Abstract

The newspaper coverage about the desegregation of college sports provides a perspective on race and society at this time in history. This honor’s thesis discusses how the *News and Observer, Daily Tar Heel* and *Carolina Times* covered Charles Scott, the first black scholarship athlete at the University of North Carolina, during his college basketball career from 1966 to 1970. It reveals that a different emphasis was placed on Scott as an athlete, student, community leader and Olympian in the three newspapers’ coverage. The way Scott was covered in the newspapers appears to reflect the social and political climate of the time, and also provides insight about the way in which articles in each newspaper addressed race and integration. This research is also indicative of how newspaper coverage on the same subject differs depending on the perspective the paper, the audience they serve and the view of the author of the story.
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Introduction

The University of North Carolina (UNC) basketball coach, Dean Smith, did what is customary for the last home game of a season by removing the team’s three seniors from the game with a few minutes of play time remaining on the clock. The sold-out crowd at Carmichael Arena rose to their feet to give Charles Scott, Eddie Fogler and Jim Delany a standing ovation. This standing ovation quickly turned into cheers for the three players to return to the court so that they could see the seniors play in Chapel Hill for a little more time. After the cheering continued, Smith put the seniors back into the game with about one minute remaining. Scott scored one more time in front of the home crowd which, according to the Daily Tar Heel, sent the spectators into a frenzy. Like going back into the game on senior night, many aspects of Scott’s time as a student-athlete at UNC would not be considered the norm for the time. As the first scholarship black athlete at the UNC, his time as an athlete and personal life at the University was influenced by the political and social climate of the time.

Scott was born in 1948 in New York. He began playing basketball at a young age and first played in an organized league when he was 12. Scott received an academic scholarship to attend high school at the Laurinburg Institute, a black prep-school in North Carolina. The 6’ 5” forward was a standout player who began to get the attention of North Carolina universities. Initially, Scott committed to play at Davidson College for Lefty Driesell. When Smith learned that Scott might be considering other schools, he began to recruit Scott to play for UNC. Smith,

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1 Art Chansky, "Tar Heels Blast VPI," The Daily Tar Heel, February 26, 1970, 1.
3 Gregory Kaliss, "Everyone’s All-Americans: Race, Men’s College Athletics and the Ideal of Equal Opportunity" (PhD diss., University of North Carolina Chapel Hill, 2008), 266.
4 Kaliss, “Everyone’s All-Americans,” 266.
who had been encouraged by the minister of his church to recruit a black player since assuming the head coach position at UNC, watched Scott play a high school game and invited him to visit the University.\(^5\) Scott made an official visit to UNC and appreciated that he was able to meet and spend time with many of the current players, including players that would still be on the team when he would attend the school.\(^6\) During this visit, Scott also took a couple of hours to walk by himself around Chapel Hill to learn what it was like without any of the coaches, who were well known in the community and could influence how he was treated.\(^7\) After his visit, Scott decided to sign a grant-in-aid to play basketball for UNC in May of 1966.\(^8\) This made him the first black scholarship athlete at UNC.\(^9\) In the fall of 1967, Scott made his debut as a varsity basketball player and as the first black athlete to wear the Carolina jersey in a varsity game.

Scott had a successful basketball career at UNC. He averaged 22.1 points and 7.1 rebounds per game at UNC.\(^10\) During his sophomore and junior seasons in 1967-1968 and 1968-1969, he helped lead UNC’s team to Final Four appearances. Scott was a two-time All-American and three-time All-Atlantic Coast Conference (ACC) selection.\(^11\) Scott also represented the United States in the 1968 Olympics where he earned a gold medal with the USA

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\(^6\) Smith, *A Coach’s Life*, 100.

\(^7\) Smith, *A Coach’s Life*, 100.


\(^9\) While Scott was the first black scholarship athlete at UNC, he was not the first black athlete at the University. The first black athlete was Edwin Okoroma, a soccer player. Okoroma, who was from Nigeria, played on the soccer team in the fall of 1963. See 1963 soccer team. University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC, United States. Retrieved from "1963 soccer team." The Carolina Story: A Virtual Museum of University History, http://museum.unc.edu/exhibits/integration/1963-soccer-team/.


basketball team.\textsuperscript{12} One of the controversies in Scott’s career at UNC was that he was never selected as the ACC Player of the Year. After graduating from UNC, Scott played in the American Basketball Association for two years. Scott then played in the National Basketball Association (NBA) for eight seasons during which time he was named to the All-Star team three times and won an NBA championship with the Boston Celtics in 1976.

**History and Context for This Research**

To understand the context in which Scott began his basketball career at UNC, it is important to consider some aspects of how sports desegregated before he attended the University. While some schools across the United States had desegregated college athletics in the early 20\textsuperscript{th} century, Southern schools took a strong stand to remain segregated. Some Big Ten Conference schools, which were all located in the North, allowed black football players to compete in their conference as early as 1890.\textsuperscript{13} Black football players flourished in the early 20\textsuperscript{th} century at Northern colleges and universities. In 1918, Fredrick Douglass Pollard, of Brown University, was the first black player to be named an All-American.\textsuperscript{14} Yet, the South drew the color line and remained segregated. There was a “gentleman’s agreement” that Northern schools would not play a black player when competing with a Southern school from the 1890s until the

\textsuperscript{12} Lapchick, "Scott and Smith Gave New Look to Tobacco Road."

\textsuperscript{13} Mark Briggs, "A Tale of Two Pioneers: The Integration of College Athletics in the South During the 1960s in the Age of the Civil Rights Movement" (M.A. Thesis, University of North Carolina Chapel Hill, 2000). 11-12. It is important to note that while the teams were integrated at this time, they were not desegregated. A team might have one, or possibly two, black athletes.

\textsuperscript{14} Briggs, "A Tale of Two Pioneers," 9.
1930s. It was not until 1936 that a black athlete was allowed to compete in a game against Southern university, and this first occurred when UNC traveled to New York University.

Black athletes competing in individual sports were also experiencing success on a national scale at this time. One of the first examples of this was Jack Johnson who was the heavy-weight boxing champion from 1908 to 1915. His fight against James Jeffries in 1910 represented larger racial tensions at this time, and after Johnson’s victory, there were race riots across the United States. While racial tensions made Johnson a controversial figure at this time, other black athletes that followed him represented the United States on an international level and were celebrated by many Americans, regardless of race. Jesse Owens competed in the controversial 1936 Olympics that took place in Germany although the German government had asked the United States not to send black athletes. Owens won four gold medals and was the first black athlete to be popular among a broad range of white Americans. Joe Louis, the heavyweight boxing champion from 1937 to 1949, had a similar experience to Owens. Louis fought against Max Schmeling of Germany in 1938. Louis defeated Schmeling, and he was embraced by many Americans, regardless of races. Although individual black athletes

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17 Richard Davies, Sports in American Life: A History, 2nd ed. (Chichester, West Sussex: Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 158. Johnson was born in Galveston, Texas and his parents were both freed slaves. He lived a lavish lifestyle that were not the norm for a black athlete at this time.
19 Davies, Sports in American Life: A History, 166.
21 Davies, Sports in American Life: A History, 168. This fight was important to Louis because he had lost to Schmeling two years earlier, and also there was greater meaning to the fight in the United States because Schmeling was perceived as a representative of Nazi Germany.
experienced success and even widespread support that went beyond race, there were no larger changes in society. 23

Despite the achievements of black athletes in the 1940s and 1950s, many predominately white Southern universities continued to resist the desegregation of athletics. In April of 1947 Jackie Robinson broke the color line in professional baseball when he made his first appearance for the Brooklyn Dodgers. 24 In October of that year, the first desegregated football game in the South took place when Harvard traveled to the University of Virginia and played a black player, Chester Pierce. 25 While some Northern schools continued to challenge the Jim Crow South by insisting that they play full rosters that included black players, there was not widespread change in the South. In fact, some predominately white Southern universities became less open to playing in integrated sports contests after the Brown v Board of Education Supreme Court ruling in 1954 that overturned Plessy v Ferguson’s “separate but equal” decision for public schools and universities. 26 Some of the Southern schools and states against integration demonstrated this through sport. The state government in Louisiana passed a law that made integrated athletics illegal in 1956. 27 Not all of the South took this stance, however, and some Southern schools were starting to desegregate their sporting teams around this time. In 1957, the first black athletes competed in the ACC when two black athletes joined North Carolina State University’s

26 Briggs, “A Tale of Two Pioneers,” 34.
27 Briggs, “A Tale of Two Pioneers,” 34.
While black athletes began to compete in Olympic sports, basketball and football remained segregated at predominately white Southern universities at this time.

College basketball was particularly slow to desegregate in the South. The first black athletes signed contracts with the NBA in 1950, yet at this time it was not common for a Southern white university to compete against an integrated team. There were some signs of this changing. North Carolina State began hosting the Dixie Classic at Reynolds Coliseum in 1949. In this competition between NCSU, UNC, Duke University, Wake University and four other schools with top basketball teams from other states, the tournament directors did not allow an integrated team to play their black players in 1949 and 1950. In 1951, Reynolds Coliseum hosted a National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA regional tournament which required them to accept integrated teams to compete. As a result, the policy changed about integrated squads in the Dixie Classic, and in 1952 Penn State competed with a desegregated team. Allowing desegregated basketball teams to compete in the tournament is believed to be a change made by the founders of the tournament, because they realized that the tournament’s success depended on the tournament’s inclusion of some of the best basketball teams in the nation, which would include the integrated Northern teams. Still, it marked a change in North Carolina’s college athletics.

Black basketball players achieved success while playing for schools outside of the South, but many predominately white Southern schools did not have desegregated teams and some

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teams at these universities continued to refuse to play desegregated teams. In 1958, four black basketball players from schools in the North, Midwest, and West were named All-Americans by the Associated Press, United Press International and coaches. All of the All-American black athletes played for universities that did not compete against a team in a Southern conference. In 1961, Ernie Davis of Syracuse was the first black football player to win the Heisman in college football. That same year, Mississippi State was invited to compete for a national championship in the NCAA basketball tournament after winning the Southeastern Conference, but the team did not play the tournament, because they would be competing against integrated schools. While Southern schools resisted, prominent Northern, Mid-West and Western basketball schools were beginning to have fully integrated teams. The 1962 and 1963 national champion teams – the University of Cincinnati and Loyola of Chicago, respectively – each had four black players on the roster when they won the national championship.

While some predominately white universities in the South were considering desegregating their basketball teams, the experience that black athletes from Northern schools had when playing in the South discouraged some coaches from desegregating their teams. When making the decision about recruiting black players and desegregating UNC’s basketball team, Dean Smith recalled St. John’s head basketball coach Frank McGuire describing the taunting that Solly Walker, a black player on his team, experienced when he played at Kentucky in 1962. McGuire told Smith that he “wouldn’t wish that kind of treatment on anyone.”

This reservation about desegregation changed by the mid-1960s and Southern schools began to desegregate their football and basketball teams. A change indicating the beginning of integration in the ACC occurred in 1963 when Maryland started Darryl Hill at wide receiver in a game against Clemson.\textsuperscript{38} Maryland was also leading change in basketball. Maryland had scouted black basketball players since 1962 and Billy Jones played for Maryland’s varsity basketball team in 1966 after signing a scholarship in 1964.\textsuperscript{39} Jones was the first black basketball player to play for a historically white Southern university.\textsuperscript{40} Other ACC schools were beginning to desegregate their teams this year as well. At UNC, William Cooper began to practice with the varsity team for the 1965-1966 season and would have been the first black varsity basketball player at a historically white Southern university, but Cooper decided not to play and instead focus on academics.\textsuperscript{41} For the 1966-1967 season, two more black athletes joined the ACC: Julius Johnson, who played for Maryland, and C.B. Claiborne, who joined Duke’s team.\textsuperscript{42} The following season, Scott played on the UNC’s basketball team becoming the first black scholarship athlete at the University.\textsuperscript{43} Alabama’s football program, which took a particularly strong stance after the \textit{Brown v Board of Education} ruling, was not desegregated until 1971.\textsuperscript{44}

It is also important to consider aspects of North Carolina and UNC history in relation to when Scott attended the University. While North Carolina had a reputation for being a

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{38} Martin, \textit{“Benching Jim Crow,”} 120.
\item \textsuperscript{39} Martin, \textit{“Benching Jim Crow,”} 156.
\item \textsuperscript{40} Martin, \textit{“Benching Jim Crow,”} 156.
\item \textsuperscript{41} Smith, \textit{A Coach’s Life}, 99.
\item \textsuperscript{42} Martin, \textit{“Benching Jim Crow,”} 159.
\item \textsuperscript{43} Martin, \textit{“Benching Jim Crow,”} 164.
\item \textsuperscript{44} Kaliss, \textit{“Everyone’s All-Americans,”} 2.
\end{itemize}
progressive Southern state, Jim Crow laws and attitudes existed in the 1950s and 1960s, as they did in other states in the region.\textsuperscript{45} The 1950 Senate race was indicative of North Carolinians attitudes toward progressive policy. Frank Porter Graham, a progressive president of UNC, was appointed senator in 1949 to replace Joseph Melvin, who passed away while in office.\textsuperscript{46} In the Democratic primary for the 1950 election, Graham’s opponent ran on a more moderate platform and tried to appeal to white North Carolinian’s fear of integration in the state. Although Graham did not make integration part of his campaign platform, he is thought to have lost the primary because the majority of voters feared his progressive ideals.\textsuperscript{47}

These attitudes were also demonstrated with the integration of the education system. There were many white North Carolinians who did not approve of the \textit{Brown v Board of Education} decision in 1954 that integrated the schools. To get around the Supreme Court decision, a few white leaders in the state created the Pearsall Plan.\textsuperscript{48} The Pearsall Plan, which gave local school districts more power to control their respective districts, made it more difficult for the courts to enforce integration in each school district.\textsuperscript{49} The Pearsall Plan was also indicative of how some North Carolinians would not promote integration. North Carolina school districts began to desegregate in 1957 when a limited number of black students attended schools in Greensboro, Winston-Salem and Charlotte.\textsuperscript{50} Since there was no greater trend towards integration, some believed that “token” integration enforced segregation. For instance, in North

\textsuperscript{45} Kaliss, “Everyone’s All-Americans,” 244
\textsuperscript{46} Kaliss, “Everyone’s All-Americans,” 245.
\textsuperscript{47} Kaliss, “Everyone’s All-Americans,” 245-246.
\textsuperscript{49} Link, \textit{North Carolina: Change and Tradition in a Southern State}, 399.
\textsuperscript{50} Link, \textit{North Carolina: Change and Tradition in a Southern State}, 400.
Carolina there were fewer black students enrolled in North Carolina public schools in 1959 than in 1957. While four more school systems in the state integrated in 1959-1960, hundreds of requests were denied by school systems across the state for black students to attend white schools. School systems in North Carolina slowly desegregated after the *Brown v Board of Education* ruling, but there was not significant change, especially in rural areas of the state, until the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The integration of UNC was also reflective of the Jim Crow laws in the state. Prior to the *Brown v Board of Education* ruling, North Carolina provided funding to five historically black universities. While North Carolina had more historically black campuses at this time than any other Southern state, the opportunities were not comparable to white higher education. In 1938, Pauli Murray applied to UNC after graduating from the Hillside High School, a segregated black high school in Durham. Although Graham was the president of UNC at that time, UNC did not accept her application. In 1951, the UNC law school accepted the first black students following the *Sweatt v. Painter* Supreme Court case in 1950 which ruled that separate-but-equal did not apply to the law school at the University of Texas. In 1955, three black students from Durham desegregated the undergraduate program at UNC.

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51 Link, *North Carolina: Change and Tradition in a Southern State*, 400.
52 Link, *North Carolina: Change and Tradition in a Southern State*, 401.
56 Link, *North Carolina: Change and Tradition in a Southern State*, 396.
Although the University desegregated in 1955, it was years until Chapel Hill was an integrated community. In 1963, there were still several segregated businesses in Chapel Hill, including restaurants on Franklin Street.\(^{59}\) The Committee for Open Business was formed by local activists, and there were boycotts and demonstrations at the segregated establishments resulting in over one hundred arrests.\(^{60}\) There were some accounts of the sit-ins that recalled violence by the owners of the segregated businesses toward the activists.\(^{61}\) While the protests received some support, the main newspapers, other than the *Daily Tar Heel*, did not write about them, or when they did, they were critical of the protests.\(^{62}\)

**Literature Review**

A review of the literature alluded to the racist nature of mainstream sports writing in a time before Scott played at UNC. In the article “‘Rebellion in the Kingdom of Swat’: Sportswriters, African American Athletes, and Coverage of Curt Flood’s Lawsuit against Major League Baseball,” William Gillis referred to the racist language that was used by some of the white sporting press to describe Louis’s boxing victories in the 1940s.\(^{63}\) Other scholars have discussed the impact of this coverage. In the article “Joe Louis, the Southern Press, and the ‘Fight of the Century,’” Robert Drake referenced how white Americans supported Louis yet there was little evidence, especially in the South, of change in any belief structures.\(^{64}\) Drake

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\(^{59}\) Kaliss, “Everyone’s All-Americans,” 246.

\(^{60}\) Link, *North Carolina: Change and Tradition in a Southern State*, 404.

\(^{61}\) Kaliss, “Everyone’s All-Americans,” 246.

\(^{62}\) Kaliss, “Everyone’s All-Americans,” 247.


argued that larger change may not have occurred because many of the articles and photographs supported existing prejudices and stereotypes. Gillis also referenced the paternalistic, and sometimes racist, language that was used in covering Robinson in the 1950s, and how some prominent “old school” sports writers initially attacked outspoken athletes, many of whom were black athletes, in the 1960s. In a critique of Harry Edward’s book *The Revolt of the Black Athlete*, Michael Lomax discussed some of the qualities of sports writing in the 1960s in the article “Revisiting the Revolt of the Black Athlete: Harry Edwards and the Making of the New African American Sport Studies.” In this article, Lomax discussed Edward’s observation that social injustices occurring in sports at this time that were often minimalized or ignored in media coverage. The qualities of sports writing at this time were noticed by some audiences. In the article “Sports Illustrated’s African American Series as Socially Responsible Journalism,” Reed Smith discussed a survey that indicated that even though sports seemed to be an area in which there could be equality, black Americans perceived the mainstream media as being instruments of the white power structure.

Scholars have also discussed the way in which the 1968 Olympic Games were covered. Smith discussed how Sports Illustrated, Newsweek and Life wrote about the potential of black athletes boycotting the Olympics. While many articles mentioned the racism the athletes encountered, Smith noted that little of this coverage explained how the potential boycott was part of a larger social movement. In the article “A ‘Race’ for Equality: Print Media Coverage of the

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65 Gillis, “‘Rebellion in the Kingdom of Swat,’” 69.
68 Smith, "Sports Illustrated’s African American Series as Socially Responsible Journalism," 53.
1968 Olympic Protest by Tommie Smith and John Carlos,” Jason Peterson discussed how this was one of the first times that sports became blatantly political.  

Peterson referenced nationally syndicated articles that were not supportive of this political action at sporting events and were, therefore, critical of the actions of Smith and Carlos. This article also discussed how some of the most neutral coverage of this event occurred near the home town of Smith and Carlos in San Jose, California.

Literature on sports writing did indicate a change in how black athletes were covered in the late 1960s and 1970s, which included the time of Scott’s career at UNC. Drake referred to a progression in newspaper coverage during this time. He referenced how photos of black athletes became less censored during the Civil Rights Era. Gillis discussed examples of the sports writers who criticized Ali for being a political athlete, but were supporting the actions of Carlos and Smith in the 1968 Olympics. By the 1970s, this scholar claimed that the sports sections in newspapers were “as reflective of the upheaval in American society – particularly in regard to race – as were front pages.” While there appeared to be some initial hesitancy, coverage of athletes during this time period began to extend beyond the stats and game stories and address larger social issues.

Previous research on Scott provided insights into how he was covered. Greg Kaliss examined how mainstream and alternative media covered Charlie Scott during some of the most

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73 William Gillis, “Rebellion in the Kingdom of Swat,” 72.

74 William Gillis, “Rebellion in the Kingdom of Swat,” 69.
important and controversial times of his basketball career in the dissertation “Everyone’s All-Americans: Race, Men’s College Athletics and the Ideal of Equal Opportunity.” This dissertation focused on how Scott was covered when he committed to play at UNC and when he did not receive the ACC Player of the Year award as a junior and senior. Kaliss found that the mainstream media, which included the Raleigh News and Observer, Durham Morning Herald and Charlotte Observer, had a tendency to downplay the significance of race in Scott’s coverage, especially when he committed to play UNC.75 Kaliss also described how local alternative media, which included Chapel Hill Weekly, the Daily Tar Heel, the Carolinian and the Carolina Times, included more of a discussion of racial issues at these times in Scott’s career.

**Conceptual framework**

This research explores how newspapers addressed race by considering how Scott was covered during his career at UNC. More specifically, this research examines how Scott and race were covered and also how this coverage progressed from when he committed to play at UNC to when he signed a contract with a professional team after his senior year of college. While there has been previous research on Scott and some aspects of his career, the goal of this research was to be more comprehensive in explaining how Scott was covered during college and the evolution of this coverage during his time at UNC.

**Method**

To study how Scott was covered in the newspaper during his career at UNC, this research examined three newspapers: the Daily Tar Heel, the News and Observer and the Carolina Times.

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75 Kaliss, “Everyone’s All-Americans,” 267, 268.
The newspapers were all examined during the time of Scott’s commitment to UNC in May of 1966, the basketball seasons from 1966 to 1970, and the time before and during the 1968 Olympics. Scott was not included in the index of the Daily Tar Heel and News and Observer. To research how he was covered, I read through all issues of the Daily Tar Heel and News and Observer published in the previously mentioned timeframe. The Carolina Times is searchable through the North Carolina Digital Heritage Center online. Therefore, I read each edition of the newspaper during the previously mentioned timeframe, and used the search function to read any other coverage of Scott during his time at UNC.

The three papers were selected so that there could be a broad view of Scott’s coverage. The Daily Tar Heel was a daily paper that at this time was not independent from UNC. This paper was examined for the perspective of the UNC campus and students. The News and Observer, a regional paper published in Raleigh, North Carolina, provides a perspective of Scott’s coverage in mainstream media. The Carolina Times was an African-American weekly paper published in Durham, North Carolina. This paper was an alternative viewpoint from the mainstream media and a campus newspaper.

When considering the coverage of Scott, this research sought to answer three questions in particular:

1. How did the News and Observer, the Daily Tar Heel and Carolina Times cover Scott and his race?
2. How was the coverage of Scott, with an emphasis on race, in the three newspapers similar and different?
3. How did each newspaper’s coverage evolve over Scott’s college career?
Findings

The insights gained through researching the News and Observer, Daily Tar Heel and Carolina Times were explored by referring back to the three questions. The findings section also explored general trends of coverage that may provide greater understanding of the questions asked in the thesis and the context of Charles Scott’s coverage as a whole. To examine race in news coverage, I discuss two themes concerning race that were found in the newspaper articles about Scott. The other part of the Findings section compares and contrasts the coverage of the three newspapers.

Race in Newspaper Coverage

The examination of race in news coverage revealed two themes of race impacting newsworthiness and issues of race beyond basketball. While race was present in much of Scott’s coverage, these two themes reveal the significance of Scott’s race in how he was covered.

Race Impacting Newsworthiness

When Scott signed to play at the University of North Carolina in 1966 and when he did not receive the votes to be named Atlantic Coast Conference Player of the Year in 1969 and 1970, the topic of race influenced the newsworthiness of the story. While it may have been appropriate in both circumstances for there to be additional stories on the subject matter, Scott’s race became a focus in the stories and the news value of the stories.

After Scott signed a grant-in-aid to play at UNC in 1966, the Daily Tar Heel and Carolina Times included additional stories about Scott which focused on his decision to play at the University. While the newspapers discussed different issues, the Daily Tar Heel and
Carolina Times both followed Scott’s signing with stories about Scott’s race and the significance of choosing to play at UNC. The Daily Tar Heel published an Associated Press article on May 4, 1966 that was about Scott signing with the University.76 The following day there was a story about why Scott chose UNC and about how the basketball team was excited to have a student-athlete like Scott.77 This article emphasized that Scott would be the first scholarship black athlete to attend the University. The Daily Tar Heel did not interview Scott, but it did include quotes about Scott and race from Coach Dean Smith; for instance, “Smith credited ‘the atmosphere for a Negro student’ at UNC as being the primary factor in Scott’s decision. Smith said that Scott saw that he could be a part of the student body here and ‘not just a gladiator.’”78 An article in the Daily Tar Heel also mentioned Scott’s commitment the next day and stated that “Smith wrestled Scott away from Davidson and Duke. The highly-touted Negro star – the first Negro ever recruited here – had signed an academic letter of intent with Davidson. The grant-in-aid he signed with UNC was the first that has to do with athletics.”79 The Carolina Times included a story about Scott’s commitment to UNC on the front page of the next weekly paper. This story mentioned that “Scott is the first of his race to receive an athletic grant-in-aid at UNC.”80 In the same paper, the Carolina Times referred back to Scott’s commitment to the University in the editorial “Diminishing Returns of Integration.”81 This editorial discussed the costs of integration and Scott’s commitment was described as “the forerunner of the raids that

80 “Scott To Attend UNC With Full Scholarship Agreement,” Carolina Times, May 7, 1966, p. 1A and 6A.
are certain to be made on Negro society in every other field where excellence in performance is required.” See Appendix A.

Race as a criteria for newsworthiness also appeared in the coverage of Scott during times of controversy after the ACC Player of the Year was announced in the 1968-1969 and 1969-1970 basketball seasons in his junior and senior years of college. The subject of how race may have impacted the votes resulted in several stories in the Daily Tar Heel and an additional story in the News and Observer. During Scott’s junior season, the Daily Tar Heel included an article about University of South Carolina’s John Roche being named the ACC Player of the Year.82 Art Chansky responded to the All-Conference and Player of the Year voting in “An Extreme Injustice,” a story in which he questioned how Scott could have been left off of some All-Conference ballots he stated that “these writers can honestly say there exist five players in the conference better than Scott makes the whole thing highly ridiculous.”83 See Appendix B. Several stories were published in the Daily Tar Heel when Roche was again named Player of the Year during Scott’s senior season in 1970 that questioned the voting and the process. An editorial, “Charlie Scott – Only No. 2” stated “the dark possibility of racism in the voting also entered the picture last year, and tainted it again this year.”84 A story was also published in the News and Observer after the Player of the Year results were available, which was voted on by sports writers, in which Dean Smith said that the ACC coaches would have chosen Scott for the honor.85 Scott declined to comment for this story. However, the article did include a quote from Scott about the previous year’s voting for ACC Player of Year. The article stated that when Scott has been “asked why a majority of the writers voted for Roche, Scott replied it must have been because of his race. Scott is a Negro.” See Appendix C.

Issue of Race Beyond Basketball

Coverage of Scott that extended to topics beyond what occurred on the basketball court often had to do with race. This included Scott’s race or larger topics concerning race and society. The Carolina Times, Daily Tar Heel and News and Observer all had articles that discussed Scott and race in a broader context than basketball.

The Carolina Times and News and Observer both published stories about Scott and his role in the community as a black athlete. A story in the Carolina Times mentioned Scott’s involvement in the Durham community in two articles. One of the articles was about Scott assisting in a basketball clinic and the other one was a story about Scott visiting Hillside High School in Durham during Black Awareness Week.86 In February of his junior year, Scott “spoke to the Hornet family about his experiences with black pride and black ‘power.’ The ‘power’ he spoke about was the intellectual and competitive power of one black student at the University of North Carolina.”87 In this story, Scott was described as a “noted figure in basketball,” Olympian and “a star.” The News and Observer published one article about black college basketball players in North Carolina, which included Scott, at the end of Scott’s junior season.88 The article “Negro Stars Live In Two Worlds” was written by the Associated Press. This story discussed the social problems experienced by black basketball players on majority-white campuses in North Carolina. Scott was described as being involved with the Black Student Movement on campus, and the story mentioned that he was married.

The Daily Tar Heel wrote about Scott’s involvement in the Olympics, the community and the black rights on campus. In a story before the 1968 Olympics about the possibility of black athletes boycotting the event, the article included a quote from Scott in which he said that it is each athlete’s

86 “Basketball Clinic,” Carolina Times, August 2, 1969, p. 8A.
87 “Hillside High School Bursting with Activities,” February 22, 1969, Carolina Times, p. 5A.
decision and he could not speak for anyone else.\textsuperscript{89} Stories in the \textit{Daily Tar Heel} also discussed the impact that the Olympics had on Scott before the beginning of his junior season.\textsuperscript{90} In this article, Owen Davis wrote, “Scott has been a black athlete in a time when athletes of his race have been called upon to protest what they consider the injustices in society.” Davis also explained that Scott had been involved in addressing existing injustices. Davis wrote, “Scott has heard the call and listened, and now is ready to heed it. His response is what he calls ‘activism,’ which for him is a personal attempt to do something about recognized wrongs.” In February of Scott’s junior year at UNC, the \textit{Daily Tar Heel} published an editorial that supported Scott and Bill Chamberlain, a member of the freshman team who was also black, meeting with Chancellor Sitterson to support the Black Student Movement.\textsuperscript{91} See Appendix D. Davis wrote about the role of the black athlete in the larger social movements and was encouraging of Scott and Chamberlain to speak out about the issues on campus.\textsuperscript{92} In the basketball preview before Scott’s senior basketball season, the \textit{Daily Tar Heel} also wrote an article about Scott that was more about his experiences as a student-athlete off the court than his previous play or expectations for the season. Art Chansky wrote, “Not often does an athlete blossom that has been so touched by the poles of his environment. Athletically, socially, politically and racially, Scott has been exposed.”\textsuperscript{93}


Similarities and Differences in the Newspaper Coverage of Charles Scott

Comparing the coverage of the Scott in the Daily Tar Heel, Carolina Times and News and Observer indicated the similarities and differences of the newspapers sports writing during this time period. As shown in the previous section addressing the themes about race in news coverage, the three papers’ coverage of Scott’s career was similar at times and different at other times. This comparison is valuable because it reveals how each paper approached the same topic, Scott and race, in different ways based on the perspective of the newspaper and its respective audience. This section compared the papers’ coverage by dividing Scott’s career into his commitment to UNC and freshman year, sophomore year, junior year, and senior year.

Commitment to the University of North Carolina and Freshman Year

Although the News and Observer, Carolina Times and Daily Tar Heel all published one initial story about Scott signing a letter of intent to play with UNC that was similar, they covered his signing in different ways when considering the placement of the stories and additional coverage of Scott’s commitment to the University. The News and Observer included one article about Scott signing his letter of intent to attend the University.94 This story, which was an Associated Press article, was in the sports section. It described Scott as the “bespectacled New York City Negro” and had a quote from Scott about how he liked the students at Chapel Hill and that the school seemed cosmopolitan. The Daily Tar Heel published a story in the sports section similar to the one in the News and Observer that was also written by the Associated Press.95 The next day, the newspaper included a story about Scott’s commitment with the article about the campus atmosphere influencing Scott’s decision, and there was also another short

story in the sports section about Scott, his recruiting history and desire to pursue a career in medicine at this time.\textsuperscript{96} In addition to the stories about his commitment, Scott was also included in the \textit{Daily Tar Heel}'s Weekly Awards section where he was named “Man of the Week.”\textsuperscript{97} The award stated that Scott was the “the much sought after super basketball star who disappointed Duke and Davidson (among others) when he signed a grant-in-aid to play basketball at UNC.” The \textit{Carolina Times} included a story similar to the nationally syndicated story that was in the \textit{News and Observer} and \textit{Daily Tar Heel}.\textsuperscript{98} This story was on the front page of the edition of the \textit{Carolina Times} following Scott’s commitment. It included the same quote from Scott about why he chose UNC that was included in the nationally syndicated article, but it also contained additional information including information on Willie Cooper being the first black basketball player on UNC’s team.

As a freshman, Scott was not eligible to play on the varsity team, and the freshman team did not receive much newspaper coverage. The \textit{Carolina Times} did not include any stories about the UNC freshman team or Scott. The \textit{News and Observer} also did not include stories on Scott his freshman season, but there were box scores and short articles about the UNC freshman team. Scott’s freshman season was covered the most by the \textit{Daily Tar Heel}. The \textit{Daily Tar Heel}’s sports section typically included more information in their coverage about the freshman games than the \textit{News and Observer}. When Scott was injured and unable to play for the first weeks of his freshman season, the \textit{Daily Tar Heel} described it as being an “extreme blow” to the freshman team.\textsuperscript{99} The \textit{Daily Tar Heel} included information about Scott’s popularity. One story described how “the crowd of about 5,000 came to see


Charlie Scott in action” and in a later article, that fans labeled the freshman games as the “Charlie Scott Show.”

**Sophomore Year**

As a sophomore, Scott played his first season on the varsity basketball team at UNC. The *Daily Tar Heel* and *News and Observer* included more articles on Scott as a member of the UNC’s varsity basketball team than the newspapers did during his tenure on the freshman team. However, the *Carolina Times* did not have any coverage of Scott’s sophomore year. The way in which Scott was covered during his sophomore year by the *Daily Tar Heel* and *News and Observer* was examined through how the papers wrote about Scott’s performance during games, stories focusing on Scott, and the crowd’s reaction to Scott.

The stories in the *Daily Tar Heel* and *News and Observer* included different wording and quotes to describe Scott’s basketball games as a sophomore. Throughout his sophomore season, articles in the *Daily Tar Heel* praised Scott’s performance by including observations that he played as if he had more experience than a first-year varsity player. After Carolina’s first basketball game, the *Daily Tar Heel* described Scott in the first paragraph as “a sophomore but who really isn’t,” and when reflecting on the team mid-season, the paper reported “Scott was supposed to be a superstar of the future, but he has proved he may deserve that label as a sophomore.”101 The *News and Observer* often praised Scott’s play and at times referred to him as a “super-soph,” but also described his role on the team at times as being


more of a support player to Larry Miller. Quotes used about the same game differed in the newspapers. This was especially apparent after UNC’s victory over Duke on January 6, 1968. Both newspapers wrote stories about the game with similar analyses of Scott’s performance, but the quotes that they chose to use were different. The *Daily Tar Heel*’s article included a quote from Duke’s head coach, Vic Bubas, who said “We’ve got Superman covered (Miller, who was contained inside), but Zorro (Scott, who was everywhere) is doing a heck of a job….how Bubas arrived at the nickname ‘Zorro’ for Scott is his secret, but for sure Scott helped cut Duke’s throat as did the Mexican sword-artist.” The *News and Observer*’s story did not use the quote referencing Zorro, but it did include a quote from Bubas about Scott making “some fine moves at crucial times.”

In addition to writing about Scott in basketball games, the *Daily Tar Heel* and *News and Observer* each included a feature on Scott during his sophomore season. The first feature about Scott was in the *Daily Tar Heel* almost half way through the basketball season. This story began by discussing Scott’s calm demeanor and his season up to that point. The article included that “people are talking about him and only incidentally because he is the first Negro to become a genuine star in the ACC.” It also contained an excerpt from a *Charlotte News* question and answer story about Scott. The *Daily Tar Heel* included Scott’s response to a variety of questions. One of the questions was about the conditions of the world today to which Scott replied “it’s kind of not hard to be aware of the racial problem when you are a Negro, a Negro at a southern school.” The *News and Observer* published a feature about Scott

before the Tar Heels played in the Eastern Regional playoff game. This feature was about Scott not feeling pressure even though there were high expectations, especially since he was replacing an All-American in the starting line-up for UNC basketball team. The article included several quotes from Scott about the team and the season. The feature did not mention anything about race or anything that was non-basketball related.

The crowd was mentioned in Scott’s coverage as a sophomore. Similar to his freshman season, Scott was described as a crowd-pleaser after his strong performances. The crowd also became part of Scott’s coverage because of its reaction to him during away games. Although the stories in the *Daily Tar Heel* and *News and Observer* did not mention the crowd’s response to Scott in the article following a game, both papers addressed the crowd’s response at later times in the season. The first mention of the crowd acting negatively towards Scott because of his race was in the *Daily Tar Heel* story “The Many Moods of UNC’s Charlie Scott” when Scott was asked a question about opposing fans saying anything to him about his race by responding “Generally, no. Only at one school. It was pretty bad. If our fans acted that way toward a visiting player I would be ashamed of it.” The *Daily Tar Heel* addressed the incident mentioned by Scott in the story previewing the North Carolina State University (NCSU) game in which they described how the first game was physical on the court and the crowd shouted jeers at Scott that got worse as the game continued. Although it was not as direct as the *Daily Tar Heel* story, a *News and Observer* article also appeared to address the events that occurred during the first basketball game between UNC and NCSU in its coverage of the second game between the two universities. After Scott scored a career-high 34 points in the game, the *News and Observer* included in the article that

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“Smith remarked that Scott was particularly looking forward to this game.” This was not specific like the *Daily Tar Heel* story, but it indicated that there were circumstances in the first game that made Scott particularly interested in the next game.

**Junior Year**

The coverage of Scott’s junior year captured his transition to assuming a leadership position on the UNC basketball team while also having a successful individual season in his All-American campaign. The *Daily Tar Heel, News and Observer* and *Carolina Times* all included stories about Scott’s performance in games and his role on the team. The coverage of Scott’s junior season in the three newspapers was analyzed by considering how they wrote about Scott’s experience in the 1968 Olympics, his leadership and maturity and the voting for ACC Player of the Year honors.

Scott’s experience as a participant in the 1968 Olympics was influential in how he was covered by the *Daily Tar Heel, News and Observer* and the *Carolina Times*. There were several brief stories in the *Daily Tar Heel* about Scott’s Olympic experience. The stories occurred when he was trying out for the Olympic team, preparing for the Olympics and traveling with the United States team, and when he won the gold medal.

In the 1968-1969 basketball preview edition of the *Daily Tar Heel*, the paper included a story with more information on Scott’s experience at the Olympics, how traveling influenced his perceptions of the world and how he did not agree with the United States Olympic Committee for making Tommie Smith and John Carlos leave the Olympics after their demonstration at the Olympics.

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In a *News and Observer* story, there was mention of how Scott’s experience at the Olympics would influence his basketball at UNC. In the newspaper’s article about the Tar Heels before the season, Scott’s experience as an Olympian was said to have helped him become a “more polished, more productive, and more sensational operator.”\(^\text{112}\) The story also included a quote from Smith about how playing in the Olympic games close to the college season could “make it tough on him mentally” and he might need rest towards the end. At the end of the 1968-1969 season, the *News and Observer* also referenced Scott’s Olympic experience when it included how he said he had learned from the “different situations in the Olympics” and that this had helped him play better at the end of the regular season and in the playoffs.\(^\text{113}\) The *Carolina Times* did not have a story that included details on Scott’s Olympic experience, but the paper did refer to Scott as an Olympian during the articles about him in his junior season.\(^\text{114}\) The *Daily Tar Heel* and *News and Observer* stories also described Scott as an Olympian in many of their articles about UNC’s basketball team throughout his junior and senior seasons.

Scott’s leadership and maturity was mentioned in many stories during his junior year. Some of the writing about Scott’s leadership and maturity came from his role on the team, while other stories mentioned these qualities because of factors not related to UNC basketball such as Scott’s participation in the Olympics and his marriage. The *Daily Tar Heel* articles discussed Scott’s leadership and maturity on and off the basketball court. In the same story about Scott’s Olympic experience that is included in the basketball preview edition, the *Daily Tar Heel* described Scott’s leadership in the community and how he had become more mature during his two years at UNC.\(^\text{115}\) With his Olympic experience in mind, this *Daily Tar Heel* article discussed Scott’s thoughts on race and society, and how “he provides leadership


\(^{114}\) “Hillside High School Bursting with Activities,” *Carolina Times*, February 22, 1969, p. 5A.

for those of his race” as a successful black athlete. Another *Daily Tar Heel* story also referenced Scott’s leadership on the team in many stories and included quotes from Dean Smith after games about how “he’s a real team leader and he showed it.” The *Carolina Times* described Scott as UNC’s basketball team’s leader. It referenced Scott’s leadership in the community through stories and photos of him speaking and making appearances to youth audiences in Durham. The *News and Observer* included in several stories about how Scott was a leader. This role was mentioned in the first game of the season, and he continued to be labeled as the team’s leader throughout the season. Unlike the *Daily Tar Heel* and the *Carolina Times*, the *News and Observer* did not include any statements concerning Scott’s leadership or maturity off of the basketball court.

One of the most controversial times of Scott’s basketball career was when he was not named the ACC Player of the Year at the end of his junior season. The outcome of this award, which was voted on by ACC sports writers, was not included in the *Carolina Times*, and few details about the circumstances surrounding the award were in the *News and Observer*. The *News and Observer* story did include that University of South Carolina guard John Roche “won the honor in a race with Charlie Scott.” The story did not include quotes from Scott or Smith, and it did not mention that this result was perceived as controversial by many people, including Scott. The *Daily Tar Heel* covered this topic in more detail with an initial story about the results of the voting for the award and then a follow-up story about the outcome of both the Player of the Year and Coach of the Year voting. In the follow-up story, Art Chansky described some explanations for Roche receiving the honor, although he still believed Scott was most

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118 “Hilside High School Bursting with Activities,” *Carolina Times*, February 22, 1969, p. 5A.
deserving. He questioned the entire process because Scott’s name was left off of five ballots for the five-man All-ACC team. This story included quotes from both Scott and Smith about the outcome. Smith questioned how anyone could have left Scott off the All-ACC team because “he is justified to be the player of the year” and he also stated that those who left him off the ballot “don’t know their basketball” and that “maybe that person is anti-North Carolina or anti-black.” Scott also said that it was an individual goal for him to receive the honor and that “a player wants to be appreciated.”

*Senior Year*

As a senior, Scott was an established leader on a team that had many young players. The coverage of Scott, particularly in the *News and Observer* and *Daily Tar Heel*, was reflective of his role and importance on the team from the basketball preview and throughout the stories about the games. The coverage of Scott’s senior year was evaluated by considering how the newspapers wrote about Scott’s opinions and individual performance, the conference Player of the Year voting and his career at UNC as he went on to play professionally.

During Scott’s senior basketball season, his role on the team was reflected through newspaper coverage that, at times, had more focus on Scott’s individual performance and his opinions. The *Carolina Times* did not cover the UNC basketball team or Scott during his senior year, but the paper did include a story about Scott leading the ACC in the average points-per-game statistic. The *Daily Tar Heel* included a similar story about Scott’s individual point-per-game statistic leading the ACC. In

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125 “Scott’s 23.8 Sets Scoring Pace in ACC,” *Carolina Times*, January 24, 1970, p. 7A.
addition to discussing his individual performance, the Daily Tar Heel’s coverage also referenced Scott’s thoughts and feelings about issues concerning basketball. This included how at the beginning of the season he felt “annoyed at recent newspaper stories about the overrated Atlantic Coast Conference,” and at the end of the season he said the structure of the conference tournament “just isn’t any good.”\textsuperscript{127} The News and Observer did not have the stories about Scott leading the ACC scoring race. However, through direct quotes or referring to Scott’s views on a topic, stories in the paper did include Scott’s thoughts on the team’s performance in some of the game stories, which had not been common for this type of article, and his opinion about his own performance in articles during the season.\textsuperscript{128}

A specific time during Scott’s senior season that some media sources focused on him was after he was not named conference Player of the Year for the second time. While the Carolina Times did not include any articles about this, the News and Observer and the Daily Tar Heel both had stories about the result of the voting. The News and Observer included a story when Roche was named Player of the Year again.\textsuperscript{129} On the same day, there was also an article about Smith and Scott’s reactions to the result of voting about the honor.\textsuperscript{130} Smith stated that the ACC coaches would have unanimously named Scott the conference Player of the Year. Scott said “no comment” about the outcome this year for the paper, and the article went on to say that last season Scott told the Washington Post he thought he deserved the honor instead of Roche and that he did not receive the majority of the votes because of his race. In the Daily Tar Heel, Art Chansky discussed the results of the ACC Player of the Year voting, and he also criticized the

criteria and process for selecting the player for the honor.\textsuperscript{131} Two days after Player of the Year was named, there was an article on the opinion page that questioned whether the results were related to race and included the same information from the \textit{News and Observer} about Scott saying that the previous year’s voting was influenced by race.\textsuperscript{132} The \textit{Daily Tar Heel} also included a letter to the editor that used a hypothetical to imply that race influenced the Player of the Year voting through a story of a future black basketball player who played for UNC and had excellent game statistics, but he did not receive the award.\textsuperscript{133}

The \textit{Daily Tar Heel} extensively covered the ending of Scott’s career and his signing with the America Basketball Association. As mentioned in the introduction of this paper, the \textit{Daily Tar Heel} wrote a detailed story about Scott’s last game and the crowd cheering for Scott to return to play in the game.\textsuperscript{134} The newspaper also included several articles reflecting on Scott’s career. Two of them were published on February 25, the day of Scott’s last game of the regular season. One reflection was on the front page of the paper written by Jack Williams, the Director of Sports Information at the time.\textsuperscript{135} Williams recalled how Scott had changed throughout his time at UNC, crowds at away games shouted racist remarks at Scott, the pressure he faced as the first black scholarship athlete at UNC and the adversity he faced at times, specifically about the Player of the Year voting. When discussing newspaper coverage of Scott after the Player of the Year voting his junior season, Williams wrote “in retrospect, it seems strange, indeed, that not one newsman supported his view.” The other story on the day of the last


game was about the three seniors who “exemplify the uniqueness of the University.”\textsuperscript{136} This story discussed information on Scott’s involvement on campus and included that “Scott did not hesitate to help his black brothers during their protests last year.” The \textit{Daily Tar Heel} also published an editorial after the last game of Scott’s regular season titled “Thanks, Charlie Scott.”\textsuperscript{137} This article also mentioned the “physical and verbal” abuse he endured at times when the team travelled across the country and how “his success on the court (two time All-Conference and a certain All-America this year) and off (honors student) have opened the way for other black people to attend Carolina.” Scott signed a contract with the Washington Caps, a team in the American Basketball Association, the day after his career ended at UNC with a loss in the National Invitational Tournament.\textsuperscript{138} The \textit{Daily Tar Heel} included a story about Scott’s professional contract that emphasized how the contract would take care of Scott and his wife financially and how Scott was excited to be in Washington, D.C., for the possibility of continuing his education to become a lawyer. The \textit{Daily Tar Heel}’s last story about Scott was two days after he signed his professional contract. This article mentioned how, at times, Scott’s career at UNC had been “controversial” but when asked how he perceived his time at the University he replied “I have never regretted going to North Carolina…If I have a son, I hope he goes to North Carolina.”\textsuperscript{139}

Similar to the \textit{Daily Tar Heel}, the \textit{News and Observer} also wrote several articles about the end of Scott’s career and his signing a professional contract to continue to play basketball, but the \textit{News and Observer}’s coverage was more focused on basketball. The first story was published after the regular season and before the UNC basketball team competed in the conference tournament. This article was about the impact Scott had on the basketball team and how time, since the season was nearing an end,

was one of the only ways his strong performance could be stopped.¹⁴⁰ When UNC’s basketball team lost in the first round of the conference tournament and the post season plans for the team were unknown, the News and Observer included a short article on the team and Scott.¹⁴¹ This article stated that Scott “will be remembered as one of the greatest stars produced in this conference.” There was one more short story about Scott after UNC’s last game. Carolina lost the game, which took place in New York City. The News and Observer included a quote from Scott similar to the one in the Daily Tar Heel about how he enjoyed his time at UNC.¹⁴² Scott’s collegiate coverage concluded in the News and Observer with a nationally syndicated story about him signing a professional contract.¹⁴³ This article included information on his contract, the American Basketball Association and his basketball success while playing for UNC. Similar to the other articles that were published at the end of Scott’s career, this article did not mention anything about race, his involvement with larger racial issues, or that he was UNC’s first black scholarship athlete.

Discussion

The *News and Observer*, *Daily Tar Heel* and *Carolina Times* approached covering Charles Scott and race in differing ways. A different emphasis was placed on Scott as an athlete, student, community leader and Olympian in the three papers’ coverage. Also significant was the way each newspaper’s writing evolved throughout his career. This section separately analyzes the coverage of the Scott in the *News and Observer*, *Daily Tar Heel* and *Carolina Times*.

The *News and Observer*

The *News and Observer*’s coverage of Scott mostly focused on him as a basketball player. There were only a few stories that mentioned Scott’s race or his involvement in issues in society at that time related to race. One exception is the story after Scott did not receive the Player of the Year honor after his senior season. When discussing how Dean Smith and Scott felt about the result, the article stated that “Scott is a Negro.”\(^{144}\) As the Findings section reveals, the other exceptions of stories published in the *News and Observer* originally came from nationally syndicated articles. These stories included when Scott signed a letter of intent to play at UNC and a story about black college athletes.\(^ {145}\) It is also important to note that while the *News and Observer* did not regularly mention Scott’s race in their coverage, Scott was frequently included in the photos associated with the story. This supports Robert Drakes’ claim in “Joe Louis, the Southern Press, and the ‘Fight of the Century,’” that photographs of black athletes in the civil rights era were more prominent than they were before this time.\(^ {146}\) While the *News and


\(^{146}\) Drake, “Joe Louis, the Southern Press, and the ‘Fight of the Century,’” 11.
Observer’s stories included some mentions of race in its coverage of Scott, largely the focus was on Scott as a basketball player, not Scott as a black basketball player.

There are several ways to interpret the News and Observer’s coverage of Scott and his race. Previously, Gregory Kaliss argued that the News and Observer not mentioning the significance of Scott and his race when he signed a grant-in-aid to play at UNC demonstrated the prevalence of race-minimizing discourse in white public forums.\(^{147}\) This scholar referenced the News and Observer’s regional circulation and significantly white audience when supporting this theory. While this scholar was referring to a specific instance of Scott’s career, an argument could be made that this applies to the coverage of Scott throughout his career. This particularly stood out in the article “Scott: Never Felt Pressure As A Soph.,” that discussed how Scott did not feel pressure when replacing an All-American who had graduated the prior year in the starting lineup or from the high expectations placed on him for the season.\(^{148}\) See Appendix E. There was no mention of his race, or the pressure that may be on the first black scholarship athlete to play at UNC. The findings of this research also indicated that while the News and Observer occasionally included an article that mentioned Scott’s race, none of the features on Scott or the coverage about the team stated that Scott was the first black scholarship player to attend UNC. Considering that the News and Observer’s main mentions of race were through nationally syndicated stories and that there was no mention of Scott and his race in a larger context, it appears to be feasible that there may have been a conscious decision by the News and Observer’s sportswriters to minimize race in Scott’s coverage.

\(^{147}\) Kaliss, “Everyone’s All-Americans,” 267. Kaliss makes this argument specifically referring to how the News and Observer published a nationally syndicated article that does not mention Scott is the first black scholarship athlete at UNC and did not include any other coverage about Scott committing to the University through other stories or editorials.

It is also possible that the *News and Observer* was more focused on Scott as a basketball player and that the sports section did not consider his race to be as newsworthy as his performance in his sport. It could be assumed that Scott’s race was known through the few articles that mentioned his race, including the first article about his commitment to play at UNC, and the photos of Scott that often accompanied a story. As a result, an argument can be made that the *News and Observer* was not minimizing or avoiding race but instead taking a more liberal approach that it was not necessary to include race when covering Scott. Supporting this perspective is that during Scott’s career at UNC, the *News and Observer* did have stories about other black college basketball players that had more of emphasis on race. For example, in a story about Al Heartly, who walked on to the basketball team at North Carolina State University, the article explained how Heartly earned a scholarship and was “the first Negro to ever play for the Wolfpack.”\(^\text{149}\) Another example of this was a story about Vince Colbert, East Carolina University’s first black scholarship athlete. This story discussed how recruiting Colbert was different because of his race, and also Colbert explains in this article that he did not feel being the first black athlete did not put pressure on him.\(^\text{150}\) The stories about Heartley and Colbert demonstrate how the *News and Observer* did not completely avoid writing about race and sports, more specifically the impact of race on college basketball. Scott was a more prominent basketball player than Heartley and Colbert, and the News and Observer’s coverage of these three players and race supports the possibility that the newspaper’s sports writers wanted to focus on Scott’s performance on the basketball court.


However, even if the *News and Observer* sportswriters wanted to focus on Scott as a basketball player, the paper still avoided covering the significance of Scott and his race. When considering the complete coverage of Scott in the *News and Observer*, there was only one mention of Scott’s impact beyond basketball and it was a story that also focused on two other athletes and was published from a nationally syndicated source.\(^{151}\) While Scott was not the first black athlete in the area, he was the first prominent black athlete. The coverage of Scott in the *Daily Tar Heel* and *Carolina Times* revealed that part of Scott’s story as a basketball player included the larger significance of his career as a prominent black student-athlete. Therefore, it is possible the *News and Observer*’s sportswriters may not have perceived race as being as relevant in the coverage of Scott, but when considering the circumstances surrounding Scott’s career it is apparent that the paper avoided discussing Scott in a larger context than his sport. While the previous paragraph stated that a possible explanation for how Scott was covered by the *News and Observer* was a result of the newspaper’s sportswriters wanting to take a more liberal, almost post-race, approach, it is difficult to view the paper as actually being progressive in the way that they at times avoided discussing Scott and race.

When considering Scott’s overall coverage in the *News and Observer*, it is important to consider how his story in the paper evolved. As his career at UNC progressed, the coverage of Scott evolved in the *News and Observer* through an increase in stories that discussed more specific aspects about Scott as a basketball player, but none of the articles were as personal as the coverage in the *Daily Tar Heel* or focused on any injustice that occurred in Scott’s career. There were no stories specifically on Scott his freshman season when he played on the freshman basketball team. His sophomore year, Scott’s performance was frequently praised in stories

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about games, and as previously mentioned, how he did not feel pressure during the season that never mentions his race.\textsuperscript{152} During his junior season, Scott’s coverage evolved through more personal mentions of how the Olympics affected his season and his increased leadership role on the team.\textsuperscript{153} This was also the season that the newspaper published the nationally syndicated story about the lives of several black athletes, which may have been the most personal coverage about Scott included in the \textit{News and Observer}.\textsuperscript{154} Also, the coverage during Scott’s senior year progressed the overall story of Scott by publishing quotes that included Scott’s opinion about the team and his own performance and several stories about his career at UNC.\textsuperscript{155} Each year’s coverage added a slightly more human element. Yet, missing from this evolution in the coverage was a broader discussion of his race, as previously discussed, and also the more controversial aspects of his career. This evolution further supports that the newspaper covered Scott as a basketball player, and this remains true even as the writing could be considered as progressing to being more focused on Scott.

While the coverage in the \textit{News and Observer} evolved in a way that became more focused on Scott’s performance, leadership and opinions, some important aspects of Scott’s basketball career were not published in the paper. In particular, this included a discussion on the Player of the Year vote his junior and senior season. By not including this aspect of Scott’s


career, the *News and Observer*’s coverage appeared to support an aspect of Michael Lomax’s critique of Harry Edwards’ book in the article “Revisiting the Revolt of the Black Athlete: Harry Edwards and the Making of the New African American Sport Studies.”¹⁵⁶ In this article, Lomax refers to Edwards’ claim that mainstream sportswriters in the 1960s celebrated the achievements of black athletes, but the sportswriters did not discuss the racism that existed in sports that affected the black athlete.¹⁵⁷ As indicated in the previous paragraphs about Scott’s coverage, the *News and Observer* included stories about Scott’s success on the basketball court and how he evolved as a player and leader in the sport. Yet, when Scott did not receive the ACC Player of Year honors his junior season, the newspaper did not publish any stories about how this outcome was controversial. While, the newspaper did publish one article after the Player of Year voting Scott’s senior year, it only offered Scott and Smith’s opinion on the outcome of the voting for the award and no larger discussion about the controversy.¹⁵⁸ By not publishing a story that went further than Scott and Smith’s opinions and mentioned the possibility that race affected the outcome of the honor, the *News and Observer*’s coverage supported Edwards’s research that sportswriters did not discuss how the black athlete was affected by racism in sports. Similar to the reasoning for why the *News and Observer* minimized race in its coverage of Scott, it is possible that the newspaper did not discuss Scott experiencing racism within college basketball because of its audience as a regional newspaper in a Southern state. It may have been controversial for the newspaper to discuss these topics and they preferred to avoid the controversy and write about Scott’s basketball performance.

¹⁵⁷ Smith, "Sports Illustrated’s African American Series as Socially Responsible Journalism," 47.
The *Daily Tar Heel*

In contrast to the *News and Observer*, the *Daily Tar Heel*’s coverage did not avoid discussing Scott and race. The articles in the *Daily Tar Heel* were about Scott as a basketball player, a student involved on campus and a leader in the community. Many of the basketball articles, especially early in his career, mentioned Scott’s race and that he was the first black scholarship athlete at UNC. Also, stories were more focused on Scott as an athlete and his race.

The day after Scott signed a letter of intent to play at UNC, the *Daily Tar Heel*’s sports section published “Campus Atmosphere Helps Bring Charlie Scott Here” which explained that Scott chose UNC because he believed it was a good environment for a black athlete.\(^{159}\) This began the coverage about Scott and race in the *Daily Tar Heel* that was not directly related to basketball, and it continued throughout Scott’s career.

Through their coverage of Scott, the *Daily Tar Heel* addressed current issues about race occurring in society. This supports William Gillis’ observation in the article “‘Rebellion in the Kingdom of Swat’: Sportswriters, African American Athletes, and Coverage of Curt Flood’s Lawsuit against Major League Baseball,” that sports sections in newspapers were “as reflective of the upheaval in American society – particularly in regard to race – as were front pages.”\(^{160}\) As mentioned in the Findings section, the *Daily Tar Heel*’s coverage included the potential of black athletes boycotting the Olympics, the events of the 1968 Olympic Games, the political athlete, local boycotts and the Black Student Movement on campus.\(^{161}\) Each of these topics were

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160 Gillis, 69.
discussed in the newspaper by writing about Scott’s involvement with them and his opinions on those topic. Also, the Daily Tar Heel supported Scott’s involvement in racial issues beyond basketball. The newspaper’s coverage included quotes from Scott about how he had begun to peacefully promote change in society, encouraged him while he promoted the Black Student Movement’s requests on campus and supported Scott during times that Scott, and the writers of the paper, felt he was wrongly treated because of his race. While the stories listed above were related to Scott as a student athlete on campus, the articles in the Daily Tar Heel were also about issues in society and how Scott was affected by them.

The Daily Tar Heel’s coverage of Scott that extended beyond sport to discussing current issues occurring in society also supported an observation made by Kaliss in “Everyone’s All-Americans: Race, Men’s College Athletics and the Ideal of Equal Opportunity.” Kaliss described how the way that Scott’s commitment to UNC was covered in local alternative newspapers, which included the Daily Tar Heel, probed the transformative capabilities of sports within the realities of integration of that time period. This argument could be extended to Scott’s complete coverage in the Daily Tar Heel. During each year Scott was on the varsity basketball team, the Daily Tar Heel published articles that discussed Scott’s position in society as a prominent black athlete, how he felt about current issues concerning race and what he was doing to be involved in the community. Through this coverage, it is possible the Daily Tar Heel was exploring how sports and athletes could create a larger change. With this considered,


the *Daily Tar Heel* not only discussed race and society in Scott’s coverage, but also the larger impact that Scott and sports may have had during this time.

In addition to discussing Scott and race in a larger context, the *Daily Tar Heel*’s coverage also addressed Scott and race within basketball. As mentioned in the Findings section, many stories in the *Daily Tar Heel* were about Scott and racism within the context of the sport when referring to the Player of the Year voting and race-related shouts by people in the crowd at Scott at away games.165 Following the results for the Player of the Year honor during Scott’s junior and senior basketball season, the newspaper immediately published stories that discussed the voting and the possibility of racism.166 While the newspaper did not mention the crowd in stories about the basketball games, the *Daily Tar Heel* did publish articles that later addressed how the crowd at some away games treated Scott. This was particularly relevant in stories that recapped Scott’s career.167 The coverage of Scott and race within basketball is different from that of the *News and Observer* and Lomax’s discussion about how many sportswriters did not mention the racism that existed in sports that affected the black athlete.168 This may have been indicative of a difference in mainstream coverage, like the *News and Observer*, and the *Daily Tar Heel* as a student newspaper.

The *Daily Tar Heel*’s coverage about Scott and his experience as a prominent black athlete evolved into an opportunity for the newspaper to write stories that revealed Scott’s

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character, personality and thoughts. It is possible that as the student newspaper, the *Daily Tar Heel* provided a more complete perspective of Scott as a person, rather than just write about his athletic performance. The paper discussed Scott’s impact on campus and in the community as a student-athlete at the University. Each season, the paper went into a little more depth on Scott, his thoughts about current social issues and his involvement on campus and in the community. This was exemplified in “All-American Charles Scott Has Travelled A Long Way,” an article in the basketball preview of the *Daily Tar Heel* before Scott’s senior season.¹⁶⁹ Instead of focusing on Scott’s basketball performance, this story is revealed how Scott has changed as a person through experiences as a student, at the Olympics and in the community. The article includes, “Though five championships, an All-American rating and a myriad of publicity have bridged the gap of a three year college basketball career, Charles Scott stands relatively unaffected as an athlete. As a person, though, he has come a long way. Not often does an athlete blossom that has been so touched by the poles of his environment. Athletically, socially, politically and racially, Scott has been exposed.” Through these kind of articles, the *Daily Tar Heel*’s coverage evolved into covering Scott more as a complete person than simply a basketball player.

It is possible that Scott’s coverage in the *Daily Tar Heel*, and more specifically the evolution of his coverage, was influenced by the perspective of the *Daily Tar Heel* as a student newspaper. It is important to remember that the writers for the *Daily Tar Heel* were students learning about journalism, not professional journalists. Also, these students were part of a campus environment that experienced several protests and strikes shortly before Scott’s college basketball career and also during the time that he attended the University. This included:

protesting a North Carolina law that regulated visiting speakers from 1963 to 1966, Civil Rights protests in 1963 and 1964, a food workers’ strike that was supported by the Black Student Movement on campus in 1968 and 1969 and anti-Vietnam War movements in 1969 and 1970. This campus environment may have had an impact on how the students who wrote about Scott believed his position as the first black scholarship athlete fit into the larger social movements on campus. Furthermore, the movements and protests that occurred during his career may have influenced how the coverage evolved into having more stories about Scott beyond basketball and how he was involved the larger movements occurring at this time.

The Carolina Times

The coverage of Scott in the Carolina Times was similar to the Daily Tar Heel in that the stories in the paper about Scott addressed race and his position in the community as a prominent black athlete. The Carolina Times was among the newspapers that Kaliss described as frankly covering Scott and his experiences as a black athlete. This frankness extended to the stories about Scott that Kaliss did not consider for his research. As a bi-weekly paper in Durham with a local audience, the newspaper did not cover Scott with the same depth that is found in the News and Observer and Daily Tar Heel. However, the coverage of Scott in the Carolina Times showed the significance of Scott being the first prominent black athlete to play at a historically white university in the newspaper’s circulation area.

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171 Kaliss, “Everyone’s All-Americans,” 248.
Through a discussion about the impact of integration and a story that included Scott’s views on black pride and power, the Carolina Times’ coverage of Scott addressed current issues related to race at the time. Almost exactly a year before Scott signed a letter of intent to play at UNC, the Carolina Times published an editorial about Emmet Ashford, the first black umpire in major league baseball. This article discussed how race relations had improved in major league baseball since Jackie Robinson joined the league and that Emmet “offers a lesson to the rest of us, as an example of the rapid progress that can be made when a man is judged on talent and skill and not by color.” When the Carolina Times published the editorial “Diminishing Returns of Integration” after Scott signed a grant-in-aid to play at UNC, it indicated that there had been change in thinking about integration in sports and in other aspects of society. This editorial was more critical about the consequences of integration and included that “the Charlie Scott Case is but the forerunner of the raids that are certain to be made on Negro society in every other field where excellence in performance in required.” While the Carolina Times published an editorial that included Scott as an example of the “two way street” of integration, the newspaper also covered how Scott was involved with the Durham community. One instance of this was when Scott spoke to a local black high school during Black Awareness Week. The newspaper included that he spoke about the “intellectual and competitive power of one black student at UNC.” While the editorial that critiques integration and the story on Scott speaking about his own views of “Black Power” to students in Durham were different in subject matter, both reveal how the coverage of Scott in the Carolina Times extended to larger issues of race in society.

175 “Hillside High School Bursting with Activities,” Carolina Times, February 22, 1969, p. 5A.
The way in which Scott was covered in the *Carolina Times* may have been telling of how the paper perceived the importance of his position as the first black scholarship athlete at UNC. When Scott committed to play at UNC, the *Carolina Times* placed the story on the front page of their next edition. It was not common for a sports story to be on the front page of the newspaper, and this was the only story related to a sport or athlete that appeared in that position during Scott’s career at UNC.176 While other stories about Scott in the paper were not as prominently positioned as the initial article, the way in which Scott was covered in the other stories still emphasized the significance of the position he held as an athlete at UNC. When the *Carolina Times* wrote about UNC basketball games, the newspaper’s focus was on Scott’s performance. For example, in the article “UNC Beats Duke for Title on Scott’s 40 Pts,” the paper only discussed Scott’s performance in the UNC victory and did not mention the name of another player on UNC’s team.177 The *Carolina Times*’ other game stories on UNC basketball had a similar focus on Scott, although these articles did mention the performances of other players on UNC’s team, usually towards the end of the story.178 The way in which many of the articles about games were written appear as if Scott’s performance was the most newsworthy aspect, rather than the team’s overall performance. The *Carolina Times* also wrote about Scott’s appearances in the community. This included when he made speaking appearances at schools, such as the one mentioned in the previous paragraph, or leading a basketball clinic.179 When

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176 Kaliss wrote that this was representative of the pride people had in Scott’s ability to attend and play for the UNC. See Kaliss, “Everyone’s All-Americans,” 278.


Scott’s coverage in the newspaper was considered in its entirety, it is apparent that the newspaper may have shown some caution about what it represented when Scott signed with UNC, but that Scott had an important, and newsworthy, role in the Durham community during his career at UNC. In its entirety, the Carolina Times appears to cover Scott as a representation of issues concerning race during the civil rights era.
Conclusion: Limitations, Future Research, and Final Remarks

Limitations

It is important to consider the limitations of this research. Time constraints limited this research to focusing on one student-athlete and three newspapers. This restricted having a broader view of the writing of this time or a comparison with other athletes’ coverage. Also, this research was limited to evaluating what was published in the News and Observer, Daily Tar Heel and Carolina Times during specific times of the year that included basketball season, when Scott committed to play at the University of North Carolina and the 1968 Olympics. At the time the research was conducted for this study, the News and Observer and Daily Tar Heel had not been indexed in a way that included Scott. Also, when considering the coverage of the three newspapers chosen for this research, this project was limited by not conducting interviews with those who wrote about Scott. As a result, trends and observations were evaluated based on the articles about Scott published by these sources, but the actual reasoning behind the way Scott was covered was not known through this research. All of the limitations mentioned are important to consider when referring to the findings and discussion about Scott’s coverage.

Future Research

When considering this study and the limitations, there are many opportunities for future research. One direction could be further exploring the coverage of Scott and the trends found in the News and Observer, Daily Tar Heel and Carolina Times. This could include looking at different newspapers, both local and national, and sources other than newspapers, such as magazines. Also, interviews with the sportswriters who covered Scott could provide valuable insights on the topic. There is also an opportunity to further research the three newspapers that
were examined in this study by looking at the coverage of other black athletes that came before and after Scott and seeing if the papers wrote about these athletes in the same way. In particular, it would be interesting to examine the coverage of the prominent black athletes that immediately followed Scott at UNC, such as Bill Chamberlain, and learn how the coverage of these athletes compares to the writing about Scott in each of the sources.

Another opportunity for future research could be to examine the coverage of black scholarship athletes at other universities who were in a similar to Scott, the first prominent black scholarship athlete at UNC. It would be intriguing to learn how it compares to the coverage of the three newspapers used in this study. Also, the impact that location in the United States has on this coverage would be interesting to examine. This research project could be extended to examine coverage regarding other races, gender and sexual orientation.

**Final Remarks**

While this was a limited study of one basketball player and three newspapers, this research is indicative of how newspaper coverage on the same subject differed depending on the perspective the paper, the audience they served and the authors of the articles. The *News and Observer*, *Daily Tar Heel* and *Carolina Times* all covered the same events that occurred in Charles Scott’s career. This began when Scott committed to play at UNC and continued with stories about his performance in games and his involvement in the social movement occurring on campus and in the community while he attended UNC from 1966 to 1970. Among other events in Scott’s career, the results of the media voting for the ACC Player of the Year and his participation in larger social movements are examples of how race and society were a part of Scott’s story. Each newspaper told this story in a different way.
If a person, hypothetically, read Scott’s coverage in only the *News and Observer, Daily Tar Heel* or *Carolina Times*, the source would impact this person’s perception of Scott. By reading only the *News and Observer*’s coverage, Scott’s story would be about the development of a college basketball player. There would be little knowledge of how he was affected by being the first prominent black basketball player in the newspaper’s area and the role he had in the community. If this person only read the *Daily Tar Heel*, they would have a sense of Scott’s college basketball career, how his race influenced his college experience, and the impact he had on campus during his career. And, if this person only read the *Carolina Times*, they would perceive Scott as a basketball player who represented the larger benefits and consequences of integration and also a leader in the community.

Readers of just one of the three newspapers would have a different image of Scott and their impression of how race impacted his story would depend on the newspaper they read. We all are, to some extent, living in the media world to which we give our attention. The media provides various views which shape our perceptions. This could apply to a picture of world conflict, or it could be a story about the home crowd not wanting to see Scott’s career end in Chapel Hill.
Appendices

Appendix A

The Diminishing Returns of Integration

The mad scramble of several of the nation’s oldest, largest and most noted colleges and universities to enroll a Negro, Charlie Scott, as a student so that he will be eligible for their basketball team is most significant. Scott, who stands 6-5 and weighs around 170, is presently enrolled at Laurinburg Institute, a Negro high school that has gained quite a national reputation of turning out, not only good basketball teams but outstanding players of its Sad Sam Jones vintage, now a star with the Boston Celtics.

In our own state Scott is reported as being sought after by schools like Duke, Davidson and North Carolina. Out-of-state schools courting him are Villa Nova, NYU, UCLA, Providence, West Virginia, Syracuse, Washington, Power Memorial in New York and Utah. Thus the 17-year-old Negro high school basketball star, who is also reported to be of good scholastic standing, is now in the position of making a selection as to which school he will attend.

Unlike his predecessor, Sad Sam Jones, who back in 1951, so far as his own state was concerned, had no alternative but to attend an all Negro college and consequently enrolled at N.C. College at Durham, where he performed with excellence on the court and went on to stardom in professional basketball, Scott is free to enter the college or university of his choice, even in his own state be it all-Negro or integrated.

Thus, so far as the Negro college, business and other fields of endeavor are concerned, there now looms on the horizon, the awesome spectre of what the sociologist might term the diminishing returns of integration. Like it or not every facet of Negro society is going to have to face it sooner or later. The Charlie Scott case is but the forerunner of the raids that are certain to be made on Negro society in every other field where excellence in performance is required. As a result the operators of what are now strictly Negro colleges, businesses, etc. must change their course, learn to take the bitter with the sweets and get on into the main stream where they will encounter tough competition with their white counterparts.

We see in the offing the necessity of major Negro businesses leading the way by employing competent whites as well as those of their own race. They must face the cold bare facts that a customer is a customer if he has money to spend whatever his racial identity. If competent help of the opposite group is needed to get the business we see no reason why it should not be employed.

As integration becomes more and more a fact those who do not discover that it is a two way street are certain to be held holding the bag when sooner or later they will discover that it is not only empty but has a hole in the bottom.

Appendix B

Appendix C

Appendix D

Appendix E

Bibliography

Newspapers

Carolina Times, selected times from May 1966 – March 1970

Daily Tar Heel, selected times from May 1966 – March 1970

News and Observer, selected times from May 1966 – March 1970

Articles, Books, Thesis and Other Sources


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