

Introduction

The year 2008 may mark the first time in history that the United States will see a serious minority candidate become a presidential candidate of a major party. Democratic Senator Barack Obama of Illinois has a good chance of making history if he can win the Democratic nomination. Obama's political views are much like other Democrats of this era, but one remarkable feature sets him apart from every other presidential candidate in American history: he is African-American. While the tint of his skin should in no way make a difference in a perfect world, it is significant because the United States has struggled with the issue of race for most of its history. In fact it is ironic that the first African-American presidential candidate would be a Democrat considering that party was once the standard bearer of racism. What may determine Obama's presidential hopes is the South, a region which has struggled to accept the belief that all people are created equal – especially African-Americans.

The South in fact has played a critical role in presidential elections throughout most of American history and has continued to find ways to dominate in Congress as well. The South was once a Democratic stronghold, producing such famous spokesmen and leaders as Speaker of the House Sam Rayburn of Texas, John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, Richard Russell of Georgia, Lyndon Johnson of Texas, Sam Ervin of North Carolina, Andrew Jackson of Tennessee, and many more. Yet today no one would associate the South with the Democrats but instead most would contend that the South has become a solid base for the Republican Party.

In the year 2000, the United States saw two southern presidential candidates from opposing parties: Al Gore, Jr. of Tennessee and George W. Bush of Texas. Al Gore was at that time the Vice President of the United States and had served in both the Senate and the House. Gore's father also had served as a Senator from Tennessee. George W. Bush, the son of former

president George H. W. Bush, while in fact being a blue blood from Connecticut, fashioned himself into the “perfect southerner,” adopting a southern accent, wearing cowboy boots, purchasing a ranch in Crawford and claiming that he was a born again Christian Evangelical. The 2000 election was extremely close and ended up coming down to the controversial electoral votes of Florida, but when the dust settled, Bush had won the election and swept the entire South. Gore had lost his home state of Tennessee as well as President Bill Clinton’s home state of Arkansas. If Gore had won any southern state, he would have become the next president. In the end though, the South determined the election in favor of the Republicans and George W. Bush.

The South has changed political party allegiances to become a stronghold for Republicans in recent times. This is remarkable because 40 or 50 years ago it would have been inconceivable that a majority of Southern states would vote Republican much less that the entire South would vote solidly Republican. How did the South, which was once so solidly Democratic, become a base for the Republicans? How have the Republicans been able to maintain this coalition of Southern states? These are critical questions for understanding the role of the political parties in American politics and the American political scene of today.

The Puzzle

The South is the only region of the United States that has demonstrated an ability to act as a solid voting block in elections. The party which controls the South not only has a much easier path to the presidency but also has a reliable base for electing candidates at the state and local level. In the 1960s, the South began to move away from its support of the Democratic Party. First in 1964, the Deep South voted for Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona. This was an amazing feat considering the Deep South had been so committed to the Democratic Party for such a long period (Theodore White, 1965, 480). Then in 1968, much of the peripheral South

turned Republican by voting for Richard Nixon (Theodore White, 1969, Appendix A). Finally in 1972, Richard Nixon succeeded in sweeping the entire South and taking away the main base of the Democrats (Theodore White, 1973, 500). This new Republican South has been largely maintained by the Republicans to the present, and the Republicans have fundamentally taken over the South at every level of government.

The history of Southern realignment has been addressed before by many political scientists, but these scholars have tended to emphasize the history of racial politics and segregation as the main cause of Southern realignment and do not clearly focus on or delve into the importance of the political parties and their strategies in influencing realignment (Carmines, 1986, 903). While segregation and racial politics no doubt had a major effect on the electorate in the South, it was not the only issue or reason for realignment. Political and historical movements often do not have one easy answer or cause, and the reasons for realignment are multi-factorial and multi-faceted.

One issue that deserves exploration and greater analysis is the role of political party strategy in Southern realignment. For example, there has been little research and literature published on how the Republican Party has been able to maintain this southern coalition to the present. In *The Vital South*, Earl and Merle Black argue that the greater acceptance of the Republican Party in the South created a climate for greater political competition and emphasize the various strategies the Republican Party used to increase their competitive position in the South. However, an examination of the effects of realignment upon elected offices other than the presidency is largely missing from the literature. Yet, the South experienced a major partisan shift at other levels as well, especially as demonstrated by the 1994 Republican Revolution.

The Question

A need exists to examine the aftermath of Southern realignment with an eye to better understanding the role of political strategy as a major factor in southern realignment. If indeed the South has become more competitive and the Republicans have been able to benefit from the increase in competition, then the balance of power in the South remains subject to change over time and the theory of the solid South becomes less likely to survive future political changes.

To fully understand the effects of the changes wrought by Southern realignment, it is important to look at how the realignment in the 1960s and 1970s occurred and how the Republicans have been able to maintain their newly formed coalition for such a long period of time without another realignment or a collapse in support of coalition members. One of the main objectives in this paper is to examine the political parties during this time period and gauge exactly how each reacted. It appears that the Republican and Democratic Parties did play a major role in the southern realignment, but their importance in this process has often been overlooked in the wake of major social conflict in the United States such as desegregation and the Vietnam War. I first explore how the realignment occurred, then examine how the Republicans maintained this new coalition for so long without giving way to another period of realignment, and finally address the potential impact of likely future demographic changes on the continued existence of the Republican domination of the South.

Significance of the Issue

The issue of southern realignment is critical to understanding not only the American political process but also to understanding the significant influence of the South upon the whole country. The South now often holds the key to the control of not only the presidency but also of Congress. In order to win the presidency, a candidate must obtain 270 votes from the Electoral

College (O'Connor, 2006, 473-478). The South alone now holds 153 electoral votes, a number that is more than half that required to become president. In the Congress, the South currently has 131 Representatives, approximately one-third of the House of Representatives, and 22 Senators, approximately one-quarter of the Senate. The Democratic control of Congress was once dependent on that Party's hold on the South, but with the destruction of the Democratic South and the rise of the new Republican South, the Republicans have seen an increase in their power in Congress (Rhodes, 2000, 57).

Southern realignment may appear on the surface to be an obscure issue that has no real relevance today, but, in fact, it still holds a great deal of importance for Americans today. For much of the 20th century, the Democratic Party was the majority party at every level of government in the South. But the Democrats have lost control at every level of government over the past 50 years. How did a party once so dominant in Southern politics fall so far?

The success enjoyed by President George W. Bush, who considers himself a Texan from the South, is a good illustration of how crucial Southern realignment has been in changing U.S. politics nationally. Bush received his strongest support from the South. It would be impossible to imagine a Republican president from Texas a century ago much less any Republican official. For years in the South, the only elections that really mattered were the primaries, because there was only one party: the Democratic Party. Whoever was able to win the nomination of the Democratic Party in the South had an automatic win in the general election. But now, that situation has completely changed, and today the South is dominated by the Republican Party.

Road Map

In this paper I examine the aftermath of Southern realignment with an eye to better understand the role of political strategy as a major factor in Southern realignment. Because of

the political realignment in the South, the Republicans have become more competitive and have eclipsed the Democrats in terms of the number of elected officeholders. I explore what this change has meant for Southern politics and what is likely to be its future.

I also delve into how the Republican Party has been able to maintain this new coalition in the South. I accomplished this by studying the vast amount of literature on this issue that is available and by researching the election data to help interpret changes in voting patterns in the South. Besides using election data, I thoroughly examined the campaigns of both Republicans and Democrats, focusing on their strategies, techniques, and the voters they specifically tried to target. I looked at primaries and conventions to further examine party platforms to help interpret how the parties conducted their various electoral strategies. The specific elections that I will be examining and collecting data from include: 1928, 1948, 1964, 1968, 1972, 1980, 1984, and 1994.

At the beginning of my paper, I delineate the elements I will address and the plan to accomplish the goals described above. Next, I provide background on the culture and history of the South and events leading to realignment in the 1960s. The specific time period I examine is from 1928 through 2006. The 1940s contain the beginnings of realignment and the elections in 1994 and beyond demonstrate how absolute the Republican realignment has become. I follow this with a discussion of major social conflicts in the United States, such as integration and the War in Vietnam, emphasizing how these social upheavals affected the South. Beyond the matter of how the realignment occurred, I examine how the Republicans have maintained this new coalition and what likely future demographic changes may hold for the continued existence of the Republican domination of the South. Specifically I examine how the Republicans exerted extensive effort in trying to maintain the South.

What Is Political Realignment?

What exactly is a political realignment? A political realignment occurs when there is a shift or major change in party coalitions resulting from critical elections. Throughout American history realignments have generally occurred over 36-year cycles. Critical elections occur when voters are polarized by new issues giving rise to a party realignment. According to Jerome Clubb, William Flanigan, and Nancy Zingale “Realignments are seen as producing new patterns of partisan loyalties and as ushering in periods of relative electoral stability based upon a new distribution or alignment of underlying loyalties” (Clubb, Flanigan, and Zingale, 1980, 21). Realignments generally occur when one major party either disintegrates or loses its prominent position in the government for a number of years.

In general, realignment occurs under two different circumstances. First, voters are converted from one party to another by the new issues or sometimes by the character or charisma of a major political candidate. Second, new voters such as immigrants, young voters, and people who have been previously disenfranchised can be mobilized and brought into a new governing coalition. But in due time, a majority party fades away because of the evolution of major issues and the party’s inability to deal with these issues and maintain its original coalition. Thus a partisan realignment occurs as voters join and form new coalitions and parties (O’Connor, 2006, 479-481).

A party realignment is only considered to have happened if there is a major upheaval in the party coalitions. Major partisan realignments occurred in 1860 with the triumph of Abraham Lincoln and the Republican Party and in 1932 with the onset of the Great Depression and the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt (O’Connor, 2006, 479-481). The realignment that occurred after the 1932 election of Roosevelt is considered to be the last confirmed realignment. In this

realignment, voters seeing the failure of President Herbert Hoover in solving the Great Depression formed a new coalition around Franklin Roosevelt and his plan for a New Deal. The Republican Party collapsed into obscurity for a number of years while the Democratic Party formed a new coalition that contained southerners, farmers, immigrants, blue collar workers, and urban cities.

Many people contend that the most recent Republican triumph in the South that occurred with in the 1968 election of Republican Richard Nixon to the presidency was in fact the last major realignment to take place in the United States. In this election, a Republican gained unprecedented support from the South, especially in what is called the “peripheral south” (Black and Black, 1992, 302). And in 1972, for the first time, the Republicans swept the entire South. This event marked the destruction of the Democratic South and a changed nation. The Democrats had always controlled the South which was considered their main base of support over the last century, but suddenly there was a great shift in which voters in the South began to join and align themselves with the Republican Party over the Democratic Party.

Theories of Southern Realignment

Several major theories have evolved about the shift of the South’s partisan alignment from the Democratic Party to the Republican Party. The first major theory is best represented by V.O. Key, Jr. Key, in his study of the South, concluded that while most Southerners formally considered themselves Democrats, they had little in common with the Democratic Party except their shared rejection of the Republican Party of Lincoln that attacked the South and forced Reconstruction upon them. Instead of embracing a political party’s agenda and being a true, one-party region, Key believed that the South’s identification with the Democratic Party was based on tradition and history, specifically the fact that the Republican Party had been responsible for

waging a war against the South, followed by the reviled period of Reconstruction (Key, 1984, 16).

Other authors, such as Republican political strategist Kevin Phillips, build on Key's idea by showing that the South was not solidly Democratic but instead had a steady and growing Republican population in the mountain regions and newly developing urban centers (Phillips, 1969, 32-33, 42). With a rapid change in demographics, there was a growing urban Republicanism in the new cities of the South. As people from the North integrated with the southern population, they brought with them their own beliefs and republicanism that eventually allowed the Republican Party to break through in the South – especially the peripheral South. In essence, this theory argues that politics in the South has become nationalized in that Southern politics no longer relies on the history and tradition spawned from the Civil War. Instead, the South is beginning to reflect and resemble the rest of the country in its issues and politics (Rhodes, 2000, 3).

John Petrocik takes this concept of a nationalized south a step further when he examines the political situation of the United States during the Ronald Reagan Administration in the 1980s. He concludes that Southerners, like Americans across the country, have not necessarily changed their ideology to fit certain parties but have become more willing to participate in open political discussion. This means that southerners along with other Americans have become more open to the same political issues and are willing to vote and support the party which best suits their needs and beliefs (Petrocik, 1987, 367).

This concept of nationalization is unique in that it tries to show that the South has normalized its political beliefs with the rest of the nation's and is no longer focused solely on the past or on one issue. Instead a general plethora of issues that affect people across the United

States have been embraced by Southerners. No longer are southerners dependent on one party to preserve Southern historical tradition and culture, but the South has been absorbed within the broader American tradition.

While this theory holds a certain amount of validity, it does not fully account for the rapid and sudden success that Republicans have had in the South. If the South is truly nationalized and reflective of the United States in general, one would see more extensive competition within the South – especially at the presidential level. Instead the South has transformed into a solid base for the Republican Party. While the South no longer seems solely focused on one issue such as the race issue, and has now become associated with a number of social issues, it still has solidly aligned itself with one party. Instead of any sign of nationalizing, the South has remained solidly in the camp of one party. Some may say that there has been a “Southernization” of American politics as opposed to a nationalization of the South.

A second theory has been developed by Earl Black and Merle Black who have extensively studied the South and southern realignment. Earl and Merle Black’s main theory is that the emergence of the Republican Party in the South has created an environment of competitive democracy. They emphasize the role of the political parties in the realignment of the South, especially the various strategies the Republican Party used to chip away at the solid Democratic South (Black and Black, 1992, 5). The authors argue that the Republican Party purposely set out to capture the South beginning in the presidential election of 1964 with the nomination of Barry Goldwater of Arizona and eventually succeeded in 1972 with Richard Nixon sweeping the South, and that this strategy caused the shift in political allegiance. However, the authors focus primarily on the success of Republicans in the South at the presidential level and do not examine the alignment effects on any other electoral levels (Rhodes,

2000, 3). Yet, as seen especially in the 1994 Republican revolution, there has been a major partisan shift at other levels besides that of the presidency.

Another major theory that the American public and leading political scholars have tended to embrace is the belief that racial issues caused the realignment of the South (Carmines, 1986, 903-909). The Democratic Party began to adopt civil rights in the party platform beginning in 1948, causing a split in that party and leading Governor Strom Thurmond of South Carolina to run for president that year as a third-party candidate. In 1948 Hubert Humphrey, then mayor of Minneapolis, gave a resounding speech supporting civil rights at the Democratic Convention in Philadelphia in which he claimed: "The time has arrived for the Democratic Party to get out of the shadow of states' rights and walk forthrightly into the bright sunshine of human rights" (Caro, 2002, 442). The Democratic Convention voted to add civil rights to the party plank which led to the Mississippi delegation and half of the Alabama delegation to walking out. Many of the other Southern states tried to nominate Senator Richard Russell of Georgia to be the Democratic nominee for president, but Harry Truman was still able to get the nomination.

Delegates from the states of Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina formed the States' Rights Democrat Party in response and nominated Governor Strom Thurmond of South Carolina (Caro, 2002, 444). The goal of the Dixiecrats, as they were called, was not necessarily to win the presidential election but to punish Truman and the Democratic Party and show them that the Democrats could not win without a united south (Black and Black, 1992, 142). This attempt failed, and Truman was reelected as president.

The Democrats passed a civil rights bill in 1957, though the bill was fairly weak and watered down, and the early 1960s saw the rise of a well-organized civil rights movement that protested throughout the South. In 1964, the Democratic Congress led by President Lyndon B.

Johnson passed the monumental Civil Rights Act of 1964 to set in motion the end of southern segregation and racial inequality.

In the election of 1968, the Republican Party made major gains in the South, especially in the peripheral South, and could have made further gains if Governor George Wallace had not run. Eventually, in 1972, the Republicans were able to sweep the entire South in a major victory. The result is presaged by a quote from Lyndon Johnson after the passage of the Civil Rights Act: “I think we just delivered the South to the Republican Party for a long time to come” (Black and Black, 1992, 6). The South, feeling betrayed by the Democratic Party, responded by voting for the Republican Party. This theory has been supported by such political scientists as Edward Carmines, James Stimson, Douglas Gatlin, Nicholas Valentino, and David Sears among others who see the issue of segregation and race as prominently penetrating the voting public, even when it was not the main issue during election (Carmines, 1986, 903).

While segregation and racial politics no doubt had a major effect on the electorate in the South, it was not the only issue or reason for realignment. The political parties, through their strategies to either gain votes in the South, or by neglecting to woo Southern voters, contributed to Southern realignment. Campaign tools were employed to target southern voters by using issues of importance to southerners such as the race issue. For example, when Richard Nixon ran for president in 1968, his campaign targeted Southern voters by specifically attacking the busing policy of desegregation. The Republican Party appealed to the South by exerting extensive effort to help emphasize the issues of race and segregation. Political party strategy played a significant role in southern realignment.

Hypothesis

All these theories delineating the cause of southern realignment appear to hold some validity, and indeed, the reasons for realignment are intertwined and multi-faceted. However, the theories I have researched focus primarily on racial politics and segregation and do not thoroughly examine the role of political strategy nor do they fully explain the current impact of southern realignment on American politics or examine how this new Republican South has been maintained. I will analyze theories concerning the causes of realignment and argue that segregation and race were not the only major reasons for southern realignment. I will focus, as Black and Black have suggested, on how the Democratic Party and Republican Party, in their work to build and expand their coalitions, contributed to a major shift in alignment through changes in policy and strategy, and this contribution does not get the attention it might deserve. I will examine this shift not only on the presidential level but on the local and state levels throughout the entire South, because the changes on all levels impact the present and future political state of the South. An examination at the lower levels of government has not been thoroughly examined due to the clear and more succinct realignment at the presidential level. While realignment at lower levels of government has been harder to see, I will try to show that the realignment that has happened on a national level has in fact also transpired at the lower levels. The Republicans have captured the South at the presidential level but have seemingly captured the majority of lower level offices within the South. Beyond that, I would like to investigate how this coalition has been maintained even as racial issues in the South have become less relevant and what this might portend for current national and local politics. The issue of maintenance of the South by the Republicans has not been readily studied but instead there has been more research and literature on the South while under the Democrats. I plan to

examine how the Republicans have been able to maintain this coalition. As of now I believe that the Republican Party has been able to adapt its ideology to encompass conservative southerners within their coalition. I think that this might involve the adoption by the Republican Party of very conservative policies especially concerning social issues. Mainly my belief is that the Republicans were able to take advantage of a growing evangelical and religious movement that took place during the South in the 1970s and by doing so was able to capture a large percentage of southern voters.

Limitations

The major obstacle in researching and writing this thesis was that it addresses a broad and very complex issue that has to be done in a short amount of time. There is a lot of information about realignment in general and especially Southern realignment. There is a plethora of literature and materials concerning the history and politics of the South but I was unable to read them all. Another major roadblock is the fact that most researchers and political scientists focus on the issue of racial politics and segregation as the most prominent reason for Southern realignment. As such, it was difficult to focus more time on materials dealing with political strategy when other issues make up so much of the literature available, and I needed to sort through all the literature to come to my conclusions. Since the issue of racial politics is so prominent, it was very difficult to find information that might support my hypothesis. There is a much less literature that deals specifically with the political parties and realignment. Another time-consuming project was to gather and interpret raw statistics and determine how the political scientists I researched used statistical data in developing their formulae.

Methodology

Most of my research concerns scholarly works by such researchers as V.O. Key, Jr., Earl and Merle Black, Rhodes, Carmines, and Stimson among others. The most critical data concerning this issue comes from election data during the various state and national elections beginning in 1928 and continuing through 2006 which show how states in the South voted at the presidential, state, and local levels. This data shows how voters in the South reacted to certain strategies and issues during elections and how they shifted from being the core Democratic Party to the Republican Party. By strategy I mean the specific actions that the Republican and Democratic candidates took to target specific voter blocks, such as Barry Goldwater's attempt to attract southerners by emphasizing his stance against the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The major campaigns during this time period took various actions to target voters. Dwight Eisenhower was one of the first Republicans to actually campaign within the South and his visits to the South paid off as he received southern votes largely in the peripheral south. Various Republican leaders and strategists before the 1964 election worked to nominate Barry Goldwater believing that he would have the best chance of capturing the South against the Catholic Kennedy.

While the Republicans were targeting white southern voters, the Democratic Party was trying to expand its own base by targeting minority voters especially African-Americans. After the Republicans had gained a stronghold in the South, the Democrats worked to gain back what they lost. This was mainly seen by their attempt to nominate southern presidential candidates who would be able to appease southern voters and show that the Democratic Party was still a southern party. The nomination of Jimmy Carter as the Democratic candidate in 1976 showed that the Democrats were still trying to regain their losses in the South. Jimmy Carter was the governor of Georgia and a former peanut farmer who seemed to have all the attributes and

beliefs of a southerner. It is also important to examine various surveys to find out what issues have affected what groups during elections. Most of the election data will come from various organizations such as the Dave Leip's Atlas, Federal Election Commission, the Office of the House Clerk, and the various state registrars that can provide critical election information such as how states and precincts voted during elections.

The time period I will be examining is 1928 through 2006. The major or critical elections I examine most closely are the elections of 1948, when the South became splintered with Strom Thurmond's campaign; the 1964 election when the Republicans made a major effort to take the south; the 1968 election when Richard Nixon made the first major strides in the South; the 1972 election when Richard Nixon swept the whole entire South; the 1980 and 1984 elections where Ronald Reagan revolutionized the Republican Party; and the 1994 election where the Republicans were remarkably able to take control of the entire Congress.

Another important area of study is the inspection of the party platforms. The Democrats caused a major split in the party during the election of 1948, when the national Democratic convention chose to add civil rights to its platform. The Republicans have also adapted their party platform, making it more conservative to appease southern voters. The Republicans have taken a very conservative stance on major social issues that over the past 30 years has become extremely important to many southern voters. These issues would include abortion, gay marriage, school prayer, and civil rights among others. The major decisions made during national conventions and the changing of the party platform reveal a great deal about the actions and strategies of the parties, and it is important to look specifically at the campaign strategies and decisions made by candidates. This helped to determine the directions the parties were heading at various times and whom they were trying to appease or target during elections. It also showed

the evolution of issues and party ideology. Much of this information came from speeches and accounts of candidates during the campaigns which could be found in various scholarly works and research. One of the most famous campaign strategies during this time was the Nixon campaign's southern strategy in which Richard Nixon publicly attacked the busing policy to desegregate schools.

I also examined news papers throughout the South. Specifically, I looked at the *Birmingham News*, *Atlanta Journal*, *Charleston News and Courier*, *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, and *New Orleans Time-Picayune*. These newspapers vividly showed the reactions to certain elections and issues of the day. They provided insight into the views of Southerners during the period of realignment. All these papers are from the Deep South. I believed that newspapers from the Deep South were likely to show the strongest reactions to civil rights issues and major elections as opposed to newspapers from the peripheral South which would not be as reactionary and might be less obvious in expressing strong sentiments.

The South as a Distinct Culture

It is important when examining the South to understand the history of the region. The South, as a term defined for use in this research, includes the former eleven states of the Confederate States of America: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. These states do not just share a common region, but they share a common historical tradition and history, namely that of the Civil War. Many other researchers and officials include Oklahoma and Kentucky as part of the South because they share a common economic and cultural situation, but these states lack the deep tradition that evolved from the Civil War (Rhodes, 2000, 13).

The South can be divided into two different regions that have shown slightly different voting patterns throughout their history. First, there is the “upper South” or the “peripheral south” which includes: Arkansas, Florida, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. These states have been most susceptible to political changes and encroachments by differing political parties (Phillips, 1969, 189). The Republicans first saw major successes in this region beginning as early as the 1920s, but especially during the Eisenhower Administration. This is due to the fact that this region is less rural and includes major urban centers such as Dallas, Memphis, Miami, Richmond, and Charlotte. There are also major pockets of mountain settlers who historically had been more resistant to secession and more supportive of the Republican Party. This tradition can be seen particularly in the politics of West Virginia which split from the state of Virginia during the Civil War and which seems to have shown no electoral connection with the rest of the South (Phillips, 1969, 252-255).

These areas have also dealt with the greatest demographic changes from migrating northerners and immigrants. Florida has seen tremendous demographic changes with the influx of northern retirees and immigrants from the Caribbean, especially Cuba (Black and Black, 1987, 16-22). Texas has experienced a growth in Hispanics mainly from Mexico, Central America, and South America. In addition to current changes in its cultural makeup, the history of Texas demonstrates basic cultural and economic differences from other regions of the South. Texas has always had a smaller African-American population, because it depended less on cotton and the subsequent need for slave labor on cotton plantations. One of the major staple crops in this region was tobacco, which did not require much slave labor in the antebellum period (Rhodes, 2000, 13-15).

The other region of the South is widely known as the “deep south” but is also referred to as the “black belt” which gets its name from the rich black soil in the region. The Deep South includes Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina. The Deep South experienced more intense racial politics in the 20th century that provided a contrast to some of the states in the peripheral south. During much of the 19th century, the Deep South was focused primarily on the plantation system and the cash crop of cotton which required a great deal of labor in the form of African slaves (Rhodes, 2000, 13). Due to its focus on cotton, this region has been more rural than other sections of the South, though there have been pockets of urban areas such as Atlanta and New Orleans. With the influx of slave labor needed for the plantation system, these states have coped with large populations of African-Americans. Many whites in the Deep South felt threatened by the large population of African Americans which led to strict racial policies in the latter 19th century and throughout most of the 20th century (Rhodes, 2000, 13). As a result, the Deep South has been extremely supportive of protest candidates such as Governor Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Governor George Wallace of Alabama, both of whom emphasized the need for whites to assert domination over African Americans (Black and Black, 1992, 169).

The South is a unique region in America in its historical tradition and culture. For most of its history, the South has been largely rural and focused on the plantation system, especially in its early colonial days and during the antebellum period before the Civil War. The South has largely been defined by the issue of slavery and later racial politics and segregation. The region’s plantation economy was run mainly by the labor of slaves brought over from Africa. These slaves were considered as property by their white “superior” owners. The treatment of slaves was

often terrible, and Southern states tried to regulate the relationship between master and slave, with many states banning the teaching of slaves to read and write (McPherson, 1988, 40).

Politically, the South has generally formed a united voting bloc. In the earliest two-party elections in the United States between the Federalist Party and the Democratic Republican Party, the South stuck solidly with Thomas Jefferson's Democratic Republican Party (Elkins, 1993, 742). The South in general preferred the party that represented states' rights and less government interference. Thomas Jefferson believed in an American rural society ruled by the Constitution with little interference by the federal government in the affairs of the states. He believed that the United States needed to retain its rural and agricultural tradition as opposed to the revolutionary industrialization seen in Europe. This party platform fit perfectly with the beliefs and ideology of southerners. Thomas Jefferson and James Madison in their respective Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions espoused the theory that states had the right to disregard actions of the federal government affecting the states if the federal government attempted to exercise powers it did not explicitly possess (Peterson, 1970, 624). This helped define the stance of state rights and the theory of nullification. Later Senator John C. Calhoun of South Carolina would further the theory of nullification by declaring that the Tariff of 1828 did not apply to states, such as South Carolina which did not agree with the premises of the bill (Remini, 1990, 194).

With the collapse of the Democratic Republican Party after the 1824 election of President John Quincy Adams, Andrew Jackson of Tennessee, with the help of Martin van Buren, formed the Democratic Party. The South immediately joined the Democratic Party and its emphasis on populism and states' rights (Remini, 1990, 157). While the Democratic Party changed its stance on states' rights and supported an increased role for government during the Franklin Roosevelt Administration, the South still solidly supported the Democratic Party. In fact Roosevelt, in all of

his elections, received the strongest support from the Southern states (Dave Leip). The South would continue to support the Democratic Party until the fall of the Democratic South in 1972.

The Civil War is the era that truly defines the South historically and culturally. After Abraham Lincoln of the Republican Party was elected in 1860, South Carolina seceded from the Union. There had been major disputes over the previous decades and years over the issue of slavery. The Southern states, who used slavery to run their agricultural industry, maintained that slavery was justified in the Bible and provided a stable and nurturing relation between Southern whites and African slaves. The North, which had largely voluntarily banned slavery, saw slavery as a peculiar institution of pure evil that God would never condone (McPherson, 1988, 8). Tensions continued to intensify up to the year 1860 when Abraham Lincoln was able to win the presidential election after the Democratic Party experienced major internal strife.

The Republican Party had formed from the old Free Soil Party and dissatisfied Whigs who sought a party with a strong stance against slavery (McPherson, 1988, 126). The Whigs had been the main competitor to the Democratic Party for most of the Antebellum period but their lack of a stance on the major issue of slavery led to the dissolution of the party. While neither Lincoln nor the Republican Party necessarily believed in the emancipation or equality of blacks, but they did believe that the expansion of slavery needed to end with the new western territories, especially after the bloody battle in Kansas over slavery. Once Lincoln was elected president, this was a sign that the South could no longer maintain its internal institutions and rights. As a result, South Carolina abandoned the Union and was soon joined by Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas. North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia followed in joining the newly formed Confederacy. The Civil War is generally considered to have been caused by

conflicts between the North and the South over slavery among many other issues, including the rights and powers of the states.

After four years of bloody war, as Americans killed their fellow brothers and citizens, the Confederacy was defeated and the Union reunited. But the South had witnessed massive destruction and devastation throughout the region. For example, General William T. Sherman's march from Atlanta to the coastal city of Savannah and his policy of laying waste to the land through which he travelled was especially devastating to Georgia (McPherson, 1988, 825). The South found itself helpless and vulnerable to its conquerors. With the land largely destroyed during the war and many major cities devastated, the South would need many years to rebuild. One of the major concerns of the South was that their slave labor force was suddenly gone and there was no one left to fill the void.

Politics After the Civil War

After the war, the South was put under martial law, and the period of Reconstruction began. At this point in time, the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments to the Constitution were passed putting an end to slavery, giving former slaves citizenship and attempting to give African-Americans the right to vote. With the assassination of President Abraham Lincoln by John Wilkes Booth, Andrew Johnson of Tennessee took control of the nation. President Johnson sought to quickly allow the South to rejoin the Union with little or no punishment. The Congress, under the leadership of House Speaker Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, took over the reins of Reconstruction from the president and sought to implement a tougher policy towards the South.

During this period, the Republicans controlled the South from the local to the presidential level. This was mainly due to the fact that the majority of the white population in the South was disenfranchised. The Republicans were largely supported by the newly franchised black

population within the South. This was a period when African-Americans were able to enjoy the first tastes of political freedom. Blacks often dominated in local and state offices in the South, but whites who were loyal to the Union and the Republican Party dominated the national offices such as that of Senator. In 1876, Reconstruction came to an end with a deal between the Republicans and Democrats, a deal that made Rutherford B. Hayes the President of the United States and which ended Reconstruction.

The South responded to the end of Reconstruction by passing black codes, known as Jim Crow laws, which segregated the South and prevented blacks from voting. At first only the Deep South began to segregate public institutions but by the early years of the 20th century, the entire South was segregated. After the end of Reconstruction, blacks found themselves in a similar situation to that of slavery, where they were tied to the land and found themselves in debt to the white plantation owners. Blacks who were refused the promise of free land by the federal government after the Civil War were forced into sharecropping, which was nearly identical to their former situation as slaves. The only way for blacks to escape damnation in the South was to once again try to flee to the North. In 1896 in the landmark case of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the Supreme Court declared that segregation was legal under a separate but equal guarantee. Segregation would dominate in the South until the 1960s, and blacks would find themselves trapped in an inherently unequal world.

Southerners reacted to their reentry into the Union by throwing even stronger support to the Democratic Party. The feeling in the South was that the Republicans were responsible for the horrors of the Civil War and Reconstruction, and that the Democrats would continue to be the true protectors of Southern interests, just as they had been before the Civil War. The South thus

gave its support to the Democratic Party at every level of government for almost another century (Black and Black, 1992, 37).

Studying the United States Senate, Robert A. Caro showed how the South, by losing the Civil War, won the political war over the Senate. The Senate, throughout most of its history, has been governed by the tradition of seniority. Since the South was so solidly Democratic for such a long period of time with little competition from the Republican Party, Southern Senators found that they had the capability to dominate the Senate (Caro, 2002, 299 and 78). Thus many Southern Senators found themselves in positions of power as heads of powerful committees. One such Senator was James Eastland of Mississippi who chaired the Judiciary Committee. As a devoted racist and segregationist, Eastland was able to destroy many of the civil rights bills that passed through his committee. Even more important was the fact that a solid voting bloc within the Senate had the capability to filibuster any civil rights bill and effectively kill it. This allowed the South to maintain its new peculiar institution of segregation.

The Shift from the Democratic to the Republican Party

Following the end of Reconstruction, the South was a solid base for the Democratic Party, rarely breaking with the party at any electoral level. The shift towards the Republican Party was even more pronounced when President Richard Nixon swept the South in his 1972 reelection bid over Democratic candidate George McGovern. The new trend of the Republican South has continued to the present, and the Democrats have never recouped the electoral advantage in the South they had in previous times. However, the Democrats were able to break this Republican South at the presidential level when they ran southern candidates such as Georgia governor Jimmy Carter and Arkansas governor Bill Clinton. Even though Jimmy Carter lost his reelection to Ronald Reagan in 1980, he still managed to perform strongly in the South

though he only managed to carry the state of Georgia within the South. However, any show of Democratic strength in the South is no longer comparable to that of the Republicans (David Leip).

Although some lingering support remained among Southerners for the name of the Democratic Party and the party continued to enjoy support at more local levels, the presidency of Ronald Reagan accelerated Southern abandonment of the Democratic Party as more Southerners threw away their Democratic ties to become Republicans. Many people still claimed to be Democrats, calling themselves Reagan Democrats, but they basically became Republicans (Black and Black, 1987, 242-249). The Southern realignment at the state and local level did not experience as great a change as that seen at the national level but instead the realignment has been more gradual and even continues to this day. The Republicans truly gained control of the South with the Republican Revolution in 1994, led by Georgia Republican Newt Gingrich. The Republicans succeeded in taking over both the U.S. Senate and the U.S. House of Representatives, largely thanks to the complete control of the South by Republicans.

While the realignment of the South is generally considered to have taken place during the 1960s and early 1970s, it is important to realize that realignment began with major decisions much earlier than that period. The first important date to examine is that of 1928. The Republican Party had dominated during the 1920s. After the end of the Woodrow Wilson Administration and World War I, the Republican Party won the presidency by promising to return the country to a state of normalcy. The Republicans isolated the country from the rest of the world and sought to solely focus on the economy. Their plans seemed to have paid off at the time as the economy was booming and a time of prosperity reigned over the United States. In 1920, Republican presidential candidate Warren G. Harding received the electoral votes of the

state of Tennessee, taking 51.29% of the vote there (Dave Leip). Then in 1928 Republican Herbert Hoover received the electoral votes of Florida, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia winning 56.83%, 54.94%, 53.76%, 51.77%, and 53.91% of the vote respectively (Dave Leip). Table 1 shows the 1928 election results throughout the South.

INSERT TABLE 1

While it is significant that the Republicans were able to take large portions of the peripheral south, it is even more important to consider the Democrats' role in this accomplishment. The Democratic candidate in 1928 was a New Yorker by the name of Alfred Smith. While Smith was not necessarily a typical Democrat, he still embodied the majority of the party's beliefs. Smith also happened to be Catholic, the first time a major party had nominated a Catholic for president. The Democrats, knowing that the Republicans would most likely continue to dominate during the 1920s during a period of great economic prosperity, sought to try to expand their base for future elections. Knowing that the South would most likely continue to stay a solid supporter of the Party in the distant future, the Democrats focused on expanding their support in the North, where the Republicans were in fact strongest at this time. This period, along with the late 19th century, was one of great European immigration to the United States. Most notable were the large number of Catholics immigrating to major northern urban centers. In fact, Smith was able to take the state of Massachusetts which was the home of such Republicans as former President Calvin Coolidge and the Senator Henry Cabot Lodge. While his Catholicism offended many in the South, Smith was able to bring in a significant number of Catholics, especially the Irish and urban dwellers, into the Democratic Party. Although Smith's Catholicism helped attract the immigrant vote to the Democratic Party, it also consolidated anti-

Catholic sentiment, particularly in the South. Virginia, North Carolina, Florida, and Texas all voted Republican for the first time since Reconstruction (Smith, 2007, 227).

With the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932, the Republicans found themselves out of the White House until 1952. In 1929 the Great Depression had hit the United States as the stock market crashed, and President Hoover took the blame. Franklin Roosevelt was able to unite the country with his New Deal and formed what is known as the New Deal Coalition. This coalition was what the Democratic Party was hoping to form in the past. The coalition mainly consisted of the solid Democratic South and the newly captured North especially the Northeast. While Roosevelt's New Deal did not necessarily complement the beliefs of the South, the South had been hit extremely hard by the Depression and was willing to accept the massive aid provided by the federal government. In fact this was the first time in history that the South received more federal aid than it gave back in taxes. The South strongly backed Roosevelt largely because of his fight against the Depression and his patriotic leadership in World War II.

The South, during this period, was mainly concerned with maintaining segregation. Most elected officials from the South were generally determined racists and willing to do anything to protect the South from another invasion from the federal government. Most successful politicians in the South were dedicated segregationists, while those who campaigned on issues other than segregation were often left out. George Wallace, considered one of the most infamous and staunchest defenders of segregation as governor of Alabama, lost his bid to become governor in 1958 after campaigning on more populist issues. After his loss to John Patterson in that election, Wallace claimed "John Patterson out-niggered me and I'm never going to be out-niggered again" (Bullock and Rozell, 1998, 70) The next time Wallace ran for governor he would preach the segregation line so that he would not experience defeat again. Others such as Richard Russell of

Georgia refused to display such fierce racism on the national level, and tried to fight civil rights legislation on the national level by using the language of states' rights versus federal encroachment.

In this same period, the black vote was becoming critical, especially in urban areas in the north. African-Americans had largely voted for the Republican Party after the Civil War, seeing Abraham Lincoln and the Republicans as their saviors. Yet during the Great Depression and the Roosevelt Administration, most African-Americans once again shifted their vote to the Democrats after seeing how Roosevelt's New Deal helped to aid blacks. But after Roosevelt died and Harry S Truman became president, blacks were once again willing to test the other political party. During this period the Democrats had been able to control the House of Representatives, the Senate, and the White House. Many northern Democrats were able to get elected with the help of newly acquired votes from African-Americans, but as the Democrats failed to perform on the issue of civil rights, many blacks began to switch back to the Republican Party (Caro, 2002, 773-774). This led to a battle between the Democrats and Republicans over the black vote.

Harry S Truman, who had been a little known Senator from Missouri before becoming Vice President, became the president of the United States after the death of Franklin Roosevelt. Truman, who had only been vice president for several months when Roosevelt died, had been largely kept in the dark on most of the major Roosevelt Administration policies and operations, so when he became President, he faced a major learning curve. It was during Truman's tenure as president that the Cold War began between the United States and the Soviet Union. The South found itself up in arms against communism and was very susceptible to the anti-communist rhetoric coming from the Republican Party. In later years many civil rights activists would be accused by southerners and proponents of white superiority of being communist. After many

years of Southern leaders as head of the major military committees in the Congress, especially the Arms Services Committee, many in the South relied on the military for their well being. Georgia, with the guidance of Senator Richard Russell and Representative Carl Vinson, heads of the Armed Services Committee respectively in the Senate and House of Representatives, found itself dependent on the military. The military and American patriotism became a way of life in the South.

1948 – A Critical Turning Point

Nineteen Forty-Eight is perhaps one of the most important years concerning the evolution of southern realignment. Running for re-election, Truman was not terribly popular, and many predicted that Republican Thomas Dewey would win the presidential election. The election was likely to be very close, and it was important for the Democrats to try and maintain as many black supporters from the north to help Truman win. In order to gain this needed support, Truman had to risk the displeasure of the South and announced in January of 1948 that by executive order segregation would come to an end within the civil service and the military. On July 26, 1948, Executive Order 9981 ended segregation in the military.

The 1948 Democratic National Convention was in Philadelphia, where the Democrats hoped to propose a moderate civil rights plank that would not offend the South but would attract black voters to the Democratic Party. The Democrats, though, did not expect to have to deal with the young Minneapolis Mayor Hubert Humphrey, who was dedicated to the cause of civil rights. Humphrey delivered perhaps the most significant and meaningful speech of his life at the convention when he said:

“To those that say that we are rushing this issue of civil rights — I say to them, we are one hundred and seventy-two years late. To those who say this bill is an

infringement on states' rights, I say this — the time has arrived in America. The time has arrived for the Democratic Party to get out of the shadows of states' rights and walk forthrightly into the bright sunshine of human rights. People! Human beings! — this [civil rights] is the issue of the twentieth century. In these times of world economic, political and spiritual — above all, spiritual — crisis, we cannot and we must not turn back from the path set so plainly before us. That path has already led us through many valleys of the shadow of death. Now is the time to recall those who were left on the path of American freedom. Our land is now, more than ever before, the last best hope on earth. I know that we can — know that we shall — begin here the fuller and richer realization of that hope — that promise — of a land where all men are truly free and equal” (Caro, 2002, 443).

The delegates of the northern states, and especially those from Minnesota, erupted in cheers and applause after Humphrey's eloquent address on civil rights. The convention voted and eventually decided to adopt a stronger civil rights plank in the party platform. When the balloting for the presidential nominee began, the delegation from Mississippi and half the delegation from Alabama walked out of the convention. The Southern states that remained at the convention decided to nominate their own candidate for president, Richard Russell, but Truman was still able to win the nomination. The result of the addition of the civil rights to the party platform was the formation of a protest party called the States' Rights Democratic Party (more commonly known as the “Dixiecrats”) led by Governor Strom Thurmond of South Carolina.

The Dixiecrats believed that if they formed a strong third party, they would be able to take critical votes from the Democrats in the South, allowing Dewey to win the election and

punishing the Democratic Party for their support of civil rights. This marks the first example of a protest candidate in this period. Strom Thurmond and the Dixiecrats were expressly protesting the Democratic Party and seeking to punish the entire party for its insolence. However, the Dixiecrats overestimated their popularity throughout the South and were only able to take four southern states: Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina (Dave Leip). While Truman still was surprisingly able to win the general election, the Dixiecrats showed how the South was susceptible to change and willing to leave the Democratic Party if it meant preserving its beliefs. The first chinks in the armor of the Solid South began to show themselves to the politically astute world.

Eisenhower Becomes the Link between the South and the Republican Party

Truman left office in 1953 as a very unpopular president as the result of a costly and stalemated war in Korea. The election of 1952 featured a battle between Democratic Governor Adlai Stevenson of Illinois and Dwight D. Eisenhower, the leader of the Allied forces in World War II. While both Democrats and Republicans had tried on previous occasions to get Eisenhower, a popular general, to run for president on their party's ticket, Eisenhower had refused, but in 1952 he decided to throw his hat in the ring as a Republican. As the leader of the United States in the war in Europe, Eisenhower was seen by many not as a Republican but as a true American hero. Eisenhower was from Kansas and had been born in the state of Texas and was not necessarily seen as a northerner and so was acceptable to many in the South. In fact he was very popular throughout the South as an American war hero. With Eisenhower in their camp, the Republicans could start to distance themselves from their image as the enemy of the South.

Eisenhower, during his presidential campaign, made a decision to campaign in a few Southern states, despite the fact that these states were considered to be very unfriendly to the Republican Party. Eisenhower campaigned in areas of the peripheral south, including states such as North Carolina and Texas, and was greeted by Southerners with open arms. In the 1952 election, Eisenhower not only won most of the country but also broke through in the southern states and received the electoral votes of such southern states as Florida, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. He was also competitive in many other southern states such as Arkansas and North Carolina (Dave Leip).

During the 1952 presidential election, Senator Richard Russell decided to try his luck and make a run for the presidency. No Southern politician had won the office of the president since the Civil War, and Russell as a popular Southerner, who believed himself to be popular among northerners as well, decided to try to break this trend. While he performed successfully in the Southern primaries, he found he could not win any of the Northern primaries. Russell was unable to win the Democratic nomination. Adlai Stevenson won it instead as someone who was more acceptable to Northerners.

In 1956 many Americans were not sure whether Dwight Eisenhower would be willing to run again for president after experiencing heart troubles during his previous term (Ambrose, 1990, 413). This indecision on Eisenhower's part gave Senator Lyndon Johnson the idea of running for president. He ran for the Democratic nomination as the favorite son of Texas, but he ran into the same problem as had Russell in 1952, discovering that he was not acceptable to many northern Democratic politicians and union leaders. Once again the Democratic Party decided to nominate Adlai Stevenson. Eisenhower decided to run for re-election and once again made himself a formidable foe to the Democratic nominee. Eisenhower decided to campaign

again in the South and discovered that he was even more successful in 1956. Eisenhower was able to take the Deep South state of Louisiana and performed admirably throughout the South except in the other Deep South states. It seemed from this point forth that there was a good chance the Republicans might successfully challenge the Democrats in the South. While this turn of events foreshadowed future changes, it was still premature to think the South had switched its allegiance to the Republican Party. Eisenhower had been successful in the South mainly because of his temperament and governing style, but also because he was a popular war hero throughout the country. Table 2 shows election results for 1952 and 1956 throughout the South.

INSERT TABLE 2

The Impact of *Brown v. Board of Education*

Several major events occurred during the Eisenhower Administration that were pertinent to the South and important in the context of Southern realignment. The first major event occurred on May 17, 1954 when the Supreme Court, led by Eisenhower-appointee Chief Justice Earl Warren, unanimously declared in the landmark decision of *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* that segregation in the schools was inherently unequal and unconstitutional. The Supreme Court later added that schools throughout the nation needed to integrate with “all deliberate speed.” Eisenhower was furious with the decision and felt betrayed by Warren. He believed that the Supreme Court should have no authority to dictate law to the states, but as president he found himself in a position in which he had to uphold the Constitution (Ambrose, 1990, 419).

The Brown decision led to major changes in the South – perhaps not the intended immediate integration of schools, but the beginning of a massive protest movement by southern blacks. The next year in 1955, the Civil Rights Movement would be born when on December 1,

1955, Rosa Parks was arrested in Montgomery, Alabama, for refusing to give up her seat to a white man on the bus. This led to the creation of a year-long bus boycott and the discovery of a small minister named Martin Luther King, Jr (Garrow, 1986, 17).

The next major event occurred in 1957, when Little Rock, Arkansas, attempted to integrate its main high school, Little Rock Central High School. Governor Orval Faubus, who was believed at the time to be a more moderate southern governor, tried to prevent the integration of the school by claiming that there would be violence, and insisting more time would be needed if the schools were to integrate. Faubus used the Arkansas police and National Guard to prevent integration at any cost. Eisenhower was forced to go against his own beliefs in order to protect the Constitution and the sanctity of the Supreme Court, and sent the National Guard to Little Rock to protect the nine black students seeking to go to school at Little Rock Central High School. Many Southerners saw this action by the federal government as the second Reconstruction as federal troops were once again used against the southern states (Branch, 1988, 224).

Civil Rights and Political Agendas

One of the most important events that took place during this time was a battle over a little known civil rights bill in 1957. Earlier in 1956, Attorney General Herbert Brownell had designed a strong civil rights bill that would allow the Justice Department to prosecute Southerners who prevented African-Americans in the South from practicing their rights. This bill was artfully killed by Southerners, with the specific help of James Eastland of Mississippi who used his power as head of the Senate Judiciary Committee to prevent it from becoming law.

After the election of 1956, many Democrats began to see how important the civil rights battle was as a major focus and responsibility of the party as many African-Americans voiced

their displeasure with the Democrats' ineptitude in the battle for the civil rights and voted Republican. Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, majority leader of the Senate, after attempting to run for president in 1956 experienced firsthand the importance of civil rights, especially to constituents within the North. Johnson decided that a new civil rights bill would need to be passed, yet it also would need to be one that would not raise the ire of the South and lead to a filibuster. Johnson wanted to become president of the United States one day, but the only way he could achieve this was to appease northern liberals by passing a civil rights bill.

While the Democrats prepared to pass their own civil rights bill, the Republicans, under the leadership of Herbert Brownell, also sought to pass their own version of a civil rights bill. The Republicans, much like the Democrats, believed that they would be able to gain substantial support in the north if they passed a civil rights bill and would be able to retake the African-American vote. The battle for civil rights on the Republican side would be led by Senate minority leader William Knowland of California, who was seeking to become governor of the state, and Vice President Richard Nixon, while the Democrats would find an unlikely leader in Lyndon Johnson (Branch, 1988, 220).

The 1956 civil rights bill was reintroduced in January 1957 and was known as the Brownell Bill (Loevy, 1997, 26). The feeling in Washington was that for the first time the bill stood a good chance of passage. It seemed likely that there were enough votes to cut off debate through a cloture motion and prevent any filibuster by southern senators. The Republicans seemed to have the upper hand at this point but the Democrats to succeed would not just have to pass a bill but pass one that would not result in a filibuster that would divide the party.

Johnson's main concern with the bill was Part III, which was the heart of the bill and covered many issues, including segregation. This part would somehow have to be cut in order to

prevent a southern filibuster. The bill was sent to the Senate Judiciary Committee, where Eastland was still chairman and would do whatever it took to delay or kill the bill. On June 18, the House of Representatives finally passed H.R. 6127, the Brownell Bill, sending it to the Senate. Johnson needed time to gather together senators to help pass a bill that would best suit his needs. To delay the bill, he had to keep the bill in committee by preventing a motion to put the civil rights bill on the calendar. He obtained the necessary votes by guaranteeing Southern support to a group of Western senators concerned with public power in exchange for that group's willingness to vote with the South and Johnson on civil rights. Thus, when a bill to build a federal dam in Hell's Canyon, a canyon on the border of Oregon and Idaho, came up, it passed the Senate with Southern votes, and the motion to put the Brownell Bill on the calendar did not pass. The bill eventually was placed on the Senate calendar, but Johnson had created a new alliance between the Westerners and Southerners (Caro, 2002, 909).

In a major speech, Russell warned of the effects the legislation might have:

“The bill is cunningly designed to vest in the attorney general unprecedented power to bring to bear the whole might of the federal government, including the armed forces if necessary, to force a commingling of white and Negro children in the state supported schools of the South” (Caro, 2002, 916).

He also suggested that President Dwight Eisenhower was not familiar with its provisions, causing Eisenhower to rethink his support and further delaying Senate consideration of the Brownell Bill. Eisenhower wanted the bill to focus solely on voting rights and was not prepared to support a much broader bill (Loevy, 1997, 30). This delay provided Johnson with further ammunition and allies in his fight to obtain a compromise bill. Russell also helped Johnson by holding off a filibuster by Southern senators. Russell dreamed of electing a Southerner as

president and he had pinned his hopes on Johnson. As a result, Russell was willing to do just about anything to help Johnson's political career.

On July 8, Senate Minority Leader William Knowland of California convened the Senate to consider his motion to bring the civil rights bill to the floor. The motion soon became bogged down by southern attacks and extensive debate (Drury, 1957, 1). After Russell and Johnson met with Eisenhower, Eisenhower reiterated his wish that the bill focus only on voting rights, giving Johnson a few more allies in the Senate. After a considerable number of days debating the motion and trying to amend the bill, Johnson convinced Democratic Senator Clint Anderson of New Mexico to introduce an amendment with Republican Senator George Aiken of Vermont that would eliminate Part III. The introduction by two moderates from different parties gave Johnson the extra votes he needed and the amendment passed (Caro, 2002, 939). The bill was then sent to the floor for debate (William White, July 17, 1957, 1).

The focus of the Senate now was on Part IV of the civil rights bill, which dealt solely with voting rights. But in order to pass the bill, Johnson felt he needed to maintain the support of the South by creating an amendment calling for anyone prosecuted for violating the civil rights of a voter to have a trial by jury. Southern all white juries would surely never convict anyone in the South with crimes against civil rights. This would help placate Southerners but it would be extremely difficult to find enough votes to pass the amendment. In seeking broader support for the amendment, Johnson concluded that it could be expanded to overcome a provision of the Taft-Hartley Act which limited the right to a jury trial for workers involved in a union-called strike. With this amendment, Johnson began to attract more supporters. Johnson cajoled Senate members, using ruthless tactics and delaying important bills, forcing senators, whose political

fortunes depended on these pet projects, to wait. The only way to prevent a Southern filibuster and passage of a civil rights bill was to pass the jury trial amendment.

The amendment faced numerous ups and downs before it finally passed. After Johnson shrewdly maneuvered to win needed support, it soon became apparent that he did not have the votes, that the amendment would not pass, and that a filibuster would ensue. Labor unions, dedicated to civil rights, were not willing to support the amendment. However, Johnson then discovered that Cyrus Tyree Anderson, the chief lobbyist for the Railroad Labor Association, supported the jury amendment and was willing to use his clout to help pass it. Around the same time, the United Mine Workers also stepped up in support of the jury amendment. Senator Frank Church of Idaho was then able to develop an addendum to the amendment which repealed the section of the United States Code preventing citizens who did not meet state qualifications for jury duty from serving on federal juries. This provided further support for the amendment by creating a new civil right: the right to serve on a jury. Johnson then began directing the railroad association's lobbying efforts to better target individual senators. He orchestrated the Senate debate by choosing the best senators to speak on the amendment and having Church introduce his addendum at the perfect moment. Everything went according to plan and the amendment passed 51-42 (Caro, 2002, 987).

Now all that was left was getting the whole bill passed. The bill quickly passed the House on August 27 by a vote of 279-97 and was sent to the Senate. In the Senate, the only obstacle the bill faced was South Carolina Senator Strom Thurmond's one-man 24-hour filibuster. The bill eventually passed in the Senate and was signed into law by President Eisenhower (Kenworthy, 1964, 1). Johnson had somehow managed to pass the first civil rights act in 80 years while retaining power at the same time, and the Democrats were able to win the battle against the

Republicans for civil rights. The Democrats were able to hold the title of the champions of civil rights for the time being. William Knowland lost his bid for the governorship of California in 1958 and Richard Nixon lost his presidential bid in 1960 to John F. Kennedy.

The Election of 1960

The 1960 election was one of the most controversial elections in United States history, with John Kennedy barely defeating Richard Nixon and regaining the White House for the Democrats. Richard Nixon continued the trend of Republican victories in peripheral southern states as he received electoral votes from Florida, Tennessee, and Virginia. Also, Harry F. Byrd of Virginia, who was a Democratic senator, received electoral votes from the whole state of Mississippi and even some votes from Alabama. When the Electoral College met to ratify the results of the election, some electors in the South, especially those from Alabama and Mississippi, tried to obtain unpledged electors who could influence the outcome. This effort led to Byrd receiving several additional electoral votes (Dave Leip).

One reason Kennedy won the presidential election was his involvement in reaching out to Martin Luther King, Jr. King had been arrested in Atlanta for his participation in a sit-in and was being sent to a maximum security prison. Kennedy was convinced by his advisors that it would be smart to call King's wife, Coretta Scott King, and express his condolences. Later, Kennedy's brother, Robert F. Kennedy, made an important phone call to the judge in King's case demanding that King be released. This helped lead to King's father, also named Martin Luther King and a prominent Atlanta minister, to publicly announce his support for Kennedy instead of Nixon (Garrow, 1986, 147). The Democrats spread the word of Kennedy's aid to and sympathy for Martin Luther King, Jr. and attacked Nixon's refusal to respond or act on the side of King. The Democrats gained critical black votes in the North as a result, which provided enough of a

margin to gain a victory. Even though Kennedy won the election and had a powerful Southerner on his ticket in Vice President Lyndon Johnson of Texas., Nixon still performed strongly in the South. Table 3 shows support for the presidential candidates throughout the South.

INSERT TABLE 3

The Southern Response and Civil Unrest

While in office Kennedy did little to help the cause of civil rights while he focused on trying to maintain the support of the South for the 1964 presidential elections. The Kennedy Administration, like the Eisenhower Administration, had to deal with change and racial violence in the South. One of the first episodes involved James Meredith, who was attempting to gain access to the University of Mississippi. Armed with a ruling from the federal courts, Meredith tried to register but was prevented from doing so by Governor Ross Barnett. The Kennedy Administration tried to negotiate with Barnett, but he refused to allow Meredith to register. Federal marshals were sent to the University of Mississippi in Oxford to make sure Meredith could register without interference from the state, but the presence of federal marshals set off riots in Oxford where three were killed and many were wounded. Kennedy, like Eisenhower, was forced to send in federal troops to prevent further outbreak of violence and protect Meredith (Branch, 1988, 670-671).

Kennedy also had to deal with the violence directed against the Freedom Rides. The Freedom Rides were organized by the Congress for Racial Equality (CORE) to test the Supreme Court ruling of *Morgan v. Virginia* making segregation on interstate transportation illegal. The freedom riders had little trouble until they reached Anniston, Alabama, where a bus was burned and many freedom riders were brutally beaten and injured. Just when it seemed the freedom rides would end, students from Nashville, Tennessee, and from the recently formed Student Non-

violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), traveled to Alabama to continue them. These new freedom riders experienced intense violence, especially in Montgomery, where riots forced Governor John Patterson to declare martial law. Robert Kennedy, while fearing the impact of violence on President Kennedy's European tour and at the same time not wanting to offend the South, struck a deal with Senator James Eastland of Mississippi. The deal declared that no freedom riders would be harmed in Mississippi, but the state would be allowed to illegally enforce segregation. Thus when the freedom riders arrived in Mississippi, they were immediately arrested (Branch, 1988, 476).

In 1963, with the next presidential election looming, Kennedy decided to visit Dallas in hopes of maintaining the support of Texas. Even though Texas was Southern state and the home state of Lyndon Johnson, the Republicans were beginning to break through the barrier of the Solid South and make major gains in the South. Kennedy was assassinated while traveling in his motorcade in Dallas. Lyndon Johnson took the oath of office immediately and prepared to shock and change the nation as the president.

A Southerner Ascends to the Presidency and A Landmark Civil Rights Bill Passes

Shortly after becoming president, Johnson reaffirmed his commitment to civil rights legislation in his November 27, 1963, speech to a joint session of Congress. In that speech he emphasized the importance of moving forward with the Kennedy agenda, telling members of Congress that "no memorial oration or eulogy could more eloquently honor President Kennedy's memory than the earliest possible passage of the civil rights bill for which he fought so long. We have talked long enough in this country about equal rights. We have talked for one hundred years or more. It is time now to write the next chapter, and to write it in the books of law." He reminded the audience of his own role in civil rights legislation, noting that "I urge you again, as

I did in 1957 and again in 1960, to enact a civil rights law so that we can move forward to eliminate from this Nation every trace of discrimination and oppression that is based upon race or color” (United States, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Lyndon B. Johnson, 1963-64. Vol. I* 9).

Johnson was able to use the death of Kennedy and his own sheer political will and power to maneuver a strong civil rights bill through the Congress. Even though Southern senators tried to defeat the bill by filibustering, for the first time cloture succeeded. A vote on cloture was taken June 10, 1964. Illinois Senator Everett Dirksen was the last senator to speak, and told his colleagues that “stronger than all the armies is an idea whose time has come. The time has come for equality of opportunity in sharing in government, in education, in employment. It will not be stayed or denied. It is here.” Forty-four Democrats and 27 Republicans voted in favor of the bill, four more than the 67 votes needed to close off debate. Perhaps the most dramatic moment in the voting came when California Senator Clair Engle, dying from a brain tumor, was wheeled on to the floor, pointing to his eye as he cast his “aye” vote for cloture (Oberdorfer, 2003, 235).

Johnson signed the bill at the White House before a live television audience July 2. Johnson told the audience that “we believe that all men are entitled to the blessings of liberty. Yet millions are being deprived of those blessings – not because of their own failures, but because of the color of their skin . . . But it cannot continue. Our Constitution, the foundation of our Republic, forbids it. The principles of our freedom forbid it. Morality forbids it. And the law I will sign tonight forbids it.” He asked Americans to “close the springs of racial poison” and said that “this Civil Rights Act is a challenge to all of us to go to work in our communities and our States, in our homes and in our hearts, to eliminate the last vestiges of injustice in our

beloved country” (United States, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Lyndon B. Johnson, 1963-64. Vol. II.* 842-844).

Even in victory, Johnson was unsure of the impact the landmark civil rights legislation would have on the country. In an early comment on the political implications of the legislation, Johnson told press secretary Bill Moyers on the evening he signed the bill that “I think we just delivered the South to the Republican party for a long time to come” (Dallek, 1998, 120).

Southern Realignment and Political Party Strategy

Many political scientists see the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 as the key to Southern realignment. It clearly played a major role in that realignment, but it also was clear that the Democrats over the years had been ignoring the South while focusing on expanding their political base in the North and among black voters. The Republicans, on the other hand, seeing the success that Eisenhower had in the South, continued to build upon this and hoped to one day be able to take the South from the Democrats. After the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Republicans saw little chance to make gains among African-Americans and recognized that the Democrats possessed a majority claim on black support.

It is important to note that most Southern Democrats were basically just Democrats in name and now had more in common with the Republicans and their stance in promoting smaller and more localized government. These Democrats were remnants of the old guard of the Democratic Party, and had yet to adopt and adapt to the new Democratic Party that had been molded by Franklin Roosevelt during the Great Depression. Thus Southerners were very vulnerable to change despite some Democrats’ strong belief that the South and the Democratic Party were one and the same.

Birth of the “Goldwater Republican” in the South

In 1964, the Republicans decided that this time they would take the South directly from the Democrats. In the belief that the opposing candidate would be an unpopular John F. Kennedy, a group of conservative Republicans sought to have Barry Goldwater of Arizona nominated for president. The belief was that Kennedy's Catholicism and unpopularity, combined with Goldwater's conservatism and his stance against civil rights, would lead to a Republican victory in the South. Goldwater, while in Atlanta in 1961, said, “We're not going to get the Negro vote as a bloc in 1964 and 1968 so we ought to go hunting where the ducks are” (Black and Black , 1992, 150). At the time, conservatives in the Republican Party thought that Goldwater would be able to maintain Republican bases in the West and Midwest while adding the South to the arsenal. Despite the death of Kennedy and the nomination of Johnson as the Democratic candidate for president, Goldwater received the nomination for the Republicans and a new strategy to capture the South was put into effect.

Lyndon Johnson was a different opponent than John Kennedy would have been for Barry Goldwater. Though Johnson's support on the issue of civil rights would prove hurtful in the South, Johnson, with his monumental passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the martyrdom of Kennedy, found himself in a position to take the country by storm. Goldwater was not fazed by his opponent and went straight for the heart of the Democratic Party: the South. Goldwater campaigned throughout the South, which used its support of Goldwater to openly display its displeasure with the Democrats and its own segregationist beliefs. Whites throughout the South fled the ranks of the Democratic Party in order to support Goldwater. A segregationist paper called *The White Sentinel* not only endorsed Goldwater for president but also accused Johnson of planning to allow mob rule by African-Americans throughout the nation (“Johnson's Goal-Negro

Mob Rule,” 1964). While Goldwater refused to openly support segregation, he campaigned on the fact that he voted against the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and did not believe the federal government had a right to interfere in the affairs of individual states. Goldwater began setting the stage for the Republicans to become the true party and defenders of states’ rights.

In September 1964, Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina made the decision to switch parties and become a Republican, claiming that he was a “Goldwater Republican.” Thurmond declared that “the Democratic Party has abandoned the people...It has repudiated the Constitution of the United States. It is leading the evolution of our nation to a socialistic dictatorship” (Black and Black, 1992, 152). Goldwater later campaigned in the South with Thurmond, who praised Goldwater as someone who “risked the ire of the liberal, left-wing, socialist establishment of this country — even in his own party — in order to stand by his convictions as to the meaning and intent of the founding fathers” (Black and Black, 1992, 153). The *Charleston News and Courier* in endorsing Barry Goldwater for president had this to say:

“We do not know when Americans again will have such a clear-cut choice between constitutionality and state socialism tinged with corruption and squalid morality. The *News and Courier* rejoices that Barry Goldwater’s name is on the ballot in South Carolina. It gives the people an opportunity to choose. This opportunity may not come their way soon again” (“Choice for Americans,” A8).

As the campaign neared its end, Goldwater, trying to consolidate and solidify his support in the South, gave a televised speech in Columbia, South Carolina, attacking the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and standing with a number of well-known segregationists. During his speech Goldwater denounced the Civil Rights Act of 1964 as “unfair discrimination in the private affairs of men” (“Barry Denounces ‘Unfair’ Rights Act,” 1964, A2).

Lyndon Johnson tried to maintain Democratic support in the South, but found himself unpopular in many southern quarters. Johnson's wife "Lady Bird" Johnson took a tour of the South as she campaigned for her husband, but she found that most people were not willing to welcome their newly found enemies. Johnson had gained the black voting bloc throughout the South and the nation as a whole, but he lost the critical voting bloc of Southern whites, who had been captured by the Goldwater campaign.

Goldwater performed very well in the South, especially the Deep South but also in traditional Republican strongholds such as the mountainous regions. He performed well mostly among white southerners, but he was unsuccessful in the rest of the country and lost ground that had been gained by Eisenhower and Nixon in the peripheral South, mainly because Johnson had worked to portray Goldwater as a radical who would take the United States to the brink of a nuclear war. Philip Converse, Aage Clausen, and Warren Miller argued that, "civil rights, while the primary issue in the South, was not the only one. Beyond civil rights, Southerners reacted negatively to the Goldwater positions much as their fellow citizens elsewhere. Many Southern white respondents said in effect: 'Goldwater is right on the black man, and that is very important. But he is wrong on everything else. I can't bring myself to vote for him'" (Black and Black, 1992, 208). An article in the *Birmingham News* showed the extent of the Republican victory in Alabama when Hugh Sparrow wrote:

"Alabama voters have torn the formerly invincible Democratic party up by the roots in a stunning political revolt felt in every corner of the state.

The tidal wave left Gov. George C. Wallace all but completely stranded his political position even more uncertain than it was a week ago.

Voter frustration reached all the way down to the precinct level, bowling over Democratic constable candidates as well as courthouse officials and congressmen” (Sparrow, 1964, A1)

While Goldwater failed in his attempt to become president, he did succeed in fomenting a Republican revolution in the South. Table 4 shows a breakdown of 1964 election results in the South.

INSERT TABLE 4

A New Era for the Democratic and Republican Parties

The period after 1964 is when the Democratic and Republican Parties began to define themselves as they are known today. One of the first steps the Democratic Party took after the election of 1964 was an attempt by liberals in the House of Representatives to purge conservative Southerners who had betrayed the Party in support of Goldwater. The Democrats were quickly beginning to define themselves in the public image as the liberal party as conservative members were swept to the side (“House Liberals Move to Purge Southerners,” 1964). Once settled into the presidency and having been elected in his own right, Johnson continued to try to build on his success. Johnson not only had more major civil rights legislation passed through Congress, including the Voting Rights Act of 1965, but also succeeded in establishing an extensive legislative program called the Great Society which included, among many programs, Medicare and Medicaid. Johnson also declared a war on poverty and attempted to alleviate the conditions of the poor throughout the United States.

In spite of these successes, the event that defined the Johnson Administration was the Vietnam War. This war caused great rifts throughout American society, as students and anti-war activists used the methods devised during the civil rights protests to protest the war in Vietnam.

From this social rift came a cultural revolution and the hippie movement. Hippies were generally young white Americans, often college students or drop-outs, who became part of the counterculture of American society. They embraced civil rights, rock music, the sexual revolution, and drug use to enhance experience, and protested the traditions of their parents.

At the same time, some sections of the peaceful civil rights movement had begun to turn violent as blacks sought answers to the urban problems they were experiencing. From this came the black power emphasizing pride in being black and frequently sanctioning the use of violence when necessary, especially in self-defense. After the death of Martin Luther King, Jr., blacks across the nation began to riot in major cities such as Chicago and Washington, D.C. Even before the death of King there had been massive riots in 1967. The United States was rapidly changing, and Democratic and Republican party images, tenets and strategies were impacted by citizens' responses to the times and the parties' responses to current events.

The Democratic Party would from this time forth be linked with the hippie movement and big government. Most of the disorder and chaos during this period took place outside of the South. The South had always been conservative and did not appreciate many of the changes brought about by the Johnson Administration. Programs in the Great Society were seen by many, especially those in the South, as handouts to the poor and those who would not pull themselves out of poverty by working. The South especially viewed these programs as designed specifically to benefit the black population. Also violent protests by some African-Americans also did not help the Democrats keep hold of the South, as the South feared potential violence and the demand for more power by blacks.

Southerners as the New Republicans

On March 31, 1968 Lyndon Johnson declared he would not accept or seek the Democratic nomination. After experiencing massive turmoil from the Vietnam War and general American unrest, Johnson felt that he could not run again. The Democrats were forced to search for a new candidate who could once again unite their divided party. On the other hand, the Republicans found a suitable candidate to take advantage of the situation in Richard Nixon. After losing the 1960 election to John F. Kennedy, Nixon had found himself in political obscurity, but in 1968, he re-emerged to become the Republican candidate once again for the presidency. Eventually the Democrats nominated vice president Hubert Humphrey after a convention in Chicago, during which riots broke out and the police beat protesters outside of the convention.

Humphrey and Nixon were not the only major presidential candidates in this election. Alabama Governor George Wallace decided to run for president as a third-party candidate. His campaign was in many ways much like Strom Thurmond's in 1948 in that it was a protest against the Democratic Party. Wallace focused on white blue-collar workers who felt that neither the Democrats nor the Republicans were addressing their social or economic needs, particularly the upheaval caused by forced school integration. Wallace tried to split the Democratic Party and punish them by taking votes from the South. In essence, Wallace symbolized a revolt from the Democratic Party and its civil rights policy.

Nixon worked to maintain the previous success of Republicans in the South, but, understanding that Wallace would likely capture the majority of votes within the Deep South, he decided to focus mainly on the peripheral south. Nixon received help and an endorsement from Strom Thurmond, who campaigned throughout the South on Nixon's behalf. Thurmond told audiences that a vote for Wallace was in reality a vote for Humphrey, since Wallace would take

votes away from Nixon (Black and Black, 1992, 168). An editorial in the *Birmingham News* by Ruth Coulter says:

“If Wallace takes too many votes away from Nixon, we could just end up with Humphrey. Our country cannot stand four years under the leadership of a man who wears the mantle of Lyndon Baines Johnson” (“Wallace Could Help Elect Humphrey,” 1968, A-10).

Nixon did not take the same stance as Goldwater in 1964 in campaigning directly against civil rights, but instead followed a middle road. Nixon accepted desegregation but stated that he did not believe that the federal government had the right or authority to specifically interfere in the states. This was best seen in Nixon’s “Southern strategy.” A major ploy of his Southern strategy was to attack the system of busing used to desegregate the schools. Nixon stated in his speeches that the federal government was in reality trying to interfere with state education and the local government by forcing counties and cities to bus students. In an attempt to integrate public schools, cities and counties were required to bus white and black students to different schools. Much of the busing had been mandated by federal courts, and many in the South saw busing as the federal government interfering with state-run education. Many in the South opposed the intermingling of white and black students in the same school. In a televised interview, Nixon summarized his views as follows:

“I believe...that the Supreme Court decision was a correct decision, Brown versus the Board of Education.

But, on the other hand, while that decision dealt with segregation and said that we would not have segregation, when you go beyond that and say that it is the responsibility of the Federal Government and the Federal courts, in effect, to

act as local school districts in determining how we carry that out, and then use the power of the Federal Treasury to withhold funds or give funds in order to carry it out, then I think we are going too far.

In my view, that kind of activity should be very scrupulously examined and in many cases I think should be rescinded” (Black and Black, 1992, 299).

Nixon’s Southern strategy successfully convinced many southerners to vote Republican.

One major group of voters the Nixon campaign targeted was a group referred to as the “Silent Majority.” This silent majority, according to Nixon, was a group of Americans who were not participating in the massive protests and demonstrations for civil rights and peace across the nation. Instead these people often despised protesters and were supportive of the Vietnam War but their voices were largely silent and their views not covered by the media. These people also happened to be overwhelmingly from the South. Nixon was able to attract these Americans by campaigning on peace with honor in Vietnam and frequently attacking the protest culture in the United States.

Throughout his campaign, Richard Nixon emphasized the need for law and order across the country. This not only meant a crackdown on more liberal elements of American society, such as hippies and drugs, but was used as a secret code for many southerners that translated to keeping the black man down. According to Jules Witcover:

“Nixon’s ‘emphasis on the crime rate, civil disobedience and restlessness among minority groups had, obviously, two purposes: to tap the general discontent among whites and to counter George Wallace with a velvet-glove version of the mailed fist with which Wallace saluted the white backlash’...In so doing, Nixon

‘could give his allies in the South and blue-collar North raw material with which to lure Wallacites into the GOP ranks’” (Witcover, 1970, 364-265).

Nixon’s campaign helped firmly establish the Republican Party as the new states’ rights party and one willing to defend and inherit the values of the South.

The 1968 election is often considered the most pivotal election in Southern realignment, because the Republicans would from then on have control of the electoral vote from the South. Nixon was able to defeat both Humphrey and Wallace, performing well throughout the nation and capturing much of the peripheral South. Wallace won the electoral votes of the Deep South and the state of Arkansas, while Humphrey captured the electoral votes of Lyndon Johnson’s home state of Texas and Nixon took the electoral votes of Florida, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia (Dave Leip). In all likelihood, if George Wallace had not run for president, Nixon might have been able to take the entire South. Nixon had established the Republican Party as the dominant party of Southern whites and launched the complete realignment of the South. Table 5 delineates the Southern vote in the election of 1968.

INSERT TABLE 5

Kevin Phillips, a key Republican strategist during this period and a major advisor in designing the Republican strategy in the South, saw the 1968 election of Nixon as a national rejection of “Democratic liberalism” saying, “[the] repudiation visited upon the Democratic Party for its ambitious social programming, and inability to handle the urban and Negro revolutions...was comparable in scope to that given conservative Republicanism in 1932 for its failure to cope with the economic crisis of the Depression” (Phillips, 1969, 25 and 287). Phillips saw the South as the new foundation for the evolving conservative Republican Party.

In 1972 Richard Nixon found himself challenged by a controversial and liberal Democratic candidate in George McGovern of South Dakota. This provided the perfect opportunity for the Republicans to establish their new electorate by expanding further in the South. Racial issues and civil rights were not as important during this campaign as previously, but Nixon continued to denounce busing for integration and the use of quotas to help African-Americans gain equality within the work place. While Nixon campaigned sparsely in the South, McGovern essentially ignored the South altogether, knowing that he would be defeated there. This signified that the Democrats had conceded the South to the Republicans for this election and perhaps in the future. The Democrats realized their only hope for election relied solely in the North and urban centers of the country.

In the election, Nixon obtained an overwhelming percentage of the white vote in the South: 79 percent, which was the largest ever won by any Republican presidential campaign (Black and Black, 1992, 305). In his book *Making of the President 1972*, Theodore White observed that "In the South the Wallace vote moved en masse to Richard Nixon. A CBS analysis...showed that the 1968 Wallace voters in the South had gone for Richard Nixon by three to one" (Theodore White, 1973, 343-344). When the dust settled from the 1972 election, Nixon had captured the entire South, along with all other states save Massachusetts.

The fact that the Republicans were able to completely take the South, a region which had been so solidly Democratic for most of its history, marks an astounding feat. Suddenly the former Democratic South was now the Solid Republican South. By taking the South, it was no longer critical for the Republican Party to obtain all the electoral votes from its previous base in the North. Now, if the Republicans could succeed in the entire South and parts of the North, any election would be sealed for the Republicans. This made it remarkably easy for the Republicans

to obtain the presidency, which the Democrats had been able to dominate with the help of the South. Nixon's overwhelming victory in the South is demonstrated in Table 6.

INSERT TABLE 6

A Short Reprieve for the Democratic Party in the South

Nixon's astounding victory was not one to be enjoyed for a long period of time, as the Republicans experienced several major scandals during the second Nixon's second term. First Vice President Spiro Agnew was forced to resign, after being charged with tax evasion and money laundering, and then, after the well-publicized Watergate scandal, President Nixon became the first president ever to resign. Gerald Ford assumed the presidency, even though he had never been elected to the vice presidency. Ford committed two major political errors during his administration. First he made the decision to pardon Richard Nixon of any criminal acts he might have committed, which was looked upon negatively by most Americans. Second, during the 1976 campaign, he made a critical error during a debate with Governor Jimmy Carter stating that he believed Poland was a free country and not under the control of the Soviet Union. Ford could not defeat Carter, and the Democrats retook the White House for the first time since Lyndon Johnson.

Carter's election was more a short-term disruption of the new Republican South and was an aberration in the Republican dominance at the presidential level. Carter was the first Democrat in a while to recognize the importance of the South to winning the presidency. Carter's campaign manager, Hamilton Jordan, wrote in a memo about Carter's general strategy that "the Southern states provide us with a base of support that cannot be taken for granted or jeopardized. The Republicans cannot win if they write off the South. Consequently we have to assume that they will challenge us in the South. I believe that they will challenge us in those larger Southern

and border states that they view as contestable — Texas, Florida, Maryland, and Missouri. I believe we can win each of those four states” (Witcover, 1977, 520). Carter thus actively campaigned throughout the South, a very different strategy from what McGovern did in 1972. The former governor of Georgia emphasized his Southern roots and pride as well as his status as a Washington outsider. He also was the first modern president to emphasize religion in his campaign. As an Evangelical Christian and a Sunday school teacher at his church, Carter openly talked about religion and the importance of faith. This helped among Southerners for whom religion was an important defining characteristic for a president. Unlike other Democrats, the Republicans were unable to label Carter as a liberal because of Carter’s appeal to religious conservatives and emphasis on providing a mix of conservatism and liberalism.

Gerald Ford in 1976 also faced an intra-party challenge from Ronald Reagan, representing the conservative wing of the Republican Party. Ford’s moderate stance on some issues hurt him among the rising group of conservative Republicans, especially within the South. This provided an opportunity for Reagan to rise within the Republican Party and would greatly benefit him in the election of 1980. Table 7 demonstrates Jimmy Carter’s narrow but profound success in the South compared to Gerald Ford.

INSERT TABLE 7

Although Jimmy Carter won the presidential election by a narrow margin, Ford put up a good fight. Carter had almost reclaimed the South for the Democrats, but Ford still performed well in many of the Southern states and actually succeeded in capturing the Commonwealth of Virginia. This would be the last time that the Democrats would ever find themselves in a position of taking the majority of the South. From this point on, the Republicans would have full and complete domination over the South.

Although Carter was a popular governor, he could not translate this popularity or previous success to the presidency. He had difficulty handling the economy, which was dipping into a recession while also experiencing major inflation. He also faced a major international crisis in Iran when students supporting the Ayatollah Khomeini stormed the U.S. embassy in Tehran and held the Americans there hostage. Carter was unable to solve these problems, and in a major speech claimed that there was a social malaise within the United States and all Americans needed to work harder in order to turn the economy around (Carter, "Crisis of Confidence," 1979) In 1980, it appeared unlikely that Carter could remain in office and increasingly apparent that the presidency would once again pass to the Republicans.

The Republicans Retake the South

Ronald Reagan's candidacy for the presidency reinvigorated the Republican Party and the South. Reagan had once been a Democrat and president of the Screen Actor's Guild, but later became one of the most conservative members of the Republican Party. The first major political speech Reagan made was in 1964, when he gave the nomination address for Barry Goldwater at the Republican Convention. Inspired by Goldwater, Reagan entered politics himself and served as Governor of California from 1967-1975. In 1976 he had run a tough campaign against Gerald Ford for the Republican nomination. Now, in 1980, he claimed the Republican nomination and was ready to challenge Jimmy Carter for the presidency.

A major focus of the Reagan campaign was to retake the South, and the region became a political battlefield for Reagan and Carter. Reagan made sure when campaigning in the South not only to attack Carter's record as president but to mention that he and the Republicans were now the party of States' Rights. Andrew Young, who served as ambassador to the United Nations under Carter, translated Reagan's promotion of states' rights as a term which "looks like a code

word to me that it's going to be all right to kill niggers when he's president" (Black and Black, 1992, 308). Reagan also was able to court the major evangelicals within the South, especially figures such as Jerry Falwell, whom Reagan visited at Liberty Baptist College in Lynchburg, Virginia. In exchange for Reagan's support on fundamentalist religious issues, Falwell's Moral Majority, which had formed in 1979 and worked to mobilize evangelicals largely in the South. After Reagan was elected in 1980, Falwell tried to claim that Reagan's victory was mainly due to the Moral Majority and the support of evangelicals and Christians throughout the South. Carter's grip on the South was lost, and Reagan won the election. After taking the majority of the South in 1976, Carter only received the electoral votes from Georgia in 1980. Table 8 shows that the percentage of votes for Republicans v. Democrats in the South had done an about-face just four years after the 1976 election delineated in Table 7.

INSERT TABLE 8

As president, Reagan further established the Republican Party as the party of states' rights, of less government and conservative policy. Reagan was able to pass major tax cuts and pour money into national defense, further strengthening the party's stance with the military, but causing an explosion in the national debt. A turning point for the Republicans was Reagan's accomplishment in making his party the main party of conservative and evangelical Christians. Evangelicals would become the heart of Republican Party for years to come and a mainstay in helping the Republicans maintain the South. Reagan, throughout his presidency, continued the Republican attacks on liberalism and social welfare as he claimed government welfare programs were spending money on "welfare queens" and others who were not bothering to get a job and help themselves so that they could live on the government dole (Cannon, 1991, 456). He also

accused many of these people of wasting federal money on such products as alcohol and other drugs.

Reagan's attacks further helped characterize the liberal establishment and the Democrats as the party of socialism and even akin to the communists who were the sworn enemies of America. This attack on government was often seen and translated as an attack on minorities, mainly blacks. The call for less government and the attack on welfare suggested to his critics an attack on government support of African-Americans who often benefitted from these programs. One Republican official in the Reagan Administration described the evolution of the Republican's stance on race as:

"You start off in 1954 by saying 'Nigger, nigger, nigger.' By 1968 you can't say 'nigger' — that hurts you. Backfires. So you say stuff like forced busing, states' rights, and all that stuff. You're getting so abstract [that] you're talking about cutting taxes, and all these things you're talking about are totally economic things and a by-product of them is [that] blacks get hurt worse than whites. And subconsciously maybe that is part of it. I'm not saying that. But I'm saying that if it is getting that abstract, and that coded, that we are doing away with the racial problem one way or the other. You follow me — because obviously sitting around saying, 'We want to cut this,' is much more abstract than even the busing thing and a hell of a lot more abstract than 'Nigger, nigger'" (Lamis, 1984, 26).

During this period, white southerners began to decide to officially switch parties from the Democratic to the Republican Party. Many people, especially in the South, claimed to be Reagan Democrats at first, but soon after, these so-called Democrats became full-time Republicans. The Reagan revolution brought a revolution of sorts to the South, as it became an official Republican

stronghold, and Southerners publicly began to announce and vote their allegiance to the Republican Party.

The 1984 election appeared to forecast another blow-out for the Republican Party as Ronald Reagan was extremely popular and going up against a weak Democrat in Walter Mondale. The Reagan campaign had the clear advantage in the South, giving him the ultimate advantage in the election. Mondale campaigned somewhat in the South, but he often was met with ridicule and attacks on his support of gay rights and abortion. Reagan could easily characterize Mondale as an extreme liberal, which the Republicans were unable to do with Carter. Reagan easily won the election, sweeping the South and taking the electoral votes throughout all of the nation except for Minnesota and Washington, D.C. The election proved that the new conservative Republican Party was the new party of the South and the one which belonged in the White House. Table 9 shows the Republicans capturing more votes in the South in 1984, securing their stronghold on the South.

INSERT TABLE 9

In 1988 George H. W. Bush was able to ride Reagan's coattails into the presidency. Bush was the first Republican considered to be from the South; while his family was originally from Massachusetts, he established his home in Texas, and he played up his southern Texas ties. His opponent was Governor Michael Dukakis of Massachusetts, who originally appeared to be a strong candidate, but as the campaign neared the end, Bush was the clear favorite to win the presidential election. Like Mondale, Dukakis, as a Democrat from Massachusetts, could easily be labeled a liberal Democrat who would pursue a "tax and spend" policy as president.

A key issue in this election involved a man named Willie Horton. Horton was a convicted felon in Massachusetts who had been sentenced to life in prison without parole. Massachusetts

had a furlough policy in which prisoners occasionally received short periods of time off. During his furlough, Horton committed rape and robbery. The Bush administration relentlessly attacked Dukakis for this policy, claiming that he was soft on law and order and was not fit for the presidency. This attack seemed designed to appeal to white Southerners, since Horton was an African-American and seemed to embody many of the stereotypes that Southerners still believed in. Bush was able to defeat Dukakis with an electoral margin of 426-111 as Bush continued the Republican dominance in the South by sweeping the region (Dave Leip). Table 10 demonstrates the continued entrenchment of the Republicans in the South in the 1988 presidential election.

INSERT TABLE 10

The dominance at the presidential level by the Republican Party has continued to the present, the exception being that Democrats were able to capture parts of the South in 1992 and 1996 when Governor Bill Clinton of Arkansas ran for president. Clinton, much like Carter in 1976, was able to use his Southern roots and origins to his advantage to attract Southern voters to the Democratic Party. Clinton, however, was still unable to capture a majority of the Southern states. The Republican vote there split in 1992 between Bush and Ross Perot, who was a well-funded Texas businessman and fiscal conservative who ran as an independent in 1992 and 1996, and between Senator Robert Dole of Kansas and Ross Perot in 1996. There is a good chance that if Perot had not run for president, both Bush and Dole could have taken even more of the South and won the general elections. Votes for the Republican and Democratic presidential candidates in 1992 and 1996 are shown respectively in Tables 11 and 12. Races were close in all Southern states, with Florida and Georgia the only states in which the outcome differed.

INSERT TABLES 11 AND 12

Senators, Representatives, and Governors

Realignment was most clear at the presidential level, but realignment also occurred at other levels of government, such as in state politics. Most political scientists who examine the issue of realignment in this period solely examine the presidency, because it was clear, complete, and happened all at once. Realignment at other levels has been more gradual and not nearly as pronounced.

Even after 1964, the Democrats continued to dominate at the more local and state levels. The most basic reason for this is the separation between the state and national parties. Local Democrats did not have to abide by the broad national party platform or even condone the actions of the president. The South continued to elect Democrats who were still conservative and often segregationists. Another reason that Democrats continued to be elected in the South is that many Southerners did not want to abandon the Democratic Party, which had defended the South since the birth of the party in 19th century. It was very difficult for people to leave a party they had known and supported for a long time and embrace the Republican Party, which was still the party of Lincoln that had waged war upon the South.

Governor George Wallace of Alabama, while attacking the Democratic Party on issues of race and even running against the Democrats in the presidential election in 1968 and 1972, never surrendered the title of being a Democrat. In fact, in 1976 he attended Carter's rallies in the South. Democratic Georgia Governor and Senator Zell Miller in 2004 openly campaigned for Republican presidential candidate George W. Bush, even giving a speech to the Republican National Convention in New York. When asked why he did not just change his party ties to the Republican Party, he responded that his family had always been Democrats and he would be

until the day he died. Many officials throughout the South maintained this mentality of longing for the title of Democrat. Thus many Southern politicians were Democrats in name only.

Southern ties to the Democratic Party, though, began to severely erode in the late 1960s and 1970s as people willingly began to elect Republicans to the Senate, House of Representatives, and even governor. Republicans first found success in the peripheral south, as in 1966 when the South elected its first two Republican governors in Winthrop Rockefeller of Arkansas and Claude Kirk, Jr. of Florida. In the Senate the Republicans gained support in South Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas in 1966. In fact the first southern Republican senator was Strom Thurmond of South Carolina who switched parties to support Goldwater in 1964. It was not until the 1970s that the Deep South would fall to the Republicans.

Realignment at local levels did not take place at once, and it never reached complete domination at all levels of government in the South, which the Democrats once had enjoyed. With the national trend toward conservatism and the success of the Reagan Revolution, the Republicans in the 1980s were finally able to achieve par with the Democrats in the South in the Senate, the House of Representatives, and the governorships. Not until the 1990s did the Republicans finally surpass the Democrats in the South in the Senate, the House of Representatives, and the governorships. This occurred after 1994, when the Republicans, led by Georgia Representative Newt Gingrich, formed the Contract with America, which led to a Republican Revolution in which the Republicans finally gained control in Congress.

Republicans are now dominant in the South in Senate elections, but they have not been able to reproduce the same results in regards to the governorships of southern states and the U.S. House of Representatives. While the Republicans have a large number of southern members in the House of Representatives, the Democrats have still managed to be competitive and maintain

a substantial number of seats as well. Even more competitive are the gubernatorial races in the South, where neither party dominates, but both parties perform extremely well and competitively. It seems that the race for governor has become as V.O. Key suggested: more nationalized where both parties are competitive and the electorate votes more dependent on the candidates than specific party labels. One major factor in the difference between elections for governor and other federal offices is the split between the national and state parties. The national party will often choose candidates based on parameters and ideals of the national organization while the state party has the power to choose candidates for office which best serve the needs of more localized communities. While the national Democratic Party seems largely unpopular within the South, the state Democratic Parties have been more effective in vetting candidates and appealing to the public.

The Republicans have a clear advantage in the South, yet they have failed to perform as well on other government levels as they do on the presidential level, and they are not nearly as strong as the Democrats once were in the South. A key reason for this might be the changing demographics throughout the South. Northerners have flooded the state of Florida, providing a new and attentive audience for the Democratic Party. Also large numbers of immigrants have moved into states such as Texas and Florida. These immigrants, who are primarily Hispanic, often align themselves with the Democrats.

Another key reason for the continued viability of the Democratic Party in the South is that African-Americans, who are mainly Democrats, are now allowed to vote without the restrictions of segregation. This provides an enormous base for the Democrats. The creation of minority majority districts throughout the South, which are congressional districts which consist

of a majority of minority groups are often African-American; this has led to an increase of African-Americans in the Congress and a number of elected Democrats throughout the South.

The Republicans have a major advantage at the various government levels in the South but have not been able to attain the same dominance that the Democrats had. The opening of the political process throughout the South and the changing demographics have allowed the Democrats to stay competitive at most levels throughout the South. Yet the Democratic Party has not been able to break through at the presidential level and still struggles to get Democrats from the South elected to the Senate. Figures 1, 2, and 3 show that over the last 78 years, Republicans have continued to slowly gain ground in the South in Senate and House of Representative elections, but Republicans and Democrats remain in competition for governorships.

INSERT FIGURES 1, 2, AND 3

Maintenance of the New Coalition

Maintaining the new Republican South was easy, since the South was ideologically in sync with the Republican Party. The South had always been a region that was more conservative than the rest of the country, and as the Republicans replaced the Democrats as the party of conservatism and states' rights, it was logical for the South to remain in the Republican camp.

While the race issue has become less important today and is no longer the galvanizing issue it once was in the South, it seems that it still remains an issue in the Deep South, though not one easily visible to the public eye. Even in the 1980s many southerners, including the Reverend Jerry Falwell, were in full support of South Africa and its policy of apartheid (the system in which a minority of whites ruled over the country and often relegated blacks to second-class citizenship) and opposed an embargo. This was often seen as a continuance of the racist sympathy in the South.

One issue that has surfaced as important to many people in the South, especially those in rural areas, is the issue of religion. Many in the South fall into the religious category of evangelicals or deeply-motivated Christians. Over the past several decades, two major issues pertaining to religion have taken to the national stage. The first one is the issue of abortion, which gained national attention after the Supreme Court in *Roe v. Wade* ruled that the practice of abortion was protected under the Constitution. This issue has incited many evangelicals and southerners to become more involved in the political process and especially in support of the Republican Party.

Another issue that has played a role in politics is the issue of gay marriage. Many Christians believe that marriage is made solely for a man and a woman and the lifestyle of a homosexual is sinful. This issue has become more prominent in the present as the current President George W. Bush has pushed for a constitutional amendment defining the act of marriage. During the 1980s, Ronald Reagan as president and even as a candidate for the presidency had worked to build bridges between the Republican Party and the religious community. This was best seen in his campaign in 1980 where he worked directly with the Reverend Jerry Falwell and his Moral Majority organization to organize evangelical Christians into the Republican Party.

The Republican Party has been able to maintain this new South through dedicating the party's ideology to conservatism. The Republican Party has become the champion of small government, less taxes, the Christian community, and states' rights. This dedication to conservative values has allowed the Republican Party to maintain its strength throughout the South.

Conclusion

The South had once been a strong base for the Democratic Party but shifted to its current allegiance to the Republican Party. The South had been a stronghold for the Democrats after the end of the Civil War, and the Democratic Party the defender of the South. But as time wore on, the Democrats sought to expand their political base outside of the South and into the cities. This led the Democrats to focus more on urban and liberal solutions which were not necessarily in tune with the South. This new expansion within the North and the cities also led the Democratic Party to seek votes from African-Americans. A critical issue to African-Americans throughout the country and to many liberal northerners was the issue of civil rights. In 1948 the Democrats decided at their national convention to add a strong civil rights plank to the platform, which led to revolt within the Deep South. Slowly the South began to slip away as the Democrats focused more on the north and liberal issues, and the Republicans strategized to steal the South.

In 1964 after the Democrats championed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and became focused on the North, the Republicans were able to take the Deep South in the presidential election. Then in 1968 and 1972, the Republicans, after focusing specifically on the South, captured the South in the presidential elections. The South would become the new Republican South and has remained so into the present.

Many people may have speculated about the reasons behind this sudden and dramatic realignment, but few have closely examined the main causes for realignment. V.O. Key first studied the South and saw the South as changing in such a way that the region would reflect the political volition as the nation as a whole. While this has occurred at some levels of local government, on the presidential level and the Senate and the House of Representatives, the Republicans have managed to remain supreme with little competition from the Democrats.

Others have focused on the issue of race as the key to realignment. While race has played a major role, the significance of the national parties and their specific strategies in this realignment is often neglected. The Democrats and Republicans have both used the specific issue of race to shape their new coalitions.

Finally, most people studying the realignment of the South have focused on the presidency. While the presidency most clearly shows the full and clear effect of realignment, there has also been a more gradual realignment at more local levels, most specifically in the Congress. Yet the Democrats have still managed to stay competitive at several different levels within the South. The Democrats are extremely competitive with the Republican Party at the level of governor and have managed to perform strongly in House races within the South. This may largely be true due to the localized nature of the governors' and Representatives campaigns and elections. It seems apparent that the Republicans have fully taken the South at the presidential level and experience little challenge from the Democrats, while at more local levels there has been gradual realignment and many races remain competitive. A major reason is that, unlike the national party, local Democrats may still reflect the same beliefs as Southerners, and most of all, there has been a continuous longing and admiration for the Democratic Party – the party that has been such a force in the South for so long.

Appendix

Table 1:¹

Election	State	Winner	Winner's Party	Percentage of Vote
1928	Alabama	Al Smith	D	51.33
	Arkansas	Al Smith	D	60.29
	Florida	Herbert Hoover	R	56.83
	Georgia	Al Smith	D	56.56
	Louisiana	Al Smith	D	76.29
	Mississippi	Al Smith	D	82.1
	North Carolina	Herbert Hoover	R	54.94
	South Carolina	Al Smith	D	91.39
	Tennessee	Herbert Hoover	R	53.76
	Texas	Herbert Hoover	R	51.77
	Virginia	Herbert Hoover	R	53.91

¹ Leip, David. "Dave Leip's Atlas of U.S. Presidential Elections." 2004. David Leip. 1

Dec. 2007 < <http://uselectionatlas.org/>>.

Table 2:²

Election	State	Winner	Winner's Party	Percentage of Vote
1952	Alabama	Adlai Stevenson	D	64.55
	Arkansas	Adlai Stevenson	D	55.9
	Florida	Dwight Eisenhower	R	54.99
	Georgia	Adlai Stevenson	D	69.66
	Louisiana	Adlai Stevenson	D	52.92
	Mississippi	Adlai Stevenson	D	60.44
	North Carolina	Adlai Stevenson	D	53.91
	South Carolina	Adlai Stevenson	D	50.72
	Tennessee	Dwight Eisenhower	R	49.99
	Texas	Dwight Eisenhower	R	53.13
	Virginia	Dwight Eisenhower	R	56.32
1956	Alabama	Adlai Stevenson	D	56.64
	Arkansas	Adlai Stevenson	D	52.46
	Florida	Dwight Eisenhower	R	57.27
	Georgia	Adlai Stevenson	D	66.48
	Louisiana	Dwight Eisenhower	R	53.28
	Mississippi	Adlai Stevenson	D	58.23
	North Carolina	Adlai Stevenson	D	50.66
	South Carolina	Adlai Stevenson	D	45.37
	Tennessee	Dwight Eisenhower	R	49.21
	Texas	Dwight Eisenhower	R	55.26
	Virginia	Dwight Eisenhower	R	55.37

² Leip, David. "Dave Leip's Atlas of U.S. Presidential Elections." 2004. David Leip. 1

Table 3:³

Election	State	Winner	Winner's Party	Percentage of Vote
1960	Alabama	John Kennedy	D	56.39
	Arkansas	John Kennedy	D	50.19
	Florida	Richard Nixon	R	51.51
	Georgia	John Kennedy	D	62.54
	Louisiana	John Kennedy	D	36.34
	Mississippi	Harry F. Byrd	Unpledged	38.99
	North Carolina	John Kennedy	D	52.11
	South Carolina	John Kennedy	D	51.24
	Tennessee	Richard Nixon	R	52.92
	Texas	John Kennedy	D	50.52
	Virginia	Richard Nixon	R	52.44

³ Leip, David. "Dave Leip's Atlas of U.S. Presidential Elections." 2004. David Leip. 1 Dec. 2007 < <http://uselectionatlas.org/>>.

Table 4:⁴

Election	State	Winner	Winner's Party	Percentage of Vote
1964	Alabama	Barry Goldwater	R	69.45
	Arkansas	Lyndon Johnson	D	56.06
	Florida	Lyndon Johnson	D	51.15
	Georgia	Lyndon Johnson	D	54.12
	Louisiana	Barry Goldwater	R	56.81
	Mississippi	Barry Goldwater	R	87.14
	North Carolina	Lyndon Johnson	D	56.15
	South Carolina	Barry Goldwater	R	58.89
	Tennessee	Lyndon Johnson	D	55.5
	Texas	Lyndon Johnson	D	63.32
	Virginia	Lyndon Johnson	D	53.54

⁴ Leip, David. "Dave Leip's Atlas of U.S. Presidential Elections." 2004. David Leip. 1

Dec. 2007 < <http://uselectionatlas.org/>>.

Table 5:⁵

Election	State	Winner	Winner's Party	Percentage of Vote
1968	Alabama	George Wallace	I	65.86
	Arkansas	George Wallace	I	38.65
	Florida	Richard Nixon	R	40.53
	Georgia	George Wallace	I	42.83
	Louisiana	George Wallace	I	48.32
	Mississippi	George Wallace	I	63.46
	North Carolina	Richard Nixon	R	39.51
	South Carolina	Richard Nixon	R	38.09
	Tennessee	Richard Nixon	R	37.85
	Texas	Hubert Humphrey	D	41.14
	Virginia	Richard Nixon	R	43.36

⁵ Leip, David. "Dave Leip's Atlas of U.S. Presidential Elections." 2004. David Leip. 1

Dec. 2007 < <http://uselectionatlas.org/>>.

Table 6:⁶

Election	State	Winner	Winner's Party	Percentage of Vote
1972	Alabama	Richard Nixon	R	72.43
	Arkansas	Richard Nixon	R	68.82
	Florida	Richard Nixon	R	71.91
	Georgia	Richard Nixon	R	75.04
	Louisiana	Richard Nixon	R	65.32
	Mississippi	Richard Nixon	R	78.2
	North Carolina	Richard Nixon	R	69.46
	South Carolina	Richard Nixon	R	70.58
	Tennessee	Richard Nixon	R	67.7
	Texas	Richard Nixon	R	66.2
	Virginia	Richard Nixon	R	67.84

⁶ Leip, David. "Dave Leip's Atlas of U.S. Presidential Elections." 2004. David Leip. 1 Dec. 2007 < <http://uselectionatlas.org/>>.

Table 7:⁷

Election	State	Winner	Winner's Party	Percentage of Vote
1976	Alabama	Jimmy Carter	D	55.73
	Arkansas	Jimmy Carter	D	64.94
	Florida	Jimmy Carter	D	51.93
	Georgia	Jimmy Carter	D	66.74
	Louisiana	Jimmy Carter	D	51.73
	Mississippi	Jimmy Carter	D	49.56
	North Carolina	Jimmy Carter	D	55.27
	South Carolina	Jimmy Carter	D	56.17
	Tennessee	Jimmy Carter	D	55.94
	Texas	Jimmy Carter	D	51.14
	Virginia	Gerald Ford	R	49.29

⁷ Leip, David. "Dave Leip's Atlas of U.S. Presidential Elections." 2004. David Leip. 1

Dec. 2007 < <http://uselectionatlas.org/>>.

Table 8:⁸

Election	State	Winner	Winner's Party	Percentage of Vote
1980	Alabama	Ronald Reagan	R	48.75
	Arkansas	Ronald Reagan	R	48.13
	Florida	Ronald Reagan	R	55.52
	Georgia	Jimmy Carter	D	55.56
	Louisiana	Ronald Reagan	R	51.2
	Mississippi	Ronald Reagan	R	49.42
	North Carolina	Ronald Reagan	R	49.3
	South Carolina	Ronald Reagan	R	49.57
	Tennessee	Ronald Reagan	R	48.7
	Texas	Ronald Reagan	R	55.28
	Virginia	Ronald Reagan	R	53.03

⁸ Leip, David. "Dave Leip's Atlas of U.S. Presidential Elections." 2004. David Leip. 1

Dec. 2007 < <http://uselectionatlas.org/>>.

Table 9:⁹

Election	State	Winner	Winner's Party	Percentage of Vote
1984	Alabama	Ronald Reagan	R	60.54
	Arkansas	Ronald Reagan	R	60.47
	Florida	Ronald Reagan	R	65.32
	Georgia	Ronald Reagan	R	60.17
	Louisiana	Ronald Reagan	R	60.77
	Mississippi	Ronald Reagan	R	61.85
	North Carolina	Ronald Reagan	R	61.9
	South Carolina	Ronald Reagan	R	63.55
	Tennessee	Ronald Reagan	R	57.84
	Texas	Ronald Reagan	R	63.61
	Virginia	Ronald Reagan	R	62.29

⁹ Leip, David. "Dave Leip's Atlas of U.S. Presidential Elections." 2004. David Leip. 1

Dec. 2007 < <http://uselectionatlas.org/>>.

Table 10:¹⁰

Election	State	Winner	Winner's Party	Percentage of Vote
1988	Alabama	George Bush	R	59.17
	Arkansas	George Bush	R	56.37
	Florida	George Bush	R	60.87
	Georgia	George Bush	R	59.75
	Louisiana	George Bush	R	54.27
	Mississippi	George Bush	R	59.89
	North Carolina	George Bush	R	57.97
	South Carolina	George Bush	R	61.5
	Tennessee	George Bush	R	57.89
	Texas	George Bush	R	55.95
	Virginia	George Bush	R	59.74

¹⁰ Leip, David. "Dave Leip's Atlas of U.S. Presidential Elections." 2004. David Leip. 1 Dec. 2007 < <http://uselectionatlas.org/>>.

Table 11:¹¹

Election	State	Winner	Winner's Party	Percentage of Vote
1992	Alabama	George Bush	R	47.65
	Arkansas	Bill Clinton	D	53.21
	Florida	George Bush	R	40.89
	Georgia	Bill Clinton	D	43.47
	Louisiana	Bill Clinton	D	45.58
	Mississippi	George Bush	R	49.68
	North Carolina	George Bush	R	43.44
	South Carolina	George Bush	R	48.02
	Tennessee	Bill Clinton	D	47.08
	Texas	George Bush	R	40.56
	Virginia	George Bush	R	44.97

¹¹ Leip, David. "Dave Leip's Atlas of U.S. Presidential Elections." 2004. David Leip. 1

Dec. 2007 < <http://uselectionatlas.org/>>.

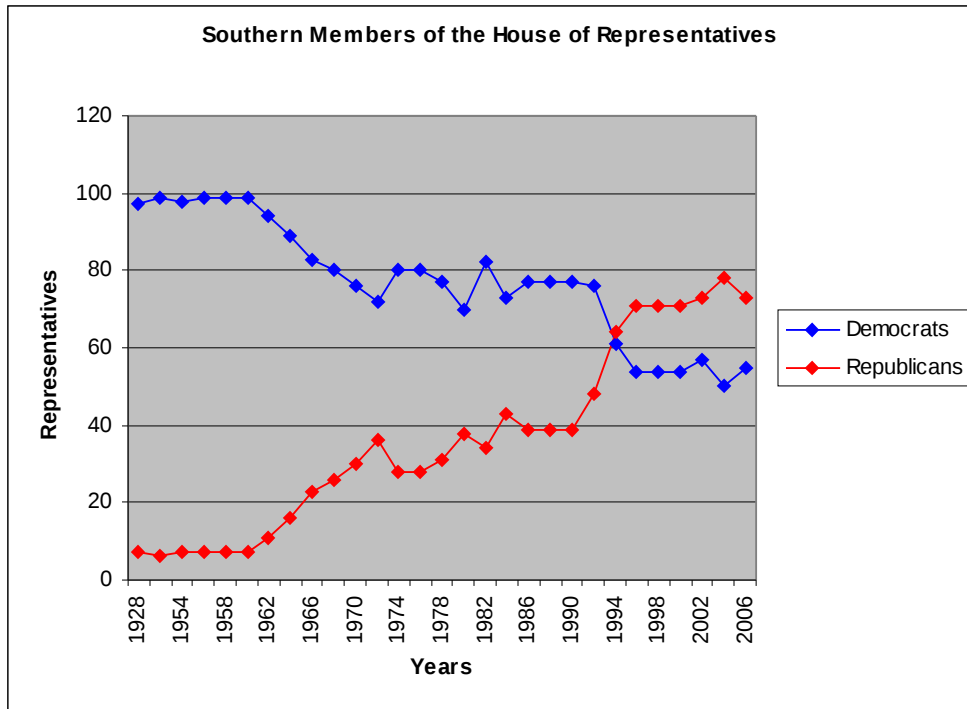
Table 12:¹²

Election	State	Winner	Winner's Party	Percentage of Vote
1996	Alabama	Robert Dole	R	50.12
	Arkansas	Bill Clinton	D	53.74
	Florida	Bill Clinton	D	48.42
	Georgia	Robert Dole	D	47.01
	Louisiana	Bill Clinton	D	52.01
	Mississippi	Robert Dole	R	49.21
	North Carolina	Robert Dole	R	48.73
	South Carolina	Robert Dole	R	49.89
	Tennessee	Bill Clinton	D	48
	Texas	Robert Dole	R	48.76
	Virginia	Robert Dole	R	47.1

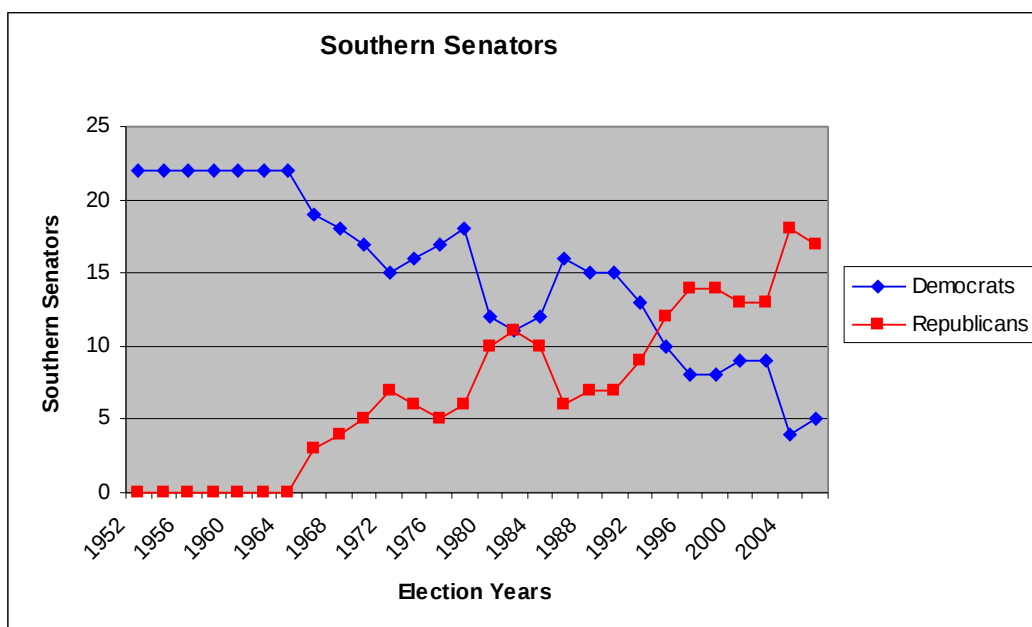
¹² Leip, David. "Dave Leip's Atlas of U.S. Presidential Elections." 2004. David Leip. 1

Dec. 2007 < <http://uselectionatlas.org/>>.

Figure 1:¹³

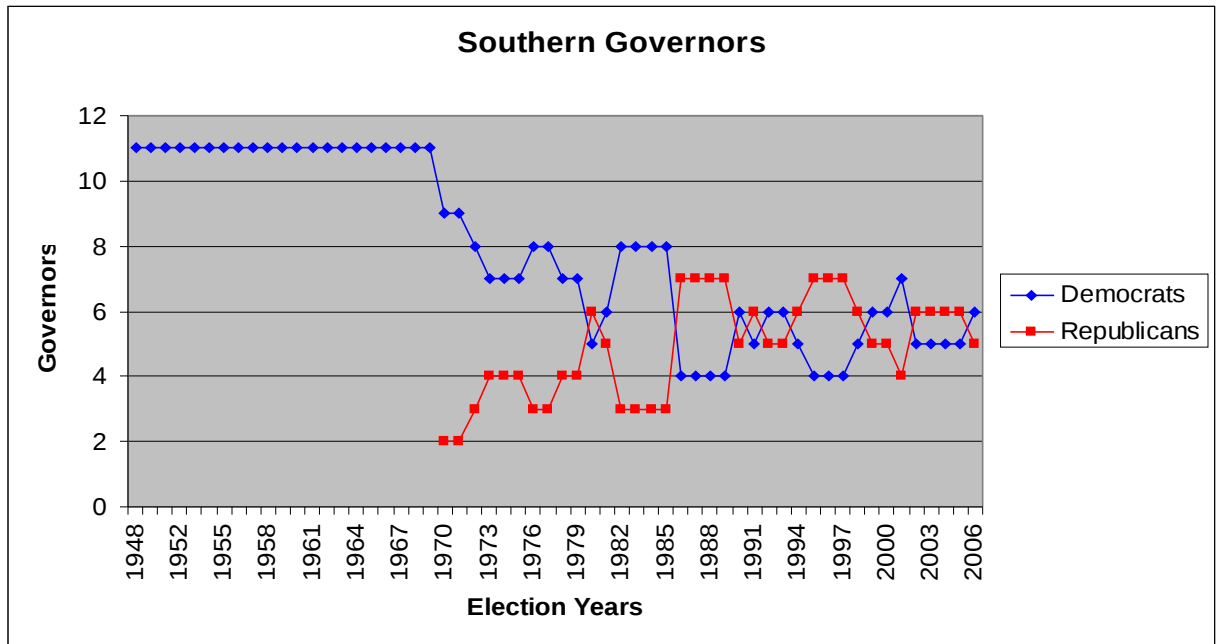


¹³ Office of the Clerk.

Figure 2:¹⁴¹⁴

United States. Senate. United States Senate. March 2008. 7 March 2008

<<http://www.senate.gov/index.htm>>.

Figure 3:¹⁵¹⁵

National Governor's Association: 1908-2008. March 2008. National Governor's Association. 7 March 2008. < <http://www.nga.org/portal/site/nga>>.

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