

# NOTES

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## ABBREVIATIONS

- AARC** · Alumni Affairs Reference Collection, Duke University Archives, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Duke University, Durham, NC
- ABTC** · Allen Building Takeover Collection, Duke University Archives, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Duke University, Durham, NC
- ABTOHC** · Allen Building Takeover Oral History Collection, Duke University Archives, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Duke University, Durham, NC
- ACK** · Alan C. Kerckhoff
- AHE** · A. Hollis Edens
- AHE Papers** · A. Hollis Edens Papers, Duke University Archives, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Duke University, Durham, NC
- BCB** · Brenda C. Becton (Brenda C. Brown)
- BEA** · Brenda E. Armstrong
- BoT Records** · Board of Trustees Records, Duke University Archives, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Duke University, Durham, NC
- BRH** · Bertie R. Howard
- CBH** · Charles B. Huestis
- CLB** · Charles L. Becton
- CWH** · Charles W. “Chuck” Hopkins
- DC** · *Duke Chronicle*
- DMH** · David M. Henderson
- DMK** · Douglas M. Knight
- DMK Records** · Douglas M. Knight Records, Duke University Archives, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Duke University, Durham, NC
- DUA** · Duke University Archives, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Duke University, Durham, NC
- DVC** · Duke Vigil Collection, Duke University Archives, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Duke University, Durham, NC

**JDH Records** · J. Deryl Hart Records, Duke University Archives, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Duke University, Durham, NC

**JW** · Janice Williams

**JWC** · John W. Cell

**MEH** · Marcus E. Hobbs

**OP Records** · Office of the Provost Records, Duke University Archives, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Duke University, Durham, NC

**RHP** · Rufus H. Powell

**RTC** · R. Taylor Cole

**SDC** · Samuel DuBois Cook

**SOHP Collection** · Southern Oral History Program Collection, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

**VPSA Records** · Vice President for Student Affairs Records, Duke University Archives, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Duke University, Durham, NC

**WCT** · William C. Turner Jr.

**WJC** · William J. Griffith

## INTRODUCTION

- 1 Duke University, “50 Years of Black Students at Duke.”
- 2 BEA, interview, December 17, 1978.
- 3 CWH, interview, January 19, 1979.
- 4 Although some sources quoted in this book use the words *desegregation* and *integration* interchangeably, they have very different meanings. Desegregation is a legal or political process eliminating laws, policies, and practices separating different racial and ethnic groups. Desegregation meant that HWCUS admitted Black students but simply tolerated their presence at these schools. By contrast, integration is a social process by which members of different racial and ethnic groups receive fair and equal treatment following desegregation. Establishing an inclusive environment is essential for integration.
- 5 The Black students at Duke were far from monolithic in their approach to protest. Generational differences existed between the desegregation “firsts” who matriculated in 1963 and those Black students who arrived in 1968, when the Black student movement at Duke and nationally was reaching its peak. Most Black students at Duke after 1967 became members of the Afro-American Society (AAS). But even within the AAS, sharp differences emerged around ideology and tactics. This book tells the story of those Black students who were politically active while at Duke and engaged in protest. Notwithstanding individual

differences, the narrative presents a composite picture drawn from numerous interviews and other sources.

- 6 *Bulletin of Duke University*, 8.
- 7 William Preston Few, "Trinity Becomes a University: Dr. Few Issues Statement to Students Urging Them to Be Worthy of Great Benefaction," *Trinity Chronicle*, January 7, 1925; *Annual Catalogue of Duke University: Constitution and By-Laws*, 47.

## CHAPTER 1. A PLANTATION SYSTEM

- 1 James B. Duke, "Indenture and Deed of Trust of Personalty Establishing the Duke Endowment," December 11, 1924, in Durden, *Lasting Legacy to the Carolinas*, appendix 2; Kean, *Desegregating Private Higher Education in the South*, 36–37; Durden, *Launching of Duke University*, 496–501; Durden, *Lasting Legacy to the Carolinas*, 142–43.
- 2 Galen Griffin, "'Potentially Best' Freshmen to Face Academic Emphasis," *DC*, September 11, 1959; Knight, *Street of Dreams*, 100, 97.
- 3 Tindall, *Emergence of the New South*; Duke, "Indenture," article 7. Duke was sixty-seven when he executed the indenture.
- 4 Durden, *Launching of Duke University*, x. Including an additional \$65 million transferred upon his death, Duke's gifts to the Endowment would, adjusted to present value, aggregate to more than \$1 billion.
- 5 Porter, *Trinity and Duke*, 234.
- 6 Egerton, *Speak Now against the Day*, 26; Durden, *Bold Entrepreneur*, xiii; Duke, "Indenture," article 7; J. W. Cash quoted in the *American Mercury*, cited in Egerton, *Speak Now against the Day*, 234.
- 7 Duke, "Indenture," article 5; Porter, *Trinity and Duke*, 235–36; Durden, *Lasting Legacy to the Carolinas*, appendix 1; Knight, *Dancer and the Dance*, 128. The initial Endowment trustees included men who held or would hold one or more of the following positions with Duke Power Company: chairman, vice chairman, honorary chairman, director, president, vice president, secretary, treasurer, assistant secretary, executive committee, and chair of the finance committee. For the remaining initial trustees, Duke selected men with deep business experience outside the power industry. A speech at Duke in December 1930 by Norman Thomas, six-time presidential candidate for the Socialist Party of America, showed the potential for conflict between the Endowment and the university. Learning of the speech by Thomas, William R. Perkins, Endowment vice chair, asked William Preston Few, the Duke president, how the prominent socialist had been selected to speak on campus. Pointing out that a campus group—not the university—had invited Thomas to speak, Few wrote Perkins that "we must take a firm stand that it is the business of Duke University to hear both sides of

- all questions that are fairly debatable.” Perkins was not persuaded. Characterizing Thomas’s socialist views as no more than a “germ” in the flow of ideas, Perkins asked Few, “Would not a proper pasteurization and filtration eliminate Norman Thomas and his ilk and their doctrines?” After a further exchange did not placate him, Perkins reminded Few that the Indenture gave the trustees of the Endowment the power to withhold funds from the university if not “operated in a manner calculated to achieve the results intended.” For Perkins, it was the Endowment board that would have the final say on the most difficult issues of academic freedom on the Duke campus. Durden, *Launching of Duke University*, 50–52.
- 8 Maureen McCormick Harlow, “Duke University,” Duke University Libraries, accessed August 15, 2017, <https://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/collections/creators/corporations/dukeuniversity>.
  - 9 WJG, interview, January 16, 1979; Klopfer, interview, February 8, 1990.
  - 10 “Report of the President to the Board of Trustees,” June 6, 1959, Box 30, AHE Papers; Griffin, “‘Potentially Best’ Freshmen to Face Academic Emphasis”; RTC, “Annual Report of the Provost to the President,” May 22, 1961, Box 3, R. Taylor Cole, JDH Records. During his Duke career, Jones also served as university chaplain and assistant professor in the Department of Religion.
  - 11 “Report of the President to the Board of Trustees,” June 6, 1959.
  - 12 “Report of the President to the Board of Trustees,” June 6, 1959.
  - 13 *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954); “Board of Trustees Minutes,” February 27, 1957, vol. 6, BoT Records.
  - 14 Partner and Johnston, *Bull City Survivor*, 15; L. Brown, *Upbuilding Black Durham*, 11.
  - 15 Litwack, *Trouble in Mind* (1975), 346; Rabinowitz, *Race Relations*, 187.
  - 16 Litwack, *Trouble in Mind* (1999), 219; Smith, *In His Image*, 304; WCT, interview, April 17, 2017.
  - 17 Litwack, *Trouble in Mind* (1999), 233; Flora Hatley Wadelington, “Assigned Places,” NCpedia, January 1, 2004, <http://www.ncpedia.org/history/20th-Century/segregation-1920s>; Crow, Escott, and Hatley, *History of African Americans in North Carolina*, 177–83; Partner and Johnston, *Bull City Survivor*, 15–18, 20.
  - 18 Crow, Escott, and Hatley, *History of African Americans in North Carolina*, 117–18; Kendi, *Stamped from the Beginning*, 273–74.
  - 19 North Carolina Constitution, Article I, Section 27 (1868), Article IX, Section 2 (1868); Crow, Escott, and Hatley, *History of African Americans in North Carolina*, 123, 118. As an example, as late as 1938, a wage differential of 25 to 30 percent existed between Black and white teachers. Crow, Escott, and Hatley, *History of African Americans in North Carolina*, 136. Because the law required segregated schools, courts inevitably became involved in differentiating “white” students from “Black” students for purposes of making school assignments. In 1903 the

- North Carolina legislature passed a law directing that “no child with negro blood . . . in its veins, *however remote the strain*, shall attend a school for the white race.” Laws and Resolutions of North Carolina, N.C. Gen. Stat. C. 435, Section 22 (1903), emphasis added. According to Bruce Beezer, in one court case, a woman who was one-sixteenth Black had married a white man. Since their marriage did not violate North Carolina’s miscegenation statute, the couple argued that their children—the “legitimate” product of a lawful union—should be permitted to attend a white school. The court rejected the couple’s argument. “By no subtle alchemy known to the laboratory of logic,” the court held, can a legal marriage “be claimed to have extracted the negro element from the blood in the veins of such offspring and made it pure.” The court explained that “this construction clearly makes for the peace, harmony, and welfare of the two races.” Otherwise, it concluded, “unpleasant antagonism would arise, which would prove fatal to school regulation and discipline.” *Johnson v. Board of Education*, 166 N.C. 468 (1914), 471–72, cited in Batchelor, *Race and Education in North Carolina*, 14, citing Beezer, “North Carolina’s Rationale.”
- 20 Tumin, *Desegregation*, 34, 36, 37, 45; Kean, *Desegregating Private Higher Education in the South*, 144. In 1968 more than 75 percent of white residents in North Carolina agreed with the statement “whites work harder than Negroes.” Sokol, *There Goes My Everything*, 98n70. Racist ideas have a long and deep history in the United States. See Kendi, *Stamped from the Beginning*.
  - 21 Sokol, *There Goes My Everything*, 60, 61.
  - 22 R. Irving Boone to AHE, September 21, 1951, AHE to R. Irving Boone, February 24, 1951, both in Box 33, Segregation Policy, AHE Papers. Since no Black students had ever attended or graduated from Duke, the school had no Black alumni.
  - 23 John M. Dozier, “Employment Report by Race,” unpublished data, April 8, 1964, Box 6, Civil Rights, DMK Records, 2; Leah Wise, “Stirring the Pot: Oliver Harvey’s Narrative Account of the Struggle to Organize Duke University,” 33–34, March 1980, Box 2, Student Papers Reference Collection, DUA. Duke’s labor practices mirrored those at large industrial companies in North Carolina, including James B. Duke’s American Tobacco Company. “Industrialists managed the labor market,” historian Leslie Brown explained, “in ways that sorted whites and blacks hierarchically into skilled, semiskilled, and unskilled positions, creating an employment paradigm that favored whites over blacks and men over women.” L. Brown, *Upbuilding Black Durham*, 44. A few Black workers in the dining hall and at the hospital held supervisory positions and had white subordinates. Jack J. Preiss, “Report on Racial Discrimination Policies on Campus,” memorandum, May 1962, Box 11, Integration, JDH Records. One significant gap in the historical record of events at Duke in the 1960s relates to the university’s nonacademic employees. These workers bore the brunt of Duke’s Jim Crow

- racial practices and were central actors in efforts to force Duke to confront its racial past. Oliver Harvey, a Duke janitor who became the leader of the movement to unionize Duke's nonacademic employees, is quoted extensively in this book thanks to the very good oral history of him prepared by graduate student Leah Wise. Other than Harvey, however, it has proven difficult to locate sources that capture the "voices" of rank-and-file nonacademic employees. This gap itself is evidence of the unchecked power the university had over the livelihoods of these men and women. Indeed, the authors of a 1959 article in the *Duke Chronicle* about the working conditions of Duke's maids found it "almost impossible to determine the maids' and janitors' opinions about their jobs [because] most of them were extremely reluctant to talk for fear of losing their jobs." John Strange and Scott Stevens, "Maids Sweep in Weekly Pay of \$19.50," *DC*, March 6, 1959. Regrettably, oral histories conducted with key actors at Duke during the 1950s and 1960s focus on administrators, faculty, and students and not the nonacademic employees who worked tirelessly to support the efforts of these individuals.
- 24 Preiss, "Report on Racial Discrimination Policies."
  - 25 Preiss, "Report on Racial Discrimination Policies"; Anlyan, *Metamorphoses*, 155–56.
  - 26 Beach, interview, January 26, 1990. A very good discussion of the battle over desegregation in the Methodist Church is found in Murray, *Methodists and the Crucible of Race*; see also "Report of the Divinity School," n.d., Box 95, Integration 1965–1962, OP Records; James T. Cleland to Deryl Hart, November 25, 1960, Box 3, James T. Cleland, JDH Records; "Experts View Social Change, Religion," *DC*, April 10, 1964.
  - 27 Preiss, "Report on Racial Discrimination Policies"; E. M. Cameron to RTC, "Golf Course Privileges," memorandum, September 8, 1964, Box 7, Integration, OP Records; Jacobs, *Across the Line*, 60. During the late 1950s, students in a designated section of the football stadium would hold up placards to form the Confederate flag. Duke University, "50 Years of Black Students at Duke."
  - 28 Harry C. Boyte, "Suggestions from Duke CORE in Regard to Discrimination and Unfair Employment Practices at Duke University," n.d., Box 6, Civil Rights 1963–1967, DMK Records; William E. Forester to DMK, July 12, 1965, Mary Grace Wilson to Frank de Vyver, memorandum, October 18, 1967, both in Box 35, Fraternities and Sororities—Integration—1966, OP Records.
  - 29 WJG, interview, January 16, 1979; Gay Weeks, "Administration Vetoes Plan to Integrate Play Audiences," *DC*, October 14, 1955.
  - 30 Kean, *Desegregating Private Higher Education in the South*, 37, 38; "Honoring His Legacy."
  - 31 W. B. to J. Deotis Roberts, March 31, 1960, Box 33, Segregation Policy, AHE Papers.

- 32 “Deed Duke University,” n.d., Box 3, section 10a, James T. Cleland, JDH Records. In 1948 the Supreme Court declared such covenants unenforceable, ruling them a violation of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Two years later, two white interns at Duke University Hospital asked the university to delete the restrictive covenant from their Duke Forest deed to satisfy lender nondiscrimination requirements. Edens refused. He insisted that Duke did not have “a legal or moral right to change the deeds on subsequent sales.” AHE to E. C. Bryson, April 24, 1950, Box 7, Correspondence: Brown–Bs, AHE Papers.
- 33 “Statement—Duke University; Reimbursement for Membership Fee,” n.d., Box 16, Hope Valley Country Club, DMK Records.
- 34 Quoted in Wise, “Stirring the Pot,” 34, 36.
- 35 Wise, “Stirring the Pot,” 37; “Maids Face Undesirable Conditions: All Work and No Pay,” DC, April 12, 1963; Ludwig, “Closing In on the ‘Plantation,’” 80.
- 36 “The Need for Impartial Arbitration of Labor Disputes at Duke University,” September 1966, Box 1, Faculty and Student Groups, Labor Unions Reference Collection.
- 37 Pye, interview, March 2, 1985, АВТОHC; Wise, “Stirring the Pot,” 34, 35; Strange and Stevens, “Maids Sweep in Weekly Pay”; Ludwig, “Closing In on the ‘Plantation,’” 93n3; “Dozier Promises Wage Hike with Incentive Pay Scale,” DC, May 19, 1965; “University Employees Get 5% Pay Increase,” DC, January 7, 1966; McConville, “Oliver Harvey,” 26; “Peonage at Duke,” *Carolina Times*, March 21, 1959. At this time, colleges and universities were not legally required to meet the federal minimum wage standard.
- 38 Beach, interview, January 26, 1990; Klopfer, interview, February 8, 1990; Cushman, interview, February 28, 1990. Among the longest-serving trustees in 1957 were George Garland Allen (elected 1923), Donald Siler Elias (1929), Sidney Sherrill Alderman (1934), James Raymond Smith (1934), William Walter Peele (1921), Bunyan Snipes Womble (1915), and Robert Andrew Mayer (1897). *Bulletin of Duke University*, 19–20.
- 39 Chafe, *Civilities and Civil Rights*, 8, 7.
- 40 Bill Wells to AHE, February 17, 1953, AHE to Bill Wells, February 20, 1953, AHE to Helen Morrison, October 13, 1953, all in Box 33, Segregation Policy, AHE Papers; Chafe, *Civilities and Civil Rights*. A very good, detailed discussion of the process of desegregation at Duke is found in Kean, *Desegregating Private Higher Education in the South*.
- 41 “Divinity Student Body Petition,” unpublished typescript, 1948, Box 33, Segregation Policy, AHE Papers; Cole, *Recollections*, 157.
- 42 Barney L. Jones to William E. King, September 29, 1975, Box 1, Reminiscences 1930–1960, Barney Lee Jones Papers; Cole, *Recollections*, 158.
- 43 Anne Corpening to Edwin L. Jones, December 6, 1956, Edwin L. Jones to Anne Corpening, December 20, 1956, both in Box 33, Segregation Policy, AHE Papers.

- 44 Roger Knapp, "Divinity Students Sign Admissions Petition," *DC*, February 22, 1957; James Cannon to AHE, February 7, 1957, "Board of Trustee Minutes," February 27, 1957, both in vol. 6, BoT Records.
- 45 "Board of Trustee Minutes," February 27, 1957, vol. 6, BoT Records; J. Bruce Eure to AHE, March 1, 1957, Edward J. Burns to AHE, March 4, 1957, both in Box 33, Segregation Policy, AHE Papers.
- 46 "Criticism Hits Student Group," newspaper clipping, n.d., P. H. Hanes to AHE, November 20, 1957, T. Conn Bryan to AHE, November 18, 1957, Sam B. Underwood to AHE, November 13, 1957, all in Box 58, Student Legislature, AHE Papers.
- 47 AHE to Board of Trustees of Duke University, "A Statement Concerning a Bill Introduced at the State Student Legislature Meeting Recently," memorandum, November 14, 1957, Box 58, Student Legislature, AHE Papers.
- 48 Cole, *Recollections*, 158; Barney L. Jones to William E. King, September 29, 1975, Box 1, Reminiscences 1930–1960, Barney Lee Jones Papers, DUA; Bob Windeler, "University to Continue Progress—Edens: President Gives Resignation, Committee to Nominate Successor," *DC*, February 2, 1960; Galen Griffin, "Board of Trustees Selects Hart as President Pro Tem," *DC*, April 22, 1960. Subsequently, Hart's "interim" status was removed.
- 49 "Barbaric Tradition," *DC*, December 13, 1955; Bob Windeler, "Senators Approve Integration Letter," *DC*, November 23, 1959; Scott Stevens, "Graduate, Divinity Petitions Gain No Admissions Change," *DC*, February 27, 1959; "Law School Bar Vote Urges Non-Racial Admissions Policies," *DC*, March 14, 1960; Annie Kohn, "Balance Trips Both Parties; Vote Favors No Racial Bias," *DC*, April 11, 1960; "Graduate Students Favor Integration of University," *DC*, May 11, 1960. Sixty-six percent of the graduate school's students and faculty supported the petition to eliminate Duke's racially restrictive admissions policy, and another 10 percent were found to have declined to sign for fear of reprisals. The vote by the law students was forty-nine in favor, thirteen opposed, and thirteen abstained. At least with respect to undergraduate men on West Campus, support for desegregation was far from unanimous. The *Duke Chronicle* reported that 56 percent of students on West Campus voted for admission of qualified students to the university regardless of race, either immediately or within three years. Statistics showed that almost all preregistered graduate students favored admittance of African Americans for graduate study (86.3 percent in favor; 9.6 percent opposed; 4.6 percent not responding).
- 50 Milligan, "Subsidizing Segregation"; RTC et al. to Board of Trustees, Duke University, "Some Considerations Regarding the Admission of Duly Qualified Negroes to the Graduate and Professional Schools of Duke University," memorandum, November 1960, Box 7, Desegregation, OP Records.
- 51 RTC et al. [Woodhall and MEH] to Board of Trustees, "Some Considerations." Woodhall ended by reassuring the trustees that "the Medical Center will never



- admit unqualified students under any form of compulsion.” The memo made clear that changing the graduate and professional school admissions policy “should not be considered an argument” for admitting Black students to the undergraduate school. “There are,” the memo argued, “ample educational opportunities for Negro girls and boys in good undergraduate institutions in the state and area, as well as in many schools in other areas. For example, North Carolina College provides excellent undergraduate facilities, and there are a few Negro students enrolled as undergraduates at the three divisions of the University of North Carolina.” Since Duke was not able to accommodate more than a fraction of qualified white undergraduates who already applied, the memo argued that “it would certainly appear unwise to accept responsibility for a new group of undergraduate students.”
- 52 Knight, *Dancer and the Dance*, 127. Knight noted that “a strong minority of the Trustees had been opposed to [the] admission” of Black students.
- 53 Also in the fall of 1962, Reuben Lee Sparks became the first Black student to enroll in Duke Divinity School. He was classified as a “special student” because he had already received his divinity degree from another institution. “Black History at Duke.”
- 54 The president of the Carnegie Foundation found the action “admirable” and representative of the “best of Southern leadership.” John W. Gardner to Thomas L. Perkins, March 17, 1961, Box 11, Integration, JDH Records. The Rockefeller Foundation vice president was “truly impressed” and thought the action “clears the air a lot.” Charles F. Cole to Thomas L. Perkins, March 15, 1961, Box 11, Integration, JDH Records. The president of the Ford Foundation was “glad to know” of the action. Henry T. Heald to Thomas L. Perkins, March 15, 1961, Box 11, Integration, JDH Records.
- 55 “Congratulations, Trustees,” DC, March 10, 1961; A. T. Spaulding to J. Deryl Hart, June 4, 1962, Box 11, Integration, JDH Records.
- 56 Kean, *Desegregating Private Higher Education in the South*, 238; Bunyan S. Womble to C. B. Houck, March 8, 1961, Box 1, Board of Trustees 1960–64, Bunyan S. Womble Papers, DUA; Deryl Hart to Bunyan S. Womble, February 7, 1961, Box 33, Segregation Policy, AHE Papers; RTC, interview, March 1, 1990; Cushman, interview, February 28, 1990; Kotelanski, “Prolonged and Patient Efforts,” 125. Kean rejected the view that private southern schools desegregated on their own accord, explaining that “the trustees of the private southern universities were committed to the belief that they had both the authority and the power to control their institutions. . . . Only when authority had been openly wrested from them could racial change come.” Kean, *Desegregating Private Higher Education in the South*, 238.
- 57 RTC, interview, March 1, 1990; Barney L. Jones to William E. King, September 29, 1975, Box 1, Reminiscences 1930–1960, Barney Lee Jones Papers, DUA. Kean saw such a pragmatic decision-making process as typical of board

- members at private southern universities more generally when considering a change in admissions policy. “The only arguments for desegregation [that trustees of southern private universities] would listen to,” she wrote, “were those they saw as realistic or practical—that is, arguments that touched on the impact of segregation on *themselves*. Thus, moral arguments . . . fell on absolutely deaf ears.” Kean, *Desegregating Private Higher Education in the South*, 236.
- 58 Bunyan S. Womble to Dean Boggs, June 13, 1961, Box 1, Board of Trustees 1960–64, Bunyan S. Womble Papers, DUA; “Chronicle Special Report,” DC, April 12, 1963.
- 59 “Trustees Name President: Douglas Maitland Knight,” DC, November 2, 1962.
- 60 Knight, *Dancer and the Dance*, iv.
- 61 Knight, *Dancer and the Dance*, v.
- 62 “President Douglas Knight Resigns from Lawrence: Ex-Yale Professor Accepts Duke University Presidency,” *The Lawrentian*, November 2, 1962.
- 63 “President Douglas Knight Resigns from Lawrence.”
- 64 DMK, interview, November 21, 1978; “President Douglas Knight Resigns from Lawrence”; Knight, *Dancer and the Dance*, 106.
- 65 “President Douglas Knight Resigns from Lawrence”; DMK, interview, November 21, 1978. In addition, the college student newspaper reported, Knight “doubled faculty salaries, created a substantial program of support for faculty research, and increased both the numbers and the scholarly preparation of the school’s teaching staff.” “President Douglas Knight Resigns from Lawrence.”
- 66 Knight, *Dancer and the Dance*, 112; DMK, interview, November 21, 1978.
- 67 Knight, *Dancer and the Dance*, 120.
- 68 “Six Men Have Led University: From Minor to Major Stature,” DC, November 2, 1962; Wright Tisdale, “To the Faculty of Duke University,” memorandum, November 2, 1962, Box 16, Correspondence before Coming to Duke, DMK Records; “The Years Ahead,” DC, November 2, 1962; RTC to J. Deryl Hart, memorandum, November 2, 1962, Box 3, R. Taylor Cole, JDH Records. Knight was the school’s seventh president since the founding of Trinity College but only the fifth president since the creation of the Endowment and the transformation of Trinity College into Duke University.
- 69 Roger Marshall commented that Knight “would go to football games dressed the way he felt it appropriate to go to an Ivy League game.” Marshall, interview, January 13, 1977.
- 70 Knight, *Dancer and the Dance*, 118; Knight, *Street of Dreams*, 97.
- 71 Marshall, interview, January 13, 1977; DMK, interview, November 21, 1978.
- 72 DMK, interview, April 16, 1979.
- 73 Knight, *Dancer and the Dance*, 121.
- 74 Marshall, interview, January 13, 1977.
- 75 Knight, *Street of Dreams*, 23, 18.

- 76 Knight, *Dancer and the Dance*, 107–8.
- 77 Knight, *Dancer and the Dance*, 109, 136, 119; WJG, interview, January 16, 1979. In his memoir, Knight repeated his observation that the presidencies of Lawrence and Duke were similar. “I had developed by the end of my Lawrence years a clear sense of duties and priorities,” he explained. “Now I put them into play, as I discovered that—as Nathan Pusey said to me about the similarities between Lawrence and Harvard—the addition of a few zeroes in the financial statement had little to do with the essential jobs. Both places,” Knight observed, “needed what I was within limits able to do; they had significant reputations which were not in fact borne out by their reality.” Knight, *Dancer and the Dance*, 123.
- 78 Knight, *Dancer and the Dance*, 134–35.
- 79 Knight, *Dancer and the Dance*, 120.
- 80 Knight, *Street of Dreams*, 156.
- 81 JWC, interview, January 18, 1977; MEH, interview, November 1979; Ashley, interview, August 29, 2018.
- 82 WJG, interview, January 16, 1979; Anlyan, *Metamorphoses*, 201.
- 83 ДМК, “Founder’s Day Address,” DC, December 14, 1962; Frederick L. Schultz, “President Elect Knight: University Must Strive for Honor and Wisdom—Dr. Knight Stresses University’s Role in Founder’s Day Speech Last Night,” DC, December 11, 1962.

## CHAPTER 2. LIKE BARE SKIN AND PUTTING SALT ON IT

- 1 Jones, “How the 1968 Silent Vigil.” Unless otherwise noted, students are referred to throughout with the name used during their Duke student tenure.
- 2 BRH quoted in “Remembering the Vigil”; WCT, interview, January 23, 1985, АВТОHC; CLB, interview, April 19, 2017.
- 3 BEA, interview, March 3, 2017.
- 4 JW and McBride in “Allen Building Takeover 50th”; WCT quoted in Jones, “How the 1968 Silent Vigil.”
- 5 J. D. Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South*, 5 (incl. Washington quote); Litwack, *Been in the Storm So Long*, 474, 472. Black consciousness of, and commitment to, literate culture developed during slavery. See J. D. Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South*, 16; see also Proctor, *Substance of Things Hoped For*, 1–12.
- 6 J. D. Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South*, 9, 15.
- 7 Proctor, *Substance of Things Hoped For*, 11, 2, 17.
- 8 Armstrong, “Allen Building Takeover,” 41–45; CLB, interview, April 19, 2017; WCT, interview, April 17, 2017. An excellent description and analysis of one such school, Caswell County Training School, Caswell County, North Carolina, is found in Walker, *Their Highest Potential*.

- 9 Forte, interview, February 10, 2005, SOHP Collection; Lucas, interview, April 15, 2005, SOHP Collection.
- 10 Forte, interview, February 10, 2005, SOHP Collection; Jacqueline Williams, interview, February 9, 2005, SOHP Collection.
- 11 Holt, interview, February 18, 2005, SOHP Collection; Lucas, interview, April 15, 2005, SOHP Collection.
- 12 Gaines, “Faces of Hope”; WCT, interview, April 17, 2017; JW, interview, February 13, 1985, АВТОHC.
- 13 Ernie Murray, “A Short History of Rocky Mount High School,” Rocky Mount High School, accessed March 9, 2017, <http://www.nrms.k12.nc.us/Page/982>; Craig Kridel, “Secondary School Study: Booker T. Washington High School, Rocky Mount, NC,” University of South Carolina Museum of Education, accessed March 10, 2017, <http://www.museumofeducation.info/btw-rm.html>; BEA, interview, March 3, 2017. According to Murray, Booker T. Washington High School was initially known as “the Negro School.” By 1914 it had been officially named “Lincoln Graded School.”
- 14 Kridel, “Secondary School Study”; Jamal Booker, “Dr. Tolokun Omokunde’s Coca-Cola Moment with Dr. King,” Coca-Cola Company, January 15, 2016, accessed March 10, 2017, <http://www.coca-colacompany.com/stories/dr-tolokun-omokundes-coca-cola-moment-with-dr-king>.
- 15 BEA, interview, March 3, 2017.
- 16 Kridel, “Secondary School Study”; Booker, “Dr. Tolokun Omokunde’s Coca-Cola Moment.”
- 17 Kridel, “Secondary School Study”; BEA, interview, March 3, 2017.
- 18 BEA, interview, March 3, 2017.
- 19 King, “Facing the Challenge of a New Age,” 7–8; BEA, interview, March 3, 2017.
- 20 Armstrong, “Allen Building Takeover,” 41.
- 21 Armstrong, “Allen Building Takeover,” 41; CLB, interview, April 19, 2017; RTC, “Report of the Provost to the President (For the Board of Trustees, June 1, 1963),” Box 36, Provost Annual Reports, DMK Records; Ainsworth and Williams, *Legacy*, 31, 33; BCB, interview, April 19, 2017; WCT, interview, April 17, 2017; BEA, interview, December 17, 1978.
- 22 WCT, interview, April 17, 2017; Hicks, “Talkin ’bout My Generation”; Cheraine Stanford, “Integrating Duke,” *DC*, February 11, 2000; Armstrong, “Allen Building Takeover,” 41–45. Duke’s early Black students were celebrated in their communities. “Back home, we were celebrities,” Turner recounted. “We were doing something new and revolutionary.” Booher, “Duke Desegregates.”
- 23 BEA, interview, December 17, 1978; WCT, interview, January 23, 1985, АВТОHC; April Dudash, “50 Years towards Equality,” *Durham Herald-Sun*, October 5, 2013; Stanford, “Integrating Duke.”

- 24 Ainsworth and Williams, *Legacy*, 32; Stanford, “Integrating Duke”; BCB, interview, April 19, 2017. William Griffith believed that Black students were given “special treatment” by students during the early years of desegregation. His impression is that they were “made to feel almost overly solicited, to feel welcome.” WJG, interview, January 23, 1979. Interviews with the students indicate, however, that this “special treatment” was not present for every Black student in the first classes after desegregation and dissipated as the number of Black students increased.
- 25 WCT, interview, November 8, 1978; LeBlanc in “Allen Building Takeover 50th.”
- 26 CWH, interview, January 19, 1979; BRH, interview, January 7, 1979; Newsome quoted in Saurav, “Allen Building Takeover”; BEA, interview, December 17, 1978.
- 27 BCB, interview, December 13, 1978; Jacobs, *Across the Line*, 67.
- 28 Gaines, “Faces of Hope”; WCT, interview, November 8, 1978; Dudash, “50 Years towards Equality.”
- 29 CWH, interview, January 19, 1979; SDC, interview, March 1, 1985, ABTOHC.
- 30 BEA, interview, December 17, 1978; Ainsworth and Williams, *Legacy*, 36.
- 31 Armstrong, “Allen Building Takeover.”
- 32 BRH, interview, January 7, 1979; BCB, interview, December 13, 1978, April 19, 2017; BEA, interview, December 17, 1978, March 3, 2017; Armstrong, “Allen Building Takeover,” 42.
- 33 WCT, interview, November 8, 1978.
- 34 W. C. A. Bear to RTC, June 6, 1968, Box 3, Campus Security and Related Matters Sept. 1960–August 1968, OP Records.
- 35 CLB, interview, December 16, 1978, April 19, 2017; “Handwritten Notes of Disciplinary Hearing,” working paper, March 19, 1969, Pickets and Protests Policy, ABTC.
- 36 Ainsworth and Williams, *Legacy*, 36; Gaines, “Faces of Hope”; WCT, interview, November 8, 1978.
- 37 BRH, interview, January 7, 1979; Jacobs, *Across the Line*, 67–68.
- 38 CWH, interview, January 19, 1979.
- 39 CWH, interview, January 19, 1979; WCT, interview, November 8, 1978.
- 40 WCT, interview, November 8, 1978.
- 41 WCT, interview, November 8, 1978; BEA, interview, December 17, 1978; BRH, interview, January 7, 1979. Chuck Hopkins also reported “a lot of fights” between Black students and the white fraternities that the football players were in. CWH, interview, January 19, 1979.
- 42 Armstrong, “Allen Building Takeover,” 41; Ainsworth and Williams, *Legacy*, 35.
- 43 BEA, interview, December 17, 1978.
- 44 Armstrong, “Allen Building Takeover,” 41; BEA, interview, December 17, 1978, March 3, 2017; DeMik, interview, February 12, 1985, ABTOHC; CWH, interview, January 19, 1979. Brenda Armstrong recalled “times when people would be

- referring to something that had happened and they would refer to Black people as ‘niggers’ around us.” BEA, interview, December 17, 1978. One white fraternity pledge remembered a fellow pledge insisting that he would sooner go thirsty than drink out of a cup after a “nigger.” Statement by David Roberts in “Remembering the Vigil.”
- 45 BEA, interview, December 17, 1978, March 3, 2017; CWH, interview, January 19, 1979.
- 46 BEA, interview, December 17, 1978.
- 47 Barney L. Jones to Bolon B. Turner, January 26, 1966, Mary Grace Wilson to Frank de Vyver, memorandum, October 18, 1967, both in Box 35, Fraternities and Sororities—Integration—1966, OP Records.
- 48 BEA, interview, December 17, 1978; BRH, interview, January 7, 1979.
- 49 WCT, interview, November 8, 1978, January 23, 1985, АВТОHC; МЕН, interview, November 1979.
- 50 Alan Ray, “Class of ’70 ‘Most Diverse’ Ever,” DC, September 17, 1966; CWH in “Allen Building Takeover 50th.” These numbers overstate the number of Black undergraduates at Duke at any given point in time because a significant number of Black students at the university left before graduating due to academic, financial, or social considerations.
- 51 BCB, interview, December 13, 1978. Janice Williams remembered the small number of Black students in the context of social gatherings: “People who were interested in certain social functions could literally get together in one room. . . . You’d actually be surprised that a guy’s [dorm] room . . . could actually accommodate all of us who wanted to party.” JW, interview, February 13, 1985, АВТОHC; Gaines, “Faces of Hope”; WCT, interview, November 8, 1978.
- 52 JW, interview, February 13, 1985, АВТОHC; BEA, interview, December 17, 1978.
- 53 CWH, interview, January 19, 1979; WCT, interview, January 23, 1985, АВТОHC; BCB, interview, December 13, 1978.
- 54 BEA, interview, March 3, 2017.
- 55 WJG, interview, January 23, February 15, 1979.
- 56 Although Cole went on record in the spring of 1963 that Duke’s decision to desegregate meant that Duke’s new Black undergraduates could “expect to receive the same rights and privileges as all other students,” he dismissed specific questions about university policies as “hypothetical.” “An Integrated Duke,” DC, April 30, 1963.
- 57 DMK, interview, November 21, 1978; WJG, interview, February 15, 1979. The arrival of Black students at Duke was treated without fanfare by the administration. The university archivist is unaware of any photos of the first five Black undergraduates moving into dorms or getting settled on campus.
- 58 Beach, interview, January 26, 1990; WJG, interview, January 23, February 15, 1979. Most Duke students were in the same position. “My guess,” Becton com-

- mented, “is 95 percent of [Duke students] had never seen a Black in any capacity other than working in their home or their parents’ businesses.” CLB, interview, February 20, 1994, SOHP Collection. North Carolina College was founded in 1910 as the National Religious and Training School and Chautauqua for the Colored Race. In 1925 the North Carolina legislature converted what was then the Durham State Normal School into the North Carolina College for Negroes, dedicating it to liberal arts education and the preparation of teachers and principals. Thus, NCC became the country’s first state-supported liberal arts college for Black students. In 1947 the name was changed to North Carolina College at Durham. Finally, in 1969 North Carolina College at Durham was renamed North Carolina Central University. “History of the University,” North Carolina Central University, accessed November 19, 2018, <http://www.nccu.edu/discover/history.cfm>.
- 59 W. L. Brinkley Jr. to RTC, memorandum, November 21, 1962, W. L. Brinkley Jr., memorandum, December 20, 1962, both in Box 3, W. L. Brinkley, JDH Records; WJG, interview, January 23, February 15, 1979; “First Report of the University Admissions Committee,” June 12, 1962, Box 7, University Admissions Committee, JDH Records; VCB, interview, December 13, 1978. Tellingly, at the very same time university administrators were proceeding on the belief that Black students had no distinctive needs, consideration was being given to providing special support to another group that did not fit readily within Duke’s prevailing culture—foreign students. In its first report in June 1962, the newly formed University Admissions Committee “strongly urge[d]” the appointment of a foreign student adviser who could “understand and sympathize with the problems of foreign students, who can treat [*sic*] with organizations that sponsor and support foreign student programs in this country, and who will have the moral and financial support necessary to work effectively with such students.” “First Report of the University Admissions Committee.”
- 60 WJG, interview, January 23, February 15, 1979; Cushman, interview, February 28, 1990.
- 61 Memo in provost’s file; Richard L. Watson, interview, November 16, 1978.
- 62 WJG, interview, January 16, 1979; MEH, interview, November 1979.
- 63 WJG, interview, February 15, 1979; Knight, *Street of Dreams*, 134; DMK, interview, November 21, 1978.
- 64 Posting by Joyce Johnson to “A Tribute to Oliver Harvey: A Teacher of Public Work,” DukeVigil68, March 16, 2018, <https://groups.google.com/forum/#!topic/dukevigil68/NYth5xJS6oM>; BEA, interview, March 3, 2017; WCT, April 17, 2017. “Many of our parents were maids and janitors,” Becton described. “They had struggled hard to get us where we were.” Sean Reilly, “Black Students during 1968,” DC, April 4, 1988.
- 65 Greene, *Our Separate Ways*, 1. Booker T. Washington observed, “If blacks across the south would emulate blacks in Durham, they would be on their way to

- prosperity and economic security.” Quoted in Du Bois, “Upbuilding of Black Durham.”
- 66 WCT, interview, January 23, 1985, ABTOHC.
- 67 Dudash, “50 Years towards Equality”; BRH, interview, January 7, 1979. Reverend Cousin also served on the faculty of the divinity school in 1967.
- 68 WCT, interview, January 23, 1985, ABTOHC; Eric Tullis, “C. B. Claiborne on Being Duke’s First Black Basketball Player,” *Indy Week*, February 13, 2013.
- 69 Robert R. Korstad and James L. Leloudis, *To Right These Wrongs*, 82.
- 70 Korstad and Leloudis, *To Right These Wrongs*, 115, 123. By the fall of 1965, Duke anticipated that as many as sixty of its students would be participating in the program either as summer interns or on a part-time basis during the academic year. Aline Mobley to DMK, June 15, 1965, Box 20, North Carolina Fund—Operation Breakthrough: 1963–1968, DMK Records.
- 71 Greene, *Our Separate Ways*, 119; Bermanzohn, *Through Survivors’ Eyes*, 73. Born in Shreveport, Louisiana, Fuller moved to the Milwaukee housing projects at age six. He graduated from Carroll College in Waukesha, Wisconsin, in 1962, the only Black student at the college for three of his four years on campus. Fuller earned a master’s degree in social work from Case Western Reserve University, where he joined the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), working on voter registration drives, school boycotts, and other civil rights protests. Korstad and Leloudis, *To Right These Wrongs*, 179. In 1970, Fuller adopted the name *Owusu Sadaukai*. Although he has resumed use of the name *Howard Fuller*, he wrote in 2014 that “there are still people today who do not know me as Howard Fuller. To them, I remain Owusu, and the name continues to be meaningful and important to me.” Fuller, *No Struggle, No Progress*, 112.
- 72 CWH in “Allen Building Takeover 50th.”
- 73 Sokol, *There Goes My Everything*, 60–61; WCT, interview, April 17, 2017.
- 74 WCT, interview, April 17, 2017.
- 75 DMK, interview, November 21, 1978.

### CHAPTER 3. RIGHTS, AS OPPOSED TO PRIVILEGES

- 1 “Remembering the Vigil”; LeBlanc in “Allen Building Takeover 50th.”
- 2 BEA, interview, February 13, 1979; Newsome quoted in Saurav, “Allen Building Takeover”; WJG, interview, January 23, 1979.
- 3 CWH, interview, January 19, 1979.
- 4 CLB, interview, December 16, 1978.
- 5 Rogers [Kendi], *Black Campus Movement*, 92–101; BEA, interview, December 17, 1978.
- 6 E. Anderson, “White Space”; E. Anderson, “Black in White Space.”



- 7 DMK, interview, April 16, 1979.
- 8 Marshall, interview, January 13, 1977.
- 9 “Our Story,” Hope Valley Country Club, accessed December 7, 2019, <http://www.hvcc.org/life/>; “Hope Valley,” Preservation Durham, accessed October 17, 2019, <http://preservationdurham.org/index.php/hope-valley/>.
- 10 “Junior Celebration Is Postponed Again: Junior Social Planned for March 27 Fails to Materialize,” *DC*, March 28, 1928; “Horseback Riding May Be Co-Eds Hobby Soon,” *DC*, September 26, 1928; “Kappa Kappa Gamma Banquet,” *DC*, October 28, 1934; “Delta Delta Delta Installation This Week,” *DC*, November 4, 1931; “Strongest Duke Golf Squad Will Start Campaign,” *DC*, March 16, 1932; “Schedule of Events at Commencement,” *DC*, June 1962.
- 11 *Constitution and By-Laws*, article 7, Box 16, Hope Valley Country Club, DMK Records; BEA, interview, March 3, 2017.
- 12 DMK to T. S. White Jr., December 2, 1963, Box 16, Hope Valley Country Club, DMK Records; “Statement—Duke University,” February 5, 1964, Box 16, Hope Valley Country Club, DMK Records.
- 13 A report concerning racial segregation at Duke prepared by sociology professor Jack Preiss in 1962 did not mention the issue. Jack J. Preiss, “Report on Racial Discrimination Policies on Campus,” May 1962, Box 11, Integration, JDH Records.
- 14 Jacobs, *Across the Line*, 58, 55; “University Selects A. B. Duke Scholars,” *DC*, April 9, 1965. At the time, athletic scholarships were not available to Black athletes. Eric Tullis, “C. B. Claiborne on Being Duke’s First Black Basketball Player,” *Indy Week*, February 13, 2013.
- 15 *Hope Valley Country Club Yearbook*, 3; Tullis, “C. B. Claiborne”; CLB, interview, April 19, 2017.
- 16 Bill Prindle, “Nurses Encounter Segregation at Club,” *DC*, November 3, 1966; “Discrimination,” *DC*, October 1, 1966.
- 17 “Administrative Appointments Head List of Staff Changes,” *DC*, September 22, 1966; SDC, interview, March 1, 1985, ABTOHC.
- 18 Dick Shaffer, “Ku Klux Klan Storm Troops Bludgeon Student at Rally,” *DC*, October 4, 1966.
- 19 Nelson Ford, “Frats Must Ban Bias Clauses,” *DC*, October 1, 1966; Frank T. de Vyver to DMK, memorandum, June 7, 1966, Box 35, Fraternities and Sororities—Integration: 1964–1965, OP Records.
- 20 Prindle, “Nurses Encounter Segregation”; “Discrimination.”
- 21 Prindle, “Nurses Encounter Segregation”; “NSGA Council’s Referendum Set on Hanes Dance,” *DC*, November 10, 1966; “Nurses Vote against Dance at Hope Valley,” *DC*, November 12, 1966. The resolution that the 1966 dance should not be held at Hope Valley passed 162–32 and the resolution that the nurses would not schedule another social event at a segregated facility passed 179–17.

- 22 Stef McLeod, "The Half-Student," *DC*, November 15, 1966.
- 23 "Here We Go Again," *DC*, November 15, 1966.
- 24 DMK, interview, November 21, 1978.
- 25 Al Featherston, "Bill Werber: Duke's Oldest Living Sports Hero," *Blue Devil Weekly*, June 19, 2008; William M. Werber to Howard Snethen, January 18, 1966, Box 26, Werber: 1965–1967, DMK Records.
- 26 Roger L. Marshall to William M. Werber, January 27, 1966, Box 26, Werber: 1965–1967, DMK Records. After Duke trustee Merrimon Cuninggim read Marshall's response to Werber, he wrote Knight to express his unhappiness. "He sounds as if he secretly agrees with Werber," Cuninggim wrote, "and if that is in fact the case, then I *am* disturbed." Merrimon Cuninggim to DMK, March 25, 1965, Box 26, Werber: 1965–1967, DMK Records.
- 27 "University Caucus: Consideration and Reform in Four Areas of Concern," *DC*, October 18, 1966; Tupp Blackwell, "Students Picket Hope Valley CC," *DC*, December 1, 1966.
- 28 Janis Johnson, "WSGA Takes Anti-Segregation Stand," *DC*, December 1, 1966.
- 29 Roger Marshall, "Alumni Policy?," *DC*, December 1, 1966.
- 30 "Confrontation," *DC*, December 1, 1966.
- 31 "200 Picket Alumni at Segregated Meet," *DC*, December 3, 1966. The *Duke Chronicle* was likewise optimistic. "By . . . bringing the [use of a segregated facility by an alumni group] to the attention of the larger Duke community and the public, similar situations may be avoided here and in other places in the future." "Alumni Policy?," *DC*, December 3, 1966.
- 32 "308-A," *DC*, February 2, 1967; Bob Ashley, "Approved List Not Mandatory Dean Maintains," *DC*, January 12, 1967. Cox did add a notation to the list that the five segregated facilities were "disapproved by students."
- 33 DMK, interview, April 16, 1979.
- 34 DMK to RTC et al., November 17, 1966, Box 6, Civil Rights: 1968–1969, DMK Records.
- 35 W. G. Anlyan to DMK, November 18, 1966, DMK to W. G. Anlyan, November 23, 1966, Box 6, Civil Rights: 1968–1969, DMK Records. Restrictive policies at the two clubs, Anlyan explained, "related primarily to Negroes," and he noted that Hope Valley had "four non-Christian members."
- 36 RHP to DMK, "Segregation Practices, Private Clubs," November 17, 1966, Box 6, Civil Rights: 1968–1969, DMK Records.
- 37 "First Degree?," *DC*, February 4, 1967; Doug Adams, letter, November 16, 1966, Box 6, Civil Rights: 1968–1969, DMK Records.
- 38 University Caucus Resolution, n.d., Box 6, Civil Rights: 1968–1969, DMK Records.
- 39 DMK to Doug Adams, November 22, 1966, Box 6, Civil Rights: 1968–1969, DMK Records.

- 40 Christian W. Dame and Sandra N. Forrester to DMK, November 28, 1966, Box 6, Civil Rights: 1968–1969, DMK Records.
- 41 DMK, letter, n.d., Box 6, Civil Rights: 1968–1969, DMK Records.
- 42 Jordan Grant, “May Day: America’s Traditional, Radical, Complicated Holiday, Part 1,” Smithsonian Museum of American History, April 29, 2016, <https://americanhistory.si.edu/blog/may-day-americas-traditional-radical-complicated-holiday-part-1>; Farnham, *Education of the Southern Belle*, 169.
- 43 “Trinity College Co-Eds Remarkably Successful in Presenting Spring Carnival, May Day Revels, and Initial Home Talent Dramatic Performance: Martha Wiggins Crowned Queen of May in Beautiful Fairy Festivities,” *Trinity Chronicle*, May 11, 1921.
- 44 “May Queen and Court Announced,” *DC*, February 28, 1967; Mary Grace Wilson, memorandum, March 28, 1967, Box 23, May Queen, DMK Records; “Negro Named May Queen at Duke,” Associated Press, 1967, newspaper clipping, Box 23, May Queen, DMK Records.
- 45 Randolph C. Harrison Jr. to DMK, March 4, 1967, Box 23, May Queen, DMK Records. Duke provost R. Taylor Cole reported to a trustee that “the members of the University Policy and Planning Committee (which includes the 7 members of the University Academic Council, the elected representative body of the faculty) had, with one exception, not received a single critical comment about the selection of Miss Reuben.” RTC to C. B. Houck, March 31, 1967, Box 23, May Queen, DMK Records.
- 46 Jonathan C. Kinney, interview, September 12, 2017, Arlington, VA; “A Duke Alumnus,” letter, n.d., “Lifelong Resident of Wilmington North Carolina,” letter, March 21, 1967, both in Box 23, May Queen, DMK Records.
- 47 C. B. Houck to DMK, March 15, 1967, George M. Ivey to DMK, March 14, 1967, both in Box 23, May Queen, DMK Records.
- 48 Knight, *Street of Dreams*, 99–100; Knight, *Dancer and the Dance*, 127.
- 49 Knight, *Street of Dreams*, 99–100; Knight, interview, April 16, 1979.
- 50 WCT, interview, January 23, 1985, ABTOHC; JW, interview, February 13, 1985, ABTOHC; BEA, interview, December 17, 1978.
- 51 Alan Ray, “Class of ’70 ‘Most Diverse’ Ever,” *DC*, September 17, 1966; Armstrong, “Allen Building Takeover,” 42. The total number of Black students at Duke in the fall of 1966 was approximately eighty-five, including students in the graduate and professional schools and those enrolled in paramedical training. Richard Lovejoy Tuthill, “Enrollment Data—Race,” unpublished typescript, October 15, 1967, Box 6, Civil Rights Compliance Reports: 1967–1968, DMK Records. The total number of Black students at Duke during the early years of desegregation, including students in the graduate and professional schools and those enrolled in paramedical training, were approximately nineteen (1963–64), thirty-one (1964–65), fifty-five (1965–66), and eighty-five (1966–67). Joseph B. Martin, “To Accompany Compli-

- ance Reports for Duke University under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964,” n.d., Box 6, Civil Rights Compliance Reports: 1967–1968, DMK Records. As a general matter, it is not possible to confirm precisely how many Black undergraduates were enrolled at Duke at any specific point in time. This is because, among other factors, admissions records that specify the number of Black undergraduates enrolled at the start of each year are not available, and attrition during the course of the academic year reduced the total number of Black students present at the start of the year. In any event, it is clear that the number of Black undergraduates at Duke, and Black students generally, began to accelerate beginning in the fall semester of 1966. This is consistent with national trends. Historian Joy Ann Williamson noted that “African American college student enrollment doubled between 1964 and 1970, with the greatest proportion of the increase noted at historically white institutions.” Williamson, *Black Power on Campus*, 26.
- 52 Chafe, *Unfinished Journey*, 305.
- 53 Rogers [Kendi], *Black Campus Movement*, 78; Carmichael quoted in Van Deburg, *New Day in Babylon*, 32; Chafe, *Unfinished Journey*, 304. Carmichael changed his name to Kwame Ture in 1969 when he left the United States to take up permanent residence in Conakry, Guinea. He is referred to herein as “Stokely Carmichael” because that was the name he used at the time of his appearance on the Duke campus.
- 54 Ture and Hamilton, *Black Power*, 44; Chafe, *Unfinished Journey*, 306; Van Deburg, *New Day in Babylon*, 19.
- 55 CWH, interview, January 19, 1979.
- 56 Greg Perett, “Fuller Calls for ‘Poor Power’ Movement,” *DC*, September 29, 1966; CWH, interview, January 19, 1979.
- 57 Rogers [Kendi], *Black Campus Movement*, 78; Hatcher quoted from “Audio Tape of Introduction of Stokely Carmichael and Stokely Carmichael Speech,” April 1967, Box 8, Student Major Speaker: Mr. Stokely Carmichael, Radio TV Services Records, DUA.
- 58 Carmichael quoted from “Audio Tape of Introduction of Stokely Carmichael and Stokely Carmichael Speech.” The text of Carmichael’s address was an article, “Toward Black Liberation,” that he had published in the *Massachusetts Quarterly*. Reprinted as Carmichael, “Toward Black Liberation.” See also Marty Lloyd, “Stokely Defends Black Power,” *DC*, March 18, 1967.
- 59 Carmichael quoted from “Audio Tape of Introduction of Stokely Carmichael and Stokely Carmichael Speech.”
- 60 Carmichael quoted from “Audio Tape of Introduction of Stokely Carmichael and Stokely Carmichael Speech.”
- 61 BEA, interview, December 17, 1978; Rogers [Kendi], *Black Campus Movement*, 79.
- 62 CLB, interview, December 16, 1978, April 19, 2017; CLB, interview, February 20, 1994, SOHP Collection; CWH, interview, January 19, 1979.

- 63 BEA, interview, December 17, 1978; CLB, interview, December 16, 1978.
- 64 CLB, interview, December 16, 1978; BCB, interview, December 13, 1978; Exum, *Paradoxes of Protest*, 42; Williamson, *Black Power on Campus*, 28; BEA, interview, December 17, 1978.
- 65 CLB, interview, December 16, 1978; CWH, interview, January 19, 1979.
- 66 BEA, interview, December 17, 1978; JW, interview, February 13, 1985, ABTOHC.
- 67 BEA, interview, December 17, 1978; CLB, interview, December 16, 1978.
- 68 BEA, interview, February 13, 1979; CWH, interview, January 19, 1979.
- 69 “Picket Planned at Hope Valley,” *DC*, April 8, 1967; Grady Frank, “SAE Not Racist, Chose ‘Nice’ Site,” *DC*, April 8, 1967; “Hope Valley Revisited,” *DC*, April 6, 1967.
- 70 “Hope Valley Roster,” *DC*, April 8, 1967.
- 71 BCB, interview, December 13, 1978; BEA, interview, December 17, 1978.
- 72 CWH, interview, January 19, 1979.
- 73 “Open Letter from Negro Students,” *DC*, April 25, 1967.
- 74 “Open Letter from Negro Students.”
- 75 BEA, interview, December 17, 1978.
- 76 DMK, interview, April 16, 1979.
- 77 Knight, *Dancer and the Dance*, 126; “Illness Strikes Knight, Cox,” *DC*, September 15, 1967.
- 78 “Over 1200 Freshmen, Selected for Diversity, Arrive Today,” *DC*, September 15, 1967; BCB, interview, December 13, 1978; BRH, interview, January 7, 1979. The total number of Black students at Duke in the fall of 1967 was 177, including 8 students in the graduate and professional schools and 85 enrolled in paramedical training. Tuthill, “Enrollment Data—Race.”
- 79 BEA, interview, December 17, 1978.
- 80 CWH, interview, January 19, 1979; BCB, interview, December 13, 1978; BEA, interview, December 17, 1978.
- 81 BCB, interview, December 13, 1978; BRH, interview, January 7, 1979.
- 82 BEA, interview, December 17, 1978. Armstrong also remembered the pride Duke’s Black students felt using a means of communication named for one that their ancestors had developed. “In the homeland, drums were used for communication between communities,” she explained. “They had their own language and we had our own language as well—it was wonderful.” BEA, interview, March 3, 2017.
- 83 BEA, interview, December 17, 1978.
- 84 BEA, interview, December 17, 1978.
- 85 Goodwyn, *Populist Moment*, xviii. Goodwyn described “the sequential process of democratic movement-building” as having four stages: “(1) the creation of an autonomous institution where new interpretations can materialize that run counter to those of prevailing authority . . . ; (2) the creation of a tactical means

- to attract masses of people . . . ; (3) the achievement of a heretofore culturally unsanctioned level of social analysis . . . ; and (4) the creation of an institutional means whereby the new ideas, shared now by the rank-and-file of the mass movement, can be expressed in an autonomous political way.”
- 86 Dee Dee Stokes, “Society to Boost Negro’s Position,” *DC*, September 29, 1967.
- 87 “Segregated Quarters Dropped from University’s List for Students,” *DC*, September 20, 1967. In the case of discrimination in off-campus housing, the policy change occurred just as the university was preparing to submit a “Compliance Report of Institutions of Higher Education” to the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The Compliance Report required the university to indicate, among other matters, whether “Negro and/or ‘Other’ students” are free to participate in “all campus housing, including dormitories,” on a non-segregated basis. Under applicable regulations, without the policy change, the university would have been forced to answer ‘no’ to that question.” Joe Martin to Gerhard C. Henriksen, “Compliance with the Civil Rights Act and ‘Off-Campus Housing Listed by the University,’” September 19, 1967, Box 6, Civil Rights Compliance Reports: 1967–1968, DMK Records.
- 88 Bob Entman, “ASDU Prohibits the Use of Segregated Facilities,” *DC*, October 18, 1967. ASDU had initially considered the segregated facilities issue in the spring of 1967. In May, Hopkins proposed a resolution condemning “the usage by University organizations” of segregated facilities and prohibiting such use by nonselective campus-wide organizations. As drafted, the resolution contained no enforcement mechanism. Although the ASDU legislature adopted the resolution overwhelmingly, Kinney, the ASDU president, objected. He asked the legislature to reconsider its action because the resolution failed to prohibit the use of segregated facilities by fraternities and sororities and other “private, selective, non-campus-wide organizations.” Kinney wanted the legislature to prohibit the use of segregated facilities by these groups as well. Bob Ashley, “ASDU Votes Scholarship, Kinney Raps Racial Motion,” *DC*, May 11, 1967.
- 89 Entman, “ASDU Prohibits the Use of Segregated Facilities.”
- 90 David Pace, “MSG A Opposes ASDU Ban on Use of Segregated Facilities,” *DC*, October 20, 1967; “WSGA Cabinet Supports ASDU in Segregated Facilities Statute,” *DC*, October 25, 1967.
- 91 Jack Jackson, “IFC Votes against Banning Use of Segregated Facilities,” *DC*, November 10, 1967; “Freshman Council against ASDU Bill,” *DC*, October 25, 1967; “Sigma Nu Condemns ASDU Resolution, Passes Own Segregation Ban,” *DC*, October 27, 1967. By November 10, six fraternities had voted individually to ban the use of segregated facilities for off-campus events. Jackson, “IFC Votes.”

- 92 Cletis Pride, "Press Release on Study-In," November 13, 1967, Box 6, Civil Rights: 1968–1969, DMK Records; RHP to Frank Ashmore et al., "Memorandum on Administrative Council Meeting," October 31, 1967, Box 7, Administrative Council: 1967–1969, DMK Records; Robert Switzer, "Using Segregated Facilities Violates Civil Rights Bill," DC, October 25, 1967.
- 93 "Negroes Boycott Ban Referendum," DC, November 3, 1967; "Students Vote 60% against Segregation Statute," DC, November 8, 1967.
- 94 "Students Vote." The vote was 1,300 against the ASDU resolution and 884 in favor. "Students Vote."
- 95 CLB, interview, December 16, 1978.
- 96 CLB, interview, December 16, 1978.
- 97 BEA, interview, December 17, 1978; CLB, interview, December 16, 1978; BCB, interview, December 13, 1978. "Like African Americans in the larger community," Williamson noted, "Black students were not a monolithic group in any sense, including their ideas on the proper tactics and goals of Black liberation." Williamson, *Black Power on Campus*, 46.
- 98 BEA, interview, December 17, 1978.
- 99 CWH et al., "Black Students' Resolution," November 10, 1967, DMK Records; CWH, interview, January 19, 1979.
- 100 DMK to CWH et al., November 12, 1967, Box 6, Civil Rights: 1968–1969, DMK Records.
- 101 DMK, interview, April 16, 1979.
- 102 "Afro-Americans Hold Sit-In by Knight's Office: SFAC Acts on Segregated Facilities in Response to Protest," DC, November 13, 1967; BRH, interview, January 7, 1979; BCB, interview, December 13, 1978; study-in photographs, November 13, 1967, Box 54, Convocation 1964 to Demonstrations 1990s, University Archives Photographs Collection. The *Duke Chronicle* cited "reliable sources" that said that the Duke president spent the day at his nearby lake house. "Afro-Americans Hold Sit-In."
- 103 WJG, interview, January 23, 1979; Steve Johnston, "SFAC Calls on President to Extend Facilities Ban," DC, November 13, 1967.
- 104 CLB, interview, December 16, 1978; CWH, interview, January 19, 1979; Preiss, interview, February 5, 1977. Duke student Sally Avery recalled an off-campus meeting in late 1967 at which Howard Fuller "was talking black power, which he said meant 'No whites allowed.'" Moments later, Avery was expelled from the meeting. Bermanzohn, *Through Survivors' Eyes*, 73.
- 105 "Audio of Afro-American Study-In," November 13, 1967, Box 12, Radio TV Services Records, DUA.
- 106 "Audio of Afro-American Study-In."
- 107 "Afro-Americans Hold Sit-In."
- 108 "Audio of Afro-American Study-In."

- 109 “Audio of Afro-American Study-In”; Pride, “Press Release on Study-In.”
- 110 “Afro-Americans Hold Sit-In”; “Student-Faculty-Administration Committee,” November 13, 1967, Box 6, Civil Rights: 1968–1969, DMK Records.
- 111 Pride, “Press Release on Study-In”; “Defeat of Sit-In,” *High Point Enterprise*, November 14, 1967; “Dr. Knight, Not Protesting Group, Still President of His University,” *Daily Times-News*, November 18, 1967; Edwin L. Jones, letter, November 14, 1967, Box 20, Negro Sit-In, DMK Records.
- 112 Steve Johnston, “Knight Bans Use of Segregated Facilities by Student Groups,” *DC*, November 17, 1967.
- 113 “Duke Resolves Its Conflict with Negro Students,” November 17, 1967, DMK to Roger Marshall et al., November 21, 1967, both in Box 6, Civil Rights: 1968–1969, DMK Records.
- 114 Richard Smurthwaite, “Statement Satisfies Afro-Americans,” *DC*, November 20, 1967; CLB, interview, December 16, 1978; BEA, interview, December 17, 1978.
- 115 Edwin L. Jones to DMK, November 20, 1967, George V. Allen to Edwin L. Jones, January 2, 1968, Eugene C. Few Jr. to DMK, November 15, 1967, Leonidas Herbin Jr. to DMK, November 14, 1967, Theodore D. Pimper to DMK, November 19, 1967, all in Box 20, Negro Sit-In, DMK Records.
- 116 DMK to Mrs. James T. Hedrick, November 21, 1967, DMK to Leonidas Herbin Jr., December 1, 1967, DMK to Theodore D. Pimper, December 1, 1967, all in Box 20, Negro Sit-In, DMK Records.
- 117 DMK, interview, April 16, 1979.
- 118 DMK, interview, April 16, 1979.
- 119 DMK, interview, April 16, 1979; statement by DMK in “Remembering the Vigil.”
- 120 Anlyan, *Metamorphoses*, 201; Ashley, interview, August 29, 2018.
- 121 DMK to George M. Ivey, February 23, 1966, Box 23, Student—Controversial Speakers: 1966–1969, DMK Records; Knight, *Street of Dreams*, 109.
- 122 Dan Berger, “Trapped by History: A Serene Knight Makes Peace with the Dark Days of ’68,” *DC*, April 4, 1988.
- 123 BCB, interview, December 13, 1978.
- 124 DMK, interview, April 16, 1979.
- 125 DMK to WJG, November 21, 1967, Box 6, Civil Rights: 1968–1969, DMK Records.

#### CHAPTER 4. WE WERE THEIR SONS AND DAUGHTERS

- 1 DMK to WJG, November 21, 1967, Box 6, Civil Rights 1968–1969, DMK Records; Frank L. Ashmore, “Draft History of Afro-American Relations Prior to February 13, 1969,” March 7, 1969, Box 5, Campus Unrest: 1969, DMK Records; WJG, interview, January 16, 1979.



- 2 “Texts of New Regulations: Pickets and Protests,” *DC*, January 8, 1968.
- 3 Carter, “Duke University,” 514; William Johnson, “Timid Generation,” 75; Dyke Stokely, “Friendly Protesters ‘Sit-In’ beside Army Recruiters Office on Tuesday,” *DC*, January 10, 1968; “Student Blocks Door, Withdraws for Navy,” *DC*, January 12, 1968; Bob Ashley, “Anti-Dow Demonstrations Today Spread to Allen Building Offices,” *DC*, February 5, 1968; Jim McCullough, “Protest Time Limits Cut,” *DC*, March 1, 1968. “Many students at Duke,” William Johnson observed, “seem to be plodding patiently along, doggedly heading for some impenetrable post-college cubbyhole. . . . They seem to have put a low ceiling on their ideals, to have leaped into weary adulthood at a discouragingly early age. They seem unalterably sensible and strangely self-protective.” William Johnson, “Timid Generation,” 75.
- 4 BEA, interview, February 13, 1979.
- 5 CWH, interview, January 19, 1979; BEA, interview, February 13, 1979.
- 6 Rogers [Kendi], *Black Campus Movement*, 94. The nine police officers who were tried for the massacre were acquitted by an all-white jury. The only person ever convicted in connection with the Orangeburg Massacre was Cleveland Sellers, a civil rights activist who had been shot in the back. Biondi, *Black Revolution on Campus*, 32–33.
- 7 “If [the black campus movement] received a nudge from the Orangeburg Massacre,” Kendi wrote, “then it received a shove from the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King.” Rogers [Kendi], *Black Campus Movement*, 94. “King’s death stirred a lot of people up,” William Turner recalled. WCT, interview, November 8, 1978. Chuck Hopkins had a similar perspective. In his view, King’s death was “one of the most significant politicizing [events]” for Duke’s Black students. Sean Reilly, “Black Students during 1968,” *DC*, April 4, 1988.
- 8 Chafe, *Unfinished Journey*, 351.
- 9 BEA, interview, December 17, 1978.
- 10 Bob Babcock, “The Duke Vigil: Some Student Views,” 3, 1968, Box 1, Personal Narratives, DVC; BRH, interview, January 7, 1979. These comments were reported by a white student in the class.
- 11 BEA, interview, December 17, 1978, December 5, 2017; Reilly, “Black Students during 1968.”
- 12 DMK quoted in “Remembering the Vigil”; Peter Applebome, “A Transformation? Well at Least a Change or Two!,” *DC*, April 11, 1968; Knight, *Street of Dreams*, 121; WJG, interview, January 20, 1977. The university received reports, according to one account, “of the organization of vigilante groups among segments of the white community.” Frank L. Ashmore, “A Crisis in Conscience,” 4, April 24, 1968, Box 1, Official University Statements, DVC.
- 13 DMH and Boger quoted in “Remembering the Vigil”; Cheryl Fuller, “Letters to the Editor,” *Duke University Alumni Magazine*, August 1998, <https://alumni.duke.edu>

- .edu/magazine/articles/duke-university-alumni-magazine-155; DMH, “A Journal of the Duke Vigil,” 2, May 1960, Box 1, DVC. In 1977, as part of work at Duke on a history honor’s thesis on the Silent Vigil, I distributed surveys to randomly selected alumni who had been at Duke during the Silent Vigil. Most respondents returned completed surveys anonymously. The surveys, each of which have been assigned a number, are in the author’s possession and are referred to herein as Alumni Survey.
- 14 “Typewritten Chronology with Notes,” n.d., Box 35, John H. Strange, DVC; DMH, interview, January 14, 1977.
  - 15 DMH, “Journal of the Duke Vigil,” 1; “Flyer for Memorial Vigil,” Box 1, April 5, 1968, DVC.
  - 16 DMH, “Journal of the Duke Vigil,” 1–4.
  - 17 DMH, interview, January 14, 1977; WJG, interview, January 20, 1977.
  - 18 WJG, interview, January 20, 1977; DMH, “Journal of the Duke Vigil,” 4.
  - 19 DMH, “Journal of the Duke Vigil,” 5; Harry Boyte, Cynthia Ganung, and David L. Singer, “Open Letter to the University Community,” DC, October 1, 1966; “Students Rally for Arbitration,” DC, April 20, 1967; DMH, interview, January 14, 1977.
  - 20 The steps were (1) urge the president of the United States to push for congressional action to implement the recommendations of the President’s Commission on Civil Disorder, (2) urge senators and congressmen to pass open housing legislation, and (3) call on city officials, insisting they show greater concern for grievances and problems of the Black community. “WDBS Tapes of the Duke Vigil, 1968 April 5–1968 April 10,” tape 1, Box 5, Audio Tapes: 1956–1973, WDBS Collection, DUA.
  - 21 DMH, “Journal of the Duke Vigil,” 5.
  - 22 Tupp Blackwell, “Pan-Hel President Resigns after Second Look at System,” DC, September 22, 1967.
  - 23 “Flyer for Memorial Procession for Dr. Martin Luther King,” April 5, 1968, Box 1, Handouts, Flyers, etc.—Folder 1, DVC.
  - 24 DMH, “Journal of the Duke Vigil,” 5–9; DMH, interview, January 14, 1977; Bob Ashley, “400 Students Continue Sit-Ins, Pledge to Remain on Quad until Labor, Race Demands Met: Protest Leaves Knight’s House as Tired President Isolated,” DC, April 8, 1968; DMH quoted in “Remembering the Vigil.”
  - 25 “Typewritten Chronology with Notes.”
  - 26 DMH, interview, January 14, 1977; Small quoted in “Remembering the Vigil.”
  - 27 BRH, interview, January 7, 1979.
  - 28 DMH, “Journal of the Duke Vigil,” 6; WJG, interview, January 20, 1977; Knight, *Street of Dreams*, 122; Peter Neumann, “Letters to the Editor,” *Duke University Alumni Magazine*, August 1998, <https://alumni.duke.edu/magazine/articles>

- /duke-university-alumni-magazine-155; Bermanzohn, *Through Survivors' Eyes*, 83. Bermanzohn wrote that 200 students were sitting in Knight's living room, but the more accurate number is approximately 250. In addition, several faculty members were present during some or all of the protest at University House.
- 29 Knight, *Street of Dreams*, 122; DMK, interview, November 21, 1978.
- 30 Bermanzohn, *Through Survivors' Eyes*, 83; Boger quoted in "Remembering the Vigil."
- 31 "Typewritten Chronology with Notes"; DMH, "Journal of the Duke Vigil," 6–7; Knight, *Street of Dreams*, 123.
- 32 DMH, "Journal of the Duke Vigil," 6–7.
- 33 Burke, interview, February 6, 1977.
- 34 Boger quoted in "Remembering the Vigil"; Jeff Van Pelt, "Letter to Durham Friends and Ad Hoc vROC," April 18, 1988, Box 13–16, A 91–96, Vigil, VPSA Records; DMH, "Journal of the Duke Vigil," 15.
- 35 BEA, interview, December 17, 1978.
- 36 Ashley, "400 Students"; "wDBS Tapes of the Duke Vigil," tape 6.
- 37 "Typewritten Chronology with Notes."
- 38 "Typewritten Chronology with Notes"; DMK quoted in "Remembering the Vigil."
- 39 Doug Adams, letter, November 16, 1966, Box 6, Civil Rights 1968–1969, DMK Records; "wDBS Tapes of the Duke Vigil," tape 8; "Typewritten Chronology with Notes" (emphasis added).
- 40 "Typewritten Chronology with Notes."
- 41 "wDBS Tapes of the Duke Vigil," tape 8; Dan Berger, "Trapped by History: A Serene Knight Makes Peace with the Dark Days of '68," *DC*, April 4, 1988.
- 42 DMH, "Journal of the Duke Vigil," appendix 3; Ashley, "400 Students."
- 43 DMH, "Journal of the Duke Vigil," appendix 3.
- 44 DMH, "Journal of the Duke Vigil," 15; "Typewritten Chronology with Notes"; DMK, interview, November 21, 1978.
- 45 "wDBS Tapes of the Duke Vigil," tape 18; Van Pelt, "Letter to Durham Friends"; "Typewritten Chronology with Notes."
- 46 "wDBS Tapes of the Duke Vigil," tape 6. Although Knight would later characterize the protesters as his "guests," R. Taylor Cole, university provost, observed in a narrative written after the vigil that the president's invitation to stay "came only after the students had refused to leave." RTC, "Pages on the Vigil," n.d., 134, Box 13–16, A 91–96, Vigil, VPSA Records.
- 47 "Typewritten Chronology with Notes." Henderson described the widespread concern about violating dorm parietal hours as an example of "the political inconsistencies that were rampant throughout the whole [protest]." DMH, interview, January 14, 1977.

- 48 DMH, "Journal of the Duke Vigil," 7; Knight, *Street of Dreams*, 125; Berman-zohn, *Through Survivors' Eyes*, 83; Ashley, interview, August 29, 2018. Strange did not participate directly in negotiations until the next morning.
- 49 Small, interview, April 12, 2018.
- 50 "The Vigil, 1968," tape 1, Box 2-3, Sound Recordings: 1968, DVC; Burke, interview, February 6, 1977; DMH, "Journal of the Duke Vigil," 19; Alumni Survey 23. An unidentified Duke student took a tape recorder to many of the events of the Silent Vigil and recorded what was said. He then rerecorded the tapes, adding his own comments to more fully describe the occupation of University House and the Silent Vigil.
- 51 BEA, interview, December 5, 2017; BRH, interview, January 7, 1979.
- 52 WJG, interview, January 20, 1977; Berger, "Trapped by History."
- 53 Kathleen Sullivan, "The Timid Generation: Administrators Faced Rebellion from Students," *DC*, April 4, 1988.
- 54 DMH, "Journal of the Duke Vigil," 11.
- 55 RTC, "Pages on the Vigil," 134-35.
- 56 RTC, "Pages on the Vigil," 135. The four options under consideration were, according to Ashmore: "(1) remove the Knight family to an undisclosed location, and bring in enough police to protect the property; (2) if the group was orderly, and the Knights were not uncomfortable, let them remain in the hope that an understanding could be reached on the issues being raised; (3) move police to all entryways to the house, permit those who wished to exit to do so, but allow no additional people to enter; and (4) remove first the Knights, and then everyone else in the house, using whatever force might be required." Ashmore, "Crisis in Conscience," 10.
- 57 Small quoted in "Remembering the Vigil"; Knight, *Street of Dreams*, 119.
- 58 Knight, *Street of Dreams*, 123; DMK, "Speech to Memorial Service—April 6, 1968," Box 1, Addresses and Speakers, DVC.
- 59 DMK, "Speech to Memorial Service—April 6, 1968," Box 1, Addresses and Speakers, DVC.
- 60 DMH, "Journal of the Duke Vigil," 14; Knight, *Street of Dreams*, 125.
- 61 DMK, interview, November 21, 1978; DMK quoted in "Remembering the Vigil"; RTC, "Pages on the Vigil," 135.
- 62 WJG, interview, January 20, February 5, 1977.
- 63 WJG, interview, February 5, 1977.
- 64 WJG, interview, January 20, 1977; RTC, "Pages on the Vigil," 140.
- 65 RTC, "Pages on the Vigil," 134-35.
- 66 WJG, interview, January 20, 1977; Ashmore, "Crisis in Conscience," 10; Kinney, interview, September 12, 2017.
- 67 DMH, "Journal of the Duke Vigil," 15.
- 68 DMH, "Journal of the Duke Vigil," 16; DMH, interview, January 14, 1977.

- 69 DMH, "Journal of the Duke Vigil," 13
- 70 WJG, interview, January 20, 1977; WJG quoted in "Remembering the Vigil"; DMH, "Journal of the Duke Vigil," 13.
- 71 DMH, "Journal of the Duke Vigil," 16; Babcock, "Duke Vigil," 1.
- 72 "wDBS Tapes of the Duke Vigil," tapes 2, 11.
- 73 "wDBS Tapes of the Duke Vigil," tapes 1, 2; Gillian Bruce, "Pressures of 1968 Hit Home in Durham: Curfew Failed to Quell Disturbances after King's Death," *DC*, April 4, 1988; Ashmore, "Crisis in Conscience," 17.
- 74 "wDBS Tapes of the Duke Vigil," tape 2.
- 75 "wDBS Tapes of the Duke Vigil," tape 10.
- 76 DMH, "Journal of the Duke Vigil," 19, 17; BRH, interview, January 7, 1979. On Saturday night, Henderson reported, Howard commented on the "party atmosphere" and "lack of discipline" in University House. DMH, "Journal of the Duke Vigil," 17.
- 77 BRH quoted in "Remembering the Vigil"; BRH, interview, January 7, 1979.
- 78 DMH, interview, January 14, 1977; DMH, "Journal of the Duke Vigil," 16.
- 79 Leah Wise, "Stirring the Pot: Oliver Harvey's Narrative Account of the Struggle to Organize Duke University," 104–5, March 1980, Box 2, Student Papers Reference Collection, DUA.
- 80 DMH, "Journal of the Duke Vigil," 18.

#### CHAPTER 5. HOPE TAKES ITS LAST STAND

- 1 "Interim Report to the Academic Council by the Committee on Non-Academic Employees," n.d., reprinted in DMH, "A Journal of the Duke Vigil," 169–85, May 1968, Box 1, DVC.
- 2 Flyers for April 7, 1968, rally, Box 1, Handouts—Flyers 1, DVC.
- 3 "wDBS Tapes of the Duke Vigil, 1968 April 5–1968 April 10," tape 12, Box 5, Audio Tapes: 1956–1973, wDBS Collection, DUA.
- 4 DMH, interview, January 14, 1977; Small quoted in "Remembering the Vigil." The inclusion of a "political rally" in the definition of a "demonstration" meant that the percentage of vigil participants engaging in a *protest* demonstration for the first time would be higher than 77 percent. "Statistics on Vigil Participants," n.d., Box 13–16, A 91–96, Vigil, VPSA Records.
- 5 "wDBS Tapes of the Duke Vigil," tape 2.
- 6 "wDBS Tapes of the Duke Vigil," tape 2.
- 7 "wDBS Tapes of the Duke Vigil," tape 11; Durden, *Lasting Legacy to the Carolinas*, 253; RTC, "Pages on the Vigil," n.d., 134; Ashmore, "Crisis in Conscience," 20.

- 8 “wDBS Tapes of the Duke Vigil,” tape 3; DMH, “Journal of the Duke Vigil,” 19; “Police Say Duke Vigil No Trouble,” *DC*, April 10, 1968.
- 9 WJG, interview, January 20, 1977; CBH quoted in “Remembering the Vigil.”
- 10 BRH quoted in “Remembering the Vigil.”
- 11 “wDBS Tapes of the Duke Vigil,” tape 3; “Ground Rules for Those Participating in the Vigil,” April 8, 1968, Box 1, Monday, April 8, 1968, *DVC*.
- 12 “wDBS Tapes of the Duke Vigil,” tape 8; “Police Say Duke Vigil No Trouble”; Traver, interview, December 7, 1978.
- 13 “The Vigil, 1968,” tape 3, Box 2–3, Sound Recordings: 1968, *DVC*; BRH quoted in “Remembering the Vigil”; Kornberg and Smith, “It Ain’t Over Yet.”
- 14 “wDBS Tapes of the Duke Vigil,” tape 9; Strange and Small quoted in “Remembering the Vigil”; WJG, interview, January 20, 1977.
- 15 “wDBS Tapes of the Duke Vigil,” tape 9. Vigil leaders recalled the cleanup crew to the quad on Monday afternoon.
- 16 Bunny Small, Jon Kinney, and John Strange to DMK and Grace Knight, April 8, 1968, Box 1, Monday, April 8, 1968, *DVC*.
- 17 “wDBS Tapes of the Duke Vigil,” tape 4.
- 18 Kinney, interview, September 12, 2017.
- 19 DMH, “Journal of the Duke Vigil,” 19–20; Simons, interview, February 1, 1977.
- 20 “Statistics on Vigil Participants”; “wDBS Tapes of the Duke Vigil,” tape 8; BEA, interview, December 5, 2017.
- 21 DMH, “Journal of the Duke Vigil,” 22; Bob Ashley, “President Unavailable for Days Yet,” *DC*, April 10, 1968.
- 22 “Operation Employees Demand Higher Wages,” *DC*, April 10, 1968; flyer for strike meeting, April 8, 1968, Box 1, Monday, April 8, 1968, *DVC*; Small, interview, April 12, 2018. This decision took remarkable courage. Striking workers would have little money coming in during a strike. As “at will” employees, they could be terminated by the university at any time. Once fired, the employees might well be blacklisted from any future employment in Durham. By going out on strike, the workers put their already precarious financial circumstances in even greater peril.
- 23 Flyer for class boycott, April 8, 1968, Harold W. Lewis to Members of the Teaching Staff, memorandum, April 8, 1968, both in Box 1, Monday, April 8, 1968, *DVC*.
- 24 Mary Schuette, “Tapp Indispensable to Food Committee,” *DC*, April 12, 1968; BRH quoted in “Remembering the Vigil.”
- 25 Hans J. Hillerbrand, “Resolution of Divinity School Faculty,” April 8, 1968, Box 1, Folder 5, *DVC*. Duke administrators rejected the suggestion as impractical.
- 26 DMH, “Journal of the Duke Vigil,” 23; SDC quoted in “Remembering the Vigil.”
- 27 Alumni Surveys 65, 101; Simons, interview, February 1, 1977.
- 28 Jeff Van Pelt, “Letter to Durham Friends and Ad Hoc VROC,” 1, April 18, 1988, Box 13–16, A 91–96, Vigil, *VPSA Records*.

- 29 JWC, interview, January 18, 1977; SDC quoted in “Remembering the Vigil”; Huck Gutman, interview, April 13, 2018; Alumni Survey 3.
- 30 Student Letters to RTC, April 8, 1968, Box 1, Vigil, OP Records
- 31 Banks Arendell to DMK, April 12, 1968, Robert R. Fountain to DMK, April 10, 1968, W. Edwin Magee to DMK, April 17, 1968, Walter H. Schmitt and Gloria Flatemeyer Schmitt to DMK, April 9, 1968, all in Box 10, Vigil Letters, DMK Records; Marshall, interview, January 13, 1977.
- 32 Alumni Survey 100; Edgar quoted in “Remembering the Vigil”
- 33 CBH quoted in “Remembering the Vigil”; RTC, “Pages on the Vigil,” 140, n.d., Box 13–16, A 91–96, Vigil, VPSA Records.
- 34 CBH quoted in “Remembering the Vigil”; CBH, interview, February 9, 1977.
- 35 WJG, interview, January 20, 1977; CBH, interview, February 9, 1977.
- 36 “wDBS Tapes of the Duke Vigil,” tape 16.
- 37 “Operation Employees Demand Higher Wages”; “Class Boycott Is Effective,” DC, April 11, 1968.
- 38 DMH, “Journal of the Duke Vigil,” 27; “wDBS Tapes of the Duke Vigil,” tape 16.
- 39 Robert F. Kennedy, telegram, April 9, 1968, “Compilation of Statements of Support for Vigil,” April 9, 1968, both in Box 1, Statements of Support, DVC. Strange spoke about interviews he had taped with both the Associated Press and United Press International and of his recent contact with representatives of *Newsweek*. He also told them that radio station WPIX in New York was preparing a taped special on the protest, promising to “play it to the hilt.” “Nationwide Coverage of Vigil Expands,” DC, April 10, 1968.
- 40 “wDBS Tapes of the Duke Vigil,” tape 4; Leah Wise, “Stirring the Pot: Oliver Harvey’s Narrative Account of the Struggle to Organize Duke University,” 103, March 1980, Box 2, Student Papers Reference Collection, DUA.
- 41 CLB, interview, December 16, 1978; Sean Reilly, “Black Students during 1968,” DC, April 4, 1988; David Pace, “Vigil Ignites Hope for Blacks—Racial Cooperation May Occur: Some Doubt White Means, Commitment,” DC, April 29, 1968.
- 42 Reilly, “Black Students during 1968”; Pace, “Vigil Ignites Hope for Blacks”; WJG, interview, January 23, 1979.
- 43 Reilly, “Black Students during 1968”; BCB, interview, December 13, 1978; Wise, “Stirring the Pot,” 104–5.
- 44 Wise, “Stirring the Pot,” 104–5; Bob Babcock, “The Duke Vigil: Some Student Views,” 3, 1968, Box 1, Personal Narratives, DVC. These comments were reported by a white student in the class.
- 45 Pace, “Vigil Ignites Hope for Blacks”; DMH, “Journal of the Duke Vigil,” 29.
- 46 BEA, interview, December 17, 1978.
- 47 RTC, “Pages on the Vigil,” 140; WJG, interview, January 20, 1977.

- 48 “Operation Employees Demand Higher Wages.”
- 49 “Typewritten Chronology with Notes,” n.d., Box 35, John H. Strange, DVC; DMH, “Journal of the Duke Vigil,” 27.
- 50 DMH, “Journal of the Duke Vigil,” 28.
- 51 “WDBS Tapes of the Duke Vigil,” tape 8.
- 52 “Operation Employees Demand Higher Wages.”
- 53 WJG, interview, January 20, 1977.
- 54 DMH, “Journal of the Duke Vigil,” 31; BRH quoted in “Remembering the Vigil.”
- 55 SDC, “Speech to Vigil April 10, 1968,” Box 1, Wednesday, April 10, 1968, DVC.
- 56 SDC, “Speech to Vigil April 10, 1968,” Box 1, Wednesday, April 10, 1968, DVC.
- 57 DMH, “Journal of the Duke Vigil,” 31.
- 58 CBH quoted in “Remembering the Vigil”; WJG, interview, February 5, 1977.
- 59 Wright Tisdale, “Speech to Vigil—April 10, 1968,” Box 1, Wednesday, April 10, 1968, DVC.
- 60 CBH quoted in “Remembering the Vigil”; Wise, “Stirring the Pot,” 104; Jeremy Hewes, “Chairman Tisdale Tells It Like It Is,” *DC*, May 15, 1968.
- 61 DMH, “Journal of the Duke Vigil,” 29.
- 62 “The Vigil, 1968,” tape 4.
- 63 Semans quoted in “Remembering the Vigil”; WJG, interview, February 5, 1977; Hewes, “Chairman Tisdale.”
- 64 DMH, “Journal of the Duke Vigil,” 33; Kinney quoted in “Remembering the Vigil”; Richard Smurthwaite, “Vigil Needed Change in Tactics as Chaos Threatened Wednesday,” *DC*, April 12, 1968.
- 65 George W. Williams, “Academic Council: Minutes of the Called Meeting April 10, 1968,” Box 1, Wednesday, April 10, 1968, DVC; Richard Smurthwaite, “Four-Day Silent Vigil Ends; Tacit Accord Reached by Protestors,” *DC*, April 11, 1968.
- 66 DMH, interview, February 9, 1977.
- 67 Smurthwaite, “Four-Day Silent Vigil Ends.”
- 68 Smurthwaite, “Four-Day Silent Vigil Ends”; “Vigilance Now,” *DC*, April 11, 1968.
- 69 Pace, “Vigil Ignites Hope for Blacks”; Carolyn Arnold, “Dining Hall Strike Goes into 3rd Day,” *DC*, April 11, 1968.
- 70 WJG, interview, January 20, 1977; Roberts quoted in “Remembering the Vigil”; DMH, “Journal of the Duke Vigil,” 34; Smurthwaite, “Four-Day Silent Vigil Ends.”
- 71 Smurthwaite, “Four-Day Silent Vigil Ends.”
- 72 Pat Black, “Knight in Hospital: Cole Takes Duties,” *DC*, April 12, 1968.
- 73 “The New University,” *DC*, April 12, 1968; John Buettner-Janusch, “Diary of Vigil Events,” n.d., reprinted in DMH, “Journal of the Duke Vigil,” 116; Smurthwaite, “Vigil Needed Change in Tactics.”
- 74 DMH, “Journal of the Duke Vigil,” 34; Carolyn Arnold and Gloria Guth, “Boycott Enters Second Week; 75% Effective,” *DC*, April 15, 1968.



- 75 John Strange and DMH, "Statement," April 15, 1968, reprinted in DMH, "Journal of the Duke Vigil," 93–95. While the minutes of the April 15 board meeting are sparse, they indicate that Cole and other administrators recommended that "the Board not make an unequivocal statement at this time on collective bargaining." "Board of Trustees Minutes," April 15, 1968, vol. 12, BoT Records.
- 76 Cliff Feingold, "Students Call Board's Proposal 'Disappointing,'" *DC*, April 17, 1968. The statement acknowledged that the "concessions . . . reflect a change in attitude of most trustees." "Board of Trustees Minutes," April 15, 1968, vol. 12, BoT Records.
- 77 "Trustees' Study Unit to Meet Tomorrow," *DC*, April 19, 1968; Klopfer, "Duke."
- 78 Feingold, "Students Call Board's Proposal 'Disappointing.'"
- 79 Steven Evans, "Seeger Appears at Vigil Rally; Dr. Blackburn Reports on Faculty," *DC*, April 19, 1968; "wDBS Tapes of the Duke Vigil," tape 4.
- 80 Wise, "Stirring the Pot," 107.
- 81 Wise, "Stirring the Pot," 107–8.
- 82 Tom Dwiggin, "Sunday Vigil Receives Trustee's Statement," *DC*, April 22, 1968; DMH, interview, February 9, 1977; Gutman, interview, April 13, 2018.
- 83 Henry E. Rauch to Board of Trustees, memorandum, April 22, 1968, Box 16, Labor Relations 1967–1969, DMK Records
- 84 Henry E. Rauch to Board of Trustees, memorandum, April 22, 1968, Box 16, Labor Relations 1967–1969, DMK Records; Kathleen Sullivan, "The Timid Generation: Administrators Faced Rebellion from Students," *DC*, April 4, 1988.
- 85 RTC, "Pages on the Vigil," 138; Special Trustee-Administrative Committee, "Statement of Special Committee," April 20, 1968, Henry E. Rauch to Board of Trustees, memorandum, April 22, 1968, both in Box 16, Labor Relations 1967–1969, DMK Records.
- 86 DMH, "Journal of the Duke Vigil," 42; "The Vigil, 1968," tape 4; Strategy Committee, "April 20, 1968 Statement," reproduced in DMH, "Journal of the Duke Vigil," 106.
- 87 Dwiggin, "Sunday Vigil."
- 88 "wDBS Tapes of the Duke Vigil," tapes 5, 4.
- 89 DMH, "Journal of the Duke Vigil," 43.
- 90 Henry E. Rauch to Board of Trustees, memorandum, April 22, 1968, Box 16, Labor Relations 1967–1969, DMK Records.
- 91 Carolyn Arnold, "Workers Return to Work Today; Call 3 Weeks Moratorium on Strike," *DC*, April 22, 1968; Ann Colarusso, "Duke Strikers Decide to Work for 3 Weeks," *Durham Herald*, April 22, 1968.
- 92 Araminta Stone, "Trustee Action on Vigil Demands Still Awaited as Deadline Nears," *DC*, May 6, 1968.
- 93 "Statement of the Vigil Strategy Committee," April 11, 1968, Box 35, John H. Strange, DVC.

- 94 “Vigil Will Resume Tuesday on Main Quad: Duke Students Await Trustee Statement on Validity of Union,” *DC*, May 13, 1968.
- 95 “Vigil Will Resume Tuesday.”
- 96 “Vigil Will Resume Tuesday.”
- 97 “200 Students, Faculty Reconvene Despite Rain,” *DC*, May 15, 1968.
- 98 Clay Steinman, “Vigilers Are Determined,” *DC*, May 16, 1968.
- 99 Small, interview, April 12, 2018. These seven areas of focus were improved compensation administration, enhanced job security, maintenance of effective communication, more opportunities for personal development and advancement, better supervision, employee participation in matters pertaining to their collective interest, and reconstitution of the personnel policy committee. Henry E. Rauch, “Report of the Special Committee as Distributed to the Blackburn Committee,” May 10, 1968, Box 16, Labor Relations 1967–1969, DMK Records.
- 100 Pat Black and Alan Ray, “SDS Stages Brief Sit-In inside Allen Building,” *DC*, May 16, 1968.
- 101 Henry E. Rauch to Board of Trustees of Duke University, memorandum, May 3, 1968, Box 16, Labor Relations 1967–1969, DMK Records.
- 102 Black and Ray, “SDS Stages Brief Sit-In”; Traver, interview, December 7, 1978.
- 103 Special Committee, “Trustee Statement,” *DC*, May 16, 1968; “Students End Vigil Disgusted with Trustees: Trustees Promise to Spell Out Program for Employee Council, Representation,” *DC*, May 16, 1968.
- 104 “Students End Vigil Disgusted”; “Closed Minds,” *DC*, May 16, 1968.
- 105 “Workers to Meet with Trustees Wednesday,” n.d., Box 1, Folder 18, Local 77, DVC.
- 106 “Students End Vigil Disgusted”; DMH, interview, January 14, 1977.
- 107 Cook, Semans, and Kinney quoted in “Remembering the Vigil”; ACK, interview, November 6, 1978.
- 108 Peter Applebome, “In the Twinkling . . . : A Transformation in Three Weeks?,” *DC*, April 29, 1968; JWC, interview, January 18, 1977; Small, interview, April 12, 2018.
- 109 Van Pelt and Roberts quoted in “Remembering the Vigil”; Pace, “Vigil Ignites Hope for Blacks”; Applebome, “In the Twinkling.”
- 110 Alumni Surveys 14, 37; Steinman and Clay quoted in Hendrick, “Silent Vigil 1968.” Hundreds of participants returned to campus for the fiftieth anniversary of the Silent Vigil, and many credited it with fundamentally altering the direction of their lives. As Small reflected during the anniversary, “All these people remained activists and were politically involved.” Small, interview, April 12, 2018.
- 111 CBH, “Memo to Non-Academic Employees,” September 3, 1968, Box 16, Labor Relations 1967–1969, DMK Records; JWC, interview, January 18, 1977.

- 112 Semans quoted in “Remembering the Vigil”; CBH, interview, February 9, 1977; ACK, interview, November 6, 1978. “The general reaction to Allen Building was one of a little disbelief that it happened here. That falls back to the vigil because that was a very peaceful demonstration, and I believe the Duke students felt in general that the [effective] way to do it was to apply peaceful pressure because the vigil did gain quite a few concessions from the university and there was no violence, no takeover of buildings.” ACK, interview, November 6, 1978.
- 113 CBH, interview, February 9, 1977; ACK, interview, November 6, 1978; Kinney, interview, September 12, 2017.
- 114 Knight, *Dancer and the Dance*, 127.
- 115 SDC quoted in “Remembering the Vigil.”

## CHAPTER 6. HUMILIATING TO PLEAD FOR OUR HUMANITY

- 1 “The New University,” DC, April 12, 1968.
- 2 “Fifth Decade Program First Phase Ending,” DC, September 13, 1968; “East Judi Board Grants Overnight Area Leaves,” DC, September 13, 1968; Richard Smurthwaite, “Men Must Learn to Make Beds,” DC, September 19, 1968.
- 3 WJG to DMK, “Proposal for Afro-American Studies Program Drafted by John Cell,” December 30, 1968, Box 71, Afro-American Studies: 1968–1969, VPSA Records.
- 4 Cell, “Proposal for Afro-American Studies Program.”
- 5 JWC to MEH, February 6, 1969, Box 72, Afro-American Society Demonstration: 1969, VPSA Records; Joe Martin, “Statement to Board of Homeland Ministries, United Church of Christ,” April 28, 1969, Box 72, Allen Building Takeover by Black Students: 1969, VPSA Records; WJG to DMK, “Proposal for Afro-American Studies Program”; BRH, interview, January 7, 1979.
- 6 Rogers [Kendi], *Black Campus Movement*, 95.
- 7 Frank L. Ashmore, “History of Afro-American Relations Prior to February 13, 1969,” March 7, 1969, Box 5, Campus Unrest: 1969, DMK Records.
- 8 Ashmore, “History of Afro-American Relations”; WJG, interview, January 23, 1979.
- 9 Rogers [Kendi], *Black Campus Movement*, 85.
- 10 Ballard, *Education of Black Folk*, 75.
- 11 WCT, interview, January 23, 1985, АВТОHC.
- 12 BEA, interview, February 13, 1979.
- 13 BEA, interview, February 13, 1979.
- 14 DMK to WJG, August 13, 1968, Box 17, Afro-American Society: 1968–1969, Trinity College of Arts and Sciences, Office of the Dean Records, DUA.

- 15 Dave Shafer, "Protest Regulation Calls for Suspension, Arrest," *DC*, January 8, 1968.
- 16 E. C. Bryson, "Notice of Executive Committee Policy," May 9, 1968, Box 11, Special Problems, Pickets, and Protests: February 1967–August 1969, OP Records.
- 17 RHP, "Memorandum to Members of the Administrative Council," July 17, 1968, Box 7, Administrative Council: 1967–1969, DMK Records. "Suggestions [from the Executive Committee] included raising the maximum penalty to the level of dismissal, forbidding picketing and demonstrations inside any building. . . . and the elimination of the final step of appeal to the President."
- 18 DMK to men and women of Duke, August 15, 1968, Wright Tisdale to DMK and Frank Ashmore, handwritten note on memo to board, August 29, 1968, both in Box 21, Pickets and Protests, DMK Records.
- 19 Frank L. Ashmore, "Criticisms of Specific Actions of University by Conservatives," December 5, 1967, Frank L. Ashmore to DMK, December 5, 1967, both in Box 6, Civil Rights: 1968–1969, DMK Records.
- 20 Ashmore, "Criticisms of Specific Actions."
- 21 "Duke Announces Expansion: Ground Broken for Library," *DC*, September 23, 1965.
- 22 Marshall, interview, January 13, 1977.
- 23 Harold W. Lewis to chairmen, deans, and directors in Arts and Sciences and Engineering, "Budget for 1968–1969," May 6, 1968, Box 23, Trinity College: 1967–1968, OP Records; RHP to Administrative Council, memoranda on Administrative Council meetings, May 6 and September 11, 1968, both in Box 7, Administrative Council: 1967–1969, DMK Records.
- 24 WJG, interview, January 20, 1977; Anlyan, *Metamorphoses*, 202; Knight, *Dancer and the Dance*, 130; DMK, interview, April 16, 1979.
- 25 DMK, interview, April 16, 1979; DMK quoted in "Remembering the Vigil."
- 26 Chafe, *Unfinished Journey*, 358; Caitlin Gibson, "What Happened in Chicago in 1968, and Why Is Everyone Talking about It Now?," *Washington Post*, July 18, 2016.
- 27 Martin, "Statement to Board of Homeland Ministries"; Robert H. Ballantyne to WJG, August 29, 1969, Box 71, Afro-American Society: 1968–1969, VPASA Records. In addition, eighty-one Black students were in two-year or shorter paramedical training programs.
- 28 Brown, interview, December 13, 1978.
- 29 JWC, interview, January 9, 1979; Annie Leigh Broughton to Cliff Wing Jr., July 31, 1968, Box 17, Afro-American Society: 1968–1969, Trinity College of Arts and Sciences, Office of the Dean Records, DUA.
- 30 Ashmore, "History of Afro-American Relations."

- 31 BEA, interview, February 13, 1979. Using the early weeks of the fall semester for organizational activities was common throughout the Black campus movement. “The early fall had the lowest levels of activism,” Kendi observed, “since the influxes of students compelled [Black student unions] and [student government associations] to reorganize, while leaders and their political ideologies jockeyed for control.” Rogers [Kendi], *Black Campus Movement*, 96.
- 32 BEA, interview, February 13, 1979; WJG, “Minutes of Meeting Held with Representatives of the Duke Afro-American Society, Members of the Faculty, and Members of the Administration on October 4, 1968,” October 11, 1968, Box 71, Afro-American Society: 1968–1969, VPSA Records.
- 33 WJG, “Minutes of Meeting Held with Representatives of the Duke Afro-American Society.” All descriptions and quotations from the meeting are taken from the minutes unless otherwise indicated.
- 34 At this stage, although calling for prompt action by the university and requesting involvement in all substantive discussions, students at Duke, like their counterparts at other schools, were willing to work through “normal academic channels” to achieve their objectives. See Rogers [Kendi], *Black Campus Movement*, 111. “The purpose of Black studies was threefold,” Williamson explained. “Corrective, to counter distortions, misperceptions, and fallacies surrounding Black people; descriptive, to accurately depict the past and present events constituting the Black experience; and prescriptive, to educate Black students who would eventually uplift the race.” Williamson, *Black Power on Campus*, 30.
- 35 JWC, interview, January 9, 1979; WJG to DMK, October 11, 1968, Box 71, Afro-American Society: 1968–1969, VPSA Records.
- 36 Christian McWhirter, “The Birth of ‘Dixie,’” *New York Times*, March 31, 2012; McWhirter, *Battle Hymns*.
- 37 DMK, response to AAS 12 demands, October 1968, Box 72, Afro-American Society Demonstration: 1969, VPSA Records.
- 38 This sentence was partially crossed out in the copy of DMK’s typed draft found in the VPSA Records.
- 39 DMK, response to AAS 12 demands.
- 40 WJG, “Minutes of Second Meeting Held with Representatives of the Duke Afro-American Society, Members of the Faculty, and Members of the Administration on Thursday, October 15, 1968,” Box 71, Afro-American Society: 1968–1969, VPSA Records.
- 41 WJG, “Minutes of Second Meeting.”
- 42 RTC to DMK, memorandum, October 24, 1968, DMK to RTC, October 29, 1968, both in Box 71, Afro-American Studies: 1968–1969, VPSA Records.
- 43 Richard Smurthwaite, “Poor Communication Hurts Negotiations,” *DC*, April 4, 1969.

- 44 JWC, "Interview with Dr. Robert Ballantyne, Director of Admissions," n.d., Tony Axam and Richard L. Watson to WJG, November 6, 1968, both in Box 71, Afro-American Studies: 1968–1969, VPSA Records.
- 45 JWC, interview, January 9, 1979; DMK, interview, April 16, 1979; SDC, interview, March 1, 1985, АВТОHC. Louis J. Budd, who chaired the committee charged with developing the African and Afro-American Studies Program at Duke, had a similar view of Lewis. "I don't think that [Lewis], really, himself, had any personal commitment to Afro-American Studies," Budd commented. "He would go as far as he thought he had to go." Budd, interview, March 1, 1985, АВТОHC.
- 46 No report was presented on some other issues, like financial support for Black Week and the requested support for the Black solidarity movement in Durham. WJG, "Handwritten Notes of November 4, 1968 Meeting," Box 71, Afro-American Studies: 1968–1969, VPSA Records.
- 47 Biondi, *Black Revolution on Campus*, 175; Ballard, *Education of Black Folk*, 110; Williamson, *Black Power on Campus*, 29–30.
- 48 Ballard, *Education of Black Folk*, 105–6; Biondi, *Black Revolution on Campus*, 174–75.
- 49 JWC, "Interview with Professor Blackburn, Economics," n.d., Box 71, Afro-American Studies: 1968–1969, VPSA Records.
- 50 Tony Axam and Richard L. Watson Jr. to WJG, November 5, 1968, Box 71, Afro-American Studies: 1968–1969, VPSA Records.
- 51 WJG, "Handwritten Notes"; Ashmore, "History of Afro-American Relations."
- 52 WJG, "Handwritten Notes."
- 53 Ashmore, "History of Afro-American Relations"; "Action Taken on Items Identified at Meeting of October 4, 1968," n.d., Box 72, Afro-American Society Demonstration: 1969, VPSA Records.
- 54 WJG, interview, January 16, 1979; "Action Taken on Items Identified at Meeting of October 4, 1968."
- 55 Diane Wheeler, "Black Students Request Advisor," DC, December 5, 1968.
- 56 JWC, interview, January 9, 1979; WJG to DMK, "Proposal for Afro-American Studies Program."
- 57 JWC, interview, January 9, 1979.
- 58 JWC, interview, January 9, 1979; WJG to DMK, "Proposal for Afro-American Studies Program."
- 59 Ashmore, "History of Afro-American Relations."
- 60 WJG, interview, January 23, 1979; WJG to DMK, "Proposal for Afro-American Studies Program"; DMK, interview, April 16, 1979; Ashmore, "History of Afro-American Relations."
- 61 CWH, interview, January 19, 1979; Newsome quoted in Saurav, "Allen Building Takeover."
- 62 CWH, interview, January 19, 1979

- 63 JW, interview, February 13, 1985, АВТОHC; WCT, interview, January 23, 1985, АВТОHC; CWH, interview, January 19, 1979.
- 64 ACK, interview, November 6, 1978; Cahow, interview, October 23, 1984, АВТОHC.
- 65 SDC, interview, March 1, 1985, АВТОHC; CWH, interview, January 19, 1979.
- 66 DMK, interview, April 16, 1979; Watson, interview, November 16, 1978; JWC, interview, January 9, 1979.
- 67 WJG, interview, January 16, 1979; JWC, interview, January 9, 1979; Frank L. Ashmore, "A Report to the Board of Trustees of Duke University," June 1, 1968, Board of Trustees Minutes, vol. 12, BoT Records.
- 68 CWH, interview, January 19, 1979.

## CHAPTER 7. NOW THEY KNOW, AND THEY AIN'T GONNA DO

- 1 JWC, interview, January 9, 1979; WJG, interview, January 23, 1979.
- 2 BEA, interview, February 13, 1979.
- 3 BCB, interview, December 13, 1978; CLB, interview, April 19, 2017 (Brown joined).
- 4 BEA, interview, March 3, 2017; WCT, interview, April 17, 2017.
- 5 CWH, interview, January 19, 1979.
- 6 Williamson, *Black Power on Campus*, 25, 26; Rogers [Kendi], *Black Campus Movement*, 97.
- 7 Knight, *Street of Dreams*, 125; JWC, interview, January 9, 1979.
- 8 CWH, interview, January 19, 1979; BEA, interview, February 13, 1979; Williamson, *Black Power on Campus*, 33.
- 9 Williamson, *Black Power on Campus*, 25–26, 33; BEA, interview, February 13, March 3, 2017.
- 10 Rogers [Kendi], *Black Campus Movement*, 83; CWH, interview, January 19, 1979.
- 11 Fuller, *No Struggle, No Progress*, 92; Hopkins, "Malcolm X University," 40.
- 12 Fuller, *No Struggle, No Progress*, 83; Korstad and Leloudis, *To Right These Wrongs*, 337.
- 13 ACK, interview, November 6, 1978; Pye, interview, March 2, 1985, АВТОHC.
- 14 CLB, interview, December 16, 1978, April 19, 2017; CWH, interview, January 19, 1979. Moreover, Fuller was hardly the radical agitator his critics believed. David Henderson, who encountered Fuller during the vigil, described him as a "very pacifying force." Fuller was, according to Henderson, "never very radical, . . . never an instigator, [and] never a bomb thrower." DMH, interview, January 14, 1977. Further, Durham mayor Wensell Grabarek credited Fuller with preventing a riot in Durham on the night of King's assassination. Fuller, *No Struggle, No Progress*, 90.
- 15 Sokol, *There Goes My Everything*, 92–93.
- 16 BEA, interview, December 5, 2017.

- 17 Rogers [Kendi], *Black Campus Movement*, 82; CLB, interview, December 16, 1978, April 19, 2017; WCT, interview, November 8, 1978.
- 18 CWH, interview, January 19, 1979; WCT, interview, April 17, 2017.
- 19 Biondi, *Black Revolution on Campus*, 25; Rogers [Kendi], *Black Campus Movement*, 86.
- 20 BEA, interview, December 5, 2017; WCT, interview, April 17, 2017.
- 21 Joe Martin, "Statement to Board of Homeland Ministries, United Church of Christ," April 28, 1969, Box 72, Allen Building Takeover by Black Students: 1969, VPSA Records; RHP to William G. Anlyan et al., "Memorandum on Administrative Council Meeting," January 30, 1969, Box 7, Administrative Council: 1967–1969, DMK Records.
- 22 BRH, interview, January 7, 1979; BEA, interview, December 17, 1978; CWH, interview, January 19, 1979; CWH quoted in Sarah Xu and Rachel Rubin, "'Water Boiling': An Oral History of the Allen Building Takeover, Part 1," DC, May 14, 2019.
- 23 CWH, interview, January 19, 1979; CWH, "Interim Report," 40; BCB, interview, December 13, 1978; WCT, interview, January 23, 1985, АВТОHC.
- 24 JW, interview, February 13, 1985, АВТОHC; Bair, "Early Years of Negro History Week."
- 25 Richard Smurthwaite, "'Black Week' Approaches," DC, January 30, 1969; "Action Taken on Items Identified at Meeting of October 4, 1968."
- 26 Duke University Afro-American Society, "Ten-Point Program: What We Want and Why We Want It," *Harambee*, February 5, 1969, Box 1, Folder 2, АВТС. The percentage was chosen to correspond to the approximate percentage of Blacks in the population in the Southeast.
- 27 Duke University Afro-American Society, "Ten-Point Program"; Ballard, *Education of Black Folk*, 73–74, 75; Knight, *Street of Dreams*, 134.
- 28 WJG, interview, January 16, 1979.
- 29 RHP to Anlyan et al., "Memorandum on Administrative Council Meeting."
- 30 RHP to Anlyan et al., "Memorandum on Administrative Council Meeting"; RHP to MEH, memorandum, January 30, 1969, Box 23, Dean's Office—Trinity College, OP Records.
- 31 RHP to Anlyan et al., "Memorandum on Administrative Council Meeting."
- 32 "Afros Talk Grades at Forum," DC, February 1, 1969.
- 33 WJG, interview, January 16, 1979.
- 34 MEH, interview, November 1979; WJG, interview, January 23, 1979; JWC, interview, January 9, 1979.
- 35 BEA, interview, December 17, 1978.
- 36 DMK, response to AAS 12 demands, October 1968, Box 72, Afro-American Society Demonstration: 1969, VPSA Records.
- 37 DMK to Board of Trustees, memorandum, February 3, 1969, Box 1, Miscellany, DMK Records.



- 38 DMK, “Knight’s Statement,” DC, February 4, 1969
- 39 DMK, “Knight’s Statement”; DMK to Dillard Teer, February 4, 1969, Box 16, Hope Valley Country Club, DMK Records; DMK, interview, April 16, 1979.
- 40 DMK, interview, April 16, 1979.
- 41 WJG, interview, January 23, 1979.
- 42 DMK, interview, April 16, 1979.
- 43 WJG to DMK, January 9, 1969, Box 16, Hope Valley Country Club, DMK Records.
- 44 DMK to WJG, January 14, 1969, Box 16, Hope Valley Country Club, DMK Records.
- 45 DMK, interview, April 16, 1979.
- 46 Steve Emerson, “Afros Decry Lack of Action by Knight,” DC, February 5, 1969.
- 47 Chuck Hopkins, “Why Duke Is Racist,” DC, February 4, 1969.
- 48 DMK to Stephen Glenn Hoffius et al., memorandum, February 14, 1969, Box 1, Afro-American Situation: 1969—Letters Concerning, DMK Records; Pat Black, “Knight Warns against Campus Revolt,” DC, February 5, 1969.
- 49 “Black Week Calendar, *Harambee*, February 5, 1969.
- 50 “Statement of Purpose—To Educate the White Masses,” *Harambee*, February 5, 1969.
- 51 Chuck Hopkins, “Black Rap,” *Harambee*, February 5, 1969.
- 52 Larry Weston, “Epiphany,” *Harambee*, February 5, 1969.
- 53 Michael McBride, “A New Language,” *Harambee*, February 5, 1969. Despite this violent imagery, the vast majority of AAS members remained committed to non-violent protest. Indeed, *Harambee* was dedicated to “the memory of Dr. Martin Luther King and his principles.” BRH, interview, January 7, 1979; BEA, interview, February 13, 1979; BCB, interview, December 13, 1978.
- 54 Tom A. Finch to DMK, February 21, 1969, Box 1, Afro-American Situation: 1969—Letters Concerning, DMK Records; William M. Werber to DMK, April 3, 1969, Box 26, William Werber: 1967–1969, DMK Records; Sim A. DeLapp to Howard Wilkinson, February 14, 1969, Box 71, Afro-American Society: 1968–1969, VPSA Records.
- 55 Michael Kopen, “Fuller Urges Blacks Join ‘Fight for Dignity,’” DC, February 7, 1969.
- 56 WCT, interview, January 23, 1985, ABTOHC.
- 57 JWC, interview, January 9, 1979.
- 58 Gregory quoted in Rogers [Kendi], *Black Campus Movement*, 81.
- 59 DMK, interview, April 16, 1979; Knight, *Street of Dreams*, 135.
- 60 CWH, interview, January 19, 1979.
- 61 “Afros Present Demands, Discuss Them at Knight’s,” DC, February 11, 1969.
- 62 CWH, interview, January 19, 1979; “Afros Present Demands.”
- 63 “Allen Building Takeover, 1969 February 10–1969 March 12,” tape 6, Box 6, Audio Tapes: 1956–1973, WDBS Collection, DUA.
- 64 DMK, “The Complete Text of the Statement by Dr. Knight,” DC, February 12, 1969. Knight was not alone in his negative reaction to the term *demands*. Kendi

- wrote that “almost all administrators despised the term ‘demand’ which asserted a level of black student power they were unwilling to concede in highly hierarchical academia.” Rogers [Kendi], *Black Campus Movement*, 112.
- 65 “Minutes of Joint Meeting of the Administrative Council and the Executive Committee of the Academic Council,” February 12, 1969, Box 7, Administrative Council, DMK Records; BCB, interview, December 13, 1978.
- 66 DMK, interview, November 21, 1978; CLB, interview, December 16, 1978.
- 67 Mark Pinsky, “Hamer, Jackson Tell of Anguish of Blacks,” *DC*, February 12, 1969; “Black Week Calendar,” *Harambee*, February 5, 1969.
- 68 Julie Logan and Gary Wein, “‘Black Week’ Spurs Greater Afro Unity,” *DC*, February 13, 1969.
- 69 JW, interview, February 13, 1985, АВТОHC; BEA, interview, December 17, 1978.
- 70 BEA, interview, February 13, 1979.
- 71 WCT, interview, November 8, 1978, April 17, 2017; BEA, interview, December 17, 1978; BRH quoted in Rogers [Kendi], *Black Campus Movement*, 81.
- 72 BRH, interview, January 7, 1979.
- 73 BEA, interview, December 17, 1978; BCB, interview, December 13, 1978; CWH, interview, January 19, 1979.
- 74 BEA, interview, December 17, 1978, February 13, 1979; BCB, interview, December 13, 1978.
- 75 BEA, interview, December 17, 1978.
- 76 BEA, interview, February 13, 1979.
- 77 CLB, interview, December 16, 1978; BCB, interview, December 13, 1978; CWH, interview, January 19, 1979; WCT, interview, November 8, 1978.
- 78 BEA, interview, March 3, 2017. Armstrong explained how the Black students were able to determine where the Allen Building was most vulnerable. “We had classes in the building,” she commented. “Every time we had a class, we would get a piece of information about where a door was, where a transom was, where the windows were, what time they opened, and what time they closed. We had a little tiny office and we had drawn a map of the interior of the first floor. We knew they were most vulnerable on the most eastward part of the first floor because that is where the doors locked. . . . That is how we had detailed plans.” BEA, interview, March 3, 2017.
- 79 BEA, interview, December 17, 1978.
- 80 CWH, interview, January 19, 1979.
- 81 CWH, interview, January 19, 1979; McBride in “Allen Building Takeover 50th”; LeBlanc, interview, February 9, 2019. Armstrong explained the internal dynamics. “There was a spectrum of reactions,” she recalled. “There were people [who were] more militant or angry, and their reactions were angrier.” Some of them said, “Burn the building down.” In Armstrong’s view, “that was totally unrealistic.” BEA, interview, February 13, 1979.

- 82 Traver, interview, December 7, 1978.
- 83 CLB, interview, December 16, 1978.
- 84 BRH, interview, January 7, 1979; BEA, interview, February 13, 1979.
- 85 BCB, interview, December 13, 1978.
- 86 CWH, interview, January 19, 1979; BEA, interview, February 13, 1979.
- 87 BEA, interview, February 13, 1979.
- 88 “Minutes of Joint Meeting of the Administrative Council and the Executive Committee of the Academic Council,” February 12, 1969, Box 7, Administrative Council, DMK Records.
- 89 JWC, interview, January 9, 1979; “Minutes of Joint Meeting of the Administrative Council and the Executive Committee of the Academic Council,” February 12, 1969.
- 90 JWC, interview, January 9, 1979.
- 91 MEH, “Handwritten Notes of Ground Rules for Consideration of AAS Demands,” February 11, 1969, Box 1, Afro-American Studies: 1969–1970, OP Records.
- 92 BCB, interview, December 13, 1978; MEH, interview, November 1979.

#### CHAPTER 8. NO OPTION TO NEGOTIATE

- 1 BEA, interview, December 17, 1978.
- 2 BEA, interview, January 31, 1985, ABTOHC, quoted in Yannella, “Race Relations,” 26; BEA, interview, December 17, 1978; BRH, interview, January 7, 1979.
- 3 CLB, interview, December 16, 1978; CWH, interview, January 19, 1979. In fact, the truck first arrived on campus a few minutes before 8:00 a.m. and circled Chapel Drive to get the timing right. When the truck did not stop initially in front of the Allen Building, some students assumed, according to Becton, that the takeover must have been called off. Not all takeover participants were on the truck from Becton’s house. Some stayed on campus Monday night, knowing that, according to Brown, if all the Black students “disappeared [from campus] at the same time,” someone would get concerned about “where did all the Black folks go all of a sudden?”
- 4 JW, interview, February 13, 1985, ABTOHC; Cahow, interview, October 23, 1984, ABTOHC.
- 5 Joyce M. Siler, letter, n.d., Box 5, Campus Unrest: 1969, DMK Records; Harry R. Jackson, “Account of Events of February 13–March 19,” May 27, 1969, Box 1, Folder 18, ABTC. The Black students insisted that the building was vacated peacefully and denied any allegations to the contrary. “There wasn’t any physical violence,” Brenda Armstrong told WDBS radio during the takeover. “We escorted them out. They walked on their own two feet.” “Allen Building Takeover, 1969 February 10–1969 March 12,” tape 7, Box 6, Audio Tapes: 1956–1973, WDBS Collection, DUA.

- 6 Jackson, "Account of Events," 2–3.
- 7 WJG, interview, January 23, 1979; "Bill Griffith on the 1969 Allen Building Takeover."
- 8 Rogers [Kendi], *Black Campus Movement*, 2. As Kendi noted, Black student protests started or were ongoing in the Midwest (Illinois and Wisconsin), the Northeast (New York), the Upper South (North Carolina), the Deep South (Mississippi), and the West Coast (Bay Area). Rogers [Kendi], *Black Campus Movement*, 2.
- 9 CWH, interview, January 19, 1979; Campbell, interview, February 8, 1985, AB-TOHC; CWH in "Allen Building Takeover 50th."
- 10 "The Black Demands," February 13, 1969, Box 1, February 13, 1969, ABTC; CWH in "Allen Building Takeover 50th." The demands largely tracked the issues presented to Knight at his home on February 10, 1969. At a meeting in Page Auditorium on February 15, 1969, Michael McBride, president of the AAS, explained that negotiations on "specific demands" had been ongoing since October 1968 but that the Black students had been "negotiating for the past two and a half years on general things that affect Black students on this campus . . . ever since the Afro American Society has been formed." "Allen Building Takeover," tape 10.
- 11 Yannella, "Race Relations," 31–32; Jackson, "Account of Events," 2–3.
- 12 BEA, interview, December 17, 1978; "Blacks Occupy Allen, Ask Demands Action," DC, February 13, 1969. Howard recalled a safety issue. "We ended up being in a relatively enclosed part of the building," she recounted, giving rise to a concern that a fire might occur if tear gas mixed with kerosene. BRH, interview, January 7, 1979.
- 13 "Blacks Occupy Allen"; Josie Knowlin to parents, February 13, 1969, <https://exhibits.library.duke.edu/exhibits/show/black-students-matter--allen-/item/1855>; "Photographs of Allen Building Following Takeover," February 13, 1969, Box 5, Campus Unrest: 1969, DMK Records; CWH, interview, January 19, 1979.
- 14 Fuller, *No Struggle, No Progress*, 93.
- 15 BEA, interview, December 17, 1978; VCB, interview, December 13, 1978; Josie Knowlin to parents, February 13, 1969; JW, interview, February 13, 1985, ABTOHC, quoted in Yannella, "Race Relations," 27.
- 16 SDC, interview, March 1, 1985, ABTOHC; Cahow, interview, October 23, 1984, ABTOHC; Watson, interview, November 16, 1978; Pye, interview, March 2, 1985.
- 17 RHP, "Handwritten Minutes of Meeting in Board Room—February 13, 1969," February 13, 1969, Box 1, Occupation of Allen Building: 2/13/69—And Related Material, OP Records. Present during the day, among others, were administrators Hobbs, Woodhall, Ashmore, Huestis, Griffith, Lewis, Powell, and Price; legal counsel Edwin Bryson; vice provost Frederic Joerg; faculty members Kerckhoff, William H. Cartwright, Craufurd Goodwin, and George Williams; and student leaders Wade Norris (ASDU president) and Steve Johnson. "Blacks Occupy Allen"; Jackson, "Account of Events," 40.

- 18 MEH, interview, March 4, 1985, АВТОHC; RHP, "Handwritten Minutes," 1, 3; WJG, interview, February 15, 1979. The threat of setting fire to the records was later withdrawn. "Blacks Leave Peacefully," *DC*, February 14, 1969.
- 19 RHP, "Handwritten Minutes," 1–2; Ken Vickery, "Administrators React to Feb. 13," *DC*, March 11, 1969.
- 20 Cahow, interview, October 23, 1984, АВТОHC; RHP, "Handwritten Minutes," 4.
- 21 MEH, interview, March 4, 1985, АВТОHC; Tuthill quoted in Yannella, "Race Relations."
- 22 RHP, "Handwritten Minutes," 6–7, 8.
- 23 "Minutes of General Faculty Meeting; February 13, 1969," February 13, 1969, Box 1, Afro-American Studies: 1969–1970, OP Records; RHP, "Handwritten Minutes," 5.
- 24 RHP, "Handwritten Minutes," 5, 6.
- 25 "Minutes of General Faculty Meeting"; RHP, "Handwritten Minutes," 10.
- 26 WJG, interview, January 23, 1979; JWC, interview, January 9, 1979. Moreover, Cell was not the only faculty member who advocated restraint. "My vote was toward waiting it out," commented Louis Budd, who served as the initial chair of the Afro-American studies program at Duke. "It was clearly a symbolic gesture so you back off and let them symbolize." Budd, interview, March 1, 1985, АВТОHC.
- 27 SDC, interview, March 1, 1985, АВТОHC.
- 28 WJG, interview, February 15, 1979.
- 29 RHP, "Handwritten Minutes," 9.
- 30 "Allen Building Takeover," tape 1.
- 31 "Allen Building Takeover," tape 1.
- 32 "Allen Building Takeover," tape 1. Hoping to communicate the urgency the faculty now felt, Cartwright announced the formation of the Kerckhoff Committee, which, he told the crowd, had been done at the recommendation of the Executive Committee of the Academic Council acting in its role as the "committee on committees of the university faculty." "Allen Building Takeover," tape 2.
- 33 "WDBS 1:00 p.m. Press Release," quoted in "Chronology of Confrontation," working paper, n.d., Box 72, Afro-American Society Demonstration: 1969, VPSA Records.
- 34 "Allen Building Takeover," tape 1.
- 35 "Allen Building Takeover," tape 1.
- 36 RHP, "Handwritten Minutes," 9, 7; WJG, interview, January 23, 1979.
- 37 RHP, "Handwritten Minutes," 9.
- 38 RHP, "Handwritten Minutes," 10. Hobbs, Fairbank, and Wilson were also joined by Cletis Pride, director, news service, Office of Information Services, and Bob Ashley, who was reporting for the *DC*. Tom Wilson and Henry Fairbank, "Report of Events Occurring during the Takeover of Allen Building," February 17, 1969, Box 1, Occupation of Allen Building: 2/13/69—And Related Material, OP Records.

- 39 Wilson and Fairbank, "Report of Events"; Tuthill quoted in Yannella, "Race Relations"; "First Conversation between Dr. Hobbs and Black Students, at Window of Allen Building, about 12:15 p.m.," n.d., Box 1, Folder 3, Documents, February 13, 1969, ABTC.
- 40 Cahow, interview, October 23, 1984, АВТОHC; МЕH, interview, March 4, 1985, АВТОHC; Tuthill quoted in Yannella, "Race Relations."
- 41 "Allen Building Takeover," tape 3. "We all took shifts answering the phones," Janice Williams remembered. "Friends were calling, other schools were calling, the news-people were calling, the *Chronicle* was calling . . . so there was a lot of phone calls that had to be answered." JW quoted in Sarah Xu and Rachel Rubin, "'Too Young to Be Afraid': An Oral History of the Allen Building Takeover, Part 2," DC, May 15, 2019.
- 42 BEA, interview, December 17, 1978.
- 43 CWH, interview, January 19, 1979.
- 44 JWC, interview, January 9, 1979.
- 45 RHP, "Handwritten Minutes," 11; МЕH, "February 13, 1969: Primary Actions by M. E. Hobbs, Allen Building, Duke University," February 17, 1969, Box 1, Folder 4, Documents, February 14–19, 1969, ABTC.
- 46 RHP, "Handwritten Minutes," 11.
- 47 RHP, "Handwritten Minutes," 11; МЕH, interview, March 4, 1985, АВТОHC. Griffith had informal communications with the students during the day, first by passing notes and later in conversations through a window. "Bill Griffith on the 1969 Allen Building Takeover." According to Armstrong, Black students saw Griffith as lacking the authority to speak on behalf of the university, calling him "a middleman with no power." BEA, interview, February 13, 1979.
- 48 RHP, "Handwritten Minutes," 11–12.
- 49 RHP, "Handwritten Minutes," 12; Jackson, "Account of Events," 44.
- 50 Jackson, "Account of Events," 46; RHP, "Handwritten Minutes," 12. According to the *Duke Chronicle*, one faction of the group "wished to avoid the emotional upsurge and prepare for long range commitment to achieve the thirteen demands of the blacks." David Smallen, "Whites Help Blacks in Allen," DC, February 14, 1969.
- 51 BEA, interview, March 3, 2017; "Allen Building Takeover," tape 2; Fuller, *No Struggle, No Progress*, 93.
- 52 "Blacks Occupy Allen;" DeMik, interview, February 12, 1985, АВТОHC.
- 53 DMK, interview, November 21, 1978; Knight, *Street of Dreams*, 135, 138.
- 54 МЕH, interview, November 1979; BRH, interview, January 7, 1979; BEA, interview, December 17, 1978. "He knew what he was going to precipitate," Armstrong said. "We were going to be forcibly put out of the building. That would have ignited just a terrible situation." Roger Marshall heard Knight talk to alumni about the potential for violence from whites in Durham. For support, according to Marshall,

the Duke president always pointed out that “every pickup truck [owned] by every redneck bum had a gun rack in the back.” Marshall dismissed the concern. The men Knight worried about were likely hunters, Marshall thought. They weren’t “Ku Klux Klan members looking for a race riot just because they had a gun rack in their truck.” Marshall, interview, January 13, 1977.

55 These included Durham police and members of the North Carolina Highway Patrol. “Chronology of Confrontation”; wct, interview, November 8, 1978.

56 BEA, interview, December 17, 1978; Jacobs, *Across the Line*, 72.

57 MEH, “First Statement to Black Students,” February 13, 1969, Box 1, Afro-American Situation: February 1969, Miscellaneous Material: 1968–1969, DMK Records.

58 MEH, “First Statement to Black Students”; “wDBS 3:30 p.m. Press Release,” quoted in “Chronology of Confrontation”; MEH, “February 13, 1969: Primary Actions”; wJG, interview, February 15, 1979.

59 Smallen, “Whites Help Blacks in Allen”; “Chronology of Confrontation.”

60 RHP, “Handwritten Minutes,” 13–14.

61 “Minutes of General Faculty Meeting.”

62 “Minutes of General Faculty Meeting.”

63 “Allen Building Takeover,” tape 2.

64 MEH, interview, March 4, 1985; Watson, interview, November 16, 1978.

65 “Minutes of General Faculty Meeting.”

66 “wDBS 1:00 p.m. Press Release,” quoted in “Chronology of Confrontation.”

67 “Allen Building Takeover,” tape 2.

68 BEA, interview, December 17, 1978; JW, interview, February 13, 1985, АВТОHC. Howard viewed the potential for the use of force differently. “I didn’t have any doubt that they would call out the fire department and the police,” she commented. BRH, interview, January 7, 1979.

69 SDC, interview, March 1, 1985, АВТОHC.

70 Watson, interview, November 16, 1978.

71 Joe Martin to wJG, memorandum, February 19, 1969, Box 72, Afro-American Society Demonstration: 1969, vPSA Records; RHP, “Handwritten Minutes,” 15.

72 RHP, “Handwritten Minutes,” 15.

73 RHP, “Handwritten Minutes,” 15; Alan Ray, “Knight Explains Use of Police,” DC, February 14, 1969.

74 DMK, interview, April 16, 1979.

75 DMK, interview, November 21, 1978. Knight was clear that this complicated feeling was not the reason he invoked force. DMK, interview, November 21, 1978. Kerckhoff understood the sense of relief Knight must have felt. “At a psychodynamic level,” Kerckhoff speculated, “it may be that someone in a position of harried responsibility can say, ‘Thank God it’s out of my hands.’” ACK, interview, November 6, 1978.

- 76 CWH, interview, January 19, 1979.
- 77 DeMik, interview, February 12, 1985, АВТОHC.
- 78 JWC, interview, January 9, 1979.
- 79 RHP, “Handwritten Minutes,” 16; WJG, interview, January 23, 1979.
- 80 “Second Statement to Students from Marcus Hobbs,” quoted in “Chronology of Confrontation”; Wilson and Fairbank, “Report of Events”; “Allen Building Takeover,” tape 2.
- 81 RHP, “Handwritten Minutes,” 16; “Allen Building Takeover,” tape 1.
- 82 “Allen Building Takeover,” tape 2.
- 83 WCT, interview, January 23, 1985, АВТОHC; Xu and Rubin, “Too Young to Be Afraid.”
- 84 Fuller, *No Struggle, No Progress*, 94.
- 85 CLB, interview, December 16, 1978; CWH, interview, January 19, 1979; JW, interview, February 13, 1985, АВТОHC.
- 86 CWH, interview, January 19, 1979; JW, interview, February 13, 1985, АВТОHC; JW in “Allen Building Takeover 50th”; BRH, interview, January 7, 1979.
- 87 JW in “Allen Building Takeover 50th”; “Allen Building Takeover,” tape 2.
- 88 CWH, interview, January 19, 1979; Catherine LeBlanc in “Allen Building Takeover 50th”; Michael LeBlanc quoted in Xu and Rubin, “Too Young to Be Afraid.”
- 89 JW, interview, February 13, 1985, АВТОHC; “Allen Building Takeover,” tape 2.
- 90 Fuller, *No Struggle, No Progress*, 93; BEA, interview, December 17, 1978.
- 91 CWH, interview, January 19, 1979; CLB, interview, December 16, 1978; LeBlanc in “Allen Building Takeover 50th.”
- 92 WCT, interview, November 8, 1978; BCB, interview, December 13, 1978; BRH, interview, January 7, 1979; BEA, interview, December 17, 1978; JW, interview, February 13, 1985, АВТОHC.
- 93 WJG, interview, January 23, 1979.
- 94 CWH, interview, January 19, 1979. Griffith explained that the likely reason the door had been chained from the outside was to prevent additional people from entering the building, including football players and others who might want to attack the protesters. It was “something of a mutual protection situation,” he recalled. WJG, interview, February 15, 1979.
- 95 Wilson and Fairbank, “Report of Events.”
- 96 CWH, interview, January 19, 1979; CLB, interview, December 16, 1978; LeBlanc quoted in Sarah Xu and Rachel Rubin, “‘We’re the Enemy’: An Oral History of the Allen Building Takeover, Part 3,” *DC*, May 16, 2019. Some accounts of these moments have the police arriving at the Allen Building only after the students had departed.
- 97 WCT, interview, April 17, 2017.
- 98 “Allen Building Takeover,” tape 2; Joe Martin to WJG, memorandum, February 19, 1969. Asked why the Black students had vacated the Allen Building, one



- marcher responded incredulously, “Did you see those bad boys out there?”  
 “Allen Building Takeover,” tape 1.
- 99 JW, interview, February 13, 1985, ABTOHC.
- 100 “Allen Building Takeover,” tape 2; “Chronology of Confrontation”; Jackson, “Account of Events,” 50; Joe Martin to WJG, memorandum, February 19, 1969. At this time, Joe Martin approached a police car on the quad, telling the officer inside that the Allen Building had been vacated and secured. According to Martin, the officer replied that “he knew and was having difficulty finding Captain Seagroves and getting authorization to leave.” Joe Martin to WJG, memorandum, February 19, 1969.
- 101 “Allen Building Takeover,” tape 7. One student reported seeing paper cups, wet towels, and at least “two rather large, flat stones approximately 4–5 inches in length, three inches in width and an inch thick” thrown at the police. John M. Bowers to WJG, February 16, 1969, Box 72, Afro-American Society Demonstration: 1969, VPSA Records. Another student saw events differently. “I, who was no more than ten feet from the police,” Mark Stancato reported, “did not see a single object hit the policemen.” Mark E. Stancato to WJG, n.d., Box 72, Afro-American Society Demonstration: 1969, VPSA Records.
- 102 DeMik, interview, February 12, 1985, ABTOHC; Campbell, interview, February 8, 1985, ABTOHC; “Police and Students Clash on Main Quad,” DC, February 14, 1969; WJG, interview, March 5, 1985, ABTOHC.
- 103 Joe Martin to WJG, memorandum, February 19, 1969; Mark E. Stancato to WJG, February 16, 1969, Box 72, Afro-American Society Demonstration: 1969, VPSA Records; DeMik, interview, February 12, 1985, ABTOHC.
- 104 Wilson and Fairbank, “Report of Events.”
- 105 SDC, interview, March 1, 1985, ABTOHC.
- 106 JWC, interview, January 9, 1979; Campbell, interview, February 8, 1985, ABTOHC; Gulley quoted in Erin Williams, “In 1969, Black Students Took Over a Duke University Building: A New Exhibit Reminds Us Why That Event Mattered,” *Indy Week*, March 6, 2019; BRH, interview, January 7, 1979. On May 4, 1970, members of the Ohio National Guard shot unarmed students at Ohio’s Kent State University during a mass protest against the bombing of Cambodia by U.S. military forces.
- 107 Cahow, interview, October 23, 1984, ABTOHC; MEH, interview, March 4, 1985, ABTOHC.
- 108 RHP, “Handwritten Minutes,” 17; WJG, interview, January 23, 1979; Cahow, interview, October 23, 1984, ABTOHC.
- 109 Cahow, interview, October 23, 1984, ABTOHC; JWC, interview, January 9, 1979.
- 110 Stuart M. Sessoms to RHP, February 14, 1969, Box 71, Afro-American Society: 1968–1969, VPSA Records.
- 111 JW in “Allen Building Takeover 50th”; McBride, interview, May 21, 2019; BEA, interview, December 17, 1978.

- 112 BRH, interview, January 7, 1979; CWH, interview, January 19, 1979.
- 113 “Allen Building Takeover,” tape 5.
- 114 “Allen Building Takeover,” tape 5.
- 115 Richard Smurthwaite and Heloise Merrill, “Students Ask Amnesty, Strike,” *DC*, February 14, 1969.
- 116 Knight, *Street of Dreams*, 137.
- 117 WJG, interview, February 5, 1977; CBH, interview, February 9, 1977.
- 118 One student commented with appropriate dismay that “nowhere else in the country, at the many schools facing the same situation, was police force called so quickly and with such lack of forethought.” Robert B. Entman to МБН, February 16, 1969, Box 72, Afro-American Society Demonstration: 1969, VPSA Records.
- 119 ДМК, interview, November 21, 1978; Charles Becton, “Why Give Up on Duke?,” *DC*, March 11, 1969.
- 120 ДМК, interview, November 21, 1978.

#### CHAPTER 9. WE SHALL HAVE COCKTAILS IN THE GLOAMING

- 1 ДМК to Kenneth A. Menken, March 3, 1969, Box 1, Afro-American Situation: 1969—Letters Concerning, ДМК Records.
- 2 Henry E. Rauch to МБН, February 15, 1969, Box 1, Occupation of the Allen Building: 2/13/69—And Related Materials, ОП Records; Tom A. Finch to ДМК, February 21, 1969, Box 1, Afro-American Situation: 1969—Letters Concerning, ДМК Records.
- 3 Allan Kornberg and Kurt Black to CBH, April 3, 1969, Box 5, Pickets and Protests, A. Kenneth Pye, Chancellor, Records and Papers, DUA; Knight, *Street of Dreams*, 141; L. C. Biedenharn to ДМК, February 14, 1969, Box 1, Occupation of the Allen Building: 2/13/69—And Related Materials, ОП Records; Irwin Fridovich to ДМК, February 13, 1969, Robert M. Jackson to ДМК, telegram, February 13, 1969, both in Box 5, Campus Unrest: 1969—Letters, ДМК Records.
- 4 “Editorial: The Invasion,” *DC*, February 14, 1969; James Huntley Grayson to ДМК, n.d., Ray Winton to ДМК, February 14, 1969, both in Box 5, Campus Unrest: 1969—Letters, ДМК Records.
- 5 Allan Kornberg and Kurt Black to CBH, April 3, 1969, Box 5, Pickets and Protests, A. Kenneth Pye, Chancellor, Records and Papers, DUA; SDC, interview, March 1, 1985, АВТОHC; BEA quoted in Sarah Xu and Rachel Rubin, “‘We’re the Enemy’: An Oral History of the Allen Building Takeover, Part 3,” *DC*, May 16, 2019.
- 6 Bernard H. Thomas to ДМК, February 14, 1969, William J. Massey and Jeanne Kelly to ДМК, February 14, 1969, John A. Radford, letter, February 14, 1969, Jane

- Stroud Mellon to DMK, n.d., all in Box 7, Vigil and Allen Building Takeover Files, 1968–1969, AARC.
- 7 Winston-Salem alumnus to DMK, February 14, 1969, G. F. Smart, MD, to DMK, February 14, 1969, Bob Stewart to DMK, February 14, 1969, C. B. Falls Jr. to DMK, February 15, 1969, all in Box 7, Vigil and Allen Building Takeover Files, 1968–1969, AARC.
  - 8 DMK, interview, November 21, 1978.
  - 9 R. W. Grabarek to Robert Scott, telegram, February 14, 1969, Box 5, Campus Unrest: 1969—Letters, DMK Records; “State Requests Knight to Cancel Students’ Plan for Convocation,” *DC*, February 15, 1969.
  - 10 Richard Smurthwaite, “Students Convene in Page: Knight Absent,” *DC*, February 16, 1969; “Some Agreement Indicated: Knight, Blacks Meet,” *DC*, February 16, 1969.
  - 11 “Allen Building Takeover, 1969 February 10–1969 March 12,” tape 10, Box 6, Audio Tapes: 1956–1973, WDBS Collection, DUA.
  - 12 “Some Agreement Indicated”; Ralph Karpinos and Clay Steinman, “1000 Confront Knight,” *DC*, February 16, 1969.
  - 13 “Comments at University House,” February 15, 1969, Box 5, Campus Unrest, DMK Records.
  - 14 “Comments at University House.”
  - 15 “Comments at University House.”
  - 16 “Comments at University House.”
  - 17 “Comments at University House.”
  - 18 DMK, “Statement by Dr. Douglas Knight for WDBS Radio,” February 15, 1969, Box 72, Afro-American Society Demonstration: 1969, VPSA Records.
  - 19 Watson, interview, November 16, 1978; Richard Smurthwaite, “Fuller Served as Spokesman for Blacks, Whites in Crisis,” *DC*, March 7, 1969.
  - 20 “Allen Building Takeover,” tape 16.
  - 21 ACK, “Report on Faculty Committee on Student Concerns,” February 16, 1969, Box 1, Occupation of the Allen Building: 2/13/69—And Related Materials, OP Records. A second example in this category was the “African Studies living-learning arrangement.” Kerckhoff confirmed that the university was “fully committed” to such an arrangement (subject to Black student involvement in its organization and receipt of any required governmental approvals) and targeted fall 1969 for its implementation.
  - 22 “Allen Building Takeover,” tape 16.
  - 23 “Allen Building Takeover,” tape 16. Also in this category was review of the records of Black students who had been dismissed after the fall semester for academic reasons. Efforts would be made to involve as many as possible in the recently announced summer transitional program as a pathway to readmission.
  - 24 “Allen Building Takeover,” tape 16.

- 25 ACK, "Report on Faculty Committee on Student Concerns," February 16, 1969, Box 1, Occupation of the Allen Building: 2/13/69—And Related Materials, OP Records; "Allen Building Takeover," tape 16.
- 26 DMK, "Statement"; "Duke Claims Militants Not Given Concessions," press clipping, n.d., Box 5, Campus Unrest, DMK Records.
- 27 Jean Cary, "University to Meet Most Afro Demands," DC, February 17, 1969; "Black Students Say Duke Now Committed," DC, February 17, 1969.
- 28 "'Understanding' at Duke," *Charleston Evening Post*, February 18, 1969; "Shape Up or Ship Out," *Richmond News Leader*, February 19, 1969.
- 29 Douglas Holt to DMK, February 27, 1969, Leonard H. Craver Jr., letter, February 18, 1969, both in Box 7, Files of Roger Marshall Concerning the Vigil and Allen Building Takeover: 1968–1969, AARC.
- 30 Don S. Garber to DMK, n.d., William C. Sienicles to Roger Marshall, February 24, 1969, both in Box 7, Files of Roger Marshall Concerning the Vigil and Allen Building Takeover: 1968–1969, AARC.
- 31 J. M. Hunt Jr. to DMK, February 19, 1969, "A Durham Alumnus," letter, n.d., Dewey H. Huffines Jr. to Charles B. Wade, February 24, 1969, all in Box 7, Files of Roger Marshall Concerning the Vigil and Allen Building Takeover: 1968–1969, AARC.
- 32 "Board of Trustees Minutes," March 7, 1969, vol. 13, BoT Records.
- 33 Alexander T. Davison to DMK, March 12, 1969, DMK to Alexander T. Davison, March 18, 1969, both in Box 1, Afro-American Situation: 1969—Letters Concerning, DMK Records.
- 34 "Knight Denies Duke Conceded to Blacks," DC, February 21, 1969.
- 35 Ed Harrison, "McBride Derides Knight's Statement," DC, February 25, 1969.
- 36 I. Harding Hughes Jr. to DMK, February 17, 1969, Box 72, Afro-American Society Demonstration: 1969, VPSA Records.
- 37 I. Harding Hughes Jr. to DMK, February 17, 1969, DMK to I. Harding Hughes Jr., February 17, 1969, DMK to William W. Pleasants, February 18, 1969, all in Box 72, Afro-American Society Demonstration: 1969, VPSA Records.
- 38 "Editorial: A New Provocation," DC, February 25, 1969; Campus Student Leaders to DMK, February 24, 1969, Box 1, Afro-American Situation: 1969—Letters Concerning, DMK Records; Harrison, "McBride Derides Knight's Statement"; Faculty Committee on Student Concerns to DMK, February 21, 1969, Box 7, Faculty Committee on Student Concerns, DMK Records.
- 39 DMK to Robert J. Sheheen, March 3, 1969, Box 1, Afro-American Situation: 1969—Letters Concerning, DMK Records; "Board of Trustees Minutes," March 7, 1969.
- 40 Duke University Afro-American Society, "Ten-Point Program: What We Want and Why We Want It," *Harambee*, February 5, 1969.
- 41 SDC, interview, March 1, 1985, АВТОHC; Budd, interview, March 1, 1985, АВТОHC; JWC, interview, January 9, 1979; ACK, interview, November 6, 1978.

- 42 Tom Campbell, "Afros, Profs Plan Studies," *DC*, March 1, 1969.
- 43 JWC, interview, January 9, 1979; Mark Stancato, "Faculty Acts, Afros Say No," *DC*, March 4, 1969; SDC, interview, March 1, 1985, АВТОHC.
- 44 CLB, "Why Give Up on Duke?," *DC*, March 11, 1969.
- 45 "Conference Report from the Afro-Americans," *DC*, March 4, 1969; Stancato, "Faculty Acts."
- 46 Alan Kerckhoff, "Conference Report," *DC*, March 4, 1969.
- 47 Harris Proctor et al., "Proctor Committee Report to the Provost of Duke University," March 4, 1969, Box 72, Afro-American Society Demonstration: 1969, VPSA Records.
- 48 "Conference Report from the Afro-Americans" (emphasis added).
- 49 ACK to МЕН, March 3, 1969, Box 5, Faculty Committee on Student Concerns, OP Records.
- 50 МЕН to Duke University Afro-American Society, March 5, 1969, Box 1, Afro-American Studies: 1969–1970, OP Records.
- 51 Michael R. McBride, "Black Students Demands Concerning African-American Studies," March 5, 1969, Box 1, Afro-American Situation: 1969—Miscellaneous Material, DMK Records.
- 52 Jim Pou, "Blacks May Leave if Committee Not Revised," *DC*, March 6, 1969.
- 53 "Torchlit March Misses Trustees," *DC*, March 7, 1969; "Restoring Faith," *DC*, March 7, 1969.
- 54 "FAS and SFAC Act; Blacks Refuse Meeting; Afros Refuse Talk Offer by Provost," *DC*, March 8, 1969.
- 55 Harold W. Lewis to Louis J. Budd et al., memorandum, March 10, 1969, Box 1, Afro-American Studies, DMK Records. The other members of the committee were Cell, Cook, Joel Smith, and John J. TePaske.
- 56 JWC, interview, January 9, 1979.
- 57 ACK, interview, November 6, 1978; Budd, interview, March 1, 1985, АВТОHC.
- 58 ACK, interview, November 6, 1978; JWC, interview, January 9, 1979.
- 59 Andy Parker, "Blacks to Leave Duke; No Settlement Reached," *DC*, March 11, 1969.
- 60 Fuller, *No Struggle, No Progress*, 97; Parker, "Blacks to Leave Duke." Founded by Fuller and others in October 1969, Malcolm X Liberation University was an independent Black university located initially in Durham. The mission of the university, as set forth in its organizational documents, was to "produce scholars and workers totally committed to the liberation of all African people throughout the Diaspora." Quoted in Fuller, *No Struggle, No Progress*, 99. The school moved to Greensboro, North Carolina, in October 1970 and ceased operations due to lack of funding in June 1973. Bertie Howard, among other members of the AAs, was active in the creation and operation of the university. Malcolm X Liberation University was seen by some as a response to the failure of Duke to implement a curriculum that was meaningful and relevant to its Black students.

- 61 CWH, interview, January 19, 1979; SDC, interview, March 1, 1985, АВТОHC.
- 62 Becton, "Why Give Up on Duke?"
- 63 "To Trust Tomorrow," DC, March 12, 1969.
- 64 BRH, interview, January 7, 1979.
- 65 DMK and Barnes Woodhall to members of the Duke University community, "Relations with Our Black Students with Respect to African and Afro-American Studies," March 11, 1969, Box 1, Afro-American Studies: 1969–1970, OP Records.
- 66 ACK to all members of the Afro-American Society, memorandum, March 13, 1969, Box 5, Faculty Committee on Student Concerns, OP Records.
- 67 Michael R. McBride to ACK, March 14, 1969, Box 7, Faculty Committee on Student Concerns, DMK Records.
- 68 MEH to ACK, March 20, 1969, Box 5, Faculty Committee on Student Concerns, OP Records.
- 69 Gretchen Wolf, "Violence Flares Up after Durham Rally," DC, March 12, 1969; Julie Logan, "Budd Group Meets, Silent; Curfew Imposed on City," DC, March 13, 1969; Jerome Katz, "Blacks Decide to Stay at Duke," DC, March 18, 1969.
- 70 "Afro Statement," DC, March 18, 1969.
- 71 Louis J. Budd to Michael R. McBride, March 18, 1969, Box 1, Afro-American Studies: 1969–1970, OP Records.
- 72 MEH, interview, March 4, 1985, АВТОHC.
- 73 J. Harris Proctor to MEH, May 26, 1969, Box 1, Afro-American Studies: 1969–1970, OP Records.
- 74 MEH to J. Harris Proctor, June 18, 1969, Box 1, Afro-American Studies: 1969–1970, OP Records.
- 75 DMK, interview, April 16, 1979.
- 76 Harold Lewis to Search Committee, December 6, 1969, Box 1, Afro-American Studies: 1969–1970, OP Records; Committee of Twelve, "Draft Report," December 31, 1969, Box 68, Committee of Twelve, VPSA Records.
- 77 Maxwell Berry, MD, to DMK, February 14, 1969, Russell Price to DMK, February 15, 1969, George B. Johnson to DMK, February 13, 1969, all in Box 7, Files of Roger Marshall Concerning the Vigil and Allen Building Takeover: 1968–1969, AARC.
- 78 F. W. Dennerline Jr. to DMK, February 14, 1969, Box 7, Files of Roger Marshall Concerning the Vigil and Allen Building Takeover: 1968–1969, AARC; DMK, interview, November 21, 1978; Knight, *Street of Dreams*, 137.
- 79 CLB, interview, December 16, 1978; Faculty Committee on Student Concerns to DMK, memorandum, February 15, 1969, Box 7, Faculty Committee on Student Concerns, DMK Records.
- 80 BRH in "Allen Building Takeover 50th"; BEA, interview, December 17, 1978; Tom McBride and Ruth D. McBride to DMK, March 2, 1969, DMK to Tom McBride and Ruth D. McBride, March 13, 1969, both in Box 1, Afro-American Situation: 1969—Letters Concerning, DMK Records.

- 81 Newsome quoted in Saurav, “Allen Building Takeover”; John Howell, “Blacks Are Charged; Trials Could Begin in Two Weeks,” *DC*, March 6, 1969.
- 82 Afro-American Society, “Blacks File Petition Asking Speedy Trial,” *DC*, February 27, 1969; BEA, interview, December 17, 1978; BCB, interview, December 13, 1978.
- 83 Doug Hastings, “Afro Trials Begin Today,” *DC*, March 19, 1969; “Pickets, Protest Procedures,” *DC*, March 19, 1969; “Blacks Get Probation for Building Takeover,” *DC*, March 20, 1969.
- 84 “Pickets, Protest Procedures.”
- 85 Unless otherwise noted, all descriptions of the disciplinary hearing are drawn from “Handwritten Notes of Disciplinary Hearing,” March 19, 1969, Pickets and Protests Policy, ABTC.
- 86 “Handwritten Notes of Disciplinary Hearing” (emphasis added); BEA, interview, December 17, 1978.
- 87 BEA, interview, December 17, 1978.
- 88 BEA, interview, December 17, 1978.
- 89 University Hearing Committee, “Findings and Sentence of University Hearing Committee,” n.d., Box 1, Occupation of the Allen Building: 2/13/69—and Related Materials, OP Records; CWH in “Allen Building Takeover 50th.”
- 90 BEA, interview, December 17, 1978.
- 91 Michael Koppen, “Blacks React to Verdict,” *DC*, March 21, 1969.
- 92 Pye, interview, March 2, 1985, АВТОHC. Prior to the hearing, Pye alerted Knight that he would be asking the university’s counsel what sentence the school thought was appropriate for the defendants. After the defendants concluded their case, Pye asked the university’s lawyer what direction he had from the university on the “appropriate sanction that should be placed against the students.” Pye was shocked when Spears said he “had no instructions from the university on this point.” After Pye pressed him, Spears explained that Knight had said “it was up to the tribunal” to determine the appropriate punishment. “Frankly, in my mind,” Pye related, “nothing could be crazier than the university not having any position on what in the hell they thought ought to be done to sixty students after it had preferred charges against the sixty students.” Despite his professed desire to “protect” the students, Knight appears to have been attempting to keep as much distance as possible between himself and the outcome of the disciplinary hearing. Pye, interview, March 2, 1985, АВТОHC.
- 93 Knight, *Dancer and the Dance*, 134; Knight, *Street of Dreams*, 138–39.
- 94 Knight, *Street of Dreams*, 139.
- 95 Knight, *Dancer and the Dance*, 128; ДМК, interview, November 21, 1978, April 16, 1979.
- 96 ДМК, interview, April 16, 1979.
- 97 Durden, *Lasting Legacy*, 256; ДМК, interview, April 16, 1979.

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- 99 “. . . To Embody It,” DC, March 31, 1969; DMK, interview, April 16, 1979.
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- 101 “Douglas M. Knight, Fifth Duke President.”
- 102 SDC, interview, March 1, 1985, АВТОHC.
- 103 Various administrators and staff, “A Protest,” n.d., Box 16, Knight, Douglas M.—Misc.—1966–1969, DMK Records.
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- 105 This version of the “aims” of Duke University, in effect in 1963, was initially drafted in 1903 after the board of Trinity College asked that a major revision of the college’s bylaws be prepared. The wording was changed in 1924 when Duke University was organized. “Charter, Bylaws, Aims, and Mission Statement,” University Archives, accessed October 17, 2019, <https://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/uarchives/history/articles/charter-bylaws-aims-mission/>.
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- 107 WJG, interview, January 23, 1979.
- 108 DMK, interview, April 16, 1979.

## EPILOGUE

- 1 CLB, interview, April 19, 2017; LeBlanc in “Allen Building Takeover 50th”; BEA, interview, December 17, 1978.
- 2 BEA, interview, March 3, 2017.
- 3 Vincent E. Price, “Remarks Honoring the 50th Anniversary of the Allen Building Takeover,” Office of the President, February 9, 2019, <https://president.duke.edu/2019/02/09/remarks-honoring-the-50th-anniversary-of-the-allen-building-takeover/>; Armstrong and Booher, “Let’s Talk about Race”; Armstrong, interview, March 3, 2017.
- 4 Bob Entman, “Sanford ‘Meets All’ Standards,” DC, December 15, 1969; Cook, interview, March 1, 1985, АВТОHC; Ralph Karpinos, “Sanford Named President: Cites Community Responsibility,” DC, December 15, 1969; Jacob Goldman, “Union Approved by 491–100 Vote,” DC, January 28, 1972; WCT, interview, April 17, 2017. As one indication of his commitment, Sanford had sent his children to desegregated public schools while serving as governor of North Carolina.



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- 6 “Duke Facts”; “Our Students by the Numbers,” Office of Undergraduate Admissions, accessed November 13, 2019, <https://admissions.duke.edu>.
- 7 Duke has adopted a statement of diversity and inclusion: “Duke aspires to create a community built on collaboration, innovation, creativity, and belonging. Our collective success depends on the robust exchange of ideas—an exchange that is best when the rich diversity of our perspectives, backgrounds, and experiences flourishes. To achieve this exchange, it is essential that all members of the community feel secure and welcome, that the contributions of all individuals are respected, and that all voices are heard. All members of our community have a responsibility to uphold these values.” “Duke’s Commitment to Diversity and Inclusion,” Office of the Provost, Duke University, accessed September 22, 2019, <https://provost.duke.edu/initiatives/commitment-to-diversity-and-inclusion>.
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