26. 3/1/91 (sport) New York Post p. 12 (Joel Sharman and back-cover feature of Don Mattingly of the New York Yankees):"'THE DON'"
[Article and back cover 2/3 page photo is overdone tribute to American baseball idol, Don Mattingly, as he is appointed captain of the Yankees. "The Don" is a subtle reference to the white superstar ballplayer as the "king" (or the "leader"), however, his appointment as captain of the Yankees did not merit this two total-page layout. (Fig. A-6)]

27. 3/8/91 (sport/television) FOX 25 Broadcast (Boston Celtics vs. Los Angeles Clippers; as announced by Tom Heinsohn and Mike Gorman)
[Announcer Tom Heinsohn used the following phrase in describing the quickness of black Clipper player, Olden Polynice: "Polynice just turned into a whippet". The notion of short-distance speed supported by race-linked genetic studies, the animal description, "whippet", and Heinsohn's obvious dissatisfaction with the sudden transition of events (as the sport of basketball is characterized by the quick changing of events), are all expressed in this description of Polynice; an example of "unconscious" racial ramarks by sport announcers.]

28. 2/17/91 (sport) Daily News p. 59 (Sports Four Stats)
[The Duke University statistics are featured on this page in a 2/3 page layout, including a 7½-inch picture of Duke's Christian Laettner. Duke, by this time, had only made it to the final 16 teams in the 1991 NCAA Tournament. At this time also, Duke is linked to the various "America's Teams" list (due to their overrepresentation of white players on the team, their success, and ultimate endorsement by the media). At the time of the war in the Persian Gulf, Duke became the outstanding sport favorite and representative of the American Ideal, by the obvious sentiment of that team's portrayal in the sport media.]

29. 3/25/91 (sport) Daily News p. 57 (Vic Zeigel): "'UNLV Holds Stacked Deck'"
[This headline alludes to suspected NCAA violations at the University of Nevada-Las Vegas. UNLV had thus been linked to the few major predominately black NCAA teams in the American media conscience at this time (replacing Georgetown as number one). For every "America's Team", there is a black "American Adversary" (such as the Boston Celtics and the Cleveland Cavaliers as compared to the Los Angeles Lakers and the Detroit Pistons-who were nicknamed the "Bad Boys" by the media after Isiah Thomas' remarks about Larry Bird). This headline alludes to inconclusive evidence of unfair sporting practices (recruiting violations) of UNLV under head coach Jerry Tarkanian. It is a "labelling" technique used by Ziegel, maybe in reference to their seeming indomitable black stature within the NCAA ranks. UNLV won the 1990 NCAA Tournament and were favorites to win in 1991.]*

30. 3/25/91 (sport) Daily News p. 54 (Ron Borges): "'Steele Shows Little Mettle'"
[This article is in reference to the Mike Tyson-Razor Ruddock I bout. Referee Richard Steele is criticized for stopping bout, presumably preventing a black man from being seriously injured by another. Although national criticism upon Steele would come in droves, he would defend and sustain his original humane decision.]

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*At the same time, UNLV became the American nemesis, due to their NCAA champion ststus (1990 winners) and their overrepresentation and portrayal as indomitable black players, basked up by performance. In 1990, undefeated UNLV's average victory scoring margin was 20+ points.

31. 3/30/91 (sport) New York Post p. 44 (Dave Hanson): "'Street Smart UNLV Takes Shot at Brainy Devils'" [This headline, presented by the author of this article, is an obvious reference to the predominately black UNLV team as "street-smart" and Duke as intelligent; brawn vs. brain. UNLV coach Jerry Tarkanian states: "I think Duke is the ideal place, but that's not what our country stands for. We'd give a false image of what's taking place in our country." Hanson states, "Tarkanian's UNLV program is not so-facetiously labeled a kindergarten class in comparison to Dukes scholarly curriculum. It is said that Duke has ivory in its towers, UNLV ivory in its dice." Tarkanian's comment refers to the symbolic American image that the media tends to portray of Duke University. Hanson's comment amounts to an infromal character reference in his description of the two teams. The terms, "street smart", and the reference to gambling ("ivory in its dice"), is a referential stereotype to urban inner-city blacks. "Brainy" represents the quest for "white hopism", Caucasian mental supremacy, and superiority; UNLV"S basketball program is depicted as a "kindergarten class" compared to Duke's "scholarly program".]

32. 4/1/91 (sport) New York Post p. 60 (Jerry Izenberg): "They (Duke) beat UNLV's monsters from the desert, 79-77."
[UNLV's basketball team (predominantly black) is depicted as inhuman ("monsters") because of their success. By labelling them "monsters", he exposes the media sentiment for Duke.]

33. 3/30/91 (sport) New York Post p. 58 (Author Charlie McCarthy's response to UNLV Coach Tarkanian in loss against Duke): "'How can it be anything but a success when you go 34-1,' said Tarkanian...'I would think 34-1 is a pretty damn good year.' (Author McCarthy's response:) 'Good but not good enough.'"
[There are two perceptions from McCarthy's statement, "good but not good enough". (1) it represents the capitalist demands of sport, as explained by Veblen (1934) and Brohm (1978) and (2) it is an effort to exploit the theme of American (Caucasian) supremacy (in time of war) and Negro subordination in support of this cause. It is also a "rubbing it in" sort of phrase which is aimed at black fans of UNLV.]

34. 4/2/91 (sport) New York Post p. 76 (John Harper): "'He's No. 2 - Doc Signs Three-Year Deal, But Roger's Still Highest Paid'"
[In a 4/5 page photo-feature of Dwight Gooden, wiping his brow, which appears to be a gesture of humiliation, by the nature of the headline. Harper glamorizes

the number two position with reference to the black man (Gooden), the New York Mets ace pitcher and his new contract salary, as compared to the highest paid pitcher in baseball, Roger Clemens of the Boston Red Sox. Harper also states (on page 68): "So no matter how they do the math, the Mets came a long way in two weeks to put Gooden in the same category with Clemens." This is a subtle inference to race*. (Fig. A-7)]

35. 4/2/91 (sport) New York Post p. 58 (Pete Coutros): "'Rockne Remembered'. Sixty years following his death, the legend of Knute Rockne hasn't diminished...His uncanny use of the superbly gifted George Gipp,...as an inspirational force has become the most oft-told tale in the long lore of pigskinnery. Whather the failing footballer ever really asked that his teammates go out there and "Win one for the Gipper!" is immaterial. Only the Gipper and Knute knew the truth, and the truth is buried with them...When Rockne's record was tallied it showed 122 wins for the Irish (the most famous coaching career in collegiate history as coach of Notre Dame), 12 losses and five ties. His team went undefeated in five seasons...Knute Rockne, boy immigrant, who grew up to symbolize the Golden Era of Sports (along with the Babe, the Manassa Mauler, Big Bill Tilden and Bobby Jones)."
[This article shows the appraisal and devotion to white legendary sport heroes that facilitate the American value system. It is a 3'4 page layout of Knute Rockne, a white American sports hero (of legendary proportions). Great black sports heroes of this era are unheard of in the context of "the Golden Era", as blacks were not allowed to compete in major league sports.]

36. 4/2/91 (sport) New York Post p. 65 (Michael Marley reacts to a boxing bout between Hector "Macho" Camacho, who is Hispanic, and Frank Haugen, who is white.): "'Let Truth Be Known, Camacho Still Unbeaten'. One is the puff-puff factor, that Haugen failed his post-fight drug test, coming up dirty due to excessive marijuana

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Many instances of sport media racism take the form of semantics, or a play with words and photos, which accomplish two goals: (1) it presents the intended message and/or sentiment and (2) it conceals the personal sentiment of the author and/or majority sentiment and racism.

inhalation. Haugen has been slapped on the wrist for that by the Nevada Commission. He swears that his next examination will be as clean as a pristine stream..." [Haugen, who failed post-fight drug test, was not penalized for the use of marijuana by any of the various boxing commissions. Although this calls for automatic suspension by modern sports standards, Haugen was awarded the decision and allowed ot retain his newly-won, although controversially acquired, welterweight championship. Camach, incidentally, scored knockdown of Haugen in early rounds, the only knockdown of the fight. Another interesting fact is that Camacho wore an American battle fatigue uniform into the ring with Haugen, that some considered tasteless, in time of war with Iraq. It appears that with the controversial decision over Camacho, the American symbol was again working its way through to the American conscience with another white symbol and media spectacle, Frank Haugen. The only reason his failed drug test did not make headlines was to preserve the (white) American cause before a nationwide audience. As well, not much was made out of his acquiring the championship from Camacho (because this would imply his failed drug test). In this fight, Camacho was "Iraq"; the foreigner or "enemy". Haugen represented the U.S. troops.]

37. 3/17/91 Daily News p. 56 (cartoon drawn by Bill Gallo): [This cartoon features over 200 prominent names in sport and other areas, as a tribute to the Irish on St. Patrick's Day. In the middle of all the names is "George Foreman". It is printed "George Foreman" (yes, Geo. Foreman)". It may be a reference to Foreman as representative of the American Ideal (because of his stand in the 1968 Olympics.]

38. 3/26/91 (TV sport) Madison Square Garden (MSG) Network) (New York Knicks vs. San Antonio Spurs): [Announcers John Andariese and Marv Albert both glorified white players, Dwayne Schintzius and Kiki Vandeweghe. Albert remarked: "Sean Elliot (black San Antonio player) is having his hands full with Vandeweghe", although there was no return remark when Sean Elliot easily scores on Vandeweghe on the very next play. The play after, Vandeweghe attempts another shot on Elliot, and misses, to which Andariese replies: "I don't know why he took that shot, he's played so well." Kiki took the shot, over passing the ball to someone else, in an attempt to "save face" (or "get the payback", as

they say in the playgrounds) from the previous play (when Elliot scored on him). Andariese's remark implies that Vandeweghe is too "intelligent" for that, based on race-linked theories of Caucasian intelligence. Schintzius, incidentally, scored only two points.]

39. 4/4/91 New York Post p. 66 (Michael Katz): "Morrison... is better known for his feature role in the movie, "Rocky V" than for anything he has done in his undefeated rong career,"
[This article features an 8 x 3½-inch photo of heavyweight prospect, Tommy Morrison, signing a giant poster of Sylvester Stallone ("Rocky)". Morrison was a greatly-publicized heavyweight prospect, moreso than top heavyweights, Riddick Bowe and Razor Ruddock, who are black. He has been greatly featured in both the Daily News and the Post.]

40. 4/10/91 New York Post p. 68 (John Harper): "'WHO NEEDS DARRYL'"
[This is the back-cover featured headline article of New York Mets player, Darryl Strawberry. Harper's headline represents continued New York media-bashing of Strawberry, who was a black player who was ultimately traded to the Los Angeles Dodgers by the Mets. Strawberry was the key player in the Mets' 1985 çorld Championship as a lethal home-run hitter. This headline symbolizes accumulated criticism and sentiment by the media, Mets management, and N.Y. Mets fans against Strawberry in 1991. (Fig. A-8)

41. 4/10/91 (sport) Daily News p. 67 (Layout of sports columnist and cartoonist classic contributions of Bill Gallo):
[Featured is a replica of a cartoon that Gallo drew in 1971 of Muhammad Ali. The picture shows Ali with a zipper over his mouth after his loss to Joe Frazier, and represents American elation over this feat, by its unsympathetic gesture to Ali. The sentence below this picture states: "It was way-back-when and Muhammad Ali lost his first heavyweight bout. Gallo knew what to do."]

42. 4/13/91 (sport) p. 45 (Frank Isola): "These days, Danny Ferry can't help but smile. He realizes the end is near - the end of the NBA's regular season. The Cavaliers and Ferry can't wait for next week, when the season concludes. For Ferry, it can't arrive soon enough. It's been that type of rookie season...The 6-10 forward is averaging 8.5 p.p.g. and 3.3 r.p.g. (points and rebounds) coming off the bench for Cleveland, but those numbers aren't in proportion to his

weekly paycheck. In fact, it's not even close. After the Cavs acquired Ferry from the Clippers for all-star Ron Harper and the two No. 1 picks, he signed an enormous 10-year $34-million deal. Indeed, Ferry's salary is among the elite, but his play is not."
[This article discusses Cleveland Cavalier player, Danny Ferry, ex-basketball star of Duke University. Many believe that Cleveland acquired Ferry in the hopes of him becoming another "Larry Bird", or "Great White Hope". He was traded to the Cleveland Cavaliers (at their request) from the Los Angeles Clippers, who sold his rights while he was playing in Italy. Cleveland immediately traded their best scorer (who is black), Ron Harper, while retaining white players (of major value), Craig Ehlo and Mark Price, as well as a host of other white players, to obtain Ferry, who would be unable to play until the next season. Harper, at the time, was increasingly becoming one of the elite superstars of the league. This expensive acquisition of a projected white superstar (although he did not live up to expectations) exemplifies the value of the Caucasian star athlete as a modern commodity.]

43. 4/16/91 (sport) Daily News p. 56 (AP): "'Kenyan Wins 2d Time in Boston' - For the first 92 years of the Boston Marathon, no African runner won the race. Ibrahim Hussein of Kenya ended that drought in 1988, beating Juma Ikangaa of Tanzania by one second in the losest victory by an African in the last four years. This time, Hussein won more easily than three years ago. Running a smart, controlled race, staying with the lead pack throughout, Hussein was timed in 2 hours, 11 minutes, 6 seconds, beating Abebe Mekonnen of Ethiopia, the 1989 champion, by more than 50 yards."
[For one, this article used the phrase, "ended that drought" which would imply the problems of droughts that plagues the continent of Africa. Additionally, this article disproves genetic race-linked theories of black athletes, with respect to distance-running, in three separtae cases (winners and two runner-ups were all Africans).]

44. 4/19/91 New York Post p. 57 (Jerry Izenberg on Tommy Morrison): "...the kid who played Tommy Gunn in 'Rocky V' and will probably play Tommy Gunn's grandfather in 'Rocky XXXII' - assuming America's taste in films continues to run as bad as it is."
[This excerpt is part of another 3/4 page feature of Tommy Morrison, including a 7 2/4 x 3½-inch photo

of the white movie star/prizefighter. Although Izenberg here denounces the "Rocky" series, this nevertheless is another over-glamourification of the new white heavyweight prospect, due to the amount of media space given.]

45. 4/19/91 (sport) New York Post p. 108-09 (Phil Pepe on legendary baseball great Joe Dimaggio): "Joe Dimaggio maintained his consistency over 56-straight games, more than one-third of the season. He set his record over more than two months under the most intense pressure, which is why it's a record that may never be broken."
[This quote is part of a two-page layout featuring Joe DiMaggio and his tremendous 56-game hitting streak. DiMaggio's record is one of the few significant achievements in baseball that blacks have not outdone. There was a major focus on this achievement by all the leading New York newspapers in the summer of 1991.]

46. 5/6/91 (sport) New York Post p. 61 (Fred Kerber): "'Larry Legend Powers Celtics' - The Celtics thus will advance against two-time defending champion detroit...That it is Celtic green and white and not Pacer blue and gold advancing is a tribute to Bird, who became the greatest scorer in Celtic playoff history, passing John Havlicek."
[This article features Larry Bird in a Celtics playoff win against the Indiana Pacers. This New York writer, Fred Kerber, seems to have a lot of values placed with the Celtics, a non-New York team.]

47. 5/10/91 (sport) New York Post p. 99 (Michael Marley): "'Arum Jumps to Defens of Murad' - 'Murad was acting after one of the most absurd calls ever made by a referee,' Arum said...'but I don't think you suspend the man from his living. That was wrong. You slap his wrist, fine him and that's it...I think the fact that his name ends with Muhammad has a lot to do with it...He acted in the heat of the moment'."
[This article-excerpt alludes to the situation which followed the Mike Tyson-Razor Ruddock I bout. A melee followed Referee Richard Steele's decision to stop the fight in Tyson's favor. Ruddock's manager (who is black), Murad Muhammad, is shown on national television stomping and kicking Tyson's trainer (who is an Italian-American), Richard Giachetti, in a prone position (on the canvas). This article represents the economic manipulation of racism by fight promoter Bob Arum who tries to rationalize an obvious act of cowardice by the misuse of racial reasoning.]

48. 5/12/91 (sport) Daily News p. 39 (Mike Lupica on Chris Mullin): "There has been no better basketball show in the playoffs, not one, than Chris Mullin's 41 against the Lakers the other night. They are calling him the 'pocket Bird' again, and that's fine with me. Mattingly wants to bring Steinbrenner back? I want to bring Chris Mullin back...(Lupica on Larry Bird:) I watch Larry Bird go up and down the court sometimes, I can't get Rusty Staub out of my mind." [This article features a 4 x 5½-inch photo of a Chris Mullin caricature, in the continuing request, by the New York sports media, for the Knicks to obtain Mullin's services from the Golden State Warriors. The reference to Mullin as "pocket Bird" is obvious racial sentiment (as well as the reference to Larry Bird as a reminder of white baseball great, Rusty Staubach.]

49. 5/10/91 (sport/television) Laker Basketball Network Los Angeles Lakers vs. Golden State Warriors): [Announcer Chick Hearn evaluates the black rookie of Golden State, Tyrone Hill, and states that, "Hill never thinks he commits a foul. For a million bucks, he should at least get a calculator." Co-announcer Stu Lantz tells Hearn, "You're going to get in trouble for that tomorrow." Statement by Hearn may be perceived as a generalization of black intelligence and/or black mental inferiority, as well as a personal attack.]

50. 5/10/91 (sport/television) Warriors Basketball Network (Los Angeles Lakers vs. Golden State Warriors): [Announcer Jim Barnett on Chris Mullin 9very emphatically): "Chris Mullin is one of the 'best ever' pure shooters," (and has the) "greatest hands in the league." This is yet another exaggeration and overglamourification of another white sportsman of superstar proportions.]

51. 5/13/91 (sport/political) Daily News p. 6 (Muhammad Ali is featured in a 5 x 3½-inch photo in connection with his visit to Gracie Mansion): "'The Greatest to Grace Gracie' - Muhammad Ali will drop by Gracie Mansion next week. (No there's no problems with roaches; besides, Ali hasn't done those bug spray ads in years.) He'll take a moment out to honor the memory of an old boxing hero when Mayor Dinkins presents the ...Joe Louis Memorial Scholarship Award." [This article alludes to the subtle humorist notion that Ali is coming to Gracie Mansion to kill the roaches that David Dinkins and his family brought with them. Joke infers obvious racial implications and humor by the white media.]

52. 4/21/91 (sport/television) Sonics Broadcasting Network [Announcers Kevin Calabro and Bob Blackburn: Calabro refers to black player, Tony Smith, of the Los Angeles Lakers as "Mr. Smith". Blackburn replied: "That may be the first time in his life that anyone ever referred to him as 'Mr. Smith'." after a brief pause, Calabro interjects, "I'm not going to ask you why that is and I have a feeling that I don't think I want to know."
[These statements took place during the latter half of the second quarter, when Smith was on the foul line. The announcers leave the reasoning for Blackburn's statement open-ended (no further comments along this line.]

53. 3/5/91 (sport) FOX 25 Broadcast (Boston Celtics vs. Los Angeles Clippers):
[Angry at the Celtics' ill turn of events during one point in the game, announcer Tommy Heinsohn stated: "The ball went off of Parish's black sneaker." Emphatic was the emphasis on the word,"black" to ventilate his frustration.]

54. 5/3/91 (sport) Warrior's Basketball Network (Announcer Steve Albert on black player, David Robinson, of the San Antonio Spurs): "He looks like he went 12 rounds with Rocky Marciano."
[This statement is yet another tribute to the theme of white supremacy in sport, with respect to the referral to Marciano. Robinson would have looked the same had he fought for 12 rounds with Marciano, Frazier, Ali, Dempsey, Louis, and any other heavyweight champion, as Robinson is not a fighter. However, Marciano was used in this scenario.]

55. 6/1/91 (sport) New York Times p. 31 (Harvey Araton): "'For Lakers, the Pass That Was is Only a Memory' - They'll be talking about that pass Magic Johnson made to no one for, oh, 24 to 36 hours, and then it will officially become material for discussions that begin with, 'Remember when?' Already, the focus shifted elsewhere."
[This article is by a sports journalist who consistently and constantly clamored for the New York Knickerbockers to obtain Chris Mullin, by almost any means short of trading Patrick Ewing. This article tries to dismiss the classic and extremely brilliant play by Magic Johnson, which secured a win over the favored Portland Trail Blazers 91-90. With time for one last play, Portland's Terry Porter takes a shot which is missed and rebounded by Magic with about 5 seconds to play. Instead of calling time-out, or waiting for

the Blazers to foul him (which would have given them the ball back for a chance to tie the score), Magic ingeniously threw the ball toward the other end of the court to no one, fast enough out of the Blazers reach to run and catch the ball before it goes out of bounds, yet slow enough to absorb the remaining seconds on the game clock. When the ball finally went out of bounds, the clock showed 1/10 of a second left, leaving Portland to take the ball out at the opposite end of the court (96 feet away) from their basket. In what has to be one of the greatest, if not the most brilliant play in professional basketball history by an individual (and for the highest stakes; the right to play in the NBA finals), Araton is guilty of purposefully downplaying this achievement. If Magic were white, the media would probably herald this outstanding play in much greater coverage (in all of the newspapers) over a long period of time (years), and to the same effect (and legendary proportions) that it does of the Celtics' game with the Lakers when "Havlicek stole the ball". Araton seems envious of this play for the white players who play the game of basketball. Also. Araton seems to resent the "intelligence" that Johnson showed on this play.]

56. 9/12/91 (sport) New York Post p. 70 and 72 (Steve Serby): "'LT's Rage' - Lawrence Taylor stepped up to the tee yesterday and whacked an explosive, smoking, political golf ball from East Rutherford, N.J., all the way to Crown Heights, Brooklyn. Taylor, at age 32, has broken his career-long silence on racism and is attempting to become some sort of professional football Nelson Mandela. To Lawrence Taylor, this isn't about Shoal Creek, folks, it's about America, and it's especially about New York."
[Lawrence Taylor, black linebacker of the New York Giants, is featured in a total-page layout in this edition of the Post. Taylor's remarks represented his encounter with racist golf institutions in New York and the general racism that is prevalent in the total American picture, to which he stated: "No matter what you do, you're still a Negro." Taylor added further, "Every time there's a story about LT ...it always has 'LT, a two-time drug offender,'...Why does it have to be in every story?...You feel it's so important because that's the way to keep a black man down...There goes my Wheaties box (endorsement)." The author, Steve Serby, seems to detest Taylor's forthrightness on the subject of American racism, in Taylor's interview in Sports Illustrated.]

57. 9/12/91 (sport) Daily News p. 61 (Barry Meisel reports of the Lawrence Taylor contrversy): "'LT SCATHES MEDIA PACK' - (Taylor on golf institutions:) 'For years I believed that because I was successful in the white man's world, I'd never be touched by prejudice. It was a false sense of security...Clubs are always inviting me to play on their golf courses, but I've been denied membership in prominent country clubs here...where I live...and when I'm there (in a club), the only other black person I see is the cook. Yeah, they love me there, but it's all a facade.'...Taylor spoke angrily, with equal measures of indignation and disgust...because opinions he shared and claims he made two months ago were being treated as major news today."
[This article is another reaction to the Taylor controversy. Lawrence Taylor, like Dwight Gooden of the NY Mets, are black sportsmen who seem to have "disappointed" the American Ideal-makers, the media, beginning with their failed drug-testing results. The media, in turn, ventilates their anger at this disappointment by scandalizing their name in bold headlines, and using them as a standard object of criticism. They also do this with black athletes who do not have drug problems, yet come under close scrutiny and rejection by the media, such as Mark Jackson of the NY Knicks, Isiah Thomas of the Detroit Pistons, Rod Strickland of the NY Knicks, Dennis "Oil Can" Boyd of the Boston Red Sox, Bill Cartwright of the NY Knicks, Darryl Strawberry of the NY Mets, and ex-heavyweight champion, Mike Tyson, among others.]

58. 9/16/91 (sport) New York Post p. 57 (Phil Mushnick): "'Gutless Media Won't Expose LT' - ...last week Taylor lectured the media on good versus evil. And the gutless sport media which have been abused by this man time and again while they simultaneously nourish his status as someone very, very special, took the easy road...He is rude, he is crude, and he is the most over-indulged athlete in this town."
[Mushnick acknowledges the nature of Lawrence Taylor's remarks, but downplays them to the disappointment of Taylor's misrepresentation of the American Ideal. Black representatives of the American Ideal are supposed to support the American Establishment and the American way of life, despite racism (like George Foreman, Joe Louis and Jesse Owens). The media has a tendency to frown on black athletes who stand up for the Negro masses and speak out about racism, as Ali had done. Those superstar black athletes (athletes in the limelight) that do speak ous simultaneously reject media incorporation into the American Ideal. This is what made Joe Frazier so great in the American perception (by not speaking out about racism), and especially when he defeated Muhammad Ali.]

59. 9/25/91 (sport) Daily News p. 56 (Bob Raismann quotes Michael Jordan on the Taylor controversy): "I can only speak from my own experiences. I haven't run into the same situations as Lawrence has,...I'm not saying Lawrence is not right. I'm just saying, from my perspective, I haven't experienced the same things he has."
[Jordan seems to be trying to preserve both his image as a black man and his American Ideal image (as posted on the "Wheaties" box).]

60. 9/16/91 (sport) New York Post p. 49 (Fred Kerber): "Isiah Thomas is out (snubbed by American Olympic team) because (Michael Jordan) said he won't play with him.
[Personal friction between Jordan and Thomas influences U.S. Olympic Committee to bar Thomas from participating in 1992. Thomas' earlier remarks about Larry Bird also did not help his cause. Three white players, Larry Bird, John Stockton, and Chris Mullin were added to the team to preserve the American image. Also, Chuck Daly, who coached Thomas and the Detroit Pistons and winning back-to-back championships in 1989 and 1990, was named coach of the American team. Daly is also white.]

61. 9/22/91 (sport) Daily News p. 43 and 46 (Mike Lupica): "They picked 10 NBA players for the team the United States will send to the Olympics next year in Barcelona, and it is supposed to be the greatest basketball all-star team ever assembled, a knockout dream of a team. But that team, as of now, does not include Isiah Thomas. It is a disgrace. You do not put together this kind of team at this time in the country and leave Thomas, the best player of his size since Bob Cousy, off it. We may never know why...there is no way of telling whether it was pettiness or meanness on the part of the sainted Michael Jordan...Maybe there are enough people who do not like Thomas for this reason or that...Stockton is a wonderful and unselfish player...he will still not, on the best day of his life, be the basketball player that Isiah Thomas has been and still is..Stockton goes to Barcelona. Thomas does not...The coach of the Pistons is Chuck Daly. He is also coach of the Olympic team. He does not get the Olympic job without the two NBA titles Isiah won him...Thomas belongs in Barcelona more than Daly. He belongs there more than some of the players, and as much as Michael Jordan...another episode of cheap Olympic politics."
[Isiah Thomas obviously does not represent the American Ideal the way Jordan does, even though his personal basketball achievements are just as superb as Jordan's,

both having won two collegiate national championships and Isiah's having won one more NBA championship than Jordan (on this date), and far exceeding many of the credentials of the other proposed U.S. Olympian basketball players.]

62. 10/4/91 (sport/political) New York Times p. B1 (William Glaberson): "'Suit Says a Swim Club is Biased Against Blacks' - The New York State Attorney General today filed a suit against a private swimming club accusing it of excluding black applicants for membership (in New Rochelle). The investigation began after a white woman said club officials told her that a black baby sitter would have to wear a uniform to enter the club. The manager also told the white woman that the uniform was necessary because members of the club, the Colony Beach Club, 'want to know the difference between the members and the helpers', the white woman, Rachel Rotenbort of New Rochelle, said in an interview today. The club has no black members, the Attorney General (Robert Abrams) said...club managers told white applicants that membership would be 'no problem'...'no uniform would be necessary if the baby sitter were white.'
[General discrimination, once again, permeates the very fabric of American society. This article represents the very subject matter that Lawrence Taylor spoke of, yet received a fraction of the attention that he received; not even headlines (located in the "B" section of the New York Times; "unimportant news"). The action of the Colony Club is well-ingrained into racist philosophy and creates the cultural barriers that are used to hide racism on the surface. The media dismisses these cases as unimportant news with little or no follow-up coverage. With LT, he is dismissed as a misfit and in a "rage".]

63. 10/4/91 (sport/political) Daily News p. 75 (AP): "Michael Jordan isn't flying very high with some in the local media who are crying foul that the city's basketball hero-in-residence was a no-show at a meeting with President Bush this week. Jordan's absence has been examined from all sides. Some said he should be fined. Others say if Bush can golf during the Persian Gulf war, why shouldn't Jordan golf through a presidential photo oppurtunity? 'How can I be disrespecting the President when I choose to spend time with my family?' said Jordan...But for Chicago's reporters, it may have represented a tiny chink in Jordan's otherwise sterling silver armor.
[This article represents the media distaste for black athletes who "mar" the image of the American Ideal, once they have been chosen as representatives; ie. Lawrence Taylor. Jordan chose not to be America's "boy"

this day, and the media reacted in kind. His refusal of the White House invitation was taken as an insult and a faux pas by the white media who, in perceptive terms, now deplored the sudden turnaround by Mike.]

64. 5/1/91 (sport/television) Warriors Basketball Network (Golden State Warriors vs. San Antonio Spurs):
[Rickey Henderson (black baseball player) was recognized at the basketball game on the same day that he broke Lou Brock's record for stolen bases. Announcer takes time to show a clip of the record-breaking stolen base, after which Henderson proceeds to uproot the base from the ground. Announcer says: "Where does he put all those bases he steals?" Although in jest, this remark may be interpreted as a subtle reference of "stealing" as a stereotype of blacks; it can also be perceived that blacks have a proclivity to steal, in humorous terms. An example of an "unconscious" racist statement made in spontaneity by the sport media.]

65. 4/27/91 (sport/television) NBC (Los Angeles Lakers vs. Houston Rockets):
[Announcers Tom Hammond, Dick Enberg, Joel Myers, and Steve Jones (black announcer), mentioned that Eric "Sleepy" Floyd (black player for the Houston Rockets and ex-Georgetown player under Coach John Thompson) likes to go to "Kizzy's Back Porch Kitchen" in Marina Del Ray. NBC flashed menu from this restaurant and checked off all of Floyd's favorite dishes, which included fried chicken, macaroni and cheese, and collard greens (labelled "soul food"). Announcer Steve Jones spoke later on the play of Floyd: "Well, chicken, collard greens, and rice and gravy haven't done it for Floyd."...The tone level of Myers and Hammond goes up in appraisal of (white Yugoslavian player) Vlade Divac of the Lakers). Hammond made remark about Magic Johnson: "I don't think he was an engineering major at Michigan State, but he sure put some design on this game." This is a typical game broadcast which includes stereotype ("soul food"), enhancemwnt of white player(s) repuatations by announcers, and the denotation of black mental inferiority except in sport.]

66. Movie: "Tougher Than Leather" featuring rap group, RUN-DMC, who are black. The character "Arthur" makes a comment to another character "Vick" (both white): "Do we have to sign the 'Beastie Boys' (white rap group) too?" To which Vick replies: "Sure, I like the idea. Besides, no one wants to see 10 niggers play basketball, do they?
[This is an overt remark concerning the reality and nature of capitalist sport in American society, where white players (and especially white superstars) have become an increasing commodified form.]

67. Spring, 1991 (sport/television) NBC
["Showtime" - a ½ hour pre-game segment of NBA basketball games which were featured on NBC in 1991, hosted by Pat Riley. The function of the program is to analyze the strategy of both teams in the upcoming game that follows. The show introduces itself with a film clip of the three most popular modern NBA players, Magic Johnson, Larry Bird and Michael Jordan. It shows Magic pulling a rabbit out of a hat, with Jordan and Bird doing similar tricks, each trying to out-do each other. The end of the introduction features Larry Bird, who throws in six basketballs from a backward position, into the basket, as compared to Jordan's previous four. This introductory segment to the pre-game show called "Showtime" infers that Larry Bird is the greatest basketball player out of the three, because he is featured last and performing the greatest trick, followed by Michael Jordan and Magic Johnson, respectively. Feature does not recall, or take into account, the dominance of the Los Angeles Lakers during the 1980's, led by Magic Johnson (5 NBA championships). Larry Bird has to be projected in the dominant light, according to NBC and the American Ideal, in their perceptive messages (of black subordinance).]

68. It was "necessary" for Duke University to win the collegiate (NCAA) national championship in 1991, in front of a nationwide audience, against the highly-favored UNLV, because they stood for all idealistic American values (they were predominately white and UNLV precominately black). Imposed American values were evident (in time of war in the persian Gulf) in the commercialization of the game: (1) media concern was for Duke (2) programming leaned toward Duke (3) close-ups of white Duke players (4) revenge for the year before, when they lost to UNLV in the championship game (5) sneaker commercials featured whites, in hope of renewed interest of whites to the game of basketball. One comercial stated (by white actor): "Pump up and Air out", in reference to Michael Jordan (6) most of the commercials during this game were bent toward white American values as opposed to the typical drug and sneaker commercials featuring blacks (7) most commercials were not pro-"Air Jorda" as they usually are, but anti-Air Jordan. CBS broadcasted the game.]

69. 3/31/91 (sport/television) NBC (Boston Celtics vs. Chicago Bulls):
[Announcer Marv Albert praised the Celtics for their early handling of Chicago and Michael Jordan, without any mention of injuries discapablizing any of the Celtics' players. When Celtics began to succumb to Chicago's basketball strength later in the game, Albert

stated, "The Celtics have gone through a rash of injuries in recent weeks." Excuses are usually bestowed upon "white hopes" by the media, in the event of a defeat. Also, Albert's voice usually rises in volume when Bird scores or makes a good play or pass. When Bird is involved in a good play leading to a basket by another Celtic, he is usually given the majority of the praise and credit. These tendencies are not only possessed by Albert, but by FOX 25 (Boston), CBS, NBC and other white media who carry the Celtics' games.]

70. Sports announcer Dick Vitale of ESPN on Syracuse University player, Dwayne "Pearl" Washington: "Shake and bake baby, just like you did on the Brooklyn playgrounds!" This remark from a white sports announcer reflects modern stereotypical epithets of black basketball players from the New York City ghettoes.

71. Sports announcer, Jim Howler, from Dallas TV station, on a game between the Los Angeles Lakers and the Dallas Mavericks. During the game, Magic Johnson broke the all-time career assists record, to which he was given a mini-ceremony that held up the game for at least ½ hour. Almost immediately after the ceremony, the announcer points out that "John Stockton (white player of the Utah Jazz) is well on his way to breaking Magic's record in the near future." For the record, Stockton was not, as yet, in the top 6 group of all-time career assists. Although it became a tearful event for Magic, as the game was stopped momentarily to celebrate the occasion, this announcer saw the opportunity to glorify the white player, John Stockton.

72. Sports announcer, Billy Packer on Tyrone "Mugsy" Bogues of the Charlotte Hornets (Bogues was the shortest player in the NBA and very fast): "He looks like a waterbug out there", with regard to a steal and a fast break by Bogues. This is a stereotypical description of the brown-skinned, short in comparison to other players, and fast "Mugsy" Bogues, whose personal characteristics merited him this "waterbug" description.

73. 9/25/91 (sport/education) Daily News p. 56 ("Sports Wire"): "A member of the Lansing, Mich. school board was reprimanded for describing Magic Johnson as a 'big dumb Kid' during his school years. William Carter said his remarks were 'a dumb thing' and that he would apologize to Johnson."
[This article focuses on a remark made by a Lansing, Michigan local school board member. It is also a stereotypical remark that is made in reference to black American professional athletes.]

74. Movie: "Hossiers" is a tribute to Indiana-style (Caucasian-predominated) basketball, where basketball is "more than a game, and winning is everything". Noticeable in this movie is the predominance of white players from Indiana. In reality, white players from Indiana colleges and universities are more visible and noted than the black players. Larry Bird and Coach Bobby Knight are currently the two most celebrated "Hoosiers". Isiah Thomas, who won the NCAA championship with the University of Indiana under Bobby Knight, is unheralded in this tradition.

75. 9/20/91 (sport/television) "NBC Comedy Tribute to Michael Jordan": This show depicted various instances of racist application through humor. One instance is shown when three white beer-drinking Chicago Bulls fans are sitting around a table and invite Michael Jordan over to sit with them. One states that, "Magic is not in your class" to Jordan. Another states that, you don't look like a Chicagoan", and proceeds to hold up a picture of a white man whose hair is slicked back and says, in effect, that "this is how a Chicagoan should look. He holds up another picture of Michael Jordan with straight slicked-back hair in final segment which drew big laughs from the live audience. The referral of "Magic is not in your class" to Jordan, connotatively speaking, does not refer to athletic ability as much as it does black acceptance into the American Ideal. (that Jordan possessed, while Magic and Isiah didn't). Also, the picture held up by the white man, indicating the "Chicagoan" Jordan appearance, is a mockery to black assimilation and acculturation, reminiscent of the various images of "Sambo" in vaude ville...Another instance of racial connotations on this show refers to three white women who discuss the "primitive" and "sexual" nature of basketball. They use Michael Jordan's basketball habit of sticking out his tongue (on a move to the basket) and relate it to sex. Both these instances denote the full acceptance of Michael Jordan as a black man who is accepted and incorporated into the American Ideal by whites, and this show reveals that Jordan is only too compromising for the task (except in one instance, when he said he was embarrassed). In the first instance, one may perceive that the beer-drinkers "wish" that Jordan was white, then that way, they could more closely identify with him.

76. Fall 1991 (sport humor/TV) FOX Network (Fall premiere episode of "Married With Children"):
[Reference made to Michael Jordan's athletic ability and sex. Husband neighbor states to his wife, "Marcie", "You know when Michael Jordan goes up in the air that he knows he will do something spectacular? (with refe-

rence to sex) ...No one could stop me from going to the hoop." To which his wife, Marcie, replies: "There was no blocking that shot. Isn't that right, honey?" These statements are based upon the myths of black athleticism and black male sexual prowess, which is rooted in American folklore.]

77. Many Reebok (and various other) sneaker (and athletic equipment) commercials depict blacks, ghettoes and basketball in a synonymic relationship. Creation of goods by this industry, as well as the display of ghetto life on commercials, results in highly-valued adolescent black admiration for these products. This company (and others) is guilty of the over-pricing of athletic goods and promoting them to blacks, many of whom cannot afford them. The lives that have been lost over these products is a modern American tragedy.

78. 10/7/91 (sport) New York Post ("Scoreboard"): "'Layden Rips Isiah' - Jazz president Frank Layden is tired of Isiah Thomas' grumbling over his exclusion from the 1992 U.S. Olympic team...Layden considered it a not-so-subtle dig at (John) Stockton....(Layden states:) 'Is everybody so afraid to say this to Isiah's face? I don't know. But I'd tell him. I'd say; 'Because of your actions, nobodt likes you. We see through the smiles. We see through all the baloney. We don't want you on our team.'"
[It seems as though Isiah had developed bad relations with die-hard American patriots such as Layden, maybe stemming from his 1978 remarks about Larry Bird and his current self-comparison to John Stockton, who Isiah believs was awarded his opsition on the 1992 Olympic basketball team.]

79. 1/3/92 (sport) New York Post p. 71 (Fred Kerber): "Michael Jordan feels Reggie Miller should be his starting backcourt mate in All-Star Game. Jordan likes Miller over Washington's Michael Adams, currently second in the voting, and over two guys named Isiah Thomas and Joe Dumars who play for some other Central Division team. 'I don't think the Detroit guys are having good years,' Jordan said. 'Besides, people don't like Detroit'.
[Approaching the All-Star Game, Michael Jordan utilizes his personal grudge against the Detroit Pistons and Isiah Thomas to further berate the Thomas image in the media. His statement, "besides, people don't like Detroit", is based on American white sentiment in reaction to Thomas' 1987 remarks against Larry Bird. Collaborating with the American sentiment against Isiah Thomas has helped to enhance Jordan's media image. The

author, Fred Kerber, exposes his sentiment by disacknowledging the name of the Detroit Pistons: "Jordan likes Miller over...two guys named Isiah Thomas and Joe Dumars who play for some other Central Division team." This statement helps to reaffirm the "anti-Isiah Thomas" sentiment.]

80. 1/31/92 (sport) New York Post (Fred Kerber): "On recent appearance on Arsenio Hall Show, Nuggets' Dikembe Mutombo said hardest part of rookie season is believing some of the questions he hears regarding his native Zaire are for real. 'Many people in America think that, if you are from Africa you have a bone in your nose. People used to ask me if I had an elephant in my backyard or a tiger (pronounced 'teeger' south of Crete).'"
[Mutombo, ex-Georgetown player under Coach John Thompson and currently with the Denver Nuggets of the NBA, reviews some of the American stereotypes of blacks and Africa.]

81. 2/23/92 (sport) Daily News p. 55 (Howard Blatt): "'Willis Stands Up' - Willis Reed, whose greatness as a player was fueled by his intense pride, feels slighted...The Nets VP-basketball operations...thinks anti-athlete and anti-black biases are part of the reason his work on the sidelines and in the front office as architect of the revamped Nets have gone underappreciated. 'What disturbs me is the perception by the public and in the media that you can be a great athlete, but you can't be someone who knows enough to work in a front-office job or be a coach. That bothers me about the perception of black athletes in particular because I think there's a little racism there, consciously or unconsciously,' he said...'Let's face facts: There are only 27 GM jobs and few of them are held by former athletes or blacks. I don't want to get credit for things I don't do, but I do want credit for things I have done. Sometimes that is harder to get for a black guy sitting in this position than a white man.'...'I've learned that life is not fair and life is not equal. I know that for a fact. It won't change.'"
[Former New York Knick superstar Willis Reed speaks out against institutional racism in the NBA, along with the current stereotypes of blacks and athletes.]

82. 3/10/92 (sport) New York Post p. 65 ("Scoreboard"): "...(Charles) Barkley (of the Philadelphia 76ers) ripped Philadelphia reporters for questionaing his judgment. 'I'm a 90's nigger,' he said in the locker room. 'The (Philadelphia) Daily News, the Inquirer has been on my back. Everything I do is wrong. They want their black athletes to be Uncle Toms. I told

you white boys you've never heard of a 90's nigger. We do what we want to do.' Earlier this season Barkley predicted the 76ers would keep a white player on the roster to placate the city's white fans. 'It's a racial thing. Racism always exists,' Barkley said Sunday...'I'm going to be a little more vocal now. Striking back at you guys. I'm going to do what I want to do. And you've got two choices. You can kiss my behind. Or you can try to get me traded.'"
[Charles Barkley is reacting to local fans, media and 76ers management in criticism of his play, as he is "under the microscope" in Philadelphia. He also wanted to be traded from the 76ers team, which is the reason for his overt statements. However, his statement, "they want their black athletes to be Uncle Toms", is another way of saying that black athletes are, idealistically, supposed to support the tenets of the American Ideal. A black who supports black interests, under these conditions, simultaneously rejects the Ideal and/or is denounced by the media. Barkley automatically forfeits his acceptability by his clearly-stated independence.]

83. 3/6/92 (sport) New York Post p. 87 (Phil Mushnick): "'THAT'S NO AUTOBIOGRAPHY...THAT'S ART' - A look at 'Darryl' co-author speaks volumes about book. The truly astonishing part of the media and fan swirl this week in response to publication of the book 'Darryl' has nothing to do with any element of the book's content. The astonishing part is that, in view of its co-author, the book's credibility was discussed instead of dismissed. While Darryl Strawberry's newly discovered skills as an author are subject to debate, the book's co-author, Art Rust, Jr., has proven, time and again, that he's a self-serving, close-to-the bone fraud. Wherever Rust steps, he leaves a trail of unpaid bills, broken promises and incredulous employers...As a New York Daily News 'columnist' in the 80's, Rust penned a Sunday 'Ask Art Rust, Jr.' feature-answers to trivia questions and the like. The letters were signed by the lleged letter-writers, who also provided their home town. For months, The post tried to locate even *one* of these letter writers. But the Bill Heenans of Woodside, Queens and the Gordon Sanfords of New London, Conn. could not be found. Rust's secret admirers didn't even have unlisted numbers...'What's the difference?' Rust concluded. 'They're still good questions.'"
[This is an outright attack on the credulity of black sports writer, Art Rust, Jr. This aggressive accusation and condemnation of the credibility of the many Art Rust works, is based upon the furor of Dwight Gooden, and many other ex-teammates (Mets) of Darryl Strawberry, whose statements offended them. The fact that his

book was co-authored by Rust brought challenges by Mushnick and other journalists. Although Mushnick supports earlier statements made in this text of Art Rust's genuinity*, this total-page article is a clear de-characterization and defamation of the black sports writer.]

84. 4/7/92 (sport) New York Post p. 73 (Steve Serby): "(Christian) Laettner, whose best friend is (Brian) Davis, who is black, understands why Michigan's Fab 5 rooted for UNLV over Duke in the Final Four semis last year, and why the likelihood is more inner-city kids were cheering Michigan last night. 'Everyone stereotypes Duke as being The Great White Team, or they say the best players who came out of Duke have been white,' Laettner says. 'In that sense, I think sometimes it's difficult for inner-city kids to associate themselves with Duke, and that's fine. There's no way we can change or alter that feeling. I'm sure we disappointed a lot of people last year when we beat UNLV...'
[The term, "inner-city kids" refers to young black urban ghetto males. Laettner (who has replaced Larry Bird as the most recent "white hope" in the college ranks) acknowledges the symbolism of Duke University basketball, and reacts to the portrayal of Duke as one of the many "America's Teams", or teams which are supported by white American sentiment (especially through the media).]

85. 10/19/91 (sport) New York Post p. 39 (Michael Marley): "Mercer was the better known amateur but, due to Morrison's skin color and his big role as boxer 'Tommy Gunn' in 'Rocky V' alongside Sylvester Stallone, is not as popular and widely known as the younger boxer now."
[Marley demonstrates the commercialism and marketing of the "white hope", with respect to a black counterpart who is of equal (or better) ability (Ray Mercer). The promotion of the Morrison-Mercer bout was totally based on race, rather than ability, by the media.]

86. 3/29/92 (sport/sociopolitical) Daily News: p. 55 (Ex-middleweight top contender Rubin "Hurricane" Carter, as quoted by MIchael Blowen): "'None of us makes

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*Concerning Joe Louis' "revelation" of Liston's "admission" of taking a "dive" in both fights with Muhammad Ali, in a book that was written years after the death of Joe Louis; an unconfirmed revelation.

choices,' says Carter...'We react to events. We like to think we choose but it's a myth. Like America's myth. I believed in America. I believed in the American Dream. I believed that you could go where you want to go and do what you want to do...I don't hate America. But what tees me off is the stereotype of the African-American in America as being slothful, ignorant...lazy. Hell, we were the only ones working. America was built on our backs...I don't mean to put America down because it has the potential to be great for everyone...It hurts...it really hurts.'"
[Rubin Carter was a top middlewight in the 1960's when he was arrested and convicted for a triple murder, spending 18½ years in prison before his conviction, which was based on "racism rather than reason" (stated by Judge Sarokin of the US District Court of New Jersey, as quoted by Bowden) and "concealment rather than disclosure" in the original court findings. He was set free and his conviction was overturned. The judge ruled that the prosecution had committed a "grave constitutional violation" and Carter was judged innocent. In the above quote by Carter, he is testimony to the ambiguity of the American Ideal and double standard. He is also vehement in his denouncement of black stereotypes. One in particular; the fact that blacks were "workers" from American inception, due to the economics of slavery, therefore, the stereotype of blacks as "lazy" is ambiguous to American reality.]

87. 3/15/92 (sport) Daily News p. 44 (Mike Lupica fan mail): "Dear Mr. Lupica, You never miss a chance to blast, accuse, misquote, libel, slander, or demean any black athlete who 'dares' speak up and who is not afraid of the 'wrath' of whites."
[This reader is reacting to his perception of Lupica's treatment of black athletes who reject the representation of the American Ideal and tradition (which has been a major assumption throughout this text), in that these blacks are considered "anti-American" (by the media) if they speak out of a black cause. If chosen by any of the American professional sports, black athletes are expected to represent white American interests. If they fail in this area, they are instantly demeaned by the media (especially the more visible black atletes).]

88. 4/6/92 (sport/theater) New York Post p. 42 (Post-Readers "Sound OFF"): "'Greek To Me' - Dear Soundoff: Kind of ironic that *White Men Can't Jump* will make people laugh and make millions at the box office, while Jimmy the Greek was fired and his life ruined for saying the same thing three years ago.' -Peter Verro, Sarasota Springs

[This reader is absolutely correct in his assessment of the movie title, "White Men Can't Jump". It also alludes to physical and mental stereotypes of both races, based on madern race-linked genetic evaluations. Yet to assume that white men can't jump with respect to black jumping ability is tantamount to the inference that "black men can't swim", or "black men can't think". It is a stereotypical title which may be offensive, but it is guaranteed by the First Amendment to stay a title. Jimmy "the Greek" was a victim of the hypocrisy that is provided by the same amendment (as it wasn't in the interest of CBS for his statements to affect their ratings).]

89. 10/17/91 (sport) New York Post p. 56 (Michael Marley): "'MORRISON: I'M NO WHITE HOPE' - 'My aim is to be respected by my peers,' Morrison said. 'I don't like it. I'm a man on a mission. My mission is to be champion and one of the best heavyweights around. The fact that I am white is incidental. I don't see it as a white-hope sort of thing, though I know that some people do.'...Morrison wants fight fans to view him as the right man, not the white man. If he KO's Mercer, they might start doing that, but if he flops here, no one will want to know him or anything about Jay, Okla. Lose here and he becomes Tommy the Fluke, just another Caucasian fistic flop. Lose here and he's consigned to Bobickville and Cooneyville."
[Marley furthers the promotion of Morrison as a white hope, although Morrison himself disavows such notions. Marley is also crude in his depiction of "Tommy the Fluke", should he lose the upcoming bout with Ray Mercer (although this would be an accurate reaction from the accumulated white sentiment). The terms "Cooneyville" and "Bobickville" refer to failed top white ("hopes") contenders of the past, Gerry Cooney and Duane Bobick. Since the loss to Mercer, Morrison has "disappeared" from the media, and Marley is true to his word in his new address of the fighter as Tommy "the Fluke" Morrison. This "winning is everything" nature of capitalist sport is reflected in the media dismissal of Morrison as a white hope, as displayed by the "fair-weather friend" nature of the media attitude toward Morrison before he lost to Mercer, and the angry (or disappointed) reaction after his failure (5th round KO loss). It further reflects American hypocrisy and the perversion of sport by race and capitalism.]

90. 3/29/92 (sport) Daily News p. 71 (back-cover photo): [Total-page photo of a joyous Christian Laettner with arm raised, after defeating Kentucky with a personal last-second shot. This photo is entitled, "MAGIC CHRISTIAN". This is a subtle reference to the religious

qualities which are required of athletes who are to be incorporated into the American Ideal, and it is a purposeful denotation of the greatest white player in modern college basketball as a modern American hero, by the media. (Fig. A-9)]

91. 3/7/92 (sport) New York Post (sport) p. 52 (back-cover photo):
[Total-page photo and denunciation of Pascual Perez, whose failed drug test caused the league to suspend the Yankees' pitcher for one year. Across the chest of Perez is the superimposed sign (1'x3½"), "BANNED". It is a typical depiction of a black (or minority) athlete (huge photos and overage words/content) who has failed the drug laws of modern professional sports. In the case of the failed drug law of the white athlete, the media is less ostentatious. (Fig. A-10)]

92. 3/29/92 (sport) Daily News pp. 44-45 (Mike Lupica):
"LIGHTNING BY LAETTNER"
[This two-(total) page layout is dedicated to Christian Laettner and the Duke basketball team, after their win over Kentucky in the 1992 NCAA Tournament. The "lightning" reference depicts Laettner as the "god" of college basketball in this overdone piece (of one team to reach the 1992 Final Four).]

93. 4/26/92 (sport) New York Newsday Sports p. 21 (Paul Moran): "'ARAZI' - ...It has been a very long time since the racing world has been spellbound by so rare a horse. Secretariat was perhaps the last truly charismatic 3-year old, and 25 years had passed without a Triple Crown winner when he emerged as a 2-year old hero in 1972...Arazi has those lines, compact, lithe lines not unlike those of his maternal grandsire, Northern Dancer. He has a presence, the bearing of a superior animal; a Napoleonic arrogance. He is not the sleekly brutish Secretariat type, nor does he have the intimidating aura of a Seattle Slew. He is more the equine version of a young Muhammad Ali; seething muscle, searing, almost joyous determination and facile speed; poetry in the efficiency of his stride, which seems to carry him effortlessly. The drama is in his uncanny acceleration, which can be freakish, even hair-raising. The music is in the verve with which he runs, every stride an explosion, every victory a rout."
[Reporter Paul Moran derives a comparison of Muhammad Ali from the accomplishments of a racehorse, "Arazi", whom he considers to be "an equine version of a young Muhammad Ali." This is yet another incidence of the comparison of black athletes to animals, or given animal descriptions, in "unconscious" fashion.]

94. 8/11/92 (sport) New York Post (total back-page cover): "GREAT RIGHT HOPE"
[This back-page layout features seldom-used relief pitcher of the 1992 NY Yankees, (white player) Sam Militello. In that the Yankees played poorly during the 1992 season (last place), this is an overdone feature of a personal win ("pitcher's victory") against the Boston Red Sox, by Sam Militello who pitched a "shutout victory" (6-0). The media uses a play with words in the headline "GREAT RIGHT HOPE" to signify the obvious ("great white hope"), and also to signify that the pitcher was right-handed. At this point in the season, The "Bombers" (Yankees) pennant hopes were an exercise in futility, and this was but one victory against a series of losses. (Fig A-11)]

95. 4/30/92 (non-sport) Recent developments in the case of Rodney King and the Los Angeles Police Department have found the defendants in this case (the police) not guilty, after having obviously (on live videotape), deliberately, and mercilessly beaten King (a black man) with their billy clubs. The video showed their continuous and repeated blows before a nationwide television audience, and was shown in redundance on all major (and many minor) news programs. This and similar verdicts against blacks in the United States gives clue to the white America racial temperament and sentiment on this date. It also represents the black double standard and the continued preservation of the American Ideal.

The Application of the White American Media Upon Society - Conclusion

Most opinions that individuals share about race are influenced by the immediate society, however, most opinions that individuals share about sport are influenced by the media. Stereotypes that are learned in the general society are perpetuated through the values systems of the general mass media, and sport is a major social institution where these ideas are expressed. Blacks, as a caste system in sport, have become victimized by the proliferation of major media stereotypes. This practice is ongoing, with most respect to major league and college sports, and through professional individual-achievement sports (ex. boxing and track/field). The stereotypical processes of the media begin with the emergence of the black "superstar" in sports (or any black athlete that gains media attention and receives national recognition through media popularity and/or controversiality). The business of the media is controversy, and public opinion forms from the position that the media takes, with regard to these controversies (as popularity is a form of media controversy). Black popularity instantly becomes a controversial and commodified form in the media, and promotes the reinforcement of mediated values and ideologies upon the media public. Public opinion results from the positive reinforcement of media values, with respect to the black athlete.

In the United States, the imposition of "American" values has been pervasive in the media. The creation of white and black sports "stars" have helped to influence the notion of American prosperity and equality, using a farm system of athletes. With respect to American values, the skin color of the heavyweight champion has become a major American quest, in the search of a "Great White Hope", more important than the fact that America has kept the title in her own nation for the major part of the 20th Century, with the help of black Americans. Symbolic as though it may appear, the quest for a "white hope", along with the continuous stereotypification of athletes, has come to pervade all major mediated sports. It no longer matters whether the athlete is American; the issue of the "white hope" takes precedence over "patriotism" as the key American desired goal in the major sports.*

The media is the chief propagator of "Americanism". In what has become known as "media hegemony", the media

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*Assumption: For instance, if the majority-black, all-star, United States Olympic basketball team for 1992 loses to an all-white Soviet team, or one from Yugoslavia or Czechoslovakia, the American media will most likely express some joy in this unexpected turn of events, although it would be a blow politically. On a team that will include Larry Bird, Michael Jordan, Magic Johnson and Patrick Ewing, etc., a loss would entail political re-evaluation, although the quest for a "white hope" would be satisfied (especially in basketball). (This is now a moot point, as that team has already won the 1992 Olympic Gold Medal, at the time of this writing).

influences and enhances values which represent American ideals, and journalists are responsible for the reiteration of these ideas. David L. Altheide notes:

> Specifically, the notion of media hegemony includes assumptions about (1) the socialization and ideology of journalists (2) the tendency of journalists and their reports to support and perpetuate the status quo and (3) the negative character of foreign news coverage, especially Third World countries...As recently articulated by Antonio Gramsci (1971), media hegemony refers to the dominance of a certain way of life and thought and to the way in which that dominant concept of reality is diffused throughout public as well as private dimensions of social life...The contemporary definition of hegemony is conceptually rooted in the Marxist view of the economic foundations of a society as the most important shaper of cultures, values and ideology; the ruling classes who control the economic structures and institutions of society also control its political and primary ideological institutions.[1]

"Americanism" that is influenced by the media does involve the hypocrisy that is underwritten as a concept of the American Ideal. The breaking of religious tradition, for instance, as opposed to the prominent (on the surface) value of Protestantism (or Christianity), to secure an American-defined goal, is a common and historical American practice*. These atheistic and blasphemous ("I am God")

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*This was evident in George Washington's "surprise attacks" on the British at Trenton and Princeton (defined as a major American victory) on Christmas Day. In that the Catholic Church held a strong influence in European affairs at this time, the element of "ceasefire" was common during Christian religious holidays. With this act by Washington, America took on a new, semi-atheistic identity in the media ("fair-weather religious" attitudes of Americans).

win-at-all-costs values are also imposed through the positive reinforcement of the concept of "illegal legality" (such as lottery gambling in most states where gambling is illegal). Other deviant "anti-Christian" American values are a part of everyday American life, such as abortion, institutional and government corruption, capital punishment, institutional and social discrimination against certain minorities, and social deviance (ranging from "jaywalking" to automobile speeding, to controlled crime). Where it was once taboo, millions of Americans take on some form of spectating of a Sunday game, including the players. The Holy Sabbath no longer interferes with the processes of the sporting industry, which has become a major symbolic institution. Sport is symbolic in the manner in which it reinforces positive (and negative) values upon the society. For instance, it is deviant (illegal) for two people to engage in a fistfight, unless that fistfight is rationalized by a government mandate. In the same instance, it is illegal* to assault someone with a fist or a weapon, unless the same requirements are met. The American Government, through legal processes, has

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*Pornography is "illegal", but sold on the market; prostitution is also "illegal", yet there are many mediated "dating service" ads (on T.V. and in newspapers/magazines) which can be translated into "call-girl" service ads.

managed to make ambiguous its own philosophy. Values, ideas and mores are thus "twisted" to fit the hypocritical American mold*. Going back to Washington's victories at Trenton and Princeton, it shows that American loyalists are not reluctant to break with tradition (or religion) to preserve an American ideal, or to secure an American victory**. As stated in the American Racial System, slavery is probably the most overt and blatant form of the hypocrisy that "Americanism" has displayed ("All men are created equal"). All told, the positive and negative values that America has incorporated into her historical philosophy and practice as hypocrisy, flourishes in the American social imagination through values that are influenced by the media.

Media Influence

The power of controlled communication (the media) is most notably reflected by its influence of values upon social members. Billions are invested yearly by the commer-

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*A person is "legally" allowed to kill himself, although attempted and successful suicide is a crime. For instance, he may purchase cigarettes and alcohol with a warning of bad health; he may purchase guns and other weapons; or he may purchase a car or an airplane (and/or airplane and/or train tickets) which may be fatal, but advertised commercially as "must-buys".

**The cultural practices and attitudes of Americans contradicts major tenets of the Christian religion, mainly "tolerance" and "mercy", although America is a "Christian" country.

cial advertising industry: an industry whose very existence necessarily reflects the influence of the media. Individuals purchase certain products in accordance to needs and values that are shaped by primary and secondary socialization agents. Presidential, senatorial, mayoral, and similar elections, are successfully attributed to media exposure. For example, the case of Richard Nixon is exemplified by Doris A. Graber:

> It is ironic that the power of the press, which had done so much to propel Richard Nixon into the highest office of the land, ultimately launched his downfall as well. Without the persistent probing by *Washington Post* reporters into the misdeeds of the Nixon administration, the Watergate scandal would very likely have remained a minor story...Thanks to the influence of the press, constitutional curbs on presidential power were reasserted and major abuses halted.[2]

With its ability to influence and shape values, the media, although far from a perfect science/art, is generally <u>believed</u>, with respect to news coverage; a belief which derives from the general daily acceptance of media coverage as <u>true</u>, in its reportage of news facts. Given its crude daily form, the media is generally accepted as <u>accurate</u>, although crucial information may be lacking. Robert E. Lane and David O'Sears outline three elements of the "influence situation":

> In any influence situation, someone (the source) is attempting to persuade someone else (the "influencee" in the audience) to adopt a given position. Our concern is with the influencee and the circumstances under which he will in fact adopt that

> position. In a simple influence situation, the influencee has three basic sets of "cognitions" or "thoughts": his evaluation of the source, his judgment of the source's position, and his own position on the issue.[3]

By this process, the values of varied journalists shape and influence the attitudes and perceptions of the masses. Although there is much disagreement over the phenomenon of media influence, there is also evidence that supports this controversy. For instance, the New York Times reported (William Barnhill):

> Movie Spurs Fatal Violence
>
> The opening of "New Jack City," a violence-filled drug-gang film, sparked a weekend wave of violence that left one youth dead after a wild gun battle in front of a Brooklyn theater.
>
> (AP) Gang-film sparks L.A. rampage ("New Jack City")[4]

Situations such as these, as well as homocides/suicides by adolescents which are attributed to certain kinds of popular music, pervade the media with statistics of media-influenced related fatalities and violence in the United States. Other instances of media influence may be related to social forms of collective behavior (such as fads, fashions, "crazes", styles and collective attitudes). In an earleir study, Gabriel Tarde discusses the nature of media influence upon social members:

> The strange thing about it is that these men who are swept along in this way, who persuade each other or rather who transmit to one another suggestions from above - these men do not come in contact, do not meet or hear each other; they are all sitting in their own homes scattered over a vast territory, reading the same newspaper. What then is the bond between them? This bond lies in their simultaneous conviction or passion and in their awareness of sharing at the same time an idea or a wish with a great number of other men. It suffices for a man to know this, even without seeing these others, to be influenced by them *en masse* and not just by the journalist, who is the common inspiration of them all and is himself all the more fascinating for being invisible and unknown...[5]

With respect to the perpetuation of stereotypical attributes of black athletes and the perpetual imposition of "American" values, the media has remained true to form. This paper has shown similarities between historical in cidences of media racial depictions of black athletes (including genetic race-linked studies) and contemporary depictions. Many modern black athletic assessments include the stigma of drug addiction and alcoholism. Micheal Ray Richardson, John Lucas, Len Bias, Lawrence Taylor, Orlando Woolridge, Dwight Gooden, Ben Coleman, Roy Tarpley, Lloyd Daniels, David Thompson and John Drew, influence the American social imagination with the idea of the superstar black athlete as a druggie, thereby stigmatizing the lot of black athletes. With respect to drugs and athleticism, white athletes (like Chris Mullin, Frank Haugen, Keith

Hernandez, Steve Howe, and others) are given more media-leniency (which is directly related to the amount of media coverage). Drugs and the white athlete are basically a non-issue in the media. The examples of the black athlete's misuse and ultimate punishment from using drugs serve as the basic American deterrent to this social problem. It also serves as a modern stereotype of the urban-born black athlete*.

The influence of American values through sport are perpetual in the media. Susan H. Greendorfer has discovered:

> Although it was not until the Period of Growth (1890-1914) thet the full impact of yellow journalism reached the sporting world, there was growing belief that the sports page sells the paper. This belief is still evident...In fact, surveys have indicated that the most widely read section of American newspapers is the sports section, since sport encompasses the type of news which interests the greatest number of people across all socioeconomic levels. Furthermore, the number of inches (space) allotted to sports coverage has increased steadily through the years.[6]

Individuals are attracted to sport because of its theatrical, leisurely, and therapeutic qualities. Media sport also acts as a secondary source of American socialization, and is transmitted as a source of primary American values. The theme of white supremacy, historically, has been underwritten as a major value in sport, and continues to exist. The

*Modern drug-addiction commercials are synonymous with urban blacks and urban black males and sport.

"Golden Era" (the 1920's), for example, can be translated into "When Professional Sports Was Restricted to Whites Era". Greendorfer also notes:

> By the turn of the century several athletes were portrayed as heroes, and sportswriters had created clichés and sport terms which are still published in the sport pages.[7]

With the major visibility given to modern sport, many of these clichés, sport heroes, and sport teams have become enshrined in the perception of the American sport follower, due to their media redundancy (i.g. Babe Ruth, Joe Dimaggio, "Win one for the Gipper" - Knute Rockne, the "Brockton Blockbuster" - Rocky Marciano, and Larry Bird as the "best evr", among others). Very few black athletes, aside from Joe Louis and Michael Jordan, have reached these elevatory immortal media proportions. If it seems difficult to place Wilt Chamberlain, Muhammad Ali, Julius Erving (Dr. "J"), Willie Mays, Bill Russell, Jack Johnson, or Mike Tyson among this group*, it is because of the non-focus, non-induction, and non-redundancy of these players' names in an immortalized-sport media context/ranking, which results from their non-acceptance in the American Ideal. The media

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*We are not led to believe, through media influence, that these athletes are the "best ever" or "all time greatest", in terms that are reserved for excellent white athletes such as Babe Ruth or Larry Bird and black athletes such as Joe Louis and Michael Jordan, but not Muhammad Ali or Hank Aaron.

tends to voice the values of the majority of sport-media journalists, who tend to be white, and who tend to over-enhance the achievements and status of the Caucasian superstar athlete, and the black superstar athlete who is incorporated into the American Ideal.

Media Speech

The linguistic style of media sport writers and the tonal emphasis of sports announcers tend to reflect the input of historical American racial values. For a sports-viewer of NBA basketball, it is a fact that the volume and tone of CBS announcers Brent Musburger and Pat O'Brien increases in favor of the Boston Celtics and Larry Bird. As the announcers become more vocal when Bird scores or makes a great play, and equivocate the same honor to Isiah Thomas and the Detroit Pistons in decidedly less emphatic volume and tone in a national broadcast (which ideally should be objective and neutral), the elements of subtle racist attitudes in the announcer's speech becomes evident. Raymond E. Rainville and Edward McCormick have studied patterns of pro-football announcer's speech, using a blind subject (the first author), and controlling for racial patterns:

> The least inferential conclusion which can be derived from these results is that the announcers are building a positive reputation for white players and a comparatively negative reputation for black

> athletes. It is probable that the announcers are not consciously producing this effect. In his description of play, more often depicting him as the aggressor and granting him more positive special focus. The announcer is, at the same time, building a negative reputation for the black player by negatively comparing him to the other players, making negative references to his past achievements, and depicting him as the recipient of aggression...The negative elements built into the black players' reputations probably have a greater impact on the listener than do the positice components. Undesirable information has much greater impact on reputation than an equivalent amount of socially desirable information would have.[8]

Media clichés of American sport have also taken on many racial connotations. Generalizations such as, blacks are "cool under pressure", which was used by Billy Packer (ESPN) in reference to the all-black UNLV players on various occasions during his broadcast of games for ESPN during the 1990-1991 season; "white man's disease", (which has come to mean not being able to jump very high) used by ex-player and announcer Rick Barry, in reference to Larry Bird and other white basketball players; and the "Zip Boys"* which is announcer Tom Heinsohn's reference to the current speedy backcourt of the Boston Celtics during the 1990-91 season, and currently modified to represent a "speedy" ball player (usually a quick short-distance runner who is black, as blacks are projected as greater short-distance runners by current genetic race-linked

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*Typical Heinsohn remark: "The Celtics are going with four 'zips' and one 'zap'"(four blacks and one white). Reggie Lewis and Dee Brown (both black) were original "zips" of the Celtics.

studies); are all typical instances of covert racism in modern appraisals of black athletes, as reflected through the value systems of various white sport journalists and announcers. The position of this dissertation concurs with Rainville and McCormick that these ideas may not be "consciously" applied with a feeling toward discrimination and racism, with respect to the white announcers and journalists, however, they represent and reflect an ingrained sense of "white power", ambivalent with respect to increasing black dominance in the major sports, and sacrosanct with preserving the image of the "American Ideal". Announcer Don Dumphy announced the "Thrilla' in Manila" boxing contest between Muhammad Ali and Joe Frazier, and referred to them throughout the bout as "boys"* (ex. "Both boys look tired now"), both fighters in their thirties at the time. Gerry Cooney was featured on Time Magazine (a conservative-political national magazine) with Sylvester Stallone (as the great movie-concocted boxing idol, "Rocky"), in an attempt to attract and sell racism as a theme

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*"Boy" is an historical demeaning reference to black males.

for an upcoming boxing match with Larry Holmes. At the time of that fight, Cooney was introduced last, which is formally and traditionally accorded the champion*. This was an obvious ploy that was used to propel white fan enthusiasm during the bout itself. These instances represent a subtle language (which is understood by whites and blacks) that leads to the perceptive subordination of black athletes (and the enhancement of American values by the media). The Cooney incident, in particular, denoted a sense of unfair play in order to meet the goal of white American supremacy, in the traditional patriotic sense of George Washington at Trenton and Princeton. The governing bodies of the American society have proven that the use of unfair tactics, to gain American goals, has become an American value ("winning is everything"), most noted by the collective denunciation of Muhammad Ali (despite his Constitutional rights). Vince Lombardi addresses his famous quote, and its influence on American tradition:

> Vince Lombardi, shortly before he died, looked back on his quote which had helped get such unbridled enthusiasm started [ie. "Winning isn't everything, its the only thing"] He told Jerry Izenberg, "I

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*Another break with tradition; obviously a psychological play (as if the "whites" are already champion, or that Cooney will be champion at the end of the fight with Holmes).

> wish to hell I'd never said the damn thing. I meant the effort...I meant having a goal...I sure as hell didn't mean for people to crush human values and morality."[9]

In the case of Jack Johnson, there was a deep vendetta sought by white Americans toward this black athlete, who in 1908 destroyed the myth of Caucasian physical supremacy, in his win over Tommy Burns*. This vendetta did not take the form of stripping Johnson of his title, which could have been done before his match with Jim Jeffries in 1910, but white Americans, along with the collective influence of the media, called Jim Jeffries out of retirement, because they preferred to have Jeffries annihilate this black intruder into the world of white athletics (Jeffries was perceived as the greatest white fighter around). Public shock, disbelief, and anger followed Johnson's second victory over a top-rated white athlete. Systematic dismissal of Johnson from the United States, the banning of fight films, and growing unpopularity of prizefights as a spectator sport, represented the Government reaction to Jeffries' loss**.

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*The Johnson-Burns match started out as a curiosity, the majority of white Americans holding fast to the social and scientific evaluation of blacks as "inferior". This match, in 1908, created renewed interest in a dying sport.

**The ban on prizefighting, which was adopted by many states after the Jeffries' loss, was lifted during the reign of the "Manassa Mauler", Jack Dempsey, after the final championship-quality days of Jack Johnson and during boxing "Jim Crowism" in the United States.

Johnson was labelled an American enemy, and charges were fabricated against him to justify this depiction. Johnson's entrance into white sports represents the true "breaking of the color barrier" by blacks in sport (in the 20th Century), and also represented the true reaction of a typical America that was unready and unprepared for black integration into the white social spheres of American life. All the furor that was caused by Johnson and his lifestyle became defused with a knockout loss to Jess Willard in 1916, and his agreement to spend one year in an American prison. This removal of the black man from the position of Heavyweight Champion of the World, at the hands of an American white man, was enough to pacify the white American public.

To this day, Jack Johnson is still not totally forgiven for his previous anti-American "sins". He is not recognized as the greatest black pioneer into the world of white sports and white society, through his athletic and social exploits. Most literature that describes Johnson is usually in connection with his media and social-perceived obscenities. Never is he connected to the major breakthroughs that the personality of his life was able to open, although "prematurely". People, black and white, would condemn Jack Johnson for his out-of-ring antics, but in actuality, he served as a symbol of a true democracy, although he "rushed it". By rushing it, he created uncertainty among black and white

Americans, who were not ready and willing to accept Johnson's display of American "equality". We, as Americans, are forced through media-redundancy and influence, to believe that Jackie Robinson was the first black to break the "color line" of sport in the 20th Century (as if boxing is not a sport), although this feat was successfully achieved by Jack Johnson forty years previous. Jackie Robinson is incorporated into the perception of the American Ideal as the "good black athlete" or one who "knows his place", while Jack Johnson represents the antithesis of this depiction. These archetypes continue to plague the media portrayals of black athletes.

Media identification

The overwhelming excellence of black athletes violates the American Ideal. Blacks in the 20th Century have, as a group, used sports as a vehicle of freedom and equality. Blacks have been identifiable with various individual great black sport performances in different sports, in respective eras. Many blacks were physically punished for showing open affection for Jack Johnson, the designated American black "enemy" (but hero to many). Joe Louis, Jesse Owens and Jackie Robinson led the athletic crusade of black acceptance into the American Ideal. The black American troops of World War II also provided great input into this phenomenon.

As shown by the collective support of Larry Bird, Gerry Cooney (prior to the Holmes fight), and other white sports stars, the representative of the American Ideal should, idealistically, be "white". If he is a Joe Louis, a Michael Jordan, a Bill Cosby, an MC Hammer, a "Prince", or a Michael Jackson, he violates this Ideal by a contradiction in skin color, but is nevertheless accepted. For every Joe Louis, there is a Billy Conn, or some white nemesis to help support and retain actual white values in American sport, and this value is skin color. Predictably, the American public would shift American allegiance away from Michael Jordan should he gain a white nemesis in his continuing athletic years. Jordan is more perceived in the media as an athlete with individual athletic ability, rather than one with "best ever" qualities (a term rarely used to describe Jordan, if ever). The champion white athlete (e.g. Babe Ruth or Larry Bird) is obviously the preferred American image by the media. This was evident in the built-up American media hype of the young white boxing contender, Tommy "the Duke" Morrison. At the time of this writing, Morrison has lost his first professional boxing match to a black heavyweight, Ray Mercer. Mercer was virtually a "media-unknown" prior to that fight, despite the fact that he won the Olympic Gold Medal for the United States in 1988, and also having beaten Morrison (twice) during the Olympic trials. The image of Morrison, prior to the fight, was that of a "super-patriot", and apparently

becoming heir apparent to "Rocky" (Sylvester Stallone) in his career as an actor. As both were undefeated before this fight, there was little indication or prediction from the sport media "experts" that Mercer would score a stunning fifth-round knockout over Morrison. As media consumers, we are stunned because of the lack of, or missing, information on Mercer, and blinded by the media-enhanced American image of the new "white hope".

It is Ruth's record, not Hank Aaron's, that engulfs the American social imagination, due to the reverberation of Ruth's name in the media. Ruth is the symbol of "white" America, in tradition and opinion, and as a standard of excellence. The basic question then is, to what extent do we identify with these athletes? The media actually controls the extent of this identification through the extent of actual coverage and the quality of linguistics used in the description of the athlete. In the early categorical description of Jack Johnson in the New York Times as "the negro" (small "n") in constant references, "Negro" is perceived as Johnson's most significant and outstanding quality, far beyond the superb boxing skills that he managed to develop. The major media description of Johnson, and later Ali, would tend to discourage public admiration and identification to these athletes. In the case of Ali, who is described by one writer as "pure subject", his media redundancy in an international light

would transcend the normal American media boundaries that encapsulate many "anti-American" heroes. As a martyr of American injustice, Ali and Johnson symbolize the various American protest movements, and the effect of labelled "anti-American" values. In addition, with respect to Ali's articulation and loquacious vocal ability as an athlete, and how he applied them to historical and current states of American and international affairs, as well as his own persecution by both the Government and the American media, he challenged many of the athletic stereotypes of blacks, for which no professional athlete had done since Paul Robeson in 1921. Robeson was a black athlete who also suffered the hypocrisy of the American Ideal (forced to sacrifice dominant theatrical talent and intellect for demeaning and stereotypical roles). Ocania Chalk notes:

> Now it was 1921, and a big strapping All-American and talented end named Paul Robeson joined (Fritz) Pollard. He late won acclaim as an actor, singer, orator, political theorist, and intellectual. Robeson, who won the coveted Phi Beta Kappa key in his junior year at Rutgers, was called by Walter Camp, the selector of All-American teams, "the greatest defensive end who ever trod a gridiron." By the time of the 1923 season, Robeson had departed to pursue a theatrical career.[10]

The image of Paul Robeson is downplayed by the American media, due to the basis of his contradiction to the black mental stereotype, which is "anti-American" in effect.

When black athletes (and other black representative American officials) are criticized by the media and/or Government, their personal lifestyles are usually openly displayed and criticized as well. This has been true of Muhammad Ali, Mike Tyson, Lawrence Taylor, Clarence Thomas, and others. Blacks who are favored by the media and public do not share this problem, for reasons of sustaining the impression of the American Ideal (although later, Joe Louis becomes degraded somewhat for his alleged drug use, and presently, Michael Jordan has no flaws, except for his publicized "snub" of President Bush; and although Jordan is criticized by some writers as unprofessional for helping to influence the decision to ban Isiah Thomas from the 1992 Olympic Team, more "anti-Isiah" sentiment supports this decision and Jordan's position). Floyd Patterson is another example of a black athlete who was incorporated into the American Ideal in his bouts against Sonny Liston and Ali, as he would become one of the few black "white hopes" in the quest of restoring "white" values to American symbolism. What the media has done, by making sports an issue of racial supremacy, has not been productive in the idealistic American sense, but has incorporated the ideology of modern American athletics as a competition between the races into the American value system. With the black help of the Floyd Pattersons and the George Foremans, American sport remains "American", and defiant, or other, black superstars are berated and/or belittled through media-"insignificance".

For every Bob Cousy, John Havlicek, Dave Cowens and Larry Bird, there is a Bill Russell, Sam Jones, Nate Archibald, Robert Parish and Dennis Johnson who provided equal proportions of input into those Boston Celtics' victories, but as a general mediated public, all we can remember is "when Havlicek stole the ball!"

The fostering of American values is a conscious all-out effort made by the media in their daily depiction of athletics. A black athlete either supports American values or he doesn't, according to his media depiction. The enhancement of white sport heroes such as Ruth, Dimaggio and Cobb over blacks of equal ability is an historical media process. Snyder and Spreitzer note:

> The emergence of the mass media, particularly the newspaper and radio, provided a rapid means of informing the public about the happenings in sport, and thus sport flourished. The commercial interests who controlled the mass media quickly realized that the reading and listening publics were interested in sport. Writers and broadcasters promoted both sport and the media by embellishing the games through the use of imagery, metaphors, and the creation of heroes - the Babe, the Gipper, the Manassa Mauler, the Four Horsemen, the Yankee Clipper, and the Galloping Ghost.[11]

The media doesn't necessarily influence opinions, one way or another, it often raises the topics which become an open debate in the formulation of public opinion. By the nature of the topic to be reported on, values and opinions of the journalists are at once exposed. The

choice of Babe Ruth (by reporters like Red Smith) as a featured sports topic by a major newspaper, represents the values of "Americanism". The depiction of Muhammad Ali as a "draft-dodger" (by reporters like Dick Young and Gene Ward) represents the distaste of the perceived "un-American". When sports announcers enhance the reputation of white players over black players, this results from ingrained values of the announcers themselves, as major sport has become somewhat of a racial forum. Rainville and McCormick note that:

> We propose a theory that seeks to explain how this unconscious reputation building occurs, according to which two complementary psychological mechanisms within the announcer produce this effect. The first is that the announcer begins with the prejudicial belief that white players are superior to black players...The announcer thus adds to the white players' prestige by giving him more play related praise...Similarly, he supports his belief in the inferiority of blacks by making more negative references to his past professional achievements, more often depicting him as the recipient of aggression and more frequently comparing him unfavorably to other players.[12]

Conclusion

The position of this dissertation is that the media is the most powerful tool in the promotion and enhancement of popular attitudes and social thought. The continuous and repeated bombardment of news stimuli is likely to influence attitudes upon individuals through its socialization and propagandization techniques. At the same time,

the individual becomes prejudiced against stimuli that doesn't agree with or follow his train of thought (such as American public opinion toward Arabs during the war in the Persian Gulf, or prejudices against the Japanese and Japanese-Americans during World War II). The media introduces values to the individual that may, or may not, reinforce previously-learned values that were indoctrinated through socialization. From the journalists' standpoint, Rainville and McCormick agree:

> On the basis of cognitive consistency theory we would expect the announcer to perceive and verbalize in such a way as to support his belief in the superiority of whites and the inferiority of blacks.[13]

The negative depiction of black athletes is seen through words and pictures. The enemy of the newspapers becomes an enemy of the general American public, through the influence of attitudes and positions. The media is guilty of passing judgment, and influencing interest groups to do the same on individuals who have yet to be tried, as in the cases of Muhammad Ali and currently, Mike Tyson, who is awaiting a trial (charged with rape). The media has an influential effect on individuals*, in the way that it

---

*Most recently, Judge Clarence Thomas has endured this same process. What he termed a "high-tech lynching" by the Senate, it was the media who was guilty of entertaining the charge of "sexual harrassment" in an eleventh-hour bid to destroy the chances of the second black to be appointed to the Supreme Court. Also, at the time of this re-correction of the dissertation text, Mike Tyson has been found guilty of rape and sent to prison. As he was processed ("mugged", fingerprinted, and searched), national television displayed a humiliating image of Tyson (of a prolonged nature), much like Garfinkel's "degradation ceremony".

persuades social emotions. Therefore, it is a function of sport, as a catharsis to social aggression, to view blacks in a subordinate caste context. The media and the sports industry are guilty of promoting racial attitudes in its selection of players. Manute Bol (the 7ft. 8in. NBA player from Ethiopia), for instance, is what could be called a sport "sideshow". His value to the NBA is not in his specialized area of blocking shots or his weak basketball skills, but for attracting fans (mostly white) to the NBA "freak show", where individuals marvel at his size and physical appearance (being the tallest man, who happens to be African, to ever play in the NBA). Darryl Dawkins (of the Philadelphia 76ers) shared a similar experience when the media labelled his dunk shot, the "Gorilla Dunk". Dawkins became especially popular when he began shattering backboards via his weight and strength. Basketball games of this manner become "animal night". Darryl Dawkins is stereotyped more for his physical appearance and displays of power, rather than his marginal skills and contributions (which often were altered because of a lack of college skills and disfavor due to the prejudices of referees). The media perception is that a professional athlete who is very black in skin color, who has retained many of the African primordial features, and who is very strong and overpowering with regard to his respective sport, must be the stereotypical "world beater". This

depiction exists until he is outplayed/outclassed by a white performer or by someone who doesn't fit the above description*.

The media has the ability to draw the unsuspecting observer/listener/reader of news, etc., into the debate at hand, even though this individual may not be an active participant or party to the debate. He nonetheless agrees or disagrees and, therefore, takes a media stand in forming his own opinion. As many attitudes and opinions are influenced by the media, the emphasis on the way the message is delivered are various. Racism usually shows in the sport media immediately before, during, and after sporting events of high (media) intensity, that are well-anticipated, meaningful to both adversaries, and has great social significance, while the other team is usually black-oriented (ex. Magic/Bird, Lakers/Boston, Cooney/Holmes, UNLV/Duke, Johnson/Jeffries, Celtics/Pistons, Williams/Elway, Dallas Cowboys/Washington Redskins, etc.). Media sports writers and announcers get careless with respect to discreetness, as they proliferate the value of the sym-

*This was true of Dwayne "Pearl" Washington, the most highly-recruited basketball player in NYC history. His downfall began at the hands of a white player, Mark Price of Georgia Tech University, who thoroughly outplayed Pearl in an NCAA Tournament game against Syracuse University. Even with great stereotypical support by announcers like Dick Vitale of ESPN, who would describe the play of Pearl in stereotypical genre, Washington failed as a professional.

bolic favorite over that of the less popular foe (as in "the heat of the moment"). This study wants to maintain and distinguish the media as a force upon practical social thought as (1) a force in shaping American values and (2) as a representative of those values. Sport became a major visible avenue for the black race in America. Black champions had the ability, through increasing public acceptance, to hoist the entire black race in a more accepted light (in the same manner as "Sambo" and continued stereotypifications in the media; many of which are directly related to athletic ability and blacks). The image of Jack Johnson ruined the image of "Sambo" in early 20th Century America. As "Sambo" represented white "tolerance" for blacks in America, Johnson was considered "dangerous" for contradicting this stereotype. As Johnson was portrayed with all the characterizations of "Sambo" ('shufflin, smilin', suspicious, cowardly, superstitious, etc.) by many boxing writers, his feats in the ring were portrayed as a more primitive, threatening and dangerous type of black man (in the mold of Nat Turner). In actuality, his boxing style is credited by many experts as very scientific, as compared to the early styles of his opponents. Through the media, however, Johnson's scientificity is translated into "primitivity" (or basically a non-issue).

If the media denounces a black athletic champion, they usually denounce his personal life as well. This is not true of white athletes who were once denounced by the media (ex. Jack Dempsey and Joe Namath were accused of dodging the draft during wartime; Pete Rose for making bets on baseball games that he was participating in, and failing to file income taxes; various white athletes who were reprimanded for the use of drugs and alcohol). In the case of Jack Johnson, he was constantly berated, scandalized, and humiliated by the media (as his symbol stood in defiance of the power structure), yet he was in great demand. He was not the first black fighter, or sportsman, but the first to receive controversial media acknowledgement of a political nature.

The media thrives and capitalizes on socially power- and controversial issues and/or media-enhanced issues that are created to capture social interest (ex. the "womanizing" of Donald Trump). For blacks, most media coverage involves sport, crime and entertainment*, and much less is devoted to the sciences and the arts. The picture painted by the media, of blacks, tends to support the comments made by CCNY Professor Michael Levin, who stated to the effect that whites are justified in their fears and suspicions of blacks. Criminal depictions are of equal magnitude to

*Blacks are overrepresented in the areas of sport and crime in the media.

sport as a stereotypical concept of blacks (criminally sexual as well) in the media. The media may not be racist in reporting facts, but each reporter brings and addresses his own values in delivering the news reports. Harry Edwards notes:

> The reasons behind the insensitivity on the part of the white sports reporter are many. First of all, when a white American becomes a journalist he does not all at once become a citadel of racial and social objectivity. A racist white man who becomes a journalist becomes nothing more than a racist white journalist...Reporters come from the same racially intolerant climate responsible for the denial of the American dream to black Americans for three hundred and fifty years, and in general their racial attitudes reflect that fact. These attitudes are inevitably reflected - either through omission or commission - in their work.[14]

This dissertation seeks to expose racism in the sport media, and in effect, it does this by singling out the media's choices of newsworthy sporting events and the way they are presented, and not necessarily the attitude of reporters or the general position of the publication. Racism may depend on (1) choice of subject (2) choice of certain quotes (3) linguistic style (4) manipulation and influence of news matter and (5) myth-based accounts. As Walter Lippmann would agree, stereotypes and myths evolve out of media repetition of the same:

> The subtlest and most pervasive of all influences are those which create and maintain the repertory of stereotypes. We are told about the world before we see it. We imagine most things before we experience them. And those preconceptions, unless education

> has made us acutely aware, govern deeply the whole process of perception. They mark out certain objects as familiar or strange, emphasizing the difference, so that the slightly familiar is seen as very familiar, and the somewhat strange as sharply alien... What matters is the gullibility with which we employ them...patterns which constitute our philosophy of life...a world run by our code.[15]

Lippmann is accurate with respect to the American media. Evidence of the white standard is located in various symbols and concepts. For instance, the NBA logo is a white silhouette of a white ex-NBA player and superstar, Jerry West. This logo has represented the NBA for approximately 15 years of this date, despite the increasing dominance of black players of the sport (in the last 35 years). The front-page covers of magazines like Vogue, Penthouse, and Madamoiselle, among others, predictably features a white female model. Major ballet companies follow the same practice, as ballerinas must reflect a sense of "purity" (a metaphor for "whiteness"). Fictitional American heroes like "Tarzan" and "Superman" are white symbols.

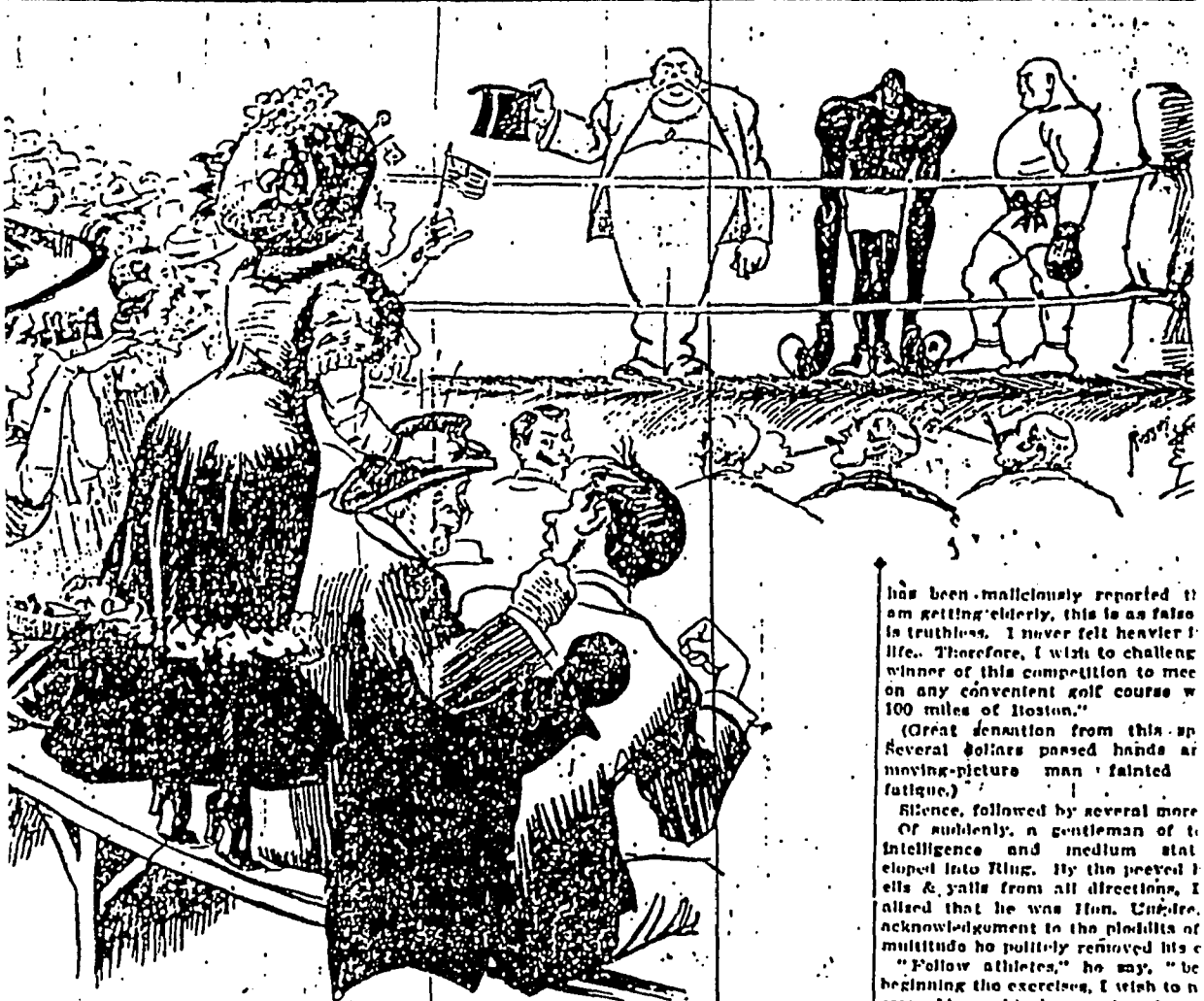
American whites are structured along ethnic lines within white society, with skin color giving them a once-mandated legal right-of-way over blacks. Skin color pervades sport as a distinguishable element of the team uniform. As a significant theme in media biographies of modern athletes, race is a constant factor in these assessments. Blacks belong to a caste system of inescape within the

media, with respect to skin color and/or physical features. Sport creates a forum for the media practice of the stereotypification of the races. Human symbols (champion athletes) arise as a result of the sporting process, and immediately are open to favor or disfavor by the media (as champion athletes are subject to close media scrutiny). In the larger picture, the skin color (or language; or any distinguishable racial or ethnic trait) of a champion athlete is a uniform in itself, and an easily identifiable symbol of the masses of a bounded homogenous culture. The media enhances racial and ethnic issues in order to create controversy, or news. While it does this with the motive of capital gain, it also provides an American social service, which is to promote, sustain, and maintain the tenets of the American Ideal.

FIG. A-1

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNI

TOGO TOURISTS VIEW THE S



"John L. Sullivan Issues a challenge."

) (Wallace Ir-

r J.
nk Times who
woman, even
ll.

knock-sport was to be shot off. Fat-stomach athletes with raccoon clothing was running back & forth waving $3.(sq) Confederate bills to show how confidential they felt. Distinguished Congressmen from Carson City was seen frequently taking slight sip of

we seen within that shall attempt to do s

Imagine with brain! people you can think a few more. Imagine male extraction setting er like raspberries in

great Hall? I

Imagine all the of, then think of 15,000 persons of crushed togeth- jam. It was a

has been maliciously reported t am getting elderly, this is as false is truthless. I never felt heavier i life. Therefore, I wish to challeng winner of this competition to mee on any convenient golf course w 100 miles of Boston."

(Great donation from this sp Several dollars passed hands a moving-picture man fainted fatigue.)

Silence, followed by several more

Of suddenly, a gentleman of t intelligence and medium stat eloped into Ring. By the peeved l ells & yells from all directions, I allied that he was Hon. Umpire, acknowledgement to the plodilts of multitude he politely removed his c

"Follow athletes," he say, "be beginning the exercises, I wish to n anmo biographical remarks about two distinguished actors who are al to entertain us with their cute trick

"Mr. John Brownsville John wishes it distinctually stated that report of his Irish ancestry is unt He descended from Africa abruptly a ton of coal. Born of black but sh less parents, he soon learned to s for himself. He first studied, his- while delving

FIG. A-2

t Go; Loses Title

t Oath; 10G Fine

Clay, proclaiming himself refused to take the oath of Houston Induction Center

most part, was a repetition of Clay's harangue explaining his resistance to the draft. The statement also had anticipated the loss of his title.

"Regardless of the difference in my outlook," Clay's statement said, "I insist upon my rights to pursue my livelihood in accordance with the same rights granted to other men and women who has disagreed with the policies of whatever administration was in power at the time.

"I AM LOOKING forward to immediately continuing my profession," Clay continued. "As to the threat posed by certain elements to strip me of my title, this is merely a continuation of the same arbitrarily-induced prejudice and discrimination.

"I have the world heavyweight title, not because it was 'given'

Requiem for a Heavyweight

—By Bill Gallo



WEDNESDAY, APRIL 10, 1974 The New York Times

673.

In Henry Aaron's Footsteps: The M



David Scott Brown

FIG. A-3

By LEONARD KOPPETT

O.K., Henry Aaron has overtaken Babe Ruth.

Who's next?

Anyone? Ever? In the foreseeable future?

It is safe enough to say that no one currently recognized as a major league home-run hitter has much chance of reaching 700, let alone whatever figure beyond that Aaron finally establishes. And anyone, starting now would need, as Aaron and Ruth did, 20 years of averaging 35 homers a year to get there—which would be 1994.

The two players who come closest to having even a million-to-one chance of catching Aaron are Johnny Bench and Reggie Jackson. But, assuming each plays to the age of 40, Bench would have to average 38 homers a year for the next 14 years and Jackson would need 40 a year for the next 13 years to pass 700.

So even if Jackson did it, that would be in 1987 and it can be flatly asserted that Halley's Comet, due to return in 1986, will be back before anyone challenges Aaron's mark.

And it is extremely unlikely that anyone will threaten it during the rest of the 20th Century.

Such projections are simple enough to make, because while no one can predict any man's actual career home-run total, it is quite possible to calculate a "maximum probable" total that a player will not exceed.

For example: Of all active players, Harmon Killebrew has hit home runs with greatest frequency: 546 in 7,502 times at bat, or one homer in every 13.74 times at bat. (These and all other figures are as of the start of the season.) It is reasonable to assume that he will not play past the age of 40, and that he will not average more than 500 times at bat a season in the remaining three years.

(Actually, Killebrew has averaged 394 times at bat the last three years, and Aaron 445, so 500 is a safe "outside limit" for players that age.)

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Active Players and Th

	Age	Homers
Harmon Killebrew	37	546
Frank Robinson	38	552
Reggie Jackson	27	189
Dave Kingman	25	59
Willie McCovey	36	413
Johnny Bench	26	179
Willie Stargell	33	321
Dick Allen	32	257
Earl Williams	25	85
Billy Williams	35	376
Nate Colbert	28	149
Ron Santo	34	337
Bobby Bonds	28	165
Darrell Evans	26	72
John Mayberry	24	63

*Assuming each man plays until the age of 4
bat per season for each remaining year, ac
pace established so far in his career.

Aaron: Sleepless but Relieved

By JOSEPH DURSO

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, April 9—It was e "day after"—the day af- he had made baseball his- ry—and Henry Aaron eased to the Atlanta Braves' lock- room, slipped some soft usic into the cassette inside cubicle, sat down on a oden stool, yawned and id:

"The average person can't alize what a nightmare this s been. The last 10 days of st season, all winter, spring ining, right up until today. w I'm just tired. Not let wn—just tired. I'm beat. I play tomorrow, but not night."

The 40-year-old outfielder s beat because people the crowd stood and roared for the man who had just hit the 715th home run of his 21-year career, breaking the record set by the late Babe Ruth between 1915 and 1935.

"So, did you celebrate, Hammer?" asked Dusty Baker, the center fielder, in a locker room that suddenly seemed empty and calm "the day after."

"Till 6 o'clock this morning," Aaron said in a low voice, yawning again. "Home."

He stripped off a brown-striped shirt and olive-green slacks, down to a yellow undershirt and shorts, and



W.F.L. Gets Calvin Hill Next Year

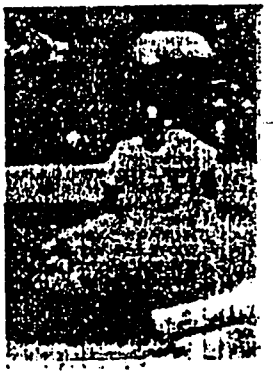
By NEIL AMDUR

The World Football League lost the cover of Sports Illustrated magazine to Henry Aaron this week, but landed another heavy hitter for the 1975 season, Calvin Hill of the Dallas Cowboys.

In the new league's latest coup against the National Football League, the Honolulu Hawaiians signed the 235-pound Hill to a three-year contract for an estimated total of $500,000.

The 6-foot-3-inch running

Yanks Beat



4 STAR ★ ★ ★ ★ FINAL

DAILY NEWS

Sports

FIG. A-4

Thursday, December 3, 1987

ON THE INSIDE 674.

Yanks eye Parker 109
Redmen rip FDU 114
YR bans 7 drivers 127



NETS GIVE UP ON PEARL: Time has run out on Pearl Washington. Despite his 20 points in last night's 130-99 loss to the Celts, the Net brass is disappointed in Pearl and will begin shopping him after signing Johnny Moore. **Bondy, P. 104**

+ ▸ NSS 12-03-87 THU

675.

VOA's voic FIG. A-5 ot easily lost

Page Six TM

By FRANK DIGIACOMO and JOANNA MOLLOY

GEORGE Bush and Bruce Gelb may be the best of prep school pals. But, so far, the President seems unwilling to give Gelb what he's craved since taking over as director of the United States Information Agency — that is, the head of Gelb's archrival Richard W. Carlson, director of Voice of America.

Last month, administration sources say, the President carried out the unpleasant job of asking Gelb — who's earned a reputation as the loosest of cannons — to step down and take the post of Ambassador to Belgium. Gelb reportedly agreed to go only if Bush promised he'd also boot Carlson.

But while Gelb packs his bags for Brussels, Carlson hangs on to his VOA office. Gelb-loyalists argue that, since the President can now think about business beyond the Persian Gulf, Carlson will be out in six months. Others insist that, though the Reagan-appointed Carlson has filled his staff with conservatives, Bush will let him stay on.

"Carlson's played the game in a way Gelb never did," one administration source told PAGE SIX's George Rush. Gelb's friendship with the Pres goes back to the day at Phillips Academy when Bush stopped a bully from beating up Gelb, who's served as co-chairman of Bristol-Meyers and a top Bush fund-raiser. Yet according to one official, Gelb didn't appreciate that "the Bush and Reagan styles are very different. With [former USIA chief] Charles Wick, you had Hollywood for eight years. The Bush assumption is: 'Don't attract attention to yourself.'"

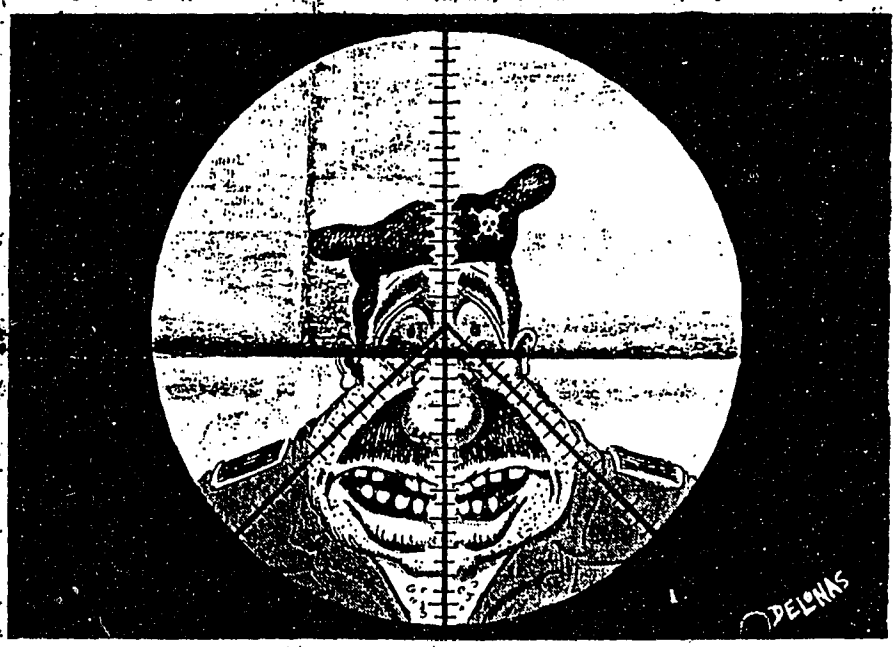
That's what Gelb did when he tried to give the VOA a major makeover without consulting Carlson, the White House, or congressional overseers.

Then there was the time Gelb asked the FBI to examine his office sofa, reportedly because he believed two staffers had been making love on it. USIA spokesman Linda Goodman said Gelb had a legitimate concern about his office's security, and that "he made the tryating comment in jest."

Gelb's replacement is rumored to be Henry Catto, current ambassador to Great Britain, who'll likely be replaced by Raymond Seitz, the assistant secretary of state for European Affairs. Maynard W. Glitman, ambassador to Belgium, is being considered for Seitz's job.

Goodman denied that Gelb made Carlson's ouster a condition for leaving. "Mr. Gelb did have some frustration in accomplishing tasks [at USIA]," she said, "but he's approaching this positively. Dealing with the European Community in 1992 is no small task."

But then, the U.S. has a separate European Community envoy, Thomas Niles, who, one State official noted, would be "our real water-carrier." As for Gelb's posting? "It's a comfortable job."



Foiled again

THE Post curse has felled yet another doomsayer. PaineWebber analyst J. Kendrick Noble, who spent almost as much time predicting this tabloid's demise as he did recommending stocks — he was at it again in the Observer recently — lost his job last week. Noble follows in the footsteps of the late Bernard Gallagher, whose weekly newsletter for corporate bigwigs folded shortly after he predicted our untimely end, and Lewis Grossberger, former "Media Person" of Seven Days. Not long after Grossberger wrote of The Post, "Let this awful paper die already," Hartz Mountain man Leonard Stern pulled the plug on the magazine.

Racial harmony

HANDSOME Allen Payne, who plays Gee Money in "New Jack City," says it's no accident that singers like Ice T, Christopher Williams, Flavor Flav, Keith Sweat, Nick Ashford and the group Guy are featured in the movie. He tells our Florence Anthony: "The film is really a small black extravaganza. Right now there are not enough black actors with 'bankability' as far as the box office goes. If people see all of their names they'll come. Payne, who also stars as Lance on "Cosby" added that the sitcom's producers are thinking about spinning Erika Alexander, Karen Malina White and his character off into another show.



GEENA: on her own

SLOW-witted film producers who think that Geena Davis still considers herself Mrs. Jeff Goldblum should take note of a letter the actress recently had posted on the bulletin board of her office. The missive, written by one of Davis' staffers to an apparently slow-witted producer who had pitched a buddy picture for the couple, says that Davis is looking only for "starring" roles these days. It further points out, more or less, that *since Geena and Jeff are getting divorced, I don't think they'd be interested in working to-*

Salad days

IT sure wasn't hard to get people to touch their vegetables the other night at Noemo King — not when the vegetables came in the form of swimwear modeled by four curvaceous mermaids. The dinner, which benefited the Manhattan Center for Living, was totally nautical. Chefs Frank Arcuri and Alan Harding served five courses of ocean-produce. Syd Straw sang a sea shanty. But what shivered the timbers of many swabbies was the seaweed fashion created by John Calles. "We have to keep it wet," remarked one model, who invited patrons at the Varick St. restaurant to nibble on her mallot.

Author's words cut at his critics

AFTER quietly enduring a firestorm of criticism over his just-published novel, "American Psycho," Bret Easton Ellis has responded. In outtakes of an interview with Ellis that appears in Entertainment Weekly's next issue, the author opines that Roger Rosenblatt "made an ass of himself" eviscerating "Psycho" in the New York Times Book Review last December. He also doesn't "agree" with Norman Mailer's analysis of the torrid tale in this month's Vanity Fair. When EW scribe Roger Friedman asked the author if he saw himself "as a completely demented misogynist" as some critics have labeled him, Ellis cracked, "Yes ... I am a completely demented misogynist." And though the blood-soaked book features graphic depictions of torture and dismemberment, Brett maintains, "I don't think anyone should be offended by it. ... I can't understand how women can mistake the book for a how-to on torture and dismemberment." Which brings us to the potentially perilous publishing of Andrew Dice Clay. The upcoming issue of Penthouse reports that the coarse comic's literary agent Frank Weimann has been told by editors at two publishing houses that "all of his projects may be endangered unless he boots the notorious comic from his stable." Weimann is circulating an adults-only book of Clay's famous nasty nursery rhyme parodies, but the agent tells us "a couple of dozen publishers" already have passed on the blue book. Weimann declines to name the editors but says: "I think it was a little

Pro bono work

MARVIN Mitchelson would never admit to being an ambulance chaser, but he's been a limousine driver on occasion. The divorce lawyer was spotted in the driver's seat of a limo in front of the exclusive Beverly Hills bolts, Jerry's, the other night. He was moonlighting for his son, Morgan, who runs a limo service, but couldn't get it in gear because of a nasty cold.

Friendship

THEY couldn't stay married but they've remained friends. Kid Creole and the Coconuts frontman August Darnell helped out on back-up vocals for his blonde bombshell ex-wife and former Coconut Adriana, when she and her band Attitude performed at Tatou's weekly Star Cabaret night on Tuesday. Darnell's current blonde bombshell watched from the audience, as did designer Betsey Johnson, Teukie Smith, rap impresario Russell Simmons and Sade Brown, all at one table. Darnell helped out on



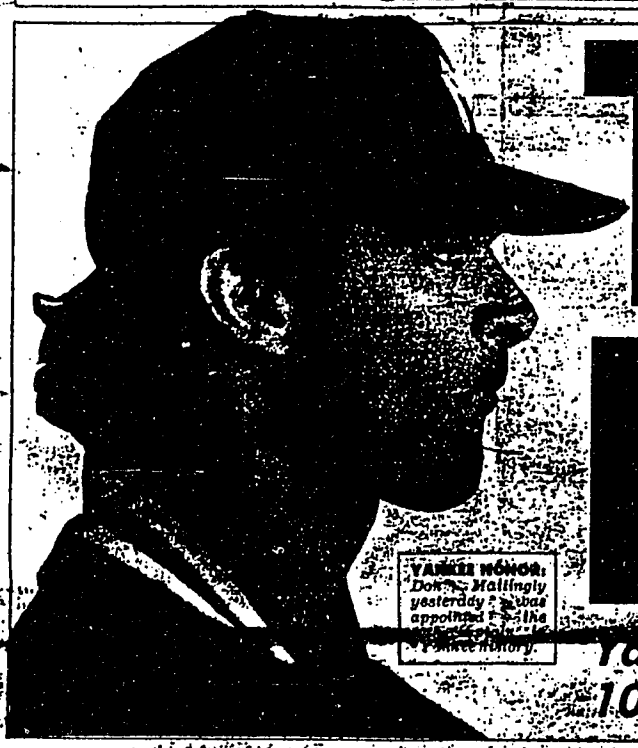
DIANNE: baby boomer?

DIANNE Brill will be bustin' out of her dress for another reason soon. Though the D-cup downtown diva didn't return our calls, we hear she's pregnant. Sources say Brill is about to make Germany her second home and marry the papoose's papa, a mystery man named Peter. We're told he looks an awful lot like her ex-husband, the very German nightclub fixture, Rudolf.

FIG. A-6

FRIDAY, MARCH 1, 1991

NEW YORK POST **Friday Sports Special**



THE DON

Yankees name Mattingly 10th team captain

Joel Sherman
Page 122

IS IT TIME FOR IRISH TO DITCH DIGGER?

MARK KRIEGEL

Page 118



GOODBYE MR. PHELPS? *Notre Dame's 18-17 record has some calling for Digger Phelps' ouster.*

Tonight:
Power Stick Hockey Week 7 PM
The Lou Carnesecca Show 7:30 PM
MSG Boxing: Fight Night 8 PM
MSG Sport-Desk® 11 PM

Saturday:
Big E Basketball
Kansas St. vs. Oklahoma 2 PM
Colorado vs. Missouri 4 PM
Rangers at Toronto 8 PM
MSG Sport-Desk® 11 PM

Sunday:
Atlantic 10 Quarterfinals:
Doubleheaders at 1:30 and 7 PM
MSG Sport-Desk® 11 PM

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TUESDAY, APRIL 2, 1991

NEW YORK POST **Sports**

ROUSON, MORRIS SIGN WITH BROWNS
Rudy Dicks / Page 69

YANKS SAY BYE-B TO BYE-BYE BALBC
John Giannone / F

FIG. A-7

HE'S No. 2



ROGER CLEMENS
Tops salary list.

Doc signs three-year deal, but Roger's still highest paid

John Harper / Page 68



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IN TODAY'S POST – STARTING ON PAGE 14

2113

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 10, 1991
NEW YORK POST
Sports

THE INCREDIBLE BULK GEARS FOR EVANDER
Michael Marley / Page 59

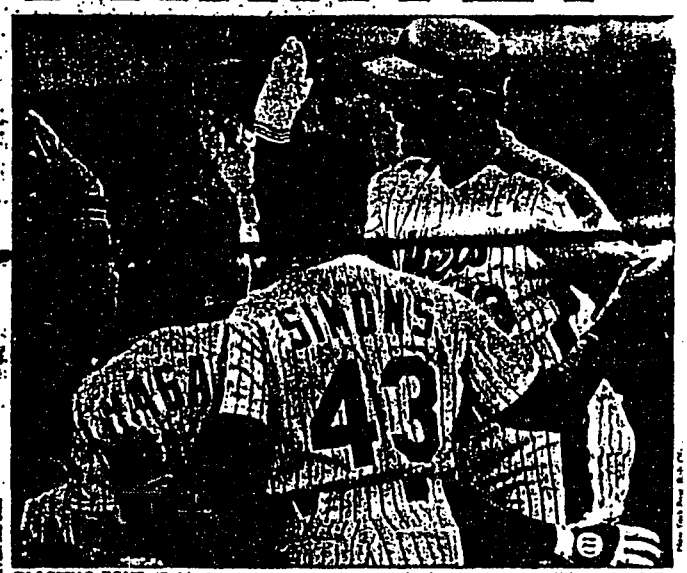
METS' REAL D 678. ER I. CAN
Phil Mushnick / Page

FIG. A-8

HRs by Cerone in 9th, Brooks in 10th foil Phils

WHO NEEDS DARRYL?





BLASTING ZONE: Bubie Brooks (left) watches 10th-inning home run sail into stands for game-winner, made possible by clutch clout in ninth by Rick Cerone, who received hero's welcome (above) in Mets' 2-1 win at Shea yesterday. John Harper has details on Page 62.

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DAILY NEWS
Sports

Sunday, March 29, 1992

FIG. A-9

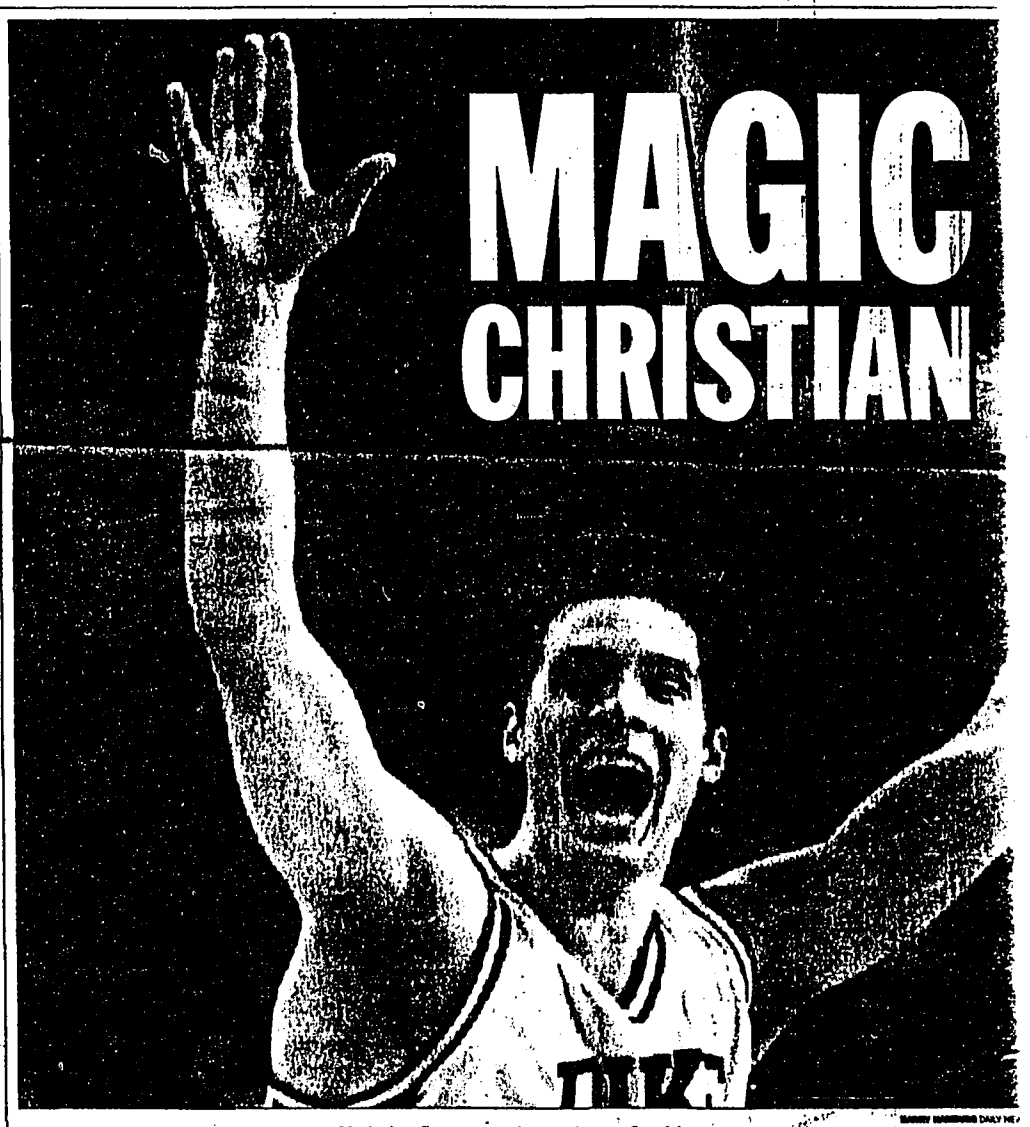
Sports starts on Page 44

679.

Harazin fears silence isn't golden for Mets

SPORTS ONE – Page 48

MAGIC CHRISTIAN



DUKE MIRACLE Christian Laettner whoops it up after his turnaround jumper at the buzzer gave Duke a 104-103 OT victory over Kentucky and a trip to the Final Four. The Blue Devils meet Indiana, a 106-79 winner over UCLA, next Saturday. SPORTS ONE – Page 44

SATURDAY, MARCH 7, 1992

NEW YORK POST

Sports

CONE REMAINS COOL AS EXPOS LIGHT HIM UP
John Harper / Page 48

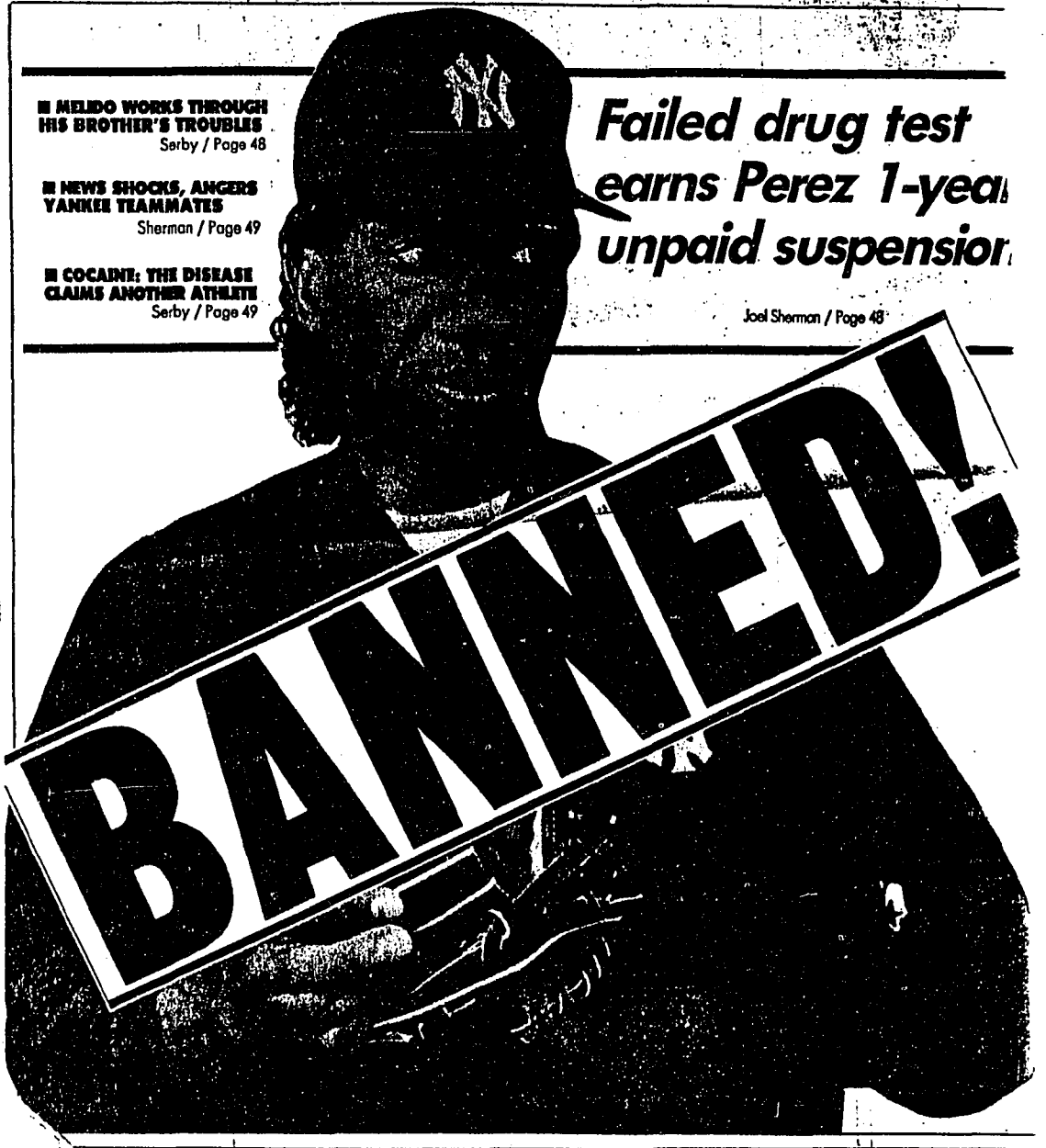
MASC 680 TO BOTT HORNETS' JOHNSO
Dave Hanson / Pag

FIG. A-10

- MELIDO WORKS THROUGH HIS BROTHER'S TROUBLES
  Serby / Page 48
- NEWS SHOCKS, ANGERS YANKEE TEAMMATES
  Sherman / Page 49
- COCAINE: THE DISEASE CLAIMS ANOTHER ATHLETE
  Serby / Page 49

Failed drug test earns Perez 1-yea unpaid suspensior

Joel Sherman / Page 48



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6109

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992

NEW YORK POST

Sports

DOC: ATHLETES SHOULD UNDERGO MORE TESTING
Leonard Lewin / Page 54

LEYLAND MANAGE[R] 681 [K]EEP[S] WIN
Steve Serby / Page

FIG. A-11

GREAT RIGHT HOPE

Bombers' pitch to Militello: Play it again, Sam

Joel Sherman / Page



Sam Militello lets loose during Yanks' 6-0 victory over Red Sox Sunday at Stadium. Militello earned win, going seven innings and allowing one hit.



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Unit III - Conclusion

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