



# MOVE THE CHAINS

## FOOTBALL AND INTEGRATION IN KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE 1950–1980

Half a century ago this year, the University of Tennessee Volunteers football team finally integrated with the recruitment of its first black player, Albert Davis. The journey taken by this football-obsessed Southern university, from keeping an all-white team throughout the early postwar period to fielding a team that is majority-black today, was one predictably filled with segregationist protests, progressive activism, and challenges to historical unfounded notions stereotypes of black inferiority. In this essay, Ethan Young, BK '18, critically examines the steps taken by the university, the city of Knoxville, and, most importantly, the first black Volunteer players to demonstrate how sports can, and did, serve as the perfect sphere for black advancement. Young leaves us with a notion about the ability of athletics, and the non-political in general, to bring seemingly distinct communities together.

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In Knoxville, football reigns supreme. When the announcer proudly exclaims John Ward's famous words, "It's football time in Tennessee!", 102,000 fans from a city of 180,000 respond with a thunderous roar.<sup>1</sup> As a symbol of its significance to the city *and* to the state as a whole, Neyland Stadium rests directly beside the Tennessee River, the winding passage that connects this eastern metropolis to the West. Tennesseans pride themselves on their football more than anything else, and game day combines culture, community, and regional pride into a typically day-long exhibit. Fans sing "Rocky Top" and sway to "Tennessee Waltz," drink inordinate amounts of alcohol, sweet tea, and coke, and befriend complete strangers, young and old, made family by their vivid orange outfits.

Today, the Volunteers' star athletes are young, strong, tenacious, and mostly black. However, the first black player for the University of Tennessee did not walk into the maelstrom of Neyland Stadium until 1968. Within the past fifty years, the pride of Tennessee transitioned from entirely white to predominately black, a process of integration mirrored in the larger community of Knoxville. The Civil Rights Era rapidly changed the landscape of college sports throughout the South, raising the proportion of black Southeastern Conference (SEC) lettermen from zero before 1966 to one-third by 1980.<sup>2</sup> Today, the average college football team, just like Tennessee's, is mostly black.<sup>3</sup>

One certainly would not have predicted this transition based upon racial attitudes of the 1960s. For example, the introductory spread in *The Volunteer Yearbook* of 1962, which lacks explanatory captions or copy,<sup>4</sup> features a burning "T" before a group of huddled young men. This odd ritual resembles the infamous burning cross of Ku Klux Klan meetings, a supremely recognizable symbol of racism, segregation, and white supremacy.

Even if, to modern eyes, it remains unclear whether this symbol solely represented solely school pride or stood for a mixture of spirit and white supremacy, it is clear that racial tension permeated the ordinary citizen's subconscious. Perhaps this is even better exemplified by the city's and university's generally passive behavior throughout the Civil Rights Era. However, almost miraculously, by 1982, when Knoxville hosted the World's Fair, organizers were crediting its diversity of race and nationality for making the city "the most exciting...on Earth."<sup>5</sup> Predictably, given its cultural significance in Knoxville, one of

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1 "Neyland Stadium," accessed January 16, 2017, <http://www.utsports.com/facilities/neyland/>.

2 Charles H. Martin, *Benching Jim Crow: The Rise and Fall of the Color Line in Southern College Sports, 1890-1980* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 257.

3 Diane Roberts, "College Football's Big Problem With Race," *Time* (New York, NY), Nov. 12, 2015.

4 See Figure 1 (page 57). The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, *The 1962 Volunteer Yearbook* (Knoxville, TN: Graduating Class of 1962, 1962), University of Tennessee Digital Archives, The Volunteer Yearbooks Collection, 7.

5 See Figure 2 (page 57). 1982 Knoxville World's Fair, Box 25, Alfred E. Heller Collection of

the driving factors behind this journey from burning crosses to a poster heralding diversity had to be football.



Left, Figure 1. *Volunteer Yearbook page.* Right, Figure 2. *1982 Knoxville World's Fair promotional poster.*

The sport provided a naturally captivating and suitable venue for ideological expression, and the presence of players of color was unmistakably political. Throughout the mid-twentieth century, contests with integrated Northern teams and the success of their black athletes forced the university to confront discrimination within its own team head-on. Though massive resistance took hold in Knoxville, establishing steeper barriers to integration and inspiring a new generation of civil rights activists, Tennessee's team, when integrated, functioned alongside rising national beliefs about racial equality, the simultaneous desegregation of public schools, and newer university policies to improve racial equity across the campus and state. Progress, of course, came at a cost. Since football stereotyped black men as exceptional athletes and nothing more, it laid the foundation for a distinct student-athlete class that even today receives less than it is promised. Still, the story of black Tennessee Volunteers remains one of the triumphs of new, more equitable

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World's Fair Material, 1851–2005, Manuscripts and Archives, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

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higher education for African Americans.

### THE “GENTLEMEN'S AGREEMENT”: POST-WAR RACE AND SPORTS

Racial sentiments shifted dramatically across the United States at the close of the Second World War. From 1939 to 1945, the United States mobilized around the preservation of democracy in the face of tyranny and ethnic genocide. As a result, the Allied cause increasingly came to promote human dignity and equality.<sup>6</sup> Similarly significant was the fact that the enormous demand for soldiers expanded military participation to include African Americans and other minority populations.<sup>7</sup> Having fought on the front lines with increasingly diverse military comrades, returning soldiers more readily accepted multiracial communities.

The Supreme Court contributed to this new national ethos by demonstrating a greater commitment to equality than was evident in its pre-war rulings. In particular, the Court developed a precedent that defended African American rights in application and admission to universities.<sup>8</sup> Decisions such as *Sweatt v. Painter* (1950), which mandated African American application rights at the University of Texas Law School, began to reject the “separate but equal” philosophy of *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896). These rulings laid the groundwork for the landmark decision of *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954. Now, more so than ever before, African Americans began to occupy roles historically available exclusively to whites.

Black athletes participated in sports programs in the North before World War II, but their full inclusion at most predominately white institutions (PWIs) occurred only when wartime ideals permeated institutions – as returning veterans, thanks to the G.I. Bill, started to attend universities.<sup>9</sup> Harvard and Yale featured black football players as early as 1892, but 50 years elapsed before, in 1949, Yale players elected the first African American team captain, Levi Jackson.<sup>10</sup> A New York columnist wrote in response that “This is the direction of the times, and the men of Yale, by their warm and unaffected ac-

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6 Martin, *Benching Jim Crow*, 56.

7 David H. Onkst, “First a Negro, Incidentally a Veteran: Black World War Two Veterans and the G. I. Bill of Rights in the Deep South, 1944-1948,” *Journal of Social History* 31, no. 3 (1998): 517-8.

8 Numan V. Bartley, *The Rise of Massive Resistance: Race and Politics in the South During the 1950's* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1969), 6.

9 The subsequent massification of higher education forced the University of Tennessee to cap enrollment for the first time in 1946; Clinton B. Allison, *Teachers for the South: Pedagogy and Educationists in the University of Tennessee, 1844-1995* (Washington, DC: Peter Lang, 1998), 173; Martin, *Benching Jim Crow*, 57.

10 Ocania Chalk, *Black College Sport* (New York: Dodd Mead & Co., 1976), 147.

tion, added materially to our quickening achievement.”<sup>11</sup> Simultaneously, many Northern black football players started to become famous All-Americans, including Fred “Duke” Slater of Iowa, Frederick Douglas “Fritz” Pollard of Brown University, and David Myers of New York University.<sup>12</sup> Even professional baseball reflected these cultural shifts when Jackie Robinson made his debut with the Brooklyn Dodgers in 1947.<sup>13</sup>

However, the Southern story was quite different. There, major universities not only banned black people from athletics altogether but also refused to compete against integrated teams. On December 23, 1946, mere months before Jackie Robinson joined the Dodgers, the University of Tennessee arrived in Pennsylvania to play basketball at Duquesne University.<sup>14</sup> Minutes before tipoff, Duquesne coaches refused to bench a black center at Tennessee’s request, so Knoxville coach John Mauer drove the Volunteers back home.<sup>15</sup> The expectation that a Northern, integrated team would bench its black players when competing in intersectional games – a practice informally known as the “gentlemen’s agreement” – pervaded intercollegiate competition from Reconstruction until just after World War II.

Eventually, post-war cultural, legal, and athletic shifts caused the collapse of the “gentlemen’s agreement” as universities such as Duquesne refused to comply. These refusals, however, subjected black players to charged criticism from spectators and ultimately highlighted their skin color rather than their athletic accomplishments. Thus, starting black athletes became a form of protest that both catalyzed Southern integration and reinforced a simplistic understanding of race. Though imperfect, the eradication of the “gentlemen’s agreement” proved to be a remarkable mechanism: by 1965, all Southern schools competed against black players.<sup>16</sup>

Outside the battle for PWI sports integration, incredible athletic talent emerged from historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs) across the South, including those in Tennessee.<sup>17</sup> Despite being under-resourced, football players from black colleges were among the first seventeen athletes in the state to sign contracts with the National

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11 “Honor to Yale,” *New York Herald Tribune* (New York, NY), Nov. 24, 1948.

12 Chalk, *Black College Sport*, 182.

13 Martin, *Benching Jim Crow*, 57.

14 *Ibid.*, 55.

15 *Ibid.*

16 Martin, *Benching Jim Crow*, 57.

17 Beginning in 1863, missionaries established freedmen’s schools that later developed into black high schools or colleges, including Knoxville College, East Tennessee’s African American educational hub. The proliferation of all-black schools installed *de facto* segregation and a 1901 Tennessee law prohibited any college to allow white and non-white persons to attend the same school (*de jure* segregation); Bobby L. Lovett, *The Civil Rights Movement in Tennessee: A Narrative History* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2005), 337–45.

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Football League. Nine of these emerged from a single school—Tennessee State—in one year.<sup>18</sup> Black coaches were instrumental to this success, according to HBCU athletes, since their presence demonstrated potential for black achievement in scholarship *and* athletics.<sup>19</sup> For talented black athletes, HBCUs presented significantly greater opportunities for collegiate and professional athletic careers than PWIs. However, in the coming *Brown* era, a growing number of exceptional black Southern athletes sacrificed these opportunities and chose instead to demonstrate their talent at a PWI.

The integration of Vanderbilt University, a private school in Nashville, Tennessee, foreshadowed the change to come in Knoxville. Vanderbilt's status as a private institution afforded the university greater flexibility. Moreover, many Vanderbilt alumni were Northerners whose ideas forced the school to confront race sooner than the intensely local University of Tennessee.<sup>20</sup> Despite the growing popularity of college sport spectatorship, Vanderbilt Chancellor Harvie Branscomb disliked the cultural obsession with student-athletes because of its negative effect on students' scholarship.<sup>21</sup> Consequently, he attempted to minimize the dominant football culture on campus through a 1951 six-part de-escalation plan that entailed fewer scholarships, restrictions on light course-loads for athletes, and rules against heavy outside funding for football.<sup>22</sup> This plan also had the effect of reducing sports spectatorship and extensive public awareness of the university more broadly, allowing for the hushed admittance of African American graduate students in the early 1950s. By 1967, Vanderbilt was even able to accept Percy Wallace as the SEC's first black athlete.<sup>23</sup>

Throughout the post-war era, football became a powerful political and cultural stage that connected individual communities to a larger ideological framework. With the collapse of the "gentlemen's agreement," Northern universities started to use athletics to force racial tolerance. Meanwhile, despite being disconnected from states' flagship universities, HBCUs produced impressive athletes whose success demonstrated African American excellence. Furthermore, within the state of Tennessee itself, the integration of Vanderbilt's team signaled to Knoxvilleians that a tide of change was underway. However, East Tennesseans, alongside the rest of the white South, would not accept this change passively.

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18 Arthur Ashe, *A Hard Road to Glory: A History of the African-American Athlete Since 1946* (New York: Warner Books, 1988), 117; Lovett, *The Civil Rights Movement*, 347.

19 Ibid., 119.

20 Paul Keith Conkin, *Gone with the Ivy: A Biography of Vanderbilt University* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1985), 528–47.

21 Ibid., 544.

22 Ibid., 528.

23 Nashvilleans eventually did notice this and other signs of an integrated society and rioted two years later, a decade before similar events took place in Knoxville; Ibid., 547.

## BIG ORANGE RESISTANCE: THE IMPACT OF BROWN ON KNOXVILLE

Knoxville's racism quietly endured throughout the twentieth century, only surfacing publicly in a handful of incidents. A race riot in which World War I veterans framed a black café owner, Maurice Mays, for murdering a young white girl loomed in the city's past.<sup>24</sup> During Mays' trial in 1919, thousands crowded onto Gay Street in support or in protest of a conviction, leading to a conflict whose resultant bullet holes adorn buildings on Vine and Central to this day.<sup>25</sup> Knoxville's next mid-century riot occurred not in downtown streets but in classrooms across the region. *Brown v. Board of Education* had held that segregated public schools were "inherently unequal," forcing Southerners to reckon with the integration of their children's communities.<sup>26</sup> Southerners, including Knoxvilleans, relentlessly resisted desegregation before and after *Brown*, a period historians term "massive resistance."<sup>27</sup>

Jim Crow laws served throughout the American South as a means of separating restrooms, water fountains, and schools by race: creating separate restrooms, water fountains, and schools.<sup>28</sup> These codes wound up being crucial in helping white supremacists successfully resist external pressures to desegregate throughout the early twentieth century, especially when coupled with relatively ambivalent federal policy.<sup>29</sup> Many white families also managed to separate themselves from black people entirely by relocating to suburbs, creating a color line around urban centers. In fact, from 1940 to 1960, Knox County's population increased by up to 25 percent while the City of Knoxville's population decreased by up to 10.4 percent.<sup>30</sup> During the same period, the percentage of African Americans living in the city, closest to the University of Tennessee, increased.<sup>31</sup>

The five Deep South states of Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina began a multi-pronged political defense of separate school systems in 1953 that included state legislation and Constitutional appeals to the Tenth Amend-

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24 Matthew Lakin, "A Dark Night: The Knoxville Race Riot of 1919," *The Journal of East Tennessee History*, no. 72 (2000): 6.

25 *Ibid.*

26 Chicago-Kent College of Law at Illinois Tech, "Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka (1)," Oyez, accessed Dec. 9, 2016, <https://www.oyez.org/cases/1940-1955/347us483>.

27 Bartley, *The Rise of Massive Resistance*.

28 See Appendix A for a comparative chart of Jim Crow laws by state (page 76).

29 Lovett, *The Civil Rights Movement*, 5–6.

30 Wilbur Smith and Associates, "Mass Transportation in the Knoxville Metropolitan Area," Report prepared for the Metropolitan Planning Commission of Knoxville, Tennessee (New Haven, C.T., 1963), 3.

31 *Ibid.*

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ment.<sup>32</sup> Keenly aware of the failing “gentlemen’s agreement” with Northern schools, in 1956 many of these states explicitly forbade their public universities from allowing interracial sports.<sup>33</sup> Resistance existed in the minds of regular citizens most of all: a 1956 poll found that sixteen percent of white Deep Southerners supported *Brown* and eighty percent disapproved.<sup>34</sup>

Peripheral southern states, such as Tennessee and Kentucky, responded more ambiguously to *Brown*.<sup>35</sup> The failure of grassroots white-supremacy organizations to effectively counteract the decision supports the case that the racism that did exist in Tennessee was more subdued. Citizens’ Councils, white groups aimed at economically disenfranchising black or white integrationists to restore Southern values, appeared across the South by 1955.<sup>36</sup> However, except for one Nashville group, these councils failed in Tennessee due to low participation.<sup>37</sup> Other indications of tolerance also existed, such as the Knox County Welfare Department’s race-blind applications and biracial drinking fountains and toilets.<sup>38</sup> This demonstrates a significant change in attitude from a community that had been willing to abandon intersectional competitions over race just eight years prior.

Even at the state level, Tennessee’s 1954 elections eschewed political extremism and expressed constituent support for *Brown*. On August 6, the *New York Times* reported that the relatively progressive Tennessee Senator Estes Kefauver and Governor Frank Clement won re-election by great margins. According to one newspaper, their victory was a “resounding rejection of [other] candidates ... [who] would ‘find a way’ to preserve racial segregation in Tennessee’s public schools.”<sup>39</sup> Governor Frank G. Clement wrote in 1956 that “the public schools of Tennessee have been operating since the first flat boat came in and the public schools will continue to operate for the benefit of all of our children.”<sup>40</sup> Yet despite this period of acceptance, massive resistance would build toward a climax in 1958, and it would become clear that even 1950s Tennessee was not immune to racial strife.

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32 Bartley, *The Rise of Massive Resistance*, 54.

33 “Desegregation at UT: The Beginnings,” Sep. 21, 1989, University Historian’s Vignettes, Box 1, Folder 20, Special Collections, University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

34 Bartley, *The Rise of Massive Resistance*, 14.

35 *Ibid.*, 341.

36 *Ibid.*, 83.

37 *Ibid.*, 99.

38 Douglas Rupert Jones, “An Opinion Poll on Attitudes of White Adults about Desegregation in the Public Schools of Knoxville, Tennessee” (Phd diss., University of Tennessee, Knoxville, 1958), 128.

39 John N. Popham, “Kefauver Victor in Tennessee Vote,” *The New York Times*, Aug. 6, 1954.

40 Bartley, *The Rise of Massive Resistance*, 56.

In the late 50s, Tennessee underwent radical policy shifts. State authorities launched investigations into black college presidents' affairs as a means of silencing student protests and other forms of progressive speech.<sup>41</sup> The same Governor Frank Clement who had previously vetoed four reactionary bills in 1955, primarily due to their "attempt to circumvent...the recent opinion handed down by the Supreme Court" in *Brown*, supported comprehensive anti-integration legislation that allowed individual communities to assign pupils to schools just three years later.<sup>42</sup> Nashville's public schools, not coincidentally, were to be integrated during the following school year.<sup>43</sup> Despite this dramatic change in policy decisions, Clement maintained high public approval ratings due to segregationist ideological shifts among Tennessee constituents.<sup>44</sup>

Citizens of Knoxville began expressing overwhelming anti-integration sentiments around 1958.<sup>45</sup> No evidence concretely reveals whether these beliefs were developed or merely vocalized that year, but given growing public outcry in the Deep South states, Tennesseans likely became more comfortable revealing anxieties they had felt for many years prior. Graduate students at the University of Tennessee studied Knoxville's opinions concerning the *Brown* decision: of 167 randomly sampled respondents, 94.5 percent self-identified as pro-segregationist.<sup>46</sup> Within that subset population, 44.5 percent intended to accept *Brown* because it was the law, and another 39.9 percent intended to transfer their children to a private, all-white school.<sup>47</sup> These forms of racial isolationism were mirrored by the University of Tennessee, the state's flagship university.<sup>48</sup>

While Southerners resisted, the black population continued to seek opportunities for self-advancement through education and employment. African Americans comprised fifteen percent of Knoxville's population in 1950, and 4,400 students of 22,000

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41 Jones, "An Opinion Poll on Attitudes," 349.

42 Ibid., 275.

43 Allison, *Teachers for the South*, 270.

44 Bartley, *The Rise of Massive Resistance*, 47.

45 See Appendices B and C (pages 77 and 78, respectively) for a more detailed analysis of respondents' reasoning and background.

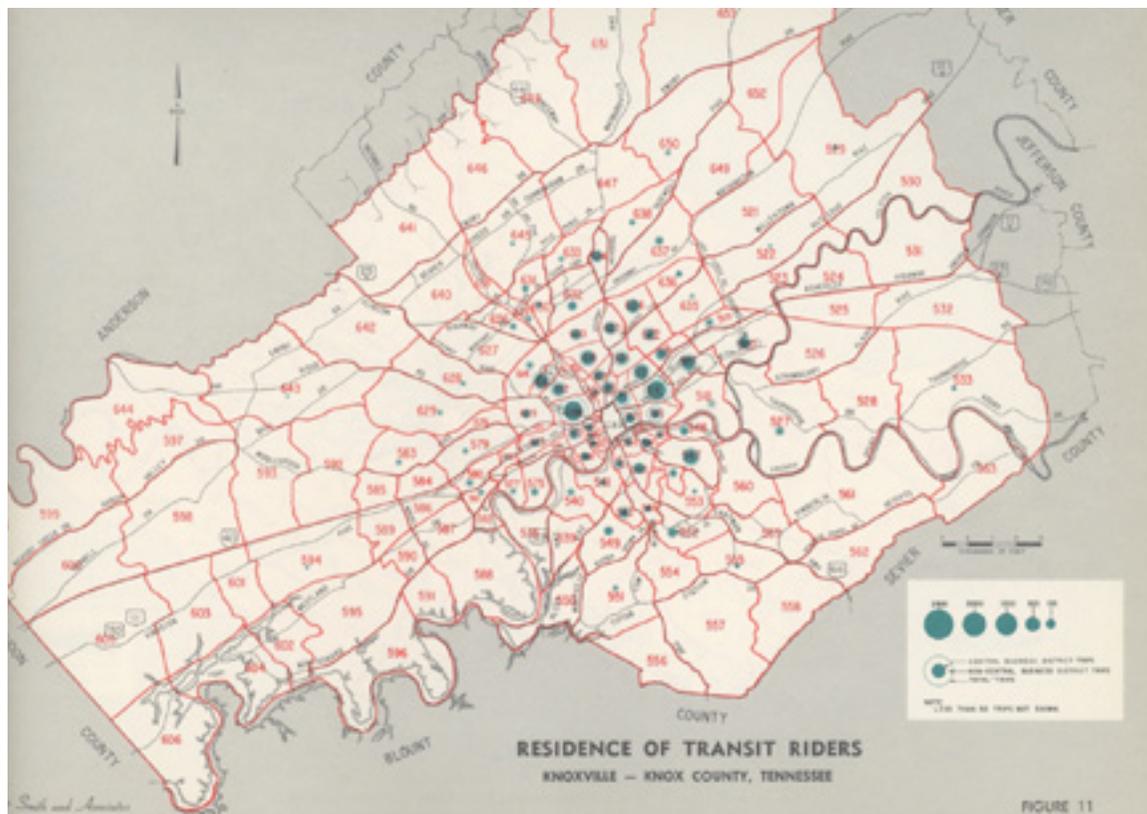
46 Jones, "An Opinion Poll on Attitudes," 155.

47 Ibid., 149, 155.

48 One Knoxville dissertation states that "the question of the Negro's intellectual quotient has been answered pro and con by many researchers." Another 1966 researcher condemns children who were born out of wedlock or with absent father figures. One researcher argues in 1961 that a lack of "equitable educational experiences" explains the achievement gap, evident at Knoxville's all-black Austin High School and its lack of vocational training in comparison to suburban schools; Ibid., 93; Robert Louis Ilardi, "Family Disorganization and Intelligence in Negro Pre-school Children" (Phd diss., University of Tennessee, Knoxville, 1966); Ralph H. Martin, "A Biracial Study of Entry Job Facts Found Among Selected Manufacturing and Research Industries Located in Metropolitan Knoxville, Tennessee, and Their Implications for Selected Secondary Schools and Colleges" (Phd diss., University of Tennessee, Knoxville, 1961), 5, 76.

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county-wide were black.<sup>49</sup> Only one high school existed for black students, Austin High School, which maintains its predominately black student population today. The greatest obstacle for most black Knoxvilleians remained obtaining quality education and employment. Among employees of the 1957 Southern workforce who had not completed the fifth grade, African Americans made up 30.3 percent, whereas whites totaled 7.3 percent.<sup>50</sup> Similarly, only 9.8 percent of employed blacks graduated from high school, as compared with 27 percent of whites.<sup>51</sup> Discrimination in hiring, though, often proved a greater challenge than lacking educational credentials when it came time to look for a job; one dissertation finds that racial employment discrimination existed in most professions in Tennessee.<sup>52</sup> Even public transportation became less accessible to many African Americans, as Knoxville's bus system shifted toward suburban connection lines after 1959 despite the overwhelming concentration of transit riders who lived downtown.<sup>53</sup>



*Figure 3. Residence of Transit Riders on Knoxville Area Public Transit. Notice the concentration of residents in the heart of downtown Knoxville and the lack of concentrated population towards the suburban sprawls in the West, East, or North. Also, note the availability of commuter roadways.*

49 Jones, "An Opinion Poll on Attitudes," 131.

50 Martin, "A Biracial Study," 13.

51 Ibid., 78.

52 Ibid., 72.

53 See Figure 3. Wilbur Smith and Associates, "Mass Transportation," vii.

Throughout the period of “massive resistance,” an entire region became consumed with keeping spaces white at the expense of providing basic civic, social, and economic opportunities for African Americans. Ironically, pervasive racism not only failed to prevent integration, but actually catalyzed a new generation of youth activists who would demonstrate renewed willingness to challenge the status quo. Indeed, almost all of the University of Tennessee’s first black athletes were children during “massive resistance.”

## ATTENDING THE UNIVERSITY OF WHITE TENNESSEE

The University of Tennessee resisted the admission of African American students in its graduate and undergraduate programs until 1952, when it finally yielded to legal and cultural pressures. The university had long deterred black applicants by its charging out-of-state tuition, a steep financial burden, for students of color, and its creation of a separate Agricultural and Industrial State College primarily for students of color in Nashville.<sup>54</sup> Andrew Holt, president of the university from 1959–1970, said of the two schools: “If a wholesale influx of Negroes into the University is to be avoided, the two schools should provide comparable educational quality.”<sup>55</sup> Similarly, one university trustee said that “public welfare could best be maintained by continued segregation of the races in education.”<sup>56</sup> In practice, these separate campuses were very unequal in quality, compelling two black students seeking better educational enrichment to apply for admission at Knoxville’s law school in 1950.<sup>57</sup>

After extensive debate among the multi-generational Board of Trustees, one of these applicants, Gene Mitchell Gray, was admitted for a graduate program in 1952.<sup>58</sup> Little documentation exists about Gray’s experience, but the Dean of Students recalled interacting with the first African American at UT Knoxville: “He was all around...My only contact with him was he’d come in, always with a question...He asked, ‘Can I attend the basketball game?’ I said, ‘Sure, you’re a student.’”<sup>59</sup> Following *Brown*, a greater influx of black students followed Gray’s example. By 1955, forty-six black law students were enrolled at Knoxville.<sup>60</sup>

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54 Allison, *Teachers for the South*, 175.

55 *Ibid.*, 176.

56 “Desegregation at UT: The Beginnings,” Sep. 21, 1989, University Historian’s Vignettes, Box 1, Folder 20, Special Collections, University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

57 James Riley Montgomery, *To Foster Knowledge: A History of the University of Tennessee, 1794-1970* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1984), 228.

58 *Ibid.*, 229.

59 Montgomery, *To Foster Knowledge*, 229.

60 This figure should be qualified by the simultaneous growth of UT’s student population: 10,000 in 1950 to 30,000 in 1970; Allison, *Teachers for the South*, 190.

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The first black undergraduate student at UT Knoxville, Theotis Robinson, had graduated from Knoxville's all-black Austin High School.<sup>61</sup> His 1960 application was originally rejected because of his race. Robinson recalled, "In my letter of application I did not indicate my race, nor did I indicate which high school I graduated from... However, somehow they learned I was black."<sup>62</sup> He and his family arranged a meeting with President Andy Holt to dispute the admissions decision. Holt deferred to the Board of Trustees, which changed its policy under increasing pressure on January 3, 1961. Robinson proved to be a talented student and would later become a Knoxville City Councilman and Vice President for Development in the 1982 World's Fair.<sup>63</sup>

While the Robinsons met with the University, a large-scale civil rights demonstration was taking place four blocks away in downtown Knoxville. Merrill Proudfoot, a white, Yale-educated professor at Knoxville College, participated in sit-ins alongside his black students throughout 1960.<sup>64</sup> On May 16, 1960, students organized a multi-store sit-in after several small-scale efforts had failed to elicit much attention amongst business owners or city leaders.<sup>65</sup> Over time, this prolonged protest prompted white hecklers to verbally accost the young men, even to a degree necessitating police protection for the activists.<sup>66</sup> One day later, the Mayor's Committee, led by Mayor John Duncan, requested that downtown businesses desegregate operations immediately.<sup>67</sup> Knoxvilleians complied with the request, reflecting Proudfoot's assessment that "the attitude of white customers seemed to be one of casual interest or indifference."<sup>68</sup> Indeed, Knoxville was relatively receptive to sit-ins in contrast to those occurring in Greensboro or Nashville.<sup>69</sup> Yet even within this atmosphere of relative tolerance, clear remnants of Jim Crow and "massive resistance" pervaded day-to-day life for many black residents, especially for those studying at the University of Tennessee.

Segregation continued to define the black student experience in Knoxville. No

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61 "UTK's First Black Undergraduate Remembers" Feb. 26, 1986, University Historian's Vignettes, Box 1, Folder 6, Special Collections, University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

62 Ibid.

63 Ibid.

64 See Figures 4 and 5 (page 67). Merrill Proudfoot, *Diary of a Sit-in*, ed. Michael S. Mayer (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), xli.

65 Ibid.

66 Ibid., 100.

67 Ibid., 213.

68 Proudfoot, *Diary of a Sit-in*, 20.

69 Ibid., 218.



Left, Figure 4. Sit-in demonstration at a Knoxville lunch counter. Note the white passers-by. Right, Figure 5. Knoxville College students and Prof. Merrill Proudfoot at Grant's restaurant.

black students lived in student dorms until 1963.<sup>70</sup> No blacks were allowed to enter into fraternities or sororities until 1966.<sup>71</sup> An official report from this time concluded “surprising[ly]” that no disciplinary problems had been reported among black students at Tennessee colleges, aside from the theft of a book from the campus library.<sup>72</sup> While Knoxville’s pioneer black students were unable to participate in the fullness of student life, it is clear that they were also being held to higher levels of scrutiny by faculty and peers. Billy Hawkins describes an invisible and hyper-visible reality for black students at PWIs: students and faculty failed to acknowledge students’ black identity and racial equality, while everyone noticed if black students missed class.<sup>73</sup>

By 1962, seven thousand black undergrads were enrolled in PWIs across the South. By this time, black undergrads had a drop-out rate of merely 9.9 percent (as compared to the 40 percent rate among all students).<sup>74</sup> Almost all of these enrolled black students cited one of four main reasons for choosing a predominately white college over the safer, closer all-black alternatives. They wanted to understand another culture, advance racial harmony, keep pace with whites, or receive a better education. Notably, three of these motivations are explicitly racial.<sup>75</sup>

By the mid-1960s, black Tennesseans had proved their academic capacity and their willingness to fight for equality. Finally, the stage was finally set for an athletic revolution. Two primary milestones within the Tennessee football program drove its ultimate

70 Nolen E. Bradley, Jr., “The Negro Undergraduate Student: Factors Relative to Performance in Predominantly White State Colleges and Universities in Tennessee” (PhD diss., University of Tennessee, Knoxville, 1966), 57.

71 *Ibid.*, 155.

72 *Ibid.*, 58.

73 Billy Hawkins, *The New Plantation: Black Athletes, College Sports, and Predominantly White NCAA Institutions* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 37.

74 Bradley, “The Negro Undergraduate Student,” 20–2.

75 See Appendix D (page 79) for a table of responses that further nuance these students’ experience at PWIs in Tennessee.

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integration. General Robert Neyland coached the Volunteers for thirty-six years before dying suddenly in 1962, leaving a deep void in university athletic leadership.<sup>76</sup> Although Neyland is fondly remembered today (the stadium still bears his name), he adamantly refused to play integrated teams and never considered the possibility of black players.<sup>77</sup> Douglas A. Dickey, an Army veteran who had served with African Americans, became the new head coach in 1964.<sup>78</sup> Within three seasons of Dickey's coaching, Tennessee won the college football National Championship in 1967, the school's only national title until Peyton Manning's 1998 season.<sup>79</sup> Not only did this victory give the university a great deal of athletic prestige and national attention, but it also signaled a changing UT policy toward integrated teams and the school's own integration. For example, in that championship season, the Tennessee team traveled to Los Angeles to take on the integrated University of California, Los Angeles.<sup>80</sup> More importantly, since Tennessee's team was more publicized (and under more scrutiny) than ever, the nation, which watched football more than any other sport, responded overwhelmingly harshly to the triumph of an all-white team.<sup>81</sup> Eventually, the coaching staff, led by Coach Dickey, would respond to negative press from around the nation by recruiting the team's first black athletes.

Albert Davis, a high school football star, became the first African American athletic recruit for the University of Tennessee in 1967. Tennessee students responded favorably to the announcement of Davis's recruitment. One commented, "It's a good idea in that a Negro athlete can now participate in the South where he lives." Another said, "UT should get some local talent they've been letting slip through their fingers in the last few years."<sup>82</sup> These remarks suggest that tolerance of African Americans varied dramatically between administrators and students. Just weeks after choosing the Volunteers, however, Davis's SAT scores were called into question in a mysterious article by the *Knoxville News Sentinel*. Considered to be "surprisingly high," Davis's SAT scores were rejected and the Athletics Department rescinded his invitation.<sup>83</sup>

Lester McClain would fill Davis's spot as the first black man to take the field at

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76 Montgomery, *To Foster Knowledge*, 361.

77 Martin, *Benching Jim Crow*, 262.

78 Montgomery, *To Foster Knowledge*, 361.

79 Haywood Harris, *Six Seasons Remembered: The National Championship Years of Tennessee Football* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2004), 102.

80 Ibid.

81 Joel Nathan Rosen, *The Erosion of the American Sporting Ethos: Shifting Attitudes Toward Competition* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 2007), 51.

82 "UTK Recruits First Black Athlete," *The Daily Beacon* (Knoxville, TN), April 15, 1967, University of Tennessee News Releases and Other Materials, Box 4, Folder 2, Special Collections, University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

83 "Football Desegregation at UT," Feb. 26, 1986, University Historian's Vignettes, Box 1, Folder 21, Special Collections, University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

Neyland Stadium. McClain played for Antioch High School in Nashville, where he was recruited for an athletic scholarship in 1967.<sup>84</sup> When reflecting upon his experience in 1969, McClain noted that “they didn’t integrate the high schools in Nashville until my senior year.”<sup>85</sup> Before the Albert Davis controversy, Tennessee coaches had intended for McClain and Davis to become roommates, thinking that such an arrangement would provide them with mutual support.<sup>86</sup> Once Davis’s scholarship was rescinded, McClain recalled “[he] didn’t have a roommate [his] freshman year.”<sup>87</sup> During his next two years at the university, he would go on to live with a white teammate, John Rippatoe, a close friend with whom McClain had, as he described it, “a wonderful relationship.”<sup>88</sup>

McClain’s contributions to the Volunteers went far beyond the tokenism of “gentlemen’s agreement” days. The wide receiver rushed for 93 yards his senior season and had receptions totaling over 300 yards during each of his three seasons.<sup>89</sup> Despite his athletic performance and supportive teammates, McClain endured racial slurs hurled by other teams throughout his career. “There is a time when you question whether you want to pack your bags and go home. I would be lying if I said I never considered that. But I just couldn’t. I knew the next day the headline would say: ‘Lester McClain, first black athlete, quits UT,’ he said.<sup>90</sup> Especially after the Davis controversy, McClain carried an enormous burden to prove himself, and future black players, worthy of wearing the orange and white.

After McClain’s pioneering seasons, other African Americans broke barriers and records within the football program. In 1972, Condredge Holloway became the team’s first black quarterback, as well as the first in the Southeastern Conference.<sup>91</sup> Former teammates captured Holloway’s success best. Larry Sievers joked, “If you gon’ beat ‘im, you’re gon’ kill ‘im,” and Lester McClain said, “When he touches the ball people stand in their seats.”<sup>92</sup> Holloway’s contributions to the sport are so well regarded that a full-length

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84 Mike Organ, “Vols trailblazer Lester McClain weighs in on racial tensions,” *The Tennessean* (Nashville, TN), July 23, 2016.

85 Harry Mehre, “1968 Vols Running on Courage,” *The Atlanta Constitution* (Atlanta, GA), Jan. 25, 1969.

86 Athletics Board Meeting Minutes, Feb. 26, 1986, Earl M. Ramer Papers, Box 2, Folder 33, Special Collections, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, 3.

87 Organ, “Vols trailblazer.”

88 Ibid.

89 “Tennessee Career Football Statistics,” accessed December 5, 2016, <http://www.utsports.com/sports/m-footbl/fball-stats/m.htm>.

90 “Black Athletes at UTK,” 1990, University Historian’s Vignettes, Box 1, Folder 21, Special Collections, University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

91 “Desegregation at UT: The Beginnings,” Sep. 21, 1989, University Historian’s Vignettes, Box 1, Folder 20, Special Collections, University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

92 Shaun Silva, *The Color Orange: The Conredge Holloway Story* (2011; Nashville, TN: Tackle

## MOVE THE CHAINS

ESPN documentary, *The Color Orange: The Condredge Holloway Story*, was produced to chronicle his early sports career.<sup>93</sup> When asked about racial slurs and other forms of discrimination, Holloway recalled encountering them everywhere. “But that's not important and it's not worth dwelling on. I'm not Martin Luther King. I'm just a former football player who loved his time at Tennessee,” he said.<sup>94</sup> In this remark, Holloway exhibited both resilience and the same sort of deracialized rhetoric employed by coaches and other administrators.

There was a disconnect between the coaching staffs and athletes surrounding the conditions of early integrated teams. The UT coaching staff congratulated themselves for “hav[ing] the first SEC Negro athlete to receive a football grant-in-aid – Lester McClain. Other Blacks have since been recruited in football and other sports. Relationships among athletes are excellent.”<sup>95</sup> Although the memories of Lester McClain seem relatively pleasant, the relative lack of racial turbulence concerning his time at Tennessee was not mirrored elsewhere. In fact, black athletes across the country initiated thirty-seven campus movements in 1968 alone.<sup>96</sup> In Washington, Wyoming, Pennsylvania, and California, athletes protested racism from both players and coaches.<sup>97</sup> In almost every case, these student demonstrations were supported by on-campus resources, often in the form of a black cultural center. Though Knoxville did not experience these widespread protests at this time, that may be due as much to the lack of an on-campus cultural center for supporting anti-racism movements as to the relative harmony between black and white athletes. In fact, for a long time, the administration of the university would continue to resist the creation of a cultural center that “would enable blacks to have a distinct location where they could reinforce their own separate social and cultural identity.”<sup>98</sup>

By the 1960s and 70s, the creation of a Black Cultural Center was the subject of

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Box Films, 2011), Online.

93 Mark Wiedmeer, “Conredge Holloway Ahead of his time,” *Chattanooga Times Free Press* (Chattanooga, TN), Feb. 19, 2011.

94 Ibid.

95 Athletics Board Meeting Minutes, April 24, 1970, Earl M. Ramer Papers, Box 2, Folder 33, Special Collections, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, 4.

96 David Kenneth Wiggins, *Glory Bound: Black Athletes in a White America* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1997), 124.

97 One prominent incident occurred at the University of Oregon in 1969 when black football player Fred Milton refused to shave his mustache after a coach's request. After a year of university and legal proceedings, a proclamation was issued declaring the coach's request a violation of Milton's rights and mandating his reinstatement on the team in 1970; Ibid., 125–143.

98 Report to the Chancellor on “The Establishment of a Black Cultural Center,” Aug. 19, 1974, Office of the Chancellor Records, Box 12, Folder 11, Special Collections, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, 4.

hundreds of letters between University Chancellor Jack Reese and various advocates.<sup>99</sup> Black students and faculty pressured administrators to create such a center, with one undergraduate testifying: “At UT, a Black student finishes a day of classes and work, goes to his/her room and still deals with ignorant neighbors, R.A.s, Assistant Head Residents and Head Residents, most of whom would just as soon you were dead than have to deal with you.”<sup>100</sup> In 1974, Chancellor Reese finally promised black faculty that a cultural center would be created the following school year. However, he stated, “In light of current shortages of space and the dim prospects for state funds for new facilities, I do not know of any...space at present.”<sup>101</sup> A civil rights advocacy group called the Afro-American Studies Liberation Force (AASLF) refused this excuse adamantly. After a long series of negotiations and faculty rebuttals, a Black Cultural Center was ultimately established in 1977.<sup>102</sup> Even after its creation, administrative oversight and budgetary restrictions engendered mixed reactions to the center from black students on campus.<sup>103</sup>

Other exciting advances in racial equality were also to be found on the University of Tennessee’s campus during this period. For instance, in 1969, the student body elected Jim Baxter as their president. Baxter was a black Air Force veteran, and, as student body president, he was an ex-officio member of the Athletic Board (the governing organization for football and other athletic programs).<sup>104</sup> Additionally, a 1972 football program printed male and female African American cheerleaders leading the student section in game-time cheers.<sup>105</sup> Though isolated, these examples illustrate the remarkable transformation of the university’s racial makeup, as well as the rising ideology of racial equity on campus.

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99 Ibid., 7.

100 Ibid.

101 Letter from Chancellor Reese to Prof. Littlejohn, April 30, 1974, Office of the Chancellor Records, Box 12, Folder 11, Special Collections, University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

102 Letter from Harold I. Dozier, Co-Chairman of the Afro-American Student Liberation Force, Jan. 14, 1975, Office of the Chancellor Records, Box 12, Folder 11, Special Collections, University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

103 One student, Alva G. Trimble, wrote to the Chancellor after a dramatic reduction in facility funding: “Personally, I feel like you, a stranger, are coming into my house and rearranging the furniture...How can you determine what is needed in the Center without consulting the people who work there and the people who utilize the facilities there?”; Letter from Alva Trimble to Chancellor Reese, Oct. 25, 1979, Office of the Chancellor Records, Box 12, Folder 11, Special Collections, University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

104 Montgomery, *To Foster Knowledge*, 393; Letter from Earl Ramer to James Baxter, May 38, 1969, Earl M. Ramer Papers, Box 12, Folder 11, Special Collections, University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

105 1972 Football Program, UT vs. Alabama, Oct. 21, 1972 (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Athletics Department), University of Tennessee Digital Archives, *The Volunteer Football Programs and Guides*, 95.

## MOVING THE CHAINS: THE EFFECT OF FOOTBALL

Like the game of football, the story of black football players in Tennessee unfolded in a series of dramatic plays, each of which advanced the cause for athletic and academic equality. In the end, though, these plays almost inevitably fell short of the goal line. First down: World War II changed Americans' beliefs, and football became a scene of token advocacy. Second down: The South reacted to *Brown*, and Knoxville's racism came to the fore. Third down: Black students began to attend the University of Tennessee and fought for the respect of classmates and administrators alike. During this suspenseful moment, black athletes arrived on the field and stunned Tennesseans with their ability. So, they moved the chains – not only the 10-yard markers, but also the chains of segregationist bondage that had withheld full equality from black Americans for centuries. But they only moved the chains; they failed to break them. Today we are at first-and-goal, closer than ever before to real equity. Nonetheless, we continue to be bound by inherited rules and systemic racism.

With the rise of African American recruitment by athletic powerhouses, universities today increasingly provide separate, but allegedly equal, student experiences: one for students, another for student-athletes.<sup>106</sup> To retain top athletes, some institutions, such as the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, have resorted to faking academic eligibility requirements for at least 3,100 student athletes.<sup>107</sup> Owing both to their frequent general lack of adequate university preparation and to the busy schedule and high demands of an athletics program, these students continue to experience high attrition and low graduation rates.<sup>108</sup> Furthermore, athletic scholarships generally cover the costs of tuition, but any injuries or disqualifications from a sport spell the end of a student's higher education.<sup>109</sup>

It was Dr. Earl Ramer, president of the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) from 1971 to 1972 and long-serving chairman of the UT Athletics Board, who stated that “the NCAA views the proper participation in intercollegiate athletics to be [by] an amateur (not principally motivated by direct and current economic gain), a student (by the ordinarily applicable standards of his institution), [and] an athlete who partici-

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106 Bear Bryant, head coach of the Alabama Crimson Tide, began earnest recruitment of black players after a terrible defeat against the integrated University of Southern California in 1970. Bryant's version of recruitment, however, sparked a shift across the Southeastern Conference in which black students were recruited exclusively for athleticism; Martin, *Benching Jim Crow*, 256.

107 Sara Ganim and Devon Sayers, “UNC report finds 18 years of academic fraud to keep athletes playing,” CNN, Oct. 23, 2014.

108 Hawkins, *The New Plantation*, 31.

109 Bradley, “The Negro Undergraduate,” 155.

pates in an honorable, vigorous competitive undertaking which will have long range educational value to him.”<sup>110</sup> Yet for these athletes, the game has become a gateway to sparse (and highly selective) professional sports careers, and the academics have become tangential to training. This system, which plagues our scholar-athletes today, first emerged alongside the integration of Southern teams.



Left, Figure 6. Black demonstrators outside of the Tennessee Theatre. The marquee reads “Never did so few cook up so much excitement,” which refers to the film on display. Of course, it also seems to refer to the men and their protest. Right, Figure 7. Lester McClain’s biography in the 1969 Football Guide. Note the thin stripes drawn on his skin to indicate his race.

College football programs may be a far cry from extreme forms of historical and present disfranchisement, but the current system does bear facets with striking resemblance to certain qualities of African American enslavement. For instance, Billy Hawkins argues that the economics, politics, and racism of colonialism exist in modern college football, rejecting the idea that “intercollegiate athletics...[are] assumed by many to be apolitical.”<sup>111</sup> Perhaps more powerfully, sports sociologist Harry Edwards describes football as “a trap leading nowhere for most black youngsters, and the failure, the disillusion-

110 At a half-hour lecture on the future of the NCAA in 1972, Ramer discussed widening participation for ten minutes. His comments focus entirely upon female programs, only alluding to race once: “I must not be naïve and imply that all students have a legal right to athletic participation in its inter-school aspects. In my opinion, the opportunity to try for the team and, indeed to make it, is a right to be sought for larger numbers of our young people.” Despite Dr. Ramer’s omission of race from this lecture, the number of black athletes in the SEC rose from seven in 1967-8 to 394 in 1979-80. Lecture notes for Oregon State Presentation, March 14, 1972, Earl M. Ramer Papers, Box 13, Folder 6, Special Collections, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, 7; Joan Paul, Richard V. McGhee, and Helen Fant, “The Arrival and Ascendance of Black Athletes in the SEC, 1966-1980,” 1984, Earl M. Ramer Papers, Box 13, Folder 6, Special Collections, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, 4.289.

111 Hawkins, *The New Plantation*, 49, 133.

## MOVE THE CHAINS

ment, leads to social unrest and subsequent crime.”<sup>112</sup>

Yet despite these serious qualifications to the nature of progress through sports integration, football contributed much more to people’s daily lives and changing opinions about race than contemporary leaders and theorists recognize today.<sup>113</sup> As a modern analyst writes, “Sport is able to symbolically impact the racial order precisely because it can simultaneously claim to be a space removed from politics.”<sup>114</sup> For African American athletes, sports provided white institutions that could be disrupted not only by their presence but also by their physical ability. Their athleticism and strength genuinely inspired spectators and certainly forced fans to reckon with preconceptions of black inferiority.<sup>115</sup> It is no coincidence that while Lester McClain ran from goalpost to goalpost in Neyland Stadium, other young black students sat perfectly still at lunch counters across the city of Knoxville.<sup>116</sup>

Ultimately, Tennessee football provided artificial objectives, rules, times, and spaces that demanded a temporary unity amongst all Volunteers – black or white, fan or player. By substituting game rules in place of real, societal ones, people could neglect existing divides. Overall, this sport allowed a community to overlook negative presumptions about race and suspend historical time in a two-hour ball game. Unfortunately, this same effect also allows fans today to overlook the modern plight of college athletes.

The thirty-year period of Knoxville’s transition seems short. Artifacts such as the 1962 yearbook page and the 1982 World’s Fair poster convey the incredible rapidity of change on their own. When 1982 did arrive, Neyland Stadium hosted a professional

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112 Rosen, *The Erosion of the American*, 203.

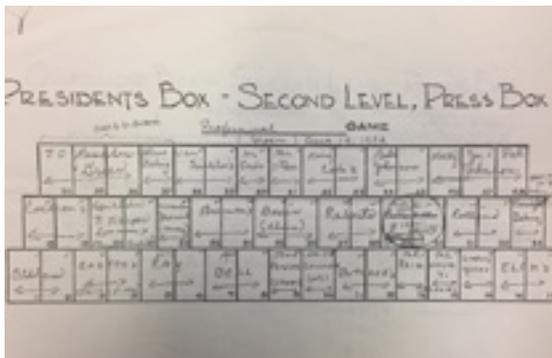
113 At least one commentator from the period understood this to be true: “Sports are too beautiful and profound for simplistic slogans. How we play the game may turn out to be more important than we imagine, for it signifies nothing less than our way of being in the world”; Untitled abstract, Box 13, Folder 6, Page 47, 1969 Tennessee Football Guide, Tom Siler Collection, Box 8, Folder 18, Special Collections, University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

114 Ben Carrington, *Race, Sport and Politics: The Sporting Black Diaspora* (London: SAGE, 2010), 93.

115 UT Coach Doug Dickey wrote in 1969 that “Wherever [football] is played today, the name of Tennessee is known and honored. Its heroes are household names to football fans across the nation. Here at Tennessee we will always welcome the graduating high school athlete who is a good student, a dedicated football player, and a responsible citizen. He has a role to play in a great football legend”; Coach Doug Dickey’s Letter to Prospective Vols, 1969 Tennessee Football Guide, Tom Siler Collection, Box 8, Folder 18, Special Collections, University of Tennessee, Knoxville. Country music icon Kenny Chesney recalled his boyhood admiration of Conredge Holloway, saying “[he] stood for opportunity and hope”; Shaun Silva, *The Color Orange: The Conredge Holloway Story* (2011; Nashville, TN: Tackle Box Films, 2011), Online.

116 See Figures 6 and 7. Figure 6: Proudfoot, *Diary of a Sit-in*, 15. Figure 7: 1969 Tennessee Football Guide, Tom Siler Collection, Box 8, Folder 18, Special Collections, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, 23.

game between the New England Patriots and the Pittsburgh Steelers. At the event, Chancellor Jack Reese used seating charts to carefully plan interactions between guests from Canada, Germany, Britain, Saudi Arabia, France, Mexico, China, Japan, Hungary, the Philippines, and Korea.<sup>117</sup> Although this multicultural international exhibition of racial harmony remains impressive for a quiet city on the Tennessee River, the Volunteers do not so easily forget their troubled past. As the first black football player at the University of Tennessee said, “Fifty years ago is really not a long time. My grandfather was born a slave. That’s how short it is.”<sup>118</sup>



Left, Figure 8. Paper Schematic of the President’s Box for the Patriots vs. Steelers Game, August 14, 1982, Earl M. Ramer Papers, Box 13, Folder 6, Special Collections, University of Tennessee, Knoxville. Right, Figure 9. Aerial image of Neyland Stadium, circa 1969.

117 See Figures 8 and 9. Figure 8: Seating assignment sheet, Patriots vs. Steelers, Aug. 14, 1982, Earl M. Ramer Papers, Box 13, Folder 6, Special Collections, University of Tennessee, Knoxville. Figure 9: 1969 Tennessee Football Guide, Tom Siler Collection, Box 8, Folder 18, Special Collections, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Cover.

118 Silva, *The Color Orange*.

APPENDIX A

Reprinted from Douglas Rupert Jones, "An Opinion Poll on Attitudes of White Adults about Desegregation in the Public Schools of Knoxville, Tennessee" (PhD University of Tennessee, Knoxville, 1958), 46.

The patterns of opposition by the southern states as reflected in legislative action are summarized by the Southern School News in the following table:

MAJOR TYPES OF LEGISLATION ADOPTED IN ELEVEN SOUTHERN STATES SINCE 1952 DESIGNED TO PREVENT OR CONTROL DESEGREGATION

Measures Authorizing or Requiring-	Ala.	Ark.	Fla.	Ga.	La.	Miss.	N.C.	S.C.	Tenn.	Yes.	Va.
Abolition of Schools by Local (Legislation/Option)	O			L		L	O	L			O
Grants for Private Education	X			X			X				X
Sale or Lease of School Facilities	X			X	X	X	X	X			
Use of Public Funds for Segregated Schools Only				X	X			X			X
Specific Pupil Assignments	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Compulsory Attendance (Repeal/Modification)	M	M		M	M	R	M	R			M
Extraordinary Powers for Governor				X	X			X			X
Teacher Employment Laws (Repeal/Modification)	M	M		M			R	R			
Restriction on or Probe of Pro-Integration and Pro-Segregation Groups	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Interposition, Nullification or Protest	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Use of State Sovereignty or Police Powers		X		X	X	X					
Provision for Legal Counsel to Oppose Desegregation Suits		X	X	X							X
Regulation of Pupil Transfers								X	X		
Guarantee Teacher Benefits in Private Schools	X			X							X
Elimination of Barratry				X	X	X	X	X	X		X
Withholding State Approval of Desegregated Schools					X						
Local Referenda to Determine Desegregation											X
Prohibition of Interracial Sports Events					X						X
Study Committees to Work on Segregation Issue	X			X	X	X	X	X	X		X
Separate Schools on Voluntary Basis	X									X	
Segregation by Sex									X		
Specific New Provisions for Segregated Schools	X			X	X	X					X
Teachers to Instruct Own Race Only				X							

Source: Southern School News, September, 1957.

## APPENDIX B

Reprinted from Douglas Rupert Jones, "An Opinion Poll on Attitudes of White Adults about Desegregation in the Public Schools of Knoxville, Tennessee" (PhD diss., University of Tennessee, Knoxville, 1958), 191.

Table 18

Responses by Prosegregationists to Question on Reasons  
the Respondents Favored Desegregation,  
Knoxville, Tennessee, 1957

Categories	Number	Per Cent
Way I was brought up	50	39.1
Fear of intermarriage	31	24.2
Religion	30	23.4
Attitudes of Negroes	28	21.9
Influence of family	20	15.6
Social contact with Negroes	18	14.1
Negroes have or want separate facilities	18	14.1
Politics and northern leadership	16	12.5
Mixing the blood	12	9.4
Low morals	11	8.6
State rights and tradition	9	7.0
Education or schooling	6	4.7
Housing problems	6	4.7
Cramming desegregation down our throats	6	4.7
Influence of friends	5	3.9
No reasons given	5	3.9

APPENDIX C

Reprinted from Douglas Rupert Jones, "An Opinion Poll on Attitudes of White Adults about Desegregation in the Public Schools of Knoxville, Tennessee" (PhD diss., University of Tennessee, Knoxville, 1958), 224.

Table 31.

Responses by Persons Favoring Desegregation to Question on  
Reasons the Respondents Favored Desegregation  
in Knoxville, Tennessee, 1957

Categories	Number	Per Cent
Religion	19	76
Education or schooling	10	40
American way of life	7	28
Pleasant experiences with Negroes	7	28
Family	5	20
Friends	5	20
Law of the land	5	20
Place myself in Negro's position	4	16
Influence of politicians and the political question	3	12
Negroes do not want to mix	1	4
Agitators among the Negroes	1	4
Small number of Negroes in parochial school	1	4
Unequal school facilities for Negroes	1	4
Tax structure	1	4
Negroes will make good citizens	1	4

"The Negroes haven't been given a good chance. Some (Negroes) have been treated badly. No democracy unless you

## APPENDIX D

Reprinted from Nolen E. Bradley, Jr., "The Negro Undergraduate Student: Factors Relative to Performance in Predominantly White State Colleges and Universities in Tennessee" (PhD diss., University of Tennessee, Knoxville, 1966), 79.

TABLE XI

ATTITUDE TOWARD COLLEGE EXPERIENCE: RESPONSES OF 253  
NEGRO UNDERGRADUATES AT SEVEN TENNESSEE  
STATE COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES--  
FALL, 1963, TO SPRING, 1965

Questionnaire Item	Number of Responses				
	Yes Very Much a	Yes b	Cannot Decide c	No d	No Definitely e
1. My college experience was a most valuable one which I would not have wanted to miss.	110	92	24	16	13
2. I could have received as good an education in a predominantly Negro college.	41	69	84	49	10
3. I was accepted by the student body.	22	113	61	43	14
4. I had to be on the alert most of the time because I am Negro.	34	85	18	96	20
5. My college teachers were fair and treated me as they treated other students.	47	109	44	38	15
6. It was difficult to keep up with the academic level of white students in my classes.	14	39	19	114	67
7. My high school education adequately prepared me to do college work.	25	65	32	102	29
8. I regret having decided to attend an interracial college.	14	17	17	122	83
9. I had to work harder than other students to prove that Negroes are not inferior students.	25	76	30	93	29

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## TITLE IMAGE

Aerial photograph of Neyland Stadium, circa 1966, Football Photographs, Box 73, Folder 8, Special Collections, University of Tennessee, Knoxville.