

**“Voices for Change:
The History of Black Student Activism at Johns Hopkins University”**

by

Adam Lovett

Senior Thesis
completed as part of
The History of African Americans at Johns Hopkins Project
1 April 2008

Faculty Advisor: Dr. Melanie Shell-Weiss

(Special thanks to Adrienne Baksh, Class of 2006, whose early work on this subject helped inform this research)

Voices for Change: The History of Black Student Activism at Johns Hopkins University

In the 2007-2008 academic year, the undergraduate student body at Johns Hopkins University (JHU) is graced with 53% non-Caucasian student enrollment of which 7% are identified as Black/African Americans.¹ Of particular note, the JHU Center for Africana Studies was founded in the fall of 2003 in the Krieger School of Arts and Sciences. The Center was established in response to interest from students and faculty and as part of the university's efforts to "diversify the intellectual footprint on campus."² Black faculty currently constitute approximately 3.5%.³ The presence of black students and faculty on today's campus is in stark contrast to the conditions that prevailed 40 years ago. A seminal event in the evolution of black inclusion on the JHU Homewood campus was establishment of the Black Student Union (BSU) in the fall of 1968. Without the student activism directed by the founders of the BSU, JHU would have lagged behind other elite institutions of higher learning in terms of diversity. The path from no Blacks on campus to today's percentages was replete with challenges. Had the JHU administration been solely responsible for increasing diversity on campus, progress in this area would have been much slower and less dramatic. The BSU served as a catalyst for student empowerment and enabled racial progress to be achieved at Homewood.

Since its inception the BSU has promoted the interests of black students at a predominately white institution of higher learning. At the same time, by acting as a conduit between the university and the large black population in greater Baltimore, the BSU has enhanced the image of JHU as a premier research institution that is supportive and tolerant of its increasingly diverse student population. The history of black student life at JHU is a fascinating

¹ Office of Undergraduate Admissions at Johns Hopkins University, "Campus Profile," Johns Hopkins University, <http://jhu.intelliresponse.com/results.jsp>.

² Greg Rienzi, "Next Up for Africana Studies," *The JHU Gazette*, July 10, 2006.

³ The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education Features, "Black Faculty in Higher Education: Still Only a Drop in the Bucket," *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education*, http://www.jbhe.com/features/55_blackfaculty.html.

research topic because it lends itself to an analysis of institutional culture as well as provides insight into the reality of the black experience in post World War II America.

Traditionally, scholars of the Civil Rights Era (1960s) have focused on the importance of student activism on university campuses such as Columbia, Yale, or Berkeley, which helped to bring about important social change for both Blacks and Whites. These institutions grabbed national media attention with their highly publicized protests and student riots. Less well studied are the student activists at JHU who had a significant impact on race relations between JHU and the larger Baltimore community. This paper will argue that it is important to include the founding of the BSU at JHU in the historiography of African-American higher education and the evolution of civil rights of that period. While the JHU experience fits well within the larger context of civil rights struggles on college campuses, there are some aspects of the JHU narrative that make for a unique case study. The particular character of the university, in terms of its size and structure, allowed black student activists and their supporters to navigate the administrative bureaucracy using accepted, professional, and negotiated strategies to achieve radical change. The civil rights narrative at JHU underscores the importance of understanding an institutional culture when analyzing the impact of social movements on college campuses. The examination of JHU, which has both northern and southern roots, also yields insights into the multiple challenges of discrimination and self-identity that activists had to overcome in this era.

Owing to its location in Baltimore, Maryland, a “border state,” JHU is tied to the culture and history of both the U.S. North and the South. In the post WWII period, southern Blacks were migrating in increasing numbers to the city of Baltimore.⁴ However, according to admissions statistics, up until the 1970s, the student body and faculty at JHU were still primarily white

⁴ Harold A. McDougall, *Black Baltimore: A New Theory of Community* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993), 57.

Protestants from the Northeast.⁵ The union of a largely northern white campus and migrating Blacks from the South resulted in a reaction of insularity on the part of the university from the surrounding community. The impetus for developing the BSU grew out of the separation between the experiences of black students as members of the JHU Homewood campus and the experiences of Blacks living in Baltimore. The founders of the BSU aspired not only to enhance their place at JHU but also to breach the divide between their university and the city from which many of these same black students had come.

To explore this history, I draw upon a variety of primary documents including newspaper articles, records maintained by the BSU, university documents, and oral histories conducted with the BSU's founding members and their contemporaries. I will analyze these sources, paying particular attention to the language of race and identity. During a distinct period of Black Power (1968-1970), expressions of equality and sameness versus separation and uniqueness were intensely debated at JHU as well as nationally; black activists transitioned their modes of communication, as well as their political strategies, from the former towards the latter terms. This shift was of critical importance to the early development of the BSU.

A concerted effort has been made to bring balance into this historical investigation by including student, faculty, and administrative perspectives. This is critically important because any assessment of institutional culture is the bi-product of multiple points of view. However, since many of the records of administrative decisions on these matters remain sealed, it is the student-generated documents and press coverage that provide the richest source of primary documentation. Thus this paper is largely a narrative of JHU's history as seen through the lens of student activists. Their histories and experiences are the focus of this paper.

⁵ Personal Communication between Craig A. Smith, Johns Hopkins University Associate Registrar, and author via email (March 11, 2008).

The Origins of JHU and Its Ties to the History of Black Baltimore

Upon his death in 1873, Johns Hopkins, a wealthy railroad executive and child of abolitionists, bequeathed a \$7 million trust to establish the all-male JHU. Also included in the trust were an affiliated hospital, the Colored Orphan Asylum, an academic press, a medical school, a nursing school of public health, and the Peabody Institute which was devoted to the study of music.⁶ At that time, it was the largest philanthropic gift ever made in the United States. Mr. Hopkins envisioned that the hospital and Orphan Asylum, in particular, would benefit the larger Baltimore community and all of its members.⁷ By the late 19th century, these residents were a very diverse group. As a “gateway” city between North and South, in a state that had remained with the Union throughout the Civil War even while slavery was legal and a cornerstone of Maryland’s economy, Baltimore included a considerable number of former enslaved African Americans as well as an even larger number of free, middle- and upper-class Blacks. Significant numbers of Quakers, German Irish, and Jewish immigrants, as well as native-born southerners also made the city their home. Thus, JHU was founded in a city with a varied and complex cultural legacy. In its early history, JHU would pursue an ambiguous policy toward black applicants, which arguably, can be attributed to the diverse racial sentiment in Baltimore.

In 1887, in the spirit espoused in Mr. Hopkins’ JHU Trust, Kelly Miller became the first black student admitted to JHU. Miller’s application to JHU has been preserved and it confirms

⁶ The History of African Americans at Johns Hopkins Project, “Excerpts from Will of Johns Hopkins,” Johns Hopkins University, <http://afam.nts.jhu.edu/chronology/1867.html>.

⁷ “The Racial Record of Johns Hopkins University,” *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* (Autumn, 1999): 42-43.

Evidence of this can be seen in his last will and testament that stipulated that the hospital provide for “[t]he indigent sick of this city and its environs, without regard to sex, age, or color.” Of critical importance, in his will Mr. Hopkins left no specific rules or guidelines restricting the admission of Blacks to the university that bore his name.

that Miller did graduate work in “mathematics, physics, and astronomy.”⁸ In 1889, trustees raised the price of admission by twenty-five percent due to an economic crisis; Miller could not afford the increased cost of tuition and thereafter left JHU, transferring to Howard University, a historically black university in Washington, D.C.⁹

During this period, the nation as a whole was becoming increasingly hardened against black participation in American society. Following the establishment of the separate but equal ruling in *Plessey v. Ferguson* (1896), educational institutions had legal sanction to pursue segregationist practices. As was the case in other, mostly southern white universities, the JHU administration came under control of racial segregationists.¹⁰ In 1910, JHU President Ira Remsen articulated his position that the young white men who came to JHU had “the natural feeling of men from that part of the country” and that admitting black applicants to the university would be “almost suicidal.”¹¹ President Remsen further noted that “if Hopkins were to follow the Quaker practice of colorblind admission, then the enrollment of Blacks would send Hopkins’ white students running south to universities in Charlottesville and Chapel Hill.”¹² Over the next three decades, there were no black students who applied to JHU’s graduate or undergraduate programs in the Arts and Sciences. Thus, during this period the segregationist attitude of the administration remained unchallenged.

It took until 1938 for the issue of black student enrollment to come before the administration again. At this junction, Edward Lewis, a black graduate of the University of Chicago, applied to be a Ph.D. candidate in JHU’s department of Political Science. According to

⁸ History of African Americans at Johns Hopkins Project, “1887,” Johns Hopkins University, <http://afam.nts.jhu.edu/chronology/1887.html>.

⁹ History of African Americans at Hopkins Project, “Kelly Miller,” Johns Hopkins University, http://www.math.buffalo.edu/mad/special/miller_kelley.html.

¹⁰ “The Racial Record of Johns Hopkins University”, 43.

¹¹ The History of African Americans at Johns Hopkins Project, “1910,” Johns Hopkins University, <http://afam.nts.jhu.edu/chronology/1910.html>.

¹² Ibid.

an article in the *Journal of Blacks in Higher Education*, the university took 18 months to consider his credentials, but his application was “ultimately rejected on the grounds that his admission might deter southern white students from enrolling at JHU.”¹³

JHU was not alone among elite white universities outside of the South that sympathized with southern segregationists. For example, Princeton was notable for the ignominious case of Bruce Wright, who was offered admission with a full scholarship in 1936; after arriving on campus he was told to leave abruptly when university officials realized he was black.¹⁴ In Maryland, where race-based segregation was the rule, state schools like the University of Maryland remained white-only while African American students attended all-black colleges and universities like Morgan, Coppin, or Bowie State. It is noteworthy that around the same time, elite white universities in the North, such as Harvard, Cornell, and Brown, were accepting small numbers of black applicants.¹⁵

Breaking the Color Line at JHU

It was not until World War II that opportunities for Blacks in higher education began to change noticeably. The World War II era was seen as a time of great promise for Blacks to gain equality since the United States was fighting a war to spread and protect democracy.¹⁶ Reginald G. James became the first black American to earn a degree of any kind at JHU. In 1944, James was accepted into a masters program in public health; he graduated two years later. In 1945, Frederick Scott became the university’s first black undergraduate.

¹³ “The Racial Record of Johns Hopkins University,” 43.

¹⁴ William G. Bowen, “Stand and Prosper: Race and American Higher Education” (paper presented at the Thomas Jefferson Distinguished Lecture Series, University of Virginia, April 13, 2004).

¹⁵ Allen Ballard, “Blacks at Harvard: A Documentary History of African-American Experience at Harvard,” *The New England Quarterly* (March, 1994).

¹⁶ Shaneka Oliver and the Virginia Center for Digital History, “Black Student Protests in World War II, and the Historically Black Colleges and Universities in Virginia” (Thesis, University of Virginia, 2005), 3.

There were several important historical factors that contributed to the enrollment of Scott and other black applicants in the immediate post-World War II period; one of these factors was the passage of the GI Bill of Rights in 1944. This legislation provided for subsidized tuition and living expenses in order to encourage veterans to continue their education at the institution of their choice. However, these institutions of higher learning still controlled which veterans they chose to admit. Scott was a World War II veteran whose education was subsidized under the GI Bill.¹⁷

In an interview in 2005, Scott, a Baltimore native, explained how his presence at JHU seemed to be an instance of chance. Scott was intrigued by the opportunity to apply to a university that all of his friends dared him to apply to “on a lark.” It was widely assumed by the black Baltimore community that Scott would be rejected outright on the basis of his race.¹⁸ When Scott first approached the administration at JHU, he asked if they “accepted Negroes in here”, and they replied that they “hadn’t had any undergraduate applications from Negroes.”¹⁹ After Scott’s meeting with the administration, the registrar sent him an application and “told him to try his luck.”²⁰ Scott successfully completed the application process, scored high on the entrance exam, and then entered the university as an undergraduate freshman on February 1, 1945.

During the period between the end of World War II (1945) and *Brown v Board of Education* (1954), which declared segregation in public schools unconstitutional, the opportunities available for qualified black students were different for those who applied to private versus public institutions of higher learning. This derived from the fact that black

¹⁷ Nabaha Syed, “Frederick Scott: Johns Hopkins University’s First Black Undergraduate,” The History of African Americans at Johns Hopkins Project (May 14, 2005), 7. <http://afam.nts.jhu.edu/people/Scott/scottbio.pdf>.

¹⁸ Ibid, 3.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

students were prohibited by law from attending certain state universities (e.g. University of Maryland) while no such prohibition existed at certain private institutions such as JHU. This fact, combined with the funding available under the GI Bill to veterans who gained acceptance, enabled certain black students to attend JHU while being barred from attending the less costly public universities.²¹ By contrast, it was not until 1955 that the Board of Regents of the University of Maryland voted to permit qualified Blacks to be admitted for study on each of its campuses. Thus, JHU was more progressive than state institutions with regard to race relations during this period.

In the socio-political environment of the post-WWII period, the administration did not go out of its way to either reject or admit qualified black applicants. The acceptance of James and Scott at JHU thus demonstrated that the institutional culture could absorb one or two highly qualified black applicants without their acceptance to JHU becoming a politically-charged issue. Articles from the 1945 period published in *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter (News-Letter)*, the primary student paper on JHU's Homewood campus, support this claim; they did not mention any controversy regarding the acceptance of black students.²² Rather, *News-Letter* articles focused on the conclusion of the war and the place of JHU in the larger war effort. The absence of inflammatory rhetoric on this topic in the school paper is particularly noteworthy when compared with the controversy surrounding the founding of the BSU twenty years later during the Civil Rights period.

²¹ "Maryland Paying Negroes Tuition" *The New York Times*, December 7, 1947.

²² Syed, 5.

Beginnings of Student Movements for Social Change at JHU

Opening the door to black students soon created an opening for even greater change within the university community. In terms of education, *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) proved to be a watershed moment for civil rights; the resulting anti-segregationist sentiment created momentum for student activism at JHU.²³ In 1961, a small group of white and black undergraduates founded a new political organization, the Committee for Basic Freedoms, whose mission was to fight racial inequality at JHU and in the surrounding Baltimore community.²⁴ In November, the Committee submitted a report to the administration on the status of race relations at the university.²⁵ The report asserted that JHU's reputation as a white school in a southern city discouraged qualified black students from seeking admission. These claims were buttressed by other evidence collected from the period. Black JHU students interviewed by the *News-Letter* indicated that "guidance counselors tend to advise students at predominantly black schools against coming to Hopkins" because "Hopkins has a standard comparable to Ivy League schools without as attractive a reputation."²⁶ In order to improve the university's reputation on matters of race, thereby making JHU a more desirable option for black students, the Committee recommended that admissions officers actively recruit students at predominantly black high schools across the South.²⁷

Another major goal of the Committee was to de-segregate JHU housing opportunities. At that time, JHU was largely a commuter school with few housing options available to

²³ Of note, Baltimore native son Thurgood Marshall played a central role in *Brown v. Board of Education*, giving the decision particular importance in Baltimore, as well as nationwide.

²⁴ Ferdinand Hamburger Archives. Sheridan Libraries, "Student Organizations," <http://library.jhu.edu/collections/specialcollections/archives/inventories/rg14-001.html>.

²⁵ "Upped Negro Enrollment Here Laid to Active Recruitment," *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, September 30, 1966.

²⁶ "Black Enrollment Remains Well Below Three Percent," *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, September 26, 1969.

²⁷ Ferdinand Hamburger Archives. Sheridan Libraries, "Student Organizations," <http://library.jhu.edu/collections/specialcollections/archives/inventories/rg14-001.html>.

undergraduate students, black or white. While off-campus housing did exist for white undergraduates, black students were largely barred from renting rooms in the surrounding neighborhoods. One black student, Doug Miles, described the psychological difficulties of being a black JHU student without housing privileges: “I commuted, spending half of my day in an all white world and then my evenings in an all black world, almost had me schizophrenic by the time I graduated.”²⁸ Recognizing these challenges in its report, the Committee called upon the university to exert economic and public pressure to make off-campus housing available for black students. At the time the report was issued, the administration took no affirmative action to either alleviate the housing situation or to actively recruit black students.

Contemporaneous with the organizing efforts of the Committee for Basic Freedoms at JHU, a national student-run civil rights organization called the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was also mobilizing. SNCC was founded in 1960 by southern black college students who had initiated lunch counter sit-ins at segregated restaurants throughout the South.²⁹ In the early 1960s, SNCC became a political organization for a growing number of northern and southern activists, Whites as well as Blacks; together they led a frontal attack on segregation in the South. Many of the struggles of SNCC over the course of the 1960s would parallel obstacles faced by activists at JHU. Activists in both SNCC and JHU would have to deal with conflicting identities of being situated in institutions with both northern and southern roots. While focusing its resources on racism in the South during the early 1960s, SNCC insisted that white, predominantly northern liberals in the federal government use their power to assist SNCC workers and the southern Blacks with whom they worked.³⁰ During the mid 1960s, the question

²⁸ Doug Miles, interview by Adrienne Baksh, April 16, 2004, transcript, History of African Americans at Johns Hopkins Project, Ferdinand Hamburger Archives. Sheridan Libraries.

²⁹ Claybourne Carson, *SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s* (Cambridge:Harvard University Press, 1995),7.

³⁰ Ibid.

as to what extent they should rely on “northern” white support would become an issue for both SNCC and black activists at JHU.

In the years immediately following the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which specifically prohibited discrimination in higher education on the basis of race, JHU's administration was forced to address some blatant inequalities.³¹ If JHU did not make certain good faith efforts to eliminate racial discrimination, the university risked losing federal research funds. The student activists saw an important window of opportunity. In November 1965, the Committee for Basic Freedoms made a second attempt to grab the attention of the administration and force them to act. The Committee issued a second report, entitled the “white paper”, which charged the administration with maintaining racially discriminatory policies in admissions, housing, and employment. In this new climate of civil rights legislation, and facing steep federal penalties, the administration responded quickly, passing statutes prohibiting discrimination on the basis of race in JHU-owned housing less than one month after receiving the report. The administration also took a firm stance against racist housing policies in the surrounding Baltimore neighborhoods, refusing to allow owners with closed-housing policies to advertise through the school.³² According to the *News-Letter* in September 1966, “with the increased efforts toward the elimination of racial discrimination in housing, the university seems to be taking what last year’s Freedom Committee advocated as a social stand.”³³ Allowing black students to live on campus and promoting their residency in nearby neighborhoods were important first steps in the effort to build a black student community at JHU. Still, student activism had a very limited influence on these changes. Social progress at JHU during the early

³¹ “Upped Negro Enrollment Here Laid to Active Recruitment,” *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, September 30, 1966.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*

to mid 1960s did not yet reflect a shift in the institutional culture. The primary force for social progress had come from federal legislation.

Allowing Blacks to become socially integrated was a divisive issue in the city as a whole. Throughout the mid 1960s in neighborhoods surrounding JHU, there were powerful local interests that wanted to maintain discriminatory practices at any cost. Property owners lobbied hard to maintain their all white status and used neighborhood associations to maintain stark racial divides.³⁴ Milton Schlenger, president of the University Heights Improvement Association, told a JHU student reporter in the fall of 1966 that he would use all of his power to “keep Negroes out of the fraternity houses.”³⁵ Taking into account the racial attitudes of Whites in the surrounding Baltimore neighborhoods, the administration’s initiatives can be acknowledged for being more progressive than the actions of some of their local contemporaries.

But even with housing discrimination being directly challenged, there were more underlying social difficulties for Blacks on campus. Miles began attending JHU in the fall of 1966. Being black and a native of Baltimore, Miles recalled in an interview his rationale for applying to JHU: “I was headed to the University of the Pacific when one of my mentors talked with me about the possibility of going to Hopkins and sold me on the idea that if I got in, it would open the door to other African Americans in Baltimore City.”³⁶ This remark suggests that after the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the black community in Baltimore was ready to work toward breaking down barriers and saw integrating JHU as an important step. “By and large, the student population was pretty much accepting of the African American students,” he recalled. “Keep in

³⁴ Evan Mckenzie, *Privatopia: Homeowner Associations and the Rise of Residential Private Government* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996).

³⁵ “Heights Improvement Group Aims to Keep Area White,” *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, December 9, 1966. Of note, The University Heights Improvement Association was located in Charles Village in the 1960s, but was disbanded in the 1970s.

³⁶ Doug Miles.

mind, African Americans are never a threat when in such a huge minority.”³⁷ There were a few exceptions; Miles recalled that when he first came to JHU “there was one fraternity whose theme song was Dixie,” which is commonly identified with slavery, racism, and hatred in the old South.³⁸ Some white students clearly had prejudicial feelings towards Blacks, but once on campus most students accepted each other publicly; this was in stark contrast to the often blatant racial discrimination existing in parts of the surrounding community. However the admission of Blacks into new housing was still a long way from the full integration many black students hoped to achieve at JHU. “There was no sense of African American community on campus. None. In fact, most of the African Americans there tried as best they could to assimilate and become as white as they could,” Miles said.³⁹ If Blacks wanted a sense of belonging at JHU, they were encouraged to give up their racial identity or go elsewhere.

These obstacles faced by black students were not only the product of their small numbers on campus; JHU campus life also made the process of assimilation very difficult even if overt racism was not in evidence.⁴⁰ A *News-Letter* article from September 30, 1966, titled “Preview for Freshmen: A look at Life at the Hop,” provided a useful glance at the lack of student life on campus. “Johns Hopkins neither has nor seeks tradition of any sort...most of you don’t care about anything but your work...if there were a tradition here at all one might call it apathy,” the article reported.⁴¹ There also did not appear to be much university pride, or school spirit. As the report continued, “You are not in residence at one of the glamour schools of the east coast...You’re at a good school- but it’s a school, and that’s about it.”⁴² White JHU students

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ “Preview for Freshmen: A look at Life at the Hop,” *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, September 30, 1966. Of note, up until 1969, the black undergraduate population remained at less than 1%.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

could feel comfortable in an academically focused environment because they were in the majority and did not need to be socially or politically active in order to feel a sense of belonging to the community. For example, it was actually perceived to be less socially acceptable to belong to the existing social-action groups on campus. As various *News-Letter* articles made clear, students who joined groups like Students for a Democratic Society were openly mocked.⁴³ The minimal social scene that did exist tended to further alienate black students from their white counterparts. According to a *News-Letter* reporter who interviewed black students during that period, “The social life at Hopkins is the antithesis of that at black high schools. Dating, which is the dominant social activity at Hopkins, is rare at black high schools.”⁴⁴ Thus lack of popular student activities and familiar social outlets made it that much more difficult for incoming black students to find a comfortable niche.

Academic struggles were another source of alienation for black JHU students. Many of these students, particularly from inner city schools, were not fully prepared for the academic rigors of JHU despite their strong performances in high school. Miles, having come from an inner city school, vividly described his personal academic experience:

It was sort of like being the big fish in a little pond and then moving and being the little fish in a very large ocean. I had never even heard of calculus and yet I was sitting in class with one young man who sat next to me who went through the calculus book and pointed the errors that the author had made. Not that we were not intellectually capable. We just did not have the background to do a lot of what was being expected.⁴⁵

Interestingly, Miles felt his transition to JHU would have been even more difficult if he had not been from Baltimore. “I probably would have flunked out of Hopkins but I had resources here in

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ “Black Enrollment Remains Well Below Three Percent,” *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, September 26, 1969.

⁴⁵ Doug Miles.

the city that I could go back to and who helped me,” he remarked.⁴⁶ One of the main problems was that there were no student-organized tutorial programs on campus and no remedial assistance with which to better prepare accepted black students for classes at JHU.⁴⁷ In the spring of 1968, the administration formed a committee that discussed the creation of a tutorial program specifically for black students; the proposal was ultimately rejected.⁴⁸ The lack of institutional support for such programs can be viewed within the context of the administration’s attitude towards black admissions in the mid to late 1960s. According to Allan Kimball, the Dean of Arts and Sciences (1966-1970), the administration did want to recruit black students who struggled academically because “you can’t simply take a person with SAT scores that are way below Hopkins normal range and suddenly bring his level way up.”⁴⁹ The administration was unwilling to acknowledge that there were students who were intellectually capable of excelling at JHU, but who did not have the academic exposure of the typical white JHU students. Thus, the institutional culture at that time had highly rigid academic standards that the university administration refused to “compromise” for the sake of social progress.

Concurrent with the lack of change at JHU, the larger Baltimore community was undergoing a major demographic shift. Even as JHU students retained an almost exclusive focus on their studies, the inner city of Baltimore became increasingly Black and gradually poorer. Inner-city white residents, by contrast, became increasingly more affluent and gradually began to relocate to the suburbs. These developments were actually a departure from the more equitable racial conditions that existed in Baltimore when the university was founded. Between 1930 and 1960, the black population of Baltimore had increased from 142,000 to 326,000, creating

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ “Black Enrollment Remains Well Below Three Percent,” *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, September 26, 1969.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

explosive housing pressure.⁵⁰ The demand for housing contributed to the unprecedented suburban expansion for white Baltimore residents, with new houses and apartments rapidly filling up the remaining tracts within the city limits. During the 1950s and 1960s new highways were built to serve these expanding suburbs. Within the city, “slum clearance” was used to generate enthusiasm for new public housing projects. These policies also had sweeping effects on the city’s poor and working-classes, virtually eliminating the types of class-integrated neighborhoods that proliferated before World War II. Between 1951 and 1971, an estimated 25,000 households were displaced, the vast majority of which were black.⁵¹ Resettlement of the mostly black, low-income residents to predominantly black neighborhoods created new pressures and problems in those communities.⁵² Failing buildings, inadequate city services, together with ineffective schools, alcoholism, traffic in drugs, unwanted pregnancies, and a high rate of juvenile delinquency all contributed to a greater divide between JHU and Baltimore’s poor black community.⁵³

In the face of these massive transitions in Baltimore, JHU existed as a world apart. “JHU sat on top of the small hill before its lawn of North Charles Street,” Doug Miles recalled, “isolated and disconnected from the outside as an island.”⁵⁴ JHU was also quite proud of this separation, with university leaders encouraging students to embrace this strict divide. The *News-Letter*’s reaction to the growing gap between JHU and Baltimore was to recommend that students remain insulated within the “bubble” of the university campus: “In terms of fun things

⁵⁰ Elizabeth Fee, et al., *The Baltimore Book* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991), 221.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Rhonda Y. Williams, *The Politics of Public Housing: Black Women’s Struggles against Urban Inequality* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

⁵³ Harold A. McDougall, *Black Baltimore: A New Theory of Community* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993), 56.

⁵⁴ Doug Miles.

to do, you could go for a trip around Baltimore, but there is basically nothing worth seeing, so you might as well just focus on your studies.”⁵⁵

Ironically, neither the white nor black students felt they were able to identify with the heritage of JHU within Baltimore for racial reasons. According to the *News-Letter*, “Hopkins and the surrounding community lack southern gentility. And if you don’t believe THAT, you just take a good look at Baltimore.”⁵⁶ “Southern gentility” refers to an elitist white culture, characterized by genteel behavior and appearance, which had been a common mythology in the South since the beginnings of American slavery. The fact that the *News-Letter* was lamenting the southern white roots of the university is rather interesting since most white students and faculty, including those who wrote for the paper, had come from the northeast. By contrast, Miles’ perception was that “Hopkins was a southern school, but very disconnected from the African American Experience.”⁵⁷ In particular, Miles remembered one white southern history professor, Dr. Hugh Graham, who taught a class about African American history. “He misrepresented many factual events and distorted the subject towards a southern white bias,” Miles recalled.⁵⁸ These opposing categorizations of JHU reflected a confused and conflicting regional and racial identity.

Activism at JHU Takes a Leap Forward: The Barber Incident

Perhaps no incident underscored these differences and the collision of cultures that was occurring in the neighborhood surrounding JHU’s Homewood campus more than the barber incident of 1966. In November, a barber at The Marylander, one of the large apartment and office complexes in the local neighborhood, refused to give a haircut to Ken Brown, a black JHU

⁵⁵ “Preview for Freshmen: A look at Life at the Hop,” *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, September 30, 1966.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Doug Miles.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

freshman.⁵⁹ Miles remembers this incident as being particularly controversial for the racial language used. As Miles recalled, “The barber didn’t just say that he wouldn’t cut African American’s hair, he said he wouldn’t cut monkey hair.”⁶⁰ It was the racial epithet that proved especially explosive. Three JHU students, both black and white, went to the barbershop and confronted the manager, Victor De Ruggiero. He responded bluntly, telling the students: “If the people of Baltimore take it, then it was a different story. If I had a lot of colored people, then it would be all right. But with just a few Negroes my business would be in trouble. They got me by the throat.”⁶¹

His response did little to pacify the students. Unsatisfied with the manager’s response, approximately 75 JHU students, again both black and white, met in a crowded classroom in the basement of the university’s Athletic Center to develop a plan for action. Brown was among the main organizers, and it is worth noting that there were white JHU students willing to take directions from a fellow black student, at a time when Blacks could not even get a haircut in the local neighborhood. This group eventually decided to send a delegation of four students back to the barbershop to give the manager an ultimatum: either he would give haircuts to black students or a period of picketing and boycotting would begin. Evidence from the Maryland State Archives indicates that the only other barbershop in the immediate vicinity of JHU was a small one in Levering Hall that would provide service to any JHU student, irrespective of race.⁶² Therefore, these students were exerting political pressure and making a sacrifice by boycotting the nearby and more convenient barbershop.

⁵⁹ Of note, The Marylander was in Charles Village.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ “Barber Stirs Racial Issue, Turns Away Negro Students,” *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, November 11, 1966.

⁶² Archives of Maryland Online. “The First Colored Professional, Clerical and Business Directory of Baltimore City 33rd Annual Edition,” Maryland State Archives, <http://www.msa.md.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/html/officials.html>.

The Student Council (SC) at JHU supported the efforts of the activists and, in a test case, gave two dollars to one black student, Alan Beal, to get a haircut at The Marylander. As was the case for Brown, Beal was refused service on the grounds that the manager was “not trained to cut a Negro’s hair.”⁶³ The manager of the barbershop at Levering Hall concurred that “cutting a colored man’s hair required extra training” and “most barbers in Baltimore do not have that training, but that here at Hopkins we do the best for anyone regardless of color, race, or creed.”⁶⁴ Several students met with members of the administration to help determine the best course of action. The administration recommended that a delegation of students confront the manager for a third time to negotiate a compromise. What followed was an intense round of negotiations between the students and barbershop owner. Finally, it was agreed that the barber would cut the hair of any JHU student, after receiving several months of training in techniques for cutting the hair of black customers.

The significance of the barber incident can be understood in terms of the tension between JHU and the surrounding community and also in terms of the institutional culture at JHU. Defining itself as an island apart from the larger community of Baltimore, and focused exclusively on academic research pursuits rather than politics or cultural debates, the university proved to be less prone to the overt types of racial discrimination that were commonplace elsewhere in the city. Yet it was also this stark division between the adjacent white neighborhood and the university that many black students and their supporters wanted to eliminate. As Miles recalled, “We finally got a black barber in the barbershop. Just basically through protest. You know, that was the great era of protesting.”⁶⁵ Miles appreciated the barber incident within the larger context of late 1960s America but also in terms of its break from traditional student and

⁶³ “S.C. May Take Steps in Barber Dispute,” *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, November 18, 1966.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ Doug Miles.

on-campus norms. From a narrower historical perspective, this incident served as an example of activism in that it helped to pioneer social change within Charles Village. It was truly remarkable that while JHU was admitting blacks into its barbershop, other neighborhoods across the city still refused to serve an integrated mix of customers.

Urban Riots: An Impact on Student Culture at JHU

If the barber incident marked an important victory, it was soon overshadowed by the urban explosion that occurred in the two years that followed. A record number of destructive riots had erupted in predominantly black neighborhoods in cities all across the country; this resulted from mounting discontent and despair over economic decline, racial tension, and a history of police brutality.⁶⁶ On April 4, 1968, the Reverend Martin Luther King was assassinated. As a result of anger and frustration, radical black leaders and the poor and unemployed Blacks whom they recruited into the civil rights struggle reacted with riots in 125 cities.⁶⁷ In Baltimore, riots broke out on Saturday April 6; originating on Gay Street, the riots lasted 6 days and eventually spread over many parts of the city.⁶⁸ Governor Spiro T. Agnew called out thousands of National Guard troops and 500 Maryland State Police to quell the disturbance.⁶⁹ When it was determined that the state forces could not control the riot, Agnew requested federal troops from President Lyndon B. Johnson. By Sunday evening, 5000 paratroopers, combat engineers, and artillerymen from the XVIII Airborne Corps in Fort Bragg, North Carolina, specially trained in riot control tactics, including sniper school, were on the streets of Baltimore with fixed bayonets and equipped with chemical disperser backpacks. By the time the riot was over, six people were dead, 700 injured, 4,500 arrested and over 1000 fires set.

⁶⁶ Mark Kurlansky, *1968: The Year That Rocked The World* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2004), 6.

⁶⁷ McDougall, 57.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

More than 1000 businesses had been looted or burned, many of which never reopened.⁷⁰ Miles recounted the impact of the Baltimore riots on the Homewood campus:

It was very, very tense, number one; the campus was locked down for several days. I was living off campus, I was in the midst of the riots, when the school reopened and we went back to regular routine, it was almost as if whites on campus were afraid to say anything to the African Americans on campus. I guess for fear that we would riot. I remember in one of my sociology classes, a white student raised a question to me, *WHAT DO YOU PEOPLE WANT?*⁷¹

Although black JHU students were not involved in the riots at all, the event was an important marker of a local as well as national shift in race relations from integration towards Black Power, which served to politicize these students in a new way.

In the mid-1960s, the black civil rights strategy shifted from one of interracialism and non-violent direct action to one of separatism and black power. This shift can be better understood by tracing the development of SNCC during this period. When Stokely Carmichael became the organization's new chairman of SNCC in 1966, the organization began to exclude Whites. During the late 1960s, SNCC activists would repeatedly assert the concept of "black identity" as the mobilizing strategy for social change.⁷² Most civil rights scholars agree that the late 1960s represented a nation-wide change in the nature of black student protests, pushing students beyond the era of off-campus student protests and re-focusing their efforts on their own campuses. This was especially true for black students.⁷³ During 1967-1968, over 90 percent of sit-in demonstrations instituted by black students occurred on predominantly white college campuses, not in segregated facilities in neighborhood communities.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Doug Miles.

⁷² Carson, 3.

⁷³ Van Deburg, 67.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

This new era of student activism in the late 1960s took a variety of forms on college campuses. At Wisconsin State-Oshkosh, black students presented a list of demands to the administration and then ransacked the presidential suite.⁷⁵ So many arrests were made that protesters had to be taken to jail in Hertz rental trucks. At Cornell University, black students seized selected areas of the student union building, where they designated “black tables.” On the City College of New York’s campus, a message in graffiti read: “Honkies: Attention/ Your Time Has Come.”⁷⁶ These examples present a type of activism that was disruptive to the administration; the activists were confronting a system in order to change it. At JHU, whereas in 1966 black and white activists worked together during the barber incident to achieve social change, by 1968 black activists came to believe that they should organize separately. Thus, the founders of the BSU were inspired to establish an exclusively “black” organization. In order to achieve their goal, these activists would maneuver the institutional culture making enemies and allies along the way.

The Beginnings of the BSU

The key founders of the BSU were John Guess and his close friend Bruce Baker. In May 1968, approximately one month after the Baltimore race riots, Guess and Baker approached the Dean of Admissions, Robert Billgrave, with the idea of creating a “student run African-American-directed interest group...to act initially as a social group”, which would be called a “Black Student Union.”⁷⁷ Billgrave did not take the suggestion well. In his view, creating a BSU was a threatening and radical suggestion. He promptly rejected their request. As John Guess recalled, “that’s always been the problem at Hopkins. It’s okay as long as we’re [blacks] not

⁷⁵ Van Deburg, 65.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ “Black Students Make List of Ten Demands,” *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, May 17, 1968.

driving the train.”⁷⁸ Instead of giving up, Guess and Baker decided to move up the administrative hierarchy. They contacted Dr. Lincoln Gordon, JHU’s President, and requested a meeting. President Gordon refused. So they resorted to a more militant response. As Guess recalled, “[W]ell, that was like the straw that broke the camel’s back...we went through the channels, we did all the things and constantly were rebuked...so we marched, we walked right into Homewood House.”⁷⁹ On May 17, 1968, Guess and Baker entered the Homewood House, at that time the location of the offices of the President, Provost, and Secretary, and submitted a list of 12 demands to the administration.⁸⁰ Their most notable demands included admitting more black students, hiring more black professors, and creating new courses on black Literature and History. Guess and Baker also requested that the administration formally recognize the BSU.

By this time Guess and Baker had put a lot of thought into the specific purpose and structure of the BSU. This was in sharp contrast to the vague ideas they had initially sketched for Dean Billgrave. Thus, it is important to pay particular attention to the language used by Guess and Baker in their request in order to understand how they envisioned the organization. The men requested “the formation of a committee to facilitate the integration of the black community into Homewood campus, while still maintaining their black identity.”⁸¹ There are two important points to make from this early request from the BSU. First, the organization was primarily focused on racial problems on the Homewood campus rather than in the Baltimore neighborhoods surrounding JHU. Second, the organization made clear that they wanted to preserve the cultural identity of black students rather than to facilitate the assimilation of Blacks

⁷⁸ The History of African Americans at Johns Hopkins Project, “The Johns Hopkins University Black Student Union,” Johns Hopkins University, <http://afam.nts.jhu.edu/people/guess/bsu.pdf>.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ferdinand Hamburger Archives. The Sheridan Libraries, “The History of the Homewood Campus,” <http://www.library.jhu.edu/collections/specialcollections/archives/buildinghist.html>.

⁸¹ “Black Students Make List of Ten Demands,” *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, May 17, 1968.

into the white JHU community. The issue of whether white students were to be allowed membership in the BSU had yet to be settled. At a predominantly white institution, it is understandable why Guess and Baker would be skeptical that white students even with the best intentions could help ease the transition of black students into JHU. Immediately following the submission of the demands, the BSU was branded as militant and rebuffed by the administration.

By the end of the summer of 1968, however, the JHU administration had decided to recognize the BSU as an official organization. Unfortunately, archival records outlining this policy shift are sealed and as historians, we can only speculate as to the administration's motives. It is unlikely that the protest march on Homewood House had a significant impact since many of the other demands of Guess and Baker were ignored. It is most probable that the administration began supporting the BSU in an effort to attract more black students to apply for admission to JHU. There is some historical evidence to buttress this analysis. A *News-Letter* article from the fall of 1968 indicated that the JHU Director of Admissions, William L. Brinkley, had discussions with Guess about the willingness of the administration to support the BSU: "It was agreed upon by Mr. Brinkley, who is a representative of the university, that it would be better for university rapport with the black community [to have an officially recognized BSU]," Guess remarked.⁸² The initial reticence of the administration towards the BSU and their eventual "watered-down" support is telling of the administration's paternalism. While the administration agreed to recognize the BSU in order to attract prospective black students, they were not ready for the full scope of racial change that was envisioned by Guess and Baker.

⁸² "Black Student Union Will Ignore Council," *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, November 1, 1968.

The SC Rejects the BSU Charter

Having received recognition by the JHU administration, the BSU sought to have its charter approved by the SC, the group responsible for allocating student funds, chartering and regulating groups, and passing legislation relevant to the concerns of the student body. Without the SC's approval, the BSU would not receive any monies that came with official SC support. In October 1968, the SC rejected the BSU's charter because of its discriminatory clause, which would have prevented white students from joining the organization.⁸³ The SC's response shocked many students and faculty, and made the recognition of the BSU a politically-charged issue.

Advocates and opponents of the discriminatory clause debated the issue, demonstrating different understandings of racial equality. The principle defense of the discriminatory clause put forth by Guess and Baker was the concern that open membership would dilute the BSU with a large number of white students. If the BSU became a "white" organization, "many Negro students would feel lost coming to Hopkins since many have had little contact with Whites," remarked Baker.⁸⁴ A BSU open to everyone would not promote racial equality on campus, but rather "would only serve to perpetuate the Hopkins image as a "lily-white" school," Guess explained. By labeling JHU as "lily-white", Guess was highlighting the overtly racist stereotype that the university was only accessible to white, Anglo-Saxon Protestants.⁸⁵ As an article in the *Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* explains, "In a lily-white club, precious little lunches and cocktail parties are as much a part of the business as paper and ink. In this world, black faces are

⁸³ "The Black Student Union," *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, October 25, 1968.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

not welcome.”⁸⁶ For Guess and Baker the racial inequalities at JHU were deep-seated and cultural, not just an issue of raw numbers. By remaining resolved not to allow Whites into the organization, even if it meant being denied university funding, the BSU was making a political statement. As Guess explained, the black-only clause in the BSU’s charter was “an attempt to deal on the student level with the problems of race relations at Hopkins within the Baltimore community”.⁸⁷ In order to preserve their racial identity in a predominantly white institution, Guess and Baker argued that the “the destiny of black students must be in their own hands.”⁸⁸ Interestingly, the BSU founders explained that the lack of a vibrant social culture was their justification for not establishing a BSU sooner. “Given the general independence of the Hopkins student and the dearth of Negro students on campus, there was no need for an all-black group,” remarked Guess.⁸⁹

The opponents of the black-only clause understood racial equality in terms of inclusion and openness between black and white individuals. One member of the SC who voted against the BSU Charter remarked:

“My vote was against a constitution containing a restrictive clause on race. I feel that at Hopkins, and in this country, our goal must be communication between open groups within an open and free society, not negotiation between closed groups within what ultimately would become a closed and suppressive society.”⁹⁰

Dr. Robert M. Slusser of the History Department, the faculty advisor for the Committee for Basic Freedoms, also defended the SC’s position. He stated, “I find it impossible the fact that

⁸⁶Annys Shin, “The Lily-White University Presses,” *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* (Summer, 1996): 78-82.

⁸⁷“The Black Student Union,” *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, October 25, 1968.

⁸⁸“Black Student Union Will Ignore Council,” *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, November 1, 1968.

⁸⁹“Black Students Make List of Ten Demands,” *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, May 17, 1968.

⁹⁰“Correspondence,” *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, November 1, 1968.

white students have no interest in the affairs of the black students on campus. It's a gloomy theory that blacks and whites can never really get along."⁹¹

In rebuttal, Guess stated that he didn't think that the university community was being honest with itself with regard to racial issues.⁹² It is noteworthy that all members of the SC publicly agreed on the basic goals of the BSU and its value to the university. The fact that the SC supported the purpose of the BSU and was genuinely engaging in a debate about separatism, but could not come up with a solution that would fund any of the BSU's programs, reflected a narrow-minded approach to the issue. Students for a Democratic Society also took a public stand against the SC's position, backing that of the BSU:

The university administration and the power elite it represents have demonstrated that the academic education can and should be used to socialize exceptional black students into the managerial class of White America and weaken their Black identity. In rejecting the BSU charter the SC has been used to further these illegitimate aspirations on the ridiculous pretense that BSU membership policies are racist. We, the students, reject this action unequivocally!"⁹³

In the context of 1968, it was important for black students to maintain their identity and self-determination. The evidence from the various *News-Letter* articles suggests that the reverse discrimination policy was not about hate, nor was it personally directed at white JHU students. The primary concern of the BSU founders was to chart the political direction of a new student organization; with only a few black students at JHU this process was very difficult.

The BSU's arguments, coupled with those of their supporters, seemed to persuade many across the student body. In an editorial published in late October, the *News-Letter* blasted the SC for its shortsightedness. This was particularly striking given the relationship between the paper and the SC. As the governing body for all undergraduate students, the SC technically had

⁹¹ "The Black Student Union," *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, October 25, 1968.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ "Correspondence," *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, November 1, 1968.

jurisdictional authority over the *News-Letter*. But in reality, both groups acted independently and represented different student voices on campus. “The Student Council’s decision to reject the Black Student Union’s charter was predictable...they have confirmed their inability to address substantive issues as well as their lack of foresight,” journalists for the *News-Letter* wrote.⁹⁴ With a harsh, fatalistic tone the article presented a complete lack of faith in the JHU student government: “In the past we have urged the Student Council to deal with relevant, weighty issues instead of traditional trivia. We retract that suggestion. We do not feel the Council is capable of dealing with such issues,” they continued.⁹⁵ Interestingly, the article rejected any implication that the SC’s decision was bigoted or racist, although as they also admitted, “This attitude highlights the reason for black resentment against whites in America today.” The SC thus appeared ineffective in fostering a sense of community beyond the realm of academics. Meanwhile, the BSU ignored the SC’s decision and continued to operate independently, without funds from the SC.

The Building of the BSU in Defiance of the SC

In the fall semester of 1968, the BSU was in its formative stage and the founding members were still developing the identity of their organization. The BSU had five main goals in its early years: 1) to increase the number of black undergraduates; 2) to organize community action projects in Baltimore; 3) to educate the white JHU population about deep-seated racial inequalities on campus; 4) to have at least one black tenured faculty member; and 5) to establish a black studies department.⁹⁶ Guess publicly reassured his fellow white students that in pursuing

⁹⁴ “The Black Student Union,” *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, October 25, 1968.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Of note, the phrase “black studies” shall refer to those programs which may have different designations but are similar in content to black studies: Afro-American studies, African studies, and possibly other variants. When the BSU founders first demanded a “black studies” department, they had not yet determined its specific nature.

these goals, the BSU would not become “a group of gung-ho militants seeking to disrupt or divide the Hopkins community.”⁹⁷ This remark was a reassuring clarification to the JHU community, which might have been wary of Guess’ and Baker’s “radicalism” for having marched onto the Homewood House, particularly since some black student unions at other schools were decisively threatening to the establishment. For example, one demonstration by a black student union against the administration at the University of Wisconsin-Madison resulted in a violent confrontation and the calling of 2,100 National Guard troops.⁹⁸ In contrast, Guess and Baker were not interested in direct confrontation or demonstrations; they reasoned that they would better be able to achieve their goals if they maintained the approval of the administration.

Working directly with the administration to recruit black students was an important way the BSU gained legitimacy in the larger JHU community. In November 1968, Director of Admissions Brinkley arranged for BSU members to visit predominately black high schools to recruit students.⁹⁹ That fall, top members of the administration had expressed to the BSU their interest in attracting more black students to JHU, an agenda that superseded the SC’s concerns about the discrimination clause in the BSU’s charter. In an interview with the *News-Letter*, Guess articulated the administration’s recruitment strategy: “It was agreed upon by Mr. Brinkley...it would be better if only “Black” Student Union members went [to predominately black high schools].”¹⁰⁰ Through this approach, the administration effectively used the organizational image of the BSU in order to enhance the perception of JHU by the black community in Baltimore.

⁹⁷ “Black Student Union in Formative Stage,” *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, September 27, 1968.

⁹⁸ Van Deburg, 65.

⁹⁹ “Black Student Union Will Ignore Council,” *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, November 1, 1968.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

The BSU's founding members further expanded the scope of the organization by supporting programs of social activism off campus which, interestingly, were in accordance with other new programs supported by the university's administration. According to Guess, "The BSU wants its members to participate in community action projects, such as tutoring and social research. Our aims include the formation of strong relationships with black schools in the area."¹⁰¹ The latter goal was already of importance to the university's administration. In several letters exchanged between the Associate Superintendent of the Baltimore City School Board and President Gordon in May, 1968, both men praised the creation of a high school lecture series at JHU. This educational program brought primarily black inner-city high school students to the university and provided various seminars in subjects including English, Biology, and American History. The BSU wanted to expand these programs in order to generate interest in applying to JHU among prospective black applicants and to show the larger black community of Baltimore that Blacks were not only the recipients of aid, but they could also be community leaders of an elite institution.¹⁰²

The JHU administration established a new interdisciplinary research center, the Center for Urban Affairs, approximately at the same time it began supporting the efforts of the BSU. Administratively a part of the School of Hygiene and Public Health and located on the university's East Baltimore campus, the Center was created to serve as a catalyst for the promotion of research in urban studies by JHU faculty and students. "[I]n establishing the Center for Urban Affairs," President Lincoln Gordon told the press, "Johns Hopkins is emphasizing its commitment to study, to understand, and to seek solutions to massive and overwhelming problems of urban life. The major functions of the Center will be research, teaching and

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Record Group 02.001, Office of the President, Series 9, "Department of Education," *Letter from M. Thomas Goedeke to Lincoln Gordon* Ferdinand Hamburger Archives. Sheridan Libraries, May 16, 1968.

consulting.”¹⁰³ According to Baker, important segments of campus that supported the Center were also interested in supporting the efforts of the BSU.¹⁰⁴ One such example of collaboration between the two interest groups involved a committee that was administered by the Center and headed by Johns Guess. The committee’s purpose was to educate the white community of Baltimore about the problems and opportunities in the city’s ghettos.¹⁰⁵ In working for the Center, Guess was furthering both its aims and those of the administration while also forging a stronger alliance between the BSU and the university.

The JHU administration was also interested in allying with black graduate students during the fall of 1968; the administration used black graduate students to recruit more African Americans to pursue Ph.D.s. Dr. Philip E. Hartman, Professor of Biology, and several of his black graduate students were fully funded by the university to participate in a recruitment tour of twelve, predominantly black southern colleges.¹⁰⁶ Importantly, the administration was not only interested in making JHU more accessible to black residents in Baltimore but also to Blacks throughout the South. It is also worth noting that these black graduate students were not affiliated with the BSU because the BSU was exclusively an undergraduate organization. This evidence reinforces the previous claim that the administration was primarily interested in the BSU as one of multiple recruitment tools to be used to increase black enrollment at JHU.

Gaining the recognition of the larger JHU community was of primary concern to the BSU during its first year of existence. In the spring of 1969, Guess and Baker created an educational series designed for an audience of students, faculty, and members of the JHU administration, to

¹⁰³ Record Group 03.001, Office of the Provost, Series 1 Sub-series 5, “Center for Urban Affairs,” Ferdinand Hamburger Archives. Sheridan Libraries, January 1969.

Of Note, the Center was moved to the Homewood Campus in 1972 and placed in the School of Arts and Sciences, in order to aid in cooperation with the University’s social science departments.

¹⁰⁴ “Black Student Union in Formative Stage,” *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, September 27, 1968.

¹⁰⁵ “SA Bolstering City Programs,” *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, September 27, 1968.

¹⁰⁶ “Hop Grads Seek Greater Black Student Enrollment,” *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, October 11, 1968.

inform the JHU community about the more complex issues of race relations within the hierarchical institutional framework. In the words of Guess, he hoped to “establish rapport with the faculty, administration, and any campus group which would help in furthering the Union’s aim.”¹⁰⁷ In March, the administration provided funds to support the BSU speaker series and related educational programs focusing on race relations which were open to the entire JHU community. Although the attendance numbers for the programs are unavailable, the detailed description of the lecture series in the *News-Letter* as well as the wide range of programming activities over several weeks suggests that the events were well received. The BSU’s educational aims fit well within the larger shifts occurring in the Civil Rights Movement in Baltimore and throughout the U.S., where a growing range of educational programs promoted a unified black identity, racial pride, and self reliance.

The theme of the series was the “Black Perspective.” One of the speakers, Walter Brooks, director of Baltimore’s chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality, gave a presentation in Levering Hall entitled, “Voices from the Ghetto.”¹⁰⁸ It is an interesting parallel that the university was expanding its effort to study urban life at the same time that the BSU was bringing the perspective of the “black ghetto” to JHU. In recruiting this speaker, Guess explained that it was not adequate to perform laboratory research on the socio-economic conditions in the ghetto. He believed that the JHU student body must be made personally aware of the challenges faced by the black community by engaging members of the community directly. A famous civil rights leader in Baltimore, Walter Carter, spoke about black politics in Baltimore, highlighting the founding of the local chapter of the Black Panther Party earlier that year. The Black Panther Party was an African American organization, initially established in October 1966 in Oakland,

¹⁰⁷ “BSU Organizes Black March,” *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, March 7, 1969.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

California by Huey Norton and Bobby Seale, whose mission was to promote black solidarity and self-defense. By 1967, Baltimore had become home to one of the organization's largest and most active chapters.

Indeed, a great deal of activism was unfolding across the city of Baltimore as the community transitioned from a more specific focus on civil rights to Black Power. According to historian Harold A. McDougall, during 1968-1969, Baltimore's black residents were at the height of their disillusionment with the promises of civil rights and urban renewal; this attitude made groups like the Panthers especially important as they were viewed by many across the community as the only black leaders who had not been co-opted by the white establishment.¹⁰⁹ By bringing Carter, a Black Panther lecturer, to JHU, Guess and Baker were shifting the discussion of racial politics away from the domain of white liberals. In an interview with the *News-Letter*, Guess expanded upon his vision for the guest lecture series, noting: "I hope that the audiences will accept what these men have to say with an open mind. Questions such as 'What can I do to help in the Black movement' will not be appreciated in the discussions following the talks."¹¹⁰ Given that the lecture series was open to the entire JHU community and that the majority of the prospective audience would therefore be white, it was noteworthy that Guess refused help from the white JHU community. However, Guess did not worry about the discomfort that such discussions might cause the white community at JHU. In his view, discussions of racial problems at JHU up to that point had been "lacking a truthful effect." Not only would these frank discussions bring greater honesty, but Guess and others within the BSU hoped that they would "shake up the system." The BSU ultimately anticipated that the white

¹⁰⁹ McDougall, 57.

¹¹⁰ "BSU Organizes Black March," *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, March 7, 1969.

JHU community would recognize the benefits of fully integrating JHU rather than depending on the more paternalistic and limited gestures of the JHU administration during the earlier period.

The BSU's argument for black studies in a lecture entitled, "The Role of the Student in the Black Movement," was perhaps the strongest manifestation of the Black Power era at JHU. Andress Taylor, Professor at Federal City College, a historically black college, supported the introduction into JHU of a black studies department with autonomy from the traditional powers of the administration, including the authority to select courses and hire faculty. Black Power ideology was inherent in Taylor's position. "You cannot confront black problems within a white institution," he argued.¹¹¹

While the JHU administration supported the BSU's separatist ideology for establishing a black-only social organization, the administration was very uncomfortable with extending this support to the academic realm. Julian C. Stanley, Professor of Education and Psychology and a member of the Hopkins Undergraduate Admissions Committee, authored a letter entitled "Open Letter on Black Admissions," largely in response to the BSU's separatist demands. The Open Letter was directly addressed to the presidents of Brandeis, Duke, New York University, Stanford, Berkeley, and Wisconsin, and was also re-printed in the *News-Letter* for public dissemination to the entire JHU community, suggesting the importance of African-American relations at JHU beyond the local university community. "If one is a Negro in 1969," Stanley wrote, "the 'in' thing to do is to demand a black studies department staffed by Blacks and controlled by Blacks so that it won't be under the grade-control of the standard staff of the college or in competition with regular students."¹¹² Professor Stanley supported the idea of black studies within the JHU institutional framework, provided that the university's high standards for

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² "Stanley's Open Letter on Black Admissions," *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, October 10, 1969.

scholarship were upheld. Consistent with the institutional culture, the administration was receptive to creating a new academic department as long as it provided high academic value to its students. They were much more hesitant to alter procedures for organizing academic departments, however, and to many black readers, Stanley's comments were seen as condescending and misguided.

This was especially true with regard to admissions. Stanley's letter took great pains to argue against the university's black admissions policy and encouraged the presidents of other universities to follow suit. "I urge you to up your admissions procedures for blacks so that only those in a colorblind admissions procedure would be taken," he wrote.¹¹³ "I believe that most college revolts by black students have been fueled by the academic frustrations of academically under-qualified students exposed to curricula too difficult for their developed abilities," Stanley further explained.

But to black readers, including those at JHU, Stanley's comments reflected a lack of awareness of the source of academic challenges faced by black students at JHU and at other elite white universities. As Miles explained earlier, "Not that we weren't intellectually capable, we just did not have the background to do a lot of what was being expected."¹¹⁴ If the administration had considered that many of the black applicants were intellectually capable of excelling at JHU, they could have taken proactive steps towards easing the academic transition of these students rather than tightening admission policies and thereby restricting social progress. Guess was particularly irritated by Stanley's defense of a "colorblind" admissions procedure for

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Doug Miles.

its narrow-mindedness. “It really bugs me...they [administration] have to be confronted with the whole black side of the question and not just the white equality side,” Guess explained.¹¹⁵

Stanley’s letter reminded the BSU that they could not rely on the administration in order to attract more black students to JHU or to establish a black studies department as the BSU had envisioned. Thereafter, the BSU focused on its role as a black social organization, taking the initiative to improve black student life on campus. In December 1969, six BSU members met with several members of the administration to discuss the establishment of a location where black students could congregate. Interestingly, the administration was very receptive to the social concerns of black students; soon after the meeting, a community room was opened in the basement of the freshmen dormitory for that purpose. The BSU leaders were put in charge of the room. However, the administration clarified that white students were permitted to use the room and that the BSU was obliged to accommodate requests to use the room by other student groups. Some white JHU students were uncomfortable with the prospect that black students were getting their own room based upon racial difference; the *News-Letter* described the campus atmosphere surrounding this event as one of “mystery” and “silence.”¹¹⁶ Regardless, the opening of a “BSU room” in early 1970 can be considered a significant gain in the history of black students at JHU for it established the legitimacy of a black identity on campus.

During the academic year 1969-1970, several faculty members independently provided support for some of the institutional goals of the BSU. Promoting the hiring of black faculty was one such goal. “Without black faculty members, how do you expect any black students would want to come to JHU?” was a question asked in one *News-Letter* article.¹¹⁷ It is noteworthy that there was not a single tenured black faculty member during this period. Professor Walton, a

¹¹⁵ “Black Enrollment Remains Well Below Three Percent,” *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, September 26, 1969.

¹¹⁶ “BSU Gets Meeting Space in Dorms,” *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, February 10, 1970.

¹¹⁷ “Walton Letter Demands A Negro Professor,” *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, September 26, 1969.

vocal supporter of increasing minority ratios at JHU, took some initiative to help recruit black faculty members. In September 1969, Walton created a resolution that called for the full-time appointment of at least one black faculty member on the Homewood campus within two years. Fifteen faculty members signed the letter in support of the resolution from a wide range of departments, thus demonstrating the popular appeal of increasing minority ratios during that period. One such cosigner, Dr. Peter Rossi, Chairman of Social Relations, explained his rationale for supporting the resolution: “Much of the black community still regards us as a segregated institution; we have to change our behavior in order to change our image.”¹¹⁸ It is noteworthy that Chairman Rossi was taking responsibility for the lack of faculty diversity and that he blamed the institutional attitude as its primary cause. At that time, faculty hiring was handled by the departments in each school division. The administration had no interest in establishing an institution-wide affirmative action policy that would pressure individual departments to make specific hiring decisions. “You can’t force people to hire more Blacks”, said Joseph Rumberger, Personnel Director. Rumberger articulated a horizontal approach; he felt that some type of diversity educational lecture series was needed for faculty in individual departments to learn about the social benefits of increasing minority ratios.¹¹⁹ Allyn Kimball, Dean of the Faculty of the Arts and Sciences (1966-1970), was openly skeptical of the strategies of Walton and Rumberger. The “administration had been seeking capable black professors for tenure track since 1963,” he remarked.¹²⁰ He believed the difficulty in recruiting black professors could be largely attributed to the weak applicant pool, not to the institutional attitude. “The challenge is high

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

academic standards”, Kimball remarked. He added lightheartedly, “it is even more difficult to find qualified black professors than qualified black students.”¹²¹

Around the same time that the hiring of more black faculty was being discussed, JHU faculty members were having open debates about establishing a black studies department. Dr. George Owen, Chairman of the Physics Department, formally proposed an “Africana Studies” program to the Academic Council, the institutional body that regulated all JHU academic departments. Professor Owen wanted to develop a program that was of the highest academic standard” and saw this reframing of the department away from an emphasis on racial description toward a regional geographic focus as key. There also seemed to be some consensus among black students and faculty alike that a low quality black studies department would be considered an “insult” to black students.¹²² Still even those who supported this idea did not necessarily agree with faculty like Professor Stanley who argued that the black students for whom this program would be created “have little aptitude for the nuances of interdisciplinary study; many of them have trouble with freshmen English.”¹²³ Others also debated the specific nature of the department. Dyan Hudson, Professor of Anthropology, felt that it should definitely be in “black” studies, as opposed to African Studies.¹²⁴ He argued that the larger goal of the program was to integrate black students into the JHU academic culture, which would be accomplished by creating a major that would connect rigorous scholarship with their experiences as black Americans. The esoteric knowledge of African cultures, such as the study of Swahili, was fine to offer at JHU, faculty such as Hudson noted, but focusing on those subjects would miss the larger purpose of what the black studies department was attempting to accomplish. Meanwhile, others

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² “Hopkins Black Studies Plan Rotting in Academic Council,” *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, February 27, 1970.

¹²³ “Stanley’s Open Letter on Black Admissions,” *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, October 10, 1969.

¹²⁴ “Hopkins Black Studies Plan Rotting in Academic Council.”

argued that only a program of advanced academic specialty in African Studies could meet the requirements necessary for the rigors of JHU scholarship. Academic rigor and the purpose of higher education were thus directly connected to debates about race, as they had been in discussions of admissions and desegregation in an earlier period. In this case, however, the result was a deadlock. Not until 2003 did JHU formally launch its own Center for Africana Studies. Nor did debates over representation and admissions abate. Dr. John Wesley Simmons, a black physician from the JHU's School of Hygiene and Public Health, felt it was important to make a political statement at the 1970 graduation at the Homewood campus. "I do not see many black faces, nor Oriental, nor Mexican faces here. It is time that Johns Hopkins came home to the people of the city of Baltimore," Simmons remarked.¹²⁵ His speech drew sustained applause, underscoring the growing awareness of the entire JHU community on the need to promote greater diversity on campus.

Racial Progress and Challenges Ahead for JHU

One of the immediate consequences of the establishment of the BSU was a partnership between JHU and Morgan State College, which helped to meet, at least in part, the aims of the BSU's founders. In the fall of 1970, the two institutions collaborated in developing a federally-funded black studies department. All classes were taught on the Morgan State campus, but JHU students received academic credit for black studies classes taken at Morgan State. Walter Fisher, Morgan State Professor of History, was extremely impressed with what he considered significant racial progress at JHU. "When I was born at Johns Hopkins Hospital (circa 1920s), no one even dreamed that a Black would ever go to Johns Hopkins. Things certainly have changed," remarked Fisher. He added lightly, "Maybe in the next hundred years, Hopkins will be mostly

¹²⁵ Paul F. Evans, *City Life- a Prospective from Baltimore, 1968-1978* (Columbia: Temple Fairfax Co., 1981), 82.

Black.”¹²⁶ Women were also admitted into JHU for the first time in the fall of 1970, three of whom were black. Their presence on campus helped to expand the concerns, interests, and student life at JHU.

Beginning in the early 1970s, acceptances of black undergraduates showed a significant increase with 65 black freshmen accepted in the fall of 1971 out of a total of 525 freshmen; by contrast, in the fall of 1969 only 37 black freshmen had been accepted out of a total of 500 freshmen.¹²⁷ The numbers of black faculty, however, remained very low. In 1971 there were only 8 black faculty out of 1285 employed.¹²⁸ It was not until 1977 that Dr. Franklin Knight became the first black faculty professor to achieve tenure. In 1991, Dr. Knight earned the distinction of becoming the Leonard and Helen R. Stulman Professor of History.¹²⁹

Writing as a JHU student today, I, along with my contemporaries, appreciate that black students and faculty constitute important components of the academic and social fabric of the university. Studying the evolution of the BSU has elucidated the origins of black student activism on the Homewood campus. It is fitting that in the spring of 2008, a new course entitled “Student Movements for Social Change: From Civil Rights to Multiculturalism” is being offered by the Center for Africana Studies. Of special significance, this course is open to local high school students from inner-city Baltimore who were actively recruited and encouraged to participate. The JHU institutional culture has clearly evolved, at least in part, from one that is exclusivist to one that is more accepting of diversity. This transformation benefits the Baltimore community as well as enriches JHU itself.

¹²⁶ “JHU and Morgan Form Black Studies,” *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, September 22, 1970.

¹²⁷ “More Women, Blacks in Next Year’s Class,” *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, April 8, 1971.

¹²⁸ “JHU Loses Black Professors,” *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, February 9, 1971.

¹²⁹ “The Racial Record at Johns Hopkins University,” 43.

The efforts of the BSU to diversity JHU are extremely praiseworthy; however, a thorough historical investigation must take into account multiple influences that impacted the transformation of the JHU Homewood campus. Of note, the activities of the BSU happened at a time when similar forms of activism were occurring across the nation at other institutions of higher learning. This process also led to the inclusion of women and non-black minorities nationwide as campuses became more pluralistic.

This paper has demonstrated that JHU is an instructive case study in the historiography of African-American higher education and civil rights. JHU, located in a mid-Atlantic state with both northern and southern roots, is worthy of analysis because it is situated in a geographic region with many black under-served citizens who have not otherwise benefited from, among other things, tremendous educational opportunities. By virtue of the activists in the BSU, the institutional culture at JHU was able to embrace the beginnings of diversity through the use of negotiated strategies. It was particularly important that the impetus for racial diversification at JHU came about from the efforts of students rather than the administration. To this day, the activities of the BSU founders maintain a significant legacy for all JHU students; by taking ownership of one's educational opportunities at the university level, students can exert a transformative influence on the institution itself. This can be seen not only in the increased numbers of black students enrolled and black faculty hired but also in the inclusion of a Center for Africana Studies on par with JHU's highest standard of scholarship.

This analysis has emphasized the perspective of students based on interviews and articles in a student-generated newspaper. Still, more research needs to be pursued in order to better understand the complex series of events that caused the policies of the JHU administration to

change with regard to race. Moreover, since these administrative records from the BSU-founding period are still sealed, the full history has yet to be written.

Works Consulted

- Archives of Maryland Online. "The First Colored Professional, Clerical and Business Directory of Baltimore City 33rd Annual Edition." Maryland State Archives.
<http://www.msa.md.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/html/officials.html> (accessed March 2008).
- Ballard, Allen. "Blacks at Harvard: A Documentary History of African-American Experience at Harvard." *The New England Quarterly* (March, 1994).
- "Barber Stirs Racial Issue, Turn Away Negro Students." *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, November 11, 1966.
- "Black Enrollment Remains Well Below Three Percent." *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, September 26, 1969.
- "Black Students Make List of Ten Demands." *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, May 17, 1968.
- "Black Student Union in Formative Stage." *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, September 27, 1968.
- "Black Student Union Will Ignore Council." *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, November 1, 1968.
- Bowen, William G. "Stand and Prosper: Race and American Higher Education." Paper presented at the Thomas Jefferson Distinguished Lecture Series, University of Virginia, April 13, 2004.
- "BSU Gets Meeting Space in Dorms." *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, February 10, 1970.
- "BSU May Be Given Administration Funds." *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, March 7, 1969.
- "BSU Organizes Black March." *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, March 7, 1969.
- Carson, Claybourne. *SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995.
- "Correspondence." *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, November 1, 1968.
- Doug Miles, interview by Adrienne Baksh, April 16, 2004, transcript, History of African Americans at Johns Hopkins Project, Ferdinand Hamburger Archives. Sheridan Libraries.
- Evans, Paul F. *City Life- a Prospective from Baltimore, 1968-1978*. Columbia: Fairfax Co., 1981.
- Fee, Elizabeth, Linda Shopes, and Linda Zeidman. *The Baltimore Book*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991.
- Ferdinand Hamburger Archives. Sheridan Libraries. Record Groups 02.001, 03.001.
- Ferdinand Hamburger Archives. The Sheridan Libraries, "Student Organizations."
<http://library.jhu.edu/collections/specialcollections/archives/inventories/rg14-001.html> (accessed March 2008).
- Ferdinand Hamburger Archives. The Sheridan Libraries, "The History of the Homewood Campus."
<http://www.library.jhu.edu/collections/specialcollections/archives/buildinghist.html>. (accessed March 2008).

- “Heights Improvement Group Aims to Keep Area White.” *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, December 9, 1966.
- History of African Americans at Johns Hopkins Project. Johns Hopkins University. <http://afam.nts.jhu.edu> (accessed March, 2008).
- “Hop Grads Seek Greater Black Student Enrollment.” *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, October 11, 1968.
- “Hopkins Black Studies Plan Rotting in Academic Council.” *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, February 27, 1970.
- “JHU and Morgan Form Black Studies.” *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, September 22, 1970.
- “JHU Loses Black Professors.” *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, February 9, 1971.
- Kurlansky, Mark. *1968: The Year That Rocked the World*. New York: Ballantine Books, 2004.
- “Maryland Paying Negroes’ Tuition.” *The New York Times*, December 7, 1947.
- McDougall, Harold A. *Black Baltimore: A New Theory of Community*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993.
- “More Women, Blacks in Next Year’s Class.” *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, April 8, 1971.
- Office of Undergraduate Admissions at Johns Hopkins University. “Campus Profile.” Johns Hopkins University, <http://jhu.intelliresponse.com/results.jsp> (accessed March 2008).
- Oliver, Shaneka and the Virginia Center for Digital History, “Black Student Protests in World War II, and the Historically Black Colleges and Universities in Virginia.” Thesis, University of Virginia, 2005.
- “Preview for Freshmen: A look at Life at the Hop.” *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, September 30, 1966.
- Rienzi, Greg. “Next Up for Africana Studies.” *The JHU Gazette*, July 10, 2006.
- “SA Bolstering City Programs.” *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, September 27, 1968.
- “S.C May Take Steps in Barber Dispute.” *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, November 18, 1966.
- Smith, Craig. Personal email correspondence on March 11, 2008.
- “Stanley’s Open Letter on Black Admissions.” *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, October 10, 1969.
- Syed, Nabiha. “Frederick Scott: Johns Hopkins University’s First Black Undergraduate.” History of African Americans at Johns Hopkins Project, Johns Hopkins University, 2005.
- “The Black Student Union.” *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*. October 25, 1968.
- “The Racial Record of Johns Hopkins University.” *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* (Autumn, 1999): 42-43.
- “Upped Negro Enrollment Here Laid to Active Recruitment.” *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, September 30, 1966.
- Van Deburg, William L. *The Black Power Movement and American Culture, 1965-1975*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993.

“Walton Letter Demands A Negro Professor.” *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter*, September 26, 1969.

Williams, Rhonda Y. *The Politics of Public Housing: Black Women's Struggles against Urban Inequality*.
Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.