

Matched to its context in Texas:

A resistant approach to desegregation at TCU, 1941-1971

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## KEY DATES

**1940s** | During World War II and afterward, Black military members attended classes paid for by the GI Bill; these courses were not for TCU credit, but taught by TCU professors in off-campus and on-campus locations.

**Nov. 2, 1951** | TCU President M.E. Sadler acknowledges presence of “two or three (Black) soldiers” in the evening college, after a local newspaper publishes story. He also discusses local Black teachers attending evening classes provided by TCU education professors.

**1952 and 1954** | Vada Felder becomes one of the first African Americans to attend Brite College of the Bible in 1952 and graduates in 1954 from Brite, an affiliated institution of TCU, with a Master’s of Religious Education, during the same year as the landmark Brown v. Board of Education decision.

**1956** | Two Black women, Lottie Hamilton and Bertice Bates, earn master’s degrees in education by working with TCU Professor Sandy A. Wall on arranged classes in the TCU School of Education, after they completed all possible courses in TCU’s evening college. More research is needed to determine what institution granted their degrees.

**1962** | Allene Jones, Doris Ann McBride, and Patsy Brown are the first Black undergraduate students admitted to the Harris College’s nursing program. All had earned credit at other universities; Jones graduates in May 1963.

**January 1964** | TCU announces that it will admit Black students and other students of color to all academic programs. However, a few other students of color attended TCU in the 1940s and 1950s.

**1965** | James I. Cash becomes the first African-American to accept a basketball scholarship in the Southwest Conference when he enrolls at TCU, and in 1966, becomes the first Black in conference play. TCU admits 14 Black students in 1965, including Anthony Cregler, who later was the first Black member of ROTC. That same year, James Cash’s mother, Juanita Cash, earns a master’s degree in education from TCU, after attending evening college.

**1967** | Linzy Cole becomes first Black football player for TCU. During a game a year earlier against TCU, SMU player Jerry LeVias is threatened about taking the field against TCU at the Cotton Bowl and he is injured, spit on, and called the n-word by TCU players during that game.

**1968** | After receiving a master’s degree in psychiatric nursing from UCLA, Allene Jones returns to the Harris College to become the first Black professor at TCU, where she taught clinical and psychiatric nursing.

**1969** | TCU’s first Black cheerleader Ron Hurdle joins the squad.

**1970** | TCU students select the university’s first Black homecoming queen, Jennifer Giddings.

**1970-71** | First Black Greek organizations affiliated with the National Panhellenic Council established.

**February 1971** | Four Black TCU football players play offense on racial issues on campus, asking TCU to reconsider new policies for athletes, new support on campus for Black students, and redress for two exclusions of Black students, including Jennifer Giddings.

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### **Context of desegregation: 1940s and 1950s**

Starting in the 1940s, national events placed pressure on Texas institutions to reform themselves away from the legacy of the Confederacy and its aftermath of Black exclusion through enforced racial segregation and discrimination. Continuing through the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, all public education in Texas was segregated. It was during this earlier time, in 1936, that the NAACP launched a national legal campaign to push for desegregation of higher education.<sup>1</sup> Within Texas, a 1948 magazine published by the Colored Teachers State Association (CTSA) of Texas gives, in miniature, an overview of these educational pressures on the state's colleges and universities:

- The GI Bill, which opened doors to higher education for Black soldiers and veterans during and after World War II;
- Demand for equal funding and opportunities provided by state and federal legislation, and access to better education; and
- The “growing public sympathy with the problems of public education for the Negro.”<sup>2</sup>

The president of CTSA, O. W. Crump, encouraged educators in the association to push for change for themselves and for their students. At 10 public schools for Black students in Fort Worth, 100 percent of the Black teachers were members of this association in 1947-48. One of these schools, the Gay Street School, was the location for evening classes, not for official college credit at TCU, but still taught by TCU education professors for Black teachers starting in the early 1950s. (This effort, urged by Fort Worth public school administrators, provides one sign of progress at TCU discussed in the next section.)

And so, after decades of Black exclusion at TCU and other Texas universities, lawsuits in the 1950s offered hope to Black Texans. Yet the landscape for higher education was bleak for Black students in Tarrant County, since only two universities in Fort Worth at that time offered four-year degrees or graduate programs: TCU and Texas Wesleyan College. Both were private institutions that excluded Black

students. The predecessor to UT Arlington, a nearby public institution, offered only two-year degrees until 1959. The closest historically Black college to TCU was a private one, Paul Quinn College, which was founded in 1872 in Austin and began operating in Waco a few years later (more than a century before moving to Dallas in 1990).<sup>3</sup>

A 1953 letter clearly illustrates the desperate scramble of Black people in Fort Worth—and indeed across the South—to attend colleges close to their homes, families, and jobs. Written by a North Texas State College official to Texas Attorney General John Ben Shepperd, the letter relates the discrimination and hardship endured by a Fort Worth woman, who was unnamed in the letter:

“A colored teacher in Fort Worth has been taking courses at Texas Christian University as I understand it to be applied toward the doctor’s degree. I assume that she already has the master’s degree. She has been told by Texas Southern University that her work will have to be done in an institution which offers the doctor’s degree in order to be transferred to apply on the degree .... She has conferred with our Dean of the School of Education relative to attending Saturday classes here in the fall. She has said she does not want to make a test case of the matter, and she has been told that no colored person has enrolled at North Texas State College to date.”<sup>4</sup>

While the outcome of this account is not known to history, it demonstrates how discrimination by TCU and other Texas colleges affected Black professionals seeking advanced degrees. This continued exclusion of Black graduate students occurred even after the Sweatt decision by the U.S. Supreme Court, which in 1950 had forced UT Austin to admit Black graduate students and law students. The non-transcripted evening college work offered by TCU in segregated settings off-campus<sup>5</sup> and paid for by Black professionals or the U.S. government (for teachers or military members) did nothing to help these students advance their dreams, and for a time, TCU’s evening college was canceled in 1954 since the credits could not be used for degree at TCU. For these teachers to advance their careers by obtaining master’s degrees, they would have to move away from Fort Worth to find a public university willing to admit them without a fight or would be forced to transfer to an HBCU in a faraway city.

By 1954 and the U.S. Supreme Court’s Brown vs. Board of Education decision, all public educational institutions were required by law to desegregate. Some public schools and universities in

Texas resisted this requirement, led by the “strong and unyielding opposition” of Gov. Allan Shivers and Attorney General John Ben Shepperd.<sup>6</sup> Historically white private schools in the South, including TCU, still excluded Black students, too. Yet there was progress. The University of Texas admitted Black undergraduate students starting in 1956.<sup>7</sup> On a similar trajectory, North Texas State College (now the University of North Texas) in 1954 admitted a doctoral student, Tennyson Miller, into its education department; and in February 1956, North Texas State admitted its first undergraduate student, and later that same year, integrated its first-year football team and its varsity team a year later.<sup>8</sup>

Universities during this time and later surveyed white students to gauge openness to desegregation. *The Skiff* published results of one survey as early as Oct. 3, 1952, in which three out of four students favored integration of undergraduate programs, during the same year Brite desegregated itself. Later polls were conducted in the early 1960s, and the student body president at TCU in 1963-64, Mark Wassenich, made integration his goal. Students participated in a “human relations seminar” in February 1963, with results in *The Skiff* showing the Student Congress and faculty were favorable toward integration.<sup>9</sup> At another private university, Baylor, the Student Congress had formally voted to integrate in 1955; the university, however, did not admit Black students until the 1960s.<sup>10</sup>

### **TCU desegregation in the 1940s and 1950s**

What TCU said in public statements during the 1950s and what occurred privately were at odds, at least in a handful of cases, as we shall see. Teachers and soldiers were among the first Black people to enroll in educational opportunities supported by TCU in the 1940s and 1950s. These opportunities were limited, usually not transcribed, and done reluctantly, according to TCU’s President M.E. Sadler, who stated in a news releases printed by *The Skiff* in 1951: “For the past ten years, we have wanted to avoid any action which would cause any people to point to us and say ‘Texas Christian University is pioneering and pushing out in the matter of non-segregation.’”<sup>11</sup> He defines TCU’s relationship with Carswell Air

Force Base as one in which TCU educates all service members sent by the base, including a few Black airmen.

Sadler, in his 1951 statement, describes the arrangement for teachers: “We have provided teachers for courses needed by groups of Negro public school teachers here in Fort Worth. These classes have been held in the Gay Street School building and have been composed entirely of Negro students.” In 1951, TCU education professor Dr. Sandy A. Wall taught these classes to help Black Fort Worth teachers with certification requirements. Among the 20-30 teachers in each of these classes were two Black women, Lottie Hamilton (principal of the Gay Street School) and Bertice Bates, who managed to earn master’s degrees of education in 1956. (See photo 2, letter to the editor of *The Skiff*.) They worked with Dr. Wall in the TCU School of Education, through arranged independent study after they had taken all the classes offered in the evening college. Reva Bell and Juanita Cash, who earned master’s degrees from TCU in the mid-1960s, had also studied with Dr. Wall in the evening college. In a February 15, 1977, letter to *The Daily Skiff*, Dr. Wall, who also served as the associate dean of the graduate school, wrote that “it gave me a great satisfaction to shift the records of the Black students from their segregated niche to the regular alphabetical files; it gave me more satisfaction to follow my students of those segregated years to the completion of their graduate degrees.” Dr. James Cash said, when establishing a scholarship in his mother’s honor in 1987, “I was always fascinated by the commitment of the (education) school to do what was right, rather than what was acceptable.”<sup>12</sup>

In the same 1951 statement to *The Skiff*, Sadler also references the informal relationship with Jarvis Christian College, through which TCU was “helping a young man complete his degree requirements (at Jarvis by organizing) some individual conference courses so that the Negro student can meet with the (TCU) teacher and get some of the work he needs to complete his degree at Jarvis.” These types of arrangements that maintained segregation and involved independent study sessions with professors may have been the norm, but one religion professor, Dr. Paul Wassenich, describes TCU

“quietly” allowing some Black students to attend courses in sociology and education on campus before 1954, according to a *Skiff* interview in 1973.

Despite this work by School of Education in the early 1950s, TCU continued to “avoid any action” to be seen as supporting desegregation after 1954’s Brown decision. This included its decisions in April 1955 related to hosting an air meet, or conference for university flying clubs, which included students from about 30 colleges. One of the applicant schools, Tennessee A&I (now Tennessee State, an HBCU), was “very diplomatically” allowed to attend the conference by TCU, but had to accept TCU’s guidelines: separate housing off-campus away from other participants, no participation in the event’s social event (a dance), and seating at a separate table during the banquet, with all other teams doing the same. (See artifact x for more information). Student editors writing about this decision in *The Daily Skiff* called the application by a Black team a “perplexing” issue, giving “much credit” to TCU’s administrators for not eliminating the team, and concluded by writing these arrangements “should be found acceptable in every way.” (See photo 3 of this editorial from *The Skiff*.) TCU had also hosted rivals with integrated football team earlier than this air meet.

Though no university records exist of the enrollment of other people of color, the TCU yearbook demonstrates that students of color did attend TCU’s main campus in the 1940s and 1950s. Tommy Moy, an Asian-American student from New York City, is pictured in the 1943 *TCU Horned Frog* staff photo for the yearbook, as a junior in the 1948 yearbook, and as a graduate student coach for intramural fencing in the Feb. 10, 1950, *Skiff*, page 10. In 1948, Jaime Marrero-Rivera, Efrain Ortega, and Manuel Paez are featured in the yearbook as members of the Ridings Press Club, an organization for students interested in journalism.

Black people also appeared in other photos of yearbooks in the 1940s and 1950s. A Duke Ellington concert was held for TCU students, and the musician appears in photos in the 1948 yearbook, playing before a standing-room-only crowd of white students. A photo of minister’s wives in 1952

includes Alva Brown, a Black woman standing among white women (page 187). However, most depictions of Black people in these yearbooks were of cafeteria and other campus employees, usually unnamed. The cafeteria staff is steadily featured in early 1950s yearbooks, and only named in 1954 (see photo 1). Those Black workers included seven women: Thelma Payne, Ada Lee Burton, Eula Mae Harris, Bessie Garrett, Irma Edwards, Minnie Perdue, and Fannie Williams. Yearbooks from the late 1950s rarely feature Black people, but a few TCU employees appear in photos, but without names, job titles, or locations included. An example in the 1955 TCU Yearbook, only two photos include Black people, two Black workers who are nameless.

TCU and its administrators continued in the 1950s to follow the lead of Texas Gov. Shivers, who staunchly fought federal desegregation orders most notably in nearby Mansfield, Texas, in 1956;<sup>13</sup> however, that same year, most other Texas politicians, including U.S. Senator Lyndon Johnson and U.S. Rep. Jim Wright of Fort Worth, refused to sign the “Southern Manifesto,” which attacked the Brown v. Board of Education decision.<sup>14</sup> During this time, an institution affiliated with TCU, Brite College of the Bible, took another pathway altogether. It admitted Black students in 1952, including Vada Felder who graduated in 1954;<sup>15</sup> her photo appears, along with Black Brite student James Lee Claiborne, in the 1954 yearbook on pages 304 and 306. (At nearby SMU, five Black men graduated from its divinity school in 1955.<sup>16</sup>) In 1959, Felder would invite Dr. Martin Luther King to Fort Worth and she originally planned for him to speak at Brite and TCU, but the university rejected this engagement,<sup>17</sup> showing that the university’s stance had changed little in this decade, at least in high-profile events. Dr. King spoke, instead, at a newly integrated theater in downtown Fort Worth on October 22, 1959, amid threats and while staying in Felder’s home, since he was not allowed to stay in the city’s hotels.

### **Student experiences in the 1940s and 1950s**

Since no Black students enrolled officially in classes on TCU’s campus during this time, and with few other students of color, campus learning and activities were mainly whites-only experiences. Several



yearbook photos show white students: in blackface in 1957 and 1958; dressed as Native Americans in 1947 and in 1955 (two photos); dressed in an oriental scene in 1940. Yet a very few Asian-American and Hispanic students are also featured in the yearbook as participating on the yearbook staff, student organizations, and sports teams during the time period.

The legacies of racism formed part of Greek life at TCU during the 1950s. Here, too, TCU used polling and a student vote during 1954-55, which was favorable toward these organizations during the same time period as the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision. Establishing the first chapters on campus in the 1950s sought to curb declining enrollment and compete with Texas Tech and North Texas State, institutions that introduced fraternities and sororities in their campuses. Between 1954 and 1956, the TCU Board approved establishing eight sororities and eight fraternities followed by a first round of pledges that included about 400 students. The introduction of Greek life followed national trends that saw the growth of Panhellenic organizations during the 1950s and 1960s. Yet these organizations perpetuated segregation within campus groups for the following decades.

Across U.S. universities, fraternities and sororities engaged in a range of discriminatory practices. TCU English Professor Charlotte Hogg observes that “during desegregation, some national organizations, while legally removing discriminatory language, retained discriminatory practices.”<sup>18</sup> In southern colleges, commemorations of the Old South included the display of confederate flags, use of military customs, and parades as well as social events where participants performed skits and songs wearing blackface. Starting in 1950, the University of Mississippi’s Dixie Week included a mock assassination of Abraham Lincoln, reading secessionist manifestos, and holding slave auctions.<sup>19</sup> Slave auctions formed part of Greek life in college campuses across the United States, including TCU.

As late as 1971, members of TCU’s Lambda Chi Alpha conducted an annual “slave auction” to raise funds for the fraternity. John Fletcher, the auction’s chairman, noted in an interview with the *Skiff* published October 26 of that year that they expected to raise over the \$300 raised the previous year.

According to the article, the fraternity destined the proceeds for the event to Community Action Agency, a non-profit designed to support underprivileged families. Reports of these types of activities appear in colleges across the U.S. well into the 1980s.

### **Context in the 1960s**

While public universities admitted Black students in the 1950s, one Tarrant County-based public university, Arlington State College (now UT Arlington), did not admit Black students until 1962.<sup>20</sup> Texas Wesleyan University in Fort Worth did not admit Black students until 1965.<sup>21</sup> Baylor University, another historically white private institution like TCU, was “an institution in slow motion,” not admitting Black students until 1963, well after *Brown vs. Board of Education*.<sup>22</sup> The other two large historically white institution in Texas, Rice University and Southern Methodist University, did not admit Black students as undergraduates until 1965 and 1962, respectively.<sup>23</sup>

Desegregation of Fort Worth’s public schools would not begin until 1963 and would not be complete throughout all high schools until 1967; in 1964, more than 98 percent of southern school children still attended segregated schools.<sup>24</sup> By the early 1960s, most steps by Texas institutions into desegregation were made with the pressure from provisions of the Civil Rights Act, which would allow the federal government to withhold funding from educational institutions that did not integrate.<sup>25</sup>

### **TCU desegregation in the 1960s**

In 1962, three Black nursing students were admitted as the first undergraduate students at TCU, and admission at this time was limited to this new program, as well as the evening college, and Brite. All three nursing students, who already had professional experience and had earned college credit at other universities, had to qualify as juniors or seniors to enroll. Allene Jones and Doris Ann McBride were seniors in their late 20s when admitted, and both had already married; Patsy Brown was classified as a junior. (See photo 4 from *The Skiff*.) On the day they enrolled at TCU and registered for classes, registrar Calvin Cumbie said, “There were no problems whatsoever. We didn’t anticipate any” (*The Skiff*,

September 25, 1962, p. 1). The evening college was thriving in 1962, with almost 1,500 enrollments mentioned in the same article; however, at that time, the evening college had evolved into classes for white students, since “at most 12 Negro students had enrolled in the Evening College under the new ruling” in early 1964.<sup>26</sup>

Before this limited desegregation of the nursing program, J. M. Moudy had worked alongside Chancellor Sadler since 1957, influencing and then managing the university’s approach during the transition from a segregated to a desegregated campus. Moudy worked as the dean of the graduate school in 1957, becoming vice chancellor of academic affairs by 1962. In 1964, he was executive chancellor, before becoming chancellor in 1965.

In January 1964, TCU Veteran Chancellor Sadler announced the university would begin accepting Black students in all programs, not only in the nursing program, evening college, and Brite. The January 24 news release followed a board of trustees meeting on January 23, at which the decision was affirmed by the trustees, who were told that TCU’s faculty members and Student Congress already supported change. Then-Vice Chancellor of Academic Affairs Moudy had presented the case to the campus and trustees in this way: “Excluding Negro students ... has served its purpose. Since there are many persons of contrary opinion whose opinions and friendships I prize highly, let me go into a small amount of detail to show the basis of my point of view.” He then stated that the “present TCU admissions policy is not self-consistent,” because the university has admitted “larger numbers of foreign students, some of whom are as dark in skin color as many Negroes .... Although we have not knowingly admitted any persons from African Negro nations.” He goes on to state that “our present policy has no scientific or educational basis.”<sup>27</sup> TCU officials in 1970 placed new information alongside Moudy’s and Sadler’s actions and statements from 1964. Public Relations director James Lehman said there was “nothing sensational about the early years of integration” at TCU, in contrast to scenes in Alabama and Mississippi, according to a *Skiff* article published on January 23, 1970. This article was published just

days before four Black football players make demands of TCU administrators discussed in the next section. In the same *Skiff* article, registrar Calvin Cumbie claims that no Black student was ever denied entrance to TCU in the past because none ever had applied, saying, “The university’s policy was widely known in this area.” Cumbie admitted that some Blacks may have inquired about attending TCU, but that they “were all informed of the university’s policy as diplomatically as possible.” The university did not maintain records about the numbers of Black students attending TCU, using “visual observation” according to Cumbie, but in 1968, the federal government requested statistics. In fall 1968, there were 36 Black undergraduate students attending day classes at TCU, he said. By fall of 1969, he said, there were an estimated 73 undergraduate students at TCU, with a total of 118 overall, if students attending the evening college and Brite were included, too.

#### **Student and faculty experiences in the 1960s and early 1970s**

Allene Jones, one of three Black students admitted to the nursing program in 1962 and the first Black faculty member in 1968, remembered her awareness of the pressure on TCU to admit Black students and hire Black faculty in the 1960s. In a 2012 oral history interview, she stated: “Except for the integration, TCU generally tried to operate on a Christian principle, not being overtly, outrageously racist. I think when you have a school like TCU with a Christian base, you have all these other people coming in who have different attitudes and then they have pressure from the government or whoever. I think this helped them make up their mind (to hire me).” As a student in 1962, Jones was almost 30 years old and married, and she had already attended classes at North Texas State College, Texas Woman’s University, and University of Dallas, trying to accrue credit she could apply to a nursing bachelor’s degree. She knew that her maturity helped her navigate any difficulties as one of only three Black students at TCU, saying that most of her time was spent in nursing classes or off campus, rather than finding her way as a younger undergraduate student.<sup>28</sup>

One of Jones' students, Dr. Joyce Goff, reflected on her time at TCU in the early 1970s, remembering that others had paved a way for her as a Black student, especially Professor Jones. "She was a kind of a bridge," Goff said, "she said, 'It's OK, you will be fine. I'm here.'" Jones played a large role for Goff, someone who "may understand your struggles and your challenges as a minority student, as a Black student, as a Black woman." Like Jones, Goff remembers being separated from most campus activities as a nursing student, but also knowing all those white students "are not going away. If anything, you would be the one to go away. And I didn't want to be one of the ones who went away until I graduated from that program." Goff recalls her first day on campus, comparing her older car with other students' newer cars, and visiting the registrar's office, not sure how she was going to pay tuition without loans. A friendly white office worker there connected her to a scholarship, which made all the difference in her life and later success, she says.<sup>29</sup>

Black students did also encounter resistance both off-campus and on during the 1960s. Basketball player James Cash needed police escorts for some of the out-of-state games he would play for the Horned Frogs.<sup>30</sup> (See photo 5 of James Cash.) Ron Hurdle, the first Black cheerleader at TCU in 1969, recalled that separateness on campus was caused not only by choice of major, as with nursing students, but also by economics and administrators. Other cheerleaders demonstrated to him their acceptance, when they ignored "a concern from Chancellor Moudy not to perform any physical drill routines with the opposite sex, due to the assumption of pressure from some of the alums because he was Black."<sup>31</sup> Moudy, in the 1970 yearbook account of Hurdle's participation, is depicted as trying to placate "disturbed supporters" (p. 309); the yearbook article makes clear that administrators were worried, but students were not, wondering "how this could happen and the institution still maintain its integrity." Late in 1969, Chancellor Moudy again interfered with full inclusion, when comedian and civil rights leader Dick Gregory was disinvited to campus, but eventually allowed to speak on Dec. 8; at the

time, Moudy told the faculty assembly that he didn't attend the event "for obvious reasons."<sup>32</sup> (See Photo 6 of TCU Board of Trustees in 1967).

Individual students, *The Skiff* editors, and organizations showed support for desegregation in various ways. Under the headline "Immature Segregationists," a 1960 letter to the editor from Lonny Taylor with a note from *The Skiff* editor Jerry Johnson shows two student leaders condemning others who had defaced posters with racial slurs. These posters promoted a talk by Rev. Kenneth Henry, a Jarvis Christian College graduate and professor, who would address "The Negro's Quest for Fair Play;" many of the posters had been removed or the word Negro was crossed out and replaced with another word. In 1969, *This Is TCU* magazine reported that student government leaders had "changed the constitution to include a strong assertion of racial nondiscrimination intent, rewrote the student elections code, and instituted a study of the history of the Negro in the South." Other organizations showed efforts toward inclusion. The 1965-66 men's soccer team included at least seven members with Hispanic surnames, and the 1966-67 yearbook featured the first Black athletes at TCU, basketball players who included James I. Cash. TCU students voted for Jennifer Giddings as the campus' first Black homecoming queen in 1970, and she completed her degree in 1971 in speech pathology, being named as a Who's Who recipient in 1970-1971 for her contributions to the campus: vice president of Jarvis Dorm and recording secretary of Mortar Board, among other roles. "I hope the future will bring many advantages to the campus, especially for minority groups," she said in the yearbook.

Just after Giddings' election in fall 1970, four football players delivered demands to TCU and its new football coach in February 1971 about the realities faced by Black students at that time. These demands by Larry Dibbles, Hodges Mitchell, Raymond Rhodes, and Ervin Garnett—all of whom left TCU to play for other universities—included a general charge of "racist attitudes among the administration and athletic department," with four specific complaints concerning:

- Changes to the football program policies and dress codes;

- The exclusion of Jennifer Giddings, the 1970 Homecoming Queen and the first Black student to win that title, from Cotton Bowl Activities;
- The need for a Black campus minister and psychologist or counselor, as well as more Black faculty members; and
- The denial of admission to Jimmy Leach “under questionable circumstances” (p. 102, 1971 TCU Yearbook).

Administrators, including Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs James Newcomer and Chancellor Moudy, both called the demands into question, based on their own ideas of proper student behavior. Newcomer said that the students’ demands were not made in a “very congenial spirit under which to get constructive work done” and Moudy wrote in a statement that regretted “the decision made by four of our fine athletes.”<sup>33</sup> The administrators shared rationalizations and proposals, yet the lack of Black faculty and staff members at TCU was hard for them to deny. The players’ demand did yield positive results for Black students, including part-time, temporary hiring of a campus minister and counselor in summer 1971. By the following February 1972, Roy Maiden had been hired as a counselor in the Counseling and Testing Center, and as a result may have become one of the first Black staff members at TCU. Dr. Reva Bell joined the education faculty in the 1970s, and she and Allene Jones were still the only two Black faculty members at TCU in 1983, more than 10 years after the players’ demands.

Other student activities changed in 1964, when an International Week was introduced to campus just as a few Black students had won admission. Later in 1964, TCU began its more formal partnership with the historically Black Jarvis Christian College in Hawkins, Texas.<sup>34</sup> Both institutions signed a memorandum of understanding on March 17, 1964, to focus on the unity of Disciples of Christ institutions and support for Jarvis finances and “place in the realm of higher education.”<sup>35</sup> Students participated in an exchange program in 1968 with Jarvis, which like TCU, was also affiliated with the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ); however, Black students from Jarvis spent a week on TCU’s campus, while TCU students took a day-trip only to Jarvis.<sup>36</sup>

By 1970’s yearbook, one photo of a theater production featured a Black woman actor, yet she played the part of a maid. That same year, other organizations showed inclusion of Black students in

yearbook photos, including the service sorority Gamma Gamma Sigma, the music sorority Mu Phi Epsilon, and the Air Force ROTC, with first member Anthony Cregler. Like the earlier yearbooks, a few white students in the 1960s and early 1970s are depicted in blackface, including three photos of 1960 rush parties held by Alpha Delta Pi, Alpha Gamma Delta, and Tri Delt. Other white students in blackface appear in the 1963 and 1966 yearbooks. In the 1971 yearbook, pages 328-329, the Phi Kappa Sigma page features its all-white members holding a large Confederate flag. In fall 1971, Frank Callaway of the Students for Afro-American Culture, said that “TCU still treats its Black students like visitors, not like the school belongs to them, too. The university tolerates us. They try to keep us from being angry. But we still feel like we’re being short changed.”<sup>37</sup>

### Summary

TCU did take a small step forward in the 1960s, while the world was changing beyond campus. Evidence from oral histories and student news media shows the reluctant and resistant pace of change by TCU’s board of trustees and administrators. Individual programs and professors—notably in education and nursing, as well as at Brite—were exceptions to this resistance. On a campus with thousands of white students, the reality of desegregation is hard to capture with data since consistent and reliable official records are lacking. Coverage of the Civil Rights Movement by TCU student media is infrequent or non-existent during the 1950s and 1960s, with a few campus speakers on these topics occasionally opposed by administration, or as is the case of Martin Luther King, Jr., blocked from speaking on campus. So few Black students attended TCU during this time period that official stories featuring Black students are few, except for a dichotomy of coverage that alternated between a “first” homecoming queen or the outcry by a collective of Black football players, who sought more than integration and tolerance, but a sense of real belonging and inclusion.

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<sup>1</sup> Edward A. Hatfield, "Desegregation of Higher Education." *New Georgia Encyclopedia*. August 11, 2020. (<https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/desegregation-higher-education>, accessed February 8, 2021).



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- <sup>2</sup> Colored Teachers State Association of Texas. *The Texas Standard*, Volume 22, Number 1, January-February 1948, periodical, January 1948; Fort Worth, Texas. (<https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph193747/>; accessed February 9, 2021), University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu>; crediting Prairie View A&M University.
- <sup>3</sup> Texas Historically Black College and Universities. *KERA Learn*. (<https://learn.kera.org/texas-hbcu-map/>; accessed February 1, 2021); We Are Paul Quinn College. (<https://pqc-edu.squarespace.com/whoware>; accessed February 1, 2021); on educational opportunities during this time in Dallas-Fort Worth, see Rogers, 304-306.
- <sup>4</sup> J. L. Rogers, *The Story of North Texas*. (Denton, TX: The University of North Texas Press, 2002), 337-338.
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