

African Americans at the College of William and Mary from 1950 to 1970

By: Jacqueline Filzen

Introduction

This paper investigates the admission policies and the experiences of the first African American students at the College of William and Mary between 1950 and 1970—the height of the civil rights era. During these tense times in American history African American emerged as leaders of social change by enrolling in institutions of higher learning such as William and Mary. In addition to exploring the experience of the first African Americans, this paper also explores the attitudes of students, faculty, and William and Mary’s administration to integration.

African Americans graduated from American colleges as early as the 1820s. The first African Americans to receive a college degree included John Rosswumm, Edward Jones, and Lucius Twilight.¹ These men went on to becoming successful newspaper editors, businessmen, and local politicians. Other African Americans joined their ranks and received college degrees between 1820 and 1900. “W.E.B. Dubois reported that 390 blacks had earned diplomas from white colleges and universities between 1865 and 1900”.²

Like “many of the nation’s most prestigious, predominantly white universities in the South—which did not admit any blacks until the 1950s or 1960s”³ the College of William and Mary did not admit an African American student until 1951. Its decision to admit an African American student was not due to the school’s support for integration. Rather this decision was taken to avoid any legal repercussions if the College had done otherwise. Furthermore the College only admitted its first African American student after much deliberation and consultation with the Board of Visitors and the Attorney General.

¹ Robert Bruce Slater, “The Blacks Who First Entered the World of White Higher Education,” *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* 4 (Summer 1994):47, accessed May 25, 2012, <http://www.jstor.org/discover/10.2307/2963372?uid=2129&uid=2134&uid=3739936&uid=2&uid=70&uid=4&uid=3739256&sid=56260265253>.

² Ibid, 48.

³ Ibid.

Although the College of William and Mary did admit two more African American students it only did so after verifying that the applicants fell under the special circumstances of applying to a graduate program not offered at a public black institution in Virginia. However, in the 1960s the College began admitting more African American students and finally relaxed its guidelines of only admitting graduate students to programs not offered at black colleges. The experiences of the first African American students were affected by the policies of the College of William and Mary, the reception of the student body, and the faculty's attitude toward integration.

Students at the College—Prior to 1951

The southern policy that African Americans were not educated with white students applied to academics as well as to military training. However despite this tradition, in July of 1943 “three colored cadets [were] sent to the Army specialization school at the College of William and Mary ‘through mistake’”.⁴ The cadets: Eugene Simmons, Vernon Graves, and Brice Miles “were the first Negro students to be sent there for enrollment”.⁵ The students were redirected to another training center after four days and the President of the College of William and Mary, J. E. Pomfret, issued a statement saying that “that no question of color was involved in the cases of the three men”.⁶ Pomfret explained that “as president of the college, he must comply with state law” and in his statement to the press stated “the soldiers had not enrolled—only assembled—since enrollment does not begin until August 9; therefore class instruction at the college was not refused”.⁷ Regardless of the president's statement, race was clearly an issue.

⁴ “Error Sends 3 Cadets to William and Mary,” *New Journal and Guide*, Aug 7, 1943, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/567575944?accountid=15053>.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

The oldest record of an African American studying at William and Mary occurred in 1944 “during World War II, [when] a Negro student was enrolled in the college’s naval training program”.⁸ Lieutenant James Russell Brown who became the first African American chaplain in the U.S. Navy was “ordered to report to the Chaplain’s School at William and Mary College”.⁹ Before he was in the Navy, James Brown was the dean of Bishop Williams School of religion in Kansas and the pastor of St. Luke’s African Methodist Episcopal Church. He had graduated with an A.B. degree from Friends University, a B.D. degree from Howard University, and had completed graduate courses at Chicago Theological Seminary.¹⁰ Once at William and Mary, he “completed an eight-week course” and then was sent to a naval training center in Michigan.¹¹

The College of William and Mary has had a long tradition of refusing African American students. Until the Supreme Court cases that decided that historically white graduate schools must accept African American applicants if there were no other programs in black institutions available to them, African Americans were not accepted at William and Mary.

In 1950 the College of William and Mary announced that it would accept African American applicants to William and Mary’s law school. The dean of jurisprudence, Dr. Woodbridge, “explained that that decision was based on the recommendation of J. Lindsay Almond Jr., Virginia attorney general”.¹² The College adopted the policy that if a student was considered qualified “the application would be forwarded to the state attorney general for his legal opinion. Should he rule that the college is obligated under the law to admit the student, the

⁸ “Admit First Negro Student to William and Mary Coll.,” *New York Amsterdam News*, May 5, 1951, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/225831280?accountid=15053>.

⁹ “Navy Names Negro Chaplain,” *New Journal and Guide*, July 8, 1944, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/567792529?accountid=15053>.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ “Navy Chaplain at Great Lakes,” *New Journal and Guide*, October 14, 1944, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/567793702?accountid=15053>.

¹² “William and Mary Will Admit Law Students,” *New Journal and Guide*, November 18, 1950, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/567900805?accountid=15053>

college would do so without a court contest”.¹³ For an African American student, the process of admission was a lengthy one, involving the forwarding of his application to the attorney general. Instead of simply admitting qualified students, the College of William and Mary first checked to see if they were under a legal obligation to do so.

The lengthy admission process for African American students was devised as a result of the Supreme Court’s decision in *McLaurin v. Oklahoma, Sweatt v. Painter*, and most directly *Swanson v. University of Virginia* in 1950¹⁴. Indeed, “ever since the U.S. Supreme Court ruling in the recent *University of Texas* and the *University of Oklahoma* cases, Mr. ALMOND [Virginia’s Attorney General] has held to the opinion that Negroes could not be barred legally from the graduate schools of tax-supported colleges in states affording no equal separate educational facilities for the race.”¹⁵ The reason that the College of William and Mary chose to make a formal announcement allowing for the admittance of African Americans into its graduate schools was to inform the public of its changing policies and to justify these changes. William and Mary’s announcement “gave assurance that the college has no intention of adding a new litigatory chapter to the GREGORY SWANSON versus University of Virginia episode”.¹⁶ The College defended its decision to accept qualified African American applicants by claiming that it did not want to face the same consequences that the University of Virginia did in refusing the admission of Gregory Swanson.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ When Gregory Swanson was refused admission to the University of Virginia School of Law he filed a case against the University of Virginia. The initial trial upheld the University of Virginia’s decision. When Swanson appealed his case, the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that Swanson could not be barred from admission because of his race.

¹⁵ “William and Mary on Colored Applicants,” *New Journal and Guide*, November 25, 1950, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/567940476?accountid=15053>.

¹⁶ Ibid.

William and Mary's admission policies regarding the acceptance of African American applicants were largely guided by the Board of Visitors and the Attorney General of Virginia, John Lindsay Almond. On September 30, 1950 the Board of Visitors decided "that the applications for admission to graduate and professional programs not offered elsewhere in the Commonwealth be referred to the Attorney General for an opinion, and that the College act in accordance with such opinion."¹⁷

President Chandler informed the Attorney General of the College's policy in 1953 stating, "As a result of a discussion between Dr. Cleeton and me, the College has decided to refer applications of students who should normally apply to Virginia State College to that institution for appropriate action."¹⁸ In this statement President Chandler implies that African American applicants should only apply to black institutions and that those admitted to William and Mary were to be admitted under abnormal circumstances. The Office of the Attorney General promptly responded to the College and clarified the College's legal responsibilities. A few days later, Frederick T. Gray, assistant to the Attorney General informed President Chandler that "the College of William and Mary is not required to offer a course merely because a Negro applies for admission to that course. Second, that if the course of study which the Negro seeks is offered by another State-supported institution in a substantially equal manner, the College may legally decline to admit the Negro applicant and, finally, if the course of study to which the Negro seeks admission is being offered by William and Mary and is not being offered by a State-supported institution open to Negro applicants, then, under the decisions of the Supreme Court of the

¹⁷ The Admission of Qualified Negroes to Professional and Graduate Programs, Statement from Board of Visitors of College of William and Mary, Box 33, Folder 34, From the Office of the President, Davis Y. Paschall Records, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

¹⁸ Letter from A.D. Chandler to J. Lindsay Almond, June 3, 1953, Box 22, Folder 21, From the Office of the President, Alvin Duke Chandler Records, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

United States, he may not be denied admission on the basis of his race or color.”¹⁹ This policy was strictly followed by the College. They rejected all applicants that applied to courses that were offered at black institutions and only accepted qualified applicants who had applied to graduate programs that were not offered at any public black institutions in the state. They would refer all rejected applicants to Virginia State College²⁰. All qualified applicants would be re-evaluated by the Attorney General who would determine if the College of William and Mary must admit the student on legal grounds.

Branches of the College of William and Mary and its Admission of African Americans

Almost immediately after issuing the statement that the College would consider African American graduate school applicants, African Americans began to apply for admission to William and Mary’s graduate schools. The College of William and Mary at this time had various branches—one of which was the first to admit African American applicants. In 1950, the College of William and Mary had a branch in Richmond called the Richmond Professional Institute of William and Mary. The first to apply to a William and Mary graduate program was James Gilliam in 1950.²¹ However, Gilliam was rejected from the graduate program for Social Work because the College of William and Mary did not have a graduate program in sociology.²²

After having been rejected from the College of William and Mary, Gilliam applied to the Richmond Professional Institute and was rejected there as well. The school cited that its reasons

¹⁹ Letter from Frederick T. Gray to A.D. Chandler, June 12, 1953, Box 22, Folder 21, From the Office of the President, Alvin Duke Chandler Records, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

²⁰ Virginia State College, now known as Virginia State University, was the only state-supported historically black university until 1969.

²¹ “Seeks to Enter Branch of William and Mary College,” *Afro-American*, September 30, 1950, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/531696880?accountid=15053>.

²² Letter from Charles F. Marsh to Mr. Gilliam, September 22, 1952, Box 22, Folder 21, From the Office of the President, Alvin Duke Chandler Records, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

for rejection were that “the quota of full-time students for the fall term had been filled and no new students could be accepted.”²³ After rejecting Gilliam, the Richmond Professional Institute of William and Mary explained that he could apply as a full time student for the next year or as a part time student for the current term. However, “Mr. Gilliam was told that he could not qualify for part-time study because of lack of experience and because he was not connected with a local social agency” despite having been “employed for several years as a case worker..., school principal, college teacher, and Boy Scout Master”.²⁴ Dr. Kalif, the director of the school of social work stated, “Frankly the board of visitors of William and Mary College has not given an opinion on the matter of Negroes at attending the school.”²⁵

Despite having rejected Gilliam, the College did admit two African American women to the Richmond Professional Institute, a division of William and Mary, to take graduate courses in sociology. In 1950 William and Mary’s board of visitors stated that “two Negroes have been admitted as part-time students to the graduate program of Social Work offered by the Richmond Professional Institute, a division of the College of William and Mary in Richmond.”²⁶ According to the *Chicago Defender*, “Dr. John E. Pomfret, president of the college, said he believes the two students are the first Negroes ever enrolled in any part of William and Mary”.²⁷ The first African Americans admitted to William and Mary’s Richmond branch were “Mrs. Hilda Yates Warden, who has a degree of Bachelor of Science from Virginia Union University and who is currently employed in the Richmond Social Service Bureau, a social case work agency, and Mrs. Marie H.

²³ “James Gilliam Seeks Graduate Studies,” *New Journal and Guide*, September 23, 1950, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/567986355?accountid=15053>.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ “William-Mary Not Ready to Drop Bars--RPI Unit Head,” *Afro-American*, September 30, 1950, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/531698615?accountid=15053>.

²⁶ The Admission of Qualified Negroes to Professional and Graduate Programs, Statement from Board of Visitors of College of William and Mary.

²⁷ “Two Enroll in all-White Va. College,” *The Chicago Defender*, December 23, 1950, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/492840293?accountid=15053>.

Brown, who has a degree of Bachelor of Arts from Virginia Union University and the certificate in social work from the Howard University School of Social Work, and who is currently employed in the Friends Association for Colored Children, a social case work agency in Richmond.”²⁸ George T. Kalif, the director of the school of social work, stated that the two women were “with the exception of race... eligible in every respect for admission to the classes which they are now attending.”²⁹

In 1951 four African American students were admitted to the Richmond Professional Institute of William and Mary College and one male student was admitted to the Norfolk Division of William and Mary-VPI.³⁰ In 1952 the Richmond Professional Institute of William and Mary College had accepted seven African American graduate students and 35 were enrolled in night classes.³¹

The Richmond Professional Institute was singular because at the time it was the only desegregated graduate school of social work in Virginia.³² In 1959, while the Richmond Professional Institute was admitting more African American students, there were no African Americans attending the College of William and Mary.³³

²⁸ Letter from George T. Kalif to Dean Hibbs, Memorandum of “Negro Student Currently in the School of Social Work, Richmond Profession Institute of the College of William and Mary”, October 3, 1950, Box 22, Folder 21, From the Office of the President, Alvin Duke Chandler Records, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ “Negro Enrollment at White State Colleges,” *New Journal and Guide*, August 25, 1951, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/568087933?accountid=15053>.

³¹ “White Colleges Enrolling More Negro Students,” *New Journal and Guide*, October 4, 1952, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/568145865?accountid=15053>.

³² Allen Jones, “Negroes Attend 6 State Colleges,” *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, November 29, 1959, Box 33, Folder 34, From the Office of the President, Davis Y. Paschall Records, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

³³ Ibid.

These trends of greater enrollment of African Americans in the Richmond division of William and Mary in the 1950s extended to William and Mary's main campus—although to a lesser extent.

Hulon Willis

Hulon Willis was the first African American admitted to the College of William and Mary. Hulon Willis was born on May 28, 1922 in Pittsburgh, PA. He attended Perry High School, graduated in 1941, and attended Virginia State College on a football scholarship. After his first year of school, Willis joined the army in 1942. He returned to Virginia State College in 1946 and received a BS degree in physical education in 1949.³⁴

After receiving his degree, Hulon Willis taught at Booker T. Washington High School in Norfolk. However, he wanted to continue his education and wanted to receive a master's in physical education. Because he sought a master's degree in physical education, Willis could not attend Virginia State College because it did not have that program.

Alyce Fordham Willis, Hulon Willis's wife, explained Willis's decision to apply to the College of William and Mary in an interview:

“They paid money to their black students who wanted a course that was not offered at Virginia State University, and many of them went to Columbia, NYU, Cornell, other universities in the north. Hulon really did not want to go that far from home. There was a, in 1951 there was a case before the Supreme Court...and they had decided that it was unconstitutional for a graduate student to be denied admission to one of the white universities when the courses the person needed were not offered by the black university

³⁴ “Norfolkian to Enter W-M Graduate School in June,” *New Journal and Guide*, Apr 07, 1951, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/568062177?accountid=15053>.

in that state. At the same time, Gregory Swanson, who had also attended Virginia State University, applied to the University of Virginia and he was admitted.”³⁵

These factors, along with the favorable impressions that the Willis’s had of the College of William and Mary, contributed to Hulon Willis’s decision to apply. When describing his reason for applying to the College, Willis said, “I was going through the Wren Building and thought what a great thing it would be to matriculate there. I never dreamed it would happen.”³⁶

Alyce Willis also noted how they both loved the Wren building and explained that they “often went into the Wren building and we thought it was the most beautiful building we had ever seen. It was just so historical, and we thought that it would be good if Hulon could go to school there.”³⁷

In an interview Alyce Fordham Willis explained that her husband was reluctant to apply to the College of William and Mary due to his doubt that he would be accepted. When speaking of the application process, Alyce Willis said, “I was able to get Hulon to fill it out, although he said, ‘This isn’t, this doesn’t make sense, it doesn’t make sense, we’re not going to, I’m not going to get in’. But I insisted and, of course, a photograph had to go”³⁸.

The College of William and Mary accepted Hulon Willis after much deliberation. After concluding that he was well qualified and that the graduate program was not offered at Virginia State College, the College forwarded his application information to the Attorney General, John Lindsay Almond, for his legal opinion on the matter. John E. Pomfret, the President of William

³⁵ Alyce Fordham Willis, interviewed by Jenay Jackson, April 26, 2005, transcribed by Elaine Smith, March 2008, University Archives Oral History Collection, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary, <https://digitalarchive.wm.edu/bitstream/handle/10288/600/Willis.pdf?sequence=1>.

³⁶ Lisa L. Heuvel, “Hulon Willis ’56 The First Black Alumnus: ‘William and Mary is Tops in my Book’,” *The Black Presence at William and Mary*, 1985, <https://digitalarchive.wm.edu/bitstream/handle/10288/16118/TheBlackPresenceatWM1985.pdf?sequence=1>.

³⁷ Alyce Fordham Willis interview, 2.

³⁸ Alyce Fordham Willis interview, 2.

and Mary, seemed unsure of whether they should admit Hulon Willis. In a letter to the Attorney General, President Pomfret asked, “Am I correct in thinking that Mr. Willis’ application should not be denied for reasons of color? You will recall that I am obliged to make this inquiry by the Board of Visitors of the College.”³⁹ After receiving the application material, Attorney General Almond responded, “It seems apparent to me that the opinion rendered by me on July 10, 1950, to President Darden, of the University of Virginia, is controlling of your situation....In view of the decision in the Swanson case and the opinion from this office of July 10, 1950, I do not consider it necessary to elaborate further.”⁴⁰ In 1951 when Hulon Willis received a letter informing him of his admission to the summer graduate program, the Willis’s were stunned.⁴¹

Hulon Willis’s acceptance to the College was well publicized by the media. A black newspaper as far away as Kansas announced on May 18, 1951 that “Hulon L. Willis, an instructor in physical education and assistant football coach, will be the first Negro to be admitted to the College of William and Mary”.⁴² Another newspaper, *The Chicago Defender*, described the historic admittance of Hulon Willis in an article called “Wm. And Mary Admits First Negro”.⁴³

³⁹ Letter from John E. Pomfret to Mr. J. Lindsay Almond, Jr., March 14, 1951, Box 22, Folder 21, From the Office of the President, Alvin Duke Chandler Records, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

⁴⁰ Letter from J. Lindsay Almond to Dr. John E. Pomfret, March 15, 1951, Box 22, Folder 21, From the Office of the President, Alvin Duke Chandler Records, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

⁴¹ Alyce Fordham Willis interview, 2.

⁴² James A. Hamlett Jr., “Week-end Chats,” *The Plaindealer*, May 18, 1951, http://infoweb.newsbank.com.proxy.wm.edu/iwsearch/we/HistArchive/?p_product=EANX&p_theme=ahnp&p_nbid=M64N5CSVMTMzOTY5ODczMC40MTI1MTU6MT0xND0xMjguMjM5Ljk5LjE0MA&p_action=doc&s_lastno=nissuequeryname=7&d_viewref=search&p_queryname=7&p_docnum=1&p_docref=v2:12ACD7C7734164EC@EANX-12C568F3107184B8@2433785-12C568F318484B18@0-12C568F374A470C0@Week-End+Chats.

⁴³ “Wm. And Mary Admits First Negro Student,” *The Chicago Defender*, June 30, 1951, <http://search.proquest.com.proxy.wm.edu/hnpchicagodefender/docview/492800407/13751CCC292150F300A/2?accountid=15053>.

At the college Willis “developed a close friendship with a classmate, Joe Agee, and also with a professor named Dr. Howard Smith”⁴⁴. Because his classmates were all white and the campus consisted predominantly of white individuals, Willis developed a special relationship with African American members of the college staff. Alyce Willis stated that, “when Hulon arrived on campus, the black employees said that: We’ve been waiting for you for a long time. They greeted him with great pride and joy and supported him 100 percent”⁴⁵. Hulon Willis excelled in his studies. According to his wife, Willis mostly earned As, received few Bs, and graduated with a GPA of 3.6.⁴⁶

Willis’ school involvement was not limited to academics. Hulon Willis was also involved in school activities and was not isolated despite the predominantly white environment. Alyce Willis noted that he became a member of the Order of the White Jacket and Kappa Delta Pi.⁴⁷ In an interview Alyce Willis related an event of racial prejudice with regards to Hulon’s admittance into Kappa Delta Pi and how the tension was resolved. Despite one member’s ultimatum that “he refused to be a member of an organization with a Negro”, the organization admitted him and “Hulon was initiated on August 13, 1956”⁴⁸. Rather than accept racial prejudice and mollify the desires of one member, the group decided to oppose racial prejudice and accept a member of another race.

During football games, rather than being forced to sit in the sections of the stadium reserved for blacks, the Willis’s sat in the same section as other students.⁴⁹ Hulon Willis also appreciated that “they [the professors] could have set up roadblocks for me, but they didn’t”⁵⁰.

⁴⁴ Alyce Fordham Willis interview, 3.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid, 3.

⁴⁸ Ibid, 4.

⁴⁹ Ibid, 4.

⁵⁰ Heuvel, “Hulon Willis ’56 The First Black Alumnus: ‘William and Mary is Tops in my Book’.”

Although some students and faculty welcomed him, not all were as accepting. When interviewed in 1985, Hulon Willis stated, “The students didn’t accept all things about it, but I wasn’t there for that....I was there to get an education, and my background as a Virginia State graduate was good. I was never under great pressure at William and Mary, although a lot of people were concerned for me”.⁵¹ His granddaughter, Mica Willis, commented, “I know he was serious about getting his education so he didn't pay attention to people and their feelings...He didn't come for the people”.⁵²

Despite the adversity he felt from some individuals, Willis continued on at the College of William and Mary and received his degree in 1956 after completing summer sessions in 1951, 1952, 1954, and 1956.⁵³ Because he took his courses during the summer, he was able to work during the school year. He worked at Booker T. Washington High School as an assistant football coach and in 1952 became the assistant football coach and the head wrestling and boxing coach at Virginia State College.⁵⁴ His success was a direct result of his commitment to his goals.

Hulon Willis remained involved at the College of William and Mary even after his graduation. He was a member of the Parents Steering Committee for seven years and regularly spoke to student organizations on the campus about health and safety.⁵⁵ In 1970 when Virginia Boys State was held on the campus of William and Mary, Willis was invited as a guest and the Office of Public Information of Virginia State College stated that “a highlight of Boys State

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Tyra M. Vaughn, “Black History Month: William and Mary Student Continues Family Legacy,” *Daily Press*, February 26, 2010, accessed May 26, 2012, http://articles.dailypress.com/2010-02-26/news/dp-local_wmblackhistory_0227feb27_1_black-history-month-family-history-william-and-mary.

⁵³ “Miami U. Ends Color Ban; First Graduate at UNC,” *Afro-American*, Jun 17, 1961, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/532131368?accountid=15053>.

⁵⁴ “Willis Joins Trojan Coaching Staff,” *New Journal and Guide*, July 19, 1952, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/568200639?accountid=15053>.

⁵⁵ Alyce Fordham Willis interview, 4.

during the week was a special karate demonstration, arranged by Willis and held in Phi Beta Kappa hall on the college campus”.⁵⁶

After graduating with his M.Ed., Hulon Willis worked as an assistant professor of health and physical education at Virginia State University and was a director of community safety and security.⁵⁷ In 1962 Hulon Willis received the distinction of being named a fellow of the American College of Sports and Medicine.⁵⁸

Hulon Willis was well known in the karate community. After learning karate in 1962 he established a karate association at Virginia State College and began his journey into becoming a community leader. An article of his involvement in karate appeared in *Ebony* magazine in May 1968 which described his achievements in becoming a USKA Mid-Atlantic States regional director. Willis was the first African American USKA director to be appointed in the South.⁵⁹ The article also described his accomplishments in teaching martial arts to policemen as an alternative to the use of brute force. He showed them more effective ways to subdue militant individuals by targeting pressure points on the individuals.⁶⁰ Not only did he teach martial arts to policemen, but he also taught students and women defense tactics to promote safety and self-empowerment.⁶¹ Hulon Willis’s work reached many individuals. He “estimated that he had taught karate techniques to more than more than 10,000 people, including 7,000 police

⁵⁶ Statement from the Office of Public Information Virginia State College. June 16, 1970, Box 1, Folder 17 from the Office of the President, Davis Y. Paschall Records, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

⁵⁷ “VSCs H. L. Willis Gets a Promotion,” *New Journal and Guide*, April 28, 1962, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/568780608?accountid=15053>.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ “College Prof Spurs Karate Boom in State of Virginia: Hulon Willis builds enthusiastic following for Oriental sport,” *Ebony*, (May 1968):144, accessed May 27, 2012, http://books.google.com/books?id=KtoDAAAAMBAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=snippet&q=hulon&f=false.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ *Ibid*, 145.

officers”.⁶² As a member of the United States Collegiate Sports Council judo committee, Hulon Willis “was nationally known in utilizing karate for the establishment of human dignity and bringing about better and more wholesome inter-group relationships”.⁶³

His community efforts served to unite the black and white community. Indeed, “C. Less Harrup, on behalf of the karate community, said the karate program Willis initiated at Virginia State in the early 1960s provided the first multiracial activity at the traditionally black college”.⁶⁴ By promoting an activity that involved interaction between African Americans and Caucasians, Hulon Willis became a leader in improving racial relations. Willis demonstrated that interaction among individuals promotes understanding, and understanding promotes equality.

In recognition of his accomplishments and his role as the first African American to attend the College of William and Mary, the Hulon Willis Association was named in his honor in 1992.⁶⁵ Willis has also received many other distinctions and honors. He was inducted into the Central Intercollegiate Athletic Association Hall of Fame, the Virginia Sports Hall of Fame, and the American Police Academy Hall of Fame.⁶⁶

Hulon Willis died after a long battle with leukemia at the age of 67 on June 13, 1989.⁶⁷

⁶² Leenora Everett, “Hulon L. Willis Was a Special Person to Many,” *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, July 5, 1989, http://iw.newsbank.com/iw-search/we/InfoWeb?p_action=doc&p_theme=aggdocs&p_topdoc=1&p_docnum=1&p_sort=YMD_date:D&p_product=AWNB&p_docid=0EB4F79C89F6CE9B&p_text_direct-0=document_id=%28%200EB4F79C89F6CE9B%20%29&s_lang=en-US&p_nbid=T50X48MBMTMzOTcwMDczNy45NzA1NTc6MT03Om5jZDE4Nzg.

⁶³ “Hulon Willis Appointed to National Karate Post,” *New Journal and Guide*, February 5, 1972, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/569181668?accountid=15053>.

⁶⁴ Everett, “Hulon L. Willis Was a Special Person to Many.”

⁶⁵ “Hulon Willis Alumni Association,” <http://www.wm.edu/offices/studentdiversity/alumniandfriends/index.php>.

⁶⁶ “Retired Coach Named to College Hall of Fame,” *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, April 17, 1988, http://infoweb.newsbank.com.proxy.wm.edu/iw-search/we/InfoWeb?p_product=AWNB&p_theme=aggregated5&p_action=doc&p_docid=0EB4F71C9DBE92D3&p_docnum=1&p_queryname=1.

⁶⁷ “Funeral Set for Retired VSU Official,” *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, June 14, 1989, http://infoweb.newsbank.com.proxy.wm.edu/iw-search/we/InfoWeb?p_product=AWNB&p_theme=aggregated5&p_action=doc&p_docid=0EB4F7966FDDDF79C&p_docnum=1&p_queryname=3.

Edward Travis

The second African American to be admitted into the College was Edward Augustus Travis. Edward Travis went to St. Paul Polytechnic Institute in Lawrenceville, VA after graduating from Huntington High School.⁶⁸ He transferred to Florida A. and M. College where he graduated in 1939 and received his diploma.⁶⁹ Travis then applied to William and Mary's law school and was admitted on August 31, 1951.⁷⁰

Edward Travis "attended the College three sessions and one summer session".⁷¹ He encountered some academic difficulty. The registrar reported that "twice during his attendance he failed to meet the minimum standards for continued residence, but was permitted by vote of the Faculty of Jurisprudence to continue on probation."⁷² This decision allowed Travis to eventually graduate from William and Mary's law school.

Although he was the second African American to be admitted, Edward Travis was the first to receive a degree. On August 13, 1954, he received a Bachelor of Civil Law degree.⁷³ A reporter for the *New Journal and Guide* who was present at the graduation ceremony commented that he "was particularly impressed by the warm congratulations bestowed upon Mr. Travis by members of the white race".⁷⁴ The reporter also noted that "apparently no provision had been

⁶⁸"Seventeenth Annual Varsity Prom at St. Paul," *The Chicago Defender*, Jan 19, 1935, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/492448528?accountid=15053>.

⁶⁹"Sixteen Honor Graduates in Florida Class," *New Journal and Guide*, June 10, 1939, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/567386616?accountid=15053>.

⁷⁰ Letter from J. W. Lambert to Dr. Davis Y. Paschall, March 29, 1961, Box 33, Folder 34, From the Office of the President, Davis Y. Paschall Records, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ Letter from J. W. Lambert to Dr. Davis Y. Paschall, March 29, 1961.

⁷⁴ J. Knight, "Edward Travis Earns B. C. L.," *New Journal and Guide*, Aug 28, 1954, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/568240220?accountid=15053>.

made for a cause [sic] colored visitors were seated indiscriminately among members of the opposite race".⁷⁵

After graduating from the College of William and Mary, Edward Travis returned to teaching. He worked at Huntington High School where he was a mathematics teacher and the director of athletics.⁷⁶ He was also an active member of the Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity and participated in the Dochiki Social and Civics Club.⁷⁷ Edward Travis died on November 3, 1960.⁷⁸

Shirley and Alice Thornton

In 1953 the Northeastern Poultry Producers Council egg grading and marketing school was "held south of the Mason-Dixie line for the first time" at the College of William and Mary.⁷⁹ When Mr. T.C. Rothbauer, Assistant to the Managing Director of Northeastern Poultry Producers, Council, Inc. asked if two African Americans would be allowed to attend, Charles F. Marsh, Dean of Faculty replied, "We believe it would be appropriate for these two people to attend the school itself. It would not be feasible, however, for them to have their lodging and meals at the College. I have arranged comfortable facilities for them at the home of Mrs. R.H. Braxton."⁸⁰ Although the College of William and Mary allowed two African Americans to attend a school held at the College, they did not provide them room and board as they did for the other

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ "Fourteen are Added to Staff at Huntington," *New Journal and Guide*, September 22, 1956, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/568391339?accountid=15053>.

⁷⁷ "First Baptist Rites Held for Edward Travis," *New Journal and Guide*, November 12, 1960, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/568595467?accountid=15053>

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ "Egg Grading School at William & Mary," *Harrisonburg Daily News*, May 25, 1953, accessed June 7, 2012, <http://newspaperarchive.com/harrisonburg-daily-news-record/1953-05-25/page-14>

⁸⁰ Letter from Charles F. Marsh to Mr. T.C. Rothbauer, May 8, 1953, Box 22, Folder 21, From the Office of the President, Alvin Duke Chandler Records, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

students. They were however obliging enough to provide the African American applicants an alternative housing situation rather than expect them to find their own lodging.

William and Mary Teaching Workshop Applicants

In 1954 and 1955 the College of William and Mary denied several applicants admission to teaching workshops. In its rejection letters to applicants seeking entrance to William and Mary's summer teaching workshops, the College stated, "The College of William and Mary is a state institution of the Commonwealth of Virginia and complies with all state laws, regulations and so forth, therefore, we may not enroll negros [sic] except as provided for under statutes of the commonwealth."⁸¹ However the College of William and Mary did make some exceptions and although it did not officially enroll African American teachers it did at least on one occasion invite an African American teacher to attend sessions of the teaching workshop as a visitor. Indeed on May 19, 1955, George J. Oliver sent a letter to Mr. R. E. Brann the superintendent of schools of Lancaster & Northumberland Counties stating that "we shall not be able under the present State regulations to register your Negro school supervisor in the proposed workshop on the Teaching of Science. If, however, it is agreeable to you and to the members of the workshop there will be no objection to her attending as a visitor such sessions of the workshop she desires. For this type of attendance there would, of course, be no charge."⁸²

Barbara Blayton

Barbara Blayton, the older sister of Oscar Blayton⁸³, was refused admission when she applied in 1955. She was a sophomore at Wheaton College and had applied to take government

⁸¹ Letter from Kenneth Cleeton to Mrs. Edna White, June 1, 1955, Box 33, Folder 34, From the Office of the President, Davis Y. Paschall Records, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

⁸² Letter from George J. Oliver to Mr. R. E. Brann, May 19, 1955, Box 33, Folder 34, From the Office of the President, Davis Y. Paschall Records, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

⁸³ Oscar Blayton was the first undergraduate student admitted to the College of William and Mary.

and English courses during the summer session at the College of William and Mary. After she was refused admission she decided to take summer courses at Hampton Institute, a historically black university.

The *New Journal and Guide* explained that “while the historic college has admitted some Negroes to certain graduate courses and to evening classes here and at its Norfolk division, a spokesman for the college explained to Miss Blayton that it was not accepting Negroes for the courses she applied for.”⁸⁴ The College made a formal statement that it was not accepting her—not because she was unqualified—but because Virginia public colleges were not required to admit African American students if the courses that they sought were available at an African American public institution. The director of the College of William and Mary summer session, Kenneth Cleeton, explained, “We may not enroll Negroes except as provided for under the statutes of the commonwealth. The program for which you applied is offered at Virginia State College.”⁸⁵

This decision was made despite the prominent position that the Blayton family had in the community. The Blayton family was the first African American family to be invited to join Bruton Parish which consisted of entirely white congregants.⁸⁶ At the time William and Mary had never accepted an undergraduate African American student nor had they accepted a female African American student.

At the same time, other students were also not admitted to the College for similar reasons. Some were rejected on the grounds that the courses that they sought were offered at

⁸⁴ Thomas D. Young, “Co-Ed Refused Admission to William-Mary, Classes,” *New Journal and Guide*, July 2, 1955, accessed June 4, 2012, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/568324193?accountid=15053>.

⁸⁵ Letter from Kenneth Cleeton to Barbara Blayton, June 16, 1955, Box 33, Folder 34, From the Office of the President, Davis Y. Paschall Records, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

⁸⁶ Young, “Co-Ed Refused Admission to William-Mary, Classes.”

Virginia State College. Rejected students received similar responses with little variation: “The College is a state institution of the Commonwealth of Virginia which conforms to the various regulations, state laws and rulings in connection therewith. In view of that fact, the College of William and Mary is referring your application for the program which you desire to the Virginia State College in Petersburg, because it is our understanding that the Virginia State College offers the program for which you are applying.”⁸⁷

Miriam Johnson Carter

Miriam Johnson Carter was the third African American admitted to the College of William and Mary. Carter graduated from Temple University with a B.S. degree in education and following graduation taught at schools in Philadelphia.⁸⁸ After working as a teacher, she decided to seek an advanced degree. The circumstances involving her enrollment were somewhat unusual.

Mrs. Carter initially applied to William and Mary’s graduate program in education. Her initial application was rejected. The Head of the Department of Education, George J. Oliver gave this standard response: “As you know the College of William and Mary is a State institution, therefore, we must conform to State law, regulations, and pertinent official ruling. In view of the fact, therefore, that the graduate program of the type in which you are interested is offered at Virginia State College we are unable to accept your application.... I hope that our inability to

⁸⁷ Letter from Kenneth Cleeton to John F. Bailey Jr., May 17, 1954, Box 22, Folder 21, From the Office of the President, Alvin Duke Chandler Records, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

⁸⁸ Mrs. Miriam Johnson Carter’s Application for Admission to Graduate Study, Box 33, Folder 34, From the Office of the President, Davis Y. Paschall Records, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

accord your application favorable consideration will not result in serious inconvenience to you.”⁸⁹

Miriam Carter did not simply accept her rejection with resignation. Instead she responded to George Oliver stating, “Your letter of June 1, returning my transcript and stating that you are unable to favor my application for graduate study in Education at the College of William and Mary, does result in very serious inconvenience to me.”⁹⁰ She then explained that she was on sabbatical leave from the school where she taught and wanted to begin her studies in September.⁹¹ With two children, she was unable to study at Virginia State College because it was far from her home.⁹² Additionally, in her letter she alludes to the Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* and asks that they reconsider her application.⁹³

Following this letter, President A.D. Chandler responded to Miriam J. Carter stating, “In view of the fact that studies are now being made in the State of Virginia in regard to the recent rulings of the Supreme Court of the United States, it will be necessary for the College to re-examine its admission policies when those studies have been completed and certain decisions reached.”⁹⁴ Chandler’s letter indicates that the school was concerned with preventing a legal case against them. Indeed a memorandum written on June 16, 1955, states that “there was a

⁸⁹ Letter from George J. Oliver to Mrs. Miriam Johnson Carter, June 1, 1955, Box 33, Folder 34, From the Office of the President, Davis Y. Paschall Records, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

⁹⁰ Letter from Miriam J. Carter to George J. Oliver of June 6, 1955, Box 33, Folder 34, From the Office of the President, Davis Y. Paschall Records, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ Letter from A.D. Chandler to Mrs. Miriam J. Carter, June 16, 1955, Box 33, Folder 34, From the Office of the President, Davis Y. Paschall Records, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

possibility of a suit brewing in this case, and that we desired the advice of the Attorney General in regard to the matter”.⁹⁵

Not knowing the status of her application, Carter attempted to secure a job working with the Institute of Early American History and Culture. However, these efforts were unsuccessful. On June 17, 1955 she received a reply from Lester J. Cappon, director of the Institute of Early American History, informing her that “since we [the Institute] operate on the post-doctoral level, we have no students under our supervision and we have made it a point not to get involved in responsibilities which belong more properly to graduate schools or colleges and universities...As you shall see, the nature of the Institute is such that we cannot be of any direct help to you in the manner suggested in your letter.”⁹⁶

In addition to applying to work at the Institute of Early American History and Culture in Williamsburg, Mrs. Miriam Carter also applied to William and Mary’s graduate program in aquatic biology.⁹⁷ This venture was also unsuccessful. Although she was considered “well qualified as regards her grades”, she was rejected because of she had not fulfilled the core requirements to apply to the program.⁹⁸ The dean of faculty, Charles F. Marsh, explained to the director of the Virginia Fisheries Laboratory “that students with as limited a background in your required subjects would not ordinarily be admitted to graduate study at the Laboratory,

⁹⁵ Memorandum for File June 16, 1955, Box 33, Folder 34, From the Office of the President, Davis Y. Paschall Records, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

⁹⁶ Letter from Lester J. Cappon to Mrs. Miriam J. Carter, June 17, 1955, Box 33, Folder 34, From the Office of the President, Davis Y. Paschall Records, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

⁹⁷ Letter from Charles F. Marsh to Dr. J.L. McHugh, June 30, 1955, Box 33, Folder 34, From the Office of the President, Davis Y. Paschall Records, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

regardless of race. Accordingly, I see no way in which the Committee on Graduate Studies could approve admission to your graduate program in Aquatic Biology of Mrs. Miriam J. Carter.”⁹⁹

With regards to her initial application to the Department of Education, Miriam Carter still had not received a definite answer. With classes soon approaching, on August 30, President Chandler sent a letter to Mrs. Miriam J. Carter telling her that after *Brown v. Board of Education* a state policy on admission of African American students had not yet been established and until it was established they could not make any action on her application.¹⁰⁰

Miriam Johnson Carter was finally “admitted to the College on September 20, 1955 as a candidate for the degree of Bachelor of Civil Law.”¹⁰¹ However, she withdrew her attendance “on June 12, 1956 because of her failure to maintain a “C” average in accordance with the standards of the Law School.”¹⁰² Despite her failure to graduate, Miriam Carter was the first African American woman to attend the College of William and Mary.

Oscar Blayton

Oscar Blayton was admitted to the College of William and Mary as the first undergraduate African American student in 1963. Following his admission the President of the College, Davis Paschall, sent a letter to the *Virginia Gazette* in which he stressed that “the Admissions Policy of the College of William and Mary is not discriminatory as regard race,

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Letter from A.D. Chandler to Mrs. Miriam J. Carter, August 31, 1955, Box 33, Folder 34, From the Office of the President, Davis Y. Paschall Records, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

¹⁰¹ Letter from J. W. Lambert to Dr. Davis Y. Paschall President, March 29, 1961, Box 33, Folder 34, From the Office of the President, Davis Y. Paschall Records, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary, pg.1.

¹⁰² Ibid, 2.

creed, or color.”¹⁰³ In this letter President Paschall also asks the press not to single out the student and instead respect his privacy.¹⁰⁴

This was not the only instance in which the President attempted to detract attention from Blayton. When Paschall discovered that *The Flat Hat* planned to feature Oscar Blayton as “student of the week”, he met with the student that was going to interview Blayton. A member of the *Flat Hat* staff between 1960 and 1964 recalls, Paschall “blew up, charging that we were trying to incite an issue, and would needlessly bring wrath to the College.”¹⁰⁵

Blayton had a difficult transition in adjusting to college academics. According to his sister Barbara, “He was flunking...and wasn’t doing too well the first year”.¹⁰⁶ She explains that “he was advised to take you know all what everybody calls hard courses. His first year... had too much of the heavy stuff”.¹⁰⁷ She elaborated on her statement saying that “he didn’t get any kind of support; they didn’t want him there”.¹⁰⁸ When explaining why her brother might have applied to the school, Barbara conjectured that “maybe he got the idea to go to William & Mary because it seems like his senior summer...he got involved in Common Glory¹⁰⁹”.¹¹⁰

¹⁰³ President's Office File for Oscar Blayton, From the College of William and Mary Office of the President, Davis Young Paschall Records, Box 4, Folder 29: Blayton, Oscar, May 1964.
https://digitalarchive.wm.edu/bitstream/handle/10288/13419/PresidentsOffice_Paschall_BlaytonOscar.pdf?sequence=1

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Milton M. Reigelman, interviewed by Emily Williams, January 1, 1977, University Archives Oral History Collection, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary, <https://digitalarchive.wm.edu/bitstream/handle/10288/5468/MiltonMReigelmanOHC.pdf?sequence=1>, pg. 7

¹⁰⁶ Dr. J. Blaine Blayton and Barbara Blayton, February 18, 1999, <https://digitalarchive.wm.edu/bitstream/handle/10288/13334/BlaytonBlaine2.18.99%20transcript.pdf?sequence=2> University Archives Oral History Collection, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary, pg. 20.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Common Glory is a play that was staged annually at Lake Mataoka Amphitheatre at the College of William and Mary.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

During his enrollment at the College, Blayton lived at home and commuted to school. Samuel Sadler, a student at the time said, “He wasn’t on campus that much...it was a time when no one challenged anything. There was no movement that I could detect on the part of the university to do anything to diversify. And there was no push from the students to diversify because they were all pretty much [of] the same cloth, and it wasn’t even discussed.”¹¹¹ After two years at the College, Oscar Blayton was drafted into the Marines and did not return.

Bernard Bailey

Bernard Bailey transferred to the College of William and Mary in 1964. He was the salutatorian of James Weldon Johnson High School and president of the national Honor Society.¹¹² After high school, he enrolled at the Hampton Institute in 1963 and from there transferred to William and Mary.¹¹³

Karen Ely, Janet Brown, and Lynn Briley

In 1967 Karen Ely, Janet Brown, and Lynn Briley became the first African American female undergraduate students as well as the first African American students to live on campus. That year, *The Flat Hat* published an interview of these students under the title “Other Half Lives No differently”. This title emphasized the equality and similarities between African Americans and whites and highlighted the “wit and spontaneity” with which Brown, Ely, and Briley communicated their experiences.¹¹⁴ In the interview Ely, Brown, and Briley revealed their reasons for coming to the school and their opinions of racial relations at the College of William

¹¹¹ W. Samuel Sadler, interviewed by Ben Bromley and Caroline Murray, 2005, University Archives Oral History Collection, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary, https://digitalarchive.wm.edu/bitstream/handle/10288/411/History490C_590C_Paper.pdf?sequence=3, pg.4.

¹¹² “63 Honor Grads Named at Johnson High School,” *New Journal and Guide*, May 25, 1963, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/568790648?accountid=15053>.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Nadia Tongour, ““Other Half” Lives No Differently, Find First Negro Coeds in Dorms,” *The Flat Hat*, October 20, 1967, 16, <https://digitalarchive.wm.edu/handle/10288/4587>.

and Mary. Janet Brown explained that she had “read an article in *Time* which said that Negro institutions in the South were educational disaster areas. I wanted a good school, so I applied here.”¹¹⁵ When discussing their sentiments on being enrolled at a predominately white college, Karen Ely said that “I’ve been surprised at how little difference there is. I had expected a much more difficult transition from a completely segregated high school to a predominantly white college.”¹¹⁶

The three students did not know one another prior to coming to William and Mary and did not know that they would all be roommates living in Jefferson basement. Janet Brown commented that “I really didn’t worry about whether or not there would be other Negro students at William and Mary”.¹¹⁷ With regards to their interactions with white students, “they all agree, everyone has been wonderful”.¹¹⁸ The students described the cultural exchanges they had with other students and explained how they enjoyed teaching the girls in their hall dances that were popular in the African American community. When the interviewer asked the students to voice their opinions on what they did not like about William and Mary, Janet Brown expressed her wish that people would be more comfortable about discussing racial relations. She said, “I wish that people would feel freer about discussing race relations with us. They seem to shy away from the subject. Even some professors seem afraid of the word ‘race’.”¹¹⁹ In this interview the students reveal the growing acceptance as well as the discomfort that students and faculty felt in response to the growing presence of African American students at William and Mary.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

A student who lived in Jefferson Hall with Karen Ely, Janet Brown and Lynn Briley described her impressions of the three. She said that she believed “that things were very cordial as far as I knew...it was suite restrooms so we didn’t necessarily see Karen, Lynn and Jan a lot, but because they roomed together which was very understandable and it seemed to, and it probably didn’t have very many social outlets, it seemed as though they probably felt isolated, you know, they stuck together a lot, it didn’t seem as though they really were very socially integrated into the campus”.¹²⁰

Students in the late 1960s

In 1967, in a meeting of the committee of admissions, “Mr. Hunt reported that seven students, who can be identified as members of the negro race, have been notified of their admission as dormitory residents for the smester [sic] commencing in September, 1967.

Applications from two negro students were denied admission, and one was cancelled because of failure to submit the required information.”¹²¹

Only in 1968 did members of the College begin to express a desire an increase in student diversity. In a report written in May of 1970 by the Faculty Committee on Admissions, the Committee admitted, “Two years ago, in a report to the Faculty, the Committee on Admissions expressed concern over the paucity of poverty-minority students enrolled at William and Mary and recommended that the Admissions Office make a conscious effort to attract an increased number of academically qualified poverty-minority students.”¹²² After identifying this area for

¹²⁰ Virginia Carey, interviewed by Jenay Jackson, 2005, University Archives Oral History Collection, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary, pg. 3.

¹²¹ Minutes of the Meeting of the Committee on Admissions, April 5, 1967, Box 1, Folder 18, From the Office of the President, Davis Y. Paschall Records, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

¹²² Report and Recommendations of the Faculty Committee on Admissions, May, 1970, Box 1, Folder 17. From the Office of the President, Davis Y. Paschall Records, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary, pg.1.

improvement, the College immediately instituted changes. In 1968 the “Faculty of Arts and Sciences established the Martin Luther King Memorial Scholarship to help financially support qualified poverty-minority students. Since that time, the personnel of the Admissions Office have greatly increased their contact with the predominantly Negro high schools and have displayed tremendous interest and desire in attempting to attract poverty-minority students, especially black students, to William and Mary.”¹²³ However despite the school’s efforts to attract African American students, the committee noted that less than 25 African American students applied in 1968 and less than 35 applied in 1969.¹²⁴ With regard to the reasons that the College of William and Mary received so few applicants, the committee conjectured that “an important factor seems to be the wide-spread feeling among poverty-minority students that they are not welcome, even when they have received statements to the contrary from the College.”¹²⁵

The Committee on Admissions also studied the academic performance of the African American students enrolled at the College. It summarized that “the three students of the Class of 1971 are presently enrolled, of the Class of 1972, which included ten Negro students, three girls transferred after one semester because of academic difficulties and three males were required to leave because of academic deficiencies; of the Class of 1973, which included 19 known Negroes, one student transferred and one dropped, neither because of academic problems.”¹²⁶ The Committee on Admissions speculated that the academic difficulties of the students were “partly attributable to the added social pressures to which they are subjected, and partly attributable to the academic difficulties encountered by many students who have relatively low SAT scores.”¹²⁷

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Ibid, 2.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Ibid, 3.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

To resolve some of the problems that the College of William and Mary had in its inability to attract strong African American applicants, the Committee on Admissions recommended that the College hire an African American admissions officer¹²⁸ as well as begin a summer program with the goal of preparing minority students for college.¹²⁹ The Committee's recommendations were agreed upon by every member of the committee except one member, Algin King, who believed that seeking an admission officer who was African American was "a form of reverse discrimination."¹³⁰

Viola O. Baskerville

Viola Osborne Baskerville entered William and Mary as a freshman in 1969 and graduated in 1973. After graduation she became a Fulbright scholar and later went on to becoming Secretary of Administration to former Virginia governor Tim Kaine.¹³¹

Warren Buck III

¹²⁸ Ibid, 5.

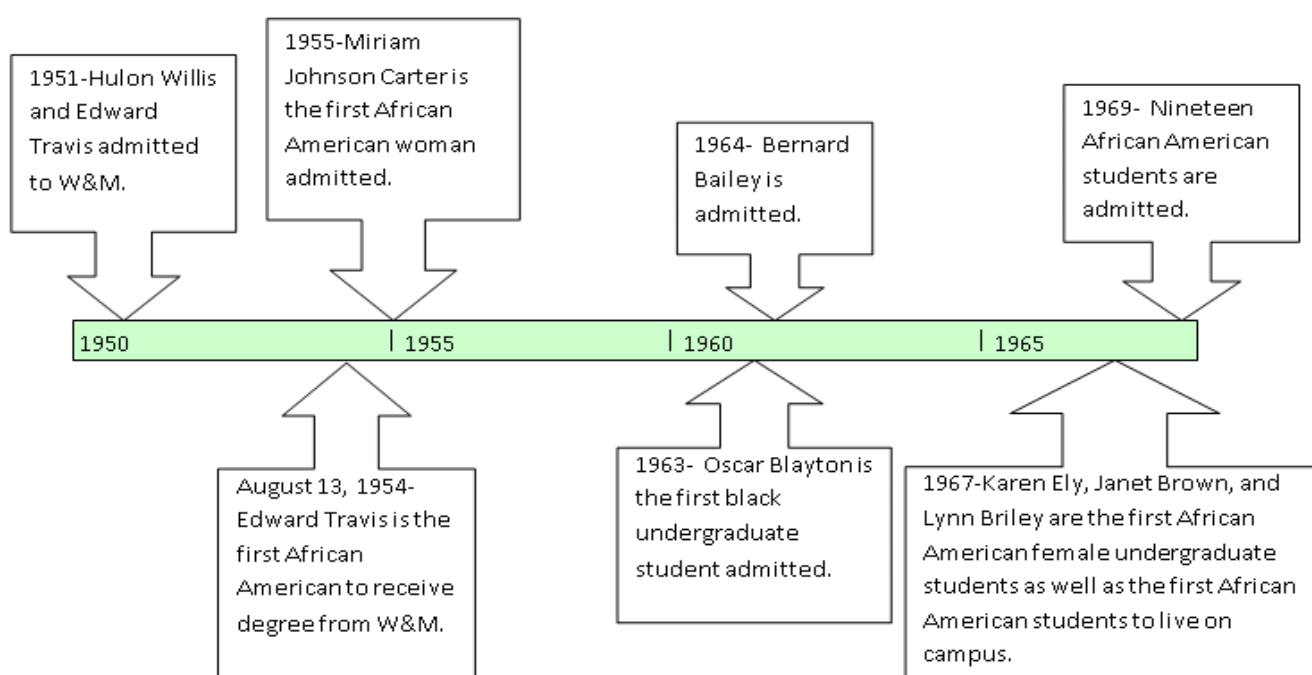
¹²⁹ Ibid, 6.

¹³⁰ Algin B King, Reasons to the opposition to the report recommending the employment of a negro admissions officer specifically on the basis of race and for the specific purpose of recruiting negro students, Statement, Box 1, Folder 17. From the Office of the President, Davis Y. Paschall Records, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

¹³¹ "Viola O. Baskerville '73," accessed May 25, 2012, https://www.wmalumni.com/?page=notable_alumni_30&hhSearchTerms=viola+and+baskerville.

Warren Buck completed graduate studies in physics at the College of William and Mary. He entered in 1968 and graduated with an M.S. in physics in 1970. He then continued his studies at William and Mary to receive his PhD. in 1976.¹³² Buck is a chancellor emeritus of the University of Washington Bothell, was founding director of the National Science Foundation-funded Nuclear/High Energy Physics Research Center, and is currently a professor of physics at

The Admission of African American Students to the College of William and Mary



the University of Washington Bothell.¹³³

William and Mary Hiring Practices

The College of William and Mary did not hire any African American instructors until the 1970s. In 1955 The N.A.A.C.P. sent a letter to the College of William and Mary asking about

¹³² <http://faculty.washington.edu/wbuck/Resume.pdf>, pg. 4.

¹³³ "Warren W. Buck III M.S. '70, Ph.D. '76," accessed May 25, 2012

http://www.wmalumni.com/?page=notable_alumni_31&hhSearchTerms=warren+and+buck.

their hiring practices and provided the College with a list of 17 qualified African American professors that were available to work at the College.¹³⁴ None of these professors were hired.

Later that year the College of William and Mary received an application from Lawrence C. Bryant for a teaching position at the school of Education which would begin in 1956.¹³⁵ At the top of the application was the label “NEGRO” in red.¹³⁶ Lawrence C. Bryant appeared well qualified for the position. At the time he was serving as Principal of Augusta County Training School, had taught at various public schools, and had published 7 completed works and had 2 publications in progress.¹³⁷

William and Mary’s Openness to the Press of Its Policies

The College of William and Mary did not disclose a lot of information about the African American students it admitted to the press. Because of its lack of transparency, information regarding the College’s admittance of African American students was unclear. In 1956, the College of William and Mary received an inquiry from a research professor studying racial integration in colleges and universities.¹³⁸ The researcher, Guy B. Johnson, requested that the school provide “any details that would help bring my factual information up to date ...for example, the number of Negroes enrolled at present in your institution, the levels or departments in which they are concentrated, their academic standing, their participation in campus affairs, and

¹³⁴ Herbert L. Wright to the College of William and Mary, May 24, 1954, Box 33, Folder 34, From the Office of the President, Davis Y. Paschall Records, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

¹³⁵ Application of Lawrence C. Bryant to President Alvin Duke Chandler, December 27, 1955, Box 33, Folder 34, From the Office of the President, Davis Y. Paschall Records, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Letter from Guy B. Johnson to President Chandler, February 24, 1956, Box 33, Folder 34, From the Office of the President, Davis Y. Paschall Records, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

the general reaction of white students and professors”.¹³⁹ President Chandler did not comply with his request, stating, “I regret, due to the present circumstances involving these problems and the consideration now being given to these problems by the appropriate public officials of the state of Virginia, that I am unable to give you any further information on this matter”.¹⁴⁰

In 1961 President Paschall received a letter from Overton Jones from the *Richmond Times Dispatch* asking about the African American students the College had admitted.¹⁴¹ Jones explained that the information about the College’s students was incomplete stating, “For a long time Southern Education Reporting Service has been saying, in its reference material, that a Negro enrolled at William & Mary ‘several years ago’ but did not graduate. We would like to be a bit more specific in this matter...I am wondering if there weren’t two Negroes there, one taking physical education during a summer session of about 1951.”¹⁴² In response, President Paschall gave a complete and detailed record of the three African American students¹⁴³ who had studied at the College of William and Mary.¹⁴⁴

Student Reception of Integration

Just 6 years prior to Hulon Willis’s admittance to the College of William and Mary, a student was forced to leave *The Flat Hat* because she wrote an editorial supporting racial equality.¹⁴⁵ Marilyn Kaemmerle was the editor-in-chief at the time, and after she wrote an article

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Letter from A.D. Chandler President to Dr. Guy B. Johnson, March 1, 1956, Box 33, Folder 34. From the Office of the President, Davis Y. Paschall Records, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

¹⁴¹ Letter from Overton Jones to Dr. Davis Y. Paschall, President, March 27, 1961, Box 33, Folder 34, From the Office of the President, Davis Y. Paschall Records, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Hulon Willis, Edward Travis, Miriam Carter

¹⁴⁴ Letter from Davis Y. Paschall to Mr. Overton Jones, April 17, 1961, Box 33, Folder 34. From the Office of the President, Davis Y. Paschall Records, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

¹⁴⁵ “Oust Girl Editor for Race View,” *The Plaindealer*, February 23, 1945,

called “Lincoln’s Job Half Done” she was asked to leave *The Flat Hat* staff. In the February 7, 1945 issue she wrote, “Negroes should be recognized as equals in our minds and hearts. For us, this means, that Negroes should attend William and Mary; they should go to our classes, participate in College functions, join the same clubs, be our roommates, pin the same classmates, and marry among us.”¹⁴⁶ She then clarified her statement by saying that this degree of integration could not happen immediately, but must gradually occur. In her editorial she also compared racism to “Hitler’s Nordic Supremacy nonsense”.¹⁴⁷ This comparison only heightened the controversy of her editorial. World War II was not yet over and a comparison of racism to Nazism would have been especially insulting to racist Southerners.

The school acted immediately after the publication of the editorial at the behest of the college board of trustees. The college board of trustees “directed administration and faculty to take disciplinary action.”¹⁴⁸ In response students met to protest a violation of freedom of the press. This protest did not involve a question of the content of the editorial. When students organized in a mass meeting “student after student asserted that at today’s mass meeting that the questions before the meeting was not approval of the editorial—many frankly did not agree with its expressions—but was a question of whether students wanted a censored publication”.¹⁴⁹

http://infoweb.newsbank.com.proxy.wm.edu/iw-search/we/HistArchive/?p_product=EANX&p_theme=ahnp&p_nbid=M64N5CSVMTMzOTY5ODczMC40MTI1MTU6MT0xND0xMjguMjM5Ljk5LjE0MA&p_action=doc&s_lastnonissuequeryname=11&d_viewref=search&p_queryname=11&p_docnum=1&p_docreft=v2:12ACD7C7734164EC@EANX-12CFEF4C26589AC8@2431510-12CFEF4C2ED12F08@0-12CFEF4C851D8648@Oust+Girl+Editor+for+Race+View.

¹⁴⁶ Marilyn Kaemmerle, “Lincoln’s Job Half-Done,” *The Flat Hat*, February 7, 1945, 8, <https://digitalarchive.wm.edu/bitstream/handle/10288/309/fh19450207.pdf?sequence=2>.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ “Coed’s Plea for Race Equality Brings Suspension of Paper,” *The Negro Star*, March 2, 1945,

http://infoweb.newsbank.com.proxy.wm.edu/iw-search/we/HistArchive/?p_product=EANX&p_theme=ahnp&p_nbid=M64N5CSVMTMzOTY5ODczMC40MTI1MTU6MT0xND0xMjguMjM5Ljk5LjE0MA&p_action=doc&s_lastnonissuequeryname=13&d_viewref=search&p_queryname=13&p_docnum=1&toc=true&p_docreft=v2:12ACD48DAF81B0D9@EANX-12BF1B7ED2526A18@2431517-12BF1B7F080519C0@3.

¹⁴⁹ “Students Protest Censorship, W&M Board to Act Today,” *The Washington Post*, February 13, 1945, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/151784327?accountid=15053>.

It appears that the majority of students did not openly support racial equality at the time. Marilyn Kaemmerle commented, “The students don’t agree with me, but they feel that I should have the right to say what I think”.¹⁵⁰ However, a writer in an editorial commented that her views indicate “that there is a ferment of liberalism at work among the faculty of William and Mary. We note that there is a ‘minority faculty group’ at the college who favor free discussion”.¹⁵¹ As a result of her daring action, Kaemmerle was forced to resign as a member of *The Flat Hat* staff and *The Flat Hat* was required to have faculty counselors. Despite the lack of support for her statements, Marilyn Kaemmerle set a precedent for openly supporting racial equality at the College of William and Mary.

A few years later, students again showed a mixed reaction to the question of racial equality. At the time, it was the policy of Southern colleges to exclude African Americans from their athletic teams or even to play against African American players when on their home field or court. In an article in *The Flat Hat*, one student explained that “if a northern team comes here for an engagement in any sport, it is understood that they will not be allowed to use Negroes, no matter what the circumstances”.¹⁵²

In 1947, Dartmouth cancelled a tennis game with William and Mary because they had concluded that they could not play without their African American player. A *Flat Hat* writer asserted that they could have cancelled in advance because they knew the school’s policy and need not have waited as long as they did. He concluded that Dartmouth saw how well the William and Mary tennis team was performing and only then did they decide that they could not

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Arthur Davis, “Davis: The Flat Hat Episode and William and Mary’s Prestige,” *New Journal and Guide*, February 24, 1945, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/567719830?accountid=15053>.

¹⁵² Ed Griffin, “Tribe Topics,” *The Flat Hat*, April 1, 1947, 5, <https://digitalarchive.wm.edu/bitstream/handle/10288/149/fh19470401.pdf?sequence=2>.

win without the use of their black player. When commenting on the Southern tradition of black athletes not being allowed to perform in the South, the writer stated that “this custom is known to all schools and has been strictly abided by. It is a completely intolerant rule and is not even consistent, but that is beside the point”.¹⁵³ The student acknowledged that the rule is “intolerant” and inconsistent, but appears to be more concerned with the success of William and Mary athletics rather than racial injustice. His statements express the mentality of the bystander in his recognition of injustices and his acceptance of them.

In a letter to the editor, another student commented on the Dartmouth cancellation. This student attacked the school’s policy rather than Dartmouth’s decision to refuse to play. He emphatically stated, “My opinion of William and Mary will drop considerably if I find that our school has refused to play an athletic contest-because one of the opponents has a different colored skin, or that a cancellation has been brought about because a negro was refused the right to play. Such gross unfairness is not to be tolerated!”¹⁵⁴

After the University of Virginia allowed a black Harvard athlete to compete in a football game against their team, a William and Mary student commented on the tacit rule that black athletes were not allowed to play in the South. This William and Mary student wrote, “This college, founded in this cradle of democracy of our country should never allow race prejudice to be a deciding factor on an athletic field.”¹⁵⁵

The students of William and Mary continued to acknowledge African American contributions to American society beyond athletics in the 1950s. In 1950, the students of the

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Fred Tubbs, “Tubbs Asks About Dartmouth Cancellation,” *The Flat Hat*, April 1, 1947, 2, <https://digitalarchive.wm.edu/bitstream/handle/10288/149/fh19470401.pdf?sequence=2>.

¹⁵⁵ Bill Greer, “Smoke Signals,” *The Flat Hat*, November 25, 1947, 4, <https://digitalarchive.wm.edu/bitstream/handle/10288/44/fh19471125.pdf?sequence=2>.

William and Mary choir sang African American spirituals as a part of their performance. This section of the performance was described by a writer for *The Flat Hat* as displaying “the Negro’s contribution to the music of America”.¹⁵⁶ The fact that African American spirituals were sung by choir members showed an appreciation for an aspect of African American culture.

In addition to singing African American spirituals, the Norfolk division of the William and Mary choir also sang in concerts featuring African American students from other colleges. In 1952 “James C. Braye, a senior voice student at Virginia State College...[appeared] along with choir from the Norfolk Division of the College of William and Mary”.¹⁵⁷ The Norfolk division of the College of William and Mary sang with African American students from other schools on a number of other occasions.¹⁵⁸

Students showed support for integration not only in extracurricular activities, but also in academics. In 1954 following the Supreme Court decision of *Brown v. Board of Education* a William and Mary alumnus named Marcus Brown wrote a letter to the *New York Times* in which he stated that “the decision banning racial segregation in public schools is a victory for American ideals”.¹⁵⁹ In this letter, Brown also criticized the bitterness expressed by a writer for the UVa. Student newspaper and responded to the article by stating, “As a graduate of another Virginia institution... William and Mary, I oppose such sentiments”.¹⁶⁰ However the College also received other letters from alumni condemning the College’s policy changes.

¹⁵⁶ “W&M Choir Prepares Annual Spring Concert,” *The Flat Hat*, March 21, 1950, <https://digitalarchive.wm.edu/bitstream/handle/10288/218/fh19500321.pdf?sequence=2>.

¹⁵⁷ “James C. Braye, W. & M. Choir to Appear here,” *New Journal and Guide*, March 15, 1952, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/568237203?accountid=15053>.

¹⁵⁸ “Interrace Concert Set,” *New Journal and Guide*, March 3, 1956, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/568428832?accountid=15053>.

¹⁵⁹ Marcus Brown, “University Stand Criticized,” *New York Times*, May 21, 1954, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/112927204?accountid=15053>.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

Despite the lack of diversity in the student body, the students did show that they appreciated the College's African American employees. In July of 1955 when Henry Billups, an African American who was employed by the College as a bell ringer, died, the school rung the death knell in commemoration of his services. Students had had a special relationship with him. Billups was "known as 'Doc' to thousands of alumni" and before his death "alumni presented him a gold watch in honor of his 50th year with the college".¹⁶¹

The College of William and Mary was not insulated from the Civil Rights Movement. In 1959, "a group of 150 College of William and Mary students hissed and booed seven placard-bearing White Citizens Council¹⁶² member[s] who picketed a building on the campus where former Arkansas Representative Brooks Hays was speaking".¹⁶³ Professor of sociology, Wayne Kernodle, had invited Brooks to speak at the Marshall Wythe Symposium to explain his position on segregation. When the president discovered that the White Citizens Council threatened to protest, the administration "sent back word that the Marshall Wythe Symposium would either be postponed or cancelled".¹⁶⁴ Despite pressure that he felt from the administration, Kernodle made no plans to cancel the speech stating, "That's not what an educational institution is."¹⁶⁵

Students became much more active in the civil rights process in the late 60s. On December 8, 1967, *The Flat Hat* focused on the employment and treatment of African American

¹⁶¹ "Death Knell is Final Peal for Henry Billups," *New Journal and Guide*, July 16, 1955, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/568419507?accountid=15053>

¹⁶² The White Citizens Council was a white supremacist group.

¹⁶³ "News of Interest You Should Know," *Afro-American*, Apr 4, 1959, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/532114179?accountid=15053>.

¹⁶⁴ Wayne Kernodle, interviewed by Stacey B. Gould, November 21, 2005, transcribed by Kay McLaughlin, January 24-30, 2006, University Archives Oral History Collection, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary, https://digitalarchive.wm.edu/bitstream/handle/10288/1650/OralHistoryInterview_21_11_2005.pdf?sequence=1.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

employees on campus. In one editorial a student described the compensation for African American employees as a “deplorable employment situation”.¹⁶⁶

Students did not simply advocate for better treatment of African Americans through the print media, but also through active demonstration. In 1969, students organized a peaceful protest in which “some 150 college of William and Mary students demanded recruitment of black students”.¹⁶⁷ This protest occurred during the opening convocation ceremony in the beginning of the school year. The students and one faculty member protested the lack of student diversity by walking out of the convocation ceremony just before President Paschall was to speak.¹⁶⁸ The protest was organized by the Student Action Movement which operated under the goals of obtaining more representation in forming school policies, participating on the Board of Visitors, and protesting any form of discrimination.¹⁶⁹ Additionally SAM had “three demands: active recruitment, open admission of all local blacks and allowing blacks to become ‘students’ and not tokens”.¹⁷⁰ Although a portion of the students supported SAM’s platform, some “dispute, however, SAM’s demands for an open door policy with regard to the admittance of students from the black community”.¹⁷¹

However despite the increased activism at the College in the late 60s, there was little student diversity. In 1965 when Professor of sociology, Satoshi Ito first came to the school, Satoshi described William and Mary as “overwhelmingly white, upper middle class with very

¹⁶⁶ “College Employees,” *The Flat Hat*, December 8, 1967, 4,
<https://digitalarchive.wm.edu/bitstream/handle/10288/3687/fh19671208.pdf?sequence=1>

¹⁶⁷ “William-Mary Students Walkout,” *Afro-American*, September 27, 1969,
<http://search.proquest.com/docview/532205950?accountid=15053>.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁹ “The Time is Now,” *The Flat Hat*, September 19, 1969, 2,
<https://digitalarchive.wm.edu/bitstream/handle/10288/4209/fh19690919.pdf?sequence=1>

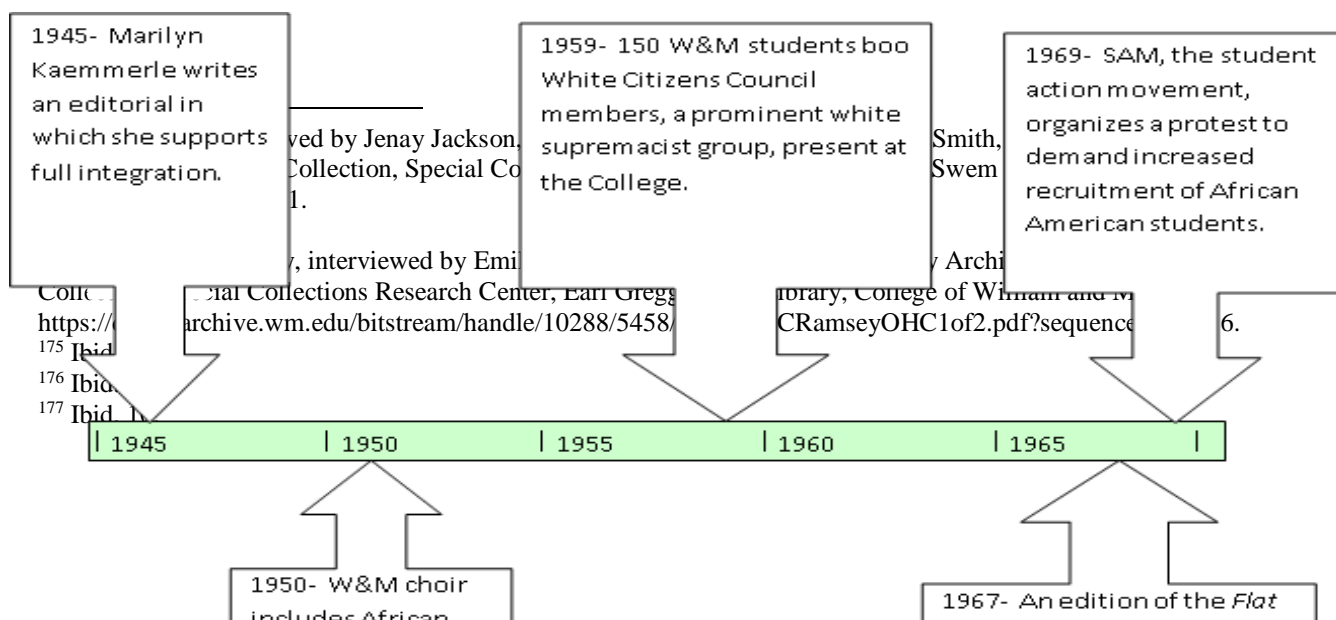
¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*

few students of color at the undergraduate level.”¹⁷² Ito also noted that there was not that much student involvement in the civil rights movement compared to the students at other College campuses.¹⁷³

When a former student, Elizabeth Ramsey, who had attended William and Mary as an undergraduate student between 1965 and 1969, was asked her opinion regarding how the student body received integration, she responded, “The student body was much more willing to receive it [integration] and accept it; it was the administration and the Board of Visitors that were the foot-draggers”.¹⁷⁴ She explained that “getting black students to come to William and Mary was extraordinarily difficult because any black student who had the academic qualifications to come had full scholarships [elsewhere].¹⁷⁵ Ramsey also indicated that other students were aware of the lack of student diversity. She said, “In my junior and senior year, the college received a great deal of criticism from some of the student activists and there were quite a few on campus.”¹⁷⁶ When asked if *The Flat Hat* reflected the overwhelming opinion of the student body with regard to integration, Ramsey said, “Sometimes it was ahead; sometimes it was behind. Sometimes it didn’t reflect anything”.¹⁷⁷

William and Mary Students’ Attitudes toward Integration



Faculty Response to Integration

Throughout the 1950s, some professors both from the main campus and from the College's divisions showed their support for integration. In 1950 a faculty member of the Norfolk Division of William and Mary College spoke to the Women's Council for Interracial Cooperation group in Norfolk on job opportunities for African Americans.¹⁷⁸ In 1952 Dr. Kenneth Morland, an assistant professor of sociology and anthropology at William and Mary, also spoke at a meeting of the Women's Council for Interracial Cooperation in Norfolk. In this meeting he "declared that no racial group has been proved superior or inferior, and that intellect depends on the individual".¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁸ "Interracial Group to Hear 3 Educators," *New Journal and Guide*, December 9, 1950, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/567980697?accountid=15053>.

¹⁷⁹ "Nomens Interracial Council Hears Scientists Call Ignorance Basis of Racial Prejudice," *New Journal and Guide*, Apr 5, 1952, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/568232026?accountid=15053>.

Other faculty members also promoted good interracial relations in the community. In the summer of 1953 Dr. George J. Oliver, head of the education department, led a teaching workshop in Norfolk which he opened to all teachers regardless of race.¹⁸⁰ This action implied his support for the inclusion of all individuals in academic pursuits regardless of race. John Austin, a resident of Williamsburg, commented on the views of individuals involved in the College. He stated, “most of our friends, many of whom were with the College were...had no problem, didn’t see them as being any different other than uh, some more intelligent than them and some less intelligent. But, um the race, really, only had um, in respect in that they wanted to go out of their way to make sure that they weren’t maltreated.”¹⁸¹

In a controversial decision, the College of William and Mary invited Chief Justice Earl Warren to speak in the September of 1954 to the student body.¹⁸² This was significant because Earl Warren had played a key role in the Supreme Court’s decision to end segregation in public schools in *Brown v. Board of Education* and many Southerners did not support his policies. Warren’s speech at the Marshall-Wythe-Blackstone celebration marked “Warren’s first major speech in the South since the historic Supreme Court decision on segregation”.¹⁸³ Although it was reported that he did not make any explicit references to segregation and Supreme Court decisions, his presence alone was significant. Some Virginian politicians who were invited did not attend. The absence of Governor Stanley and Senator Harry Byrd was interpreted as “boycotting...as a form of protest against Chief Justice Warren’s decision that racial segregation

¹⁸⁰ “Teachers Study Problems,” *New Journal and Guide*, July 4, 1953, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/568241474?accountid=15053>.

¹⁸¹ John Austin and Scottie Austin, interviewed by Brian Mahoney, April 4, 2008, <https://digitalarchive.wm.edu/bitstream/handle/10288/648/Austin%2c%20John%20and%20Scottie%2c%204.08%2c%20Transcript.pdf?sequence=3>.

¹⁸² “The Reign of Justice,” *New York Times*, September 27, 1954, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/112968093?accountid=15053>.

¹⁸³ “Chief Justices of Two Nations Share Spotlight For Saturday Ceremonies,” *The Flat Hat*, September 28, 1954, 1, <https://digitalarchive.wm.edu/bitstream/handle/10288/3843/fh19540928.pdf?sequence=1>.

in the local public schools of the states is incompatible with the federal Constitution".¹⁸⁴ The decision to invite such a prominent figure of desegregation such as Chief Justice Earl Warren indicates that some faculty did support his opinions on racial equality.

William and Mary student and faculty opinion of segregation was addressed in 1955 when the Debate Council organized a debate on integration vs. segregation. *The Flat Hat* reported that "at the end of the session the main controversy which had developed was between audience supporters of segregation and the panel members, all of whom professed beliefs in integration."¹⁸⁵ The dean of William and Mary's law school, Dr. W. Dudley Woodbridge, "pointed out that integration at William and Mary on the undergraduate level might be a reality in the near future".¹⁸⁶ Another professor, Dr. Ryan, "described the Supreme Court decision, made on May 17, 1954, as 'just, humane, and inevitable in any means'".¹⁸⁷ A member on the panel arguing for pro-segregation stated, "I have yet to hear one coherent, intellectual argument for segregation" and when he invited the audience to present arguments in support of segregation, no one responded.¹⁸⁸

Despite the strides in activism by faculty members, the administration showed a resistance to promoting racial equality. In this time period, the College of William and Mary received various inquiries from the N.A.A.C.P. regarding its stance on racial integration. When asked if the College offered any classes on integration in 1955, the College responded, "The College of William and Mary is not offering at this time any programs or courses dealing with desegregation processes, and no such courses are contemplated by the College at any time in the

¹⁸⁴ Arthur Krock, "In the Nation: From One Who Practiced What He Preached." *New York Times (1923-Current File)*, October 12, 1954. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/113052144?accountid=15053>.

¹⁸⁵ "Crowd of Almost 100 Students Hear Debate on Controversial Racial Issue," *The Flat Hat*, October 11, 1955, 12, <https://digitalarchive.wm.edu/bitstream/handle/10288/4343/fh19551011.pdf?sequence=1>.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

near future.”¹⁸⁹ This response indicated that the College did not wish to be an open proponent of integration either because of administrative opposition, opposition from the Board of Visitors, or resistance by the state of Virginia from which the College received its funds. In addition that year at least five African American students were rejected from admission to courses offered at the College of William and Mary because the courses were offered at black institutions.

In 1957, when President Eisenhower made the decision to send troops to Little Rock to enforce desegregation, William and Mary’s dean of jurisprudence, Dudley W. Woodbridge publicly supported the president’s decision.¹⁹⁰

The College invited a number of African American guest speakers between 1960 and 1970. In 1965 W. A. Johnson, the director of the Head Start program¹⁹¹ in the Chesapeake area, was invited to the school to speak about the progress and goals of the program.¹⁹² In December of 1967, Phi Beta Kappa invited Saunders Redding, who was described as “a noted Negro author”, to speak.¹⁹³ In his speech he asserted that equality “is truly an ideal which men strive for...an ideal which holds that a person counts as a person regardless of creed or color. The claim that men are equal in natural writes is not enough. They should as well be equal before the law, in the voting booth, and an access in opportunity”.¹⁹⁴ In the same edition of *The Flat Hat* it was announced that “Dr. Robert Coles, a research psychiatrist at the Harvard University Health

¹⁸⁹ Letter from A. D. Chandler to Mr. John W. Davis, June 25, 1955, Box 33, Folder 34, From the Office of the President, Davis Y. Paschall Records, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

¹⁹⁰ “News of Interest You Should Know,” *Afro-American*, October 5, 1957, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/531952189?accountid=15053>.

¹⁹¹ The Head Start program focused on providing health, social, and educational services to young children from low income families.

¹⁹² “W. A. Johnson to Speak at William and Mary,” *New Journal and Guide*, November 6, 1965, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/568841844?accountid=15053>

¹⁹³ “Noted Negro Author to Address Phi Betes,” *The Flat Hat*, December 1, 1967, 1, <https://digitalarchive.wm.edu/bitstream/handle/10288/5401/fh19671201.pdf?sequence=1>.

¹⁹⁴ Nadia Tongour, “Redding Stresses Equality of Man,” *The Flat Hat*, December 8, 1967, 1, <https://digitalarchive.wm.edu/bitstream/handle/10288/3687/fh19671208.pdf?sequence=1>.

services, will lecture on school desegregation at 8 p.m. Monday”.¹⁹⁵ However in 1960, William and Mary allowed the Lion’s club to show a minstrel show at Phi Beta Kappa Hal.¹⁹⁶ These minstrels enforced negative stereotypes of African Americans and were offensive to the African American community.

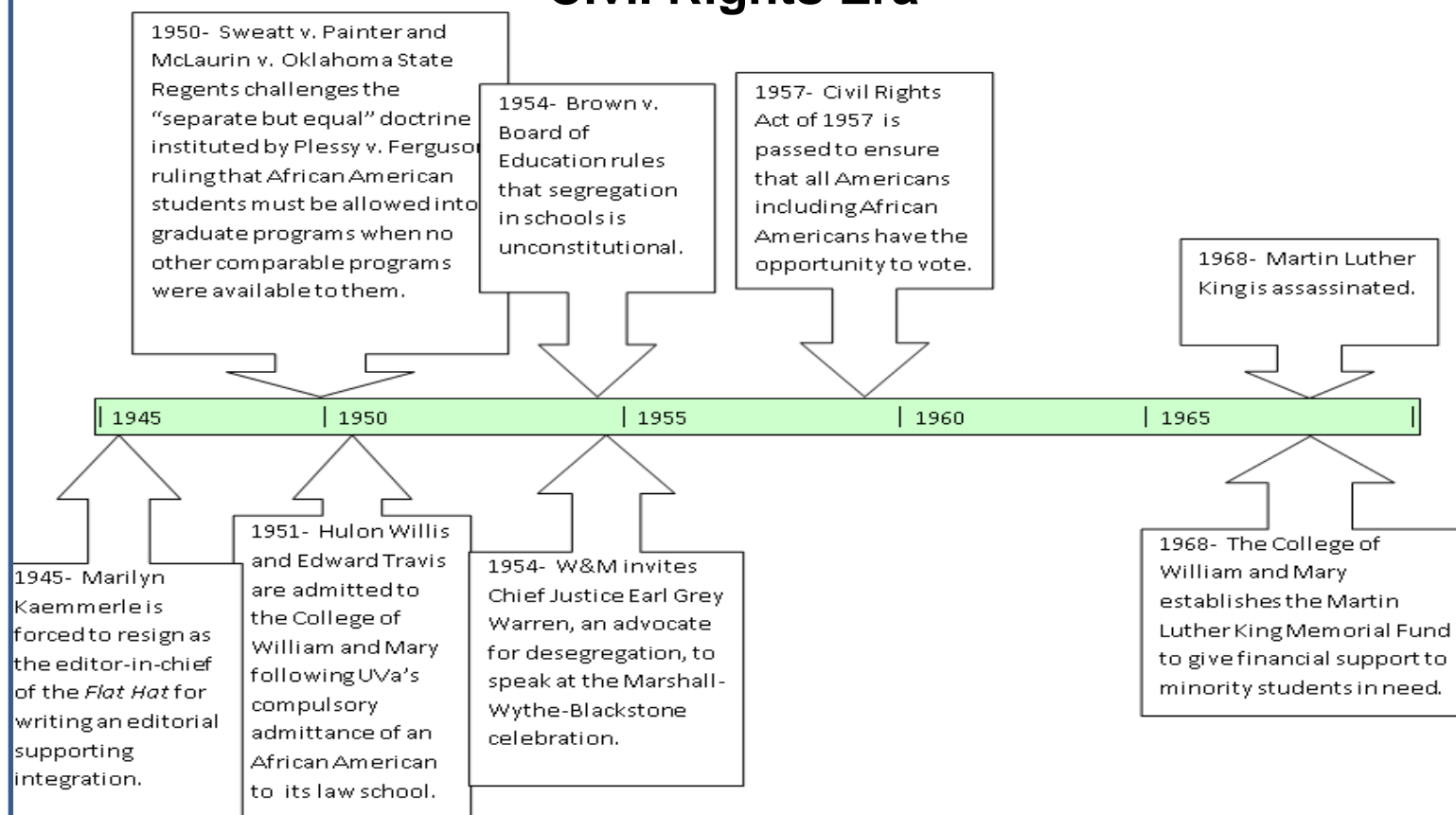
In 1964, faculty members and students of the College conducted a self-study. A committee of student opinion concluded that “heterogeneity in terms of social-economic class, geographical origin, race, religion, and style of life is...educationally valuable”.¹⁹⁷ However, in the self-study there is no mention of a desire to the school’s lack of racial diversity or a recommendation that the school do anything to increase diversity. This indicates that increasing the number of students of other races was not a priority.

¹⁹⁵ “Coles to Deliver Integration Talk,” *The Flat Hat*, December 8, 1967, 3, <https://digitalarchive.wm.edu/bitstream/handle/10288/3687/fh19671208.pdf?sequence=1>.

¹⁹⁶ Wallace Webster, “Letters to the Editor: Offensive Minstrels,” *New Journal and Guide*, May 6, 1961, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/568739972?accountid=15053>.

¹⁹⁷ A Self-Study of the College of William and Mary in Virginia, April 1964, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary, part 1, pg. 9, <https://digitalarchive.wm.edu/bitstream/handle/10288/16344/1.pdf?sequence=1>.

William and Mary Administration Policies during the Civil Rights Era



Conclusion

In the 1950s and 60s the College of William and Mary was just beginning its journey toward integration. In the 1950s it only admitted students to graduate programs not offered at Virginia State College. Very few individuals were admitted under this policy. The College admitted its first two African American students in 1951 and a third in 1955. In the 1960s the College of William and Mary became much more open to admitting African American students. More African American students enrolled and the student body was more diverse than it had been before. However despite these strides, integration did not extend to the College’s faculty and staff.

The administration's response to integration is not entirely clear. William and Mary's administration showed both resistance to integration and acceptance of it. The College seemed more concerned with avoiding bad press, preventing a legal case against them, and maintaining good relations with the Attorney General than with making a political statement either in favor of or against integration.

Only until the late 60s did the College become concerned with increasing diversity. In the 1970s more change was seen in the founding of clubs for African American students and in the active recruitment of minority students. These changes would not be possible without the significant changes in policy seen in the 1950s prompted by the monumental decisions of the Supreme Court.

Works Cited

- Slater, Robert Bruce. "The Blacks Who First Entered the World of White Higher Education." *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* 4 (Summer 1994):47-56, Accessed May 25, 2012.
<http://www.jstor.org/discover/10.2307/2963372?uid=2129&uid=2134&uid=3739936&uid=2&uid=70&uid=4&uid=3739256&sid=56260265253>.
- "Error Sends 3 Cadets to William and Mary." *New Journal and Guide*, Aug 7, 1943.
<http://search.proquest.com/docview/567575944?accountid=15053>.
- "Admit First Negro Student to William and Mary Coll." *New York Amsterdam News*, May 5, 1951. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/225831280?accountid=15053>.
- "Navy Names Negro Chaplain." *New Journal and Guide*, July 8, 1944.
<http://search.proquest.com/docview/567792529?accountid=15053>.
- "Navy Chaplain at Great Lakes." *New Journal and Guide*, October 14, 1944.
<http://search.proquest.com/docview/567793702?accountid=15053>.
- "William and Mary Will Admit Law Students." *New Journal and Guide*, November 18, 1950.
<http://search.proquest.com/docview/567900805?accountid=15053>.
- "William and Mary on Colored Applicants." *New Journal and Guide*, November 25, 1950.
<http://search.proquest.com/docview/567940476?accountid=15053>.
- Office of the President, Davis Y. Paschall Records, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary.
- Office of the President, Alvin Duke Chandler Records, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary.
- "Seeks to Enter Branch of William and Mary College." *Afro-American*, September 30, 1950.
<http://search.proquest.com/docview/531696880?accountid=15053>.
- "James Gilliam Seeks Graduate Studies." *New Journal and Guide*, September 23, 1950.
<http://search.proquest.com/docview/567986355?accountid=15053>.
- "William-Mary Not Ready to Drop Bars--RPI Unit Head." *Afro-American*, September 30, 1950.
<http://search.proquest.com/docview/531698615?accountid=15053>.
- Office of the President, Davis Y. Paschall Records, Special Collections Research Center, Earl

Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

- “Two Enroll in all-White Va. College.” *The Chicago Defender*, December 23, 1950.
<http://search.proquest.com/docview/492840293?accountid=15053>.
- “Negro Enrollment at White State Colleges.” *New Journal and Guide*, August 25, 1951.
<http://search.proquest.com/docview/568087933?accountid=15053>.
- “White Colleges Enrolling More Negro Students.” *New Journal and Guide*, October 4, 1952.
<http://search.proquest.com/docview/568145865?accountid=15053>.
- Allen Jones, “Negroes Attend 6 State Colleges.” *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, November 29, 1959. Box 33, Folder 34. From the Office of the President, Davis Y. Paschall Records, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary.
- “Norfolkian to Enter W-M Graduate School in June.” *New Journal and Guide*, Apr 07, 1951.
<http://search.proquest.com/docview/568062177?accountid=15053>.
- Willis, Alyce Fordham. Interview by Jenay Jackson, April 26, 2005. Transcribed by Elaine Smith, March 2008. University Archives Oral History Collection, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary,
<https://digitalarchive.wm.edu/bitstream/handle/10288/600/Willis.pdf?sequence=1>.
- Heuvel, Lisa L. “Hulon Willis ’56 The First Black Alumnus: ‘William and Mary is Tops in my Book’.” *The Black Presence at William and Mary*, 1985.
<https://digitalarchive.wm.edu/bitstream/handle/10288/16118/TheBlackPresenceatWM1985.pdf?sequence=1>.
- Hamlett Jr., James A. “Week-end Chats.” *The Plaindealer*, May 18, 1951.
http://infoweb.newsbank.com.proxy.wm.edu/iwsearch/we/HistArchive/?p_product=EANX&p_theme=ahnp&p_nbid=M64N5CSVMTMzOTY5ODczMC40MTI1MTU6MT0xNDoxMjguMjM5Ljk5LjE0MA&p_action=doc&s_lastnonissuequeryname=7&d_viewref=search&p_queryname=7&p_docnum=1&p_docreft=v2:12ACD7C7734164EC@EANX-12C568F3107184B8@2433785-12C568F318484B18@0-12C568F374A470C0@Week-End+Chats.
- “Wm. And Mary Admits First Negro Student.” *The Chicago Defender*, June 30, 1951.
<http://search.proquest.com.proxy.wm.edu/hnpchicagodefender/docview/492800407/13751CCC292150F300A/2?accountid=15053>.
- Vaughn, Tyra M. “Black History Month: William and Mary Student Continues Family Legacy.” *Daily Press*, February 26, 2010. Accessed May 26, 2012,
http://articles.dailypress.com/2010-02-26/news/dp-local_wmblackhistory_0227feb27_1_black-history-month-family-history-william-and-mary.

- “Miami U. Ends Color Ban; First Graduate at UNC.” *Afro-American*, Jun 17, 1961.
<http://search.proquest.com/docview/532131368?accountid=15053>.
- “Willis Joins Trojan Coaching Staff.” *New Journal and Guide*, July 19, 1952.
<http://search.proquest.com/docview/568200639?accountid=15053>.
- “VSCs H. L. Willis Gets a Promotion.” *New Journal and Guide*, April 28, 1962.
<http://search.proquest.com/docview/568780608?accountid=15053>.
- “College Prof Spurs Karate Boom in State of Virginia: Hulon Willis builds enthusiastic following for Oriental sport.” *Ebony*, (May 1968):144-146. Accessed May 27, 2012.
http://books.google.com/books?id=KtoDAAAAMBAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=snippet&q=hulon&f=false.
- Leenora Everett. “Hulon L. Willis Was a Special Person to Many.” *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, July 5, 1989. http://iw.newsbank.com/iw-search/we/InfoWeb?p_action=doc&p_theme=aggdocs&p_topdoc=1&p_docnum=1&p_sort=YMD_date:D&p_product=AWNB&p_docid=0EB4F79C89F6CE9B&p_text_direct-0=document_id=%28%200EB4F79C89F6CE9B%20%29&s_lang=en-US&p_nbid=T50X48MBMTMzOTcwMDczNy45NzA1NTc6MT03Om5jZDE4Nzg.
- “Hulon Willis Appointed to National Karate Post.” *New Journal and Guide*, February 5, 1972.
<http://search.proquest.com/docview/569181668?accountid=15053>.
- “Hulon Willis Alumni Association,”
<http://www.wm.edu/offices/studentdiversity/alumniandfriends/index.php>.
- “Retired Coach Named to College Hall of Fame.” *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, April 17, 1988.
http://infoweb.newsbank.com.proxy.wm.edu/iw-search/we/InfoWeb?p_product=AWNB&p_theme=aggregated5&p_action=doc&p_docid=0EB4F71C9DBE92D3&p_docnum=1&p_queryname=1.
- “Funeral Set for Retired VSU Official.” *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, June 14, 1989.
http://infoweb.newsbank.com.proxy.wm.edu/iw-search/we/InfoWeb?p_product=AWNB&p_theme=aggregated5&p_action=doc&p_docid=0EB4F7966FDDDF79C&p_docnum=1&p_queryname=3.
- “Seventeenth Annual Varsity Prom at St. Paul.” *The Chicago Defender*, Jan 19, 1935.
<http://search.proquest.com/docview/492448528?accountid=15053>.
- “Sixteen Honor Graduates in Florida Class.” *New Journal and Guide*, June 10, 1939.
<http://search.proquest.com/docview/567386616?accountid=15053>.
- Knight, J. “Edward Travis Earns B. C. L.” *New Journal and Guide*, Aug 28, 1954.
<http://search.proquest.com/docview/568240220?accountid=15053>.

- “Fourteen are Added to Staff at Huntington.” *New Journal and Guide*, September 22, 1956.
<http://search.proquest.com/docview/568391339?accountid=15053>.
- “First Baptist Rites Held for Edward Travis.” *New Journal and Guide*, November 12, 1960.
<http://search.proquest.com/docview/568595467?accountid=15053>.
- “Egg Grading School at William & Mary.” *Harrisonburg Daily News*, May 25, 1953. Accessed June 7, 2012. <http://newspaperarchive.com/harrisonburg-daily-news-record/1953-05-25/page-14>.
- Thomas D. Young, “Co-Ed Refused Admission to William-Mary, Classes,” *New Journal and Guide*, July 2, 1955, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/568324193?accountid=15053>.
- Milton M. Reigelman. Interview by Emily Williams, January 1, 1977. University Archives Oral History Collection, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary,
<https://digitalarchive.wm.edu/bitstream/handle/10288/5468/MiltonMReigelmanOHC.pdf?sequence=1>, pg. 7
- Blayton Dr. J. Blaine. and Blayton, Barbara. February 18, 1999.
<https://digitalarchive.wm.edu/bitstream/handle/10288/13334/BlaytonBlaine2.18.99%20transcript.pdf?sequence=2> University Archives Oral History Collection, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary.
- Sadler, W. Samuel. Interview by Ben Bromley and Caroline Murray, 2005. University Archives Oral History Collection, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary,
https://digitalarchive.wm.edu/bitstream/handle/10288/411/History490C_590C_Paper.pdf?sequence=3, pg.4.
- “63 Honor Grads Named at Johnson High School.” *New Journal and Guide*, May 25, 1963.
<http://search.proquest.com/docview/568790648?accountid=15053>.
- Tongour, Nadia. ““Other Half” Lives No Differently, Find First Negro Coeds in Dorms.” *The Flat Hat*, October 20, 1967, 16, <https://digitalarchive.wm.edu/handle/10288/4587>.
- Carey, Virginia. Interview by Jenay Jackson, 2005. University Archives Oral History Collection, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary, pg. 2.
- “Viola O. Baskerville '73.” Accessed May 25, 2012.
https://www.wmalumni.com/?page=notable_alumni_30&hhSearchTerms=viola+and+baskerville.
- <http://faculty.washington.edu/wbuck/Resume.pdf>, pg. 4.
- “Warren W. Buck III M.S. '70, Ph.D. '76.” Accessed May 25, 2012.

http://www.wmalumni.com/?page=notable_alumni_31&hhSearchTerms=warren+and+book.

“Oust Girl Editor for Race View.” *The Plaindealer*, February 23, 1945.

http://infoweb.newsbank.com.proxy.wm.edu/iw-search/we/HistArchive/?p_product=EANX&p_theme=ahnp&p_nbid=M64N5CSVMTMzOTY5ODczMC40MTI1MTU6MT0xND0xMjguMjM5Ljk5LjE0MA&p_action=doc&s_lastnonissuequeryname=11&d_viewref=search&p_queryname=11&p_docnum=1&p_docref=v2:12ACD7C7734164EC@EANX-12CFEF4C26589AC8@2431510-12CFEF4C2ED12F08@0-12CFEF4C851D8648@Oust+Girl+Editor+for+Race+View.

Kaemmerle, Marilyn. “Lincoln’s Job Half-Done.” *The Flat Hat*, February 7, 1945. Accessed May 28, 2012.

<https://digitalarchive.wm.edu/bitstream/handle/10288/309/fh19450207.pdf?sequence=2>.

“Coed's Plea for Race Equality Brings Suspension of Paper.” *The Negro Star*, March 2, 1945.

http://infoweb.newsbank.com.proxy.wm.edu/iw-search/we/HistArchive/?p_product=EANX&p_theme=ahnp&p_nbid=M64N5CSVMTMzOTY5ODczMC40MTI1MTU6MT0xND0xMjguMjM5Ljk5LjE0MA&p_action=doc&s_lastnonissuequeryname=13&d_viewref=search&p_queryname=13&p_docnum=1&toc=true&p_docref=v2:12ACD48DAF81B0D9@EANX-12BF1B7ED2526A18@2431517-12BF1B7F080519C0@3.

“Students Protest Censorship, W&M Board to Act Today.” *The Washington Post*, February 13, 1945, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/151784327?accountid=15053>.

Davis, Arthur. “Davis: The Flat Hat Episode and William and Mary’s Prestige.” *New Journal and Guide*, February 24, 1945.

<http://search.proquest.com/docview/567719830?accountid=15053>.

Griffin, Ed. “Tribe Topics.” *The Flat Hat*, April 1, 1947. Accessed May 30, 2012.

<https://digitalarchive.wm.edu/bitstream/handle/10288/149/fh19470401.pdf?sequence=2>.

Tubbs, Fred. “Tubbs Asks About Dartmouth Cancellation.” *The Flat Hat*, April 1, 1947.

Accessed June 1, 2012.

<https://digitalarchive.wm.edu/bitstream/handle/10288/149/fh19470401.pdf?sequence=2>.

Greer, Bill. “Smoke Signals.” *The Flat Hat*, November 25, 1947. Accessed June 1, 2012.

<https://digitalarchive.wm.edu/bitstream/handle/10288/44/fh19471125.pdf?sequence=2>.

“W&M Choir Prepares Annual Spring Concert.” *The Flat Hat*, March 21, 1950. Accessed May 30, 2012.

<https://digitalarchive.wm.edu/bitstream/handle/10288/218/fh19500321.pdf?sequence=2>.

“James C. Braye, W. & M. Choir to Appear here.” *New Journal and Guide*, March 15, 1952.

<http://search.proquest.com/docview/568237203?accountid=15053>.

- “Interrace Concert Set.” *New Journal and Guide*, March 3, 1956.
<http://search.proquest.com/docview/568428832?accountid=15053>.
- Brown, Marcus. “University Stand Criticized.” *New York Times*, May 21, 1954.
<http://search.proquest.com/docview/112927204?accountid=15053>.
- “Death Knell is Final Peal for Henry Billups.” *New Journal and Guide*, July 16, 1955.
<http://search.proquest.com/docview/568419507?accountid=15053>
- “News of Interest You Should Know.” *Afro-American*, Apr 4, 1959.
<http://search.proquest.com/docview/532114179?accountid=15053>.
- Kernodle, Wayne. Interview by Stacey B. Gould, November 21, 2005. Transcribed by Kay McLaughlin, January 24-30, 2006. University Archives Oral History Collection, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary, https://digitalarchive.wm.edu/bitstream/handle/10288/1650/OralHistoryInterview_21_11_2005.pdf?sequence=1.
- “College Employees.” *The Flat Hat*, December 8, 1967. Accessed May 27, 2012.
<https://digitalarchive.wm.edu/bitstream/handle/10288/3687/fh19671208.pdf?sequence=1>
- “William-Mary Students Walkout.” *Afro-American*, September 27, 1969.
<http://search.proquest.com/docview/532205950?accountid=15053>.
- “The Time is Now.” *The Flat Hat*, September 19, 1969. Accessed May 28, 2012.
<https://digitalarchive.wm.edu/bitstream/handle/10288/4209/fh19690919.pdf?sequence=1>
- Ito, Satoshi. Interview by Jenay Jackson, April 20, 2005. Transcribed by Elaine Smith. March 2008, University Archives Oral History Collection, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary.
- Ramsey, Elizabeth C. Interview by Emily Williams, June 10, 1976. University Archives Oral History Collection, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary,
<https://digitalarchive.wm.edu/bitstream/handle/10288/5458/ElizabethCRamseyOHC1of2.pdf?sequence=1>.
- “Teachers Study Problems,” *New Journal and Guide*, July 4, 1953.
<http://search.proquest.com/docview/568241474?accountid=15053>.
- Austin, John and Austin, Scottie. Interview by Brian Mahoney, April 4, 2008.
<https://digitalarchive.wm.edu/bitstream/handle/10288/648/Austin%2c%20John%20and%20Scottie%2c%204.4.08%2c%20Transcript.pdf?sequence=3>.
- “Interracial Group to Hear 3 Educators.” *New Journal and Guide*, December 9, 1950.

<http://search.proquest.com/docview/567980697?accountid=15053>.

“Nomens Interracial Council Hears Scientists Call Ignorance Basis of Racial Prejudice.” *New Journal and Guide*, Apr 5, 1952,
<http://search.proquest.com/docview/568232026?accountid=15053>.

“The Reign of Justice.” *New York Times*, September 27, 1954.
<http://search.proquest.com/docview/112968093?accountid=15053>.

“Chief Justices of Two Nations Share Spotlight For Saturday Ceremonies.” *The Flat Hat*,
 September 28, 1954. Accessed June 3, 2012.
<https://digitalarchive.wm.edu/bitstream/handle/10288/3843/fh19540928.pdf?sequence=1>.

Krock, Arthur. “In the Nation: From One Who Practiced What He Preached.” *New York Times*
 (1923-Current File), October 12, 1954.
<http://search.proquest.com/docview/113052144?accountid=15053>.

“Crowd of Almost 100 Students Hear Debate on Controversial Racial Issue.” *The Flat Hat*,
 October 11, 1955. Accessed June 5, 2012.
<https://digitalarchive.wm.edu/bitstream/handle/10288/4343/fh19551011.pdf?sequence=1>.

“News of Interest You should Know.” *Afro-American*, October 5, 1957.
<http://search.proquest.com/docview/531952189?accountid=15053>.

“W. A. Johnson to Speak at William and Mary.” *New Journal and Guide*, November 6, 1965.
<http://search.proquest.com/docview/568841844?accountid=15053>.

“Noted Negro Author to Address Phi Betes.” *The Flat Hat*, December 1, 1967. Accessed June 5,
 2012.
<https://digitalarchive.wm.edu/bitstream/handle/10288/5401/fh19671201.pdf?sequence=1>.

Tongour, Nadia. “Redding Stresses Equality of Man.” *The Flat Hat*, December 8, 1967.
 Accessed June 6, 2012.
<https://digitalarchive.wm.edu/bitstream/handle/10288/3687/fh19671208.pdf?sequence=1>.

“Coles to Deliver Integration Talk.” *The Flat Hat*, December 8, 1967. Accessed June 6, 2012.
<https://digitalarchive.wm.edu/bitstream/handle/10288/3687/fh19671208.pdf?sequence=1>.

Webster, Wallace. “Letters to the Editor: Offensive Minstrels.” *New Journal and Guide*, May 6,
 1961. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/568739972?accountid=15053>.

A Self-Study of the College of William and Mary in Virginia, April 1964. Special Collections
 Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary.
<https://digitalarchive.wm.edu/bitstream/handle/10288/16344/1.pdf?sequence=1>.

Wallenstein, P. "Desegregation in Higher Education in Virginia." April 7, 2011. Accessed June 22, 2012, from *Encyclopedia Virginia*:
http://www.EncyclopediaVirginia.org/Desegregation_in_Higher_Education.