

# Blind to Brown: Auto-Integration in Northeast Texas

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The great crises of the Civil Rights Movement tended to bypass Texas. The consternation focused on the Montgomery Bus Boycott (1955-56), Little Rock High School (1957), The Greensboro, North Carolina food counter (1960), the Freedom Rides (1961), Birmingham (1963), the Selma to Montgomery march (1965) and the Memphis strike that led to Martin Luther King's death (1968) all missed the state. It was Texas' Senator, Lyndon Baines Johnson who broke with fellow Senators to support a Civil Rights Act in 1957, and Texas Western University's victory over Kentucky in the 1966 NCAA that took the breath out of white supremacist arguments. But at the same time, the state was definitely hostile to the epic Supreme Court decision of Brown vs. the Board of Education in 1954 that tried to integrate the schools with all due speed. Texas Governor, Allan Shivers vowed to stand in the way of Brown, and in 1963, Texas general Edwin Walker seemed more intent than any southerner to turn the struggle over the admission of James Meredith at the University of Mississippi into a major constitutional crisis.<sup>1</sup>

The story of integration in Northeast Texas illustrates how Texas accepted the new realities, but did so on its own timetable. Texans acted "Blind to Brown," for after threatening to stand for segregation, and calling for the impeachment of Earl Warren of the Supreme Court, state leaders quietly admitted the changes. In my look at some of the oldest Confederate centers of Texas, I find that sports was an important consideration triggering the "auto-integration" of Texans. I was also surprised in my study to learn how

the adult generation by the 1960s in Texas, while disappointed by forced changes, had no real political will to make their state a spectacle. Texans bowed to the new realities, and shrugged their shoulders to the inevitable, but wanted at the same time to convey their own independence in the movement. Throughout the crisis, Texans tried to uphold their nickname, "The Lone Star State."<sup>2</sup>

Only another great power in the case of Texas could overcome the power of the state's resistance toward desegregation. In this case, that power was sports. In 1951, Texas became the first state in America to have its own Sports Hall of Fame. Later backed by the oil-made fortune of Lamar Hunt, and moved to Waco, the Hall of Fame, which includes tributes to High School football, remains a testimony to the importance of sports, and to local high school sports. In 1965, Texans constructed the "Eighth Wonder of the World," the Astrodome, the first covered stadium of its kind in history. Awash with prosperity, interested in the possibilities of entertainment, and seeking diversions in the Cold War, Texans developed a special crush on high school sports, football in particular. This fascination, in turn, opened the door to an influence that could counter segregation. On the national sports scene, Jackie Robinson had already become part of what was referred to as "The Noble Experiment" as early as 1947 when he was selected as the first major league baseball player of color. His autobiography *I Never Had It Made* chronicles the seemingly insurmountable injustices Robinson faced as he broke the racial barrier and helped integrate America's favorite pastime. But the important point about Robinson was that he quickly became Rookie of the Year, and that his case pointed to a dynamic that could break segregation. In Texas, thousands of teenage Jackie Robinsons were available to break the color barrier. The question was, would local Texas

Independent School Districts (ISDs), in their mad rush to win, take advantage of these Jackie Robinsons?<sup>3</sup>

Northeast Texas, defined during post-Civil War Reconstruction as one of the most un-reconstructed areas of the state, seemed unlikely to be so beguiled. In the years after the Civil War, Confederate irredentists like Ben Bickerstaff and Cullen Baker terrorized counties between the Red and Sabine rivers, including Bowie, Titus, Red, and Cass. In 1954, the Supreme Court case, *Brown vs. the Board of Education of Topeka* provoked an angry reaction among Texans who for years had been absorbing the influences and people of the nearby states of Arkansas and Louisiana. A prominent billboard on what is today Route 67 cried “Impeach Earl Warren!” a sentiment shared by many who resented the liberal California justice who has presided over the “Brown” case. Young African-American men knew at this time that to merely look at, or “ogle” a white girl was an offense that could lead to dire consequences. The Brown decision declared that “separate was unequal,”<sup>4</sup> but white Northeast Texans looked at the obvious pageantry deficiencies of Thursday-night African-American high school football games and shrugged their shoulders. When in 1955, the Supreme Court ordered that schools be integrated “with all deliberate speed,” many in the piney woods area between the Red and Sabine rivers applauded Governor Shiver’s dictum that the state would integrate with “all deliberate slowness.”<sup>5</sup>

In light of social unrest stirred by integration across the South, it is no wonder many Texas school districts dragged their heels. In 1958, the Supreme Court ruled that fear of social uprisings was not a reason to slow steps to comply with the law.<sup>6</sup> More than 200 desegregation hearings occurred between 1955 and 1960, but Texans wanted to deal

with desegregation on their own timetable, embracing “auto-integration.” Texas Governor Allan Shivers encouraged the Lone Star state’s schools to resist national pressures.<sup>7</sup> Many interpreted this as “not in my lifetime.”<sup>8</sup> In an interview with the *Austin American*, Shiver’s explained: “It will take years to comply with the order for integration of schools . . . Sometimes those who seek reforms go so far that the evils of the reform movements are more onerous than the evils they’re trying to remedy . . . just saying we abolish segregation doesn’t cure it. It doesn’t accomplish anything. What is done about enforcing it is the real thing.”<sup>9</sup>

Texans were particularly creative at dodging integration in the early years, and just as successful in avoiding TV cameras. Historical accounts across the country focus on highly volatile situations when schools began to deal with the original ruling of *Brown* in 1954, and the Supreme Court’s re-visitation of *Brown* in 1955 where the court added the words, “with all deliberate speed.” In 1956, Tennessee’s governor, Frank Clement called out the National Guard when white mobs attempted to block the desegregation of Clinton High School. In this case, despite disturbances, twelve African-American students entered the all-white high school.<sup>10</sup> Clinton became one of the first high schools of the south to permanently desegregate. One of the most notorious integration situations occurred in 1957 when 1,000 paratroopers stood at the ready while nine black students enrolled at Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas.<sup>11</sup> With national journalists on hand to describe record degrees of harassment, federal troops milling around, and daily news coverage of Presidential decisions streaming from the White House, Arkansas became both a national showcase, and a test case for why desegregation would proceed.<sup>12</sup>



The Little Rock Nine Integration Of Central High School  
Photo: theatlantic.com

Texas was different. Its Attorney General, John Ben Shepherd, was one of the most determined, youthful, and patient of the anti-integration southerners. Born and raised in Gregg County in northeast Texas, Shepherd along with future president Gerald Ford had been voted one of the “Outstanding Young Men of America” in 1949. By 1955, he was working around the clock with southerners from other states to find legal roadblocks to the process of desegregation. Texans also relied on generally warm relations with President Dwight Eisenhower, another Texas native. Finally, when the test came in 1956, it came during an election campaign where both Eisenhower and Texas wanted to soft-pedal the issue. The preeminent case of auto-integration in Texas was Mansfield High School. This suburban school, south of the Dallas-to-Fort-Worth corridor, was one of the first ordered by the court to desegregate in 1956. A mob, 300-400 strong, ringed the school in an effort to stop integration. Governor Shivers called in the Texas Rangers to uphold segregation, and African-American students were bused to Fort Worth.

Mansfield ISD, in an election year, upheld segregation, and unlike Little Rock, would enter the tumultuous 1960s with a still all-white high school.<sup>13</sup>

During the stormy years of the 1960s with its race riots, hippies, and Vietnam War, the patience of the Supreme Court, and of northern opinion for Southern evasions on *Brown* wore thin. Now five factors were identified as indicators of a school's compliance with the Brown mandate: facilities, staff, faculty, extra-curricular, and transportation.<sup>14</sup> In 1969, the Supreme Court said, "with all deliberate speed" was not fast enough; immediate integration was called for. In a note to a fellow justice, Justice Warren wrote: "When this opinion is handed down, the traffic light will have changed from Brown to Green. Amen!"<sup>15</sup>

In Northeast Texas, until the mid-1960s, years after Mansfield, little had been done. However, as ISDs continued to build larger stadiums, and encourage civic spirit, community leaders began to consider their options. Many followed the games at this time of the Southwest Conference-- a league primarily made up of Division-I universities in Texas. This league brought national coverage to the state, and highlighted the prowess of its teams, especially, in football in 1963 and 1969 when the Texas Longhorns won national championships. In the 1950s, the Southwest Conference had what they called a "gentleman's agreement"— an unwritten rule that they would not recruit black athletes. Because of this intentional slight, some of the state's premiere athletes attended college in the northern United States in order to continue to compete athletically." Such departures aided rivals such as Ohio State and the "Fighting Irish" of Notre Dame who in 1971 would unveil an African-American quarterback, Cliff Brown. Strongly desirous of gridiron glory, Southern Methodist University in Dallas hired Hayden Fry as head football coach in 1961. His one condition to signing the contract was that he be allowed to recruit

black athletes. Though at first this codicil was a deal breaker, the president of the University reconsidered his school's priorities and agreed to participate in something similar to the "Noble Experiment" of Jackie Robinson's day. There were stipulations for selecting this first athlete: he had to be talented enough to be a starter, an academic standout, of good character, and prepared for possible problems arising from his addition to the team.<sup>16</sup> Jerry LeVias of Beaumont fit the criteria and signed to play for SMU in May of 1965. His high school coach encouraged him to be the pioneer. "There's no telling when we will get another chance to get a Negro in the Southwest Conference."<sup>17</sup>

Northeast Texas schools did not have to worry as much as the universities of the Southwest Conference about national competition. Still they were curious. The Lobos of Longview, Texas, were a regional football power as was Central High of Little Rock. From the same county as John Ben Shepherd, the Longview team was all white in the early 1960s. Unlike the smaller schools of northeast Texas, however, the Longview school district became an early target for federal court action. In 1962, the court ordered the local ISD to come up with a scheme for integration. Their solution was one of the more ingenious variations of auto-integration, "Freedom of Choice." The Longview officials seemed to sense that few African-Americans would travel to a neighborhood on the other end of the city just to improve the level of their education. "Freedom of Choice" technically gave students the right to go anywhere, but did little else in the realm of encouragement—except with sports as we shall see. What did occur after 1962, however, was an eye-opener for the African-American coach of the African-American Mary Womack High School, Clifford Stewart. Forty-years later he remembered with bitter resentment how white scouts from Longview's white High School came to his practices, and began to offer

better opportunities to his athletes. Stewart went from having the top team in the all-black league to not even being able to win a game in 1969. “Freedom of Choice” became a windfall for the white high school in the 1960s. Though later ordered in the 1970s to maintain a 70-30 ratio of whites to blacks in each of its schools, during the 1960s, the white high school remained almost all white except for the football team. There, James Lomax, a recruited athlete from Stewart’s school, starred as a halfback. When questioned, Lomax did not view his presence on the field as forsaking Stewart, for he was “representing the black neighborhood” to the city.<sup>18</sup> He felt loyalty to his neighborhood yet appreciated the opportunity to play for a larger audience.<sup>19</sup>

The result of integration on local terms had good and bad effects. The coach who profited from having African-Americans on his team, Tommy Hudspeth, became a leading voice of integration in Longview. In 1971, he told the press, “there is no black and there is no white, there are only green and white”—the colors of Longview High School. Meanwhile, the African-American coach, Stewart was demoted to assistant coach at Longview high, and his traditions and career set back. After Womack High’s doors were chained, vandals broke into his office, destroying his football memorabilia, trophies and videotapes. Similarly not all African Americans appreciated the change. Kathy Williams resented the closing down of their neighborhood high school, and rupture of friendships and school spirit that resulted with the demise of Mary Womack.<sup>20</sup>

All-African-American high schools in northeast Texas, like Mary Womack, tended to lose star athletes in the late 1960s.<sup>21</sup> The Prairie View Interscholastic League that represented these schools died in 1968. The University Interscholastic League (U.I.L.) that had administered high school competition in Texas since 1910, thereupon grew to

accommodate the African-American athletes. East Texas native and U.I.L. employee Bobby Hawthorne later compiled a publication to commemorate the first one hundred years of the organization. Through interviews with significant players in the educational world at the time of integration as well as researching the archives of the league, Hawthorne painted a clearer picture of the statewide integration project. He concluded that sports and other interscholastic activities “greased the skids” of what could have been a bumpy ride for African-American athletes.<sup>22</sup>

For the most part, it appears that the older generation worried more than their younger counterparts about the possible consequences of integration. In terms of upper-level classes and honors societies like the one at Longview High, integration created some tensions. When Kathy Williams realized that the students of the Honors Society entertained the group in homes, she quit, believing that whites would not want to come to her home in the black neighborhood.<sup>23</sup> But with U.I.L. sports, the atmosphere was more optimistic, and congenial. Prior to integration, White Oak principal Bailey Marshall made the effort to visit Weldon High School in Gladewater where White Oak black students had been bused to attend school. Bailey visited with the students and let them get to know him and voice their concerns. Then he visited with their families in home visits. Going a step further, Bailey visited a select few white families as well. “I basically told them this isn’t what these kids want to do, but they are going to have to come here, and we’re going to take them, and we’re going to make them feel welcome because when school starts, this is their school too.”<sup>24</sup> According to Marshall, who later worked exclusively for the U.I.L., “There’s no doubt in my mind that U.I.L. activities did more to make integration come about smoothly than anything else.”<sup>25</sup>

When Pittsburg schools adopted black athletes, Turner Odell Ladd, athletic director at the all-black Douglas High School, was offered an assistant coach's position at the white high school. His situation became much like Longview's Clifford Stewart. He assumed a step down in title and responsibility. Turner served in that role for two years before leaving the education profession to work at Lone Star Steel. In an interview, Turner explains that several years prior to integration, some of the Douglas athletes began attending Pittsburg High School voluntarily. He credits the coaches as key to the smooth transition. While most area high school students attended the former white schools, the Pittsburg High School building did not have the capacity to hold the students from both campuses. Coach Ladd recalls the first days when students of both races walked through the front doors of the former Frederick Douglas High School together. "There was some concern uptown about that, but the students didn't seem to mind."<sup>26</sup>

Pittsburg graduate Steve Spearman was in high school when the Pittsburg High School and Douglas High School united as one. "I remember being nervous about what to expect, especially since we were going to attend Douglas. I knew the guys, though, from around town. That first morning, we all walked through the front door of Douglas High School together." Though successful, the integration process was not without a few glitches. According to Spearman, several of the black players walked off the basketball team at one point the first season. After eight or nine games, they returned to finish the season.<sup>27</sup>

Gerald Singleton left Pittsburg to coach at Daingerfield in 1969-70, the first year of integration. Singleton believes that things went as well as could be expected when trying something new. He gives credit to the coaches as well as the athletes for helping the rest

of the school get along during the transition. “I was able to work with some wonderful fellow coaches and the principal Mr. Harold Edwards.”<sup>28</sup>



The 1970 Daingerfield High School Tigers  
Photo: Daingerfield-Lone Star High School Yearbook

One of Singleton’s players, Windell Doddy, transferred into Daingerfield High School as a senior when the black school in Cason closed under a desegregation order. In a recent interview, Doddy admitted to being frightened of the unknown prior to the start of the school year, but was willing to try. Doddy says, “Typically, students are open to change. It was the older people who were more against desegregation.”<sup>29</sup>

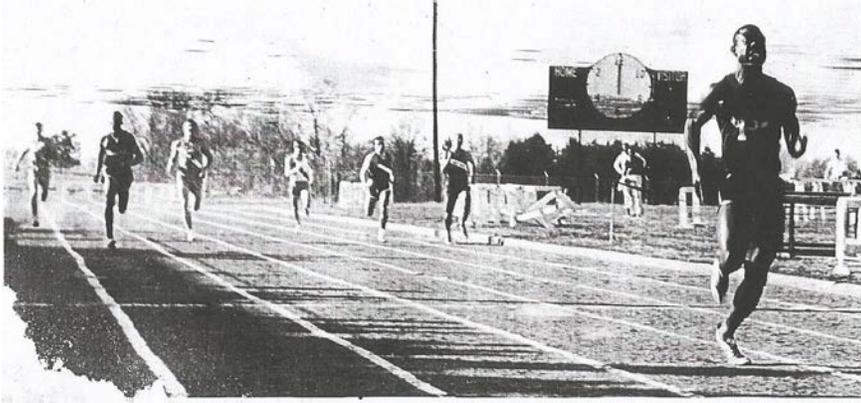
A sociology instructor today, Doddy compared young people of 2015 to teenagers at the time of desegregation. “Young people today don’t even know what desegregation is. They’ve gone to school together their whole lives—whites, blacks, Hispanics.” From a sociological perspective, Doddy reflected that sports fostered tolerance during the integration period due to “equal status contact”. It was through participation on sports teams that students--both white and black--realized that they were basically the same,

regardless of skin tone. The better players earned the starting roles, and won playing time based on skill alone.<sup>30</sup>

Mount Pleasant's Booker T. Washington High School had served the black students. As early as 1965, Washington lost athletes to Mount Pleasant, according to former coach, Willie Williams. Williams remembers the baby-step transition between 1965 and 1967 as black students moved over to Mount Pleasant High School. Unlike Stewart, and Ladd, Williams did not seem to resent the shift. When full integration occurred in 1968, Williams left Washington to serve as assistant to Charles Crumpler at Mount Pleasant High School. He served well, and became the head basketball coach in 1977.<sup>31</sup> According to Williams, the white coaches eased the transition by going over to Booker T. Washington to meet the athletes prior to integration. In the spring of 1968, B.T.W. coaches bussed all the athletes over for spring training. Williams labeled this as "the key" for the successful transition the following fall. Because the athletes already knew each other, the school year went smoothly; the school followed the example of the athletes. Mount Pleasant High School won the football district championship the first year. In a human interest note, the high school gymnasium in Mount Pleasant now bears the name, "Willie Williams Gymnasium."<sup>32</sup>

In Omaha, Texas, Paul Pewitt's first volunteer black student, Leroy Thomas, arrived the spring semester of 1965. Thomas competed not only in track for the Brahmas, but was also a member of the slide rule team for the U.I.L. academic meet. Yearbooks chronicle the progression over the next several years as first one, then three, and later, as many as ten black students voluntarily attended before the school was completely

integrated. The African-American Carver High School closed its doors as a high school and reopened as Pewitt Junior High School.



Leroy Thomas Competes In 200 Yard Dash  
Photo: 1967 Round-Up Paul H. Pewitt School Vol. 17

Pewitt graduate, Ron Shaw took the reigns as head coach at Karnack the first year of integration. The entire situation brought tensions, according to Shaw who was fortunate/unfortunate enough to have four starters return from Carver High School (black) and three starters return from Karnack High School (white). “Having seven returning starters for a sport that starts five would be tense regardless of the situation,” explained Shaw.<sup>33</sup> While the kids tried, some of the parents caused problems. This resonates with what other coaches remembered. “Things reached a boiling point, and we had a team meeting. With the black players on one side and the whites on the other, the first-year head coach stood in the middle. “I remember asking, ‘What are we going to do?’ One of the black players--McCoy said, ‘we’re gonna do what Coach Shaw says!’ That turned the season and the program around. We won 50 games the next two seasons and advanced to the playoffs at a time when only one team advanced. I give credit to the players who wanted to play ball enough to get past the black/white.”<sup>34</sup> The second year of integration,

Karnack hit a snag when players walked off the football field when there were no black cheerleaders. Before basketball season, black cheerleaders were procured, and the boys were ready to play. "Once again, I felt athletics smoothed the way. All of the kids were just typical kids. They wanted to play ball and because of that, they developed relationships (and friendships) with people they might not have interacted with



otherwise."<sup>35</sup>

1971 Newly Integrated Karnack Indians  
Photo Courtesy Of Ron Shaw, Private Collection

This story of athletics and auto-integration in northeast Texas is admittedly incomplete. Important court cases like one regarding a tiny Cason ISD, and civic disturbances like the bombing of Longview's bus barn in 1970 had significant ramifications. Still, the effort to act "Blind to Brown" and the general lack of public disturbances, especially outside Longview, marks the story as distinctive. These first-hand accounts add color and new material to other resources collected through projects

such as the one compiled by Humanities Texas. Like the pioneers who settled the west, athletic teams in Northeast Texas forged a path for integration. As separate identities merged into one, new responsibilities and roles were accepted. Over time, new traditions helped solidify these communities which chose auto-integration as the answer.

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<sup>1</sup> David Minutaglio, and Steven L. Davis, *Dallas 1963* (New York: Twelve, 2013), 7.

<sup>2</sup> There are other views on how integration occurred in the South. Davison Douglas has argued that some school districts adopted a policy of moderation to escape punitive desegregation. In other words, some whites appeared to adopt integration in the hope they would only have to endure “tokenism.” Davison M. Douglas, “The Rhetoric of Moderation: Desegregating the South during the Decade after ‘Brown’” *Northwestern Law Review* 89 (1994: 92. Others have emphasized post-World-War II anti-racism, economic factors, and the dynamic of the younger generation. Michael J. Klarman, *From Jim Crow to Civil Rights: The Supreme Court and the Struggle for Racial Equality* (New York: Oxford, 2006).

<sup>3</sup> Jackie Robinson *I Never Had It Made 1972* (New York: Putnam). On the importance of High School football in Texas see: H.G. Bissinger, *Friday Night Lights*, (Philadelphia: Da Capo, Repr. 2015), 3; Levy, Gray, *Big and Bright: Deep in the Heart of Texas High School Football*, (Maryland: Taylor Trade Publishing, 2015), 5.

<sup>4</sup> Earl Warren, *Civil Rights: Brown v Board of Education I*, <[www.nationalcenter.org/brown.html](http://www.nationalcenter.org/brown.html)> [Accessed November 1, 2015].

<sup>5</sup> James Smallwood et. al., *The Devil's Triangle: Ben Bickerstaff, Northeast Texans, and the War of Reconstruction* (Best of East Texas Publishers, 2007) 5-10; Earl Warren, *Brown v Board of Education II*. <<https://www.nationalcenter.org/cc0725.htm>> [Accessed November 1, 2015]; Interview with Edward Scarborough, Long-time resident of Mount Pleasant, Texas. 13 December 2015. Interview with Delbra Anthony, Humanities Secretary of NTCC, and former resident of Daingerfield, 21 September 2015.

<sup>6</sup> “Brown v Board: Timeline of School Integration in U.S.,” *Teaching Tolerance* 25 (Spring 2004).

<sup>7</sup> Anna V. Wilson, and William E. Segall, *Oh, Do I Remember! Experiences of Teachers During the Desegregation of Austin's Schools 1964-1971*. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001), 46; “Parallel and Crossover Lives: Texas Before and After Desegregation”. <<http://www.humanitiestexas.org>> [Accessed November 3, 2015].

<sup>8</sup> Bobby Hawthorne, *University Interscholastic League: An Illustrated History of 100 Years of Service*, (Austin: The University Interscholastic League, 2010), 95-111.; Henderson, Simon. *Sidelined: How American Sports Challenged the Black Freedom Struggle*, (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2013).

<sup>9</sup> Wilson, and Segall, *Oh, Do I Remember!*, 48.

<sup>10</sup> “Brown v Board: Timeline of School Integration in U.S.,” *Teaching Tolerance* 25 (Spring 2004).; Luberto, D. Keith. The Integration Movement: Texas High School Athletic and Academic Contests. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* (May 1994), 151-168.

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- <sup>11</sup> “Brown v Board: Timeline of School Integration in U.S.,” *Teaching Tolerance* 25 (Spring 2004).
- <sup>12</sup> “Mansfield School Desegregation Incident” *The Handbook of Texas Online*, <<http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/jcm02>> [Accessed November 1, 2015].
- <sup>13</sup> “Mansfield School Desegregation Incident” *The Handbook of Texas Online*, <<http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/jcm02>> [Accessed November 1, 2015].
- <sup>14</sup> “Green v. County School Board of New Kent County” *Legal Information Institute*, <<https://www.law.cornell.edusupremecourt/text/391/430>> [Accessed October 15, 2015].
- <sup>15</sup> “Brown v Board: Timeline of School Integration in U.S.,” *Teaching Tolerance* 25 (Spring 2004)
- <sup>16</sup> Jim Dent, *The Kids Got It Right: How the Texas All-Stars Kicked Down Racial Walls*, (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2013); Martin, Charles H. *Benching Jim Crow: the rise and fall of the color line in southern college sports, 1890-1980*, (Springfield: University of Illinois Press, August 11, 2010).
- <sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 127. Attitude expressed here echoed in Nathan, Tony, *Touchdown Tony: Running With Purpose*, (New York: Howard Books, 2015), 4.
- <sup>18</sup> Gordon, V. (2009, September 13). New Lobos' Hard Welcome. *Longview News Journal*. Longview, TX, U.S.A.: Longview News-Journal (September 2009); Glasrud, Bruce A., et. al. *Blacks in East Texas Hstory: Selections from the East Texas Historical Journal*, (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2008).
- <sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>21</sup> Hawthorne, *University Interscholastic League*, 98.
- <sup>22</sup> *Ibid.* On background and impact of the Prairie View Interscholastic League and its importance to black athletes in Texas from (1920-1970), see <<http://www.pvamu.edu/library/special-collectionsarchives/collections/prairie-view-interscholastic-league-collection>>; <<http://www.pvilca.org>>
- <sup>23</sup> Williams, Kathy.
- <sup>24</sup> Hawthorne, *University Interscholastic League*, 106.
- <sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>26</sup> Interview with Turner Ladd, former basketball coach at Douglas High School in Pittsburg, TX. Pittsburg, Texas, 7 October 2015.
- <sup>27</sup> Interview with Steve Spearman, Pittsburg High School graduate. At B & S True Value in Pittsburg, Texas, 30 October 2015.
- <sup>28</sup> Interview with Gary Singleton, former Basketball coach. Omaha, Texas, 8 October 2015.
- <sup>29</sup> Interview with Windell Doddy, Professor of Sociology, Northeast Texas Community College, 29 October, 2015.
- <sup>30</sup> Interview with Windell Doddy, Professor of Sociology, Northeast Texas Community College, 10 December, 2015.
- <sup>31</sup> Interview with Willie Williams, former basketball coach Mount Pleasant High School. Mt. Pleasant, Texas, 15 September 2015.
- <sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>33</sup> Interview with Ron Shaw, former employee and basketball coach of Karnack High School. At his home in Omaha, Texas, 15 September 2015; Carter, Johnny. *The First Season: The True Story of How a Rookie Coach Took a Newly Integrated Team to a Texas State Championship*, (San Bernadino: (n.p., 2011).
- <sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid. On the importance of relationships developed through sports, see Gerelds, Todd, et. All. *Woodlawn: One Hope. One Dream. One Way.* (New York: Howard Books, 2015); Dent, Jim. *The Kids Got it Right. How the Texas All-Stars Kicked Down Racial Walls,* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2013).