

The Price of Segregation: An Analysis of Texas Christian University's Road to Integration

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## **Overview**

For the purpose of this paper, we discuss Texas Christian University's path to integration. Founded in 1873 by brothers Addison and Randolph Clark, we examine the results of the Confederacy and instituted racism undergirded as a result of enslavement. As we look to reconcile, we must examine the practices, structures, and principles that once did not afford access to education to African Americans.

*'I am proud to say I attended TCU in the early 1980's. Even though relatively few students were from minority groups at that time, TCU provided me with a strong liberal arts foundation for a successful and productive career. It is my love for TCU and the foundation it helped me build as an adult that fuels my desire to participate in this initiative.'*

- Maureen Kenney

Long before Texas Christian University, Fort Worth started in 1849 when the United States Armed force commissioned a line of fortifications on the Texas wilderness. A year afterward, about six hundred white inhabitants, beside sixty-five oppressed African Americans, lived in Fortification Worth (Henderson,1952). In spite of the nearness of servitude from the town's beginning, Fort Worth inhabitants slowly recognized themselves with the western wilderness instead of the legacies of the Profound South. Much of this character stemmed from Post Worth's facilitating of cattlemen, cattle drives, and cattle rustlers.

At the flip of the twentieth century, African Americans in Texas started out to ride growing legalized segregation in the course of the state. An 1889 law, upheld through the Supreme Court in Plessy v. Ferguson in 1896, segregated railroad cars. Progressivism proved popular in the United States in the course of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Southern progressivism, however, printed a one of a kind aspect than its northern counterpart. As C. Vann Woodward concludes in *The Origins of the New South*, "progressivism [was] for whites only" (Henderson, 1952).

Although we detail a brief synopsis of the integration timeline, we do not in fact cover its entirety. We highlight pivotal points such as, hiring processes, athletics, racial mixing and Sadler and Moudy's sentiments on integration.

## **Methodology**

We conducted a thorough analysis of research questions that would assist in guiding our study. We then utilized our matrix to identify questions in which we could then narrow down the list of recommended research questions. We identified Raw and Weighted Scores based on our own perspectives of importance as it relates to our study. Although, all questions were not utilized, we do know there is still a need to examine the research questions not utilized in this study as it relates to integration at Texas Christian University.

<b>Summary of Key Questions - Results of Matrixed Analysis</b>	<b>Raw Score</b>	<b>Weighted Score</b>
<b>Q3: What were the factors that allowed for segregation to endure?</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>40</b>
<b>Q5: What was segregated life like on campus?</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>40</b>
<b>Q6: Is there any continuing, lingering evidence of segregation?</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>40</b>
<b>Q11: What articulable fears about racial mixing, miscegenation were espoused around TCU integration?</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>40</b>
<b>Q14: When did TCU integrate?</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>38</b>
<b>Q1: What was Sadler's public position on segregation?</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>34</b>
<b>Q2: What was Moudy's public position on segregation?</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>34</b>
<b>Q8: Was employment at TCU segregated?</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>34</b>
<b>Q15: Who was the AD and what was their position on integration?</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>28</b>
<b>Q4: How were TCU athletics segregated?</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>30</b>
<b>Q10: Were any scholarship monies expressly segregated?</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>32</b>

<b>Q13: Who was the first black student athlete at TCU?</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>28</b>
<b>Q9: How many Blacks were denied the GI Bill at TCU?</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>24</b>
<b>Q12: Any ties to the Ku Klux Klan?</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>24</b>
<b>Q7: What was segregated "etiquette" like in Fort Worth?</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>20</b>

### **Segregation & The Road to Integration**

The first potential evidence of any Black persons taking classes at TCU occurred during the Second World War in 1942-43. After the attack on Pearl Harbor the country was eager to support the war effort and TCU was part of this movement. As president of TCU, Dr. M.E. Sadler, in a report to the Board of Trustees (BOT), wrote “Immediately following Pearl Harbor we wrote to our National leaders assuring them of our desire to cooperate in every possible way in this national effort” (Sadler, 1942 p. 4). TCU obtained government contracts to provide “background training for naval & marine officers and for airplane pilots” (Sadler, 1942 p.4). Classes were provided for undergraduate students and in the Evening College. He and BOT felt it was their patriotic duty to protect democracy. A few Negroes who were in the military were allowed to enroll in the Evening College (“Negroes attending TCU”, 1951).

There is no evidence that military officers who attended daytime classes and mingled with the general campus students were anything but white. Sadler stated in later documents that the BOT did not ask about the race of any persons being sent to TCU by the Military because the university had a contract from the military (“Negroes attending TCU”, 1951); Sadler, 1964b). “If the University attempts to render this service for the military establishments it does not feel it should bar any students sent in by the military to take courses which they contract with us to

give” (“Negroes attending TCU”, 1951). The program ended when the new commander of Carswell AFB withdrew all support for pay for tuition (Sadler, 1953)

In 1951 TCU provided instructors to Negro public school teachers who were trying to improve their education and meet education requirements for the state. These classes were not held on the campus of TCU, but at the “Negro "Gay Street School in Fort Worth (“Negroes Attending TCU,”1951; Sadler, 1964a; “25 Years After Integration,” 1989). These graduate students were not allowed on campus except to use the library. The program was discontinued in 1954 because of lack of enrollment due to inability of these Negro students to use this credit toward a degree at TCU (“Lack of Enrollment,” 1954). Sadler used the example of Negro teachers and military men to tout TCU’s attempts to “meet the needs of conscientious and worthy Negroes” (Negroes Attending TCU, 1951).

Sadler’s world view was shaped by his strong religious faith, patriotism, and conservative outlook. His writings and work reveal a mixed message on segregation/desegregation. Desegregation was on his mind in fall of 1950, when he sent a letter to the Dean of Brite College, Dr. Roy Snodgrass, requesting him to discuss with his faculty the question of “non—segregation of our graduate work and especially in our seminary” and to make a recommendation within a week. (Toulouse, et al. p 100) Snodgrass replied that Brite should match the pledge of non-segregation of State institutions of higher learning. Snodgrass and the faculty of Brite College felt that because they were” training youth for a life service in Christ’s Kingdom, it overrode and contention that we are in our rights to refuse Negroes on the basis that we are a private school” (Toulouse, et al. 2011 p. 101). The Dean’s Council approved non-segregation of Brite College however no Negro students applied to Brite until 1952. When John Clairborne applied, Dean Snodgrass sought permission to enroll him from the Brite Board of Trustees.

### **Three Negroes Admitted to Seminary**

The President of the Board informed Sadler on the plan to integrate and Sadler sent a letter to Dean Snodgrass stating “I cannot at this time give approval to the admission of Negro students into our seminary” (Toulouse et al, 2011 p. 102). This seemed inconsistent with his initial request to Snodgrass to consider non-segregation. The Brite faculty requested a meeting with Sadler and were able to persuade him to give permission. The Brite Board of Trustees called a special meeting to ensure that the vote for integration was recorded in the minutes (Toulouse et al., 2011 p. 103; (“Brite to Admit Negro,1952). The first 3 Black students enrolled at Brite were John Lee Clairbourne, Daniel Goodspeed and Vada Phillips Felder. (“Three Negroes Admitted,” 1952). Velda Phillips Felder received a master’s degree in Religious Education and was the first African American to graduate from TCU (Toulouse et al, 2011 pp. 79-111; “ High Way Chosen,” 1964).

The admission of Negro students to the seminary brought TCU in line with 11 other Texas colleges in 1952 (Henderson, 1952). Brite College was able to integrate because they were affiliated with TCU but were a separate entity. They had their own Board of Trustees and owned the property and buildings (Toulouse et al. 2011; W R. Baird (personal communication), 2014). While integration was approved by the Board for Brite College, the general campus was still segregated. Professor Emeritus William Baird remembers that Black students were not allowed to eat on campus so Brite set up food service for them in Weatherly Hall which was owned by Brite College. (W.R. Baird (personal communication), 2014)

***Need a deep dive into Brite’s role as the “conscience of TCU” trail-blazers for equal rights.***

Sadler's first public statement about Negroes attending TCU was a news release made following a local newspaper report in fall of 1951. In the Skiff article "Negroes Attending TCU, Sadler Says" (1951) Sadler emphasizes that there "has been no fundamental change in the policy (segregation) of Texas Christian University regarding the admission of Negro students school". He stresses that TCU does not want to be seen as "pioneering and pushing out in the matter of non-segregation". In a mixed message he states that "at the same time, we have been anxious to meet the needs of conscientious and worthy Negroes, if we could meet these needs without any discussion of segregation or non-segregation". It is unknown if Sadler is incorporating his own personal beliefs in this statement or just reflecting the "official line" of the TCU Board of Trustees.

The following week the Skiff printed an "Editorial Comment" in which they acknowledged that Negro student had been admitted to TCU, but that did not mean "full-time Negro students are enrolled in the day school".("The Wiser Course," p.4 1951). They editorialized that the problem of non-segregation was a weighty one and that social change does not occur quickly. They asserted that advocates for both non-segregation and those opposing it have "strong and equally sound arguments". Finally, the editors supported an "intelligent and cautious approach" to this problem was the "wiser course" and that was what TCU seemed to be following. They seemed to support the status quo position taken by Sadler.

The following weeks, some current and former students sent letters to the Skiff Editor speaking up with early TCU voices for equality and taking the university to task for their cautious approach. Undergraduates Eloise Mayo and Nancy Williams in their Letter to the Editor focused on the University's stated efforts to instill students with "convictions, ideals, attitudes and purposes" to become "creative Christian citizens."(Mayo & Williams, 1951) They



posed a series of questions asking how the statement by Sadler that TCU was “striving to meet the needs of Negroes only if the university could avoid involving ourselves in discussions of segregation/non-segregation” modeled Christian behavior. Mayo and Williams asked if “loving only our White neighbors, fear of social criticism, reluctance to pioneer and show the way, and association with only a certain part of fellow men” would enable students to become Christian.(p.4)

### **Deep Disappointment**

Rhodes Thompson, a 1950 graduate, stated his ‘deep disappointment’ in the Administration and Skiff Editors policy (Thompson, 1951) He felt that “such statements are in opposition to the very purpose of a Christian focused university”. In addition he felt that the issue of segregation was “one of the most crucial to American Democracy” and that segregation was a denial of democracy. He said the rest of the world is perplexed by the “wide gap” between what American people mean when they “speak of liberty and equality” and what they actually do in practice. Rhodes goes on to propose that the TCU administration and Skiff editors “have courage to stand up and speak out for what is Christian and democratic”. (p.2)

Dr. Sadler had to respond to a negative letter from a TCU alumnus who heard that Negroes had been attending TCU (B.W. Pederson (personal communication) December, 26, 1951). The alumnus stated there was “no reason for Negroes to attend TCU” and that “I will never contribute to anything my ex school needs and will never allow my children to attend a school with Negroes” (p.1). Sadler was diplomatic in his response saying he regretted the alumnus “disturbed attitude” because of things that were misunderstood (Sadler, 1952). He reiterated that Negroes were not enrolled at TCU in general classes. He went on to say that TCU

was providing certain “special work that Negro students couldn’t get elsewhere”. Sadler did “not believe that these services had “at all raised the problem of non-segregation in the minds of our students, or friends on the campus” (p.1). He then cited the 3 services that were being provided – off-campus Negro teacher education, classes for military men at the request of military authority, and an individual ministerial student who needed a special class to finish his degree at Jarvis Christian College. Finally, Sadler stated that “TCU was approaching the whole problem of non-segregation more carefully than most other institutions of higher learning in our section”(p 2). Once again Sadler supports the official position of maintaining segregation at TCU and stresses the need for conservative “don’t rock the boat” careful approach to the “problem”.

While in the early 1950’s Sadler thought that the problem of need for racial equality had not entered the minds of students, there is evidence that some students were concerned with this issue. In 1950 the TCU student congress took the lead in the newly formed Texas Intercollegiate Student Association (TISA) to bring a proposal inviting student representatives from Negro schools to join the Association. This proposal was tabled at the state-wide convention (“Negroes Denied Entrance,” 1950). A year later, TCU students again brought the proposal to the TISA state convention. The Skiff published an editorial supporting the admission of Negro schools to the TISA (“Editorial Comment” March 2, 1951). The editors noted that “entrance of Negroes seems highly logical to us”. They went on to write that this “move would cause displeasure among the people of Texas, but the matter concerns students not “outsiders” and it is up to the younger generation to decide. (p. 4.). The proposal was accepted at the Spring 1951 convention. (“TISA Invites Negro” March 15, 1951.

### **How Do the Students Feel?**

The Skiff continued to periodically publish information related to student attitudes toward segregation/desegregation in the 1950's. In 1952 they published the results of a poll of students and faculty asking "Since Negroes have been admitted to Brite College, how would you feel if they were admitted to general classes?" ("Living By Our Christian", 1952). The results found that of the 97 students polled, 74 favored non-segregation and 23 were against it. Students speaking for non-segregation cited, Christian principles, democratic ideals, and students would be exposed to a broader viewpoint as rationale. One student stated "I work with them in the summer, why should I not go to school with them in the winter?" (p.7). Those against cited Southern traditions, concerns about unfairness of allowing negroes into class, but not to take part in other activities, and having adequate education available at Jarvis Christian College as rationale. Of the 20 faculty polled, one half refused comment. Dean DeGroat of the Graduate school said "experience and my Christian Religion make me feel that it would be a good thing". However, he thought the "experiment in Non-segregation could best be conducted in the graduate school" (p7).

In Spring of 1957 the TCU student congress added a question on integration to the election ballot for new congress members. This informal survey found 729 students favored keeping segregation and 696 favored gradual or immediate integration. The Skiff editors took the congress to task for not having "careful consultation" administration, providing publicity about the survey, and explaining the purpose of the survey. ("Foot Partially Inserted", 1957). In the "Sounding Board" section of the Skiff Jim Hendricks suggested that the results show a change of more positive attitude of TCU students toward integration. He questions whether attitudes have changed because of a broadening attitude or just the realization that integration is inevitable. He believes if TCU were to integrate right now there would be strong opposition from

a “powerful faction of the student body”. Finally he concludes that “TCU must face the prospect of admitting Negroes to its undergraduate schools in the next decade or two. (“Hendricks, 1957 p 6).

Despite his official position on segregation as President of TCU, Sadler appeared to have conflict with his personal view as Christian. Sadler was an ordained Disciples of Christ minister and held multiple positions of leadership in religious organizations. He was instrumental in the establishment of the Texas Council of Churches in the early 1950’s. This group, made of protestant denominations, from the beginning “advocated elimination of all forms of discrimination based upon race, color, national origin or sex” (Kilpatrick, TSHA Handbook of Texas). Sadler was elected first president of the body in 1953. During this meeting the Council urged member churches to “lead their communities in developing plans and policies to insure every person his fullest rights and opportunities (“Church Body Will,” 1954 p.7). During 1954, Dr. Sadler led a committee developing plans to meet the charge from the Council. The report entitled “Message to Texas Churches” was presented at the Council in January 1955. The Council urged Christians not to attempt to evade desegregation, but to face the issue with” honesty and integrity”. (Church Council Urges” 1955 p.2).

### **Harris College of Nursing**

In 1962 the TCU Board of Trustees was again presented with a request to approve integration into one of its colleges. Harris College of Nursing, like Brite College, was a separate but affiliated entity of TCU. Harris had their own Board of Directors and endowment (Harris, 1973; Sadler, 1964b, p 9). The Harris Board passed a resolution that stated “It is the policy of Harris College of Nursing to admit students to the nursing program without regard to race, color

or creed” (Minutes of the Executive Board, April 16, 1962). Harris wanted to enroll undergraduate students for their last 2 years of professional nursing. The rationale for the request came from Negro physicians in Fort Worth who felt a “great need for more trained Negro nurses” (Sadler,, 1964a). The Executive committee moved to approve the request and the motion carried.

At the same time Brite College also made a request to the TCU Board that students who needed to take undergraduate “courses to make up deficiencies in their scholastic record be allowed to take these courses with regard to race, color, or creed” (Minutes of the Executive Board, April 16, 1962). The motion was approved and carried. These two approvals represented a major shift in TCU’s policy as both groups of special students would be taken classes with general undergraduate students. However, there was still no Board approval to desegregate the overall university. Both approvals were noted in campus and local news articles (“Nursing College to Admit” May 4, 1962 ; “TCU Will Admit Negro”, April 22, 1962; (“4 Negroes to Enroll”, September 18, 1962).

### **Say Their Names**

In the fall of 1962 the first three Negro undergraduate nursing students were enrolled - Patsy Brown, Allene Jones & Doris McBride (“Harris College Desegregates”, 1962; Bond & Keen-Payne, 2020). Registrar Calvin Crumbie stated “All three went through regular registration procedure at Daniel Meyer Coliseum. There were no problems whatsoever. We didn’t anticipate any” (Harris College Desegregates. 1). The Skiff front page article included a picture of Allene Jones and Dean Lucy Harris of Harris College. Dean Harris reported in November 1962 that the 3 Negro students were doing satisfactory work. “So far as we know,

they have received courteous treatment by students and faculty throughout the University and have conducted themselves in an appropriate manner on all occasions”. (Harris, November 9, 1962, p.1). Allene Jones went on to become the first African American faculty member at TCU when she was hired by Harris College in 1968 (“Retiring Strength”, 1998; Bond & Jones,2020).

The early 60’s were a time of increased interest in and pressure for TCU to desegregate particularly from student leaders at TCU. Other Church affiliated colleges in Texas were following the lead of the public universities and starting to desegregate (“Church Colleges Gradually, “June 10, 1962). Brite College student body took the early lead in 1962 with a petition calling for the desegregation of the University that “all areas of university life be made available to all qualified persons regardless of race or color” (Toulouse, e tal, 2011 p. 114). In February of 1963 the Student Congress held a 2 day Human Relations Seminar entitled “Desegregation in Southern and Southwestern Schools Prospects and Problems”. (“Race Seminar” Skiff, February 8, 1963). Featured speakers were Rev Thomas Griffin and comedian Dick Gregory. Rev Griffin had criticized TCU’s slow pace of integration in a speech before The Texas Conference of Churches in 1962 (“Negro Cleric Hits TCU”, May 4, 1962). Student attendees at the seminar were asked to fill out a questionnaire about their feelings toward integration. Following the seminar, The Skiff published an editorial citing problems with the seminar that speakers and students did not have the background or experience or stick to the topic of problem of integration related to schools in the Southwest, but spoke about race relations in general (“Seminar Hampered,”, February 15, 1963). They also had concerns that the seminar committee refused to make public the results of integration questionnaires distributed to attendees. The Skiff editors made a final telling statement – “For a few students the most enlightening portion of the seminar occurred before the seminar. During registration, a

University employee came up to the registration desk and inquired about the number of students expected to attend. Then he snidely asked “How many *Niggers* are coming?”. If any Negro students within earshot heard this remark, the seminar probably lost a good deal of its meaning for them” (p. 4). Results of the seminar committee integration questionnaires were not released because after consultation with social science faculty they were determined to be “unscientific” (“Seminar Inquiry Held,” February 26, 1963).

### 1963

1963 was a pivotal year for “behind the scenes” preparation for a move to bring about desegregation at TCU. University administration, faculty and student leaders were gathering data and having discussions to determine their position on desegregation (J.M. Moudy (personal communication) Sept 23, 1962; (Sadler, 1964a)“Integration”, Wassenich, 2014a). Sadler hoped meetings between “some students and some of the Trustees to discuss racial issues" would help each side have a better understanding of the attitudes and issues involved. (Sadler, 1964a, p.217).. The TCU Student Congress was putting pressure on the administration to desegregate (Wassenich, 2014b).

Surveys were conducted on campus to determine faculty and student attitudes toward integration. Results of the faculty survey were summarized by Dr. Moudy at the December faculty meeting. “Out of slightly over 200 hundred responses, 3 checked dissent, 12 checked neither assent or dissent and the rest checked general assent” (Moudy, 1963c; Sadler,1964a). The Skiff published a supplement containing the results of a survey of student “socio-political” attitudes including questions about integration that was conducted in fall of 1963. (“Here’s Composite You”, April 14, 1964). Results were categorized based on parent’s income – high,

medium, or low. Students in the higher income bracket held the most negative toward integration. Only 32% agreed that Negroes should be admitted to “now White” colleges with no restrictions versus 64% of lower income brackets. Fifty percent of the highest income students agreed that Negroes should be admitted only on a limited basis such as “participation in athletics”, but not be admitted to university “cafeterias, dormitories, or as roommates to white students” (p 2). The same attitudes carried out to desegregation of all public accommodations. Only 35% of the highest income bracket felt that Negroes should be admitted to “business places, dining places, and restrooms” compared to 57% of the lowest income. Results reveal a generally conservative traditional southern attitude from the survey sample with middle and lower income students more open to integration.

Student Congress members were pushing ahead toward a resolution for integration at TCU. Mark Wassenich, student body President in 1963 remembers resistance to the resolution from several “sorority girls” who were Congress members. Through discussions the Greeks agreed to “abstain” from voting rather than voting “no” once they realized that voting to admit Negro students didn’t mean total social integration (Wassenich, 2014b). In December of 1963 the Student Congress voted “overwhelmingly” (26 “for” with 3 abstentions) to send a formal resolution to the Board of Trustees asking them to “remove any racial restrictions from admission requirements to TCU academic programs”. (“Ease Racial Barriers,” December 6, 1963 p.3).

### **Desegregation Begins**

In 1963 Chancellor Sadler and Vice-Chancellor Moudy both produced seminal works outlining their support and rationale for TCU to desegregate. As Disciples of Christ ministers as



well as TCU administrators, both were in a balancing act between their Christian duty to “brotherhood” and wanting desegregation to occur, yet knowing they faced resistance from some Board of Trustee members who held an opposing view (maintaining segregation) Moudy1963b). “I personally take the same side as you (desegregation) and the same is true of practically every administrator and faculty member at TCU. But there are some highly respected members of our Board who hold a different opinion” (Moudy p.2). In addition both Moudy and Sadler had a duty as administrators to keep TCU fiscally sound and functioning. There was fear that forcing the desegregation vote would end up hurting TCU if Board members and other donors who were opposed to desegregation stopped supporting the University ( Moudy, 1963b, Wassenich, 2014b). Moudy writes that “Granville Walker said in a recent Trustee-Administration-student leader meeting –

‘There is more than one moral issue involved; we face the moral problem of the possible wrecking of our church and educational institutions if we demand people take sides on this issue’” (Moudy, 1963b p.2).

Sadler’s statement was presented to the Board during a special Trustees meeting called on January 23, 1964. The minutes of that meeting noted that he “read a statement characterized by historical accuracy, completeness of details and statesmanlike approach” (TCU Board of Trustee, 1964 p 223). A written copy of Sadler’s presentation was attached to the minutes as “Appendix A”. Sadler started out stressing that the administration had moved very carefully and never permitted pressure groups (on or off campus) to influence decisions. (Sadler, 1964a). He included information about the 3 units that have “been integrated prior” and assured the board that “there has not been a disturbance of any nature during the 15-20 years of dealing with this problem”.

Before Sadler gave his rationale for why the admission policy needed to be changed at this time, he wanted to first assure the Board that few Negro students would attend TCU. “We will never have many Negro students enrolled at any given time” (p 3). His reasons were 1) raised admission & course requirements that “very few negro students could qualify for admission” (p.3), 2) Tuition and fees were high enough that “very few negro people would be able to finance” this education, and 3) Based upon his experience as a Trustee of a negro college and university, “almost all negro college students will want to attend their own institutions of higher learning” (p. 4). Sadler summed up that “For the next half century it will be relatively few negro students who cannot find in their own colleges exactly the kind of higher education they desire and who have unusual intellectual abilities and financial resources who would want to enroll in previously all-white colleges and universities” (p.4).

Sadler then discussed that integration is inevitable and the need for TCU to do this in an “orderly and dignified manner” rather than through “confusion and disturbance” (p.4). Sadler indicated that he had discussions and input from student leaders, faculty, and administration over the past year that supported the move to integration. He identified 2 key questions: “Is integration right? and “is integration wise?”(p.6). He then lays out his argument that integration is right based on Christian and democratic principles of equality before God and the law. He appeals to the Board that it “can be safely said that in principle or in theory, all or practically all of the members of this Board share a common view : That in the sight of God and before the law, all men, all races, share equal rights”(p.7). In terms of the wisdom of integration now, Sadler indicated that many of “you” (Trustees) have said to me, “this seems inevitable, but you regret it's coming and worry over its consequences if we do it now” (p7). However Sadler assures the Board that staff, faculty, student congress and divisions of the university are united in

that now is the right time for integration. Going back to his consistent theme of the university being careful, cautious, and not pushing boundaries concerning desegregation, he stresses that TCU is now “almost the last” private university in the South or Southwest to take action on integration” (p.9).

### **The Fear of Integration**

Potential fears or concerns about moving forward with integration were addressed by Sadler. The first was potential financial loss to TCU from supporters who do not agree with integration and the potential loss of not-for-profit status for maintaining segregation in admission. However he said making the decision by “looking at a ‘balance sheet’ was not something “we would attempt”. The second concern mentioned was “social intermingling between persons of different religion, cultural backgrounds, economic situations and races” which might lead to “social relations and interracial marriage” (p.11). He minimized this by saying that TCU administration and faculty seek to interject strong positive influences into the lives of students along with their family, church, and friends.

Several themes appear repeatedly during Sadler’s entire presentation (Sadler, 1964a). His deep pain at potentially offending any Trustees whose conscience holds different opinion on desegregation – “Men of good conscience are found on both sides of this difficult question” (p.5), his assurance that only very small numbers of negroes would ever want to attend TCU, and that there have been no “disturbances or complications” caused by negroes that have so far attended TCU.

The presentation concludes with Sadler’s recommendation “In my own personal judgement, in the judgement the faculty and in the judgment of our student leaders, we believe

that the time has come for the Board of Trustees of Texas Christian University to take action which remove the one racial bar which remains at TCU” (p. 12).

Vice Chancellor Moudy’s rationale for changing the TCU admission policy was written in a document dated June 7, 1963. (Moudy, 1963a) (unknown who this was written for or when presented, but handwritten notation on the document “For Mr. Melton ” -Amos Melton was Assistant Chancellor). Moudy asserts that it is time to change the “longstanding policy of excluding Negro students from Texas Christian University” (p.1). He goes on to state 6 major points of problems with the current policy as the basis for his point of view.

- 1) The policy is not self-consistent as TCU has been admitting larger number of foreign students, “some of whom are as dark in skin color as many Negroes” (p.1)  
TCU has admitted “persons of practically every color, nationality, and religion, while turning away a relatively few dark skinned American citizens, usually of the Christian religion” (p.1)
- 2) The policy has no scientific or educational basis. Moudy states that there is “absolutely no creditable scientific or educational evidence that indicates Negro people are incapable of profiting from educational experiences or that their potentials are lower than those of any other people” (p. 1).
- 3) The policy is outdated. Moudy presents the case that other private southern schools such as Vanderbilt, Duke, and Tulane have recently entirely “removed their color bars” and TCU should not overlook their experience and decisions.

- 4) The Policy is unscriptural. Moudy believes there is nothing in the Bible that warrants the exclusion of Negroes. “In fact, the Christian scriptures are very positive in their recognition of all persons being equal concern in the sight of God” (p.2)
  
- 5) The Policy leaves TCU open to “ridicule by the communists”. Moudy points out that communists have exploited racial problems in the United States. Although Moudy believes they have done this in ways that “unfair and untrue”, he does admit that the way we (US) have treated Negroes had not lived up to the constitution and Declaration of Independence.
  
- 6) The policy is based on fear. Moudy is quite forthright in discussing common fears articulated around integration at the time. He questions what the fears are and asks:” Is it that we fear the competition of the Negro people” in an open market like the United States? He says “no, I know of no person who is fearful at this point” (p.3). Instead, he believes that the fear rests on “fear of the intermarriage of whites and Negroes”. He encourages to look at this fear, frankly. Moudy questions if it is not the fear of parents that their children will not be influenced by them and “they will rush into marriage with Negroes?” Are parents afraid that the faculty or administration of this school will put “ideas into the heads of our students to marry persons of a different race?” (p.3) He says using that rationale then no Jewish or Catholic families would send their children to TCU because they want them to marry in their faith. He then makes the same arguments as Sadler that the interracial marriage between whites and Negroes is a “remote possibility” because students will be influenced by their family, church, teachers, and friends (Moudy, 1963a, p.4)

### **‘Tuition rate prevents Negroes from Applying’**

Next Moudy asks what the immediate on-campus effects the admission of Negroes would bring. Here he poses similar arguments to Sadler. First tuition rates will prevent most Negroes from applying. Next he states that a significant number of Negro applicants would be excluded by TCU’s educational requirements, and finally that Negroes “will tend to go to institutions where there are significant numbers of their own race enrolled”. (p.5) Moudy, like Sadler, also predicts that only a small number of Negroes would attend TCU – no more than “10 students per year during indefinite future”. (p. 5). Moudy does state that he thinks Negro students would tend to do as well as white students and not cause a deterioration in classroom performance. Finally Moudy acknowledges that there could be social problems but that these could be handled and it might cause a de-emphasis on “social activities” and more emphasis on “educational” activities which would be positive for all students. He emphasizes that the university is a “living” as well as a ”learning” experience and it will be important to face up to dealing with social issues in a forthright manner. He feels that since the university already has a large number of “non-white foreign students” the university would have experience in dealing with any social issues that arise.

Dr. Sadler made a recommendation that “From this day henceforth students be enrolled at TCU without reference to race, creed, or nationality and the Board of Trustees trust the administration to carry out this responsibility”. (TCU Board of Trustees, 1964, p. 223). The recommendation was moved and seconded for adoption. A substitute motion was then made by a Trustee and seconded that “TCU not be integrated any further than it now is” (p.223). This motion was eventually tabled and a vote called on the original motion. The motion passed 21 “for” and 4 “against”. (p.223) A press release was sent out announcing the decision the next

day. (TCU Press Release, January 24, 1964). The decision was reported in both the University and local newspapers (“Trustees Drop Racial Barriers”, February 4, 1964; “Full Integration Ordered,” January 24, 1964.

### **Employment at TCU**

The National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), housed within the United States Department of Education, serves as the primary federal entity collecting and analyzing comprehensive data sets related to the broad field of education. Published NCES data tables regarding education are available as of 1995, and serve as a definitive source of information regarding the post-secondary educational experience in the US.

For our research period of 1941 through 1971, my personal search through a thin slice of historical documents looking for references regarding ethnicity on the TCU campus proved nearly silent in the 1940’s through the 1950’s. Not surprisingly, written evidence of TCU’s experience and reaction to the national civil rights movement increased around the time leading up to and following the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Though my review is in no way comprehensive, it did include thousands of pages focused on researching three essential questions:

1. Was employment at TCU segregated (1941 – 1971)?
2. How many Blacks were denied the GI Bill at TCU (1941 – 1971)?
3. Were any scholarship monies expressly segregated (1941 – 1971)?

According to an NCES data table published in 1995, full-time instructional faculty and staff within institutions of higher education in 1992 had the following composition:

White, non-Hispanic		Black, non-Hispanic		Hispanic		Asian / Pacific Islander		American Indian / Alaskan Native	
Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
58.9%	27.9%	2.6%	2.3%	1.7%	0.8%	4.0%	1.3%	0.3%	0.2%

Thus in 1992, nearly 87% of full-time faculty and staff in US-based post-secondary schools were white. This provides a contextual baseline from which to think about the study period being researched. No consistent source of data similar to NCES has been located for the full time period of 1941 through 1971, the years under review. Therefore the question of preferential or segregated employment at TCU must be researched through a mixture of sources, including mandated federal and state reporting requirements, and other internal TCU historical documents.

### **Mandated Reporting**



The establishment of the Equal Pay Act of 1963 heralded a cascade of federal legislation to enforce equity in hiring practices. Notably, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibiting employment discrimination based on race, sex, color, religion and national origin. This legislation created the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), which opened its doors in 1965 “to enforce Title VII and eliminate unlawful employment discrimination”. Mandated reporting from employers to the EEOC commenced shortly thereafter in 1966 (U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 2021). Thus somewhere in TCU historical archives, EEOC reports commencing in 1966 should be attainable and included in the larger data collection efforts.

#### Record Retention

Though employers have for years been held to stringent HR Record Retention policies surrounding hiring and other practices, very few records require permanent retention at the individual or institutional level (Society for Human Resource Management, 2021). One important exception is the EEO-1 Report submitted to the EEOC, which contains summary data for the entire institution on the number of employees, by employment levels and by ethnicity, and must be permanently retained by the institution.

The Texas Workforce Commission (2021) provides direction on recordkeeping requirements specifically with regards to 1) records employers have the duty to retain; 2) format for retained records that provides ready availability for inspection; and 3) timeframes for

retention. Hiring practice records for *individual* employees have the following retention timeframes:

- I-9 records, at least three years following date of hire
- New hire reporting must be submitted within 20 days of hire
- Hiring documentation under EEOC rules must be kept for at least one year following date of hire
- State discrimination laws require all personnel records be kept for at least one year following an employee's last day of work

With the exception of permanently retained EEOC mandated reports starting in 1966, little direct information has been found to quantify faculty and staff composition at TCU during the timeframe under review. Even had they existed, as an institution, long-standing record retention regulations make it unlikely that the institution would have retained such records beyond required timeframes. Historical records that are qualitative in nature therefore became the next resource to examine. An important historical marker is the *well-established fact that Professor Allene Jones, who worked at the Harris College of Nursing from 1968 to 1998 was the first African-American faculty member at TCU* (Ligi, 2019). Preceding Professor Jones, were there any other faculty from diverse ethnic backgrounds? An obvious source of archival information regarding faculty and staff hiring practices during the timeframe under study is the TCU HR department. Inquiries were made with limited success, and should be pursued beyond this research sprint. In the absence of quantifiable data, more qualitative approaches were undertaken.

A potential source of information about faculty composition from 1941 to 1971 is the TCU Yearbook, *The Horned Frog*. Reviewing “turn of the decade” yearbooks (1941, 1951, 1961, and 1971) provided interesting insights into campus life as it evolved decade by decade. Trying to determine diversity on campus through this imperfect method at best provides a general visual sense of whether those who were pictured appear to be someone with an ethnic background “other than white”. Assuming that the students who comprised the yearbook staff had significant influence over content, with usual editorial Staff guidance and oversight, the yearbooks provide more unfiltered glimpses into campus realities from a student perspective.

With regard to faculty and staff composition, very little information was gleaned. We need more information on the past hiring practices that were instituted around this time. In the 1941 yearbook, all faculty photographs appear to be of white men (35) and women (16). Likewise, in 1951, all photographs of faculty and key administrative staff appear to be white. One faculty member in 1961 (Gabriela Mora, Spanish instructor, p. 43) appears to be of Spanish or Portuguese descent. And the 1971 yearbook provided full lists of faculty by department without pictures.

Anecdotal insights about student diversity were slightly more informative. All students in 1941 and 1951 appear to be white, with the exception in 1951 of William Hooser, the Senior Student Body president, who is prominently displayed throughout the yearbook (p. 146, 156, 198, 206, and 217), and stated to be a Hawaiian from Honolulu (at that time a US territory). In the 1961 yearbook (p. 331), an African-American student, Karey E. L. Gee from Bay City, Texas is listed as a Junior student in Brite College; and an Hispanic student, Edward Vasquez from San Antonio, is listed as a Senior (p. 361). Additionally, nineteen international students are pictured, with their home countries listed as follows: 2 from Iran, 3 from Korea, 3 from Hong Kong, 1

each from Saudi Arabia, England, Paraguay, Greece, Mexico, Germany, Japan, Canada, Ecuador, and Jordan. With the 1971 yearbook, prominent photos of African-American students appear throughout the yearbook. Notably, Jennifer Giddings, a Senior from Dallas, was voted Homecoming Queen, becoming the first African-American to serve in this capacity at TCU and in the Southwest Conference. Various articles in the yearbook also focus on contemporary issues on race and equality.

Further qualitative source materials proved equally unhelpful in identifying TCU's stance on faculty and staff hiring practices during this timeframe. Through this review, however, The New Century Program at TCU seemed to receive frequent attention across multiple sources, and appears to be a key turning point for the institution, finding mention in Faculty / Staff Handbooks, TCU Magazine, and fundraising promotional materials.

### **Faculty /Staff Handbooks**

Faculty/Staff Handbooks from 1959 through 1971, available in TCU's Special Collections Research Library were reviewed in pursuit of useful context. Each of the handbooks provide general information about TCU, the structure of the Faculty Senate, membership lists of various committees, departmental overviews, guidelines regarding employment practices, benefits, and occasional organization charts. It should be noted that employment practices outlined in this source focused on guidance for existing employees versus illuminating institutional hiring practices.

Over this time period, the handbook language appears to be "boilerplate" until 1969, when the first mention of The New Century Program appears. Of particular interest is the statement with regard to TCU's emphasis on high quality in everything pursued, including "a

more diversified student body in terms of geographical, economic, ethnic, and national backgrounds” (Texas Christian University Faculty Handbooks, (1959 – 1971). Though no similar diversity statement was expressed with regard to faculty and staff, this did signal an incremental change in leadership thinking with regard to student body diversity.

**“The New Century”, by Vy Malcik, Publications Writer**

In the 1969 Summer edition of *This is TCU* magazine, an article entitled “The New Century” outlines the work of the Future Planning Committee established by the Board of Trustees in 1966. This culminated in the New Century Program and the Centennial Campaign, 1969 – 1973, “a four-year program to unite all persons and organizations interested in TCU in a singular effort to obtain dollars which will enable the University to become one of the nation’s leading educational institutions”. Of note, the article identifies goals for the student body, including “efforts will be made to attract a more diversified student body in terms of geographic, economic, ethnic and national backgrounds.” (page 6). No such objective was stated specifically with regard to faculty, rather the focus for faculty was on performance, promotion and tenure.

**“The New Century A Point in Time” Fundraising booklet (1969)**

In preparation for TCU’s 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary in 1973, the Board of Trustees (BOT) authorized the creation of the Future Planning Commission in 1965, kicking off a significant self-evaluation and planning period that culminated in The New Century Program. As outlined in the TCU Centennial fundraising booklet, “The New Century A Point in Time”, this commission

set goals to guide future growth through 1980. (TCU Digital Archives. ca. 1969). Several key objectives were articulated, including ones specifically focused on student body and faculty:

“TCU will continue with emphasis on personal attention and a low student-to-faculty ratio in classes. Growth will be controlled and aimed toward a more diversified and academically qualified student body ... Faculty of high potential and outstanding formal qualifications, dedicated to students, will be sought from highly diversified sources.” (p. 10).

In light of the public statement of commitment to ethnic and cultural diversity announced by the TCU Board of Trustees in January of 1964, the emergence of The New Century Program appears as a small tangible step forward on the heels of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the cusp of TCU’s 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary. However, this commitment is a mere whisper in the aforementioned reference documents aimed at faculty, staff, students, and donors.

Further research is required to determine how much progress TCU made with regard to faculty and staff integration beyond the hiring of Professor Allene Jones in 1968. Clearly, exclusion was the norm for hiring practices at TCU during the time period under review.

### **GI Bill at TCU**

The first iteration of what is known today as the GI Bill began as the Rehabilitation Act of 1919, which offered a monthly assistance allowance to veterans disabled in World War I (WWI). Revised in 1940 as the Selective Training and Service Act, this benefit entitled veterans to job reinstatement and provided training and rehabilitation for disabled veterans. A further modification in 1944, branded the Servicemen's Readjustment Act, offered veterans

unemployment benefits, education assistance, and low interest loans (Navy Personnel Command, 2011). While active-duty military personnel in WWI numbered approximately 4 million during the years 1917 to 1919, this number dropped to approximately 458,000 in 1940, just before the United States entered World War II (WWII) in December 1941 (National Archives: Prologue Magazine, 1998). By the end of the war in 1945, there were over 12 million active military in the US Army, Navy and Marine Corps, many of whom qualified for the education assistance benefit (Infoplease.com, 2021).

The realities of the GI Bill for black veterans during and following WWII are well documented. A 1947 pamphlet produced by the Bureau of the Census, the National Urban League, the Southern Regional Council, and the American Veterans Committee reported the following:

“The educational benefits under the GI Bill, along with on-the-job training, are among the most substantial benefits provided for veterans of World War II. But once again, Negro veterans have been prevented, through discrimination, segregation, and second-class facilities, from obtaining the advantages which are theirs under the law. Out of 100,000 Negro veterans who are eligible to attend college under the GI bill, only 20,000 have been able to obtain admittance. Another 15,000 applied but were unable to find a college or university which had room for them. It is estimated that if there were space, another 50,000 would have applied for higher education. Upwards of 70 per cent of the Negro veterans who have

succeeded in enrolling in colleges are attending all-Negro institutions.”

(Bolte & Harris, 1947, p. 18)

The dynamic changes brought about at TCU by the 1944 Servicemen's Readjustment Act (GI Bill) are undeniable. Enrollment significantly spiked in the years 1946 through 1948 as shown in Table 2: (TCU Institutional Review Department. 2021).

In minutes from a 1945 TCU Board of Trustees (BOT) meeting, reference is made to TCU's working relationship with the Veterans Administration, emphasizing that housing shortages limited TCU's capacity to admit only thirty or forty veteran students at that time. A subsequent March 1946 President's Report to the BOT stated that the “University is literally overrun with students ... Classes start at 8 o'clock in the morning and close at 10 o'clock in the evening” in order to maximize the available campus classroom space. It also noted that several hundred student applicants had to be turned away due to overcrowding.

Though it is uncertain exactly how many students were veterans, the surge pushed TCU enrollment to 4,000 students, of which approximately 3,000 attended the Day College and 1,183 enrolled in the Evening College, according to the October 1946 TCU President's Report to the Board of Trustees. This report further addressed the additional demands for housing, classroom space and equipment. Applications had been made to the Federal Government for bricks-and-mortar transfer of property: “We have already been given five hospital ward buildings and will have them erected on our Campus for the housing of veterans within the next ninety days.” In a subsequent TCU President's Report, dated March 1947, enrollment remained at “double capacity” of 4,016 students, of which approximately 2,000 were veterans, and four temporary dormitories were noted to be in use and almost filled. The TCU President anticipated veteran



enrollments to rise until at least 1950, and noted the veterans to be excellent students and fine citizens. (*Texas Christian University Board of Trustees Minutes Book* (Feb. 19, 1942 to Aug. 24, 1947).

### *The Frog Horn*

In the first edition of *The Frog Horn* (1947), a publication for TCU “exes”, TCU’s President, Dr. M.E. Sadler is noted to have “greeted record enrollment of 4100 for the fall semester”, pointing out that the characteristic “friendly, democratic spirit” on campus would be maintained despite the overcrowded conditions. Further illustrating the impact of this increased enrollment, TCU embarked upon a Building Fund Campaign to raise \$3M for significant facilities upgrades. A subset of funds were to be set aside for expansion of Goode Hall to accommodate housing for more male veterans, as well as Jarvis Hall renovations to adequately accommodate additional women veterans. (TCU Digital Archives. *The Challenge*. 1946).

### *How many Blacks were denied the GI Bill at TCU (1941 – 1971)?*

In order to fully understand and answer this question, several pieces of data need to be in hand:

For the time period under consideration, 1941 - 1971,

1. What was the total student population at TCU, year by year?
2. How many veterans applied to TCU using this benefit?
3. How many were accepted / declined?
4. Demographics on those accepted / declined?

Initial research efforts focused on TCU's Special Collections Library as well as the TCU Institutional Research Department. Though a number of references were identified related to the GI Bill, no specific information to address items 2-4 above was identified. Therefore, further research needs to be completed, with the assistance of specific TCU Departments to determine if archival records exist, either in hard copy, microfiche, or electronic format.

Beyond the increase in enrollment and demands for housing, specific facts related to TCU's administration of the GI Bill remain hard to pin down, in part due to limited or non-existent reporting requirements and formal record retention regulations during this time period. Per TCU's Institutional Research (IR) department, comprehensive tracking of data on enrollment did not begin until the late 1960's or early 1970's. The TCU IR department archives do not include information on the GI bill, veterans, or admission data during this time period (1941-1971). However, it was suggested that further GI Information might be retained by the Registrar's office. Mary Kincannon, TCU Registrar, indicated that TCU's first computerized student record system was implemented in 1984, well beyond the timeframe of our research, and that the Veterans Administration specifies that student records/files need only be retained for three years. Open requests for assistance are underway with the Title IX/OIE and Talent Acquisition departments. Additional requests to HR and Admissions departments remain unanswered, perhaps because pertinent information may have already been provided to other RRI subcommittees; and most recently an inquiry has been sent to TCU's Veteran Services office to find further facts. Through the brief and narrow research effort, focused on the three questions above, singular documents or references rose to the surface here and there over the 1940' and 1950's. **Reporting on the silence of the historic materials is as important as the occasional uncovered detail.**

## TCU Athletics

TCU athletics has a long and rich history of success. The football team particularly was one of the best football programs in the early 1900's. They won national titles in 1935 and 1938 and Sammy Baugh is considered by many to be the greatest quarterback in college football's first 100 years. Davy O'Brien who is a Heisman trophy winner and national champion for TCU has the annual award given to the best college quarterback named after him. Again, TCU has a rich history in athletics and was a member of one of the most powerful athletics conferences in the nation which was the Southwest Conference (SWC). The SWC was made of 8 institutions between 1925 – 1996 which were Arkansas, Baylor, Rice, SMU, TCU, Texas, Texas A&M, and Texas Tech. Although the Brown vs Board of Education in 1954 demanded that public institutions that were racially segregated were deemed unconstitutional it took 11 years for the first Black football player to play in the SWC. TCU's first Black football player was Linzy Cole who played in 1968 (4 years after Baylor integrated their football program).

In 1961, an article in the *Dallas Morning News* stated that integration in athletics is inevitable although the article criticized the SWC conference for having a "gentleman's agreement" that prevented Negro athletes from receiving athletic aid at any of their member schools. Although TCU didn't specifically state policies preventing Negroes from entering its institution (for example, Arkansas and Rice specifically stated policies preventing Negroes from entering its institutions) it did not lead the conference in desegregating its athletic program nor undergraduate population. Author Charles Burton in 1958 stated in the *Dallas Morning News*, "The first one won't (Negro athlete) be recruited. He probably will be a fine athlete with a good personality and an excellent moral back by scholarship to defray an athlete's school expenses." The author also went on to discuss the support of a pressure group to assist in desegregating the

SWC. Although the head football coaches were indifferent about desegregating their teams on record, they were unanimous in making sure that teams didn't recruit nor provide athletic aid to the Negro athletes until years later.

In 1962, only Texas, Texas Tech, and Arkansas enrolled Black undergraduate students although the Texas public junior colleges and high schools have begun integrating. Private schools and church affiliated schools were slower than tax supported colleges to abolish segregation (Morehead, 1962). At TCU, Dr. M. E. Sadler stated, "it's only a matter of time until the Frogs recruit a top Negro star" (Cartwright, 1963). Also, the article stated that one SWC coach said, "The first Negro (in the SWC) will be a superstar, not just a good athlete but an outstanding one with a good scholastic record and a good personality" (Cartwright, 1963). Nearly 10 years after the Supreme Court's decision to desegregate there are leaders at some of the most influential athletic programs in the country slow to accept Negro athletes and to ensure that the first Negro athlete will be above standard in every category; a super Negro student-athlete.

### *Board of Trustees*

The TCU Board of Trustees ordered full integration in 1964 and became just the seventh (out of eight) SWC conference institutions to desegregate. TCU had several years of integration in three of its divisions (Brite Divinity College, Harris College of Nursing and TCU Evening College) although it didn't have integration in its dormitories nor athletic programs. "TCU is not attractive to Black students. TCU is attractive to white, middle-to-upper class students with good social standing" (Palm, 1989; pg. 3). Some of TCU's first Black student-athletes recommended to the administration to establish a Black cultural center because Black student social needs were

not being adequately met by the administration or student leadership. A few years later TCU had begun to integrate other facets of its student activities. According to Downing (1973; pg. 8), “Ronnie Hurdle was the first Black cheerleader in 1969 who sparked a lot of discussion mainly from ‘longtime supporters of TCU’ about whether he was allowed to touch a white female cheerleader. After a year the University decided that it was all right. Woody Austin was the first Black to belong to the band fraternity and Jennifer Giddings was the first Black homecoming queen.”

*Who was the first black student-athlete at TCU?*

The first Negro star to integrate TCU was James Cash in 1966 in men’s basketball and Linzy Cole in 1968 in football. Linzy Cole was a junior college All-American wide receiver before coming to TCU. In 1968, TCU became just the third SWC team to field an integrated team. By 1970, TCU had six Black student-athletes on the roster and Fred Taylor was the head coach. In 1971, Jim Pittman became the head coach and the dissatisfaction of the Black student-athletes continued. After racial turmoil and tensions the Black student-athletes became outspoken and demanded that administration provide a deeper attention to their concerns. The frustration was prevalent, and five out of the six Black student-athletes did not return the following season. By 1974, TCU had the least number of Black student-athletes on their roster than any other SWC football program (see table 1). Jim Garner, Sports Information director said, “At that time there was no set policy in the SWC against admitting blacks; it was just nobody had the guts to go out and sign one” (Downing, 1973; pg. 4).

Table 1: Black football players in the Southwest Conference, 1974

University	Number	Percentage of all players
SMU	29	27.4
Arkansas	28	22.8
Rice	26	20.8
Texas A&M	22	22.2
Baylor	21	24.1
Texas Tech	20	22.5
Texas	10	8.8
TCU	9	7.7
Total/Average	165	19.5

Source: Charles M. Tolbert II, "The Black Athlete in the Southwest Conference: A Study of Institutional Racism" (master's thesis, Baylor University, 1975), 40.

Many thought that Texas would be the first to integrate because of their position as the state's school and because they had Negroes among its undergraduates. Logan Wilson, the president of Texas from 1953-1960, stated, "We have no plans at the present time for their Negroes participation in intercollegiate athletics since many on our schedule are still segregated (Burton, 1958)." Oklahoma's first Negro athlete was fullback Prentice Gautt. Prentice wasn't a recruited athlete by then head coach Bud Wilkinson but he eventually started for the football

program. The “gentleman’s agreement” was strong and many still oppose Black athletes playing on the same field as White athletes. For example, Jack Trice was the first Black athlete for Iowa State University, and he died on the field due to the excessive and illegal abuse that he received while playing football. Jerry LeVias was the first Black scholarship athlete at SMU in 1965 and he was the first Black football athlete to break the color barrier in the SWC.

The rivalry between SMU and TCU was just as fierce back then as it is today. When Jerry LeVias came to play at TCU, he received death threats daily leading up to the big game. Law enforcement both local and state were in large numbers for the game. The Fort Worth community did not want to witness a loaded SMU squad come into their stadium on the brink of becoming the undisputed conference champion and an automatic bid for the Cotton Bowl with their star Black athlete. “Four days prior to the contest an anonymous caller had telephoned the SMU campus and crudely announced, ‘We’re going to shoot that dirty nigger LeVias on Saturday.’ Obscene telephone calls and occasional threats of personal violence were nothing new to LeVias, who had been a marked man ever since he signed a scholarship agreement with SMU in May 1965. But since the particular caller had specified when and where his threat would be carried out, SMU administrators prudently contacted local police. Later in the week the Fort Worth Police Department also received a message about a possible shooting attempt at the game. (Martin, 2010; pg. 181).”

### **Continued Evidence of Segregation**

We want one class of persons to have a liberal education, and we want another class of persons, a very much larger class of necessity in every society, to forgo the privilege of a liberal education and fit themselves to perform specific difficult manual tasks.

—Woodrow Wilson, 1909 Address to the NYC High School Teachers' Association

The administration of President Lyndon B. Johnson aided unification in the remainder of Texas. The Civil Rights Act of 1965 gives the federal government the ability to enact civil rights laws. The poll tax was replaced by the 24th Amendment the same year. 400,000 black Texans enrolled in 1966. Many of the black Texans who voted send the first African American to the Texas legislature since 1892. Without recognizing how past inequities of access to higher education in the United States are expressed today, no discussion of higher education's background would be full. In two main areas, problems of fairness and diversity in higher education intersect with the priorities of disciplinary integration. An individual with an integrative education is more likely to have interacted with a wide variety of individuals, as well as a wide range of thoughts and mindsets, which has been related to positive results. Diversity in higher education encourages critical thought, pushes professionals to consider different points of view, fosters cross-disciplinary cooperation, fosters an understanding of disparities in history, training, and aptitudes, and stresses the importance of the environments in which education, practice, and citizenship evolve and manifest (Allen et. al, 2018).

However, at Texas Christian University we see forms of segregation still prominent on campus. Whether it be the requirements of tenure for Black faculty v. white, or 'being the only one' in class. Discipline convergence, in principle, necessitates related methods of boundary crossing. It allows students to connect with, learn from, and work with the many people who teach and research at the intersections and edges of disciplines and fields. It allows heuristics and epistemologies to connect and converge. The definition of inclusion and interdisciplinary work is influenced by an emphasis on diversity. It raises the probability of being answered the following



questions: What is it that is identifying the issues? Who is coming up with their solutions? How are the advantages of solutions, as well as any possible inequalities, spread through the numerous communities that exist at TCU. Today, it is commonly believed that colleges and universities have been siloed along academic lines, with faculty from various disciplines barely collaborating, and students taking the bulk of their classes within their declared major. It is crucial to understand the effect of increasing college costs (which was an initial practice noted before to keep African Americans out) on who in our society can benefit from higher education and which institutional styles in order to ensure equal access to any learning experience, including integrative learning experiences.

More rigorous cultural and ethical commitments to empathy, integration, and appreciation for the rich diversity of human identity and experience are needed. True robust knowledge is dependent on the ability to identify the essential shortcomings of particular ways of learning, to create the social connections required for an egalitarian and democratic society, and to nurture sufficient modesty. These obligations are just as critical in professional settings as they are in public life. They're also vital for shaping common dreams of the worlds we want and fostering the kinds of investigation, progress, and imagination that will help us get there.

### **Conclusion**

As a collective body, analyzing the history of integration for the purposes of the Race and Reconciliation Initiative was challenging, yet needed. Our hopes for Texas Christian University is that we utilize the time spent in research to develop and institute new structures that establish a sense of belonging for Black scholars. We have long practiced curricula, pedagogy, and policies

that directly affect the matriculation through post-secondary institutions for Black scholars. TCU was the 3<sup>rd</sup> from last school in the Southwest conference to be integrated. Sadler's leadership of a cautious, careful, and slow 14 year approach to integration along with a push from student leaders and faculty eventually overcame the divided Board of Trustees. TCU continued to grow and flourish financially, but how many Black students missed out on the opportunity to receive an excellent academic education at TCU during that long time period of segregation? Albert Einstein stated, "Memory is deceptive because it is colored by today's events." People who were in school or taught during the integration debates in Fort Worth remember and feel differently about the events of the desegregation period. One issue, however, remains. True integration has the potential to heal tensions, act as an incubator for innovations, and exert a magnetic force that brings people together across racial lines. We switch from desegregation to integration as we go from access to inclusion, from exposure to comprehension. When Brown approaches his 67th birthday, we have the chance to turn segregation's national humiliation into a retirement celebration: the future of TCU depends on it. Reconciliation is a verb, and ongoing action that is needed in order to create change. So we ask you, what are we doing today to reconcile?

### **LET'S NOT BE LAST TO THE STARTING LINE**

We provide recommendations as a result of our study. We know that the recommendations provided cannot happen overnight, however, we present the following recommendations in hopes of establishing true reconciliation.

1. We wish to recognize our Black alumni and current affiliates (faculty, staff, and students). It is critical for Black students to see themselves on campus being represented in numerous areas of the university. Some types of memoriam where we honor the lives

and legacies contributed to TCU so in this, we are honoring their lives every day and not just Black History Month.

2. There is critical history of the commentary and community of students that were documented during the Korean War. There were also co-conspirators who were willing to lay down their lives for marginalized students (Brite Divinity) that go unmentioned in our history. Examples are
  - a. Rhodes Thompson - help desegregate Little Rock
  - b. Jody Geater - jailed in Mississippi - was afraid that he would be expelled from TCU
  - c. Mike W.- student body president worked closely with Dr. Sadler, - went to Board of Trustees to assist in desegregating TCU
3. We recommend a digital depository where all members of TCU and outside community members are able to witness throughout the year history that has contributed to TCU's legacy.
4. TCU's history should be taught through curricula programs such as Frog Camp and UNLF.

As an institution, we need to truly ask ourselves,

What have we done strategically to make sure that all components of DEI have stuck together intentionally?

## References

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