

# The Integration of Intercollegiate Athletics in Texas: North Texas State College as a Test Case, 1956

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Southern response to the Supreme Court's verdict in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* in 1954 produced troubled and sometimes violent reactions on the region's high school and college campuses for more than a decade. State legislatures passed hundreds of new restrictive laws, and attorneys conjured up imaginative tactics to delay integration. In eight states of the old Confederacy, not a single black pupil attended school with a white child in 1955, a year after the court's decision. When Autherine Lucy, a young black woman, attempted to enter the University of Alabama in February 1956, rioting broke out on campus, and state authorities refused her admission. At Little Rock, Arkansas, in September 1957, Governor Orval Faubus raised the most serious challenge when he dispatched the national guard to bar the enrollment of nine blacks at Central High School.<sup>1</sup>

The public schools and colleges in Texas also experienced the trauma of these desegregation efforts. Although much of West Texas desegregated voluntarily, there was organized opposition in East Texas, bitterly contested litigation in the Dallas and Houston public schools, and violence at Mansfield, Texarkana, and Beaumont. Governor Allan Shivers opposed the *Brown* decision and advocated the use of the doctrine of interposition to stymie attempts at desegregation. Like most Southern governors, he maintained that states had a constitutional right to "interpose" their sovereignty between local school officials and the federal courts in cases involving desegregation. In creating the federal union, the interpositionists argued, the states had surrendered to the national government only those powers enumerated in the Constitution; all other powers, including control over public school policies, remained with the states. Texas voters backed their governor in the primaries of 1956 when they overwhelmingly approved referendums favoring interposition and preventing coerced desegregation of public schools. In the fall of 1956, Shivers deployed the state police to

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1. For Southern reaction to desegregation, see Numan V. Bartley, *The Rise of Massive Resistance* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1969); Benjamin Muse, *Ten Years of Prelude: The Story of Integration Since the Supreme Court's 1954 Decision* (New York: The Viking Press, 1964); Wilma Dykeman and James Stokely, *Neither Black Nor White* (New York: Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1957).

maintain order and prevent the court-ordered desegregation of Mansfield High School, located a few miles southeast of Fort Worth. He instructed the Texas Rangers to arrest anyone who represented a threat to peace, meaning specifically the black students attempting to comply with the court order. Shivers's tactics worked. Mansfield's blacks relented, and the federal judge gave way in the face of state power. Confrontations also occurred on some of the state's college campuses when blacks sought to enroll. That same autumn, at both Texarkana Junior College and Lamar State College of Technology, located in Beaumont, angry mobs and segregationist pickets physically prevented the entry of black students. These events occurred at a time when the welcoming sign over the main thoroughfare of Greenville, a town of 15,000 in East Texas, proclaimed: "Greenville, Welcome: The Blackest Land, The Whitest People."<sup>2</sup>

The Brown decision also affected southern collegiate sports. In January 1956, the regents of the Georgia University system prohibited its member schools from playing racially mixed teams in states with laws requiring segregation. This edict was aimed at the southern bowls in which integrated teams from outside the South participated. In December 1956, at an invitational basketball tournament at Evansville College in Indiana, the school administration of Mississippi State College ordered its team home because of the presence of black players on the other participating teams. Shortly thereafter the University of Mississippi walked out of the All-American City Basketball Tournament in Kentucky because of black players on the opposing teams. In that same year, a special session of the Louisiana legislature passed a law banning interracial athletics.<sup>3</sup>

It was in this atmosphere that early in September 1956, two black youths, Abner Haynes and Leon King, stepped from a taxicab at the edge of the football field at North Texas State College in Denton and warily walked toward a large group of white players gathered on the other side. As the taxi pulled off, the white cabby yelled, "Good luck to y'all!" The young blacks figured they were going to need all the luck they could find, for they were about to integrate the football team at the school, among the first of their race to do so at a four-year college in Texas. Their apprehension only increased when they spotted three of the white players separate from the group and walk toward them.<sup>4</sup>

To their surprise no confrontation occurred. This does not mean that Haynes and King encountered no problems. But as the season progressed, they received widespread acceptance both on and off campus with no violence. That the integration of intercollegiate athletics at North Texas State College was rela-

2. Dallas Express, 3 December 1955, 15 September 1956, and 13 October 1956; Bartley, *The Rise of Massive Resistance*, pp. 140, 146-147. For an excellent analysis of the legal aspects of integration in Texas, see Frank T. Read and Lucy S. McGough. *Let Them Be Judged: The Judicial Integration of the Deep South* (Metuchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press, 1978), pp. 61-110. Erected in 1921, the sign remained above Lee Street for fifty-two years.

3. Dykeman and Stokely. *Neither White Nor Black*, pp. 250-253.

4. Abner Haynes, "Oral Interview with Abner Haynes," OH 620 (University Archives, Willis Library, North Texas State University, Denton, TX): 277-279. Cited hereinafter as Haynes, OH 620. All other oral interviews cited herein are also housed in the University Archives, Willis Library. Charlie Cole, former football teammate, NTSC, "Oral Interview with Charlie Cole," OH 653: 18-19. Cited hereinafter as Cole, OH 653. Note: North Texas State College became North Texas State University in 1961.

tively calm resulted from the circumstances and individuals coming together at the same time during that autumn of 1956. Nearly another decade was to pass before most other southern colleges and their athletic programs began to desegregate, and the process was not always so tranquil as it was in Denton, a small town located forty miles north of Dallas and Fort Worth.

There are no in-depth studies of the integration of specific college athletic programs in the South, and the general studies of integration provide only cursory mention of its impact on sports. Further, what makes the North Texas study unusual is that the integration process took place so soon after the *Brown* decision. Perhaps even more unusual, the local and national media barely covered the event. With the paper trail being almost non-existent, therefore, corroborating oral history interviews with the participants proved indispensable as a research tool. This study's purpose is to identify the crucial elements contributing to the successful desegregation of athletics at North Texas, ingredients not always present in all schools, and, to a lesser degree, to determine the role of sports at the college level in pioneering integration and reducing prejudice and discrimination.<sup>5</sup>

The desegregation of the North Texas student body, which paved the way for Haynes and King, preceded the desegregation of the athletic program. In the summer of 1954, North Texas accepted its first black, Tennyson Miller, in the doctoral program in education. Miller, the principal of Lincoln High School in Port Arthur, had previously taught for eight years at Denton's black high school. He was admitted as a result of the Sweatt decision of 1950, when the U.S. Supreme Court decreed that all-white colleges had to accept blacks for graduate and professional programs not available at black institutions. Although he was not allowed to live on campus, Miller encountered no other serious problems. Summer sessions at North Texas consisted mainly of graduate students, especially schoolteachers, who were more mature than the typical undergraduate, an atmosphere that contributed to the avoidance of trouble. In looking back at his experience, Miller recalled, "I already had a good rapport with Denton residents. I think the [administrators] wanted me not as a token but as the first to open the doors to other black students. I didn't run into very many problems with whites." Miller subsequently returned to North Texas every summer between 1954 and 1960.<sup>6</sup>

Meanwhile, the college's president, James C. Matthews, attempted to head off potential trouble resulting from Miller's appearance by deliberately dis-

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5. See fn. 1. Only Dykeman and Stokely give brief attention to desegregation and Southern sports. For a general account of blacks in sports, see Jack Olsen, *The Black Athlete: A Shameful Story* (New York: Life-Time Books, 1968) and Jay J. Coakley, *Sport in Society: issues and Controversies* (St. Louis: C. V. Mosby Company, 1978), pp. 274-312.

6. Tennyson Miller to I. C. Matthews, June, 1954 (no specific day indicated). James Carl Matthews Papers, University Archives, Willis Library, North Texas State University, Denton, TX; *Dallas Express*, 7 August 1954; *Dallas Morning News*, 20 July 1954; *Denton Record-Chronicle*, 21 July 1954; James Rogers, former director of NTSC News and Information Service, "Oral Interview with James Rogers," OH 519: 3-5. Cited hereinafter as Rogers, OH 519. James Carl Matthews, "Oral Interview with J. C. Matthews," OH 633: 22. Cited hereinafter as Matthews, OH 633. Miller was quoted in the *North Texas Daily* (previously the *Campus Char*) on 4 November 1983.

couraging media coverage. When he did meet with the press, Matthews emphasized that the policy of not accepting black master's candidates and undergraduates would remain in effect. Partly because of his policies and Denton's relative isolation, he succeeded in keeping publicity to a minimum and, in the process, maintaining calmness on campus. As an indication of Matthews's success, the local black press did not consider Miller's admission newsworthy until several weeks after the event occurred, and its routine description was an indication that, in its opinion, no serious problems ensued.<sup>7</sup>

Soon after the arrival of Tennyson Miller, and in response to *Brown v. Board of Education*, Matthews prepared for the inevitable. Although he had always accepted segregation as a way of life, he was not a racist in the crude meaning of the word. Earlier in his career, for instance, he spent two professionally stimulating years with the Texas Department of Education assisting black educators in curriculum development, and the experience gave him a sympathetic understanding of the deficiencies and needs of black schools.<sup>8</sup> In an effort to control the framework in which the process would be considered, Matthews and the North Texas board of regents subsequently devised a plan that would gradually lead to the full desegregation of the school: black graduate students were to be admitted in the summer of 1956, seniors in the fall of 1956, juniors in 1957, sophomores in 1958, and freshmen in 1959. It is possible to conjecture that his plan was designed to forestall full integration. Certainly, the story of the civil rights movement ten years later demonstrated that action on race normally took place under forceful pressure, rarely voluntarily. At this time, though, the civil rights movement was not that well-organized in the North Texas area, and Matthews was under no direct pressure to consider even these steps. His approach could best be characterized as one of deliberation rather than speed.<sup>9</sup>

The timetable for the desegregation process accelerated, however, in the fall of 1955, when Joe Atkins filed a class action suit in the federal district court enjoining the school from refusing the admission of black undergraduates. Atkins sought to transfer to North Texas from all-black Philander Smith College in Little Rock. The college denied him admission, claiming there was insufficient classroom space available to handle the 200-300 blacks expected to seek entry if Atkins were admitted. The court, however, found North Texas in violation of equal protection as granted by the 14th Amendment and *Brown v. Board of Education*. It issued a permanent injunction ordering the school to admit blacks immediately.<sup>10</sup>

7. Rogers, OH 519: 3-5. Matthews, OH 633: 22; *Dallas Express*, 7 August 1954.

8. Matthews, OH 633: 10-11; *Dallas Morning News*, 19 May 1963.

9. Matthews to Board of Regents, 2 December 1954, Matthews Papers, Read and McGough. *Let Them Be Judged*, p. 62. see William H. Chafe, *Civilities and Civil Rights: Greensboro, North Carolina, and the Black Struggle for Freedom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), pp. 337-352.

10. Atkins to A. M. Sampley, Vice-President for Academic Affairs, 16 June 1955; Sampley to Atkins, 18 July 1955, Memo. Alex Dickie, Registrar, to Matthews. 9 September 1955; Matthews to Board of Regents, 2 December 1955. Matthews Papers. See also *Joe L. Atkins, a minor, by his father and next friend, Willie Atkins, v. James Curl Matthews, as President, North Texas State College*, et al., U.S. District Court, Eastern District, Texas, Civ. No. 1104 (59th Dist.), 19 December 1955; *Dallas Express*, 10 December 1955; *Denton Record-Chronicle*, 2 December 1955; *Campus Chat* (North Texas State College), 2 December 1955; Paul H. Sanders (Director), *Race Relations Law Reporter 1* (April 1956): 323-324.

Matthews felt obliged to obey the law to the letter. As he later observed, "That court order was not debatable." An authoritarian figure both in appearance and deed, he lived by rules. Tall, thin, and dignified in his ever-present dark suit and hat, he looked the part of the country school principal he had once been. He controlled every facet of the college. Although enrollment was soon to reach 5,500, there were very few administrators with authority below him. As one faculty member observed, "When you went into his office [for a decision], you were going to get a 'yes' or 'no' right there on the spot. And it wasn't going to be referred to any committee because he didn't have any committees. He made the decisions on everything. But you knew that. You knew it from day one that he was the boss." Matthews, then, was to play a key role in the success or failure of integration at North Texas.<sup>11</sup>

The president, determined that the admission of blacks should go forward, adopted the attitude that the college must make it work without counter-reaction and violence. He educated recalcitrant members of the board of regents on the futility of further resistance; he declined an offer from the Texas attorney general's office to appeal the case; he called the bluffs of the few faculty members who threatened to quit rather than teach blacks; and he refused to debate the issue with agitated townsfolk. Again, as with the coming of Tennyson Miller, Matthews deliberately kept publicity to a minimum in order to avoid reaction by potentially violent and antagonistic individuals. When the first black undergraduates enrolled in February 1956, he forbade television cameramen and reporters to follow them into the classroom. Only reluctantly did he permit a local television channel and a national network to interview one of the blacks on campus, but he refused to be interviewed. He merely presented the media with a written statement that could be read or reprinted. Matthews also used his clout with the pro-integration student newspaper to limit the amount of space devoted to the issue.<sup>12</sup>

Probably Matthews also perceived that the walls of segregation were crumbling everywhere in Texas and that resistance was futile. On July 25, 1955, the U.S. District Court ordered Texas Western College in El Paso to open its doors to blacks, and on November 23 the U.S. Court of Appeals directed Texarkana Junior College to do likewise in a decision that overturned a lower court's ruling that sanctioned segregated college facilities. In the same year, pressed by black civil rights groups, the board of regents at the University of Texas voted to admit blacks for undergraduate study.<sup>13</sup>

In contrast to difficulties with integration on other college campuses in Texas and the South in general during this period, the desegregation of North Texas was not characterized by any acts of violence or defiance. At the same time that

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11. Matthews, OH 633: 35; Rogers, OH 519: 12-13; Herb Ferrill, "Oral Interview with Herb Ferrill, OH 605: 35. Cited hereinafter as Ferrill, OH 605.

12. Matthews, OH 633: 22, 44; Rogers, OH 519: 12-13, 15-19. 22-23; *Denton Record-Chronicle*, 3 February 1956.

13. Sanders, *Race Relations Law Reporter*. 1 (February 1956): 122-124 and 1 (April 1956): 324-325; *Dallas Express*. 3 December 1955 and 8 September 1956.

North Texas admitted Mrs. I. E. L. Sephas of Fort Worth. its first black undergraduate, without incident, Autherine Lucy attempted to enroll at the University of Alabama under a court-ordered admission, and angry crowds, uncooperative state authorities, and university officials prevented her from entering.<sup>14</sup> On December 3, 1955, in response to an edict from the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court that Texarkana Junior College admit qualified black students, the school's president, H. H. Stilwell, declared. "The federal government cannot make us [desegregate], not unless it sends the militia to force us." Several months later the unrepentant Stilwell told a rally of segregationists, "It is your duty to resist it [integration] ," and a mob of three hundred responded by physically assaulting two blacks who sought admittance, forcing them to leave. Ten months after Sephas came to North Texas, segregationist pickets at Lamar State College of Technology in Beaumont, through intimidation and the destruction of property, stopped twenty-six blacks from entering classes.<sup>15</sup> Nothing of this nature happened in Denton. Full integration began in June 1956, when two black coeds moved into one of the women's dormitories, and by 1958 a total of 133 blacks had entered North Texas without incident. Significantly, the black press paid scant attention to activities in Denton, while at the same time it gave detailed coverage to incidents of opposition and strife during the integration process on other campus.<sup>16</sup>

The black students entering North Texas had little to fear from the townsfolk, for Denton did not have a history of racial violence. Located in a region identified as the Cross Timbers, the area more closely resembled West Texas than it did the Black Belt of East Texas. In 1860, Denton County had only 251 slaves in a population of 5,031, and more than 40 percent of the voters opposed secession in 1861. To be sure, with the advent of Jim Crow laws, Denton's blacks were subject to the same array of legal and extralegal restrictions on status and conduct imposed on the race throughout the South. As late as 1960, however, blacks numbered just 1,900 out of a total population of 27,000, so the vast majority of whites did not perceive them as a threat to existing mores. Moreover, although the segregation pattern placed restrictions on where they could live, the black section bordered Denton's only business district, which centered around the town's square, so by necessity the races had frequent contacts without problems. Most important, the business of Denton was education, and this served as a moderating influence in race relations. Two state-supported institutions, North Texas State College and Texas State College for Women, dominated the local economy and were Denton's major employers of

14. *Dallas Morning News* 20 April 1958; Denton *Record-Chronicle*, 2 February 1956.5 February 1956, and 7 February 1956; *Campus Char*, 3 February 1956; see Brauer, *John F. Kennedy and the Second Reconstruction* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), p. 2 Mrs. Sephas, the daughter of a retired minister, was a transfer student from Houston-Tillotson College in Houston She commuted to North Texas from her home in Fort Worth. See the *Denton Record-Chronicle*. 2 February 1956.

15. Sanders, *Race Relations Law Reporter*, 1 (February 1956): 122-124; *Dallas Express*, 3 December 1955. 15 September 1956, and 13 October 1956.

16. Memo. Registrar to Matthews. 3 March 1958, Matthews Papers; *Denton Record-Chronicle*. 30 August 1956; see *Dallas Express*, 1956.

blacks and whites. At that time a close, amicable relationship existed between town and gown, with the faculties of both colleges actively participating in civic affairs.<sup>17</sup>

In short Denton's racism was characterized by its moderation. Those who were intolerant, bigoted, and prone to react with violence toward any concession on matters of race were not a serious problem. A coterie of bankers and businessmen ran the town, and they were proud of their brand of "tolerance." Although blacks constituted an underclass tied to menial service jobs in the town's factories and colleges, white Denton considered itself a model of racial cooperation, taking special pride in the town's "better class of colored citizens," the teachers and preachers. Blacks, however, understood the etiquette of race relationships under which they were forced to operate. White people dictated the ground rules, and benefits went only to those blacks who conformed. No leader in the community or on the two college campuses was openly willing to attack segregation.

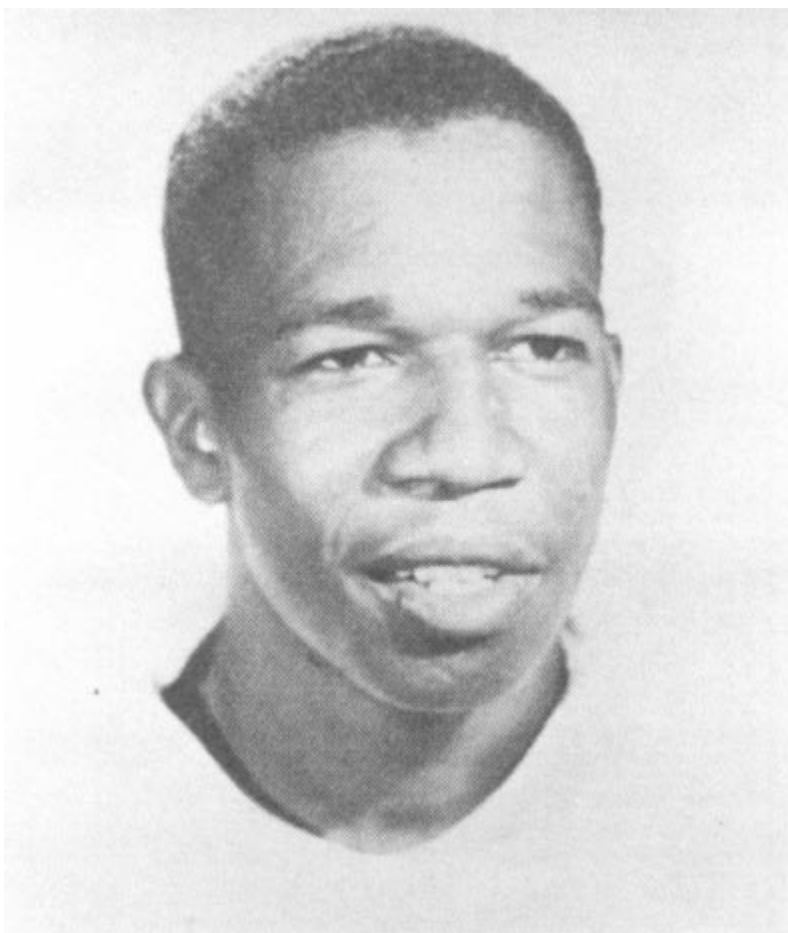
In this environment Abner Haynes, one of the blacks who desegregated North Texas athletics, spent his early years. Haynes, the youngest of seven children, was born to Fred and Ola Mae Haynes on September 19, 1937. The family roots ran deep in Denton. Fred Haynes was a preacher and had founded a church in the community, St. Andrew's Church of God in Christ, in 1922. A serious, hard-working man, Reverend Haynes was very sensitive to the fact that he had just a third-grade education, and he was determined that all his children would have better. As he had lived and pastored in Denton for so many years, he had significant influence in the black community, and the town's white leadership also recognized his standing. Haynes was also a shrewd businessman and had accumulated considerable property holdings in Denton. As he advanced through the leadership of the church, his duties frequently took him out of town. At such times his wife, a strong-willed woman, ran family affairs. The close-knit Haynes family centered most activities around the church. Young Haynes's family background would become an asset when he matriculated to North Texas.<sup>18</sup>

Abner Haynes's years in Denton were happy ones. He enjoyed his frequent contacts with whites, and he often played with white children and was present when town leaders came to his home to confer with his father. He wandered freely all over Denton, and the downtown business people knew him as "Fred

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17. U. S. Bureau of the *Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1860* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1864), p. 484, U.S. Bureau of the Census. *U.S. Census of Population: 1960*, Vol. I, Pt. 45. *General Population Characteristics* (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of the Census, 1960), pp. 118, 249; Judge Jack Gray. "Oral Interview with Jack Gray." OH 650. 3-11. Cited hereinafter as Gray, OH 650. W. C. Brown, former sports editor. *Denton Record-Chronicle*. "Oral Interview with W. C. Brown," OH 652: 35-36. Cited hereinafter as Brown, OH652. Matthews, OH633: 15-17, 111; Rogers. OH 519: 8; Walter L. Buenger. *Secession and the Union in Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1984), pp. 174-175; Terry G. Jordan, "Forest Folk, Prairie Folk: Rural Religious Cultures in North Texas," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 18 (October 1976): 143. Note: The Cross Timbers are two long and narrow strips of forest region which extend parallel to each other from Oklahoma southward to the central portion of Texas and form a marked exception to the usual prairie features of the state. See Walter Prescott Webb (ed.), *The Handbook of Texas* (Austin: Texas State Historical Association. 1952). p. 439.

18. Haynes, OH 620. 1-14: *Denton Record-Chronicle*. 25 May 1984.



Abner Haynes

Courtesy NTSU Archives

Haynes's son." Haynes later recalled, "I could run around there, and nobody was going to hurt me. I could get a full experience, and I didn't feel uncomfortable with white people."<sup>19</sup>

By the time Haynes entered seventh grade, his father had become a bishop in the church, and the family had moved to Dallas. The move was somewhat traumatic for the youngster. For the first time in his life he entered the all-black environment of South Dallas, a world very different from the one he left in Denton. He made the necessary adjustments, nevertheless, and continued his participation in church activities such as singing in the choir. It was in high school sports where he really excelled, especially in track and football. By the

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19. Haynes, OH 620: 21, 28



Leon King

Courtesy NTSU Archives

time he graduated from Lincoln High in 1956, he had won the state low hurdles championship of the black scholastic leagues and was an outstanding halfback in football.<sup>20</sup>

During his freshman year at Lincoln High, Haynes met Leon King, and the two boys became close friends, a bond that eventually led to their decision to go to North Texas State College and try out for the football team. The King family was remarkably similar to the Haynes family. Both parents held full-time jobs and were determined that all five children should go to college. Church activities also were central to family life. King possessed a fine baritone voice and sang in the local Baptist choir. Football and track brought the boys together,

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20. Ibid., 60, 140-141, 178; Leon King, "Oral Interview with Leon King," OH 570: 12. Cited hereinafter as King. OH 570.

but the ties between the two families became even closer when Leon's sister and Abner's brother announced their engagement.<sup>21</sup>

Entering their junior year in high school, Haynes and King made a pact that they would attend the same college, but circumstances soon complicated the agreement. Both received offers of athletic scholarships from Wiley and Prairie View A & M, black colleges in East Texas. Haynes wanted no part of a black college, however, for he had observed the poor athletic facilities and equipment while attending track meets on these campuses. Furthermore, East Texas with its large black population was the most racist section of the state and was not always safe for blacks. What weighed most heavily on Haynes, though, was that the University of Colorado had promised him a scholarship but had offered nothing to King. The inclination to leave his partner tempted Haynes, but rather than rejecting the offer outright, he chose to delay a final decision as long as possible.<sup>22</sup>

About a month before the start of the fall semester in 1956, a family crisis solved the dilemma. Fred Haynes was hospitalized with serious circulatory problems. His father's illness had a profound effect on young Haynes because he had never seen the man bedridden. Family members, including Abner's father, began to pressure the boy to select a college close to home. Abner's brother Sam suggested North Texas State College. Denton appealed to Haynes's father because of all the folks, black and white, that he knew there. An acquaintance told Sam that North Texas admitted blacks, and he recommended that they visit the campus and confer with the football staff. Abner idolized his older brother, who had been a star quarterback at Prairie View before turning to minor league baseball in the Brooklyn Dodgers system, so he accepted Sam's advice.<sup>23</sup>

A few weeks before the start of fall practice, the brothers visited the athletic facilities without making an appointment. King did not accompany them. By chance, the head coach, Odus Mitchell, and the backfield coach, Fred McCain, were in the office. Neither man seemed uncomfortable in talking to the blacks. The coaches had no reservations about allowing Haynes to try out for the team as a walk-on and assured them that they would take steps to head off trouble that might come from the white players. On the other hand, Mitchell informed Haynes that all the football scholarships had been awarded and that the best he could promise was a half-scholarship "if" Haynes were to make the team. Young Haynes said nothing, but in his mind he feared he was getting a run-around from Mitchell and that this white coach had no intention of giving him a fair chance. He remained unconvinced even after Mitchell and McCain indicated that King could also try out for the team.<sup>24</sup>

Haynes's apprehension increased when McCain mentioned that, according

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21. Haynes, OH 620: 117, 119, 174; King, OH 570: 1-9.

22. Haynes, OH 620: 204, 206, 213-214, 216, 251.

23. *Ibid.*, 81-83, 207-208, 220, 249-256, 433-434.

24. *Ibid.*, 242-244, 389-391; Odus Mitchell. "Oral Interview with Odus Mitchell," OH 566: 61-62. Cited hereinafter as Mitchell. OH 566.

to university rules, they would not be allowed to live in the dormitories or eat at the training tables. This was a university policy promulgated by President Matthews, who, as mentioned previously, wanted to maintain tight control over the desegregation process on campus. He had previously decided on a policy of gradualism as a way of preventing conflict, and he believed that the integration of the men's dormitories in the immediate aftermath of the *Atkins* case was an open invitation for trouble. Some people also speculated that Matthews did not want to give the townsfolk the impression that black men were coming into close contact with white coeds in the common dormitory dining rooms. On the other hand, the college began admitting black women to the dormitories as early as June 1956. Haynes obviously knew nothing about these policies and started thinking again about Colorado.<sup>25</sup>

Despite reservations, however, Haynes finally decided to attend North Texas because of family pressures. Even before his brother had made up his mind, Sam Haynes helped back Abner into a corner by spreading the word among church members North Texas was the choice. Abner's other brothers and sisters also urged him to enroll at the Denton school when it became evident that blacks were already being accepted there without incident. Certainly Fred Haynes liked the idea because it meant that his youngest offspring would be close to home. Meals and lodging presented no problems. One of Abner's sisters and her family resided in Denton, so the lads could stay at her home with Reverend Haynes furnishing the groceries. No one ever raised the question of personal safety since he would be returning to a town where they all had experienced pleasant memories.<sup>26</sup>

North Texas also began looking attractive to Leon King. For most schools he needed financial aid. At North Texas, however, the tuition was very low, and if Abner selected the Denton school, food and lodging were covered. In addition, if they received the promised half-scholarship for making the team, they could live rather comfortably. Then at a joint family conference, after Fred Haynes convinced King's folks that Denton and North Texas were safe, everything seemed to fall into place for Leon.<sup>27</sup>

Meanwhile, Haynes ran out of options. Upon returning to Dallas after the conference with Mitchell and McCain, he learned that he had waited too long in giving Colorado a definite answer, and the school had awarded his scholarship to another prospect. With Colorado now beyond consideration and with just a few weeks left before the start of the fall semester, North Texas State College was the only alternative. In late August 1956, Haynes and King made their decision.<sup>28</sup>

Thus, a chance meeting with the North Texas coaches, family pressures, and

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25. Haynes, OH 620: 301-302; Matthews, OH 633: 25; Rogers, OH 519: 31-32, 36; Mitchell, OH 566: 35-40.

26. Haynes, OH 620: 205-206, 226, 229-230, 300-302, 391. Years later Haynes told the interviewer, "I've lived in Kansas City, New York, Denver, and Dallas, but none of them feel as good as Demon." See Haynes, OH 620: 139.

27. *Ibid.*, 228; King, OH 570: 13-21.

28. Haynes, OH 620: 220-221.

the elimination of options combined to determine the selection of North Texas. The black movement, already well under way, had no direct influence on their decision. Neither attended North Texas for the purpose of desegregating intercollegiate athletics. Of significance, too, was the whim of two nineteen-year-old schoolboys to keep a partnership intact, and North Texas gave them that opportunity.<sup>29</sup>

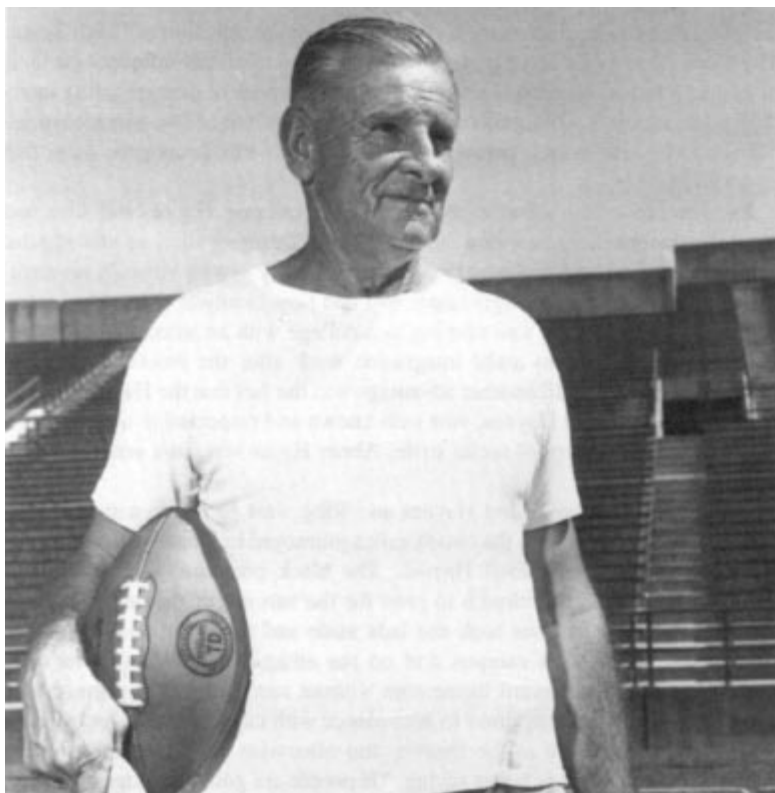
Even before setting a foot on the North Texas campus, Haynes and King had several circumstances working in their favor. Desegregation of the regular student body had begun almost two years previously-with virtually no negative reaction-so the undergraduates had had time to adjust to the new order. The black athletes were also coming to a college with an autocratic president who was determined to make integration work after the federal courts had forced it upon him. Still another advantage was the fact that the Haynes family, particularly Reverend Haynes, was well-known and respected in a community that had had no history of racial strife. Abner Hayes was, in a sense, coming home.

On Sunday, the day before Haynes and King were to report with the other freshmen football players, the two families journeyed to Denton for services at the church founded by Fred Haynes. The black community knew of their coming and packed the church to pray for the success of the athletes. After services Reverend Haynes took the lads aside and advised them on how to conduct themselves off campus and on the athletic field. He told them to exercise self-control toward tormentors without sacrificing their dignity, stay away from white women, dress in accordance with campus styles, get to class on time, remain active in the church, and otherwise be exemplary citizens. Haynes remembered his father saying, "If people are going to judge all blacks by what you do, right or wrong, you need to set some sort of example. You need to know that what you're doing does relate to all blacks." In other words, Haynes and King were instructed to conform to the expectations of the white value system. Ten years earlier, Branch Rickey, the general manager of the Brooklyn Dodgers, had given similar advice to Jackie Robinson when the latter was about to break the color line in major league baseball. As the football careers of Haynes and King unfolded at North Texas, they were to encounter numerous experiences and situations that closely resembled those of Robinson during his early years with the Dodgers.<sup>30</sup>

At the same time, the North Texas coaching staff prepared for the coming of the two blacks. Soon after his meeting with the Haynes brothers, Mitchell sought Matthews's advice on how to handle the situation. In response to the coach's query about allowing the blacks to try out for the team, Matthews said that the college had no other choice, but he gave the staff complete discretion in keeping or cutting them. In line with his policy of gradualism, Matthews also prohibited the staff from actively recruiting black football players. It was not

29. *Ibid.*, 144-145.

30. *Ibid.*, 253-254, 428-429, 456-457; King, OH 570: 19. See Jules Tygiel, *Baseball's Great Experiment: Jackie Robinson and His Legacy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), p. 66.



Head Coach Odus Mitchell

Courtesy NTSU Archives

until later in the season, after Haynes in particular had demonstrated his outstanding football skills, that Matthews somewhat relented. He verbally gave the coaches permission to recruit two blacks per year beginning in 1957.<sup>31</sup>

To a large degree, acceptance of the black players rested with Odus Mitchell through his three assistants, Ken Bahnsen, Herb Ferrill, and Fred McCain. Most teams are a reflection of the head coach's philosophy, and North Texas was no exception. Quiet, soft-spoken, and low-key, Mitchell had the reputation of being rather straitlaced and even-handed. A former player once observed, "As a man there's probably not a finer one around. Morally, he's just a super man, and he probably has never been rude to any kid, and he probably gave every kid that he coached a very equal opportunity to perform. If he told you he

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31. Matthews's imposition of quotas was an unwritten ruling, and the president denied ever having promulgated it. All the coaches insist, however, that they did recruit under these restrictions until 1959, when they arbitrarily decided to recruit three. No admonition ever came from the president's office. Photographs of the freshman teams appearing in the college annual, Yucca, verify the coaches' version. See Matthews, OH 633: 25-27, 36-37, Mitchell, OH 566: 39-40; Ferrill, OH 605:59; Kenneth Bahnsen, "Oral Interview with Kenneth Bahnsen," OH 627: 32, 41. Cited hereinafter as Bahnsen, OH 627. Fred McCain, "Oral Interview with Fred McCain," OH 636: 63. Cited hereinafter as McCain. OH 636.



President J. C. Matthews

Courtesy NTSU Archives

was going to let you have a fair chance, you'd get a full chance." With regard to the desegregation of the team, Mitchell accepted Matthews's assessment at face value and determined that the blacks should be given every opportunity to make the team on the basis of their ability. Mitchell's assistants followed his lead in the matter. All three had at one time or another played for him, and he had their unswerving loyalty.<sup>32</sup>

It would be a mistake, nevertheless, to view these coaches as crusaders in the vanguard of the civil rights movement. Rather they quickly understood that if the experiment in integration worked, there was a vast reservoir of black football talent in Texas that would make them winners for years to come. Coach Ferrill remembered, "I don't think anybody really likes to be a guinea pig, but on the other hand, we felt this way, also: that if this thing works out, we'd have

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32. Brown, OH 652: 16, 53-54, 56-57; Bahnsen, OH 627: 24-26, 29; McCain, OH 636: 26-27; Bob Way, former football teammate. "Oral Interview with Bob Way," OH 654: 257, 62. Cited hereinafter as Way. OH 654.



Courtesy NTSU Archives

Assistant Coaches: Left to Right, Ken Bahnsen, Fred McCain, Herb Ferrill

the axe on them [other colleges] next year when recruiting starts. We'd have the pick of the crop."<sup>33</sup> Whatever prejudices they did or did not harbor personally—three were from Texas and one (Bahnsen) was from Louisiana—the coaches readily understood that black athletes were potential contributors to the team's success. No discussions took place about allowing the blacks to try out and then arbitrarily cutting them with the explanation that they were not good enough, although some sentiment existed, however, that they might not be able to take the physical punishment certain to be forthcoming from the veterans.<sup>34</sup>

The staff met periodically before September 1, the first day of practice, to discuss ways of dealing with the white players, veterans and freshmen. None were afraid of the issue, but they also knew it was possibly explosive. Before coming to North Texas in 1947, Mitchell had coached for years at Marshall High School in deep East Texas. Most of his old contacts remained there, so North Texas recruited heavily in the East Texas high schools and junior colleges. Tyler Junior College, for example, was virtually a farm club for North Texas, and one of the coaches estimated that he personally recruited more than a hundred players out of Tyler over the years. As indicated earlier, this was the most

33. Ferrill, OH 605: 60. Such attitudes closely followed those of the Dodger management in the case of Jackie Robinson. Whatever noble motives Branch Rickey may have had, he understood that the wealth of black baseball players in the United States could turn his team into an instant winner on the field and at the box office. See Tygiel, *Baseball's Great Experiment*, pp. 52-53. See also David Q. Voigt, *American Baseball*, Vol. 3: *From Postwar Expansion to the Electronic Age* (University Park, Pa.: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1983), p. 49.

34. Bahnsen, OH 627: 26, 29, 46; Ferrill, OH 605: 44.

racially biased section of the state, and a number of these players brought their prejudices with them to Denton.

To head off trouble the coaches developed several tactics. First, they decided not to ask the players if they wanted to play with blacks, for the initial reaction of the majority would have been a resounding “no.” Instead, the coaches assumed a right to play blacks without any explanation. A second tactic was to encourage the white players to view the coming of blacks not as a step toward desegregation but rather as a step toward winning the championship of the Missouri Valley Conference. They believed that most of the athletes would quickly lose interest in the color of their teammates once this common purpose had become established and competitive instincts took over. Third, the coaches formulated a firm policy that the veterans could test the mettle of the blacks through clean, hard hitting, but no cheap shots were to be tolerated. The blacks could be run off just like any other freshman. The coaches went over the team roster, identified potential troublemakers, and decided to get rid of those who refused to conform to this policy. Finally, they resolved to allow the blacks and whites to work out interpersonal relationships on their own. To force players to interact socially off the field would be destructive to team goals.<sup>36</sup>

As the upperclassmen drifted onto campus during the week before September 1, the coaches informed them about the pending integration and carefully explained their rules. As one player recalled,

He [Mitchell] did not tell us that this was being forced down our throats by the courts. I think if he had’ve, it would have been a completely different situation. He informed us as a matter of fact that there were blacks coming. Whether we liked it or not, they were coming to try out for the football team, and if they were good enough to play, they would play.

Another player commented that he could not remember a coach making derogatory comments about the blacks. Most of the incoming freshmen, though, knew nothing about their black teammates until everybody assembled at the field on the first day of practice.<sup>37</sup>

The returning players’ reactions ranged from indifference and perplexity to outright hostility. One reminisced, “As far as I was concerned, it was not a great event. I just figured, ‘Heck, if they’re good enough to play, then that’s okay.’ ” With some understatement, an upperclassman from East Texas commented, “I wasn’t too enthused.” As the coaches predicted, several decided to test the blacks physically during the workouts. The veterans subjected every freshman to this practice, but some decided to make it extra-tough for Haynes and King.

<sup>35</sup> McCain, OH 636: 28-29; Ferrill, OH 605: 47, 58.

<sup>36</sup> Ferrill, OH 605: 26, 37, 39,41,44, 58, 66; McCain, OH 636: 45-46, 50,55-56. Frank Klein, a former teammate of Haynes and King, remembers, “. . . they [coaches] just allowed them [relationships] to develop naturally. They didn’t tell us we had to go socialize with them or be friendly with them or anything.” See Frank Klein, “Oral interview with Frank Klein.” OH 655: 21-22. Cited hereinafter as Klein. OH 655

<sup>37</sup> Jerrell Shaw, “Oral Interview with Jerrell Shaw.” OH 596: 29. Cited hereinafter as Shaw, OH 596: Raymond Clement, “Oral Interview with Raymond Clement.” OH 602:34, Cited hereinafter as Clement. OH 602; Klein. OH 655: 11; Way. OH 654: 14-15.

At least one lineman, however, took a somewhat more objective attitude toward the physical punishment: "I was going to treat him [Haynes] like everybody else. I was going to knock his tail off if that's what I was supposed to do. If he was going to make the team, he was going to have to prove himself. I think that was the acid test, that if a black gets on our team he's got to be good." Some assumed the team would have to stay in second class hotels during the road trips to certain cities. A couple viewed Haynes and King as future competition for starting positions. One back said, "I sure wasn't happy about it. After all, he [Haynes] was a halfback." An end observed, "Leon would have been competition. That's kind of the way I was looking at him . . . just sizing him up as far as his ability to get the job I was looking for. I couldn't ignore the fact that he was black, but I didn't regard him or any other end any different, for that matter."<sup>38</sup>

The most overt opponent of desegregation was Mac Reynolds, a tough, loud end from Marshall, a town located in East Texas. Some years later Reynolds recounted his initial reaction to the news: "I didn't like it. This was our school, and it was white, and it had a white football team. They had theirs [black schools] to go to if that's what they wanted. Hell, if they wanted to play football, they could go to Wiley or Southern. As far as I was concerned, he [Haynes] was a nigger. That attitude prevailed—he was a nigger, and I was a white. Not a Negro but a nigger." Reynolds regarded King as a threat: "Leon was an end. Hell, I didn't want no nigger coming in and getting my position."<sup>39</sup>

Those few among the freshmen who knew that Hayes and King were coming took a resigned attitude. They knew that the general student body was integrated at the time they decided to attend North Texas, and they assumed that it was just a matter of time before blacks joined the football team. For most of the freshmen, their main concern was making the team and keeping their scholarship. A few wondered if the blacks would be living and eating in the dormitories and if whites would have to room with them. One player aptly expressed his feelings in a manner that probably echoed those of his freshman teammates:

I don't think that we really thought we could do anything about the fact that they [the blacks] were there. At least I didn't. I didn't think that I had a choice. I just figured that if I was going to play football at North Texas, I was going to be on a team that had blacks, if they made the team. I really didn't consider quitting because of that. I don't think that that ever entered the mind of anybody I ran around with. It wasn't a consideration.<sup>40</sup>

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38. Jerry Russell, "Oral Interview with Jerry Russell," OH 598: 20-22. Cited hereinafter as Russell, OH 598. Ray Toole, "Oral Interview with Ray Toole," OH 599: 23. Cited hereinafter as Toole, OH 599. Ira DeFoor, former equipment manager for the North Texas football team, "Oral Interview with Ira DeFoor," OH 601: 37. Cited hereinafter as DeFoor, OH 601. Cole, OH 653: 13-14; Ferrill, OH 605: 44,47; Clement, OH 602: 37; Shaw, OH 596: 25, 43-44; Mac Reynolds, "Oral Interview with Mac Reynolds," OH 604 36. Cited hereinafter as Reynolds, OH 604.

39 Reynolds, OH 604: 30, 34, 48; Ferrill, OH 605: 42; Bahnsen, OH 627: 47; McCain, OH 636: 46. Reynold's reaction to the integration of athletics at North Texas was comparable to that of Dixie Walker when Jackie Robinson Joined the Dodgers. See Tygiel, *Baseball's Great Experiment*, pp. 170-173. See also Jackie Robinson, *I Never Had It Made* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1972). p. 61.

40. Way, OH 654: 20; Klein, OH 655: 12, 14, 68-69.

Such was the atmosphere when Haynes and King got out of the taxi and started across the field that Monday morning. They saw clusters of players standing around on the other side, and they sensed that all eyes were focused on them. Then the tension mounted when the two blacks observed that no coaches were present and noticed these three players walking toward them. Haynes remembered, "Here these two guys are, coming toward me. I have no idea what's going to happen. The blonde-headed dude is not too big, but these two dudes with him are plenty big."<sup>41</sup> The blacks were stunned, therefore, when Garland Warren, a junior from Denton, extended his hand and welcomed them to the team. Charlie Cole and his brother Vernon, the blonde, did likewise. Haynes later recalled, "I wanted to kiss them. I wanted to kiss them. I never expected that. It blew our minds because we sure needed a friend."<sup>42</sup>

What Haynes and King did not know was that the three white players had already planned what they were going to do. Charlie Cole, an Air Force veteran of the Korean War, was the oldest player on the team and was one of its leaders. Warren was also a team leader, and Vernon Cole, a freshman quarterback, was soon to demonstrate his leadership qualities. In explaining their actions, Charlie Cole said, "It wasn't in our make-up to blend in with people. We got together and talked about it, and we said, 'Hey, let's make it go. Let's set an example. Let's make this go as smoothly as possible.'" As they walked across the field that morning to greet the blacks, Cole realized how frightened Haynes and King felt.

They were concerned because you could see the whites of their eyes when we broke off and started over there. I think they probably felt, 'Uh-oh, here comes the welcoming committee.' You could see them melt, literally. You could see the apprehension; you could see the fear. You could see whatever it was just melt when we walked over smiling: 'I'm Charlie.' 'I'm Garland.' 'I'm Vernon.'<sup>43</sup>

Immediately after, some of the other players followed the lead of these three. About twenty more came over, almost like a procession. The exchanges of conversation consisted of small talk such as inquiries about their weight and the positions they played, but the welcome was much more than Haynes and King expected.<sup>44</sup>

The appearance of the black athletes at this first practice drew few reporters. No major Dallas or Fort Worth newspaper covered the event. The *Dallas Express*, the local black newspaper, ran just a brief, two-sentence announcement in its sports section. Only the *Denton Record-Chronicle* sent a reporter to cover the initial opening of fall practice, not the coming of the two blacks. In line with the general college policy, the *Record-Chronicle* took a matter-of-fact approach and mentioned the presence of Haynes and King without exploiting them or the integration issue. After talking to several players, the local reporter

41. Haynes. OH 620: 214-277.

42. Ibid., 254-257. 277-279; King, OH 570: 56.

43. Cole. OH 653: 18-20.

44. Haynes. OH 620: 254-257; 277-279; King, OH 570: 56; Klein. OH 655: 14. 16.

came away with the impression that most were at least willing to allow the blacks to prove themselves on the football field. He did not detect an overall attitude of hostility or animosity.<sup>45</sup>

After the coaches arrived and made some brief, general remarks, the players went to the locker room for their equipment. Haynes noticed that the equipment manager "didn't want to say anything to me. He'd drop his eyes when he'd look at me. He'd talk to me in mumbles. I could see how he was doing with the white players. It was different from the way he was talking to me and Leon. He wasn't trying to show it, but I've been black all my life, so I know a worried look."<sup>46</sup> When Haynes located his locker, he noted that all the backs were together and had lockers assigned according to the players' numbers. The person next to Haynes moved to a vacant locker out of numerical order to the others. Immediately, one of the senior backs, John Darby, shifted his equipment to the locker beside Haynes's, and all the other backs also moved up one. "John Darby made me feel good by just moving up," Haynes recollected.<sup>47</sup>

One of the other players who shifted to a locker closer to Haynes was Vernon Cole, who had been in the original greeting party when the blacks arrived. Blonde, fair-skinned and raw-boned, Cole was the freshman quarterback recruited out of Pilot Point, a small town just a few miles northeast of Denton. At first Haynes thought he was a senior when he observed that Cole "ran around that place like he owned it." As soon as they had dressed, Cole turned to his new teammate as commanded, "Come on, Haynes! Let's go!"<sup>48</sup> The first day of practice marked the beginning of a deep friendship between the freshman leader and a black who was to become the most exciting football player on that team, a friendship that was to play a major role in the acceptance of the black players. In describing the relationship, Charlie Cole remembered, "It [the friendship] developed terrifically. I think it was a mutual admiration society." Coach Mitchell remarked, "I have never seen a white boy and a black boy as close of friends as they were. They made a great pair."<sup>49</sup>

Vernon Cole became the unchallenged leader of that eighteen-man freshman team in 1956. Almost immediately, and for the next four years, his teammates and coaches held him in the highest esteem. He became one of the most respected players ever to play at North Texas. Cole's contributions to the acceptance of the blacks are best assessed through the comments of his contemporaries. Coach Mitchell noted, "If there is such a thing as a perfect guy, he would be the perfect guy. Vernon was dandy." A freshman teammate

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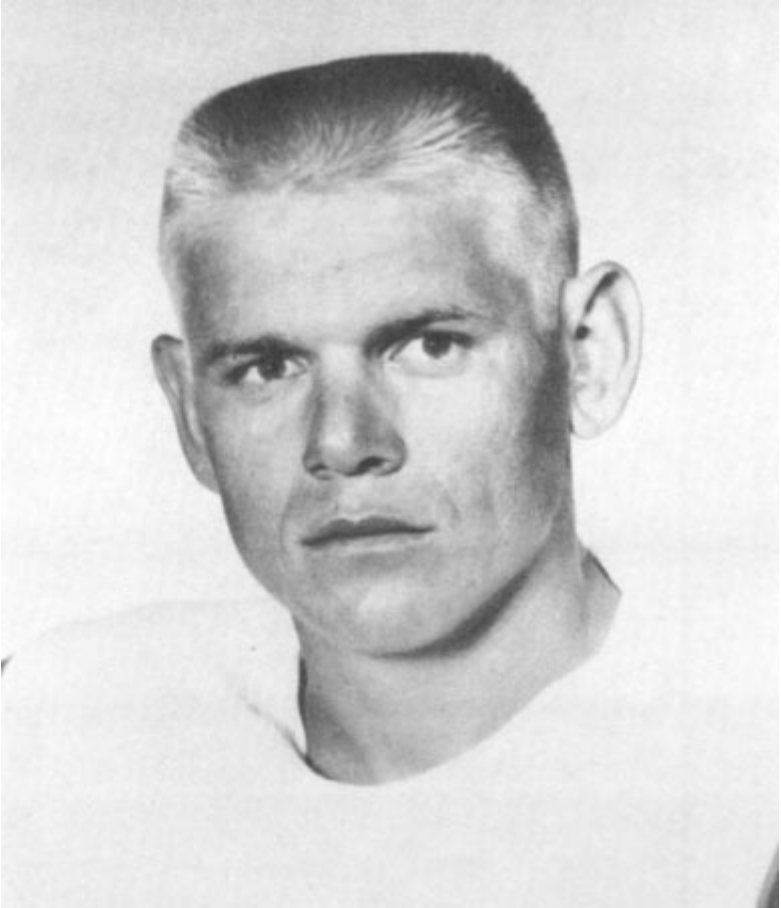
45. *Dallas Express*, 8 September 1956; *Denton Record-Chronicle*, 2 September 1956; Brown, OH 652: 15-16, 19-23, 31, 40. While observing that blacks would be playing at twenty-four of the state's integrated schools that September, the *Dallas Morning News* never mentioned the presence of Haynes and King at North Texas. See the *Dallas Morning News*, 6 September 1956. Two former reporters for the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, "Dub" Brown (who moved there from the *Denton Record-Chronicle*) and William Broyles, asserted that that paper's policy was to keep black sports coverage to a minimum and never to use photographs of black athletes. See Brown, OH 652: 23 and comments by Broyles in the *Denton Record-Chronicle*, 28 September 1986.

46. Haynes, OH 620: 282.

47. *Ibid.*, 287-290.

48. *Ibid.*, 293.

49. Cole, OH 653: 34. Mitchell, OH 566 72-73.



Vernon Cole

Courtesy NTSU Archives

described Cole as “Mr. All-American,” while a veteran reporter characterized him as “the personification of Jack Armstrong.” Line coach Herb Ferrill said, “Vernon Cole was a class person. He was a person with a lot of feeling for people.” The coach of the freshman team, Ken Bahnsen, observed, “That’s the reason the team accepted them [Haynes and King]. If Vernon Cole hadn’t accepted them, the team might not have either. Vernon Cole was the leader that made it work because he had the respect of every player that *ever* played for him.” Teammate Ray Clement said, “Nobody questioned Vernon’s leadership. Vernon never did call any of us off to the side and say, ‘Hey, you’re going to accept them.’ If Vernon accepts them, I think it’s pretty well understood.” Another teammate who grew up with Cole, G. A. Moore, considered him “one of the finest guys that ever lived. He was an exceptional person. He made integration perfect because if Vernon said it was all right, then it was all right. I



Mac Reynolds

Courtesy NTSU Archives

think that was the way a lot of athletes at NT felt.” Although Moore entered North Texas a year later, in 1957, he aptly described how he thought Cole would have reacted when Haynes and King started across the field that first day:

I'm sure Abner came in and was looking for someone to accept him at first. I wasn't there at the time, but knowing Vernon, I imagine he was the first one that accepted him. I imagine he walked right out there and said, 'I'm Vernon Cole. Let's get together and get after this thing.' That's the kind of person he was, and I would imagine that probably, because of Vernon's actions, a lot of people fell in right behind him.<sup>50</sup>

In essence Vernon Cole in his own way assumed a role similar to the one played

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50. Mitchell. OH 566.73; Way, OH 654: 27-28; Brown. OH 652: 28; Ferrill. OH 605: 50; Bahnsen, OH 627: 49-51; Clement. OH 602: 46; G. A. Moore, "Oral interview with G. A. Moore," OH 559: 27. 29-30. Cited hereinafter as Moore. OH 559.

by Dodger shortstop and team leader Pee Wee Reese in the acceptance of Jackie Robinson by his Dodger teammates.<sup>51</sup>

Both Haynes and King appreciated Cole's presence. King recalled how important Cole was to Abner and himself: "It was just something about his personality, something that he could say in the huddle that just made you believe in him and yourself." Haynes appreciated "his sensitivity to my situation at that time. He never embarrassed you. He didn't have nothing slick to say when the other white guys were around, or maybe when some white chicks or black chicks were around." Going into that initial workout, Haynes and King clearly had a friend.<sup>52</sup>

After suiting up and returning to the field, the varsity players congregated around Mitchell for a short talk, while the freshmen went off to another area with their coach, Ken Bahnsen. Mitchell then went over some of the specific rules of conduct toward the two blacks. He emphasized he had not promoted the integration of the team, but since integration was a reality, he wanted no problems-no fisticuffs, cheap shots, or name-calling. Haynes and King should be given a fair opportunity to make the team, and if that happened, any problems would take care of themselves naturally.<sup>53</sup>

At the same time, Bahnsen met with his eighteen players and stressed the importance of team harmony, without specifically mentioning the blacks. Only twenty-six years old, he had recently returned to his alma mater after a brief stint with the San Francisco Forty-Niners, where he played behind the great running back, Joe Perry. He related well to his players. Haynes particularly felt comfortable around this Louisianian because of his previous contact with black players in the National Football League, and the fact that he had played professionally made an impression on the other freshmen as well.<sup>54</sup>

But the admonishment fell on some deaf ears, at least at first. During the first contact drills between the varsity and the freshmen, the two blacks were singled out. Mac Reynolds was the worst culprit in delivering cheap shots, and at one point the coaches had to warn him to back off. The coaches admonished another veteran for racial name-calling. Haynes and King were able to handle the hard shots and the epithets, however, without losing their composure. Perhaps more serious problems might have developed had it not been for the presence of President Matthews, who appeared at that first practice to observe first-hand what was happening.<sup>55</sup> Reynolds's harassment continued after the first workout.

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51. Tygiel, *Baseball's Great Experiment* pp. 194-195; Robinson, *I Never Had It Made*, p. 76. Jack Olsen makes the same observation about a similar situation on the Green Bay Packers of the 1960s. In this instance team leaders Paul Hornung and Bart Starr set the standards Olsen quotes defensive back Willie Wood assaying, "When new players came, they saw how Starr from Alabama and Hornung from Kentucky acted. So there was only one way for the new fellows to act. no matter where they came from." See Olsen, *The Black Athlete*, p. 189.

52. King, OH 570: 26-27; Haynes, OH 620: 363, 367.

53. Shaw, OH 596: 24; Reynolds, OH 604 31-32; Cole OH 653: 20. Olsen believes that a similar policy helped the Green Bay Packers avoid racial conflict during the 1960s. Coach Vince Lombardi declared, "We make no issue over a man's color. I just won't tolerate anybody in this organization making it an issue." See Olsen, *The Black Athlete*, pp. 188-189.

54. Haynes, OH 620: 436-441. Gray, OH 650: 36-37; Brown, OH 652: 26-27; Klein, OH 655, 23, 32.

55. Shaw, OH 596: 43-44; Toole, OH 599: 27; Haynes, OH 620, 334; Bahnsen, OH 627: 46; McCain, OH 636: 58; Cole, OH 653: 21; Way, OH 654: 20.

In the locker room he tried to challenge Haynes by yelling, "By God, I ain't showering with no nigger!" Haynes walked away and said nothing in return. Reynolds later reflected, "I just know that if he'd said something, we'd have had a knuckle-busting contest."<sup>56</sup>

Only through performance on the football field did full acceptance come. Virtually every serious athlete recognizes and respects talent. The achievement of individual players usually brings payoffs for the other members of the team, so personal prejudices in time are likely to be controlled in the hope of winning a championship or receiving rewards. As one of the players from East Texas explained, "You might not necessarily like somebody; therefore, you discriminate against them off the field. But as a quarterback, I'm only interested if you can get me the yardage or catch the ball. I don't care what color you are."<sup>57</sup>

The players soon learned that Abner Haynes was a budding superstar and that Leon King was an above-average athlete. Haynes had outstanding speed and cutting ability, endurance, and good hands as a receiver. In those days of one-platoon football, he was also an excellent defensive back. Several days later, during the first scrimmage against the varsity, he ran wild, and the coaches and players realized they had something special. Meanwhile, the 6'3" King demonstrated his skills as a punter and receiver. It was Haynes, however, who earned everybody's respect and won acceptance for him and his buddy as football players.<sup>58</sup>

The players and coaches noted that changed attitudes. Coach Ferrill said, "The general feeling after the first scrimmage, was, 'Hey, this guy's a player. He's going to help us.' Any team recognizes talent regardless of what color he is. This did more to break the color barrier than anything else." McCain, the backfield coach, remembered, "Our kids in 1956 could say, 'Hey, the guy has talent.' I don't care who you are. If you had this much talent, you've got to respect it. And he's on your side." A teammate remarked, "Everybody respected him so much because he was an exceptional athlete. He could do so many things that just not many people who came along now or any other time could do. Everytime he touched the football, there was a good chance he'd score. I felt like if Abner were carrying the football, and I just blocked a little bit, he was going to make my block look good because it doesn't make any difference where I block them. I think that's the way everybody felt." A freshman teammate commented that the first scrimmage "won over everybody who had a little doubt or was running around talking about 'we don't want a nigger on the team' or that kind of stuff. It was very obvious that we needed that guy to stay around. He had so much talent [that] everybody knew they might as

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<sup>56</sup> Reynolds, OH 604: 30, 36-37.

<sup>57</sup> Toole, OH 599: 28-29, 20; Coakley, *Sport in Society*, pp. 278-279. Jackie Robinson also found the same attitude developing among his prejudiced Dodger teammates of the late 1940s: "They hadn't changed because they liked me any better. They changed because I could help fill their wallets." See Robinson, *I Never Had It Made*. p 10

<sup>58</sup> Moore, OH 559: 6-7, 15; Russell, OH 598: 27-28; DeFoor, OH 601: 36; Clement, OH 602: 30-31, 36; Ferrill, OH 605: 42-44, 82-83; Bahnsen, OH 627, 27, 42-43, 45; Brown, OH 652: 66; Bill Carrico, former football teammate, NTSC, "Oral Interview with Bill Carrico," OH 632: 15. Cited hereinafter as Carrico, OH 632

well shut up because you can't shoot a guy down on something that he's done better than anybody on the field can do." Another freshman player acknowledged, "That's what did it. If he had not had the ability that he had, I'm sure he wouldn't have established himself as a friend and cohort of some of the players. Anytime you've got somebody that has ability, and if it's recognized, it goes a long way in giving you a common ground to meet them halfway." Within a week after the start of practice, Haynes and King had established themselves as members of the team.<sup>59</sup>

The best evidence of changed attitude was Mac Reynolds, who later commented, "There was no question who the best running back was. He gained our admiration and respect by being a great athlete." Very early Reynolds perceived Haynes's value to the team: "When he scored a touchdown, he was helping you as a team member, and you appreciated it." But if the two blacks had only been average athletes, integration would have been much more difficult. Early in that 1956 season, Reynolds's attitude changed:

I guess I grew up more on the racial thing in a month or two months of the football season than all the other times put together. We'd been around Abner and Leon long enough that this didn't bother us. The black and white thing was gone, as far as me disliking Abner, not showering with him. Hell, he was a friend of mine by that time, not just an acquaintance. I considered him a friend.<sup>60</sup>

Whether or not Reynolds's basic perceptions toward racial matters had changed, he at least tolerated the two blacks on the field. He understood that their presence represented a potential contribution toward victories, and victories benefitted everyone, black and white.

For the coaches the performance of Haynes and King fulfilled all their earlier expectations about the rewards for using blacks on the team. Winning seasons obviously enhanced the coaches' prestige and gained additional revenues for the football program. It was to their benefit, therefore, to play the best athletes who could be put into uniform, regardless of skin color. That year, 1956, marked North Texas's first year in the Missouri Valley Conference, a league with several integrated teams. If the team were to remain competitive with its opponents, the coaches recognized the importance of using Haynes and King as soon as possible and recruiting other blacks in future years.<sup>61</sup>

The townsfolk who followed football also approved of Haynes and King. A group of hard-core boosters regularly attended the afternoon practices, and they were impressed, particularly after the two full-scale scrimmages between the freshmen and an excellent varsity squad resulted in a 0-0 tie and a 7-0 victory for the freshmen. Judge Jack Gray, a leading fan, credited Haynes with the acceptance of black players: "Large crowds would assemble at practice sessions just to watch him. There was no question in my mind about Denton being 100

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59. Ferrill, OH 605: 42-43; McCain, OH 636: 58-59; Moore, OH 559: 6-17, 15; Way, OH 654: 23, 30; Klein, OH 655: 20, 57.

60. Reynolds, OH 604: 30-31, 33-34, 45, 53, 62.

61. Mitchell, OH 566: 67, 85, 90-100; Ferrill, OH 605: 45, 66-67; McCain, OH 636: 51, 63-65; Bahnsen, OH 627: 43-45, 39-40.

percent behind him. Three things were responsible for this: one, was his ability; two, he was an ol' Denton boy; three, was that because of his ability, they were winning.<sup>62</sup> Whatever their racial prejudices, most North Texas fans were color-blind when it came to supporting a winner, and they already looked forward to the 1957 season when the two blacks and the other talented freshman players would join the varsity.

In addition to athletic talent, Haynes had a charming personality and temperament that enabled him to meet the expectations of his teammates and the white power structure in the community. By his sophomore year, he was one of the most popular persons on campus. Haynes was outgoing and made friends easily. Teammate Ray Clement observed, "He never met a stranger. He could talk to anybody and everybody." But he always remained courteous and controlled, and he never pushed himself on anybody in a personal relationship or social situation. Even Mac Reynolds recognized this trait early: "Abner was the kind that made you like him. He got my respect through performing on the football field and in different situations when people like me would say things that shouldn't have been said." Several teammates believed that Haynes's restraint resulted primarily from a supreme confidence in his skills as a football player, a confidence that was devoid of cockiness or egotism. Charlie Cole marveled at Haynes's self-discipline in blocking out the harassment: "He handled it beautifully. You'd think he was a person who was blueprinted and designed to come into a situation like that."<sup>63</sup>

Haynes alone could have integrated athletics at North Texas, but King alone could' never have withstood the pressures and remained with the program. He needed Abner Haynes. King grew up in the black section of South Dallas and had never before been around white people for extended periods. He had less confidence in his ability to deal with them. Their personalities differed also. Haynes was extroverted and ebullient, King introverted and soft-spoken.<sup>64</sup> King also had difficulty handling the name-calling and situations having racial overtones. A teammate recollected that King "was a good deal more sensitive and affected by the adversity of the situation than Abner. You could see in Leon's face that it affected him more." Another noted, "Leon looked a lot more frightened than Abner. I don't think Leon possessed the personal self-confidence that Abner possessed, and if it had not been for Abner, Leon would have left a long time ago." Coach Bahnsen remembered, "He would back off if he heard the statement 'nigger' or those kinds of things. He didn't have the sharp comeback and stuff like that. It would hurt him inside."<sup>65</sup>

Equally significant, King did not command the same kind of respect as an

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62. Gray, OH 650: 47; Rogers, OH 519: 29. W. C. Brown, the sports editor for the *Denton Record-Chronicle*, recalls never having received any telephone calls or letters protesting the presence of the blacks on the team. See Brown, OH 652: 49.

63. Clement, OH 602: 43-44; Klein, OH 655: 22,66; Reynolds, OH 604: 39, 54; Brown, OH 652: 58; Way, OH 654: 20-24; Cole, OH 653: 25.

64. King, OH 570: 38,40-44,53-54,67-69; Ferill, OH 605: 52-53; McCain, OH 636: 52; Gray, OH 650: 22.

65. Russell, OH 598: 24; Cole, OH 653. 24-25; Bahnsen, OH 627: 48

athlete that Haynes enjoyed. During the freshman year, King was a good receiver and punter, but he had problems blocking on offense and defense because he weighed just 185-190 pounds. This weakness became more pronounced after he moved up to the varsity.<sup>66</sup> Some players also believed that he lacked the necessary mental toughness to play college football. A teammate recounted, "He [King] wasn't that aggressive as far as wanting to go in and knock somebody's block off, and that's what you had to have to play both ways. He wasn't that heavy, really, and I don't think he wanted to mix it up."<sup>67</sup> Regardless of King's problems, however, by the end of fall practice, especially after tying and then defeating the varsity in the two scrimmages, the freshman team possessed a high degree of confidence and self-assurance, and both blacks were integral parts of this potentially outstanding team.

Off the field, however, Haynes and King did encounter some problems. Living off-campus was burdensome, for Denton's black section was a two-mile walk. Since many of the white players had cars, they would already be at the athletic dormitory when the blacks passed by on their way home. King recalled, "It was a hardship not to live on-campus. We really didn't know what college life was like. After a hard day on the football field, we'd hear all the noise going on, all the laughing going on; and then these hunger pangs run across you, and the 01' stomach growls, and you begin to get frustrated. You say, 'Man is it all worth it?'" Haynes had the same thoughts: "The dorm separates you. Vernon is now in the dorm, and he has also got other friends." This situation worsened after the football season ended. Haynes remembered, "Without my teammates around, all of a sudden my life was nothing. I'd go to school, I'd go to class, and I'd walk back to the black part of town."<sup>68</sup>

Meanwhile, their white teammates, either inadvertently or deliberately, did not consider interpersonal relationships with the blacks off the field as necessary for individual or team success. One player commented, "We never considered calling them and saying, 'Let's go eat somewhere.' We didn't socialize with them at all, and it's probably because we weren't sure of our position as to how to socialize with them." Another said about Haynes, "The same people that just loved the devil out of him while we were on trips and so forth weren't quite ready yet for him to move into the dorms. It was pretty well expected that 'Ab' was supposed to stay over there [in the black section]." There is no evidence that anybody ever discussed or resented the fact that Haynes and King had to live in East Denton. North Texas thus presented a contradiction in that the black athletes played as equals on the field but remained second class citizens off it.<sup>69</sup>

Taking the freshmen on road trips also presented issues. Of the five games scheduled for the frosh, four were away from home. These trips required careful planning on the part of the freshman coach, Ken Bahnsen. Lodging was of no

66. Haynes, OH 620: 441; Klein, OH 655: 57; Cole, OH 653: 24-26; Way, OH 654: 22-23; Gray, OH 650: 20.

67. Quoted in Klein, OH 655: 67. See also Cole OH 653: 25; Way, OH 654: 22-23.

68. King, OH 570: 29, 33, 34, 74; Haynes, OH 620: 534-535, 539.

69. Klein, OH 655: 44, 48; Clement, OH 602: 56; Way, OH 654: 32, 48-49; Russell, OH 598: 28.

concern, for all the games were close enough to Denton that the team returned on the same day. Finding restaurant accommodations was more difficult because almost all public eating establishments were segregated. As a courtesy to the opposing teams, Bahnsen called ahead and informed their coaches that North Texas had blacks on its squad. From the beginning, though, Mitchell and his staff agreed that everything should be done as a team, and they decided that separate lodging and dining on road trips would not be acceptable, which was a violation of the school's policies on campus.<sup>70</sup>

The first game was in Abilene against Hardin-Simmons, and there were no altercations beyond racial name-calling, directed at both the two blacks and their white teammates, across the line of scrimmage. Prior to the game, Bahnsen had found a restaurant that would seat the entire team together in a secluded upstairs dining area, a setup that prevented trouble from developing. Haynes was particularly relieved because these accommodations made the entire team feel comfortable. Then, too, Abilene, which is located in West Texas, had a very small black population, and racial attitudes there were generally moderate. North Texas defeated Hardin-Simmons 13-9 and returned to Denton immediately after the game.<sup>71</sup>

The next week the team traveled to Navarro Junior College in Corsicana, a small town located about fifty miles southeast of Dallas, where it encountered overt racial hostility. Trouble began where the team went for its pre-game meal. Bahnsen had called ahead to reserve tables and have the food ready, but he forgot to inform the restaurant manager that the squad had two black members. When the team entered and took seats, the waitress told Haynes and King they would have to eat in the kitchen.

Just as King was about to arise and go in the kitchen, several players stood up and came to the defense of their black teammates. Joe Mack Pryor, a 300-pound lineman, pushed him back down in his seat and informed the waitress that everybody would eat together. Other players nodded in agreement, and when Bahnsen found out what was happening, he called over the manager and in essence said, "If they can't eat with us out front, then no one eats and you've prepared a bunch of meals for nothing. We're a team, and we eat as a team." When the manager refused to back down, a group of players responded by calling for everybody to leave, which they did. The reaction of the white players buoyed Haynes: "I don't say nothing, and Leon don't say nothing. Hell, we got up and walked out, and, man, I felt good. I never had feelings like that. You grasp that your friends are with you and will stand by you through thick and

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70. Bahnsen, OH 627: 29, 58; McCain, OH 636: 30-31. In 1957 Mitchell cancelled the traditional opening game against Ole Miss in Oxford when that school indicated the series would continue only if the blacks stayed home. This was a real sacrifice for North Texas because its share of the gate receipts amounted to about \$20,000, which represented substantial income at that time. On another occasion, North Texas chartered a Pullman for the game in Houston against the University of Houston when no hotel could be found that would provide lodging for all team members.

71. Bahnsen, OH 627: 58; Haynes, OH 620: 451,454, 458-465.

thin, and this really makes you love them.” The pre-game meal that night consisted of baloney sandwiches eaten on the team bus.<sup>72</sup>

After eating, the team went to the football field, and as they got off the bus, they immediately sensed they were about to enter a hostile situation. Haynes heard several small boys shout, “Hey, they got two niggers on their team!” As they walked toward the entrance, four men approached Bahnsen and asked if he was planning to play “those niggers.” When he responded affirmatively, one said, “Well, they may die.”<sup>73</sup>

When the team emerged from the locker room and stepped onto the field, an overflow crowd of more than 5,000 greeted them with an ominous chant: “Get those niggers off the field! Get those niggers off the field!” King wryly described it as “a beautiful chant, nice rhythm.” About the same time, Bahnsen heard a fan yell, “There’s that nigger-lovin’ coach!” Since the sidelines were just a short distance from the stands, the North Texas entourage clearly heard all the epithets hurled at them. Judge Jack Gray, a booster who regularly accompanied the team, remembered the crowd beating on their seats and shouting, “Nigger-lovers! Nigger-lovers! Nigger-lovers!” Lineman Frank Klein and Bob Way heard the same words, while Haynes recollected a group screaming, “Kill that nigger! Kill that nigger!” Whatever the exact nature of the remarks, however, when the rocks and bottles came hurtling out of the stands, everyone soon realized the gravity of the situation. Haynes later exclaimed, “I was *scared to death!* I had never experienced a crowd like that. I hadn’t ever been so uncomfortable!”<sup>74</sup>

After the game started, the verbal abuse continued. The Navarro team received its cue from the crowd and resorted to name-calling, biting, and spitting. To make matters worse, Haynes took a hand-off on the very first play of the game, collided with an opposing linebacker and knocked him out. In response the crowd resumed stomping on the bleachers and hollered, “Get that nigger boy! Get that nigger boy!” At halftime the North Texas team had to stay on the field because the crowd prevented them from going to the visitors’ locker room.<sup>75</sup>

Haynes was not intimidated, however, and by the fourth quarter North Texas had a commanding 35-14 lead, thanks to four touchdown runs by the black halfback. The score only increased the crowd’s hostility, and Bahnsen called time-out and removed Haynes and King from the game. He then ordered the bus driver to gather all the clothing in the locker room, turn the bus around, and be ready to leave as soon as the game ended. Bahnsen instructed them to keep on their helmets and run for the bus when the final whistle blew. He said, “Don’t shake hands with anybody. Don’t do anything. Go straight to the bus.”<sup>76</sup>

72. King, OH 570: 48-49; Clement, OH 602: 42-43; Way, OH 654: 40; Bahnsen, OH 627: 58; Haynes, OH 620: 477-481; Gray, OH 650: 40-41.

73. Haynes, OH 620: 477, 481; Bahnsen, OH 627: 52-53; King, OH 570: 49-51.

74. King, OH 570: 49-51; Bahnsen, OH 627: 52-53; Gray, OH 650: 39; Klein, OH 655: 33-36; Way, OH 654: 16; Haynes, OH 620: 482-484.

75. Bahnsen, OH 627: 52-53; King, OH 570: 49-51; Haynes, OH 620: 486-488.

76. Bahnsen, OH 627: 53-54; Haynes, OH 620: 481, 489, 491; Way, OH 654: 36.

After the game the players put Haynes and King in the middle of the group and ran to the bus. As the bus pulled away, people jeered and threw stones, bottles, and other objects. For King it was a “frightening thing to go through, and I guess as long as I live, I’ll never forget it.” Bahnsen recalled, “I’ve never experienced anything like that in my life. I was afraid. If the crowd comes, what are you going to do? You’re sitting there afraid. You’re mad. You just can’t believe anybody would act that way.” Even Judge Gray, who was a former FBI agent, said, “As long as I live, I’ll recall attending that game in Corsicana—those eighteen kids, Johnson [the bus driver], Ken, and me.”<sup>77</sup>

The Navarro game with its adversities was another ingredient that brought the players together and smoothed the process of integration. The experience cemented team support for Haynes and King. On the bus ride back to Denton, the attitude was “we showed ‘em.” The abusive behavior of the mob in Corsicana unified the eighteen young men, not one of whom was willing to stand by and watch someone threaten a couple of teammates. Bob Way’s reaction was typical: “When you walk out there and everybody’s hollering. ‘Let’s get that nigger,’ it made the white guys mad because they were making those remarks to two guys that were on our team. We got close pretty fast when they jumped on Abner and Leon.”<sup>78</sup> In describing the actions of his white teammates, Haynes offered some perspective insights:

The challenge brought us together. They had to decide in Corsicana where they were coming from. These were special human beings. They weren’t brought there [North Texas] to assimilate with a black. They were brought there to be educated and play football and were thrown into something they had no control over, and they handled it. That’s how I know they were special, because something was dealt on them that they were not prepared for, and they handled it.<sup>79</sup>

The experience provided a rude awakening for the team. For the first time in their lives, they became aware of the problems Southern blacks had experienced for years in a white man’s world.

In contrast to the Navarro game, the remaining three contests presented no serious problems. The team next traveled to Tishomingo, Oklahoma, where they played Murray State Agricultural College and captured their third straight victory. Haynes and King ate with their teammates and Murray students in the cafeteria of one of the school’s dormitories, and they encountered no overt hostility off or on the field. For their fourth game, they returned to Abilene and defeated Abilene Christian College. This time, however, when they tried to eat in the same restaurant that had served them previously, the management declined to admit them, claiming that the facilities were fully booked. As a result, Bahnsen purchased fast food for his team, and they ate in the city park.

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77. King, OH 570: 51; Bahnsen, OH 627: 55; Haynes, OH 620: 256, 490; Gray, OH 650: 39.

78. Way, OH 654: 24; Clement, OH 602: 55; see also Klem, OH 655: 33. Jackie Robinson insists that the verbal and physical abuse he took from Ben Chapman and Enos Slaughter had the same unifying effect among his Dodger teammates. He quotes Branch Rickey as saying, “Chapman did more than anybody to unite the Dodgers. When he poured out that string of unconscionable abuse, he solidified and united thirty men. Chapman made Jackie a real member of the Dodgers.” See Robinson, *I Never Had it Made*, pp. 66.

79. Haynes, OH 620: 326-328.

The freshmen played only their last game in Denton, and before a large crowd they beat Paris Junior College to finish the season at 5-0.<sup>80</sup>

The initial desegregation of the North Texas football program was finished, but the process continued in the coming years. After that successful freshman season, the team moved up to the varsity and continued its winning ways in Missouri Valley Conference. In 1959 they received a berth in the Sun Bowl in El Paso. Haynes gained All-American honors, went on to a successful career in the American Football League, and is now a businessman in Dallas. Leon King peaked as a football player by his sophomore year. He married midway through his junior year and temporarily dropped out of school. Later, King returned to earn his bachelor's and master's degrees and is currently a middle school principal in Dallas. In the meantime, the influx of quality black players to North Texas went forward, culminating in the middle 1960s with the coming of Joe Greene (Pittsburgh), Ron Shanklin (Pittsburgh), Glen Holloway (Chicago), Cedric Hardman (San Francisco), Eugene Lockhart (New York), and many others who eventually pursued successful careers in professional football. In large measure, they chose North Texas because of Haynes's pleasant experiences and the school's spreading reputation for its willingness to accept blacks. North Texas held a monopoly on this vast pool of black talent until the Southwest Conference integrated in 1966, ten years after the coming of Haynes and King.

The relatively smooth desegregation of athletics at North Texas State College occurred for several reasons. There was a college town without a history of racial turmoil; there was an authoritarian college president who was determined to obey the letter of the law and to prevent interruptions of the educational process; there were coaches who worked out realistic policies for promoting team harmony; there was a highly respected team leader who befriended two blacks at a time when they needed friends; there was a special group of athletes who were able to handle the pressure when confronted with an unfamiliar situation not of their own making; and, most important, there was a personable black superstar who was the key in producing winning teams and who was able to maintain the kind of discipline and composure in the face of adversity as expected in the white value system.

It is important to note, however, that the desegregation of sports followed the desegregation of the academic side. The successful admission of blacks to the student body, graduate students in the summer of 1954 and undergraduates in February 1956, made the path easier for Abner Haynes and Leon King. Tennyson Miller and Mrs. Sephas prepared students, faculty, administrators, and townsfolk for the inevitable. If sports served as a role model in the desegregation of North Texas, it was a model only after the fact.

To prevent over-romanticizing this event, it must be remembered that, although making plans for the admission of blacks, North Texas State College desegregated when it did only because of a federal court order. Actual desegre-

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80. *Ibid.*, 500-501, 506-507; Bahnsen, OH 627: 58, 66, 74; Way, OH 654: 37; Klein. OH 655: 43.

gation was not a voluntary action, and it did not go far beyond admission. Three years passed, for instance, before Abner Haynes and Leon King were permitted to reside on campus and eat in the dormitories. The black athletes were an equal part of the team but not an equal part of the college. All they did was attend classes and play football. They did not participate in campus life the same way that white students did.

Did the integration of sports reduce prejudice and discrimination at North Texas State College? Probably yes, insofar as it significantly affected the success of the team. It was relatively simple for even the most racist of fans and players to be friendly and happy when the situation was rewarding. Since winning benefitted everyone, toleration became profitable for everyone, black and white. Team success, moreover, did not demand interaction beyond the playing field. Personalities aside, the acceptance of Abner Haynes and Leon King was largely a function of their ability to make a valuable contribution in the success of the North Texas football team.<sup>81</sup>

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81. For similar findings, see Hilmi Ibrahim, "Prejudice Among College Athletes." *Research Quarterly* 39 (October 1968): 556-559; Coakley, *Sport in Society*, pp. 278, 282, 294, 302; Olsen, *The Black Athlete*. p. 188; and Albert Myers, "Team Competition, Success, and the Adjustment of Group Members." *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 65 (November 1962). 325-332.