

## **Distribution Agreement**

In presenting this thesis as a partial fulfillment of the requirements for a degree from Emory University, I hereby grant to Emory University and its agents the non-exclusive license to archive, make accessible, and display my thesis in whole or in part in all forms of media, now or hereafter now, including display on the World Wide Web. I understand that I may select some access restrictions as part of the online submission of this thesis. I retain all ownership rights to the copyright of the thesis. I also retain the right to use in future works (such as articles or books) all or part of this thesis.

Samantha Perlman

April 10, 2017

When Admission Is Not Enough:  
Integrating Emory University, 1969-1989

by

Samantha Perlman

Brett Gadsden  
Adviser

Department of History

Brett Gadsden  
Adviser

Eric L. Goldstein  
Committee Member

Carol Anderson  
Committee Member

2017

When Admission Is Not Enough:  
Integrating Emory University, 1969-1989

By

Samantha Perlman

Brett Gadsden

Adviser

An abstract of  
a thesis submitted to the Faculty of Emory College of Arts and Sciences  
of Emory University in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements of the degree of  
Bachelor of Arts with Honors

Department of History

2017

## Abstract

### When Admission Is Not Enough: Integrating Emory University, 1969-1989

By Samantha Perlman

In this thesis, I examine the history of integration at Emory College from 1969 to 1989. The Emory Office of Admission enrolled sixteen black students (2.4 percent) in the first year class of 1969. In response to university neglect, black students at Emory formed the Black Student Alliance (BSA) and in March 1969, sent forth a series of demands to President Sanford S. Atwood. After articulating concerns about few black students, faculty, administrators and resources, black students engaged in several campus protests in May 1969. Black student activism at Emory aligned with the larger black student protest movement across American colleges and universities in the late 1960s. I chart how the Office of Admission and administrators attempted to address low black enrollment as well as the black student response for the twenty years following 1969.

In 1979, newly inaugurated President Laney created the President's Commission on the Status of Minorities (PCSM) to study why Emory had poor minority recruitment as well as to improve the quality of life for minorities. In 1981, the PCSM issued a groundbreaking report on Emory's recruitment efforts and the status of race; they identified the same issues that black students articulated in 1969. In the midst of recruitment efforts from 1981-1989, the administration denied tenure to black professor Dr. Sondra O'Neale. In response, the administration hired the McClain Group to study the status of race relations at Emory in 1989. The McClain Report found that Emory had a poor relationship with Atlanta and failed to implement the demands and recommendations from 1969 and 1981. For this twenty-year period, Emory administrators were moderately successful at increasing black student enrollment but failed to create a welcoming campus climate for minorities.

When Admission Is Not Enough:  
Integrating Emory University, 1969-1989

By

Samantha Perlman

Brett Gadsden

Adviser

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Emory College of Arts and Sciences  
of Emory University in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements of the degree of  
Bachelor of Arts with Honors

Department of History

2017

## Acknowledgements

I am very grateful for the wonderful people who made this thesis possible. To my advisor Professor Gadsden, I want to thank him for pushing me toward clarity and specificity in my writing. I want to thank him for his continued mentorship throughout the last two years. Without his help, I could not have completed this thesis. Additionally, I want to thank my committee members, Professors Eric Goldstein and Carol Anderson. I admire their dedication to making undergraduate research so exciting and relevant for students.

I am also thankful for the staff at the Emory University Stuart A. Rose Library for allowing students to access university archive material. Some librarians who were especially helpful to me were John Bence, Gabrielle Dudley, Erica Bruchko, and Courtney Chartier. To the Currey Family, I appreciate the support of my research via the Bradley Currey, Jr. Seminar Grant.

To the amazing community at the Fox Center for Humanistic Inquiry, I am thankful for the opportunity to be an Undergraduate Humanities Honors Fellow. Being a member of such an inquisitive, talented and engaging group of scholars is an experience that I certainly cherish. Thank you to the FCHI staff: Martine W. Brownley, Keith Anthony, Amy Erbil and Colette Barlow.

A special thank you to my second family at the Department of History who have helped me during my four years at Emory: Becky Herring, Katie Wilson, Kelly Yates, Allison Rollins and Professor Astrid Eckert. I also want to thank the faculty in the Department of History and Department of African American Studies for continuous support and thought-provoking courses that led me to pursue this research project.

Finally, my family and friends deserve a shout-out for listening to the history of integration at Emory during daily conversations. I value all of the encouragement I received as I embarked on this intellectual journey!

## Table of Contents

<b>Introduction</b> .....	1
<b>Chapter One: “Why Were We Invited Here?”: Emory Black Students Demand Integration</b> .....	9
May 1968-August 1969.....	9
September 1969-May 1971.....	23
June 1971-May 1977.....	28
<b>Chapter Two: “Are We Doing All that We Reasonably Can?”: President Laney and the     President’s Commission on the Status of Minorities</b> .....	35
June 1977-May 1981.....	35
June 1981-December 1985.....	52
January 1986-June 1989.....	61
<b>Conclusion</b> .....	69
<b>Bibliography</b> .....	75

## Introduction

Emory University administrators began the process of racial desegregation after the 1962 case *Emory University et. al. v. Nash, Tax Commissioner, et al.* in the Georgia Supreme Court, which stated that the state of Georgia could not remove Emory's tax-exemption status if the university admitted black students. The following year, the Emory administration published a "non-race" admissions policy that stated:

Applications are considered solely on the basis of the qualifications of each individual, and without regard to race, color, creed or national origin. Students are assured of participation in all programs and use of all facilities of the university on the same basis.<sup>1</sup>

From 1963-1969, the Board of Trustees and University Legal Counsel interpreted the non-race policy to indicate the following:

Emory adopted, as a result of a long study by a committee at the time of the bringing of the suit, to allow us to admit negroes (sic), without penalty, a policy which we referred to as a non-race policy...simply stated, was that there was no stated policy at Emory involving attitude toward race...the rights of the individual groups would be protected regardless of which position the group might take.<sup>2</sup>

Because of this policy, by May 1969, the Office of Admission estimated that only forty-two black students were enrolled at Emory College.<sup>3</sup> To respond to the administrative neglect of racial issues and recruitment of black students, a small number of black students at Emory University formed the Black Student Alliance (BSA). Through the BSA community, black students could gain emotional support, celebrate their black identities at Emory and create a

---

<sup>1</sup> Memorandum, E. Jerome Zeller to Sanford Atwood, May 23, 1968, Box 1, Folder 7, Student and Academic Services records, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Emory Wheel Staff, "Admission Methods Receive Contemplation," *Emory Wheel* (Atlanta, GA), March 6, 1969.

platform for advocating their concerns. The Committee of Student Organizations and Activities of the Student Government Association (SGA) voted in favor of the BSA on March 4, 1969.<sup>4</sup>

Despite Emory's low black student population, the BSA established a platform for mobilization and solidarity for black students. Formalizing its concern for black student unity, the BSA wrote a constitution with the following call to action:

The purpose of this organization is to promote and maintain black identity on the Emory campus by a) creating a self-conscious black community on the Emory campus, b) [p]romoting knowledge of a black culture and heritage c) acting as a forum of expression for black ideas and goals.<sup>5</sup>

After the establishment of the BSA, Club President J. Henry Ambrose sent a list of demands to Emory University President Sanford S. Atwood. Black students wanted the administration to enroll black students using a flexible admissions process, to create a Black House and Afro-American Studies Program as well as to hire black administrators and faculty. Atwood responded that the administration already operated under similar goals. However, the BSA members were dissatisfied with the administration's lack of honest commitment to black students; subsequently, they organized a series of protests in May 1969. Through protests, the BSA forced President Atwood and other senior leaders to reevaluate the state of race at Emory and to strategize how the university could improve communication with black students.

The Emory student protests occurred in the context of student movements across the country in the 1960s and 1970s. In response to these protests, administrators struggled to defy the status quo and integrate their universities. Particularly at private universities, black students

---

<sup>4</sup> Memorandum, E. Jerome Zeller to Sanford Atwood, March 14, 1969, Box 20, Folder 1, Sanford S. Atwood office files, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.

<sup>5</sup> Proposed Constitution of the Black Student Alliance, n.d, Box 6, Folder 64, Student and Academic Services records, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.

forced administrations to “rethink the mission of elite education.”<sup>6</sup> In May 1968, black students at Northwestern University also formed their own organizations: For Members Only (FMO) and the Afro-American Student Union (AASU). Similar to the BSA at Emory, black students mobilized together to create unified groups for communicating their demands; they also promoted black identity within spaces where peers and leadership denied their presence.

At Northwestern, black students demanded the administration enroll additional black students, designate a black house, hire black administrators, develop a Black Studies Program and provide adequate financial aid.<sup>7</sup> Similar to Emory black student protests, Northwestern blacks participated in a thirty-eight hour sit-in at a university office.<sup>8</sup> They organized campus protests to demand that university administrators prioritize black enrollment and improve race relations on campus.

In May 1968, the United Black Students at the University of Miami demanded the following: twenty-five percent black students in future admissions, greater minority scholarships, more black-oriented courses, increased numbers of black faculty and black resident counselors.<sup>9</sup> University of Miami President Henry Stanford subsequently created twenty-five black scholarships in the 1968-69 budget and recommended further black student scholarships to the Board of Trustees.<sup>10</sup> Similar to the black students at the University of Miami, in February 1969, black students at Duke University argued that the enrollment of black students should mirror the

---

<sup>6</sup> Martha, Biondi, *The Black Revolution on Campus* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), 2.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 84.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 89.

<sup>9</sup> Program Objectives of Priority Importance to be Submitted to and Acted Upon by the University of Miami Administration, May 1, 1968, Box 20, Folder 2, Sanford S. Atwood office files, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.

<sup>10</sup> Response from the University of Miami President to the Statement of May 1 Drawn up by Black Students, May 8, 1968, Box 20, Folder 2, Sanford S. Atwood office files, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.

racial makeup of the region. They also urged Duke to enroll black students such that they make up twenty percent of total enrollment.<sup>11</sup> Duke's President, Douglas Knight, even resigned shortly after the protest and successive conflict that erupted between local police and Duke students.<sup>12</sup> Following this trend, Tulane black students, via the Afro-American Congress of Tulane (ACT), demanded that the administration accomplish the following tasks in August 1968: improve treatment of black workers, enroll more black students, create an Afro-American Studies program and hire black faculty.<sup>13</sup>

Emory's peer, Vanderbilt University, also failed to enroll a significant number of black students. By fall 1969, Vanderbilt only had eighteen black undergraduate students.<sup>14</sup> Vanderbilt hired very few black faculty and Board of Presidents leader John Gaventa called for increased black recruitment. The faculty attempted to design an Afro-American Studies curriculum in 1969, but the lack of black students and unstable program leadership led to its demise in 1981.<sup>15</sup> The next year, Vanderbilt suffered from the publicity it received in 1982 when its Greek organizations racially discriminated against black students.<sup>16</sup>

In her monograph *The Black Revolution on Campus*, historian Martha Biondi pinpoints how black students adapted ideas of mobilization from the Black Power and Civil Rights Movement to dismantle university hierarchy and effectively implement integration. She argues that across the country, black students initiated significant administrative changes through

---

<sup>11</sup> Emory Wheel Staff, "Watson Airs his Views," *Emory Wheel* (Atlanta, GA), March 6, 1969.

<sup>12</sup> Jon Phelps, *I have selected Duke University...* *A Short History* (Duke University, 1973), 48.

<sup>13</sup> Clarence L. Mohr and Joseph E. Gordon, "Crisis of the Old Order: Desegregation and Roots of Campus Activism," in *Tulane: The Emergence of a Modern University, 1945-1980* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001), 356-357.

<sup>14</sup> Paul K. Conkin, "The Chancellor, the Kids, and Some Old Men," *Gone with the Ivy: A Biography of Vanderbilt University* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1985), 641.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 643.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 724.

*revolutionary* protests, thus reshaping higher education. The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense and Black Power Movement confirmed to black students both the necessity of black-led organizations and challenge of white power structures.<sup>17</sup>

Coinciding with Black Power ideas, Biondi affirms that black students fought “to change the terms of desegregation: it must not be color-blind, but pluralist.”<sup>18</sup> Emory black students fought against the university’s color-blind non-race policy because it ignored the difficulty of being black at a predominantly white institution. Through petitioning administrators and admissions officers, black students spearheaded integration, minority scholarships and the deliberate recruitment of black students.<sup>19</sup> Unlike President Atwood’s statement, Biondi asserts that black students “insisted that higher education was a right not a privilege” and thus administrators should devote financial resources toward making universities accessible for all students.<sup>20</sup>

This thesis explores how administrators at Emory, a predominantly white private institution in Atlanta, Georgia, responded to black student demands and began acknowledging the necessity of black enrollment. The story begins with the black student protests at Emory in May 1969, known as the “Four Days in May.”<sup>21</sup> Angry at the administrative lag in responding to black student demands, members of the newly formed BSA interrupted a campus worship service on May 25, 1969. They delivered both their demands and accusations of Emory administrators to the community. After successive protests, President Atwood contacted the

---

<sup>17</sup> Martha, Biondi, *The Black Revolution on Campus*, 4.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 277.

<sup>21</sup> Virgil Hartley, “Four Days in May,” *The Emory Magazine*, May-June 1969, Box 5, Folder 13, Emory University Faculty records, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.

DeKalb County Court for a restraining order against the protestors. This action sparked student and faculty outrage because Atwood contacted external authorities to stop student unrest.

President Atwood subsequently met with SGA President Charles Haynes to develop common university goals. The following day at a university-wide convocation, Atwood pledged to end racism on campus.

Black recruitment efforts stagnated at Emory in the ten years following the black student protests. In response, President Laney established the President's Commission on the Status of Minorities (PCSM) in 1979. As an independent body, the PCSM observed whether administrative offices prioritized minority recruitment. They served as a support system for minority student, faculty and staff concerns as well as conducted studies on perceptions of race at Emory. In 1981, the PCSM issued a comprehensive report documenting the status of race at Emory; they made a series of recommendations to the university on how to improve minority conditions and increase black enrollment.

This story ends with the ensuing uproar from when the administration denied tenure to black professor Dr. Sondra O'Neale. The publicity surrounding her tenure denial caused faculty and students to accuse Emory of being hostile to blacks. To discover the extent of these claims, Emory hired the McClain Group in 1989 to study race-relations and minority recruitment. Several of the McClain Group conclusions reflected administrative negligence in implementing both the black student demands of 1969 and recommendations of the PCSM 1981 Report.

To conceptualize the Office of Admission's intentions for black recruitment, I use the term 'integration' rather than 'desegregation'. I use 'desegregation' to denote the formal end to legal barriers that prevented black student enrollment. I define 'integration' as the

administration's conscious effort, to actively identify, recruit, admit and then enroll promising black students.<sup>22</sup> In the period I study, the Emory College Office of Admission and administrators interchangeably used the terms 'minority' and 'black.' This was not an attempt to ignore other non-white demographics. Rather, the Office of Admission and later the PCSM recognized that as a private university in Atlanta, they must enroll a higher proportion of Atlanta's population, which was largely African American. Further, Emory black students and the Office of Admission used the phrase 'flexible admission.' This phrase refers to when the Office of Admission used recommendation letters, grades and extracurricular involvement rather than just test scores to evaluate a student's academic promise. Thus, the Office of Admission identified that race might prevent black students from accessing certain resources for success as their white peers.

Currently, there is no other scholarship documenting the history of integration or affirmative action in undergraduate admissions at Emory College. One of the most useful sources on the desegregation of private universities is Melissa Kean's 2008 book: *Desegregating Private Higher Education in the South: Duke, Emory, Rice, Tulane, and Vanderbilt*. She discovers that many private southern universities desegregated because of "realistic arguments" that framed desegregation as a way to maintain federal and private funding.<sup>23</sup> Emory Board of Trustees Chair Henry L. Bowden defended Emory's decision to desegregate as voluntary but in actuality, the university faced external pressure to prosecute the 1962 case. In the end, Bowden was unable to

---

<sup>22</sup> I have created these definitions after my own synthesis of the Emory University archival material.

<sup>23</sup> Melissa Kean, *Desegregating Private Higher Education in the South: Duke, Emory, Rice, Tulane, and Vanderbilt* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2008), 236.

maintain segregation at the university because the government and outside donors would retract their funding.<sup>24</sup>

The early Atwood administration was unsuccessful in efforts to attract black students, despite minimal institutional attempts. The main reasons for this difficulty were that the administration did not have funding to support additional black students, lacked a central home for addressing minority issues and employed a narrow admissions process that failed to evaluate students holistically. Efforts proved more effective with the shift in leadership to President Laney and the development of the President's Commission on the Status of Minorities in 1979. The Laney administration took initiative in investigating why minorities viewed Emory as hostile. Despite these efforts, both administrations were unsuccessful in addressing racial tension because they did not prioritize their responsibility to enroll and support black students. After meager attempts for twenty years, black students and faculty members were frustrated with the administration's lack of commitment to blacks, evident in the findings from the 1989 McClain Report.

This thesis argues that Emory University administrators, in response to activism by members of the Black Student Alliance, engaged in a concerted effort to increase the number of black students in Emory College between 1969 and 1989. To this end, the administration funded minority scholarships, created a flexible admissions policy and instituted specific recruitment tactics to target black applicants. For the academic year 1968-1969, Emory College enrolled sixteen black students out of a class of 658 (2.4 percent), while the current student body in 1969

---

<sup>24</sup> Melissa Kean, "National Ambition, Regional Turmoil: The Desegregation of Emory," In *Where Courageous Inquiry Leads: The Emerging Life of Emory University*, edited by Gary Hauk and Sally Wolff King. (Atlanta: Emory University, 2010), 55.

had around forty-two black students out of a population of 2000 (2.1 percent). From 1969-1979, the Office of Admission was unable to increase the number of black students in Emory College, with the incoming class for 1979 only consisting of twenty-one black students (2.5 percent). Through constant pressure from the PCSM, the Office of Admission increased the number of black students from 1979-1989. For the class of fall 1989, Emory College enrolled sixty-six black students out of a class of 1040 (6.35 percent).

## **Chapter One: “Why Were We Invited Here?” Emory Black Students Demand Integration**

### May 1968-August 1969

In 1968, the Emory Office of Admission did not enroll enough black students because they admitted students based on Student Aptitude Test (SAT) scores and provided minimal scholarship funding. The Office of Admission accepted thirty-six out of seventy-two blacks, with only sixteen black students (2.4 percent) enrolling in the incoming 1969 class of 658 students.<sup>25</sup>

Based upon low black student enrollment, the United Campus Ministry (UCM) advised the university on how to solve the student demographic problem. The UCM published “‘Selective Admission’ - Models and Proposals,” which outlined black enrollment plans for both the Office of Admission and Faculty Committee on Admissions and Financial Aid. They proposed that Emory prioritize the admission of “deprived” students, such as participants in the Upward Bound Program.<sup>26</sup> The UCM recommended the Office of Admission refrain from identifying black students as “high-risk” and admission process as “selective.” These terms, they

---

<sup>25</sup> Student Services Minutes, May 24, 1968, Box 1, Folder 5, Student and Academic Services records, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.

<sup>26</sup> Emory Wheel Staff, “Admission Methods Receive Contemplation,” *Emory Wheel* (Atlanta, GA), March 6, 1969.

argued, created a “misnomer” when a totally different set of criteria is used for admitting educationally disadvantaged students.”<sup>27</sup>

Upward Bound was a summer enrichment program that connected junior and senior high school students to university academics without grades or credit. The program helped low-income students, often also black, gain individualized academic support and exposure to life on a college campus. Emory served as a host institution since 1966 and the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity granted Emory \$67,219 in spring 1969 to fund the fifty students who participated each summer at \$1200 per student.<sup>28</sup> Rev. Ed Ducree led the Emory Upward Bound division with seven staff members and facilitated the weekly Saturday sessions during the school year. The Upward Bound staff intended to improve performance and promote excitement in learning within underserved student populations.<sup>29</sup>

Director of Admission Charles N. Watson supported the idea of a high-school remedial program like Upward Bound to strengthen black applicants, but he opposed “taking students whose past experience shows have no chance of passing.”<sup>30</sup> Watson agreed with the UCM that SAT scores could not measure a black student’s academic success. He advocated for the Office of Admission to identify whether black applicants possessed characteristics for academic success: “attitude, motivation, maturity, work habits and extra-curricular activities.”<sup>31</sup>

---

<sup>27</sup> Wheel Staff, “Admission Methods Receive Contemplation,” March 6, 1969.

<sup>28</sup> Calder Sinclair, “EU Upward Bound Takes \$67,219 OEO Appropriation,” *Emory Wheel* (Atlanta, GA), April 24, 1969.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Wheel Staff, “Admission Methods Receive Contemplation,” March 6, 1969.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

For fall 1969, eighty-one black students applied to Emory, yet fewer than eighteen actually enrolled. Of those admitted, Watson believed eleven students were academic risks.<sup>32</sup> His assessment of black students as “risks” further promoted administrative rhetoric that black students would not succeed academically at Emory. Watson believed that qualified black applicants attended predominantly white high schools and that the majority of those black applicants attended integrated schools.<sup>33</sup>

Emory President Sanford S. Atwood also responded to the UCM recommendations. Although President Atwood believed that minimal scholarship funding prevented black enrollment, he and Professor W.D. Burbanck identified public universities as better sites for recruiting black students in 1969.<sup>34</sup> In his March 6 *Emory Wheel* interview, Atwood verified that the university had no quotas but stated “Emory is not the kind of institution that needs to change its admission standards.”<sup>35</sup> Arguing that public universities must educate large quantities of people, Atwood explained that private institutions maintained high quality services, resources and students. President Atwood did not feel obligated to increase black student enrollment because Emory was a private institution. Like Watson, Burbanck advocated for remedial support to admitted black students but was “not sure that private institutions —particularly during an inflationary period —have the wherewithal to meet these problems.”<sup>36</sup> For Burbanck, the university budget could not afford an increase in scholarship funding. Thus, the Emory faculty

---

<sup>32</sup> Wheel Staff, “Admission Methods Receive Contemplation,” March 6, 1969.

<sup>33</sup> Emory Wheel Staff, “Watson Airs his Views,” *Emory Wheel* (Atlanta, GA), March 6, 1969.

<sup>34</sup> W.D. Burbanck was a Biology Professor and Chairman of the Faculty Committee on Admissions and Financial Aid.

<sup>35</sup> Wheel Staff, “Watson Airs his Views,” March 6, 1969.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

and President only supported black recruitment through rhetoric but had no intention to substantiate their words with monetary support.

In the midst of numerous black student protests, Student and Academic Services staff predicted that national black student discontent towards university leadership might lead to activism at Emory. In 1968, E. Jerome Zeller, Dean of Students, warned President Atwood that the university should track black student mobilization at San Francisco State College and Columbia University.<sup>37</sup> Although protests in other regions could affect Emory, Dean Zeller believed that Emory was not at a high risk since it had few black students.<sup>38</sup> Still, he feared that the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. would unite Emory's black students toward organizing a protest.<sup>39</sup>

Dean Zeller also encouraged the university to dissolve its non-race policy and follow the national Methodist Church, which openly identified racial disparities in education.<sup>40</sup> Zeller interpreted a non-race policy as detrimental for university relations with minority students because it would “undoubtedly invite a reaction of disturbing consequences.”<sup>41</sup> Ignoring racial differences and discrimination, Zeller feared, could incite minority students to charge that the administration did not improve black enrollment or minority resources.

Zeller's predictions about black student mobilization came to fruition when black students formed the Black Student Alliance (BSA). The BSA was a response to the gap between black students' identity formation and Emory's lack of commitment to attract more black

---

<sup>37</sup> Memorandum, E. Jerome Zeller to Sanford Atwood, May 23, 1968, Student and Academic Services records.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

students. Since the population of black students at Emory was so low, black students had to vocalize their own needs; creating a student organization was the best method for collective communication with the administration. In a March 6 *Emory Wheel* interview, BSA President J. Henry Ambrose affirmed the merits of the BSA charges saying the administration admitted black students as ‘tokens’ and that legally desegregating the university was only one-step towards full integration.<sup>42</sup>

As one of the first BSA actions, Ambrose conveyed black student demands in a letter to President Atwood on March 12, 1969.<sup>43</sup> In this letter, BSA members urged Emory to enroll more black students by using flexible admissions. The BSA members also volunteered to tutor the incoming black students. Further, the BSA pushed for black students to accompany admissions recruiters and for the administration to fund a black student orientation.<sup>44</sup>

The BSA members also demanded a Black House that would foster camaraderie among black students and provide safety from the predominantly white student body. They demanded a full time black administrator to serve as an advisor and advocate for black students as well as a black psychiatrist.<sup>45</sup> Finally, students insisted on an Afro-American Studies Program with an established relationship to Atlanta University Center, joint professorships between the schools and an Afro-American Reading Room.<sup>46</sup> Ambrose requested that President Atwood respond to

---

<sup>42</sup> Emory Wheel Staff, “Gavin, Ambrose say ‘Whites Need Black Studies Program’,” *Emory Wheel* (Atlanta, GA), March 6, 1969.

<sup>43</sup> Annotated Letter, J. Henry Ambrose to Sanford Atwood, March 12, 1969, Box 20, Folder 1, Sanford S. Atwood office files, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>45</sup> Annotated BSA proposals to Atwood, March 25, 1969, Box 20, Folder 1, Sanford S. Atwood office files, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

their demands by the beginning of spring term,<sup>47</sup> refrain from media interactions and schedule a face-to-face meeting with the BSA members.

The BSA members' most radical demand asked the university to publish their intention for admitting black students. The BSA probed the Office of Admission, asking, "'why were we invited here?' Did Emory have a 'black objective' or was it an attempt to assimilate a small minority into a white-oriented culture, thereby detaching them from a black-oriented culture?"<sup>48</sup> Emory black students charged that the administration ignored their existence by refusing to admit additional black students or offer them financial and social support. Black students felt that the university had an ulterior motive for admitting them; in turn, they demanded an explanation.

President Atwood responded to the BSA demands in a March 25 letter. Atwood explained that the university already enacted many of the BSA requests but that the black students should collaborate with the administration.<sup>49</sup> He countered that the Office of Admission already implemented black recruitment tactics by working with Georgia counselors to identify college-bound black students, subscribing to the National Scholarship Service to contact applicants and establishing fee waivers for tests in Atlanta area schools.<sup>50</sup> Atwood also listed that the Office of Admission accepted ten black applicants with predicted grade-point averages of 2.5, despite the fact that Admissions ordinarily would not admit these students. Atwood stated: "Emory will accept as many black students as apply and are qualified" and that Admissions already adhered to the proposed flexible admissions process. Atwood's private comments

---

<sup>47</sup> At this time, Emory College operated on the quarter system.

<sup>48</sup> Annotated BSA proposals to Atwood, March 25, 1969, Sanford S. Atwood office files.

<sup>49</sup> Cover Letter, Sanford Atwood to J. Henry Ambrose, March 25, 1969, Box 8, Folder 11, Judson C. Ward office files, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.

<sup>50</sup> Letter, Winston Carroll to Sheryl Jones, July 18, 1969, Box 8, Folder 11, Judson C. Ward office files, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.

questioned how many black students the BSA desired and noted that the university would not sponsor a BSA tutoring program.<sup>51</sup> However, Atwood did agree to look for a black administrator and psychiatrist within equal employment regulations.<sup>52</sup>

In a private comment written on the demands, Atwood disputed black student enrollment, writing, “Attendance is a privilege, not a right. No student is ‘brought’; he applies and may be admitted.”<sup>53</sup> In his public reply, Atwood referenced the 1962 Georgia Supreme Court decision *Emory University et. al. v. Nash, Tax Commissioner, et al.* that desegregated Emory. Atwood explained that Emory did not restrict black student enrollment prior to 1962 but that Emory would have lost tax exemption status before the decision. Emory did not limit student access based on race and thus, Atwood welcomed the BSA’s input on admitting more students.<sup>54</sup> Following the written correspondence, the SGA formally approved the BSA Constitution on March 31, 1969.<sup>55</sup> President Atwood and Dean Stephens met with the BSA on April 3 per the request for in-person communication.<sup>56</sup>

At a separate April 3, 1969 meeting, the Emory College Committee on Admissions and Scholarships Subcommittee on High-Risk Students proposed stronger funding for minority or low-income students as well as attention to participants from the Emory Upward Bound Program.<sup>57</sup> The Committee on Admissions and Scholarship recommended that the Office of

---

<sup>51</sup> Annotated BSA proposals to Atwood, March 25, 1969, Sanford S. Atwood office files.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Handwritten Comments on Annotated BSA Proposals to Atwood, March 25, 1969, Box 20, Folder 1, Sanford S. Atwood office files, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.

<sup>54</sup> Annotated BSA Proposals to Atwood, March 25, 1969, Sanford S. Atwood office files.

<sup>55</sup> Fred Gent, “Legislature Approves BSA, Donates \$300 to King Fund,” *Emory Wheel* (Atlanta, GA), April 17, 1969.

<sup>56</sup> I was unable to find information about the content or success of this meeting.

<sup>57</sup> General Recommendations of Subcommittee on High Risk Students, April 3, 1969, Box 5, Folder 9, Emory University Faculty records, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.

Admission adopt a flexible admissions policy that extended beyond test scores and offered reduced course loads, tutorial programming and special counseling.<sup>58</sup> Later that month, BSA members elected a triumvirate at its April 30, 1969 meeting: moderator and first year student James Brown, ex-Peace Corps member and sophomore Rena Price as well as religion graduate student Otis Turner.<sup>59</sup> The structure of the BSA previously consisted of one leader, but members decided that such a structure overburdened one student. Brown explained the necessity of the BSA as follows:

It is necessary for black people to work for and organize themselves before they start working with whites and forming any coalitions. We must first be able to define ourselves outside of the influence of whites so that our defined goals and aspirations will be truly black and not just carbon copies of white goals.<sup>60</sup>

After discussion with BSA members and awareness of broader black student activism, Emory administrators were concerned that a potential protest might occur on the Emory campus. On May 2, 1969, Vice President of Emory Orie Myers asked University General Counsel and Chairman of the Board of Trustees Henry L. Bowden to establish a university response plan in preparation for a protest. Bowden consulted Judge H. O. Hubert of the DeKalb Superior Court about the use of an injunction against black students. Bowden hoped to prevent protests “from interfering with the orderly operations of the University.”<sup>61</sup>

In accordance with the BSA meeting with Atwood, SGA President Charles Haynes established guidelines for how the university could implement black student demands, most

---

<sup>58</sup> Recommendations to the Legislative Council of Emory College, April 10, 1969, Box 5, Folder 9, Emory University Faculty records, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.

<sup>59</sup> Emory Wheel Staff, “BSA Elects Triumvirate,” *Emory Wheel* (Atlanta, GA), May 8, 1969.

<sup>60</sup> James Brown quoted in Gayle Bowden, “Brown, Price, Turner Trio Lead New BSA Organization,” *Emory Wheel* (Atlanta, GA), May 22, 1969.

<sup>61</sup> Confidential Letter, Henry L. Bowden to Orie Myers, May 2, 1969, Box 20, Folder 4, Sanford S. Atwood office files, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.

notably to: increase black student enrollment, add black student members to standing committees and grant budgetary priority for black student groups.<sup>62</sup> Haynes arranged for the Commission to Investigate Institutionalized Racism to discuss issues of few blacks on campus, employee practices, admissions and curriculum.<sup>63</sup> Haynes also appointed Rena Price to the Executive Council for Emory's branch of Atlanta League of Colleges so that black students could hold a significant leadership role.<sup>64</sup>

Frustrated by false promises, the BSA evaluated that written demands would not provide the momentum necessary for immediate administrative action. Unaware of the administration's communication with DeKalb Superior Court, black student leaders organized a formal student protest. On May 25, 1969, thirty black students interrupted a Sunday religious service in Durham Chapel to both proclaim their demands and incite an administrative response. They asserted that Emory was racist and that white liberals at Emory contributed to this racism.<sup>65</sup>

After interrupting the service, the black protestors marched to Cox Dining Hall in order to underscore Emory's racism generally and, more specifically, Emory's failure both to admit black students and to treat black dining hall workers with respect. Black students strategically selected Cox Hall as the protest location because it was both centrally located and a site of university discrimination toward black workers.<sup>66</sup> Assistant Dean of Students for Men Charles Beall and Myers did not contact county police because the protestors did not block student

---

<sup>62</sup> Lee Simowitz, "Compromise Ends Strife at Emory," *The Atlanta Journal Constitution*, May 29, 1969, accessed from ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Atlanta Constitution, 1.

<sup>63</sup> Marsha Haines, "Haynes Acts on Racism," *Emory Wheel* (Atlanta, GA), May 22, 1969.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>65</sup> Summary of Events May 25-28, 1969 of Emory University Campus Concerning Student Demonstrations and Subsequent Actions, June 6, 1969, Sanford S. Atwood office files, Box 21, Folder 1, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.

<sup>66</sup> Lee Simowitz, "Emory Protestors Block Food Line," *The Atlanta Journal Constitution*, May 27, 1969, accessed from ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Atlanta Constitution, 6.

dining hall access.<sup>67</sup> White students also joined with the black students around 1 p.m., and at 2 p.m., the protesters respectfully left the front of Cox Hall.

On the afternoon of May 26, activists returned to Cox Hall to protest administrative inaction; in turn, they marched to the administration building.<sup>68</sup> Then, they listened to BSA member James Brown speak about campus racism. Following the second protest, Atwood and Bowden contacted the Superior Court of DeKalb County and requested that the court issue a restraining order against the student activists.<sup>69</sup> At an evening rally, the BSA explained its demands and correspondence with President Atwood to its supporters.<sup>70</sup>

Some of the BSA's frustrations were evident in a May 26 written notice about the administration's inability to invest fully in black student success. The following accusations were included on the university poster:

Emory's curriculum MUST be revised to include the Black experience . . . . Emory supports an Upward Bound Program which is geared toward propering disadvantaged youths for college. BUT, Emory refuses to accept its own! Emory MUST recruit Black students and consider them for admission as they apply. Emory MUST NOT hold Black students' applications until after Emory has accounted its first 600 white students! Emory MUST hire Black administrators . . . . Emory must commit itself to ending its racist practices. Emory MUST erase bigotry, racism, discrimination and SLAVERY!!<sup>71</sup>

On Tuesday May 27, Dean Beall publicly notified thirty-five students of the restraining order around an assembled crowd of demonstrators and other students. BSA member James Brown asked for those who were in solidarity with the protestors to stand next to them and

---

<sup>67</sup> Summary of Events May 25-28, 1969 of Emory University Campus Concerning Student Demonstrations and Subsequent Actions, June 6, 1969, Sanford S. Atwood office files.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Handwritten Notice, May 26, 1969, Box 20, Folder 2, Sanford S. Atwood office files, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.

seventy-five students moved forward to be in line with the demonstrators.<sup>72</sup> As each named student signed a receipt of the restraining order, the crowd of students applauded. Then, protestors and other students sang civil rights songs that replaced the names of southern racists with Emory administrators.<sup>73</sup> Through these protests and rallies, the BSA unified the wider Emory community against inequality on campus.<sup>74</sup>

Many student organizations supported the BSA demands and protests. On Tuesday, May 27, the SGA and College Council both expressed support for the BSA by passing resolutions censuring the presidential restraining order. The Inter-fraternity Council also passed a resolution on May 27 supporting the BSA's right to speak and the need for university-student dialogues.<sup>75</sup> Moreover, several administrators and faculty members complained that Atwood's restraining order was a breach of trust. Zeller feared that President Atwood had established a controversial precedent that "the University is no longer a responsible agency for reconciliation" such that the only way to communicate with students was via an outside authority.<sup>76</sup>

Later that evening, Haynes and Atwood held an impromptu SGA meeting to devise an alternative to the restraining order. After considerable deliberation that night, Atwood agreed to openly acknowledge and work to end racism at Emory. They also both agreed to the following statement:

---

<sup>72</sup> Lee Simowitz, "Emory Students Bar Food Serving," *The Atlanta Journal Constitution*, May 28, 1969, accessed from ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Atlanta Constitution.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

<sup>74</sup> BSA Meeting 'ATTENTION' Notice, Box 20, Folder 2, Sanford S. Atwood office files, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.

<sup>75</sup> Summary of Events May 25-28, 1969 of Emory University Campus Concerning Student Demonstrations and Subsequent Actions, June 6, 1969, Sanford S. Atwood office files.

<sup>76</sup> Memorandum, E. Jerome Zeller to Sanford Atwood, May 27, 1969, Box 20, Folder 4, Sanford S. Atwood office files, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.

We believe in peace with justice. We believe that demonstrations should be non-violent. We believe that the students at Emory University will act in this tradition. THEREFORE, immediate steps are being taken to rescind the court order.<sup>77</sup>

On Wednesday May 28, Emory students, faculty and administrators participated in a convocation at Glenn Memorial Church to discuss university race relations.<sup>78</sup> During this forum, President Atwood announced both his decision to lift the restraining order and the administration's commitment to eradicating racism at Emory. BSA freshman James Brown and graduate student James Gavin then read updated BSA requests to the administration.<sup>79</sup> Haynes and Atwood agreed "that Emory would intensify efforts to recruit more, admit more, and matriculate additional black students and that Emory would intensify efforts to make black students want to enroll."<sup>80</sup> After the convocation, the College Faculty passed resolutions in support of the convocation statements. President Atwood then informed the BSA that he had assigned specific faculty and administrators to work on achieving their goals.<sup>81</sup> Although progress seemed possible, Ed DuCree cautioned that the BSA "would be the 'watchdog' to ensure that the administration fulfilled its promises" since Atwood had not tangibly demonstrated his commitment to black student inclusion.<sup>82</sup>

Although most students favored institutional change, many Emory alumni and faculty did not agree with Atwood's validation of BSA demands. Trustee Embree H. Blackard did not think Emory had a low black student population but that Emory actually prioritized black students; he

---

<sup>77</sup> Summary of Events May 25-28, 1969 of Emory University Campus Concerning Student Demonstrations and Subsequent Actions, June 6, 1969, Sanford S. Atwood office files.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

<sup>80</sup> Emory College Faculty Meeting, February 9, 1970, Box 8, Folder 11, Judson C. Ward office files, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.

<sup>81</sup> Summary of Events, May 25-28, 1969 of Emory University Campus Concerning Student Demonstrations and Subsequent Actions, June 6, 1969, Sanford S. Atwood office files.

<sup>82</sup> Simowitz, "Compromise Ends Strife at Emory," May 29, 1969.

argued that to his knowledge “‘racism’ does not officially exist at Emory.”<sup>83</sup> Emory alumni David E. Turner charged that Atwood’s response to BSA protests would cause further disturbances and that the question of race-relations at Emory was not a plausible concern.<sup>84</sup> Alumna Dorothy Orr suggested that the university investigate black students as these students seek control of and not admittance to predominantly white universities.<sup>85</sup> Denouncing the black student allegations, Chemistry Chairman Leon Mandell asserted that black student demands have “‘little to do with our drive towards achieving excellence in education.”<sup>86</sup> Likewise, faculty members R. L. Day and J.H. Goldstein contended that a dual admission process was racist and unproductive because it separated groups of people from one another, which was detrimental to the Emory community.<sup>87</sup>

During summer 1969, Rena Price submitted an updated list of BSA demands to President Atwood. Members added that the administration must provide black student scholarships and that Admissions should refer to black students as “‘high-challenge” rather than “‘high-risk.”<sup>88</sup> Despite a common goal, many members of the BSA did not attend early committee meetings. Rev. Ducree assumed that BSA members boycotted summer planning meetings because some university leaders were not sympathetic to BSA demands.<sup>89</sup> Despite this argument, the

---

<sup>83</sup> Letter, Embree H. Blackard to Sanford Atwood, June 17, 1969, Box 20, Folder 1, Sanford S. Atwood office files, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.

<sup>84</sup> Letter, Dr. David E. Tanner to Sanford Atwood, May 28, 1969, Box 20, Folder 1, Sanford S. Atwood office files, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.

<sup>85</sup> Handwritten Letter, Dorothy Orr to Sanford Atwood, August 14, 1969, Box 20, Folder 1, Sanford S. Atwood office files, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.

<sup>86</sup> Letter, Leon Mandell to Sanford Atwood, July 23, 1969, Box 8, Folder 11, Judson C. Ward office files, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.

<sup>87</sup> Letter, R.L. Day and J.H. Goldstein to Chappell White, November 18, 1969, Box 8, Folder 11, Judson C. Ward office files, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.

<sup>88</sup> Updated List of BSA Requests, July 14, 1969, Box 8, Folder 11, Judson C. Ward office files, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.

<sup>89</sup> Memorandum of Record on Sub-Committee on Black Studies, July 17, 1969, Box 5, Folder 13, Emory University Faculty Records, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.

Committee did not know whether Ducree's opinion was correct as students were also on summer recess.

As of spring 1969, the Emory faculty had voted only for the idea of an Afro-American Studies Program. On July 2, as part of the implementation of BSA demands, the Afro-American Studies Curriculum Committee developed a concrete outline for the program. These goals included inviting black leaders to speak, granting an Afro-American Studies degree, contacting the Atlanta black community and encouraging white students to take classes in the program.

On July 24, 1969, President Atwood led a progress meeting about the status of all BSA requests. Director of Admission Winston Carroll concluded that Emory could not sponsor additional black students because Emory no longer had Rockefeller funding.<sup>90</sup> The Rockefeller Foundation provided southern institutions with money to increase black student enrollments. At Emory, the Rockefeller funding gave full tuition for four years to an average of ten students per year who they regarded as "culturally disadvantaged."<sup>91</sup> Southern universities had requested a shift in language from "black" to "culturally disadvantaged" so they could also consider white applicants. Emory received the grant in 1963 and renewed it again in 1966. Since the program was only for three years, Emory ran out of funding after the 1969-1970 academic year.<sup>92</sup> Unfortunately, Emory did not have an alternative for the loss of the Rockefeller funding.<sup>93</sup> To encourage minority aid, the Emory College Committee on Admissions and Scholarship hoped to

---

<sup>90</sup> Progress Report Meeting on Requests from Black Students, July 24, 1969, Box 5, Folder 13, Emory University Faculty Records, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.

<sup>91</sup> Report of the College Faculty Ad Hoc Committee, August 18, 1969, Box 5, Folder 13, Emory University Faculty Records, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

<sup>93</sup> Response to Questions Concerning Academic Policy and Aims Regarding Minority Affairs, n.d., Box 8, Folder 11, Judson C. Ward office files, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.

hire a joint minority admissions recruiter with Tulane, Duke and Vanderbilt —other southern schools with an underrepresentation of black students.<sup>94</sup>

BSA members attended the August 11 progress meeting with Admissions, Student Affairs, Personnel, Housing, Library and SGA President. At the meeting, Dean Don Jones discussed potential interviews with two black professionals who could serve as black administrators; black students rejected one of these candidates. BSA members were concerned with the Office of Admission's reliance on a possible donor to fund black scholarships. Further, Carroll informed BSA leaders that the Office of Admission could not guarantee admissions preference for Upward Bound participants, even though Emory was a host site. Admissions and Scholarship Committee member Ronald C. Johnson disapproved of giving priority admission to Upward Bound participants when other black applicants possessed more competitive academic records. Price objected, saying, "perhaps Emory really does not believe in the program."<sup>95</sup> Her frustration signified another instance in which the Emory administration had partial commitment to black students; they hosted black Upward Bound students but did not want to enroll them.

#### September 1969-May 1971

With BSA approval, Dean Jones hired Marvin Arrington as the first black administrator on Sept. 21, 1969.<sup>96 97</sup> Born in Atlanta, Arrington completed his undergraduate degree at Clark College and graduated from Emory Law School in 1967, making him familiar with the Emory

---

<sup>94</sup> Minutes of the Emory College Committee on Admissions and Scholarship, September 11, 1969, Box 5, Folder 9, Emory University Faculty Records, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.

<sup>95</sup> Meeting, August 11, 1969, Box 5, Folder 13, Emory University Faculty Records, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.

<sup>96</sup> Marvin Arrington's official title was 'black administrator' as he served needs of black students.

<sup>97</sup> Meeting Minutes of Fulfilling Requests from Black Students, August 11, 1969, Box 8, Folder 29, Student and Academic Service records, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.

community.<sup>98</sup> Arrington strongly supported the Upward Bound Program because it rectified racial injustice. Like Price, he believed Emory needed to “make a firmer commitment...or do away with the program altogether.”<sup>99</sup> Emory’s admission structure inherently benefited whites. Therefore, Emory needed to recruit black students who excelled despite minimal academic resources or support.<sup>100</sup>

On November 6, 1969, Admissions and Scholarship Committee members passed a motion for Emory College to finance minority student scholarships.<sup>101</sup> Without alternative funding, Emory College could not adequately recruit and enroll black students.<sup>102</sup> From the faculty support, Atwood recommended that the Board of Trustees set aside scholarships for the 1970-71 budget, despite lost Rockefeller funding.<sup>103</sup> Based on Arrington’s recommendation, the Committee on Admissions and Scholarship passed a Reduced Academic Load Program or Special Program for the Admission of Black Students on November 25, 1969. The Office of Admission would admit an additional twenty black students that they would reject based on present admissions criteria. These students would enroll in reading and math summer courses prior to their first year; consequently, they would register for a reduced course load their first

---

<sup>98</sup> Summary Minutes of the BSA Summer Caucus Meeting, August 28, 1969, Box 8, Folder 29, Student and Academic Services records, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.

<sup>99</sup> Bobby Burns, “Upward Bound Provides Aid for Underprivileged Students,” *The Emory New Times* (Atlanta, GA), November 20, 1970.

<sup>100</sup> Bobby Burns, “Emory Considers Possibility of Own Upward Bound Plan,” *The Emory New Times* (Atlanta, GA), December 4, 1970.

<sup>101</sup> Admissions and Scholarships Committee Meeting, November 6, 1969, Box 5, Folder 9, Emory University Faculty records, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.

<sup>102</sup> Resolution, n.d., Box 8, Folder 11, Judson C. Ward office files, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.

<sup>103</sup> Letter, Sanford Atwood to Emory Faculty, November 18, 1969, Box 8, Folder 11, Judson C. Ward office files, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.

year.<sup>104</sup> Arrington would serve as the advisor and when students enrolled in the fall, they would receive additional academic support from graduate tutors.<sup>105</sup>

In 1969, Emory black students received an average of \$2,500 per year in financial assistance.<sup>106</sup> The Committee on Admissions and Scholarship feared the Board of Trustees would not fund the Reduced Academic Load Program because the additional admittance of twenty black students would cost the university \$50,000 a year.<sup>107</sup> Due to great financial obligations, Professor Bevan K. Youse wrote a memorandum to the Emory College Faculty.<sup>108</sup> Although committed in theory to the admittance of additional black students, Youse believed Emory “cannot do it in the immediate future without a great deal of money that does not seem to be available” and “it is probably an impossible commitment to keep.”<sup>109</sup> Youse’s assessment supported how the Atwood administration did not honestly intend to increase black students.

Marvin Arrington wrote a letter to Emory Faculty on February 4, 1970, urging them to vote in favor of the Reduced Academic Load Program. Under current admission standards, he argued, black students could not compete with white students because of the “racism, hatred, white supremacy, ignorance, lack of concern, blindness, stupidity, non-responsive educational training, and do-nothing attitudes. These factors have hampered blacks historically and still prevail on most southern campuses.”<sup>110</sup> After Arrington read the BSA endorsement at the faculty

---

<sup>104</sup> Proposal for Special Program for the Recruitment and Admission of Additional Black Students to Emory College, November 25, 1969, Box 5, Folder 9, Emory University Faculty records, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid.

<sup>106</sup> Memorandum, Bevan K. Youse to Emory College Faculty, December 5, 1969, Box 8, Folder 11, Judson C. Ward office files, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid.

<sup>108</sup> Bevan K. Youse was a member of the Special Program for the Recruitment and Admission of Additional Black Students Subcommittee.

<sup>109</sup> Memorandum, Bevan K. Youse to Emory College Faculty, December 5, 1969, Judson C. Ward office files.

<sup>110</sup> Letter, Marvin Arrington to Emory Faculty, February 4, 1970, Box 8, Folder 11, Judson C. Ward office files, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.

meeting, the Emory College Faculty adopted the Special Program for Black Student Admittance 77-16.<sup>111</sup>

Shortly after the proposal passed, President Atwood wrote to Dean John C. Stephens, Jr. about the unlikelihood that the Board of Trustees would fund the program in the 1970-71 budget. Instead, he believed the faculty should propose it for the following year.<sup>112</sup> Associate Chemistry Professor Ronald C. Johnson wrote to the entire faculty about his reservations concerning the proposal to admit educationally disadvantaged students.<sup>113</sup> Johnson asserted that the Office of Admission inherently favored Upward Bound participants, despite the fact that black applicants with higher scores did not receive acceptance.<sup>114</sup> Moreover, Johnson emphasized his desire for the Office of Admission to admit the most qualified black candidates and not give preferential treatment, for this could prevent deserving students from receiving financial assistance.<sup>115</sup>

Despite Johnson's concerns, the Office of Admission piloted the Reduced Academic Load Program in fall 1970 with eleven students, six of whom came from the Upward Bound Program. Nine of these students continued with the curriculum for fall 1971. The Office of Admission suspended the program in spring 1972 for internal review.<sup>116</sup> Although well intentioned, the program was ineffective because participants felt that peers and faculty labeled them as other and thus did not treat them as full students.<sup>117</sup>

---

<sup>111</sup> Emory College Faculty Meeting, February 9, 1970, Box 8, Folder 11, Judson C. Ward office files, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.

<sup>112</sup> Letter, Sanford Atwood to John C. Stephens, February 26, 1970, Box 8, Folder 11, Judson C. Ward office files, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.

<sup>113</sup> Ronald C. Johnson was a member of the Admissions and Scholarship Committee.

<sup>114</sup> Letter, Ronald C. Johnson to College Faculty, n.d., Response to Questions Concerning Academic Policy and Aims Regarding Minority Affairs, n.d., Box 9, Folder 1, Judson C. Ward office files, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid.

<sup>116</sup> Letter, Winston R. Carroll to Alex A. Chambers, January 24, 1973, Box 3, Folder 8, Student and Academic Service records, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid.

Despite the unsuccessful reduced load program, Marvin Arrington implemented several of the 1969 black student objectives. In 1970, Arrington visited high schools outside Atlanta and improved black student acceptances from twelve in 1969 to twenty-nine by November 1970.<sup>118</sup> He also constructed a black recruitment brochure in collaboration with current Emory black students.<sup>119</sup> Other universities such as the University of Virginia distributed a pamphlet about black student life to prospective applicants and Emory needed to stay competitive.<sup>120</sup> Arrington also pushed Admissions to send students their admissions offer and financial aid package at the same time so students could make informed decisions about whether to attend Emory.<sup>121</sup> In 1971, Arrington departed from Emory Student and Academic Services to pursue a career in private legal practice. Arrington was an administrator who prioritized black students' identity formation and upon his departure, students appealed to the university to hire another black administrator.<sup>122</sup>

When Arrington was still at Emory, the BSA dedicated the first Black Week in 1970 to Martin Luther King, Jr. and fundraised for the Martin Luther King (MLK) Jr. Scholarship.<sup>123</sup> Students, faculty and administrators had annually fundraised for the MLK Jr. Scholarship Fund in collaboration with the Student Scholarship Aid Office since 1968. The members hoped to fund twenty scholarships annually with a black low-income student as the ideal recipient.<sup>124</sup> On May 14, 1970, members of the BSA hosted a benefit banquet in Cox Hall for the MLK Jr. Scholarship

---

<sup>118</sup> Emory New Times Staff, "Arrington Claims Success for Black Recruitments," *The Emory New Times* (Atlanta, GA), November 13, 1970.

<sup>119</sup> Student Services staff meeting, May 24, 1971, Box 1, Folder 5, Student Academic Service records, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.

<sup>120</sup> Student Services staff meeting, December 8, 1969, Box 1, Folder 5, Student Academic Service records, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.

<sup>121</sup> Student Services staff meeting, March 8, 1971, Box 1, Folder 5, Student Academic Service records, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.

<sup>122</sup> Calder Sinclair, editor, "Dr. Arrington," *The Emory New Times* (Atlanta, GA), May 21, 1971.

<sup>123</sup> Black Rap Staff, "BSA Thanks Mrs. Allen," *Emory Wheel: The Black Rap* (Atlanta, GA), April 3, 1973.

<sup>124</sup> Martin Luther King Jr. Scholarship Fund Pamphlet, n.d., Box 5, Folder 15, Emory University Faculty records, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.

Fund featuring Andrew Young as keynote speaker.<sup>125</sup> By October 1970, the Fund reached \$18,000 and financed its first student.<sup>126</sup> Through the MLK Jr. Scholarship, black students spearheaded a funding campaign in the absence of administrative financial commitment to black students.

#### June 1971-May 1977

The administration continued its uneven commitment to admitting more black students into the mid-1970s. Because the Office of Admission failed to provide adequate aid packages, most black students chose other elite universities and thus recruitment efforts were generally a waste.<sup>127</sup> In fall 1973, the Office of Financial Aid improved need-based aid to increase black enrollment when the cost of attending Emory increased.<sup>128</sup> Emory initially cost students \$3,700 annually, but by 1975, tuition and fees cost students \$5,200.<sup>129</sup> In 1973, black recruiter Herman L. Reese and Vice President for Development Norman C. Smith resurrected the MLK Jr. Scholarship Fund. Reese contacted faculty wives for a clothing drive, where they sold garments collected from residence halls as a fundraiser.<sup>130</sup>

To promote black pride during Black Week in April 1973, the BSA published the *Black Rap* edition within the *Emory Wheel*. In these segments, black students vocalized concern for the low number of black students. In 1973, out of 2,530 Emory College students, only fifty were

---

<sup>125</sup> Letter, BSA to Faculty and Administrators, n.d., Box 4, Folder 5, Student Academic Service records, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.

<sup>126</sup> Randy Bugg editor, "MLK Scholarship," *The Emory New Times* (Atlanta, GA), October 30, 1970.

<sup>127</sup> Black Rap Staff, "Vicious Circle," *Emory Wheel: The Black Rap* (Atlanta, GA), April 3, 1973.

<sup>128</sup> Interpretations and Recommendations, n.d., Box 1, Folder 12, Student and Academic Services records, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library.

<sup>129</sup> Student and Academic Services Meeting, n.d., Box 1, Folder 12, Student and Academic Services records, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library.

<sup>130</sup> Letter, Thomas L. Fernandez to Dean Lamison, May 25, 1973, Box 4, Folder 5, Student and Academic Services records, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library.

black (1.98 percent).<sup>131</sup> *Black Rap* writers labeled the collective feeling of dismay toward the low number of black students on campus as “Emory-Needs-More-Black-Students-itis.”<sup>132</sup> Emory’s low black student population hurt the recruitment of additional black students. Without a larger black student population, they argued, Emory could not market itself with programming for and from the black community.<sup>133</sup> Further, current black students also experienced the psychological effects of minimal black peers on campus. In his poem *Escaping Reality*, Damoco Brown reflected on his experience at predominantly white Emory compared to colleges with high black enrollment:

Man, this is beautiful!  
 Now I know what life in heaven is like  
 Me, an Emory student surrounded by a sea of black faces.  
 Not a white face in sight!

Blacks rapping and enjoying each other  
 I didn’t know an Emory student could experience this sensation  
 But, all he has to do is go across town to the AU Center.<sup>134</sup>

On the topic of black student concerns, *Emory Wheel* staff writer Kenneth Rollins interviewed BSA President Charles Kelly for 1973 Black Week. By 1973, the administration had established a Black Studies Program with black leadership, improved employee wages and developed the Afro-American Reading Room. According to Kelly, the SGA defunded the BSA and thus hindered BSA involvement in recruitment, even though it was the only group hosting events for black students.<sup>135</sup> As a solution for low black enrollment, Kelly wanted the SGA to designate more money to the BSA “to show others that Emory is not the ‘white stronghold’ as it

---

<sup>131</sup> Rap Staff, “Vicious Circle,” April 3, 1973.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid.

<sup>134</sup> Damoco Brown, “Escaping Reality,” *Emory Wheel: The Black Rap* (Atlanta, GA), April 3, 1973.

<sup>135</sup> Kenneth Rollins, “BSA President Interviewed,” *Emory Wheel: The Black Rap* (Atlanta, GA), April 3, 1973.

appeared to be” since outsiders viewed Emory as hostile to blacks.<sup>136</sup> Emory black students believed the Office of Admission must constantly promote Emory to black students and provide appropriate scholarship funding.<sup>137</sup>

Black students regarded the Black House on Clifton Road as one of the few locations to escape whiteness at Emory. In fall 1973, *Emory New Times* editor Dewitt Rogers argued that the administration should eliminate the Black House. He asserted that the “Black House represents the university’s attempt to assuage its social conscience, but the university itself can not [sic] possibly hope to create a black cultural environment.”<sup>138</sup> Reacting to Rogers’ comment, the BSA declared that his remarks prompted administrative suspicion of the BSA and thus caused a decrease in black student funding. Black students did not need to justify their rights because “to do so would mean that we are also justifying our blackness. We would hope that the university is beyond that point.”<sup>139</sup> Concerned with how the administration neglected the Black House, Sheila French reflected, “this dungeon represents another token concession that Emory has given their black ‘children’ as a pacifier.”<sup>140</sup>

For the 1975-1976 school year, only ten new black students enrolled at Emory.<sup>141</sup> Yet, in March 1976, Emory black students established the Mu Alpha Chapter of Alpha Phi Alpha (AΦA) black fraternity to promote a black presence at Emory. *Black Voice* writer Leon B. Smith, Jr. believed there was a pool of black men applying to college but that Emory did not admit or

---

<sup>136</sup> Rollins, “BSA President Interviewed,” April 3, 1973.

<sup>137</sup> Rap Staff, “Vicious Circle,” April 3, 1973.

<sup>138</sup> Dewitt Rogers, “BSA and the ‘Black House,’” *The Emory New Times* (Atlanta, GA), October 5, 1973.

<sup>139</sup> Black Students’ Alliance, “Letters to the Editor: Black Student Group Calls Editorial Unfair,” *The Emory New Times* (Atlanta, GA), October 12, 1973.

<sup>140</sup> Sheila French, “Black House Incites Complaints,” *The Black Voice* (Atlanta, GA), April 20, 1976.

<sup>141</sup> Ivy Locke, “Black Freshman Speak Out on Emory College,” *The Black Voice* (Atlanta, GA), April 20, 1976.

recruit them.<sup>142</sup> AΦA would help Admissions recruit black students, because the organization's existence implied a black community at Emory. Further, AΦA members contacted black high school students and assisted with recruitment.<sup>143</sup> However, Smith worried if Emory's black student enrollment would increase enough to sustain the organization.<sup>144</sup>

By May 1976, eighty students in Emory College were black, only three percent of Emory College's population.<sup>145</sup> In 1976, the Office of Admission admitted 79.3 percent of all applicants but only thirty-three percent of black applicants; that year, they enrolled sixteen black freshman in contrast to 695 non-black students.<sup>146</sup> From 1972-1976, Emory College increased total black enrollment by only sixty students.<sup>147</sup> In an April 13, 1976 article, black student Ray Warner wrote that the administration was not committed to black students and desegregated to secure private funding rather than a desire to integrate. For Warner, Emory, as a southern institution, had "an obligation to produce leaders for the South, not just white leaders, but leaders with both races."<sup>148</sup> He urged the administration to prioritize black scholarships and for the Office of Admission to pledge itself to black recruitment.<sup>149</sup>

In April 1976, black student Sheila French published an article in *The Black Voice* about how administrators treated black student as tokens. She communicated that white students

---

<sup>142</sup> Leon B. Smith, Jr., "Alpha Phi Alpha: New Fraternity Joins Campus Community," *The Black Voice* (Atlanta, GA), April 20, 1976.

<sup>143</sup> Gary Schoen, "New Fraternity Plans Activities," *Emory Wheel* (Atlanta, GA), October 17, 1978.

<sup>144</sup> Smith, Jr., "Alpha Phi Alpha: New Fraternity Joins Campus Community," April 20, 1976.

<sup>145</sup> Tracy Thompson, "High Tuition, Poor Community Image Keeps Emory's Black Enrollment Down," *Emory Wheel* (Atlanta, GA), May 25, 1976.

<sup>146</sup> Table 3, Minutes of the Admissions and Scholarships Committee, February 27, 1980, Box 5, Folder 12, Emory University Faculty records, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library.

<sup>147</sup> Stephanie Cutler, "University Enrolls 97% Whites in '76," *Emory Wheel: Black Perspectives* (Atlanta, GA), February 7, 1978.

<sup>148</sup> Ray Warner, "Black Week Offers Moment for Reflection on Goals," *Emory Wheel* (Atlanta, GA), April 13, 1976.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*

discouraged black student programs, prompting the administration and the SGA to defund the BSA. Although open to all students, the BSA attributed its lack of support in the broader Emory community to white ideas about separatism; white students either attended their events out of sympathy or believed they had invaded a black space.<sup>150</sup> By not supporting the BSA, the administration neglected black student developed and prevented racial integration on campus.

Other black students reaffirmed French and Warner's frustrations about the university's lack of commitment to black students. Ivy Locke interviewed black freshmen in April 1976 to gauge how incoming black students felt about Emory's racial atmosphere. She found that Emory poorly marketed itself to the black community, evident in that six of the ten enrolled first year black students originally resided in Atlanta and several others heard about Emory from alumni family members. One black freshman rated Emory at a six on a scale of one to ten, saying, "at least you're living," and others cited the minimal social opportunities at Emory, that blacks "acquired a tolerance for boredom," and that "Emory is antebellum South."<sup>151</sup> Emory did not help black students transition from high school to college, causing many black students to feel discouraged and to leave the university before their junior year.<sup>152</sup> Without an institutional support network, the administration essentially ignored black student concerns and did not attempt to retain black students after enrollment.

In a May 1976 interview, Carroll countered black student frustration, stating that the Office of Admission prioritized black recruitment but that the numbers did not support their efforts. Emory struggled to attract black applicants, Carroll reported, because of its proximity to

---

<sup>150</sup> Adrienne S. Harris, "BSA Asks for Total Community Support," *The Black Voice* (Atlanta, GA), April 20, 1976.

<sup>151</sup> Locke, "Black Freshman Speak Out on Emory College," April 20, 1976.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid.

historically black colleges and poor relationship with Atlanta's black community.<sup>153</sup> Carroll communicated that black enrollment had stagnated with Admissions accepting thirty-six out of 120 black applicants (30 percent) for fall 1976.<sup>154</sup> Even though black students had attended Emory since 1962, the Office of Admission did not include images of black students in recruitment until 1976. The lack of black student images prevented future black student enrollment because applicants were unaware that Emory even had a black community.<sup>155</sup>

Despite Carroll's explanation, black students did not believe the university had any devotion to black recruitment. In 1977, the Office of Admission admitted 76 percent of all applicants but only 42 percent of black applicants. In 1977, Admissions enrolled twenty-two black students in contrast to 771 non-black students (2.85 percent).<sup>156</sup> Black Senior Walter Bonam published an article in the *Emory Wheel* on March 1, 1977 about how few black students at Emory prevented future black students from attending.<sup>157</sup> Further, the black student transfer rate was much higher for Emory black students than at other universities, which Bonam attributed to the lack of blacks on campus.<sup>158</sup> One black freshman, Sadie Coleman, even expressed her shock at the minimal amount of black students, noting other freshmen "come here with the idea that they're going to be the first" black student because of the low black student population.<sup>159</sup> Another student reported that the Emory admissions representative ignored her interest in Emory while the University of Georgia representative was extremely helpful.<sup>160</sup>

---

<sup>153</sup> Thompson, "High Tuition, Poor Community Image Keeps Emory's Black Enrollment Down," May 25, 1976.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid.

<sup>156</sup> Table 3, Minutes of the Admissions and Scholarships Committee, February 27, 1980, Emory University Faculty records.

<sup>157</sup> Walter Bonam, "A Black Emory Senior Has Bittersweet Memories," *Emory Wheel* (Atlanta, GA), March 1, 1977.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid.

<sup>159</sup> Thompson, "High Tuition, Poor Community Image Keeps Emory's Black Enrollment Down," May 25, 1976.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid.

Adding to black student frustration, many white students were not sympathetic to black students at Emory. In May 1977, Kappa Alpha (KA) fraternity performed a racist Dooley Day skit. BSA members demanded an apology and punishment for KA members, but the administration made no formal effort to remedy the conflict.<sup>161</sup> An angry parent, Lillian Miller, even wrote to the administration about the racist skit. Betrayed by the administration's lack of action, she wrote that black students "do not need the added stress of entrenched racism" and "deserve some sensitivity and a respite" from such behavior at a university.<sup>162</sup>

Under President Atwood, the Office of Admission did not increase the number of black students. KA's racist incident represented how the Atwood administration did not treat black student concerns seriously. Additionally, the Atwood administration did not interact well with students, evident in Atwood asking for an injunction rather than a meeting with students. Atwood only verbally committed himself to black recruitment but did not implement any institutional structures to hold the administration responsible for black student enrollment. Consistently, Atwood and others did not prioritize black admissions as a university-wide objective. Instead of finding alternative finances, the administration stalled black recruitment because of lost Rockefeller Funding and a conservative Board of Trustees. In place of administrative action, black students themselves took charge of their academic and social life at Emory. They fundraised for the MLK Jr. Scholarship Fund, criticized the administration through newspaper publications and created black student organizations like the BSA and AΦA to recruit and

---

<sup>161</sup> Black Student Alliance, "Letters to the Editor: Blacks Blast KA Skit," *Emory Wheel* (Atlanta, GA), May 24, 1977.

<sup>162</sup> Letter, Incensed Parent to James Laney, May 25, 1978, Box 1, Folder 28, Student and Academic Service records, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.

support black students. Even with student efforts, the percentage of black students in the incoming first year class barely rose above two percent from 1969-1979.

## **Chapter Two: “Are We Doing All that We Reasonably Can?”: President Laney and the President’s Commission on the Status of Minorities**

June 1977-May 1981

In 1977, the United Negro College Fund studied black student life at predominantly white institutions, including Emory, and it noted that there was “a sense of coldness that is reflected in the black student experience. The thrust of Emory’s message is geared toward intellectual competition, arousing academic curiosity and career preparation—goals clearly not realized among its black students.”<sup>163</sup> In response to Emory’s continued lag in recruitment, BSA President Adrienne Harris published an article in the February 7, 1978 issue of the *Emory Wheel: Black Perspectives*. She explained that the BSA “fills in the gaps of a system which denies our existence here” because virtually no university programming attended to what a black student would enjoy.<sup>164</sup> Harris was frustrated that no administrator explicitly addressed racism and that black students “are not recruited and certainly not given support from the administration, faculty, staff and-or student body once we get here.”<sup>165</sup> When students and faculty constantly asked her how it felt to be black at Emory, Harris replied:

---

<sup>163</sup> Quoted in Report of the President’s Commission on the Status of Minorities, May 1981, 14, Box 4, Folder 1, President’s Commission on Race and Ethnicity records, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library.

<sup>164</sup> Adrienne Harris, “Emory Blacks Must Live with Racism, Neglect BSA President Points out,” *Emory Wheel: Black Perspectives* (Atlanta, GA), February 7, 1978.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*

How does it feel to be white at Emory? How does it feel to be fully cognizant of the difficulties of minorities here and equally aware of the potentialities of your collective power while choosing to do nothing, nothing at all on your own to help solve these problems?<sup>166</sup>

Hamilton Holmes, the first black Emory Medical School student also shared Harris's view that Emory did not prioritize black recruitment. Holmes believed that Emory was "not too appealing" based upon its reputation as elite and overpriced, lack of sports, high emphasis on grades, and small black student population.<sup>167</sup>

In 1978, Emory inaugurated James T. Laney as the new university president. At the start of his tenure, he publicly stated Emory's obligation to admit more black students and remain competitive with peer institutions such as Duke and Vanderbilt.<sup>168</sup> Further, Laney recognized that Emory's proximity to Atlanta required "a sufficient number of blacks at Emory so they do not feel isolated."<sup>169</sup> Referring to Emory as a university near a large black population but few enrolled black students, Laney promised to improve black student recruitment.

In the 1978-1979 academic year, Emory administrators hired Leila Brown as Assistant Dean for Campus Life to oversee minority and international students.<sup>170</sup> Further, Herman Reese increased financial aid to encourage minority student enrollment.<sup>171</sup> The Office of Admission also added a special minority recruitment budget and hired Denise Walters as a black admissions specialist.<sup>172</sup> In April 1978, the University Senate Standing Committee on Plans and Priorities

---

<sup>166</sup> Harris, "Emory Blacks Must Live with Racism, Neglect BSA President Points out," February 7, 1978.

<sup>167</sup> Alison Leigh, "Holmes Serves as Role Model for Black Students," *Emory Wheel: Black Perspectives* (Atlanta, GA), February 7, 1978.

<sup>168</sup> Winston Kitchen, "Incoming President Chats with Wheel Editor," *Emory Wheel* (Atlanta, GA), April 5, 1977.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>170</sup> Student and Academic Services Annual Report to the President 1978-1979, Box 1, Folder 3, Student and Academic Services records, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*

established a Committee for the Study of Minority Recruitment and Enrollment to study how the Office of Admission could attract additional black students.<sup>173</sup> Enrolling more black students would “reflect the population of our society at large in a more representative manner” and enrich the educational experience of all students.<sup>174</sup>

Through Emory campus interviews, the Committee identified poor financial aid as the main reason for the low number of black students. The unrestricted prediction of required student scholarship funds for 1976-1977 was \$2,455,272.<sup>175</sup> Additionally, the central administration did not communicate low black enrollment as a chronic issue to all university divisions.<sup>176</sup> Because of the report, the University Senate Ad-Hoc Committee recommended President Laney prioritize minority recruitment, finance more minority scholarships, increase the number of black faculty and hire a black advisor. <sup>177</sup>

In line with the University Senate recommendations, Admissions Counselor Michael I. Cohen submitted black recruitment recommendations to the Office of Admission in May 1978. From 1973-1977, Emory College black enrollment barely increased. In 1973, black students made up 1.8 percent of the first year class; in 1977, black students only made up 2.4 percent of the first year class.<sup>178</sup> The following chart shows the number of black students enrolled in the incoming classes of Emory College from 1973-1976.

---

<sup>173</sup> Report, Ad-Hoc Committee on Educational Opportunities for Minority Students, presented April 18, 1978, Box 11, Folder 7, University Senate records, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid.

<sup>178</sup> Minority Recommendations to Office of Admissions, May 29, 1978, Box 3, Folder 11, Student and Academic Services records, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library.

**Black Freshman Enrollment: 1973-1977**

	<b>Black Students/Total Freshman</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>1973</b>	12/679	1.80%
<b>1974</b>	13/728	1.90%
<b>1975</b>	10/641	1.60%
<b>1976</b>	16/695	2.30%

\*Percentages given were those Cohen rounded in the Report.

The Office of Admission largely failed to attract talented blacks from Georgia; only one out of thirty-four of the National Achievement Scholarship Program for Outstanding Negro Students attended Emory in fall 1978.<sup>180</sup> Cohen attributed this issue to how blacks characterized Emory as white and elitist. He noted that the “inability to attract Blacks is a real problem...How can Emory expect to maintain and/or create a national reputation until it improves its city and state image. Too many Blacks feel that Emory is a ‘white elitist school’ with little concern for the community.”<sup>181</sup>

Cohen could not even describe the Emory black community to prospective students because of its small size and reputation as hostile for black students.<sup>182</sup> He recommended the Office of Admission add minority scholarships, remedial summer programs and black recruiters to increase black enrollment. Emory needed a change of attitude and a willingness “to openly acknowledge the problem and to actively work for a change,” Cohen believed, otherwise the university would never change its label as the “ivory tower.”<sup>183</sup>

---

<sup>179</sup> Minority Recommendations to Office of Admissions, May 29, 1978, Student and Academic Services records.

<sup>180</sup> Ibid.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid.

<sup>182</sup> Ibid.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid.

Following Cohen's recommendations, the Office of Admission mailed a questionnaire to "ethnic" students at Emory in preparation for a minority recruitment seminar. Although the survey was limited, the studied population consisted of 59.2 percent blacks, 18.4 percent Hispanics and 17 percent "orientals." They found that graduate students (31.2 percent) were less likely to recommend Emory when compared to undergraduate students (17.4 percent).<sup>184</sup> Of the black students interviewed, 45.9 percent explained that they attended Emory primarily based on its location.<sup>185</sup> Further, 17.2 percent of the interviewed black students reported having poor peer relationships.<sup>186</sup>

Also hoping to bolster black student numbers, Emory black students founded Nu Chapter of Alpha Kappa Alpha (AKA) sorority at Emory on April 14, 1979.<sup>187</sup> Given that black student demands remained unchanged since 1969, black senior James O'Neill identified the systemic issue of low black enrollment in a May 1979 *Emory Wheel* article.<sup>188</sup> O'Neill reported that some demands, such as a BSA House and black administrator, came to fruition, but "enrollment of Black students has not risen more than one percent since the years of Civil Rights protest."<sup>189</sup> Emory College's black student population in 1979 was 2.3 percent.<sup>190</sup> O'Neill asserted that the administration offered no services to retain black students.<sup>191</sup> The inauguration of President Laney made black students hopeful for changes but some blacks felt that Emory's federal funding "should be taken away and given to schools that are attempting to really do

---

<sup>184</sup> Ethnic Students at Emory, Report on Questionnaire, November 2, 1979, Box 3, Folder 13, Student and Academic Services records, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library.

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>187</sup> Kim Kaufman, "AKA celebrates 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary," *Emory Wheel* (Atlanta, GA), April 11, 1989.

<sup>188</sup> Joanne Hurd, "Emory Black Recruitment Still Lags," *Emory Wheel* (Atlanta, GA), May 22, 1979.

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*

something.”<sup>192</sup> On the surface, Emory administrators appeared committed to black enrollment, such as through accepting federal funding, but they did not translate such resources into tangible results.

Responding to the dissatisfaction of black students and lagging black enrollment, President Laney established the President’s Commission on the Status of Minorities (PCSM) in fall 1979. The PCSM would study minority student life at Emory and increase the number of minorities in the student body, faculty and high-level staff positions.<sup>193</sup> The Commission was an independent body to which minorities could report grievances and encourage progressivism at Emory.<sup>194</sup> President Laney appointed twenty members as well as five student members.<sup>195</sup>

According to its by-laws, the PCSM’s goals were:

To conduct studies as needed on the status of minorities at Emory . . . . to develop and support programs designed to further the interests of minorities . . . . To serve as a continuing forum for discussion of matters pertaining to minorities at Emory . . . . to recommend to the President steps the university should take to improve the status of minorities.<sup>196</sup>

One of the first objectives of the PCSM was to study the status of race and minority recruitment at Emory from 1979 to 1981 so it could make recommendations to the President.

On November 9, 1979, the Office of Admission hosted a Recruiting and Quality of Life for Minority Students at Emory Seminar. Programming workshops consisted of highlighting the difference between affirmative action and reverse discrimination, identifying minority groups on campus, discussing current recruitment techniques and listening to a student panel on Emory’s

---

<sup>192</sup> Hurd, “Emory Black Recruitment Still Lags,” May 22, 1979.

<sup>193</sup> Minority Recommendations to Office of Admission, May 29, 1978, Student and Academic Services records.

<sup>194</sup> Interface Interview with President Laney, February 25, 1987, Box 4, Folder 3, 1-2, President’s Commission on Race and Ethnicity records, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library. Ethridge.

<sup>195</sup> PCSM By-Laws, September 1979, Box 1, Folder 2, President’s Commission on Race and Ethnicity, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library.

<sup>196</sup> Commission Media Report from Burt Carroll, April 3, 1987, Box 4, Folder 3, President’s Commission on Race and Ethnicity records, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library.

recruitment. Current minority students and the Office of Admission collaborated with President Laney to stress institutional commitment to increasing minority enrollment.<sup>197</sup>

Vice President Thomas L. Fernandez informed Winston Carroll about the University of California (UC) Davis approach to black recruitment. UC Davis Admissions established an Educational Opportunity Program for Low Income and Minority Undergraduate Students (EOP) to “insure retention of such students... [and] foster cultural diversity in the campus community.”<sup>198</sup> Originally, the EOP began in 1966 to help low-income students but transitioned into a campus “Student Affirmative Action” program.<sup>199</sup> EOP prioritized the identification and acceptance of low income and minority students through early high school outreach programs in Sacramento and Redding. Additionally, EOP created a summer residential program for high school students, a three-day trip for minority students interested in science, and adequate financial aid packages.<sup>200</sup> UC Davis, unlike Emory, determined that black retention programs must coincide with black recruitment efforts in order to facilitate successful integration. Additionally, UC Davis valued its high school support programs while Emory did not even commit itself to enrolling Upward Bound students.

At the Faculty Standing Committee on Admissions and Scholarship meeting in January 1980, the Head of the African American Studies Program and Committee Chair Delores Aldridge recommended that Admissions reevaluate present admission criteria and use Woodruff

---

<sup>197</sup> Recruiting and Quality of Life for Minorities at Emory Seminar Schedule, October 10, 1979, Box 3, Folder 13, Student and Academic Services records, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library.

<sup>198</sup> UC Davis Educational Opportunity Program Report 1977-1978, Box 3, Folder 13, Student and Academic Services records, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library.

<sup>199</sup> Ibid.

<sup>200</sup> Ibid.

Foundation funding to increase black enrollment.<sup>201</sup> Black student enrollment stagnated from 1975-1978 but in 1979, changes in the Office of Admission recruitment strategies increased black applicant numbers.<sup>202</sup> Director of Admission Linda Davis believed the chronic problem of low black acceptances could result from present admission criteria.<sup>203</sup> The following chart indicates the discrepancies between how many black students applied and how many the Office of Admission accepted from 1975-1979. One of the main areas of concern was that the Office of Admission admitted black students at rates between 33-42 percent from 1975-1979 but admitted non-black students at rates of 63-79 percent.

#### **Admissions for the Recruitment for Total Applicants Compared to Black Applicants**

	<b>1975</b>	<b>1976</b>	<b>1977</b>	<b>1978</b>	<b>1979</b>
	<i>Total: <b>Black</b></i>	<i>Total: <b>Black</b></i>	<i>Total: <b>Black</b></i>	<i>Total: <b>Black</b></i>	<i>Total: <b>Black</b></i>
<b>Applications</b>	2409 : <b>120</b>	2331 : <b>121</b>	2762 : <b>107</b>	3186 : <b>116</b>	3687 : <b>171</b>
<b>Acceptances</b>	1810 : <b>40</b>	1849 : <b>40</b>	2103 : <b>45</b>	2351 : <b>39</b>	2337 : <b>58</b>
<b>Percent Admitted</b>	75% : <b>33%</b>	79.3% : <b>33%</b>	76% : <b>42%</b>	73.7% : <b>33.6%</b>	63.3% : <b>34%</b>
<b>Rejected</b>	304 : <b>51</b>	259 : <b>69</b>	298 : <b>41</b>	434 : <b>51</b>	593 : <b>79</b>
<b>Percent Rejected</b>	12.6% : <b>42%</b>	11% : <b>57%</b>	11% : <b>38%</b>	13.6% : <b>44%</b>	16% : <b>46%</b>
<b>Referred to Oxford</b>	217 : <b>16</b>	139 : <b>0</b>	247 : <b>13</b>	291 : <b>11</b>	336 : <b>16</b>
<b>Number to Enroll</b>	641 : <b>10</b>	695 : <b>16</b>	771 : <b>22</b>	931 : <b>14</b>	889 : <b>21</b>
<b>Yield: Accepted/Enrolled</b>	35.4% : <b>25%</b>	37.5% : <b>40%</b>	36.6% : <b>48.8%</b>	39.6% : <b>35.8%</b>	38% : <b>36.2%</b>

204

In terms of financial aid, Emory provided \$74,332 of its overall \$702,625 scholarship money to forty-eight minority students with an average minority student receiving \$3,900 in grants as well as work-study or loans.<sup>205</sup> Despite the Office of Admission's initiative to provide minority students with financial aid and scholarships, many students did not attend Emory

<sup>201</sup> Minutes of the Admissions and Scholarships Committee, February 27, 1980, Box 5, Folder 12, Emory University Faculty records, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library.

<sup>202</sup> Ibid.

<sup>203</sup> Ibid.

<sup>204</sup> Ibid., Table 3.

<sup>205</sup> Minutes of the Admissions and Scholarships Committee, February 27, 1980, Emory University Faculty records.

because the assistance was not competitive with other colleges.<sup>206</sup> The Committee recommended enticing strong minority applicants with sufficient funds, as most aid remained based on need rather than merit.<sup>207</sup> The university must fund and support black student groups like the BSA and offer relevant events for this demographic; otherwise, black students would not enroll at Emory.<sup>208</sup> Unlike the Atwood administration, the Laney administration began recording statistics about minority recruitment that would increase the number of black students.

In 1981, the PCSM published its first report on minorities at Emory to advise the President. This was the most comprehensive administrative assessment on minorities to date and demonstrated a conscious effort to increase minority enrollment on campus. The PCSM formally identified 1969 as the initial start of an affirmative action program at the university, even writing, “many of the concerns articulated in this program have still not been addressed.”<sup>209</sup> In contrast to university statements from the Atwood administration, the PCSM specifically determined discrepancies between the university’s verbal commitment to black recruitment and failure to create an institutional framework for sustainable action.

The PCSM Report addressed the following areas in relation to minorities: faculty, administrators, students and general staff, observations of Emory and future recommendations. By 1981, black faculty made up two percent of the 949 faculty members, and only six individuals were in a high administrative role.<sup>210</sup> The administration had no uniform record keeping of minority students in different academic programs and the overall percentage of black

---

<sup>206</sup> Minutes of the Admissions and Scholarships Committee, February 27, 1980, Emory University Faculty records.

<sup>207</sup> Ibid.

<sup>208</sup> Ibid.

<sup>209</sup> Report of the President’s Commission on the Status of Minorities, May 1981, Box 4, Folder 1, President’s Commission on Race and Ethnicity records, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library.

<sup>210</sup> Ibid., iii.

students decreased from 1976-1979, even though the total university population increased.<sup>211</sup> Echoing the lack of programming for current black students, the university did not show a black film in 1979-1980 and black students reported poor relationships with other students and faculty.<sup>212</sup> To solve several of these issues, the PCSM recommended establishing a minority admissions data center, developing a brochure, promoting flexible admissions and substantial financial aid as well as supporting the African and Afro-American Studies Program (AAAS).<sup>213</sup> Further, the entire university needed a minority retention program “inclusive of academic support and articulation, peer helpers, retention workshops and preprofessional academic societies.”<sup>214</sup>

Out of a total university population of 7,203, 192 students were black. Thus, black students composed only 2.7 percent of the student body by 1981.<sup>215</sup> Because of Emory’s location in Atlanta, the PCSM focused on the low enrollment of black students over other minorities. Unfortunately, the PCSM Report’s scope was limited since many university departments did not record demographic data until 1979, which led to disorganization and difficulty tracking minority recruitment prior to this period. The following table represents the minimal success of any admission strategies to attract black students since Emory maintained only 2.7 percent black students by 1979.

---

<sup>211</sup> Report of the President’s Commission on the Status of Minorities, May 1981, v, President’s Commission on Race and Ethnicity records.

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid.*, vi.

<sup>213</sup> *Ibid.*, v-vi.

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid.*, v.

<sup>215</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

### Black Enrollment (Full-Time, Degree Seeking)

	1972	1976	1978	1979
<b>Total Enrollment</b>	6,329	6,486	6,884	7,203
<b>Blacks</b>	142 (2.5%)	208 (3.2%)	209 (3%)	192 (2.7%)

Compared to other university divisions, Emory College was the most active division with regard to minority admissions. Emory College minority admissions counselors spearheaded high school visits and BSA members called prospective students. Admissions also sent College Entrance Examination Board Student Search direct mailings to reach out to potential applicants.<sup>217</sup> As part of the report, the PCSM members collected data from competitor schools for fall 1979 in order to compare the Emory Office of Admission's recruitment measures with those of peer schools. The results were as follows:

### Fall 1979 Competitor Black Undergraduate Admissions

Fall 1979 (Undergrad.)	Duke	Rice	Tulane	Vanderbilt	Average	Emory
% of Applicants who are Black	6.0	4.9	5.4	2.9	4.8	4.7
% of Acceptances who are Black	11.6	4.6	3.2	2.2	5.4	2.5
% of Total Applicants Accepted	33.3	34.1	73.5	67.2	52.0	63.7
% of Black Applicants Accepted	64.5	32.0	43.2	49.7	47.3	31.0
% of Accepted who Matriculated	38.4	63.7	52.0	40.4	48.6	36.5
% of Blacks who Matriculated	43.6	60.0	45.0	31.1	44.9	36.4

218

In the percentage of overall applicants who were Black, Emory at 4.7 percent, ranked below Duke, Rice, and Tulane; Emory was only higher than Vanderbilt's 2.9 percent. Emory ranked below all four schools concerning the percentage of Black applicants accepted (31 percent); the average among the schools was 47.3 percent. The only category in which Emory

<sup>216</sup> Report of the President's Commission on the Status of Minorities, May 1981, 6, President's Commission on Race and Ethnicity records.

<sup>217</sup> Ibid., 8.

<sup>218</sup> Ibid., 9.

ranked above the average was in its overall acceptance rate (63.7 percent). Compared to Duke, Rice and Tulane, Emory had poor black matriculation, with only 36.4 percent of accepted black students enrolling in fall 1979.<sup>219</sup> Emory's "major problem is not recruitment, but low acceptance and matriculation rates" of black students.<sup>220</sup> The Office of Admission might unfairly evaluate black applicants based upon these comparisons. Prior to this period, Emory did not compare black applicants' data to that of their southern peers. This limited the Office of Admission's ability to recognize admission biases in its own procedures that benefited whites and hurt blacks.

The PCSM 1981 Report also researched financial aid statistics and retention of minorities. The Office of Admission could best secure black student enrollment through increasing financial aid packages. Accepted students typically received a financial aid package with \$1,500 in total scholarship, \$1,200 in National Direct Student Loans and \$1,200 in work-study funds. The PCSM recommended shifting the typical aid package toward a \$2,700 academic based scholarship with an additional \$1,200 in loans or work-study funding; this recommendation would prevent minority students from feeling overwhelmed.<sup>221</sup> Both in the Atwood and Laney administrations, the Office of Admission was concerned that inadequate financial aid access would prevent minority students from attending Emory.

Overall, Emory did not offer large-scale support for enrolled minority students; meager tutoring programs like Peer-Helper could not sustain academic support for minorities.<sup>222</sup> Most

---

<sup>219</sup> Report of the President's Commission on the Status of Minorities, May 1981, 9, President's Commission on Race and Ethnicity records.

<sup>220</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>221</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>222</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

notably, the administration demonstrated its lack of commitment to black students through defunding the AAAS Program—a program of interest for accepted black students.<sup>223</sup> Potential black students also researched minority resources in campus life to decide which university to attend. When Emory’s University Center Board did not diversify its programs, it demonstrated an administrative disregard for black student interests. Moreover, this institutional failure put additional pressure on the underfunded BSA to fill the lack of programming.<sup>224</sup> Although black students themselves had also argued about funding the BSA, this was the first time the administration formally acknowledged the BSA as an integral part of black recruitment efforts.

The administration’s inability to attract minority faculty hurt recruitment efforts as black students noted back in 1969. Students wanted minorities in positions of authority because these leaders often served as mentors. Hence, the PCSM concluded, “an increase in minority faculty would attract more minority students.”<sup>225</sup> However, Emory did not meet its 1980 Affirmative Action plan to hire thirty-three black faculty members.<sup>226</sup> Even when the university created its own tactic for black faculty recruitment, they implemented no accountability mechanism. Similar to the cycle surrounding low minority student enrollment, the administration found it difficult to hire additional minority faculty because of Emory’s low number of minority faculty. The administration also did not offer adequate salaries or benefits to attract minority faculty.<sup>227</sup> At the time of the 1981 study, no black faculty member received a salary above \$25,000 or a rank above Associate Professor.<sup>228</sup> Emory administrators, the PCSM recommended, should allocate

---

<sup>223</sup> Report of the President’s Commission on the Status of Minorities, May 1981, 16, President’s Commission on Race and Ethnicity records.

<sup>224</sup> Ibid.

<sup>225</sup> Ibid., 19.

<sup>226</sup> Ibid.

<sup>227</sup> Ibid., 20.

<sup>228</sup> Ibid., 22-23.

funds from the Woodruff Grant to acquire high-ranking faculty.<sup>229</sup> The administration disproportionately tasked minority faculty to serve on university committees and to assist with student recruitment and counseling even though they did not receive further compensation.<sup>230</sup>

One of the major failings of the 1980 Affirmative Action Plan was that it did “not even pretend to speak to the problem of equal opportunity for students.”<sup>231</sup> Both the Laney and Atwood administrations failed to connect black recruitment and matriculation with the university’s larger affirmative action goals. If the university solved issues of representation collectively across staff, students, faculty and administrators, it could enroll more black students. Emory needed an Office of Minority Affairs because the relevance of minorities in higher education was an “invaluable and necessary asset” to a prominent university.<sup>232</sup> There was also precedent for such a home: Emory’s peer institutions Duke and Wake Forest successfully operated minority affairs offices. Additionally, the Office of Minority Affairs Director should report to the Vice President of Arts and Sciences to access admissions and financial aid channels to help increase minority enrollment.<sup>233</sup> The Office of Minority Affairs would centralize minority recruitment and designate a home for accountability of minority efforts.

Minority admissions counselor Denese Mack believed Emory did not recruit black students at the same level as peer institutions. She claimed she was “looking for black graduates. It takes a very black student to come to Emory. He must have a strong sense of self and be highly motivated” because being black at Emory was not easy.<sup>234</sup> In 1980, the first year student cohort

---

<sup>229</sup> Report of the President’s Commission on the Status of Minorities, May 1981, 24, President’s Commission on Race and Ethnicity records.

<sup>230</sup> Ibid., 25.

<sup>231</sup> Ibid., 35.

<sup>232</sup> Ibid., 36.

<sup>233</sup> Ibid., 63.

<sup>234</sup> Kerri Perkins, “Minority Recruitment Still Behind,” *Emory Wheel* (Atlanta, GA), February 10, 1981.

consisted of twenty-five black students, sixteen Hispanics, nine Asians and two Indian students.<sup>235</sup> Building off the 1981 PCSM Report findings, Denese Mack submitted a PCSM Minority Recruitment Plan for Emory College, formalizing both an affirmative action plan in admissions and the necessity of tracking minority data. <sup>236</sup> She outlined guidelines for how to increase black student inquiries, applications, acceptances and matriculates.

From 1977 to 1981, only 4.7 percent of Emory College applicants were black. In 1981, the Office of Admission did not track the race of interested students and thus had no manner to determine whether recruitment efforts translated into applicants. In the Minority Recruitment Plan, the PCSM recommended that the Office of Admission increase minority applications from 4.7 percent to 15 percent by 1986.<sup>237</sup> Admissions must also directly reach out to interested black students and invite them to campus for a visit.<sup>238</sup>

Fortunately, the PCSM reported that the Office of Admission improved the disparity between white students' and black students' acceptances from a difference of 40.1 percent in 1978 to 13.5 percent in 1981. The PCSM was concerned that admissions counselors might express bias when looking at black student applications, giving preference to black private school students or students from predominantly white high schools.<sup>239</sup> Admissions should admit a minimum of 47.7 percent of black applicants under a flexible admissions structure that did not sacrifice quality.<sup>240</sup> Once admitted, black students enrolled at the same rates as non-black students, thus the lack of black students on campus resulted both from Admissions not accepting

---

<sup>235</sup> Mark Zabriskie, "Emory Recruiting Improves," *Emory Wheel* (Atlanta, GA), February 10, 1981.

<sup>236</sup> Minority Recruitment Plan Emory College, 1981, Box 4, Folder 1, President's Commission on Race and Ethnicity records, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library.

<sup>237</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>238</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>239</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>240</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

enough students as well as from the need for more black applications. The PCSM recommended Admissions increase black student inquiries by contacting high schools from which Emory black students graduated, attending the events of the National Scholarship and Service Fund for Negro Students and reaching out to area black organizations.<sup>241</sup>

To turn inquiries into applications, the Office of Admission should send personal letters to prospective minority students, create a race designation on inquiries for appropriate follow up, offer campus tours for local black students and incorporate BSA members in recruitment outings.<sup>242</sup> The PCSM discerned that black students might feel more comfortable speaking with the minority counselor. Non-minority counselors should not push Emory too hard on students, encourage campus visits, not be defensive about Emory's lack of black students and "MOST IMPORTANT—TREAT MINORITY STUDENTS THE WAY YOU WOULD TREAT ANY OTHER STUDENT!"<sup>243</sup> In instances where counselors might not know how to handle a black student inquiry, they should defer to the minority counselor, advocate for earlier application submission and stress the Financial Aid Form. If black applicants wanted to know about black student life, counselors should inform them of the two black Greek organizations on campus, the BSA programming and Emory's access to Atlanta University students.<sup>244</sup>

The 1981 PCSM Report determined that admissions counselors must change their evaluation of black student applications, making sure to deemphasize test scores and instead to look for academic promise. Admission counselors must learn about black students as individuals and familiarize themselves with the student's education and family history. Admissions should

---

<sup>241</sup> Minority Recruitment Plan Emory College, 1981, 7, President's Commission on Race and Ethnicity records.

<sup>242</sup> Ibid., 8.

<sup>243</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>244</sup> Ibid., 10.

refrain from issuing a final decision on a black student until the minority counselor reviewed the student's application. If a rejection occurred, the counselor should review subsequent options with the Director of Admission. Because standardized testing informed the Office of Admission more about the *financial level* of a student's family than about his or her academics, the admissions officer should add a 200-point curve for black students' SAT scores. If a black student was on the cusp of acceptance, admissions counselors should interview the student to gauge academic potential with the Minority Counselor, Director of Admission, Dean or Faculty member.<sup>245</sup> All of these tactics intended to eliminate disparities in how the Office of Admission evaluated black applicants when compared to white applicants.

Further, the Office of Admission should work with Emory black students to host a phone-a-thon for prospective black students in addition to sending personalized follow-up letters. Admissions would send out follow-ups through the minority counselor; it would also send letters about important dates and financial information to each student's family.<sup>246</sup> Admissions should also finance highly desirable but low-income students to attend Senior Weekend events, therefore alleviating a financial burden from the list of why a prospective student might not attend Emory.<sup>247</sup> Demonstrating the high need for minority students, admissions counselors should "pray a lot!" for recruitment efforts to produce tangible results.<sup>248</sup>

Overall, the PCSM was confident that the Office of Admission could increase black student enrollment. They pushed Admissions to enhance personalized outreach, access to financial aid and incorporate enrolled black students by appointing a BSA recruitment liaison.

---

<sup>245</sup> Minority Recruitment Plan Emory College, 1981, 11, President's Commission on Race and Ethnicity records.

<sup>246</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>247</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>248</sup> *Ibid.*

Vigorous recruitment required significant time but “if Emory is to become atruly [*sic*] international school these efforts, time, and money should be spent and will prove successful and worth all of the above.”<sup>249</sup> Establishing the PCSM marked a new era for black recruitment at Emory. Similar to how the BSA was an early watchdog of the administration, the PCSM became an additional layer of accountability for black recruitment during the Laney administration.

#### June 1981-December 1985

The 1981 PCSM Report recommendations raised black student enrollment from sixty-nine students in fall 1979 (2 percent of Emory College) to 125 students (4 percent of Emory College) in fall 1982.<sup>250</sup> However, the Office of Admission did not implement the PCSM suggested affirmative action plan.<sup>251</sup> By 1982, Admissions created a minority recruitment brochure but did not formalize a flexible admissions policy. Even worse, Denese Mack left Emory in 1981. During her time at Emory, Mack contacted high school students about Emory’s black community and enrolled 123 black students in the College.<sup>252</sup> Resulting from her departure, the number of black applications decreased in half.<sup>253</sup> Thus, Admissions relied upon a minority recruiter who could speak directly to the black student presence at Emory in order to increase black student applications.

While the administration contemplated PCSM recommendations, Delta Tau Delta Fraternity performed a racist skit at the 1981 Delt Spring Frolics. After watching stereotypic

---

<sup>249</sup> Minority Recruitment Plan Emory College, 1981, 12, President’s Commission on Race and Ethnicity records.

<sup>250</sup> Ibid.

<sup>251</sup> PCSM, The Status of Minorities at Emory University: A Progress Report 1980-1982, Section II: Students, 8, Box 4, Folder 1, President’s Commission on Race and Ethnicity records, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library.

<sup>252</sup> Tammy Schuster, “Recruitment Not Up to Par,” Emory Wheel (Atlanta, GA), May 25, 1982.

<sup>253</sup> Ibid.

depictions of black students, roughly fifteen members of the BSA wrote to Dean Crawford about their infuriation with the Delta. Following the letter, BSA President Alvin Moore met with Delt President David Richardson, Dean of Campus Life Bill Fox as well as Assistant Dean of Campus Life Becky Gurholt. Although Richardson apologized, the BSA wrote to President Laney saying:

We feel that none of the stereotypes depicted in the skits are representative of the images portrayed by black students on campus. Such activity only serves to retard our efforts...letters of apology have prove[d] to be ineffective...we feel that stronger disciplinary action is warranted.<sup>254</sup>

Fox then met with Laney, PCSM members and campus life to determine how “to help educate our students in terms of the treatment with dignity of all students on this campus.”<sup>255</sup> The Deltas also issued a formal apology in the *Emory Wheel* but claimed the skit was intended to “help eliminate the many stereotypes attitudes and prejudices expressed by the Emory University student body and administration.”<sup>256</sup> Compared to the KA incident years before, the administration handled racial issues more seriously and actually reprimanded the fraternity for their actions. Even though the administrative response represented a shift in sensitivity to the concerns of black students, the incident itself demonstrated how Emory leadership did not instill ideas of inclusivity into the student body.

After administrative neglect of the initial recommendations, the PCSM issued a revised 1983 Report. The PCSM requested that the administration prioritize minority funding such as through Woodruff Scholarships and establish a set percentage for funding in correspondence with Equal Opportunity Programs (EOP) and Financial Aid.<sup>257</sup> Although the Office of

---

<sup>254</sup> Sophie Kramer, “Black Student Alliance Protests Delt Frolics,” *Emory Wheel* (Atlanta, GA), May 19, 1981.

<sup>255</sup> Ibid.

<sup>256</sup> David Richardson, “Letters to the Editor: Deltas Apologize to BSA,” *Emory Wheel* (Atlanta, GA), May 26, 1981.

<sup>257</sup> PCSM, *The Status of Minorities at Emory University: A Progress Report 1980-1982*, Section II: Students, 9, President’s Commission on Race and Ethnicity records.

Admission collaborated with campus organizations to establish networks such as the Minority Advisor Program and Extended Family Program, Emory did not have a formal minority retention program in 1982.<sup>258</sup> The PCSM also proposed that AAAS courses fulfill general education requirements to encourage student enrollment in non-western courses.<sup>259</sup> The PCSM concluded “it was Emory’s lack of commitment to recruiting minorities rather than discrimination” that led to few black students.<sup>260</sup> Therefore, Emory must change the Atlanta community’s opinion about them and improve minority student programming to encourage higher enrollment. Without an increase in minority programs and students, black students and faculty would not attend Emory in the future.<sup>261</sup> The PCSM pinpointed the major underlying reason for few black students: lack of administrative commitment.

Following the release of the 1982 Report, the *Emory Wheel* issued a statement in their May 11, 1982 issue verifying the cyclical nature of poor minority recruitment and endorsement of the PCSM recommendations.<sup>262</sup> In a subsequent May 25, 1982 issue, the *Emory Wheel* reprinted the AAAS Program bulletin that indicated systemic issues that prevented black student enrollment:

Because of the scarcity of meaningful social outlets available to them on campus, [m]any black students turned to the black community in Atlanta for social and recreational fulfillment. In general, the image presented by Emory to the black community was one of profound antipathy to black involvement, black creativity, black awareness, and black social and intellectual development...as if to undo a hundred years of history overnight, a black student advisor was hired. Additionally, the University committed itself, at least in theory, to the establishment of a Black Studies Program.<sup>263</sup>

---

<sup>258</sup> PCSM, *The Status of Minorities at Emory University: A Progress Report 1980-1982*, Section II: Students, 10, President’s Commission on Race and Ethnicity records.

<sup>259</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>260</sup> David Reamer, “Committee Urges Attention to Minorities,” *Emory Wheel* (Atlanta, GA), May 11, 1982.

<sup>261</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>262</sup> Emory Wheel Staff, “Minorities Need Representation,” *Emory Wheel* (Atlanta, GA), May 11, 1982.

<sup>263</sup> Afro-American and African Studies Program Bulletin reprinted in *Emory Wheel*, “BSA evolves,” *Emory Wheel* (Atlanta, GA), May 25, 1982.

In the same May 25 issue, the *Emory Wheel* staff printed a “Black Views of Emory” section where black students voiced their opinions on recruitment. Several students, such as Michele English, believed that Emory was not devoted to minority recruitment; indeed, if Mack thought Emory genuinely wanted more black students, she would not have left.<sup>264</sup> Black doctoral student “Akiba” Harper wrote how she “could not enthusiastically or unreservedly recommend Emory to prospective black students.”<sup>265</sup> She communicated that many Emory black students did not recommend the university to potential black students. Further, non-Emory blacks ostracized Harper and other blacks because they “believe we have betrayed our racial integrity by studying and teaching at Emory.”<sup>266</sup> Harper argued that both Admissions and President Laney needed to commit to recruiting *and* supporting black identity. As Harper and other blacks feared, university ignorance prevented true communication and deterred future black student enrollment.<sup>267</sup>

By 1982, the Laney administration implemented some minority recruitment efforts from the PCSM recommendations and student concerns. For example, the Laney administration worked to recruit black chemist Dr. Isiah Warner for two years and doubled the minority class of 1982 from its size in 1981.<sup>268</sup> Often, the administration added positions of oversight to deal with minority recruitment and retention but did not connect these individuals to a centralized framework for recruitment. The Director for the Office of Equal Employment added a Coordinator of Minority Affairs position to address the low number of black students and faculty at Emory.<sup>269</sup> Aldridge reported that Emory must embrace diversity and grow the AAAS

---

<sup>264</sup> Schuster, “Recruitment Not Up to Par,” May 25, 1982.

<sup>265</sup> “Akiba” Donna Sullivan Harper, Editorial: “Progress, But Not Enough,” *Emory Wheel* (Atlanta, GA), May 25, 1982.

<sup>266</sup> Ibid.

<sup>267</sup> Ibid.

<sup>268</sup> David Reamer, “More Black Faculty Needed,” *Emory Wheel* (Atlanta, GA), May 25, 1982.

<sup>269</sup> Ibid.

Program.<sup>270</sup> In 1982, the Office of Admission hired Rosetta Gooden as Assistant Dean of Admissions and Coordinator of Minority Recruitment.<sup>271</sup>

In fall 1982, the PCSM redirected efforts towards studying the retention of minorities at Emory. It found that thirty-five black students (eleven undergraduate and twenty-four graduate) left Emory. A similar pattern was evident in the loss of black faculty members.<sup>272</sup> Black faculty might leave, the PCSM assessed, because they detested the university climate, experienced no support networks or other black faculty, had to pursue mainstream research or faced competitive hiring from other universities. Black faculty assumed more tasks as advisors to black students and committee roles; in addition, they often experienced salary or tenure difficulty.<sup>273</sup>

To bolster black recruitment, Emory participated in Barry Beckham's *The Black Student's Guide to Colleges*. Editor Barry Beckham and his staff selected the seventy-five most selective residential colleges, historically black colleges and residential colleges with high black enrollment in 1982. Some colleges self-selected out of the compilation due to "fear of subjective student response;" however, Emory was the only institution of its competitors that participated in this volume.<sup>274</sup> In the 1982 edition, Emory College reported 177 black students and twenty-four black faculty; 90 percent of blacks received financial aid, representing 11 percent of all aid, with an average award of \$5500.<sup>275</sup> Emory Admissions collaborated with current black students to reach out to prospective students via letters and encouraged them to attend college fairs.

---

<sup>270</sup> Reamer, "More Black Faculty Needed," May 25, 1982.

<sup>271</sup> "Minority Student Recruitment and Admission," Box 5, Folder 3, President's Commission on Race and Ethnicity records, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library.

<sup>272</sup> Handwritten Notes, "Why They Leave: What Forces Black Faculty From our Campus," n.d., Box 4, Folder 2, President's Commission on Race and Ethnicity records, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library.

<sup>273</sup> Ibid.

<sup>274</sup> Barry Beckham. *The Black Student's Guide to Colleges* (New York: E.P. Dutton, Inc., 1982), 5.

<sup>275</sup> Ibid., 122.

Although black Greek life was a point of pride for Emory, there were still few black-oriented programming efforts.<sup>276</sup> Black alumni participated in an annual career day, demonstrating to potential black applicants that “black students at Emory seem to have more than adequate support from the university.”<sup>277</sup> Emory, like other universities, intentionally recruited high achieving black students through the implementation of minority recruiters and direct mailings.<sup>278</sup> Participating in Beckham’s collection signified the administration’s intention to increase black recruitment and improve Emory’s image through tangible means.

Despite gains, the PCSM wrote to President Laney in March 1983 concerned with how administrators ignored their initiatives to increase black students.<sup>279</sup> Following the PCSM grievance, Laney and Assistant Vice President of Equal Opportunity Programs Robert W. Ethridge assigned the EOP Director of Minority Affairs to assist with minority admissions, enhance flexible admissions policies, center minority programming in Office of Minority Affairs and increase the campus programming variety.<sup>280</sup> In September 1983, Laney wrote to PCSM Chair Jacqueline Jordan Irvine about collaborating with EOP to prepare a report about minorities at Emory for the Board of Trustees.<sup>281</sup> Thus, the PCSM forced Laney to reimagine the relationship between black recruitment and EOP.

In fall 1983, the Office of Campus Life trained older black students to serve as mentors for incoming black students in the All-Star Leaguer Program, which they designed:

---

<sup>276</sup> Beckham, *The Black Student’s Guide to Colleges*, 124.

<sup>277</sup> *Ibid.*, 125.

<sup>278</sup> Hank Ezell, “Colleges Vie to Lure Bright Blacks,” *The Atlanta Constitution* (Atlanta, GA), June 21, 1983.

<sup>279</sup> Letter Draft, Jacqueline Jordan Irvine to James Laney, March 28, 1983, Box 4, Folder 2, President’s Commission on Race and Ethnicity records, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library.

<sup>280</sup> Ethridge’s Responses to PCSM report to Laney, June 21, 1983, Box 4, Folder 2, President’s Commission on Race and Ethnicity records, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library.

<sup>281</sup> Letter, James T. Laney to Jacqueline Jordan Irvine, September 12, 1983, Box 4, Folder 2, President’s Commission on Race and Ethnicity records, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library.

To enhance the developmental process of the black student at Emory, to enhance personal and academic adjustment, to provide continuing orientation to college, and to motivate students by providing moral support.<sup>282</sup>

Dean Crawford extended the All-Star Program to include black faculty and administrators as a way to connect students to the larger Emory black community. Campus Life attempted to alleviate the feelings of alienation and isolation shared by many incoming black students. Still, black recruitment lagged from 1982-1983; the Emory College black student population consisted of sixty-nine students in fall 1979 (2 percent of total enrollment), 128 students in fall 1982 (4 percent) and 141 students in 1983 (4 percent).<sup>283</sup>

The PCSM also issued a 1983 Multicultural Programming Report to address complaints that Emory did not offer diverse student activities. Out of the SGA and College Council budget of \$95,330, leadership spent \$17,950 on minority programming.<sup>284</sup> The BSA brought black novelist James Baldwin to Emory for \$4000. The University Center Board Speakers' Committee invited black novelist Alex Haley to campus and the Concerts Committee welcomed the black band Neville Brothers.<sup>285</sup> Although these efforts diversified programming, they were stand-alone minority programming events. Other successes of the PCSM during the early 1980s included partially funding the minority newsletter *Interface* and honoring Emory's black graduates at a 1983 reception.<sup>286</sup>

The PCSM Student Subcommittee sent a 1984-1985 report to the PCSM regarding interviews with Emory minority students. They interviewed twenty randomly selected black

---

<sup>282</sup> Loris Green, "All-Stars Ease Black Frosh Adjustment," *Emory Wheel* (Atlanta, GA), September 20, 1983.

<sup>283</sup> Black Enrollment Chart from PCSM, December 13, 1983, Box 4, Folder 2, President's Commission on Race and Ethnicity records, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library.

<sup>284</sup> PCSM Multicultural Programming Report Description, 1983, Box 4, Folder 2, President's Commission on Race and Ethnicity records, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library.

<sup>285</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>286</sup> Commission Media Report from Burt Carroll, April 3, 1987, Box 4, Folder 3, President's Commission on Race and Ethnicity records, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library.

students to target black social life at Emory. In terms of academic concerns, some students thought their peers viewed them as academically inferior and as “blacks rather than individuals.”<sup>287</sup> Students disliked the low number of black faculty, wanted more black-oriented courses and noticed higher black female enrollment than black male enrollment, which influenced black social life at Emory.<sup>288</sup> Some students had not experienced blatant discrimination while others felt they were “a token black student,” answering all questions about black life or feeling that others “expect him to be more honored and grateful to be at Emory.”<sup>289</sup> Interviewees described positive experiences at Emory such as Dooley’s Week, black faculty support, academic courses, and interracial activities. Negative experiences included minimal social guidance and almost no administrative attempt to facilitate racial integration. Ten out of twelve students cited depression while at Emory.<sup>290</sup>

Despite these negative factors, ten out of twelve students said they would choose Emory again.<sup>291</sup> Ten out of eleven students reported satisfaction with Emory’s financial aid packages. Interviewees were also concerned about “the tension between the need to recruit more blacks and the need to maintain academic standards; we must ensure that the blacks who come to Emory are successful because failures reinforce negative stereotypes.”<sup>292</sup> The Office of Admission’s pressure to recruit talented black students effected current black students’ opinions The Subcommittee concluded that black students struggled with the “subtle undercurrent of

---

<sup>287</sup> Report of the Student Subcommittee of PCSM, 1984-1985, 2, Box 4, Folder 2, President’s Commission on Race and Ethnicity records, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library.

<sup>288</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>289</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>290</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>291</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>292</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

prejudice” in which they could not cite specific racial incidents but knew that whites treated them differently.<sup>293</sup>

Emory submitted statistics for the 1984 version of Barry Beckham’s *The Black Student’s Guide to Colleges* along with Duke University. In 1984, Duke had 287 black undergraduates.<sup>294</sup> Duke’s Office of Minority Affairs offered counseling services in partnership with their Black Student Alliance. Although Duke student groups such as the black pre-law society, black pre-med society and black Greek organizations improved the quality of black student life, Duke’s black students did not frequently interact with white peers and reported tense relationships with faculty.<sup>295</sup> Beckham’s description of Duke University demonstrated that black students at other private southern universities shared concerns with Emory black students.

The number of Emory black students increased from 177 in 1982 to 212 in 1984. In that same period, black faculty increased from twenty-four to thirty-two members. By 1984, the Emory administration diversified its minority resources to include career and emotional support. One of the new additions to black student programming since 1982 was Emory’s “Campus Life for Black Students” segment during orientation.<sup>296</sup> Additionally, the Career Planning and Placement Center assisted black undergraduates with summer job searches and career counseling as well as connecting them to black alumni.<sup>297</sup>

---

<sup>293</sup> Report of the Student Subcommittee of PCSM, 1984-1985, 7, President’s Commission on Race and Ethnicity records.

<sup>294</sup> Barry Beckham, *The Black Student’s Guide to Colleges* (New York: E.P. Dutton, Inc., 1984), 169.

<sup>295</sup> *Ibid.*, 170-171.

<sup>296</sup> *Ibid.*, 172.

<sup>297</sup> *Ibid.*, 175.

By 1985, the Office of Admission enrolled sixty-three black incoming students (6.53 percent of the incoming class).<sup>298</sup> That same year, the administration denied tenure to black female English Professor Dr. Sondra O’Neale. In response, she filed with Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) for the right to sue. Hoping to avoid media attention in November 1985, the Emory administration proposed a second period of tenure review with the assistance of an outside reviewer.<sup>299</sup> O’Neale agreed to undergo the second period of review, despite her initial rejection. O’Neale’s tenure controversy would continue to signify disconnects between the Laney administration’s verbal attempts to improve Emory’s racial climate and the reality of black life at Emory.

#### April 1986-June 1989

In April 1986, the PCSM reported the Student Subcommittee findings to President Laney. They recommended establishing a centralized learning center, supporting the AAAS Program, developing a curriculum monitoring committee, enrolling additional black students (specifically black men), adding black faculty and offering inclusive teaching seminars.<sup>300</sup> The Division of Educational Studies also supported the desire of the PCSM for Laney to appoint a Multicultural Curriculum Special Committee. The Committee would interview current faculty and students, investigate syllabi, push the involvement in multicultural extracurricular activities and evaluate resources at the library. This objective would require the university to incorporate multicultural

---

<sup>298</sup> Minutes of the Admissions and Scholarship Committee, November 17, 1988, Box 5, Folder 12, Emory University Faculty records, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library.

<sup>299</sup> Lori Horvitz and Adam Feuerstein, “Former Prof O’Neale sues University, College dean,” *The Emory Wheel* (Atlanta, GA), January 27, 1989.

<sup>300</sup> Letter, PCSM to Laney, April 1, 1986, Box 4, Folder 3, President’s Commission on Race and Ethnicity records, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library.

ideas in various disciplines, not just in AAAS courses.<sup>301</sup> Unlike the administration, the PCSM recognized how black recruitment related to the current black student community and pushed for reform in academic course structures and content.

Often, the PCSM pushed the administration for specificity and held it accountable. In November 1986, Laney reported low numbers of black men at Emory.<sup>302</sup> Don Shockley of PCSM also reported that students noticed the gender disparity (2-1) in 1987.<sup>303</sup> President Laney attributed the lack of black men at Emory to more black women taking the SAT, citing 60.5 percent of black women taking the SAT compared to 39.5 percent of black men.<sup>304</sup> However, the PCSM was not satisfied with Laney's excuse for low black male enrollment and instead, wanted him to recruit more black men.<sup>305</sup> Laney also celebrated success in black faculty recruitment but the PCSM countered that Emory College had only added two full-time tenure track black faculty since 1982. Laney told the PCSM that Emory departments could hire black faculty even without an opening but he did not communicate this policy to departments.<sup>306</sup> Even though Laney had created the PCSM as a deliberate tactic to improve black student numbers, he was also unable to overcome the administrative difficulties and reliance on rhetoric that President Atwood also experienced.

---

<sup>301</sup> Letter on Recommendation to President Laney on Formation of a Special Committee on Multicultural Curriculum, March 21, 1988, Box 4, Folder 3, President's Commission on Race and Ethnicity records, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library.

<sup>302</sup> PCSM Minutes, November 17, 1986, Box 1, Folder 3, President's Commission on Race and Ethnicity records, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library.

<sup>303</sup> PCSM Minutes, February 16, 1987, Box 1, Folder 4, President's Commission on Race and Ethnicity records, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library.

<sup>304</sup> Letter, James Laney to Leila Crawford, September 12, 1986, Box 4, Folder 3, President's Commission on Race and Ethnicity records, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library.

<sup>305</sup> Letter, Dan Adame to James Laney, October 5, 1987, Box 4, Folder 3, President's Commission on Race and Ethnicity records, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library.

<sup>306</sup> Ibid.

In February 1987, Dean of Admission Dan Walls reported to Vice President of Academic Affairs John Palms that Admissions heavily recruited black students. The Office of Admission attracted black applicants through the following tactics: mailings via College Board Student Search Service, high school visits, Emory black student telephone calls and outreach to black Emory alumni.<sup>307</sup> By 1987, Admissions staff had one black admissions professional out of nine and seven black support staff out of sixteen.<sup>308</sup> Further, the Office of Financial Aid consisted of three black professionals and two black support staff. According to Walls, black applicants “receive preferential financial aid packaging with more grant and less self-help” as a way to encourage greater black matriculation.<sup>309</sup>

In order to inform the Emory community about the PCSM goals and the university’s commitment to black students, in February 1987, *Interface* reporter John Barbour and Suzahn Huffman-Donaldson of the Campus Report interviewed President Laney, Assistant Vice President for EOP Robert Ethridge and Dean Crawford. The interviewees reported that in the last twenty-five years, the Emory administration had shifted the student body demographic, from mostly white males toward an accurate representation of Atlanta and of the country.

Laney was concerned about the low number of black faculty and administrators, especially with the loss of Herman Reese.<sup>310</sup> Fortunately, the PCSM “held the administration’s feet to the fire” by advocating on behalf of minorities and making sure there was follow through

---

<sup>307</sup> Memorandum Dan Walls to John Palms, February 16, 1987, Box 5, Folder 3, President’s Commission on Race and Ethnicity records, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library.

<sup>308</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>309</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>310</sup> *Interface* Interview with President Laney, February 25, 1987, Box 4, Folder 3, 4, President’s Commission on Race and Ethnicity records, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library.

on recommendations.<sup>311</sup> The PCSM addressed Emory's history of poor relations with the surrounding black community, one of the main reasons why black students were not attending in the 1970s.<sup>312</sup> For Laney, Emory had a responsibility to increase minority representation, which he described as the university having a "burden of proof...to show genuine concern for integration, and I mean by integration full communal warmth, full hospitality to blacks."<sup>313</sup> This statement demonstrated how Laney, unlike Atwood, understood black recruitment as Emory's inherent obligation as an academic institution. Laney also stated that Emory enrolled a higher percentage of black students than Duke or Vanderbilt for 1987.<sup>314</sup> The PCSM helped the university establish concrete action steps for black recruitment while continuing to educate other administrators of the necessary changes.<sup>315</sup>

From 1981-1988, Emory granted thirteen out of ninety-two Woodruff Scholarships to black students and fifty-three out of 491 of Emory's Merit Scholars were black.<sup>316</sup> Even with these advances, at the November 17, 1988 Admission and Scholarship Committee meeting, Dean Walls stressed that "competition for qualified minority students is 'unbelievable'" since schools like Dartmouth financed the travel for accepted black student campus visits.<sup>317</sup> The following chart documents incoming black student enrollment in Emory College from 1985 to 1989.

---

<sup>311</sup> Interface Interview with President Laney, February 25, 1987, 3, President's Commission on Race and Ethnicity records.

<sup>312</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>313</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>314</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>315</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

<sup>316</sup> Letter to Jabari Simama, January 21, 1988, Box 5, Folder 3, President's Commission on Race and Ethnicity records, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library.

<sup>317</sup> Minutes of the Admissions and Scholarship Committee, November 17, 1988, Emory University Faculty records.

### Emory College Incoming Black Enrollment

	1985			1988			1989		
	Black	Total	% Black	Black	Total	% Black	Black	Total	% Black
<b>Applied</b>	268	4834	5.54%	356	6400	5.56%	409	6300	6.49%
<b>Accepted</b>	175	3030	5.78%	215	3350	6.42%	285	3450	8.26%
<b>Enrolled</b>	63	965	6.53%	58	1115	5.20%	66	1040	6.35%

From 1985-1989, Emory Admissions increased black student acceptances from 5.78 percent to 8.26 percent, representing the benefit of flexible admissions. Dean Walls specified that the Office of Admission emphasized minority enrollment but black students still might not attend because of the low number of black faculty, the appeal of historically black colleges and “the recent negative national publicity on a tenure case,” referencing the case about Dr. Sondra O’Neale.<sup>318</sup>

In 1987, the Emory administration denied O’Neale tenure again and she filed a lawsuit for damages to her reputation and wage loss.<sup>320</sup> On January 10, 1988, black faculty members wrote the Board of Trustees Chair Robert Strickland, denouncing the administration’s decision to deny O’Neale tenure and stressed the prevalence of racism on campus.<sup>321</sup> O’Neale also sued Dean David Minter on grounds that he racially and sexually discriminated against her by preventing her from tenure.<sup>322</sup> Her accusations had merit because Minter previously halted the

<sup>318</sup> Freshman Class Statistics from Minutes of the Admissions and Scholarship Committee, November 17, 1988, Box 5, Folder 12, Emory University Faculty records, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library.

<sup>319</sup> Minutes of the Admissions and Scholarship Committee, November 17, 1988, Emory University Faculty records.

<sup>320</sup> Lori Horvitz and Adam Feuerstein, “Former Prof O’Neale sues University, College dean,” *The Emory Wheel* (Atlanta, GA), January 27, 1989.

<sup>321</sup> The Report of the McClain Group, “Investigation into Factors Contributing To the Racial Climate at Emory University,” June 1989, 10, Box 5, Folder 1, President’s Commission on Race and Ethnicity records, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library.

<sup>322</sup> Adam Feuerstein and Lori Horvitz, “Selection Process of O’Neale Reviewers Disputed by Profs,” *Emory Wheel* (Atlanta, GA), February 3, 1989.

enhancement of the AAAS Program when Director Aldridge wanted departmental status and permanent faculty.<sup>323</sup>

Students believed teaching caliber should contribute to the administration's tenure decision. Dean Fox encouraged Bill Frye and Minter to inform student leaders about tenure and Emory's attempts to add black faculty and administrators as well as "why Afro-American program is better as a program and not a department."<sup>324</sup> In April 1988, the BSA delineated continued demands to Trustees Chair Strickland: add black administrators and black students, make AAAS a department, revoke charters of racist clubs and outline a process for black promotion.<sup>325</sup> President Laney replied to this letter on May 9, affirming that the goals of black students were indeed part of the university mission.<sup>326</sup>

In May 1989, PCSM Chair Cynthia A. Shaw drafted an Executive Committee Report for Laney that evaluated the success of recent recruitment. The PCSM suggested either removing self-help loans from financial aid packages or starting a loan forgiveness program to encourage black enrollment. The PCSM wanted Residence Life and Faculty to receive multi-cultural training so they could better assist minority students.<sup>327</sup> Additionally, the PCSM recommended that each admissions division create an annual report for minority retention and recruitment. In

---

<sup>323</sup> Delores P. Aldridge, "African American Studies at Emory: A Model for Change," in *Where Courageous Inquiry Leads: The Emerging Life of Emory University*, ed. Gary Hauk and Sally Wolff King (Atlanta: Emory University, 2010), 181.

<sup>324</sup> Letter, Bill Fox to Bill Frye and David Minter, February 15, 1988, Box 5, Folder 3, President's Commission on Race and Ethnicity records, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library.

<sup>325</sup> Letter, BSA to Robert Strickland, April 19, 1988, Box 5, Folder 3, President's Commission on Race and Ethnicity records, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library.

<sup>326</sup> Letter, James Laney to Jovier Evans, May 9, 1988, Box 5, Folder 3, President's Commission on Race and Ethnicity records, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library.

<sup>327</sup> PCSM Executive Committee Draft of Report to the President by Cynthia A. Shaw, May 25, 1989, Box 4, Folder 3, President's Commission on Race and Ethnicity records, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library.

conclusion, the PCSM wrote that they were “confident we have the knowledge and means to bring about diversity, but do we have the will?”<sup>328</sup>

In order to address seriously both the tenure case and minority recruitment, Emory commissioned an outside consulting firm, the McClain Group, in partnership with the Emory University Special Task Force on Racial Concern, to study race at Emory for the year 1989. After evaluation, the McClain Group published an “Investigation into Factors Contributing to the Racial Climate at Emory University,” identifying Emory’s “danger” of being “part of a legacy of decline of a great university unless changes are made.” Furthermore, they prefaced the report as a way “to prompt action.”<sup>329</sup> The McClain Report represented the administration’s reactive nature in addressing issues of race on campus.

The Emory Special Task Force on Racial Concern included members such as Attorney and Task Force Chair Marvin Arrington, Director of AAAS and Sociology Professor Dr. Delores Aldridge, BSA President Jovier Evans, Associate Dean of Admissions Rosetta Gooden, SGA President Laura Hankin, Associate Professor of Educational Studies Jacqueline Irvine and Assistant Dean of Campus Life for Student Activities Edward Stansell.<sup>330</sup> The McClain Report outlined administrative practices in employment, admissions and financial aid that could unintentionally discriminate against certain groups and thus violated equal opportunity procedures. The McClain Group intended to “seek a solution to the public initiatives mounted

---

<sup>328</sup> PCSM Executive Committee Draft of Report to the President by Cynthia A. Shaw, May 25, 1989, President’s Commission on Race and Ethnicity records.

<sup>329</sup> The Report of the McClain Group, “Investigation into Factors Contributing to the Racial Climate at Emory University,” June 1989, Box 5, Folder 1, President’s Commission on Race and Ethnicity records, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library.

<sup>330</sup> Ibid.

around the university's denial of tenure to O'Neale."<sup>331</sup> Issue of race at Emory extended beyond O'Neale's tenure denial but this incident was the final spark necessary for the administration to commission the McClain Group's study.<sup>332</sup>

The McClain Group reported that the Emory administration persistently neglected both the black student concerns from 1969 and the PCSM recommendations from 1981 and 1983.<sup>333</sup> Therefore, Emory resembled other predominantly white universities; all tended to struggle with adequate integration.<sup>334</sup> Due to the relatively short time since desegregation, the McClain Group attributed Emory's racial hostility to reactionary policies, decentralized structure that gave autonomy to deans and lack of long-term plan.<sup>335</sup> Throughout this twenty-year period, the Office of Admission struggled to attract, accept and enroll a substantial black population for Emory College. Similar to previous findings, the McClain Group did not know why Emory had trouble with black student retention; in response to this struggle, it recommended minority admissions officers. Additionally, it noted, the Office of Admission must offer competitive financial aid packages with decreased loans.<sup>336</sup> After evaluating current minority programming, the McClain Group suggested that Campus Life specify, fund and staff the Office of Minority Programs.<sup>337</sup>

The McClain Group also recommended that the President and Trustees increase the black presence on campus, eliminate racism, raise money for scholarships, observe how other

---

<sup>331</sup> The Report of the McClain Group, "Investigation into Factors Contributing to the Racial Climate at Emory University," June 1989, 2, President's Commission on Race and Ethnicity records.

<sup>332</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>333</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

<sup>334</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.

<sup>335</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.

<sup>336</sup> *Ibid.*, 74-75.

<sup>337</sup> *Ibid.*, 69.

universities respond to racism and add a black senior manager.<sup>338</sup> In concluding thoughts, the McClain Group tasked the Emory community with the following:

The university must make evident an absolute and fanatical focus or obsession on its students and employees. Such an obsession must be characterized by the quest for continuous quality improvement in every area of the university . . . . It should be characterized as being quick to respond to initiatives, determined in its quest to allow and promote equality, and passionate about meeting the needs of those least well served. It must not only continually ask, but always answer the question, “Are we doing all that we reasonably can?” Only if the answer is consistently “yes” can Emory believe itself to be a world-class organization, one that will fashion its own preferred future, and influence the future of every member of its community.<sup>339</sup>

### **Conclusion**

The Office of Admission alone could not integrate Emory. From 1969-1979, Emory administrators and the Office of Admission were unsuccessful in integrating the university, evident in the continuous poor recruitment and enrollment of black students. The incoming class for 1969 at Emory College consisted of sixteen black students (2.4 percent), contributing to a total population of forty-two black students. By 1979, Emory College enrolled only twenty-one black students (2.5 percent) in the freshman class. The administration inadequately recruited black students during the Atwood administration based on several reasons. First, Emory administrators made minimal, if any, attempt to revise the non-race policy. Under this policy, the Atwood administration neglected issues of race and provided an antagonistic racial environment, prompting black students to protest. Further, Atwood’s restraining order demonstrated that the administration did not know how to facilitate racial integration; Atwood addressed student protests through legal punishment rather than communication.

---

<sup>338</sup> The Report of the McClain Group, “Investigation into Factors Contributing to the Racial Climate at Emory University,” June 1989, 100-101, President’s Commission on Race and Ethnicity records.

<sup>339</sup> *Ibid.*, 106.

Moreover, the greater Emory community believed in opposing viewpoints with regard to integration. Some administrators like E. Jerome Zeller disapproved of the restraining order, while some faculty like Professor Mandell denied a correlation between black student demands and higher education. Within this time, the Office of Admission did make small attempts to recruit black students, evident in admitting black students despite lower GPAs and by collaborating with Georgia counselors. Even so, Emory's central leadership neglected black recruitment and did not communicate its urgency. Without a substantial number of black students on campus, the Office of Admission remained in a "vicious cycle" in which they had trouble demonstrating a substantial black presence to attract potential black students. The BSA was instrumental in holding the administration responsible for black student recruitment. Whether it was reprimanding the Office of Admission for labeling black students "high risk" or demanding black scholarship funding, the BSA remained the "watchdog" of administrative follow-through.

After the demands, Atwood and the Office of Admission agreed to admit additional black students but argued that they lacked appropriate funding. In 1969, Emory ran out of the Rockefeller funding; administrators needed to ask the Board of Trustees to budget for this loss and identify new sources of aid. Black administrator Marvin Arrington also held the administration responsible for the admission and funding of black students. He designed the Special Program for the Admission of Additional Black Students to Emory College (Reduced Academic Load Program) and advocated for its implementation to the College Faculty. Further, he pushed the Office of Admission to prioritize Emory Upward Bound participants for admission; they were a population of potential black applicants that Admissions did not admit.

From 1973-1976, the enrollment of black students fluctuated from 1.8 percent to 2.3 percent of the incoming class. By 1976, the Office of Admission stated their commitment to

black recruitment but blamed poor results on outside factors, such as historically black colleges in Atlanta. Discrepancies existed, however, in how the Office of Admission evaluated black applicants as compared to white applicants; in 1977, Admissions accepted 76 percent of total applicants but only 42 percent of black applicants, enrolling a first year class with 2.85 percent black students. Admissions Counselor Michael Cohen concluded that blacks viewed Emory as the ‘ivory tower’ and university administrators had no pledge to furthering recruitment.

Most importantly, black students at Emory were vocal in their opposition to lagging black recruitment efforts from 1969-1979. After forming the BSA, black students established a Black Week in 1970, fundraised for the MLK Jr. Scholarship Fund and published numerous *Emory Wheel* articles that criticized the administration for its disastrous black recruitment. Whether it was through protecting the existence of the Black House or establishing black Greek life, Emory black students vigorously rejected their “token” status and maintained the black community at Emory through their own programming—even when numbers remained low.

In 1975, the Emory College Office of Admission accepted 75 percent of white applicants but only 33 percent of black applicants; 1.56 percent of the incoming class consisted of black students. In 1979, Admissions accepted 63.3 percent of total applicants but only 34 percent of black applicants; 2.38 percent of the incoming class consisted of black students. Ten years since the initial black student protests, the number of black students in the incoming class barely rose above 2 percent. Black student enrollment increased from 1979-1989 because the Office of Admission and the PCSM formally studied minority recruitment and retention rates. Both of these groups also benefited from President Laney, who publicly acknowledged Emory’s chronic problem of low black enrollment. In contrast, President Atwood’s administration was reactionary in nature and did not possess the same institutional commitment reflected in the Laney

administration of the 1980s. Hiring both Leila Brown in Campus Life and Denise Walters as a black admissions specialist as well as increasing financial aid under Herman Reese contributed to additional black student enrollment.

In 1981, the PCSM published the most comprehensive study of minority recruitment and support services at Emory to date. They discovered that many departments failed to track minority student data and that Emory ranked below other southern private peer institutions like Duke, Rice, Tulane and Vanderbilt. Most notably, Emory had the second lowest percentage of black applicants for 1979 (4.7 percent), the lowest percentage of black acceptances (31 percent) and the second lowest percentage of black enrollments (36.4 percent). These figures caused concern because Emory College also had one of the highest percentages of overall acceptances (63.7 percent).

Minimal black faculty at Emory and black enrollment issues were interrelated. However, Emory's 1980 Affirmative Action Plan did not include an outline for black student recruitment. Admissions had improved the difference between black students' and white students' acceptances from a 40.1 percent difference in 1978 to 13.5 percent in 1981. The PCSM concluded that the main problem for the Office of Admission was the lack of black acceptances and applicants. They suggested Emory centralize minority recruitment efforts by developing an Office of Minority Affairs, involve Emory black students in recruitment plans and adopt a formal flexible admissions policy—an official strategy for black recruitment.

The PCSM intervention increased the enrollment of black students in Emory College from 2 percent in fall 1979 to 4 percent in fall 1982. The PCSM continued to study minority recruitment and retention through a subsequent 1983 Report, 1983 Multicultural Programming

Report and 1984-1985 Student Subcommittee Report. Because the PCSM consistently held administrators accountable for enrollment figures, the Office of Admission increased black enrollment in 1985 to make up 6.53 percent of the incoming class. The Office of Admission and Office of Financial Aid increased the number of black staff members as a part of conscious black student recruitment. Thus, the President's Commission became a necessary advocate for institutional change and eventually led to steady increases in black recruitment.

However, the public controversy surrounding Dr. Sondra O'Neale's tenure rejection diminished the relevance of this achievement in admissions. Black faculty accused the administration of perpetuating racism and the BSA demanded that the Board of Trustees honestly commit itself to black recruitment. Following media attention, the administration hired the McClain Group to investigate the status of race at Emory. The McClain Report symbolized twenty-years of chronic low black enrollment at Emory. Most significant, the administration failed to implement successfully either the demands of 1969 or recommendations of the PCSM 1981 Report. Just as black students pinpointed Emory's "vicious cycle" with respect to black recruitment, the McClain Group also identified that few blacks at Emory prevented future black students from attending. They recommended minority admission officers, competitive scholarships and additional funding for the Office of Minority Programs.

The Atwood administration made minimal if any effort to increase the number of black students and reacted to student protests only to avoid further conflict. President Atwood acted like other university presidents at recently desegregated institution. When Laney took office, Emory was also transitioning into a national university and this required a more diverse student body. In the Atwood administration, no one was accountable for ensuring success of the black recruitment plans. However, the PCSM's sole purpose was to ensure successful recruitment and

retention of minorities. Its ability to conduct independent interviews with current students, create comparative studies and access high-ranking officials allowed the PCSM to heighten Emory's commitment to minorities and hold the administration accountable for its verbal promises.

In many ways, the McClain Report articulated the racial sentiment many blacks felt about Emory in 1989. Although the Office of Admission had improved black enrollment figures considerably in the last ten years than in the decade prior, the administration still failed to unite the Emory community behind the necessity of black enrollment and retention. The McClain Report reinforced that the university's responsibility to black students extended *beyond* admission. Improving the number of black students enrolled at Emory was only part of the battle; the university had an obligation to foster a welcoming campus climate for blacks to thrive academically, emotionally and socially. With this task, both the 1969 Atwood administration and the 1989 Laney administration were unsuccessful. Only with a proactive attitude, the McClain Group determined, would Emory University become an inclusive and effectively integrated university. Learning from the lessons of 1969-1989, Emory administrators repeatedly needed to ask themselves: "Are we doing all that we reasonably can?"

## Bibliography

- Aldridge, Delores P. "African American Studies at Emory: A Model for Change." In *Where Courageous Inquiry Leads: The Emerging Life of Emory University*, edited by Gary Hauk and Sally Wolff King, 173-185. Atlanta: Emory University, 2010.
- Afro-American and African Studies program bulletin reprinted in *Emory Wheel*. "BSA evolves." *Emory Wheel*, May 25, 1982.
- Beckham, Barry. *The Black Student's Guide to Colleges*. New York: E.P. Dutton, Inc., 1982.
- Beckham, Barry. *The Black Student's Guide to Colleges*. New York: E.P. Dutton, Inc., 1984.
- Biondi, Martha. *The Black Revolution on Campus*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014.
- Black Student Alliance. "Letters to the Editor: Blacks Blast KA Skit." *Emory Wheel*, May 24, 1977.
- Black Student Alliance. "Letters to the Editor: Black Student Group Calls Editorial Unfair." *The Emory New Times*, October 12, 1973.
- Black Rap Staff. "BSA Thanks Mrs. Allen." *Emory Wheel: The Black Rap*, April 3, 1973.
- Black Rap Staff. "Vicious Circle." *Emory Wheel: The Black Rap*, April 3, 1973.
- Bonam, Walter. "A Black Emory Senior Has Bittersweet Memories." *Emory Wheel*, March 1, 1977.
- Bowden, Gayle. "Brown, Price, Turner Trio Lead New BSA Organization." *Emory Wheel*, May 22, 1969.
- Brown, Damoco. "Escaping Reality." *Emory Wheel: The Black Rap*, April 3, 1973.
- Bugg, Randy editor. "MLK Scholarship." *The Emory New Times*, October 30, 1970.
- Burns, Bobby. "Emory Considers Possibility of Own Upward Bound Plan." *The Emory New Times*, December 4, 1970.
- Burns, Bobby. "Upward Bound Provides Aid For Underprivileged Students." *The Emory New Times*, November 20, 1970.
- Conkin, Paul K. "The Chancellor, the Kids, and Some Old Men." *Gone with the Ivy: A Biography of Vanderbilt University*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1985.

Cutler, Stephanie. "University Enrolls 97% Whites in '76." *Emory Wheel: Black Perspectives*, February 7, 1978.

Duke University Archives. *Duke Illustrated: A Timeline of Duke University History, 1838-2011*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2011.

Emory New Times Staff. "Arrington Claims Success for Black Recruitments." *The Emory New Times*, November 13, 1970.

Emory University desegregation collection, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Emory University.

Emory University Faculty records, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.

Emory Wheel Staff. "Admission Methods Receive Contemplation." *Emory Wheel*, March 6, 1969.

Emory Wheel Staff. "BSA Elects Triumvirate." *Emory Wheel*, May 8, 1969.

Emory Wheel Staff. "Gavin, Ambrose say 'Whites Need Black Studies Program'." *Emory Wheel*, March 6, 1969.

Emory Wheel Staff. "Minorities Need Representation." *Emory Wheel*, May 11, 1982.

Emory Wheel Staff. "Watson Airs his Views." *Emory Wheel*, March 6, 1969.

Ezell, Hank. "Colleges Vie to Lure Bright Blacks." *The Atlanta Constitution*, June 21, 1983.

"Fast Facts: Admission Profile." *Emory University Office of Undergraduate Admission*. Accessed March 16, 2017. <http://apply.emory.edu/discover/fastfacts.php>.

Feuerstein, Adam and Lori Horvitz. "Selection Process of O'Neale Reviewers Disputed by Profs." *Emory Wheel*, February 3, 1989.

French, Sheila. "Black House Incites Complaints." *The Black Voice*, April 20, 1976.

Gent, Fred. "Legislature Approves BSA, Donates \$300 to King Fund." *Emory Wheel*, April 17, 1969.

Green, Loris. "All-Stars Ease Black Frosh Adjustment." *Emory Wheel*, September 20, 1983.

Haines, Marsha. "Haynes Acts on Racism." *Emory Wheel*, May 22, 1969.

Harper, "Akiba" Donna Sullivan. Editorial: "Progress, but Not Enough." *Emory Wheel*, May 25, 1982.

- Harris, Adrienne S. "BSA Asks for Total Community Support." *The Black Voice*, April 20, 1976.
- Harris, Adrienne. "Emory Blacks Must Live with Racism, Neglect BSA President Points Out," *Emory Wheel: Black Perspectives*, February 7, 1978.
- Horvitz, Lori and Adam Feuerstein. "Former Prof O'Neale sues University, College dean." *The Emory Wheel*, January 27, 1989.
- Hurd, Joanne. "Emory Black Recruitment Still Lags." *Emory Wheel*, May 22, 1979.
- Judson C. Ward office files, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Emory University.
- Kaufman, Kim. "AKA celebrates 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary." *Emory Wheel*, April 11, 1989.
- Kean, Melissa. *Desegregating Private Higher Education in the South: Duke, Emory, Rice, Tulane, and Vanderbilt*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2008.
- Kean, Melissa. "National Ambition, Regional Turmoil: The Desegregation of Emory." In *Where Courageous Inquiry Leads: The Emerging Life of Emory University*, edited by Gary Hauk and Sally Wolff King, 39-55. Atlanta: Emory University, 2010.
- Kitchen, Winston. "Incoming President Chats with Wheel Editor." *Emory Wheel*, April 5, 1977.
- Kramer, Sophie. "Black Student Alliance Protests Delt Frolics." *Emory Wheel*, May 19, 1981.
- Leigh, Alison. "Holmes Serves as Role Model for Black Students." *Emory Wheel: Black Perspectives*, February 7, 1978.
- Locke, Ivy. "Black Freshman Speak Out on Emory College." *The Black Voice*, April 20, 1976.
- Mackie, Steve. "Freshman Class Maintains Trend." *Emory Wheel*, January 23, 1979.
- Mohr, Clarence L. and Joseph E. Gordon. "Crisis of the Old Order: Desegregation and Roots of Campus Activism." In *Tulane: The Emergence of a Modern University, 1945-1980*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001.
- Office of Multicultural Programs and Services video recordings, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Emory University.
- Office of the President subject files, Emory University Archives, Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Emory University.
- Perkins, Kerri. "Minority Recruitment Still Behind," *Emory Wheel* (Atlanta, GA), February 10, 1981.

Phelps, Jon. *I have selected Duke University... A Short History*. Duke University, 1973.

President's Commission on Race and Ethnicity records, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.

Reamer, David. "Committee Urges Attention to Minorities." *Emory Wheel*, May 11, 1982.

Reamer, David. "More Black Faculty Needed." *Emory Wheel*, May 25, 1982.

Richardson, David. "Letters to the Editor: Delts Apologize to BSA." *Emory Wheel*, May 26, 1981.

Rogers, Dewitt. "BSA and the 'Black House,'" *The Emory New Times* (Atlanta, GA), October 5, 1973.

Rollins, Kenneth. "BSA President Interviewed." *Emory Wheel: The Black Rap*, April 3, 1973.

Sanford S. Atwood office files, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.

Schoen, Gary. "New Fraternity Plans Activities." *Emory Wheel*, October 17, 1978.

Schuster, Tammy. "Recruitment Not Up to Par." *Emory Wheel*, May 25, 1982.

Simowitz, Lee. "Compromise Ends Strife at Emory." *The Atlanta Journal Constitution*, May 29, 1969 accessed from ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Atlanta Constitution.

Simowitz, Lee. "Emory Protestors Block Food Line." *The Atlanta Journal Constitution*, May 27, 1969 accessed from ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Atlanta Constitution.

Simowitz, Lee. "Emory Students Bar Food Serving." *The Atlanta Journal Constitution*, May 28, 1969 accessed from ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Atlanta Constitution.

Sinclair, Calder (editor). "Dr. Arrington." *The Emory New Times*, May 21, 1971.

Sinclair, Calder. "EU Upward Bound Takes \$67,219 OEO Appropriation." *Emory Wheel*, April 24, 1969.

Smith, Jr., Leon B. "Alpha Phi Alpha: New Fraternity Joins Campus Community." *The Black Voice*, April 20, 1976.

Student and Academic Services records, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.

Thompson, Tracy, "High Tuition, Poor Community Image Keeps Emory's Black Enrollment Down." *Emory Wheel*, May 25, 1976.

University Senate Records, Emory University Archives, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.

Warner, Ray. "Black Week Offers Moment for Reflection on Goals." *Emory Wheel*, April 13, 1976.

"Week of Discrimination Awareness" ad. *The Voice*, September 1988.

Zabriskie, Mark. "Emory Recruiting Improves," *Emory Wheel*, February 10, 1981.