The integration of Emory & Henry College

Scott David Arnold

Follow this and additional works at: http://scholarship.richmond.edu/masters-theses

Part of the History Commons

Recommended Citation

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Student Research at UR Scholarship Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in Master's Theses by an authorized administrator of UR Scholarship Repository. For more information, please contact scholarshiprepository@richmond.edu.
THE INTEGRATION OF EMORY & HENRY COLLEGE

BY

SCOTT DAVID ARNOLD

B.A., Emory & Henry College, 1992

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty

of the University of Richmond

in Candidacy

for the degree of

MASTERS OF ARTS

in

History

May 1996

Richmond, Virginia
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are numerous people I would like to thank for assisting me in researching and writing my thesis. I should begin by extending my appreciation to all current and former members of the faculty, administration, staff, and alumni of Emory & Henry College who have responded to my inquiries. Their recollections and insights have greatly aided my task. Also, I acknowledge the assistance of various people from the communities surrounding the college who helped me in my research, especially individuals from the Washington County Historical Society. I am particularly grateful to the Emory & Henry College Alumni Office (Monica Hoel, Ellen Price and Sharon Herman) and the library staff of the college who were extremely helpful in locating pertinent people, information, and allowing me access to various school records and documents. I also would like to express my gratitude to my family, friends, Dr. R. Barry Westin, Dr. David Evans, and the History Department at the University of Richmond. I am indebted to Susan Motley who transcribed all my oral interviews into text and Dr. Robert C. Kenzer, my thesis director, who supported and encouraged me throughout the process.

Finally, I would like to thank two individuals who greatly aided me in writing my thesis, Robert Hill and Bishop Earl Hunt. Besides the valuable information they provided, both taught me much about people and life in
general during our conversations. Thus, I dedicate this thesis to them and their efforts in integrating society.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 1</td>
<td>Historical Background: Emory &amp; Henry College and the Integration Process</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 2</td>
<td>The Emory Community and the Seeds of the Integration Process</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 3</td>
<td>Preparation and Integration</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 4</td>
<td>Emory &amp; Henry College's Response to Full Integration</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 5</td>
<td>Conclusion: The Integration of Emory &amp; Henry Compared to Other Colleges</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix 1</td>
<td></td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix 2</td>
<td></td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pictures</td>
<td></td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>133</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

While Emory & Henry College's catalogue today states that the institution does not "discriminate on the basis of race, color, national origin," this was not the case just a little more than thirty years ago.¹ Throughout much of the South, African Americans were legally barred from attending various traditionally white colleges and universities. This thesis looks at the integration process at Emory & Henry College, a small private, Methodist-affiliated institution in southwest Virginia.

As early as the 1940's the subject of integration was informally discussed by the faculty and students at Emory & Henry. It became a major topic for this and several other institutions after the decision made by the 1954 Supreme Court in regard to Brown v. the Board of Education. Integration was debated at Emory & Henry from the early 1950's until the first African-American student was allowed to live on campus in 1965.²


²Minutes of the Meeting of the Board of Trustees of Emory & Henry College, Emory, Virginia, February 1956 to October 1964; Dr. Daniel Leidig, interview by author, Tape recording, Emory, Virginia, 25 February 1995; various Student Questionnaires. The topic was first written about in
Several factors contributed to the delay in the integration of Emory & Henry College. These included a small African-American population in southwest Virginia, reluctance of the community surrounding the college to accept Emory & Henry's integration, and the higher cost of attending a private institution. On the other hand, the growing access to higher education in America, and the end of segregationist practices at various Southern institutions assisted in the integration of Emory & Henry.

Integration at Emory & Henry was influenced by various international, national, regional, statewide, and community factors. The preeminent force behind the integration was Earl G. Hunt, Jr., President of Emory & Henry from 1956 to 1964. The careful and deliberate process he pursued led to the eventual integration of the college without any fanfare or public protest. This was despite much reluctance from the school's Board of Trustees and Executive Committee. In fact, he was told by members of these two groups his job would be in jeopardy if the school integrated. President Hunt sought guidance from several individuals and was primarily assisted initially by Dr. William Clifford (W.C.)

the February 1956 Board of Trustees Meeting, but it was noted that it had been discussed earlier. One questionnaire that was returned by a graduate of the college from the 1940s confirms this fact.
Mason, chaplain of the college, and later by Dr. Daniel Leidig, English Professor and Dean of the College after 1962.³

The Methodist Church and its Holston Conference played a passive and reserved role in the integration of the college. Even though the national church in its doctrine condemned segregation, African-American members were segregated into separate black churches and regional conferences.⁴

The efforts of President Hunt and other individuals resulted in the enrollment of the first African American, Dorothy Hayes Brown, as a day student for summer classes in 1963. Jeonell White became the first African-American residential student in the fall of 1965.⁵

---
³Marie Brown, interview by author, Tape recording, Emory, Virginia, 7 October 1994; Bishop Earl G. Hunt, Jr, Tape Recording, Lake Junaluska, North Carolina, 20 March 1995; Robert E. Hilton to Earl Hunt, 17 August 1959, and other written correspondences, Presidential Papers of Earl, Hunt, Emory & Henry College Papers, Emory, Virginia; Board of Trustee Minutes 1956-1965, Emory, Virginia; Robert L. Hilten, Pillar of Fire: The Drama of Holston United Methodism, In a Changing World (Johnson City, Tennessee: Commission on Archives and History, Holston Conference of the United Methodist Church, 1994), 18-19, 26-27, 176-182; Student, Administration and Faculty Questionnaires (see Appendix 1).


⁵Student, Administration and Faculty Questionnaires; Board of Trustee Minutes 1956-1965; The Sphinx, Emory & Henry's College Annual, 1965; Brown, 7 October 1994.
Furthermore, because of the influence of these first African Americans on the process of integration at Emory & Henry, this study will examine their experiences at the college. These initial students often graduated and went on to successful careers. Though Emory & Henry was slow to integrate, it still preceded most public and private Virginia colleges. Finally, this thesis will briefly compare Emory & Henry's integration process to a few other small private colleges in the South.

For this thesis confidentiality of particular names on certain school-related documents from the Emory & Henry College's archives has been maintained at the request of the library. In addition to traditional historical sources and methods, this thesis utilizes various questionnaires that were sent out to over 200 former faculty, administrators, and students. As a result of this mailing, sixty-six questionnaires were returned and consequently a few phone calls were received. Some of these individuals preferred not to have their name directly attributed to their thoughts, so their request for anonymity has been honored. These questionnaires helped the respondents in recollecting their knowledge on the events surrounding the integration of the college and these questionnaires also greatly aided in the research of this topic.
CHAPTER 1

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: EMORY & HENRY COLLEGE AND THE INTEGRATION PROCESS IN VIRGINIA AND NATIONALLY

Emory & Henry College was founded in 1836 by the Holston Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church to bring a liberal arts institution of higher education to southwest Virginia. The college is still located in Washington County in the small community of Emory, minutes away from the town of Abingdon, Virginia and a half hour drive away from Bristol, Tennessee/Virginia. It is the oldest institution of higher learning in this region.¹

The school's founders decided to name the institution after both Bishop John Emory of the Methodist Church and Patrick Henry, the former governor of Virginia and patriot of the American Revolution. These men best embodied the founding fathers' perception of what men from Emory & Henry should try to become. Bishop Emory symbolized the Christian purpose for which Emory & Henry would strive and Patrick Henry represented the republican ideals that the institution would stress.²


²Ibid.
The first sixty students enrolled in the college in 1838 and, by the Civil War, the school had grown to close to 200 students. The student body was primarily made up of white males from southwest Virginia and eastern Tennessee, but it also included students from all over the United States. The college facility was used as a military hospital during the war and reopened in 1865. It operated modestly from 1865 until 1875, averaging 175 students yearly. During this period the school operated largely on income received from tuition and boarding fees. Unfortunately these were often insufficient and thus caused financial problems for this small institution. From this period until after World War II, Emory & Henry would go through both periods of financial security and depression, depending on the economic conditions nationally and regionally.³

Financial stability of the college began to be achieved in 1943 when it was selected by the United States Navy as the site for a naval training program. This fiscal stimulus came under the presidency of Dr. Foye Gibson (1941-1956), who was credited with preserving the college's existence.

President Hunt believes, "There would have been no Emory & Henry . . . if it hadn't been for what Foye Gibson did." 4

On October 11, 1945, the school's financial status further improved when the white Holston Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church voted to assume greater responsibility for the affiliated colleges in its region. The Holston Conference, stretching from Wytheville, Virginia to Chattanooga, Tennessee, often played a critical role for the colleges under its governance: Hiwassee, Tennessee Wesleyan, and Emory & Henry. The Holston Conference raised money for all three schools. Between 1946 and 1964 Emory & Henry alone received over $1,200,000, from the Holston Conference. 5


The Holston Conference's Board of Trustees governed all three colleges. This board was composed of members of the Methodist clergy, alumni of the three colleges, and prominent individuals from the region. Members were elected by the Holston Conference. There was no requirement that members of the board be Methodist, but in almost all cases they were. Each one of these colleges, however, had its own Executive Committee that often developed and enacted polices for the college. Generally these actions were confirmed by the Board of Trustees. The members of the Executive Committee of each college were selected from individuals on the Board of Trustees by the Co-ordinating Committee of the Board of Trustees.6

From early in its history, Emory & Henry educated students from various cultures. The college's constitution did not exclude people on the basis of either race or culture. For instance, Joshua Ross, class of 1860, and a member of the Cherokee Nation, would go on to be elected as a senator of the Cherokee National Council of Tahlequah. Other Native-American students were members of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations. Students from Asia, Europe, and South America also attended the college. One such

---
6Ibid. During President's Hunt tenure all members of the Board of Trustees were Methodist.
individual, Kenjiro Nakamra, a native of Japan, graduated from Emory & Henry in 1916.\textsuperscript{7}

Starting in 1900 small numbers of women began to attend the college. Although the first woman graduated in 1907, it was not until 1923 when thirty-two women transferred from nearby Martha Washington College that women attended the college in large numbers and resided in dormitories on campus.\textsuperscript{8}

Despite these elements of diversity, the doors of Emory & Henry, like the vast majority of Southern institutions, were closed to African Americans until the 1960's. As a result, various African-American colleges formed in the South. The five African-American institutions founded in Virginia after the Civil War were both public and private. Often because these colleges were financially insecure, they did not offer the same opportunities as their white counterparts and sometimes they were not accredited.\textsuperscript{9} Since

\textsuperscript{7}Emory & Henry College's Constitution, Emory & Henry College Papers; Bishop Earl Hunt, Jr., interview by author, Tape Recording, Lake Junaluska, North Carolina, 20 March 1995; Stevenson, \textit{Increase in Excellence}, 200-201.

\textsuperscript{8}Ibid., 121-124, 131. In June of 1907 the first woman graduate was Edith Waterhouse, the daughter of President Richard G. Waterhouse. In 1919 Martha Washington College combined with Emory & Henry College. By 1931 the physical plant of Martha Washington College was closed as a junior college and the building was sold later.

\textsuperscript{9}Earl J. McGrath, \textit{The Predominantly Negro Colleges and Universities in Transition} (New York: Institute of Higher
the African-American colleges in Virginia were located in the central region of the state, most African Americans from southwest Virginia attended Morristown College in Morristown, Tennessee, a Methodist-affiliated two-year African-American college.10

As early as 1869 the state of Virginia segregated educational institutions by law. The 1869 state law stated, that "white" and "colored" persons should be taught in "separate schools."11 This law was further defined in 1882

---

10Marie Brown, interview by author, Tape recording, Emory, Virginia, 7 October 1994; and Charles F. Bryan and Jo Vita Wells, "Morristown College: Education for Blacks in the Southern Highlands," East Tennessee History Society Publication 52 (1980): 61-77; Robert L. Hilten, Pillar of Fire: The Drama of Holston United Methodism, In a Changing World (Johnson City, Tennessee: Commission on Archives and History, Holston Conference of the United Methodist Church, 1994), 26-27, 42. Morristown College was founded in 1881 in a community where African Americans only comprised 3% of the total population. This school was affiliated with the East Tennessee (Black) Conference which roughly covered the same region as the white Holston Conference. The first African-American graduate of Emory & Henry College, Rosemary Gray Bundy, attended Morristown from 1964 to 1966. The other African-American college in the region is Bluefield State College in Bluefield, West Virginia.

and 1896. The Plessy v. Ferguson decision only further strengthened these laws. The principle of "separate but equal" was further emphasized in Virginia law when the 1902 Virginia Constitution declared that "white and colored children shall not be taught in the same school."14

While the South enacted laws of segregation in education, by the mid 1880's various northern colleges and universities admitted African Americans. For instance, Harvard's first black medical students enrolled in 1850 and the first African Americans graduated in 1869. In 1865 Richard T. Greener became the first black student to enroll as an undergraduate at Harvard. He graduated in 1870.15

14Johnson, The Development of State Legislation Concerning the Free Negro, 194. This doctrine was stated in Article 9, Section 140 of the Constitution.
Starting in the 1930's the National Association for Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) sought legal action to end segregation in public higher education. The NAACP believed that the best way to desegregate education at all levels was to start with the integration of law schools, which were the least threatening to the general public.16

In 1935 the Donald Murray case assisted in bringing integration to the University of Maryland Law School. The school was ordered by Judge Eugene O'Dunne of the Baltimore City Court to admit Donald Murray since there was no African-American law school in Maryland. The Attorney General of Maryland appealed the case to the Maryland Court of Appeals and the court affirmed Judge O'Dunne's earlier decision. As a result of this case many of the Southern states began to allocate more funds to develop or enhance law schools.

their graduate and professional colleges for African Americans.17

Four court cases brought about changes that resulted in African Americans gaining further access to white institutions of higher learning: Gaines v. Missouri, Sipuel v. Board of Regents of University of Oklahoma, Sweatt v. Painter and McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents. In Gaines v. Missouri (1938) the Supreme Court of the United States required the University of Missouri Law School to admit Lloyd Gaines as no facilities existed for black students in that state. Also, the case established the precedent that African Americans had to be given equal training facilities in the same state they lived in and out-of-state scholarships did not satisfy the equal treatment of rights. Previously states gave scholarships to African Americans seeking academic opportunities that did not exist at any of the black colleges in that state.18

In Sipuel v. Oklahoma State Board of Regents (1948) the Supreme Court directed Oklahoma to provide Ada Sipuel with a

---

17 Ibid. This case is often referred to as Murray v. Maryland, but was officially called Murray v. Pearson.

legal education in the same manner as it did with its white law school students. After an interpretation by the Oklahoma high court, the state hastily erected a separate law school for Sipuel and other black students in a small portion of the state capitol building. Ada Sipuel protested this action and when the case returned to the Supreme Court, it decided that the original case did not stipulate whether the state had to satisfy the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. As a result of these court decisions, schools for blacks were developed quickly. This action did not advance equality of educational facilities because these schools were vastly inferior to its white counterparts.19

The Supreme Court reversed this ruling in Sweatt v. Painter (1949) when it found that, because the hastily-developed Texas law school did not meet the standard of equality, Heman Sweatt should be admitted to the University of Texas Law School. It found that qualities incapable of objective measurement, which determined the quality or prestige of a law school, needed to be considered for a person to want to apply, be accepted, and graduate from a given institution.20

19Kluger, Simple Justice, 258-259.

In McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents (1950) the Supreme Court ruled that though G. H. McLaurin did not have the equality guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment even though he was admitted to the University of Oklahoma for instruction, because he still was segregated in the classroom, cafeteria, and the library. The court found these restrictions "impair and inhibit his ability to study, engage in discussions and exchange views with other students . . . ."21 While this decision essentially outlawed segregation in public institutions of higher learning, it would take over a decade to be enacted throughout the South's various public and private universities and colleges.

During the period of these court decisions various border and upper South states began to integrate their schools. The University of West Virginia enrolled an African American in 1938. By 1948 Arkansas, Delaware, Oklahoma, and Kentucky admitted token numbers of African-American students and, in most cases, these students were enrolled at the graduate or professional level. In 1950, Louisiana, Missouri, and Texas admitted their first African-

American students; North Carolina integrated in 1951 as did Tennessee in 1952. In all of these cases, except for West Virginia, Arkansas, and Delaware, which integrated voluntarily, desegregation took place as a result of a court order or decision.\footnote{Kessing's Research Report, Race Relations in the United States, 1954-1968 (New York: Charles Scribner's, 1970), 80.}

Virginia followed the same course of action as much of the South in handling African Americans who applied to white institutions. For instance, Alice Jackson, a graduate of Virginia Union University and Smith College, applied for graduate admission at the University of Virginia in the spring of 1935. The school denied her admission on the grounds that education of whites and blacks was separate by law. She threatened to take the University of Virginia to court, but instead accepted financial assistance from the General Assembly of Virginia to attend an institution outside the state since no graduate courses existed at the African-American colleges within Virginia. The financial assistance she received was a result of the passage of the Stevens-Dovell Act in 1936. This law provided scholarship money for African Americans who wished to pursue an education not offered at a black college within the state. A year after the passage of this bill, the General Assembly
allocated money to Virginia State College, a black college, to develop graduate programs for potential students and to use the funds to enhance its already existing programs.23

A few small private colleges ended segregation in Virginia first. Union Theological Seminary, a Presbyterian institution in Richmond, probably was the first school to desegregate when it integrated in 1935. Eastern Mennonite College in Harrisonburg was another early private institution to integrate. In 1948 two African Americans took courses at the college and in the fall of 1949, Marjorie Thompson, became the first African American to live on campus.24 Also, Bridgewater College, affiliated with the Church of the Brethren, in 1954 allowed two African Americans to attend as day students. The other private four


year institutions in Virginia either integrated around the same time as Emory & Henry or soon thereafter.\textsuperscript{25}

The first public institution in Virginia to integrate was the University of Virginia in September 1950, when Gregory Swanson applied to take courses at its law school. Earlier he had been denied admission due to race and had refused to accept a scholarship from the Commonwealth to attend a school outside the state. He took the case to the federal court in Charlottesville, Virginia. There a three judge panel ruled that, since none of the African-American colleges had law school courses, the University of Virginia would have to admit him. After the court's decision, Colgate W. Darden, President of the University of Virginia, announced that Swanson would be admitted.\textsuperscript{26}

\textsuperscript{25}Picott, "Desegregation of Higher Education in Virginia," 330; "Desegregated--Segregated Status of Institutions of Higher Learning in Southern United States" United States Commission on Civil Rights, 15 November 1963, 29-30; President of Bridgewater College, Warren D. Bowman to President Hunt, 23 August 1957, Presidential Papers of President Earl Hunt, Emory & Henry College Papers, Emory, Virginia. This letter describes the integration process at Bridgewater College. In fact, President Hunt followed a similar pattern to how Bridgewater was integrated. Bridgewater College was founded in 1880.

Following the integration of the University of Virginia, the Medical College of Virginia and the Richmond Professional Institute (now combined as Virginia Commonwealth University) allowed African Americans to attend their institutions. Virginia Polytechnic Institute (Virginia Tech) admitted an African-American student in 1953, and the College of William and Mary also allowed graduate students to attend around this time. African-American students were admitted on the condition that their field of study was not provided by any of the state black colleges. In each case no major incident or demonstration occurred. The editor of the Virginia Tech school newspaper, James W. Alger, wrote in 1956 that "the arrival of the first Negro student went practically unnoticed."  

Registration of Swanson," Richmond Times-Dispatch, 8 September 1950, A6.


As higher education in Virginia began to integrate, the landmark 1954 Supreme Court decision of Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, was handed down. Following this decision the United States Civil Rights Commission, established by the 1957 Civil Rights Act, issued its first report in 1959 calling for the establishment of a service within the commission to assist officials in integrating their schools.29

After the Brown decision, Virginia attempted to resist the integration of public schools by initiating what became known as the massive resistance movement. The General Assembly in 1956 ordered the governor to close public schools rather than desegregate. By 1958 public schools in such communities as Norfolk, Charlottesville, Farmville, and Front Royal were closed. In January 1959, Governor J. Lindsay Almond, Jr., realizing that it was fruitless to continue to battle the federal courts on the subject of integration, called for an end to massive resistance. In late January 1959, speaking before the General Assembly, Governor Almond called for the end of massive resistance in the face of "overriding and superior power of the federal

The General Assembly subsequently repealed the various anti-integration laws.30

During the 1950's, while token integration was beginning to occur at a few public institutions, most all private colleges remained segregated. Since these schools were not under the control of the state and most did not offer graduate programs, they had complete latitude over who they could admit to their institution. The public white colleges and universities that African Americans attended had only token integration. For instance, in 1961 only fifty-four African Americans attended four predominantly white institutions in Virginia and these individuals were usually only accepted at the graduate or professional level. One private institution that started to consider integration at this time was Emory & Henry College.31


31"Desegregated--Segregated Status of Institutions," U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 29-30; "Next: A Crackdown on 'Segregated' Colleges," U.S. News & World Report, 30 January 1961, 53. Only token integration occurred at these public institutions. Private colleges such as Bridgewater and Eastern Mennonite were the only known exceptions in admitting African Americans as undergraduate students, who were not majoring in engineering.
CHAPTER 2
THE EMORY COMMUNITY AND THE SEEDS OF THE INTEGRATION PROCESS

Factors that contributed to the integration of Emory & Henry College were the isolation of the campus, the traditional beliefs of segregation that existed throughout the South, the role of economic stability at a small private college, and the small number of African Americans who lived in the surrounding area. Even though these factors inhibited the integration process, individual efforts by President Earl G. Hunt and others assisted in eventually allowing African Americans to attend. Also, small breakthroughs in integrating certain college-sponsored events promoted contact between blacks and whites.

Emory & Henry, from its founding, was an isolated campus community. Until Interstate Highway 81 connected with the college in early 1965, Emory & Henry had no direct road to any major city. For instance, Dr. Charles Syndor, a 1965 graduate, rode a passenger train from Richmond to the college because it would "only take five and half hours instead of nine hours if you drove."1 This isolation often

1Dr. Charles Sydnor, Phone interview by author, Richmond, Virginia, 5 June 1995.
made the outside world seem distant to a majority of the students at the college. Students from the early 1960's read the newspaper and occasionally watched events on television, however, their focus usually was on college issues.²

The relatively small African-American community in Washington County influenced the college's integration process. Several of the white students had little or no contact with blacks. For instance, one football player, after shaking hands with Charlie Foster, an African-American custodian at the college who was being honored at a football game for his long-time service to the college, commented to another player that it was the first time he had ever touched a black. Since several of the students came from rural areas, sometimes their first contact with African Americans was with the various men and women who worked at the college.³

²Student Questionnaires, refer to Appendix 1. Various alumni wrote about the isolation that existed at the college. Most students from this period recall the 1960 and 1964 presidential elections, as well as President John F. Kennedy's assassination, rather than various Civil Rights activities. Also, television was not a major source of news on the campus until later in the decade.

³Anonymous Questionnaire 1. It is also interesting to note that football coach, Castro Ramsey, required all his players to shake hands with Charlie Foster, to honor his long and dedicated service to the college and football team.
Small numbers of blacks lived in the locations surrounding Emory & Henry. The African-American population made up less than three percent of the total population in Washington County in 1960 and the nearby town of Bristol, Tennessee/Virginia was less than ten percent black. This distribution resulted in a smaller demand for the college to open its doors to African Americans, since there were only few eligible black students at any given time. Early integration often occurred at larger public colleges and universities located in more urban settings.4

Besides the obvious traditional forces of segregation in Washington County, economic factors also contributed to why blacks did not attend Emory & Henry. The vast majority of the African Americans from this region, as well as many of the whites, could not afford to send their children to a private institution such as Emory & Henry. Until after World War II, when the G.I. Bill and other forms of financing education became more available, many individuals

could not afford to attend a private institution. For instance, Marie Brown, an African American from this region, started to attend Morristown College, but she had limited money and the need to take care of her ill mother prevented her from continuing her education. Often aspiring African Americans from the communities surrounding the college were unable to further their education due to lack of financial resources.\(^5\)

Though a small African-American population existed in Washington County, a cluster of blacks lived about a mile and half from Emory & Henry in the small community of Blacksburg. This area got its name from an African American named, Black, who ran a blacksmith shop. Oral tradition reveals that Blacksburg was formed from some freed slaves of Colonel William Byers, who gave the land to them. Until Interstate 81 was built, the community was reached by a dirt road that went through the college and behind the Martin Brock Gymnasium.\(^6\)

\(^5\)Ibid.

This dirt road which connected the campus to Blacksburg was known as "pledge road" by the students because it was where a majority of fraternity pledging activities took place. It was named Itta Bena Road by an African-American teacher who taught at a one room schoolhouse in Blacksburg, after her home town, Itta Bena, Mississippi. Eventually the road became associated with the schoolhouse. The irony of this small college having a road run through its campus named by an African American was noted by former English professor and one time Dean, Dr. Daniel Leidig:

Here in this insulated white community . . . a black from Mississippi came . . . and did the most integration on the campus of Emory & Henry College that occurred in the first 100 years of its life.\(^7\)

Various African Americans worked at the college and left lasting impressions on the people they served faithfully. Since the college's founding, first as slaves and then as freed men and women, numerous African Americans from the region were employed in the cafeteria, as custodians, on the grounds crew, and in other manual labor jobs. Though they received very low salaries, many of them worked their whole

\(^7\)Dr. Daniel Leidig, interview by author, Tape recording, Smyth Chapel, Virginia, 25 February 1995. Itta Bena is the closest town to Mississippi Valley State College, where Dr. Leidig found out the full story when he assisted in the accreditation process at that college in 1968. The road was named at the turn of the century and it is still called Itta Bena Road.
lives at Emory & Henry. Quite a few of these individuals became identified with the college and were well respected by its faculty and students.\footnote{Charles Foster, interview by Darrell Lewis, 10 January 1973, Appalachian Oral History Project, 1977, 3-10; Ed Foster, interview by Darrell Lewis, 6 January 1973, Appalachian Oral History Project, 1977; James W. Hill, "Charlie Foster Retires as Custodian of Martin-Brock Gymnasium," Emory & Henry College Alumni News (March 1965): 12-13; Bishop Hunt, interview by author, Tape recording, Lake Junaluska, North Carolina, 20 March 1994; Robert Hill, interview by author; Student, Administration and Faculty Questionnaires. Many of these questionnaires describe the special relationships and friendships whites had with various African-American workers at the college.}

For instance, Charlie Foster, who worked for over fifty years at the college, was the custodian of the Martin Brock Gymnasium and performed various jobs for the football team. For his service to the college, he was honored at "Charlie Foster Day" in 1963 and further honored in 1965. Often Charlie and the students talked to one another and friendships developed. He believed that throughout his years at the college he "got along with everybody" and "everybody treated me nice."\footnote{Ibid. Quote from Charlie Foster, 10 January 1973.}

Charlie Foster also had two brothers, Ed and Jim, who worked for the college for over thirty years. Jim ran the power plant in the later years of his employment at the college. The Fosters were just a few of the individuals who
kept the college's plant operating. President Hunt believed that the presence of these African Americans, who had "impeccable integrity," "high intelligence," and "immense loyalty" to the college, helped lead members of the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees to "rethink their prejudice against race." Their hard work and dedicated efforts were a positive force in the integration process.

In Washington County nearly all aspects of life including schools, churches, stores, and neighborhoods were segregated. At some white people's houses, African Americans entered and left through the back door to deliver services and conduct other business.

Often the college community was more open to new ideas than the surrounding region and, even in some cases, the

10 Ibid. Several of the returned questionnaires by former students and faculty of college tell of special relationships they developed with various African Americans at the college. They especially wrote about the Foster family, Lee Coleman, Virginia Miller, and Curtis Montgomery.


12 Robert Hill, 9 April 1995; Mary Smith, interview by author, Tape recording, Glade Spring, Virginia, 8 April 1995; Anonymous Faculty Questionnaire 1. Smith, who was 89-years old at the time of the interview, discussed how her family had slaves. She remembered these individuals working for her family when she was a child. More importantly, she discussed how she was taught to treat people equally, regardless of their race.
intermingling of the races. For instance in 1941 a group of students heard an African American, a Dr. Faulkner, who was chaplain of Fisk University, speak at a YMCA summer collegiate youth conference. These students invited him to come speak at Emory & Henry. After their initial excitement they realized that they needed to find a place for him to stay and eat his meals. The closest place an African American could spend the night was in the town of Bristol. To assist in the situation, Dr. Merrimon Cuninggim, a religion professor, and his wife decided to have Dr. Faulkner stay in their home. Furthermore, Dr. Cuninggim and his wife individually visited various members of the community around the college to prevent any local displeasure or outcry from having a black man stay at a white person's home. Before Dr. Faulkner arrived, a few students were discussing the subject of segregation in one of Dr. Cuninggim's religion classes. After the discussion a few of the students worked to get the student population's acceptance to have Dr. Faulkner stay in the dormitory and eat with them in the cafeteria. Dr. Faulkner's stayed in dormitory and at his meals in the cafeteria at the college and his visit went well. No visible protest occurred as result of his presence on campus.13

13Dr. Merrimon Cuninggim, phone interview by author, 25 July 1995; unpublished manuscript on the incident by
This event exemplifies how some students and faculty members of this college questioned segregation. A 1948 graduate noted how Professor Haskel M. Miller "helped me to see that segregation was wrong." While various professors and students favored integration, "some . . . were of the old school, who saw Civil Rights activities as not a gain, but a loss." These professors did not express their beliefs in the classroom, but it was apparent they were not in favor of integration.

The more conservative beliefs of some of the old Southern-bred professors was apparent in a conversation an older professor of the college had with Robert Hill, an African-American worker. This professor proclaimed that he hoped he never saw the day a college-sponsored integrated event would occur at Emory & Henry. Ironically this individual passed away a day before the first integrated youth Methodist conference in the middle 1950s.

---

Merrimon Cuninggim. Unfortunately Dr. Faulkner's first name is not known. Also, the oral interview of Robert M. Lampkin, by George Stevenson, 12 January 1973, Appalachian Oral History Project, 1977, the interviewee discussed how George Washington Carver, the noted black agricultural chemist, spoke to a science class at the college in the 1930's or early 1940's.

14Anonymous student questionnaire 2.
The more liberal perspective of some professors resulted in the integration of a mid-1950s faculty and staff softball team. This team, which had a few African-American workers, competed in the intramural program at the college.17

The first transcription about the subject of integrating the student body at Emory & Henry was recorded during the February 21, 1956 Board of Trustees meeting. The Co-ordinating Committee recommended that the board "continue to study the possibility of the admission of Negro students." Furthermore, it suggested that maybe "a special committee be appointed to study . . . and report its recommendations to the board."19

17Dr. Edgar Bingham, interview by author, Tape recording, Emory, Virginia, 4 April 1995. This occurred in either 1954 or 1955.

18Board of Trustee Minutes at Emory & Henry College, 21 February 1956, 7, Section 1 from the Report of the Co-ordinating Committee. Earlier records of the Board of Trustees minutes show no record of the discussion of integration, but from this statement it is evident that this topic had previously been discussed at Board and/or Executive Committee meetings. The Co-ordinating Committee was made up of individuals from the Board of Trustees. Often this committee would have some of the more prominent members of the Board and included the Presidents of the colleges, President of Board, Dr. F.B. Shelton, and William Neff. These individuals will be discussed further in Chapter 3.

19Ibid.
This discussion about allowing blacks to attend Emory & Henry was initiated by some students and professors who wanted the college integrated. During the latter years of Dr. Foye Gibson's presidency (1941-1956), a few students submitted a petition calling for the integration of the college to either the Executive Committee or the Board of Trustees. These individuals probably were affiliated with the Christian Student Movement on campus. A later analysis made on the subject of possible integration stated that the whole idea of racial integration was started by this petition.20

Also, at this same time a couple of students and professors approached one of the African-American cooks in the college's cafeteria about having his daughter apply to the college. The cook's daughter graduated from Morristown College, a two-year, African-American college, and met the academic admission requirements. She and her family, though supportive of integration, were apprehensive about her

20"An Analysis of A Brief Survey on Integration at Emory and Henry College," Presidential Papers of Earl Hunt, Emory & Henry College Papers, Emory, Virginia, 1957, 2; Bishop Earl Hunt, phone interview by author, 7 July 1995; Dr. Sherry Gash, phone interview by author, 7 July 1995; Dr. Charles Lippse, phone interview by author, 9 August 1995. This petition was not located, but Bishop Hunt was aware of its existence. Dr. Charles Lippse, class of 1956, does not remember a petition, but does recall various students and faculty members, including himself, pursuing ways the school could be integrated.
possible application. They probably feared that backlash from the college could result in her father losing his job. In the end the young woman did not apply for admission.21

While these events were taking place, the Reverend Earl G. Hunt, Jr. succeeded Dr. Gibson as the President on July 1, 1956, at the age of only thirty-seven. He was serving as a pastor at Morristown Methodist Church and had been a member of the board since 1952. He graduated from East Tennessee State College in 1941 with a bachelor of science degree, and received a bachelor of divinity from the Chandler School of Theology at Emory University in 1946.22

During his tenure, which lasted until 1964, President Hunt continued the work Dr. Gibson had started. This included the improvement of the college academically as well as its physical structure. These efforts resulted in increased funds which provided classroom and dormitory space to assist in the rising enrollment. In addition, the Van Dyke Student Union was built. Furthermore, he was instrumental in bringing several prominent individuals to

21Dr. Charles Lippse, 9 August 1995, recalls how he, Professor David Graybell, and a couple other students went to this person's house and had a long discussion with the woman and her family on having her apply. Dr. Lippse did not reveal the names of the individuals they visited.

the faculty, increasing faculty salaries, exposing the college to well-known speakers on various topics, creating a faculty sabbatical program, establishing lectureships, and cleaning up the alcohol consumption problems on the campus. During his eight year tenure the student body grew from 550 to 785.23

This increase in enrollment resulted from the continued postwar prosperity which made colleges more accessible to the average American. The G.I. Bill and other programs widened opportunities for people from all walks of life to receive an education. It created a larger demand for institutions of higher learning to enlarge and one-third of all college students in Virginia attended private institutions. The expansion of Emory & Henry and other colleges in the state was a direct result of more students seeking the option of higher education after graduating from high school. During this period, Emory & Henry became better known and gained in prestige as a result of the efforts of President Hunt and his staff. This was evident

---

in the increased financial support the college received, development of lectureships, and various other accomplishments during the presidency of Earl Hunt.24

Soon after President Hunt arrived at Emory & Henry College, he held informal discussions with Dr. Victor Armbrister, Dean of the College, then pastor of the Emory Methodist Church, William (W.C.) Mason, and various other church and school officials on the feasibility of integrating the college. President Hunt's desire to integrate the college was influenced by his religious beliefs. He believed that all people were equal in God's eyes and supported various Methodist church pronouncements denouncing segregation.25

24A.E. Howard, *State Aid to Private Higher Education* (Charlottesville, Virginia: The Miehe Company, 1977), 895; McNeer, James B., "Political Factors Affecting the Establishment of and Growth of Richard Bland College of the College of William and Mary in Virginia 1958-1972" (Ph.D. Diss., College of William and Mary, 1981), 2-5; Samuel H. Magill, *The Contribution of Church-Related Colleges to the Public Good* (Washington, D.C.: Association of American Colleges, 1970), 54-55; Henry Dawson, interview by author, Emory, Virginia, 5 April 1995; Hunt, 20 March 1995; various Faculty Questionnaires; Stevenson, *Increase in Excellence*, 146-147. Also, during this period several colleges/universities in Virginia were single sex and several current four year colleges were only two years at that time.

25Ibid.
President Hunt, who believed Emory & Henry should provide a college education with distinctive Christian principles, felt integration would play an important role:

integrating the college was part of my goal to make it a Christian college. I believe that Christianity doesn't have any meaning at all if it does not rise above race and culture and nationality and sex. I just didn't feel we were a Christian college until we were willing to accept qualified students regardless of race, culture, or creed.26

The Methodist Church and the regional configuration of the Holston Conference played a role in the integration of the college. While the Holston Conference provided funds for Emory & Henry, and several prominent members of the Conference were on the Board of Trustees, it and the national church sent mixed messages about the subject of integration.27 For instance, though the Methodist Church had the largest black membership of any predominantly-white, Protestant church, it segregated its African-American membership into separate black conferences and churches.28

26Hunt, 20 March 1995.

27Robert E. Hilton to Earl Hunt, 17 August 1959, Presidential Papers of Earl Hunt, Emory & Henry College Papers, Emory, Virginia; Various other correspondence located in Presidential Papers of Earl Hunt, Emory & Henry College Papers, Emory, Virginia, 1956-1962; Bishop Hunt, 23 March 1995. Correspondence between President Hunt and various other individuals confirm that the church sent mixed messages on the subject of integration.

28Robert L. Hilten, Pillar of Fire: The Drama of Holston United Methodism, In a Changing World (Johnson City, Tennessee: Commission on Archives and History, Holston
The Methodist Episcopal Church had a history of promoting the education of African Americans and participating in the advancement of blacks in society. For instance, the Freedmen's Aid Society was founded at Trinity Methodist Church in Cincinnati, Ohio in 1866 to assist in the education of African Americans and the establishment of black colleges. Also, in 1908, the Methodist Episcopal Church created Race Relations Sunday to cultivate better racial relations. This Sunday's offering was used to help various church-sponsored efforts to assist African Americans throughout the United States.29

As early as 1948, nationally the Methodist Church had addressed the subject of segregation, when Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, in his Episcopal Address, "condemned segregation, Conference of The United Methodist Church, 1994), 17-19, 44; A. Dudley Ward, The Social Creed of the Methodist Church: A Living Document, Revised Edition (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1965), 109-110. Ward also notes that the Methodist Church was the second largest Protestant church in the United States and had "twelve times" as many African Americans in its membership compared to other white Protestant churches in the United States.

29 Myron F. Wicke, The Methodist Church & Higher Education, 1939-1964 (Nashville: Board of Education, The Methodist Church, 1965), 36-42. It is important to remember that the Methodist Episcopal Church was the Methodist church which was primarily situated in the North. It, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and the Methodist Protestant Church merged and became the Methodist Church in 1939.
lynching and denying an individual of civil liberties."\(^{30}\)

The General Conference in 1952 adopted the official position on the subject of integration:

Ours is a world church. . . . As Christians we confess ourselves to be children of God. . . . This being true, there is no place in the Methodist church for racial discrimination or racial segregation.\(^{31}\)

This doctrine was further emphasized by the Methodist Church over the next ten years. For instance, in 1956 the General Conference adopted the resolution that "discrimination or segregation by any method or practice, whether by conference structure or otherwise . . . be abolished with reasonable speed."\(^{32}\) While the national church called for the end of discrimination, there was resistance in some Southern conferences. For instance, in Alabama the "Methodist Layman's Union" actively worked


\(^{32}\)Wagaman, Methodism's Challenge in Race Relations, 5.
against integrating the Methodist church and threatened to secede from the national organization.\textsuperscript{33}

Though the Holston Conference assisted in the education and civil rights of African Americans, this governing body played a very passive role in promoting the integration of its churches and colleges. Though the Holston Conference was not responsible for the black colleges that were in its region, it debated how it could assist Morristown College's financial shortcomings in the late 1950's and 1960's. Desegregating various church affiliated organizations did not become a priority issue for them until the middle 1960s. Individual laymen and members of the church often supported integration, but various church officials wanted to wait to see how integration occurred at other institutions before it was enacted. Of course, there were some individuals who believed in segregation.\textsuperscript{34}

\textsuperscript{33}Ibid., 9.

\textsuperscript{34}R. Kyle Thomalinson(ed.), \textit{Journal of the Holston Conference of the Methodist Church} 140 (1963): 73-100; Hilten, \textit{Pillar of Fire}, 43, 176-182; Edgar Bingham, Faculty Questionnaire; Anonymous Faculty Questionnaire 2; and Anonymous Student Questionnaire 3 and 4. The passive role the Holston Conference took is evident in the annual Holston Conference Journals from 1958-1963, which did not discuss the integration of the Holston Conference nor merging the East Tennessee (black) Conference with the Holston Conference. This merger did not begin until the middle 1960s and was completely enacted in 1968. Also, the Holston Conference did not assist Morristown College, since it fell under the jurisdiction of the black conference.
The passive activity of the church regarding desegregation was partly a result of the unification of the Methodist Church. While the Methodist Episcopal Church, South was the predominant Methodist church in Virginia, the Methodist Episcopal Church was primarily located in Eastern Tennessee. These two churches merged with the Methodist Protestant Church in 1939, but the stumbling block for the unification for several years was the status of African-American membership. This was evident in the Holston Conference where the church was conservative in nature in Virginia, while eastern Tennessee was more liberal on social issues. The Holston Conference was more tolerant in Tennessee, in part, because the church was situated in an urban environment, while in Virginia it was rural-based.35

At the October 30-31, 1956 Board of Trustees meeting, the first that Earl Hunt attended as President of Emory & Henry College, the subject of integration was on the agenda again. The Co-ordinating Committee recommended that a thorough study of integration be conducted by the three colleges in the conference. The Board of Trustees instructed each college's Executive Committee to investigate

the feasibility of integration and report their findings to the Co-ordinating Committee. These results were then to be used by the board to assist in making a decision on this issue at their meeting in the fall of 1957.36

From the time of this board meeting, President Hunt diligently began to study the feasibility of integrating Emory & Henry College. As he had done previously, Hunt sought the advice from several different individuals to determine the college's best course of action. He contacted various alumni, contributors, and members of the local community to discuss with them their concerns regarding the possible integration of the college. President Hunt also wrote several different colleges and universities that had already integrated to see how these schools desegregated and the effects this had on their institutions. In the summer of 1957, President Hunt distributed a carefully-worded questionnaire to the faculty and certain staff members of the college to determine their views on the subject. This questionnaire was most likely sent out during the summer to prevent any controversy during the school year in regard to

36Minutes of the Meeting of the Board of Trustees of Emory & Henry College, 30-31 October 1956, 5-6.
integration since President Hunt "planned every move with the utmost care."\textsuperscript{37}

The information that was gathered by President Hunt was reviewed by the Executive Committee of the college and a written presentation was issued to the Board of Trustees. It looked at how the community, alumni, faculty, and student body viewed the subject of integration. The paper further documented how various other colleges in Virginia and Tennessee had opened their doors to African Americans. From the information gathered, President Hunt and the Executive Committee concluded that integrating would likely result in a financial crisis.\textsuperscript{38}

Except for those individuals who were associated with the college, President Hunt found that people in southwest Virginia opposed integration. Their feelings ranged from "mildness" to "belligerency."\textsuperscript{39} Furthermore, he was unable to find a single person, not directly associated with the

\textsuperscript{37} "An Analysis of a Brief Survey on Integration of Emory & Henry," Presidential Papers of Earl Hunt, Emory & Henry College Papers, Emory, Virginia, 1957; Dr. Edgar Bingham, Faculty Questionnaire; quote taken from Anonymous Faculty Questionnaire 2.

\textsuperscript{38} "An Analysis of a Brief Survey on Integration," Emory & Henry College Papers. The Executive Committee was generally made up some members from the Board of Trustees and the President of the college.

\textsuperscript{39} Ibid.
college, who favored integration. Also, he noted that these individuals in the region had been distressed in the past when integrated activities occurred on the campus.\footnote{Ibid.}

As far as the alumni and students were concerned, President Hunt believed their reaction would be divided and polling both of them would create more problems for the college. He noted that a prominent alumnus regularly told the college how he opposed integration and another opponent made a long distance trip to emphasize his views. He further wrote that there would be people

who certainly . . . are sensitive to the Christian implications of the problem and would favor integration. There are also certain to be those who would violently oppose it, and who would withdraw financial and moral support because of it.\footnote{Ibid.}

One alumnus wrote to the college in August of 1957 that if integration would occur it "would be the most dastardly thing that could possibly happen,"\footnote{Letter addressed to President Hunt, 5 August 1957, writer's name withheld at the college's request, Presidential papers of Earl Hunt, Emory & Henry College Papers, Emory, Virginia.} This writer further informed the college that he could not donate any money to the college until he felt "assured that integration will not occur there . . . ."\footnote{Ibid.}
Faculty response to President Hunt's questionnaire generally favored integration. These answers were written out in letter form and often the writers included their personal beliefs and convictions regarding integration. Of the thirty-four replies received from the college faculty and administration, eighteen supported integrating the college, ten agreed to abide by a Board of Trustees action, and six disapproved. Of the six who did not agree, one individual declared he would sever ties, one indicated he would wait and see, one would abide by the decision of the board, and three were non-committal. Of those who supported the integration of the college many suggested to delay or make proper preparations for integration and six recommended that only black day students be admitted initially.44

The responses by the faculty to President Hunt's questionnaire show their strong beliefs about the subject. For instance, one professor stated,

Negroes are no different from any people on earth and mean as much to God. I judge them by their achievements

44"Analysis of a Brief Survey on Integration," Emory & Henry College Papers; Letters written by the faculty and members of the administration to President Hunt, Summer 1957, Presidential Papers of Earl Hunt, Emory & Henry College Papers, Emory, Virginia. Names withheld at the college's request. It was interesting that the "analysis" took a much more negative approach than the overall faculty and administration's letters to President Hunt. This topic will be further discussed in the text.
and character and would gladly welcome qualified student and faculty to our community.\textsuperscript{45}

Another wrote,

I have no objection . . . to the idea of integration. . . . As a teacher brought up in nonsegregated communities and schools, I am used to seeing and teaching negroes in my classrooms.\textsuperscript{46}

On the flip side of the subject, one professor viewed "the prospect of [integration] with distaste."\textsuperscript{47} Another opposed allowing blacks to attend Emory & Henry because "it may result in social integration" and another informed President Hunt that she was opposed to it because it could lead to "intermarriage."\textsuperscript{48}

Several of the respondents also noted that the school should be cautious about the situation and plan it out accordingly. This, they believed, should include allowing local day students first, to prevent possible negative reaction. A few of the faculty had previously taught in northern colleges/universities and described in their correspondence how no disturbances resulted from teaching an integrated class. These professors generally wrote that the

\textsuperscript{45}Letters written by the faculty and members of the administration to President Hunt, Summer 1957, Presidential Papers of Earl Hunt, Emory & Henry College Papers. Names withheld at the college's request.

\textsuperscript{46}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{47}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{48}Ibid.
black students they taught were no different than any other, and like all people attending college, some were more studious than others. 49 Partly due to Emory & Henry's possible integration, one faculty member who had strong segregationist beliefs left the college. Ironically the school he went to was a state college in the deep South that integrated before Emory & Henry. 50

A major concern of President Hunt and the college was how various contributors to the college would react if it opened its doors to African Americans. Therefore, he contacted Lea Booth, the head of the Virginia Foundation for Independent Colleges. This organization raised over $19,000 for the college from various corporate donors. Booth responded to President Hunt by noting that the organization had no policy against raising money for a college that was integrated. However, when Bridgewater opened its doors to blacks, one of the foundation's major benefactors directed that it should no longer receive any money. 51

49Ibid. This is taken from the responses written from a few faculty members who taught in the North or had attended integrated institutions. These professors in their correspondence noted they taught in the North and were comfortable with the integration of the classroom.

50Dr. Edgar Bingham, Faculty Questionnaire.

51"An Analysis of a Brief Survey on Integration," Emory & Henry College Papers; Lea Booth of the Virginia Foundation for Independent colleges, to President Hunt, 29 August 1957, Presidential Papers of Earl Hunt, Emory & Henry College
Lea Booth went on to note that many contributors have "strongly hinted" that if other institutions in the organization integrated they would stop supporting the foundation. He further illustrated this by describing how when a member school had a NAACP speaker in a philosophy class, some donors pulled out funding for that college. In fact, the college lost over $40,000 from its development fund. Booth concluded that

the prevailing majority opinion in our state . . . that alteration of present policies regarding integration would have a damaging, and possibly far-reaching, effect on the Virginia Foundation's fund-raising activities.52

President Hunt felt it would be hard to determine how various donors from the church would react to the school's integration. He concluded the college probably would lose more money in the event Emory & Henry integrated than if it remained segregated. He further noted, within a week of the death of a prominent church official in the Holston Conference, the college received three letters from members of this conference cancelling pledges to the Holston Conference Colleges' Development Program. These individuals

---

Papers, Emory, Virginia. The members of this organization included Bridgewater College, Emory & Henry College, Hampden-Sydney College, Hollins College, Lynchburg College, Mary Baldwin College, Randolph-Macon College, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Roanoke College, Sweet Briar College, University of Richmond, and Washington and Lee University.

52 Ibid.
stated they were no longer going to donate money and cited the fear of the college integrating as a reason to cancel their pledges.53

President Hunt also received correspondence from various college presidents describing their colleges' integration process. These included Bridgewater College, East Tennessee State College, Maryville College, Tusculum College, Union Theological Seminary, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, and the University of Virginia. Each school had its own unique integration experience. None of these institutions had any publicly-staged incidents, though in some cases the communities was displeased. A few of the colleges experienced small financial losses as a result of their action. Bridgewater, however, lost almost $5,000 from integrating. Overall the colleges and the community adapted to the change without much fanfare once blacks began to attend.54

53"An Analysis on a Brief Survey on Integration," Emory & Henry College Papers. It can be assumed that the death of a prominent individual in the church, probably caused fears that younger leadership may push for the integration of the college. Also, the views of this person regarding integration are not known.

54"An Analysis on a Brief Survey on Integration," Emory & Henry College Papers; Warren D. Bowman to Earl Hunt, 23 August 1957, Presidential Papers of Earl Hunt, Emory & Henry College Papers, Emory, Virginia; Letters from respected Presidents of contacted colleges to Earl Hunt, August 1957, Presidential Papers of Earl Hunt, Emory & Henry College Papers, Emory, Virginia.
From compiled information, President Hunt and the Executive Committee concluded the school could not integrate in 1957. They assessed up to $100,000 could be lost annually by alienating contributors and feared an exodus of students from the college. This estimate did not include the loss of money from alumni or from Methodist-affiliated donors. It was feared the college could lose from 50 to 100 students. Since the majority of the students came from Virginia, they thought such a high student loss could occur due to the massive resistance movement in Virginia. President Hunt and the Executive Committee viewed integration as a possible "financial catastrophe," but he noted,

several in this group have experienced a 'wrestling of soul' because of their personal convictions, and that they have yielded to the sobering logic of a critical state situation in which our institution finds itself at this particular time.55

The conclusions reached by President Hunt and the Executive Committee suggest the role that economics played in making moral decisions. Losses of 50 to 100 students out of 675 in 1956 would have directly affected the operating

55Ibid; "Student and Faculty Opinion Poll," Presidential Papers of Earl Hunt, Emory & Henry College Papers, Emory, Virginia, undated but found in documents from 1963. It noted that 51 (out of 600) students believed their parents would require them to transfer out of Emory & Henry if the school integrated.
budget of the college. For instance, in 1956 a little less than half of the college's operating budget was attained from tuition and other fees. If 100 students left the college, close to $90,000 of fees would have been lost. If another $10,000 were lost in corporate donations, the school would lose close to one-fifth of its revenue.56

The possible economic effects of the loss of students and other contributions would have monetarily devastated the college, which had become economically stable only ten years before. Some of the conclusions concerning the financial failure of the college may have been exaggerated, but this study was conducted while massive resistance was taking place in Virginia.

While Emory & Henry researched the possibility of integration, the other colleges governed by the Board of Trustees, Tennessee Wesleyan and Hiwassee, did the same. Tennessee Wesleyan College requested that the board approve integration of its institution as soon as possible. Also,

56"An Analysis of a Brief Survey on Integration," Emory & Henry College Papers; Emory & Henry College: Institutional Self-Study Report, 1962-1964, 122, 216. These figures were taken from the 1956 budget. In 1956 41.2% of money collected by the college was gained from student fees. Total expenses for 1956 was $494,832.80 and total income earned was $527,978.19, so if $100,000 of revenue was not received, 19% of the school's income would have been lost. Also, these figures only partially estimate the probable money lost from other sources of income; thus, operating losses could have been greater if the college integrated.
Tennessee Wesleyan believed before admitting black students racial tolerance should be cultivated "in the faculty, student body, townspeople, and possibly even in the Board of Trustees."\(^{57}\) This institution further wanted to study the admission policy that would be incorporated for blacks and determine how full time students could live on campus.\(^{58}\) Hiwassee College shared similar sentiments with Tennessee Wesleyan and was ready for some form of integration.\(^{59}\)

Each college submitted its report to the Board of Trustees and at its October 29-30, 1957 meeting, the Coordinating Committee concluded that integration was "unwise from a practical standpoint."\(^{60}\) The Coordinating Committee further ruled that since none of the colleges' charters had a provision prohibiting admission of a student due to race, it gave "the Executive Committee of each

---

\(^{57}\)"Report to the Special Committee of the Executive Committee of Tennessee Wesleyan College to Study the Problem of Racial Integration in the College," Emory & Henry College Papers, Emory, Virginia, 1-5.

\(^{58}\)Ibid.

\(^{59}\)Dr. Carroll H. Long to Earl Hunt, 15 October 1957, Presidential Papers of Earl Hunt, Emory & Henry College Papers, Emory, Virginia. This letter discussed Hiwassee College's research about integration. Unfortunately, no documents regarding the integration of Hiwassee College were located.

\(^{60}\)Minutes of Board of Trustees of Emory & Henry College, 29-30 October, 1957, 2.
College . . . the authority to determine and execute a proper policy for that school on that matter . . . ."\(^{61}\)

Though integration did not occur at Emory & Henry College in 1957, the seeds were planted. President Hunt was already carefully beginning to construct a policy which would allow the school to desegregate. This included the development of racial tolerance among the local community around Emory & Henry and all individuals associated with the college.

\(^{61}\)Ibid., 10-11. The Board further requested that each college's Executive Committee decision regarding integration be deferred to the next meeting of the Board of Trustees. No further mention of integration is listed in the Board minutes until 1962.
To prepare Emory & Henry College for integration, President Hunt started to cultivate a general acceptance of the concept of integration in the college and community. He had to be very assiduous in discussing integration with the Board of Trustees and members of the Executive Committee. Many of its older members had lived their whole life in a segregated society and were unenthusiastic over integrating the college. In fact, President Hunt's job was threatened by a few board members if he integrated the college. President Hunt recalled, "They were dear friends, but they had a different view on life. They couldn't understand my position."¹

One of the most prominent members of the Board of Trustees and the Executive Committee, William Newton Neff, was a 1906 graduate of Emory & Henry and a successful

---

¹Bishop Earl Hunt, interview by author, Tape recording, Lake Junaluska, North Carolina, 23 March 1995. Bishop Hunt would not state who supported him and opposed him on the subject, but did state that some of his "best friends" on the Board of Trustees threatened the loss of his job if the college integrated.
businessman in the region. He was President of the Pulaski Vance Company, a regional hardware store, President of the Washington County National Bank, and was involved in various other businesses. He also served in the Virginia House of Delegates from 1932 to 1944, as well as the Virginia Senate from 1944 to 1948, and was involved with various other educational and civic activities. He served on the Board of Trustees and Executive Committee of Emory & Henry for over fifty-two years and was the chairman of the Executive Committee when integration of the college was approved by this committee. Though Neff's beliefs on segregation are not known, he played an influential role in bringing full integration to the college. Often the position he took influenced the outcome of issues during various Board of Trustees and Executive Committee meetings.\(^2\) Another prominent individual during this era, Dr. Charles C. Sherrod, served as Chairman of the board during the discussions of integration in 1956 and 1957 and had

\(^2\)"In Honor of the Late Bill Neff, Anonymous $100,000 Gift Received by Emory & Henry," *Washington County News*, 10 September 1981, 1; Richard Lee Morton, ed., *Virginia Lives: The Old Dominion Who's Who* (Hopkinsville, Kentucky: Historical Record Association, 1964); Minutes of the Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees, Emory & Henry College Papers, 30 October 1962; Bishop Hunt, 23 March 1995; Dr. Daniel Leidig, interview by Author, Smyth Chapel, Virginia, 25 February 1995. Both Dr. Leidig and Bishop Hunt did not state Neff's opinion on integration, but noted his influential role on the board.
previously served as President of East Tennessee State University. Other members of the Board of Trustees and the Executive Committee were prominent Methodists from the region or members of the Methodist clergy.\(^3\)

Since several members of the board were not supportive of integrating the college, President Hunt realized that he needed to keep quiet and work internally to desegregate it. He approached each board member individually and explained to them that an institution expressing Christian principles needed to be integrated. Also, he periodically conducted informal discussions after various board and committee meetings to try to win over members. Some of these deliberations became heated and often went on for hours.\(^4\)

Another way President Hunt indirectly worked to bring about integration and create racial tolerance in the region was to incorporate these ideas in his speeches and sermons at various churches and educational gatherings. President Hunt found it easier to express his views in a public address than to discuss the subject of integration in Board

\(^3\)Bishop Hunt, 23 March 1995. Dr. Carroll Long to President Hunt, 15 October 1957, Presidential Papers of Earl Hunt, Emory & Henry College Papers, Emory, Virginia. This letter stated that Dr. Sherrod was sympathetic to having the Executive Committees of each respective college determine the fate of integration at each institution. Dr. Sherrod’s view on integration was not given.

\(^4\)Ibid.
of Trustees or Executive Committee meeting. Often these discourses had board members in attendance and, as a result of these public speaking engagements, he reached a wider audience.\textsuperscript{5}

Besides speaking engagements, President Hunt had the college sponsor events that were integrated or had a Civil Rights theme. For instance, in 1956 and thereafter various integrated YMCA Conferences, Holston Youth Assemblies, and Holston Pastor's Schools were sponsored by the college or held on campus.\textsuperscript{6} Also, President Hunt allocated close to $18,000 to Chaplain W.C. Mason and others to assist in inviting prominent speakers to come to the campus. Often these speakers were individuals who mentioned or emphasized the subject of Civil Rights. For instance, a Dr. Norr, from an African-American church, came to speak to the college. President Hunt was attempting "to change the thinking of some of the students."\textsuperscript{7} These events, a former professor of the college felt,

\textsuperscript{5}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{6}Bishop Hunt, 22 March 1995; General papers and documents, Emory & Henry College Papers, Emory, Virginia, ciru. 1955-1963. These school documents discuss integrated conferences and events at the college.

\textsuperscript{7}Bishop Hunt, 22 March 1995. President Hunt could not remember Dr. Norr's first name and documentation of the event could not be located in the college's records.
were carefully scheduled over several years in a carefully planned effort to prepare the campus mind... to initially accept desegregation, and... avoid undue discontent with the status quo after the fact.\footnote{Anonymous Faculty Questionnaire 2.}

In addition to having integrated events and black speakers, Emory & Henry began to diversify the community culturally. For instance, the college hired a professor with an Asian background, Dr. Te Hsiu Ma to teach Biology, in 1959. Also, foreign exchange students from Asia and South America were accepted to the college. These events brought further diversity to the college and indirectly taught racial tolerance and respect for different cultures.\footnote{President Earl Hunt to Reverend Roger Hilton, 16 July 1959, Presidential Papers of Earl Hunt, Emory & Henry College Papers, Emory, Virginia; Sphinx (Emory & Henry College's annual), 1957-1960. The annual showed pictures of the various students from Asia and South America.}

One individual who assisted President Hunt in his quest for integration was William (W.C.) Mason. He was remembered for his "unflappable optimism and cheerfulness" and being a "notable workaholic and a warm counselor." He graduated from Emory & Henry in 1946 and came back as pastor of the Emory Methodist Church from 1956-1961, became chaplain of the college 1961-1967, and taught religion courses.\footnote{"Campus Mourns Death of W.C. Mason," Emory & Henry: The Alumnus Magazine (Winter 1990), 4-5. Chaplain Mason received his doctorate in 1973. While at the college he also served as Dean of Students from 1967 to 1979. He died in 1990.}
Chaplain Mason supplied moral support to the President. Furthermore, Mason talked to certain faculty members and students to assist them in understanding the importance of integrating the college.\footnote{11}

President Hunt also corresponded with several individuals on how best to integrate the college. He responded to their questions about the status of integration, and they often offered him support in his efforts. Some of these people included Bishop Ellis Finger, Jr., then President of Millsaps College and Chairman of the Southern Association of College; Dr. F. Heissee Johnson, Director of Christian Higher Education and Development in the Holston Conference; Dr. Warren Bowman, President of Bridgewater College; Dr. Charles Sherrod, mentor and member of the Board of Trustees; and the Reverend Roger E. Hilton of the Broad Street Methodist Church in Kingsport, Tennessee.\footnote{12}

While integration was a central topic for the college's administration, most students from this period were more concerned with their course work and their extra curricular

\footnote{11}{Bishop Hunt, 23 March 1995; Freddie Mason, phone interview, 7 April 1995.}

\footnote{12}{Various correspondence from 1957-1962, Presidential Papers of Earl Hunt, Emory & Henry College Papers, Emory, Virginia; Bishop Hunt, 23 March 1995. These letters were written to several of the people named in the text.}
activities. A majority of alumni did not remember integration as a major topic on campus. Conversations that were held among students on the subject did mention that there were individual fears of interracial dating, marriage, parent's perception on the subject, and sharing a room with a black student. The majority of conversations were held informally between students and faculty. A few more formal discussions on this subject were held "within the context of scheduled classes led by concerned members of the faculty."\textsuperscript{13}

An opinion poll taken by Emory & Henry around this time showed the student body opposed integration, 382 to 306. The freshmen and sophomore classes were overwhelmingly against allowing blacks to attend Emory & Henry, while a small majority of the junior and senior classes believed their school should integrate. The poll further asked whether the college should only allow African-American day students. A total of 403 were against partially integrating

\textsuperscript{13}Faculty & Student Questionnaires; quote from Dr. Edgar Bingham, Faculty Questionnaire; "Student and Faculty Opinion Poll," Presidential Papers of Earl Hunt, Emory & Henry College Papers, Emory, Virginia, undated but found with documents from 1963. This undated poll by the college showed that 242 students were willing to share a room with an African-American student, while 430 were not. The poll does not state who conducted it, but a couple professors remembered a survey was given to the faculty and students by the administration of the college.
the college and 202 favored it. Finally, when the question was asked, "Would your parents require you to transfer from Emory and Henry if the college were integrated?" 51 students responded yes, while 549 answered no.14 These results also confirmed the college administration's concerns that students would leave the college if it integrated.

James McNeer, a 1961 graduate and student body president his senior year, remembered the subject of integration was discussed in Dr. Loren Dow's sociology and religion classes. He recalled that it was discussed "more about as a national issue that appeared to have marginal impact at the local level."15 Dr. Dow also recollected these discussions of integration in his classroom. Since he had taught in northern colleges that were integrated, sometimes the students asked about desegregated classrooms, how the white

---

14"Student and Faculty Opinion Poll," Emory & Henry College Papers. No year is given on the poll, but it gives a good representation of the views of the students during the middle 1950s through early 1960s. The school newspaper, The Whitetopper, makes no mention of the subject and numerous issues of the publication were lost. The vote for the junior class was 68 in favor of integration and 67 against and senior class vote was 70 in favor 69 against. The difference in this total between answers resulted from students not responding to all the questions.

15Dr. James McNeer, interview by author, Tape recording, 28 March 1995.
and black students interacted with one another, and did interracial dating ever occur among the students.\textsuperscript{16}

Stan McCready, the 1959-1960 student body president, recollected receiving various mailings from organizations involved with the Civil Rights Movement. He received one letter from Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., which he forwarded to President Hunt. He believed the subject of integration was not "a burning campus issue" and in general, "probably the parents were the least pro-integration, the professors the most and the students in between."\textsuperscript{17}

Besides President Hunt and Chaplain Mason, other members of the college administration offered solutions on how to integrate the college. For instance, during the late 1950s or early 1960s, Dr. Edgar Bingham, the Dean of Admissions, gave the Board of Trustees a presentation on the admissions policy of the school. At that time he suggested that the school fully integrate by admitting and offering scholarships to qualified black students from developing nations in Africa. In the discussion that followed Dr. Bingham's presentation, former president of the college Foye Gibson saw nothing wrong with allowing students from Africa

\textsuperscript{16}Dr. Loren Dow, interview by author, Tape recording, 8 April 1995.

\textsuperscript{17}Stan McCready, Student Questionnaire.
to attend the college, but the first priority should be to admit students from the local black community.\(^{18}\)

Emory & Henry was inching closer to integration, but there were moments of frustration for President Hunt and his allies regarding this issue. Marie Brown, an African-American housekeeper at the President's house, recalled conversations she and President Hunt had on this subject. She particularly remembered a couple of times when President Hunt came back from meetings with some members of the Board of Trustees and was frustrated that certain individuals were hesitant or opposed integration of the college. During these occurrences she recalled him stating that integration was necessary and the right thing to do.\(^{19}\) President Hunt also wrote once that integration could cost him his job but "might bring immeasurable relief to me."\(^{20}\)

\(^{18}\)Dr. Edgar Bingham, Faculty Questionnaire; Dr. Bingham, interview by author, Tape recording, Emory, Virginia, 8 April 1995. Dr. Bingham did not remember the exact year he gave the presentation, nor could any record of this exact conversation about integration be found in the trustee minutes. It may have also occurred at an Executive Committee meeting. These minutes, except in few occurrences, were not located.

\(^{19}\)Marie Brown, interview by author, Tape recording, 7 October 1994.

\(^{20}\)President Hunt to Reverend Roger Hilton, 24 August 1959, Presidential Papers of Earl Hunt, Emory & Henry College Papers, Emory, Virginia.
One argument against integration that often came up in the Executive Committee meetings was that members of the board believed the Methodist Church had no right to expect institutions of the church to integrate until they accepted African Americans into their congregations. Even by the early 1960's when various public facilities had integrated, the Methodist and other churches had not. It was often stated that "Sunday morning was the most segregated hour in the week." Various groups affiliated with the Holston Conference worked to address this issue and build a consensus, but change was slow.

A member of the Methodist Church who wrote to President Hunt during this period believed the church taught the beliefs of integration, but in many ways was the last stronghold of segregation. This individual further believed the mixed motto of Methodism regarding integration was "Drag

21President Hunt to Reverend Roger Hilton, 16 July 1959, Presidential Papers of Earl Hunt, Emory & Henry College Papers, Emory, Virginia.


23Ibid. Some of these groups included Methodist Youth Fellowship, The Council of Bishops, The Council of Bishops, The Board of Social Concerns, and Sunday School.
your feet and don't rock the boat."\textsuperscript{24} Various sections of the church were hesitant on integration. Often President Hunt was told to wait and see how other colleges and other sections of society integrated. Furthermore, he found that some in the African-American leadership and the Central Jurisdiction of the Methodist Church were hesitant to achieve integration. This would cause the various black and white conferences to unite and cause certain individuals to lose their prominence in portions of the church.\textsuperscript{25}

Besides the mixed signals the church sent the college, financial losses were a constant fear preventing integration at Emory & Henry College. This apprehension probably persuaded various members of the Executive Committee not to approve integration, due to the concern of possibly losing their largest contribution in the college's history. As early as 1955, the college had been slated to receive the estate of Frederick Thrasher Kelly once he and his wife, Rebecca, passed away. Kelly was a 1905 graduate of the

\textsuperscript{24}Letter to President Hunt, 16 October 1962, name withheld at college's request, Presidential Papers of Earl Hunt, Emory & Henry College Papers, Emory, Virginia.

\textsuperscript{25}Letter to President Hunt, 16 October 1962, name withheld at college's request, Presidential Papers of Earl Hunt, Emory & Henry College Papers; Bishop Hunt, 20 March 1995; Roger E. Hilton to Earl Hunt, 17 August 1958, Presidential Papers of Earl Hunt, Emory & Henry College Papers, Emory, Virginia.
college and founded the Fred T. Kelly Company, the largest
distributor of floor coverings in the southeast. His
estate, worth over a million dollars, would be bequeathed to
the college's Board of Trustees to do whatever would best
benefit the college. President Hunt has firmly denied that
the integration of the college was hindered by Kelly
threatening to write the college out of his will if it
accepted the admittance of African Americans. Also, Hunt
never heard Kelly's thoughts on the subject of
integration.26

Others associated with the college believe Kelly may
have hindered the integration of the college. Individuals
from the college have heard a rumor that Kelly might not
have left his estate to the college, if it had integrated.

26 "Frederick Thrasher Kelly Library," Emory & Henry
College Papers, Emory, Virginia; copy of 1955 will of
Frederick Thrasher Kelly, Emory & Henry College Papers,
Emory, Virginia; various other correspondences, Emory &
Henry College Papers, Emory, Virginia, 1955-1968; Bishop
Hunt, 20 March, 1995; Faculty & Administration Anonymous
Questionnaires 3 and 4, left anonymous at request of the
individuals involved; Anonymous interview, 15 February
1995; Jeffrey Adams, interview by author, Bridgewater,
Virginia, 12 October 1994; Dr. Eugene Rasor, interview by
author, Emory, Virginia, 30 September 1994; Dr. Bingham, 8
April 1995; Dr. Edgar Bingham, Faculty Questionnaire;
Langston, Scott(ed.), "Emory & Henry College: A Look Back"
(Emory, Virginia: copy editing class of the Mass
Communication Department, Emory & Henry College, 1988), 5.
Dr. Bingham did not state Kelly's name, but did mention that
a fear of losing contributors influenced why the college did
not integrate sooner. Mr. Kelly died in February of 1962
and his wife died in October of 1962.
A conversation supposedly occurred between Kelly and an individual from the college, in which Kelly inquired on the status of integration. Kelly was informed that the school remained segregated. Ultimately Kelly may or may not have played a direct role in forestalling the integration at the college, but the cautious and conservative board members probably were not going to take any chance of losing his or any other major contributor's money. The money that Kelly left the college at his death went to build the Kelly Library, the new President's house, and to strengthen the permanent endowment. The fact that integration occurred months after his death also suggest the possibility that he may have in some manner indirectly influenced the integration of Emory & Henry. Whatever the case, Mr. Kelly's generosity should be remembered for greatly assisting the college, and his friends recalled his "friendly personality . . . and a love of life and people."^27

Officially, until the college integrated, no African Americans applied to Emory & Henry, but a couple of inquiries were made. The first occurred during the Spring of 1959. What originally appeared as a legitimate application for an African-American woman to attend the

^27Ibid. quote from "Frederick Thrasher Kelly Library".
President Hunt confirmed the individual was highly qualified and a couple of the well-respected, African-American workers at the college further endorsed her moral integrity. He believed her to be a legitimate applicant. When the college confirmed the inquiry, she informed them that she was longer interested in taking any courses, due to scheduling difficulties. She may have decided it was too much pressure to be the first African American to attend the college.

The second inquiry occurred in August of 1961 when the Reverend Dogan Williams, who was recently assigned to John Wesley Methodist Church in Bristol, Tennessee, sent a letter asking President Hunt, if his wife could finish her college degree taking day courses at the college. President Hunt personally met with the Reverend and Mrs. Williams and it was decided that she should not apply to the college. The inquiry was too late in the summer for the college to prepare itself for integration and for the Executive

---

28President Hunt to Reverend E. Hilten, 16 July 1959, Presidential Papers of Earl Hunt, Emory & Henry College Papers, Emory, Virginia; Bishop Hunt, phone interview, 6 July 1995. This application in 1959 may or may not be the same woman who was approached by some students and Dr. Graybell in 1955-1956.

29Ibid. Bishop Hunt believed the Foster brothers vouched for the applicant's "moral qualities," but he was not fully certain.
Committee to vote on whether to allow her admittance to Emory & Henry. As a result of these circumstances, it was decided she would not submit an application at that time and President Hunt thanked them for their understanding.30

In October of that same year, Mrs. Daniel Lane wrote the college stating she was distressed the college had not followed Christ's teachings by integrating. President Hunt responded that "it would be my privilege to present the application of any qualified Negro students" to the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees.31 He also informed her that he believed this committee would not "vote negatively on this issue."32

President Hunt's response to Mrs. Lane was ironic after the events that occurred in August with Mrs. Williams. It

30Reverend Dogan Williams to President Hunt, 17 August 1961, Presidential Papers of Earl Hunt, Emory & Henry College Papers, Emory, Virginia; President Hunt to Reverend Williams, 30 August 1961, Presidential Papers of Earl Hunt, Emory & Henry College Papers, Emory, Virginia; President Hunt, phone interview, 6 July 1995. Reverend Williams' written request for an application resulted in their meeting. Also, neither Reverend Williams nor his wife responded to the author's correspondence regarding this issue.

31Mrs. Daniel Lane to President Hunt, 6 October 1961, Presidential Papers of Earl Hunt, Emory & Henry College Papers, Emory, Virginia; President Hunt to Mrs. Lane, 18 October 1961, Presidential Papers of Earl Hunt, Emory & Henry College Papers, Emory, Virginia.

32Ibid.
suggests that President Hunt by 1961 became more openly vocal of his true feelings towards the issue of integration. Also, by the early 1960's things were changing in the South. As several states, including Virginia, began to integrate their public schools, President Hunt was confident that the Executive Committee would soon allow African Americans to attend the college.33

During this period President Hunt remembered that after one executive meeting an informal discussion took place concerning the integration of the college. This debate, which lasted over two hours, allowed President Hunt to convince all the individuals present that integration was necessary for a Christian-sponsored institution. Now he had to get the full Executive Committee to vote to approve it.34 Fearful that the committee would not approve his recommendation, President Hunt felt that at least "I shall be on record as recommending it and my own conscience will


be a little clearer than it is now."¹³⁵ He was still worried that the integration of Emory and Henry would cause the college to lose financial resources. Furthermore, he was concerned that the price the college may have to pay would result in "a serious economic crisis for a period of two to three years."¹³⁶

The subject of integration of Emory and Henry was initiated by President Hunt during the October 20, 1962 meeting of the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees, but was deferred until more members of the committee were present. Thus, while the Cuban Missile Crisis was making headlines in all the newspapers around the world, the Executive Committee and the Board of Trustees of Emory & Henry College met on October 30 and 31. The Board of Trustees meeting focused on the naming of a new dean of the college, to replace Dean Victor S. Armbrister, who had died of a heart attack October 6.¹³⁷

The Executive Committee met on Tuesday morning and was called to order by Chairman William Neff and prayer was led

¹³⁵President Hunt to Dr. Richard Stevenson, 19 October 1962, Presidential Papers of Earl Hunt, Emory & Henry College Papers, Emory, Virginia.

¹³⁶Ibid.

¹³⁷Emory & Henry College Board of Trustee Minutes, 20-31 October 1962; Minutes of Meeting of the Executive Committee Board of Trustees of Emory & Henry College, 30 October 1962.
by Dr. W.R. Rollins. Sixteen members of the committee were present including President Hunt; Dr. R.R. Kramer, chairman of the Board of Trustees; Dr. F. Heisse Johnson, Director of Higher Education and Development for the Holston Conference; Dr. Sherrod, former President of East Tennessee State University and former Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the three colleges; and Dr. Emmit Richardson, who would later play a role in having African Americans attend Emory and Henry. Chairman Neff directed the floor to President Hunt who explained the purpose of the meeting was to discuss the integration of the college. The floor was then directed to the Chairman of the Board of Trustees, Dr. Kramer, who reported that the Executive Committee of Tennessee Wesleyan reacted positively to admitting African Americans to that college and he requested the Executive Committee at Emory & Henry to do the same.³⁸

Following Dr. Kramer's statement the committee discussed the benefits and disadvantages regarding the desegregation of the college. President Hunt stressed integration had to occur, and the committee, after much deliberation, resolved that the proper officials of the college accept "persons of the negro race ... provided that:

³⁸Minutes of Meeting of the Executive Committee Board of Trustees of Emory & Henry College, 30 October 1962.
a.) The applicant is properly qualified academically and otherwise.

b.) The applicant is a day student

c.) The applicant is the type of person judged by the College officials to offer strong promise of being a desirable campus citizen and student

The board also stressed that no publicity should be made regarding this action. As part of the compromise, President Hunt did not bring much notice to the integration and soft peddled its occurrence. Also, allowing day students permitted the college community, those involved with the institution directly and indirectly, to adjust to the change.

Looking back, President Hunt thinks many people on the committee finally just gave into his demands about integration. He believes quite a few of them were not "happy . . . but many were reconciled that it was happening in other places."40

The Board of Trustees meeting noted that Emory and Henry approved the admitting of day students regardless of race, conducted various other business, and accepted the appointment of Dr. Daniel Leidig, 1950 graduate of Emory and Henry and a English professor at the college since 1961, as

39Ibid.

the new academic dean. Dr. Leidig would later play an important role in fully integrating the college.41

The faculty and the general public did not officially find out about the decision until January, 1963. President Hunt sent a letter to the contributors of the college on January 25, a press statement was released to selected areas on the 29th, a memorandum was sent to the faculty and staff on the 30th, and final letters were sent to current and prospective students' parents on February 6th. This correspondence was well-constructed to prevent tensions with various groups/individuals who may have been opposed to this change. President Hunt kept his promise to the Executive Committee not to bring much fanfare about the school's change in policy. In fact, in his memorandum to the faculty President Hunt wrote, "It is hoped matters related to this new policy can be handled quietly and may not receive publicity through the press."42

__________________________

41Minutes of Board of Trustees of Emory & Henry College, 30-31 October 1962; Bishop Hunt, 20 March 1995.

42Quote from President Hunt's Memorandum to ALL Faculty Members, 30 January 1963, Presidential Papers of Earl Hunt, Emory & Henry College Papers, Emory, Virginia; President Hunt to Patron, 25 January 1963, Presidential Papers of Earl Hunt, Emory & Henry College Papers, Emory, Virginia; President Hunt's "Statement to the Press," 29 January 1963, Presidential Papers of Earl Hunt, Emory & Henry College Papers, Emory, Virginia; President Hunt to Friend to Friend, 6 February 1963, Presidential Papers of Earl Hunt, Emory & Henry College Papers, Emory, Virginia.
This correspondence, except the press release, all stressed that Emory and Henry would only admit "qualified Negro day students." The letters stated that "very few qualified Negro students may be expected to apply for admission (we anticipate no more than one or two such students in any academic year)." The letters and press release further informed the public how Emory and Henry followed a similar action as its sister Holston Conference colleges, Tennessee Wesleyan and Hiwassee College, and various other prestigious church-affiliated schools that had already integrated, including Emory University, Davidson College and Bridgewater College.

These communications suggest that President Hunt feared negative reaction to this event. Aware of the violence that resulted when integration occurred at other Southern colleges and universities, he and his staff wanted to avoid any possible demonstrations at Emory & Henry. Just as important, the college wanted to prevent any major financial losses.

43 Ibid.
44 Ibid.
45 Ibid. The media during this era was full of stories involving protests and violence as a result of the integration of various educational institutions. For instance, an article from the Bristol Herald Courier from January 20, 1963 was entitled "Gantt Enters Clemson College: Hecklers Are Abundant, But No Serious Incident Occurs", 1.
In response to these concerns, President Hunt personally contacted certain individuals concerning the college's announcement. He had the heads of each academic department discuss the ramifications of integration within each department. He also announced at a scheduled student body meeting that the school had integrated. At this event he informed that if any student did not agree with this decision they should personally come to him to speak about it. Furthermore, Dr. Mason, Dr. Leidig and others assisted in bringing about a smooth transition. Finally, the local Methodist ministers publicly supported this action and scheduled events that were racially integrated.46

The reaction the college received by integrating was very positive. Several respondents wrote about how they believed it was correct for Emory & Henry to integrate. In fact, some of the writers believed that African Americans should be admitted as boarding students and criticized the school for not extending all privileges to blacks. For instance, Paul D. Martin, a patron of the college, hoped "the day will soon come when the restriction 'day' be

---

This article further mentioned how federal troops and an airplane were ready in case violence occurred towards Harvey Gantt. Furthermore, an article in Newsweek entitled "The Negro in College" from January 23, 1961, 50, pictured riots at the University of Georgia when that college integrated.

omitted from the announced policy."\textsuperscript{47} Roy M. Patterson, a student's father, felt

a sense of disappointment concerning the tone of the letter. In the world we live in, I would have preferred a positive statement that neither race, creed nor color would be factors in admitting students to full participation in college life.\textsuperscript{48}

Overall the college did not experience a substantial loss of revenue. Enrollment remained constant and only a few students were lost as a result of integration. President Hunt held some conversations with disgruntled students and parents, but in 1963, as in the previous few years, there was a waiting list of students to attend the school. He found that opening the doors to African Americans did not turn out to be the "Frankenstein that in the most cautious moments I thought it would be."\textsuperscript{49}

The first African American to take courses at the college enrolled during the summer session of 1963. Dorothy Hayes Brown took a couple of music classes with Dr. Charles

\textsuperscript{47}Paul D. Martin, Jr. to Earl Hunt, 30 January 1963, Presidential Papers of Earl Hunt, Emory & Henry College Papers, Emory, Virginia; Numerous other letters from parents and contributors to Earl Hunt, Presidential Papers of Earl Hunt, January - March 1963, Emory & Henry College Papers, Emory, Virginia.

\textsuperscript{48}Roy M. Patterson to Earl Hunt, 12 February 1963, Presidential Papers of Earl Hunt, Emory & Henry College Papers, Emory, Virginia. The Bristol Herald-Courier did not mention anything about Emory & Henry College integrating.

\textsuperscript{49}Bishop Hunt, 20 March 1995.
Davis. She previously graduated from Bluefield State College in West Virginia. Dorothy Brown was involved with various choirs and taught piano in the community. Another African American also took some courses in the fall of 1963. These events went smoothly and no major occurrences because of these actions.  

While partial integration was occurring at Emory & Henry College, various organizations, especially the United States Commission on Civil Rights, began to inquire about the status of black attendance at this and other Southern colleges and universities. Also, the Methodist Board of Education, division of Higher Education, began sending various confidential memos discussing the feasibility and status of integration in the institutions under its jurisdiction. These organizations were trying to document the status of integration and the Methodist Board of

---

50Marie Brown, interview by author, Tape recording, Emory, Virginia, 7 October 1994 and 6 April 1995; Emory & Henry College, Institutional Self Study Report, 1962-1964, 22; G.C. Culberson, assistant to President Hunt, to Dr. Earl J. McGrath, 20 April 1954, Presidential Papers of Earl Hunt in the Emory & Henry College Papers, Emory, Virginia. The name of the other African-American student is unknown. The registrars office at Emory & Henry confirmed that Dorothy Hayes Brown attended the college during the summer of 1963. Unfortunately, Brown has passed away so it is unknown if she was recruited by someone or applied on her own. Her sister-in-law, Marie Brown, did not recall if she was enlisted to attend the college, and as far as she knows, Dorothy enjoyed her overall experience.
Education suggested readings on the subject to various Methodist colleges and universities.  

Full integration of Emory & Henry would not occur during President Hunt's tenure. Elected Bishop of the Western North Carolina Annual Conference on July 11, 1964, President Hunt continued to play a role in the integration of the Methodist Church. For instance, he named the first African-American district superintendent in the Southeastern Jurisdiction of the church, Dr. James C. Peters, who was one of the first such appointments in the whole church.  

Dr. Daniel Leidig, Academic Dean of the college was named acting President of the College after he assisted President Hunt and his work at Emory & Henry. It had been bothering Dr. Leidig's conscience that the school had not  

---

51 Howard W. Rogerson, acting Director of United States Commission on Civil Rights, to President Hunt, 25 November 1963, Emory & Henry College Papers, Emory, Virginia; John Gross and Woodrow Geir, Division of Higher Education, Methodist Board of Education to Earl Hunt, 10 April 1964, Presidential Papers of Earl Hunt, Emory & Henry College Papers, Emory, Virginia. Another document was sent to the college from this board on 18 October 1963, but it was not located.  

52 Earl G. Hunt, Recovering the Sacred: Papers from the Sanctuary and the Academy (Lake Junaluska, North Carolina: Jonathan Creek Press, 1992), 22-23; Bishop Hunt, 20 March 1995. His efforts in integrating the Methodist Church and society resulted in death threats being made against him and his family by various chapters of the Ku Klux Klan. This caused him to have a security guard living in his house for over two years.
fully integrated and he wanted to make sure that this policy would be affirmed rather than "to assume things would work out." Also, he wanted the issue resolved before the college appointed a new president.\textsuperscript{53} In fact, the accreditation committee, which Dr. Leidig was a member, urged the Board of Trustees to "give complete latitude for consideration of any applicant without restrictions due to race."\textsuperscript{54}

Dr. Leidig's belief that the school should be fully integrated was influenced by the writings of Martin Luther King, Jr. and Edmund Burke. He used these writers' thoughts in his presentation before the Executive Committee of Emory & Henry on 14 October 1964.\textsuperscript{55} Influenced by these thoughts, Dr. Leidig requested the Executive Committee to vote for full integration. He was also fully aware of the conservative and cautious nature of the board, but figured

\textsuperscript{53}Dr. Daniel Leidig, interview by author, Tape recording, Smyth Chapel, Virginia, 25 February 1995; Minutes from Board of Trustees of Emory & Henry College, 27-28 October 1964.


\textsuperscript{55}Dr. Leidig, 25 September 1995. Dr. Leidig in his presentation to the Board quoted from Dr. Martin Luther King's "Letter from a Birmingham Jail," which discussed how integration should not be delayed, and statements from the philosopher Edmund Burke, who stated "The only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is for good men to do nothing."
this was something that needed to be addressed. Dr. Leidig remembered that his presentation lasted between five to ten minutes and there was silence after he finished. The first person to speak was Senator Neff, who declared he was in agreement with Dr. Leidig. After that, the committee voted and approved admission of any qualified student without any restrictions in 1964.56

56Ibid. The vote total on this issue is not known.
In October of 1965, Dr. William C. Finch became President of Emory and Henry College, replacing acting-President, Dr. Daniel Leidig. Dr. Finch had received a Bachelor of Arts degree at Hampden-Sydney in 1929, a Bachelor of Sacred Theology degree from The Biblical Seminary in New York, a Master of Theology from Union Theological Seminary of Richmond, and a Doctorate from Drew University. He was an ordained Methodist minister and he had previously been a professor and academic dean at other colleges before becoming President of Emory & Henry. At the time he was appointed, he was serving as the Dean of the Divinity School at Vanderbilt University. He had also been President of Southwest University in Georgetown, Texas from 1950 to 1961.¹

When he found out Emory & Henry had already integrated, Dr. Finch was relieved the issue was resolved by the Board of Trustees and was unaware that Emory & Henry had only

¹"E&H Names W.C. Finch President," Richmond Times-Dispatch, 10 October 1964, A1, A5.
allowed day African-American students during the initial integration process. In fact, the first African-American student to live in the dormitory, Jeronell "Nell" White, had started classes in the fall of 1965. Various alumni and a sister of the President actively recruited her to attend Emory & Henry. Her first year at the college she had a small room to herself because, as she remembers, "no one wanted to be my roommate." She played on the basketball team and participated in several activities, but felt very isolated. Many of her fellow students and faculty recall how they believed she must have been lonely during her initial year as the only African-American student on campus. She believed though "[my] priority for me was my education."

---

2Dr. William Finch, interview by author, Phone interview, 10 November 1994. As integration caused commotion at several schools, Dr. Finch was relieved that it was not an issue at Emory & Henry. He became Dean of the Divinity School at Vanderbilt University after a major controversy over integration had occurred there.

3Jeronell White Bradley, African-American Student Questionnaire, 1995. Unfortunately she was unable to be contacted to confirm which President's sister influenced her to come to Emory & Henry College.

4Ibid.

5Bradley, Student Questionnaire; Mary Cox, phone interview, 7 April 1995; Anonymous African-American & Student Questionnaires.
Things began to change in 1966 when four other African Americans joined White: Rosemary Gray, Theron "Scrapper" Broady, Ann Field, and Harvey Johnson. Rosemary Gray was a junior transfer student, while the other three entered as freshmen. Each met the individual requirements for acceptance to Emory & Henry and did not receive any special consideration due to race.6

In the 1960's, Emory & Henry recruiters traveled to various regional high schools to attract students to the college. Like a majority of enrollees from that era, African Americans came primarily from towns and communities near it. The college never made any special attempts to recruit African Americans, but various people involved with the college in some manner encouraged African Americans to apply. Application forms did not require information about race and officially the college never denied any individual

6Rosemary Gray Bundy, interview by author, Tape recording, 7 October 1994, Arthur L. Mitchell, interview by author, Tape recording, 7 October 1994; Dr. William Finch, 10 November 1994; Dean of Student Papers listing the number of African-American students attending college from 1965-1992; The Sphinx (Emory & Henry College Annual), 1965, 1966, 1967. Rosemary Gray was from Gate City, Tennessee; Ann Fields was from Chilhowie, Virginia; "Scrapper" Broady was from Marion, Virginia; and both Harvey Johnson and Ann Fields were from Pulaski, Virginia. African Americans were not given any special entrance requirements as revealed in an interview with Mitchell, an admission's counselor since 1958 and director of admissions starting in 1963. President Finch further confirmed this fact.
admission based on race. It could have easily been done, however, since the forms did require the applicant to attach a photograph.  

Mary D. Finch, President Finch's sister, particularly encouraged African Americans to attend the college. She had been teaching English at Morristown College and influenced Rosemary Gray to continue her schooling at Emory & Henry College. Gray grew up in an integrated neighborhood in Gate City, Tennessee, near the town of Bristol, Tennessee/Virginia and segregation laws led her to attend all-black Douglas High School. After graduating high school, she attended Morristown where she came in contact with Mary Finch. Being from the region, Gray was already aware of Emory & Henry. She had previously attended a summer camp on campus, and visited the school on a vespers program while at Morristown College. Gray believed the

7Finch, 10 November 1994; Mitchell, 7 October 1994; Sphinx, 1966, 1967. In fact, during this era the college usually had a waiting list of students to attend. As it was a period of rapid enrollment. Another interesting event occurred when Mitchell was part of a panel discussion on a television show on WCYB during the early 1960s. The topic of integration came up on the show and though he was not sure of the policy, he stated that the college admitted qualified applicants.

8Dr. William Finch, Faculty Questionnaire, 1995; Bundy; 7 October 1994. Douglas High School was the only local African-American high school in all of Washington County and the surrounding region. African Americans sometimes had to travel over an hour to school as a result of segregation.
campus was in a beautiful setting, and it could satisfy her academic interests. Feeling the students and faculty were very friendly, she applied and was accepted.9

Another individual who assisted in opening the doors for African Americans at Emory & Henry was football coach Castro Ramsey. Once the college integrated he and his coaching staff actively recruited African Americans to play on the football team. During this period Emory & Henry offered athletic scholarships to its players. The first African-American football player was Theron "Scrappy" Broady. As a standout defensive back at Marion High School, Broady caught the attention of Dr. Emmit Richardson, Sr., a member of the Board of Trustees and the Executive Committee in the 1960's. Dr. Richardson was also an active supporter of the athletic program at Emory & Henry. After talking to Dr. Richardson, Coach Ramsey offered Broady an athletic scholarship. To further assist Broady and his wife, a position was found for her as secretary in Admissions.10

9Bundy, 7 October 1994.

10Dr. George Stevenson, interview by author, Tape recording, 7 October 1994; Mitchell, 7 October 1994; Finch, 11 November 1994; Castro Ramsey, Faculty Questionnaire, 1995; Anonymous African-American Student Questionnaire 1, 1995. Athletic scholarships were offered by the college until Emory & Henry joined Division III NCAA athletics. It is interesting to note that Castro Ramsey went on to coach for Virginia Tech and was there when the first African-American football player arrived in 1970. Also, in his questionnaire Coach Ramsey noted he had previously been
By 1968 the last year coach Castro Ramsey coached football at Emory & Henry, he had six African-American players on the football team and, by many accounts, had helped open the door for African Americans at the college. Coach Ramsey asserts that he treated all his players alike, "regardless of color or religion."\footnote{Ibid. Quotes came from remarks made by Castro Ramsey in a letter attached to his faculty questionnaire.}

While he was recruiting Broady, Coach Ramsey brought up in a team meeting the subject of integrating the football team and asked if anyone was willing to be Broady's roommate. There were no objections to having an African American play on the football team and several players were willing to have him as a roommate.\footnote{Anonymous Student Questionnaire 3. Broady ended up not rooming with any of the football players because he was married.} Former player Fred Selfe recalled that when Ramsey discussed the issues pertaining to the football team that "the majority of the players did exactly as he directed."\footnote{Fred Selfe, Student Questionnaire, 1995.} Selfe also believed involved colleges with integrated athletic programs and he believed that Emory & Henry was one of the first colleges in Virginia to allow African Americans to participate in its athletic programs. Most schools in the South did not integrate their sports teams until the late 1960s to early 1970s. As discussed in Arthur Ashe, Jr., A Hard Road to Glory: A History of the African-American Athlete Since 1946 (New York: Warner Books, 1988), 124-127.
that Broady was the perfect person to break the color barrier on the football team because he had a "great personality, good athletic skills, was well disciplined and liked by everyone."\textsuperscript{14}

While Rosemary Gray, Nell White, Harvey Johnson and Scrapper Broady all graduated from Emory & Henry, Ann Field left the college after a few months. Field did not leave after any known racial incident, but because of her desire to be at home.\textsuperscript{15}

The early African-American students participated in many different kinds of activities and each had their own unique experiences at the college. For instance, Rosemary Gray, who majored in English and minored in French, was active in many drama productions, was a member of Alpha Psi Omega (a national drama fraternity), and was the first African-American woman to join a social sorority (Delta Rho Delta). Gray believed she fit in well at the college and never thought of herself as having to strive harder because she was one of the first African Americans. Having grown up in an integrated neighborhood, she was adept at successfully interacting with various kinds of people. She graduated

\textsuperscript{14}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{15}Emory & Henry College Alumni Records; Bundy, 7 October 1994. According to Bundy, no racial incident caused Ann Field to leave the college.
near the top of her class in 1968, as the first African American to receive a degree from Emory and Henry. Professor Arthur Mitchell, who taught her linguistics, recalled her as "one of his best students." Gray felt she "was warmly received and accepted by the students and the staff."  

Broady, like Gray, was active with various school activities, and was the first male African American to play intercollegiate sports. As defensive back he was frequently named player of the week by the school newspaper, The Whitetopper. He played on teams that excelled on the field producing three All-Americans. Broady still holds the school career record for interceptions. Besides playing football, he and fellow African American, Lou Perry, joined the Dom-I-Necher social fraternity and Broady at one point was the President of this organization.

---

16Bundy, 7 October 1994; Mitchell, 7 October 1994.

17Bundy, 7 October 1994. In her interview she also talked about how much of a "people person" she was, which probably also assisted in her transition to the college.


19Emory & Henry Football: 1991 Wasps, (Fall 1990): 15-16; Patsi Barnes Trollinger, "Where Are They Now? One Dozen Answers," Emory & Henry: The Alumnus Magazine (Fall 1990): 15-16. Lou Perry and Scrapper Broady were the first African Americans to join a fraternity. They were good friends in college and played together on the football team. Perry came to Emory & Henry in 1967 and graduated in 1971 with a
While Rosemary Gray felt that she fit in well at Emory & Henry, at times Broady found his experience to be a burden and wondered "if I was there as a person or a token." He believed "the African-American students helped to thrust the college into the twentieth century." He had some negative experiences in the college, but felt these helped him later in life. Broady went through a period when he had to leave college, but through persistence and hard work he was able to achieve his Bachelor's Degree in Education in 1970.  

Many other individuals also wanted Broady to succeed and graduate from college. For instance, Curtis Montgomery, an African-American, cafeteria employee, encouraged him to finish college. Furthermore, President Finch was an active supporter of Broady and found him to be "a hard worker on and off the field. He was a first class person and a good football player."  

---

degree in economics. He too was President of the Dom-I-Necher fraternity.


21Finch, 11 November 1995; Trollinger, "Where Are They Now?" 15-16; Patsi Barnes Trollinger, phone interview, 2 June 1995. Patsi Trollinger interviewed Broady and he discussed how Curtis Montgomery often encouraged him to continue his studies.
Bobby Hill, another African American, had an important presence on the campus. His father and various relatives worked at the college at one time or another. He grew up in the segregated society of Washington County and attended all black schools until 1965, when the county integrated. He graduated from high school in 1968. Like a majority of early African-American males on campus, he was recruited to play football, and went on to become an All-American in 1971. Besides being a good athlete, he was vocal in campus politics and was an excellent artist. His paintings hang at the college and in several houses in the community. He spoke frankly on the subject of race, and many individuals still remember his speeches and conversations on such topics as racial equality, the Vietnam War, and the welfare of society. His talents and personality are well-recalled by people who were in contact with the college while he attended.22

The fact that the college usually geared its activities towards the white students was one of the hardest adjustments the African Americans had to make. African

22Dr. Edgar Bingham, interview by author, Tape recording, Emory, Virginia, 8 April 1995; Virginia Bingham, interview by author, Tape recording, Emory, Virginia, 8 April 1995; Dennis Hill, interview by author, 6 April 1995; Robert Hill, interview by author, Tape recording, 7 October 1994; Stevenson, 7 October 1994. Bobby Hill was unable to be contacted.
Americans often felt isolated and consideration was not given to them in some social situations. For instance, John Smith, who arrived at Emory & Henry in 1968, was the first African American to play basketball at the school. He found that besides "sporting events" and some course-related activities, there was not much of a social life for blacks given the small number of African Americans on campus.23 Also, interracial dating received stares from some whites on campus and, of course, some whites did not approve of this when it occurred.24

During his tenure President Finch believed the faculty and students "welcomed black students and treated them no differently than any other students."25 White students publicly accepted their fellow African-American counterparts and several remembered having positive experiences with them. Many recall participating in activities with these students without controversy and developing friendships with them. There were individual instances of racial slurs, but no outward movement existed

23John R. Smith, African-American Student Questionnaire. He also noted in his questionnaire that basketball coach Jimmy Hughes influenced his decision to attend Emory & Henry and play basketball there.

24Kenny Woods, African-American Student Questionnaires, 1995; Student Questionnaires.

against the African Americans. This atmosphere may have resulted from the fact the African Americans posed no threat to the white students. African-American John Smith recalled, "There were obvious bigots at Emory, however, it remained for the most part on a very high hypocritical level." Bettye Commander, a fellow African-American student, recalled she never received "hostility there[Emory & Henry], but not everyone welcomed me with open arms." Some of the African Americans from this period believed there were three distinct kinds of people on campus: "Afro-Americans, Liberal Whites, [and] Old Fashioned Southern Whites." At times these three groups probably conflicted with one another. One direct result was that certain social fraternities and sororities would not invite African-Americans to rush dinners or give them "bids" to their organization. In one instance several members of a

26 African-American, Student, Administration and Faculty Questionnaires; interviews with faculty members; Anonymous Student Questionnaires 4, 5; John Smith, African-American Student Questionnaire; Kenny Woods, African American Student Questionnaire; and Mary Cox, Phone interview, 7 April 1995. The above quote refers to "hypocritical level" which probably refers to the fact that in front of the African Americans various people said positive things towards blacks, but when African Americans were not present racial slurs were made.

27 Bettye Stephanie Commander, African-American Student Questionnaire.

28 Kenny Woods, African-American Student Questionnaire.
particular sorority wanted to invite an African-American woman to their rush dinner, but they did not because one of the girl's parents threatened to make her withdraw from that sorority if they allowed a black to their dinner. Furthermore, some students would not room with African Americans due to their personal beliefs or because it was against their parents' wishes.29

A few racial incidents occurred, but most were handled quietly by the college. For instance, when Martin Luther King, Jr., was killed his death troubled white and black students, faculty members and some individuals in the community. Professor H. Alan Pickrell, of the English Department, had gone to play practice to inform Rosemary Gray that King had been assassinated. She was so upset that he sent her back to the dorm. On the way back a male from

29African-American, Student, Administration and Faculty Questionnaires; interviews with faculty members; Anonymous Student Questionnaires 4, 5; John Smith, African-American Student Questionnaire; Kenny Woods, African-American Student Questionnaire; and Mary Cox, Phone interview, 7 April 1995. John Smith, an African-American student recalled a fight were racist remarks were made. In the student questionnaires, a few students admitted that they or their friend would not live with an African American either because of their parents or their personal beliefs. These individuals wished to remain anonymous as well as the individuals involved with the given fraternities and sororities who would not extend membership to African Americans. Also, a couple of African-American students noted that certain fraternities or sororities did not invite them to their rush dinners.
the freshman dorm yelled some remarks that he was happy Dr. King was dead. Before she could walk away or make a statement, some fellow white students informed this individual that talk like that was not acceptable at Emory & Henry.\textsuperscript{30}

By 1966 most whites at Emory & Henry were preoccupied with subjects other than integration. Such issues as the Vietnam War, the counter culture movement, and the beginning of the Women's movement took precedence on the college campus. Alumni G. Craig Baker (1964-1968) recalled that integration was "one issue in a generation of issues." Also, he further commented that the students were often more concerned "about our individual hopes and dreams" and "we were concerned about whether or not our country would survive, or if we would."\textsuperscript{31}

\textsuperscript{30}Bundy, 7 October 1994; Dr. H. Alan Pickrell, Faculty Questionnaire; Anonymous Faculty Questionnaire; Mary Cox, Phone interview, 7 April 1995. Dr. Pickrell believed informing Rosemary Gray that Martin Luther King had died was one of the hardest things he ever had to do. A couple of other racial instances occurred but details of the events were not found. One faculty member recalled that an African-American male student was threatened with an unloaded gun by some white students, but further verification of this assertion could not be gained. Mary Cox, Dean of Women during that era, remembered some minor incidences that occurred in the men's dorm regarding race, but did not recall the details since she was not directly involved. Further confirmation on this subject could not be attained.

\textsuperscript{31}C. Craig Baker, Student Questionnaire, 1995; Student & Faculty Questionnaires. Several of the students and
Some of the early African Americans did have difficulty in adjusting to a college curriculum. Rosemary Gray graduated near the top of her class, but a few of the early African-American students encountered some academic difficulties. Many had attended segregated high schools which often did not have a strong academic curriculum. John Smith believed he had to "strive harder at Emory . . . because of the lack of preparation" he had in high school. These African Americans received the assistance and special attention they needed from various professors to help them adjust to their college course work. Also, the faculty, as well as the blacks students, wanted to show that African Americans could successfully attend and graduate from Emory & Henry. Frequently professors made lasting impressions on the early black students and many of these individuals commented on the important roles these men and women played in shaping their lives.

faculty who responded to the questionnaires remember the Vietnam War being a major topic of discussion on the campus. Also, several students commented like Baker that often people were more concerned about themselves than taking an active role in local, national, and world affairs.

32John Smith, African-American Student Questionnaire, 1995; Bingham, 8 April 1995; Dr. Edgar Bingham, Faculty Questionnaire; Robert Hill, 9 April 1995; African-American Questionnaires.

33Ibid.
The overall positive experience of integration at Emory & Henry College can partly be attributed to the college community's adeptness and acceptance of change, and the fact that, in most cases, anyone for segregation kept their feelings private or limited. Many of the early African-American students were from the region and knew the cultural attitudes. This perspective was beneficial in dealing with uncomfortable situations. The personalities of these African Americans played a role in their acceptance, as did their participation in various activities. This helped to break racial barriers and assisted with their assimilation into the college. Also, since there were such small numbers of African Americans at the college, white students did not find them a threat. Rosemary Gray and other African Americans did interact with each other, but she commented that "frequently we were more involved with people of similar interests rather than a person's skin color."\(^{34}\)

Though Emory & Henry College's admission's office did not actively recruit them, by 1971 eighteen African Americans attended the college. The athletic program assisted in integrating the college; at least one-third of the African-American males participated in some sport.\(^{35}\)

\(^{34}\)Bundy, October 1994.

\(^{35}\)Total Students, International, and Black Students from 1965-1992, Dean of Students Papers, Emory & Henry
Several African Americans commented on the important role athletics played in integrating the college. This increase in numbers of African Americans can also be attributed to the fact that the high schools were beginning to be integrated. Also, in 1968 the Methodist Holston Conference had geographically merged with the former black conference and in 1969 an African-American, L. Scott Allen, was named Bishop of the Holston Conference. As a result of these occurrences, African Americans became more aware of Emory & Henry and the scholarships that were offered for academic, athletic and financial need. Since that time a range of nine to twenty African Americans have attended the college each year.36

36Total Students, International, and Black Students from 1965-1992, Dean of Student Papers; Dr. Jack Roper, interview by author, Tape Recording, 10 December 1994; Anonymous African-American Student Questionnaire; John Smith, African-American Student Questionnaire; Robert L. Hilten, Pillar of Fire: The Drama of Holston United Methodism, In a Changing World (Johnson City, Tennessee: Commission on Archives and History, Holston Conference of the United Methodist Church, 1994), 179-181. In 1992 the Dean of Students Office formed the Minority Affairs Task Force. The research, conducted by Dr. Jack Roper, the chairperson, found that the trend in the number of African-American students varied, depending on the emphasis various individuals in the admission department placed on creating a
During this time, many of these individuals stood out in the various aspects of college life and several have gone on to successful careers. These early African-American students were, in essence, the "civil rights movement" on Emory & Henry's campus. This has not gone unnoticed by the students from this period. Former student Patsi Barnes Trollinger, a 1972 graduate, believed that the African-American students' "courage, dignity and tolerance made everybody else look good." She also felt that early diverse community. Also, the Dean of Students department found that at least 130 different African Americans attended the college and 70 graduated. African-American students have made up between one percent to 2.7% of the total population since integration.

37Emory & Henry Alumni Office Records; Theron "Scrapper" Broady, November 1989, unpublished interview, conducted by Patsi Barnes Trollinger, Emory & Henry Alumni Office, Emory, Virginia; Trollinger, Patsi Barnes, "From the Shower to the Stage," The Black Collegian, (January/February 1988): 34-35; "The Hill Family: Brought Up Under Law and Grace," Trollinger Patsi Barnes, Emory & Henry College Alumnus Magazine, (Spring 1986). It would take up too much space to state what every African American is currently doing. Examples of success include Dennis Hill, an assistant principal at Patrick Henry High School in Washington County; Michael Austin, a world-renowned opera singer who has sung with Pavorroti; Scapper Broady, a successful businessman; and Rosemary Gray Bundy, Director of Human Resources and Multicultural Affairs at Emory & Henry College.


African-American students were "genuine heros."\textsuperscript{40} Ultimately their efforts brought a more diverse college atmosphere to Emory & Henry.

\textsuperscript{40}\textit{Ibid.} No questionnaire was received by the author, which openly stated they were against the integration of the college. A couple of alumni did write how they would not room with a black person or there were groups against integration. No one responded that African Americans should not have been admitted to Emory & Henry College or that they hurt the institution's prestige.
CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION: THE INTEGRATION OF EMORY & HENRY COMPARED TO OTHER COLLEGES

When Emory & Henry College's Executive Committee voted to open its doors to African-American day students in 1962 it was one of the first private colleges in Virginia to do so. At this time very few public colleges and universities in Virginia allowed African Americans to attend their institution, and often they only admitted them as graduates or professional (engineering, law, etc.) students.\(^1\) As previously mentioned, Eastern Mennonite, Bridgewater College and Union Theological Seminary were the only private schools which integrated before Emory & Henry. In the Spring of 1963 the Board of Trustees of Mary Baldwin College voted to

\(^1\)"Next: A Crackdown on 'Segregated' Colleges?" U.S. News & World Report, 30 January 1961, 53; Desegregated--Segregated Status of Institutions of Higher Learning in the Southern United States," United States Commission on Civil Rights, 15 November 1963, 29-30; College Questionnaires returned from colleges in Virginia and the surrounding region. (refer to Appendix 2) Even in 1961, the University of Virginia blacks to attend its professional and graduate schools only. The following public schools were integrated in Virginia in 1963: William & Mary College, only at the graduate and professional level; Medical College of Virginia; Radford College; Richmond Professional Institute, only at graduate level; University of Virginia integrated at the undergraduate level in 1963; and Virginia Tech.
allow blacks to attend the college. Also, by 1963 Randolph-Macon Women's College stated it would admit African Americans who met the entrance requirements of its institution.²

Public and private institutions that integrated after Emory & Henry College included Hampden-Sydney, James Madison, Washington & Lee, Virginia Military Institute, Longwood College, Mary Washington College, Randolph Macon College, and Hollins College.³ Many of these schools, rich in tradition of "southern values," were slow to open their doors to integration. Also, like Emory & Henry, they may have feared integration would result in possible financial loss. Furthermore, some of these schools were waiting for other colleges and institutions to integrate before they took the same course. When various private and public schools did open their doors to blacks, they often admitted a smaller numbers of African Americans than Emory & Henry,

²"Desegregated--Segregated Status of Institutions of Higher Learning in the Southern United States," United States Commission on Civil Rights, 15 November 1963, 29-30; College Questionnaires. Refer to Appendix 2 which lists years of integration for various schools in Virginia and the surrounding vicinity. Integrated in principle refers to the fact African Americans were allowed to attend but none applied. Also, some of the predominantly African-American colleges such as Hampton Institute (now Hampton University), Virginia Theological Seminary and College, and Virginia Union University were listed as being integrated in 1963.

³Ibid.
Bridgewater, and Eastern Mennonite. For instance, when Hampden-Sydney integrated in 1968 it had one African American and continued to have only a small number in the following years. Also, the University of Richmond did not have African Americans as undergraduate students until 1970, when three enrolled. Before this date the university had small numbers of African Americans attending as graduate or law students only.4

The 1964 Civil Rights Act encouraged several colleges and universities to start admitting African Americans into their institutions. Before the law, a number of private schools believed that since they were private they could remain segregated. Title VI, section 601, of this act stated,

No person . . . shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from the participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to

4Appendix 2; College Questionnaires; Ollinger Crenshaw, General Lee's College: The Rise and Growth of Washington & Lee University (Random House, 1969), 351; Undergraduate Enrollment of Ethnic Group by Federally Funded Institutions of Higher Education, Fall 1968 (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969), 152-154; W. Harrison Daniel, History at the University of Richmond (Richmond, Virginia: The Print Shop at the University of Richmond, 1991), 289. Crenshaw wrote how Washington & Lee and other private schools in the South considered themselves private institution so they did not believe they needed to integrate. He further noted that the subject of integration at Washington & Lee "has been painful for some schooled in the older values of the South and nation."
discrimination under any program or actively receiving Federal financial assistance.\(^5\)

Various programs of most public and private institutions relied on federal assistance. To receive this aid the schools had to sign federal documents to confirm accordance with this act. A few private colleges believed the 1964 Civil Rights Act required them to open their doors to people of all races. For instance, Virginia Intermont College integrated in 1964 believing this act required it to open its doors to African Americans.\(^6\) This act may have indirectly assisted in Emory & Henry's general acceptance of full integration in the fall of 1964 by the Executive Committee.\(^7\)


\(^6\)Refer to Appendix 2, College Questionnaire.

\(^7\)Memorandum from Francis Keppel, U.S. Commissioner of Education to Presidents of Institutions of Higher Education, 31 December 1964, Emory & Henry College Papers, Emory, Virginia; Z. H. Taylor, Executive Officer State Educational Agency for Surplus Property to T. L. Porterfield, Treasurer of Emory & Henry College, 7 August 1964, Emory & Henry College Papers, Emory, Virginia; Various other Correspondence from 1964-1968, Emory & Henry College Papers, Emory, Virginia. The Commonwealth of Virginia and other organizations contacted the college about how Emory & Henry needed to follow the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Also, official documents show that Emory & Henry received financial assistance from the National Science Foundation and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. No mention of losing federal funds ever became an issue of integration at the college, but economics usually played a factor in the equation.
It is difficult to provide a detailed comparison of the integration at Emory & Henry College with other institutions because there has been no other extensive study of small, rural, private, church-affiliated colleges. Most histories of schools similar to Emory & Henry just briefly mention the event which resulted in the integration of the college and the first students to attend.

Some general contrasts can be made between Emory & Henry and other private institutions in the state of Virginia and surrounding states. For instance, Maryville College in Maryville, Tennessee, a Presbyterian-affiliated school, was integrated until 1901, when a Tennessee state law forbade integration of the colleges in the state. Once the 1954 Supreme Court decision was reached, Maryville's Board of Directors decided to again allow African Americans to attend their college. Since Maryville had once been integrated, it may have been easier to reintegrate once the law allowed it to do so.

---

8Ralph Waldo Lloyd, President of Maryville College, to President Hunt, 19 August 1957, Presidential Papers of Earl Hunt, Emory & Henry College Papers, Emory, Virginia. Maryville College was not the only college in the South that had legislation passed that forced it to become segregated. For instance, Berea College in Kentucky was formed as an integrated institution, but a similar law in that state caused it to become segregated.
Another college that integrated early in this region was Scarritt College in Nashville, Tennessee. Some of its students during the 1930's started an informal relationship with students attending Fisk University, an African-American school. This interaction led to students from both schools taking classes and fraternizing with one another and assisted with Scarritt's integration. This relationship resulted in having integration occur without incident. Also, Scarritt College was originally in Missouri and moved to Nashville in 1924, so it probably was not as influenced by the local community's feelings on integration as Emory & Henry College. 9

Unlike Emory & Henry, certain colleges could not integrate because of their school's charter, constitution, or some other legal document that barred African Americans. For instance, in 1961 Lynchburg College rejected an application by an African American because its charter only

---

9Merrimon Cuninggim, unpublished material, rough draft of his published work, The Story of Desegregation at Perkins, SMU; Ed Foster, interview by Darrell Lewis, 6 January 1973, Appalachian Oral History Project, 1977; Alice Cobb, "Yes, Lord, I'll Do It": Scarritt's Century of Service (Nashville: Scarritt College, 1987), 53-55. The interview with Ed Foster discussed how he had a conversation with the former President of Emory & Henry College, Dr. Foye Gibson, on how Scarritt College was successfully integrated. Dr. Gibson became the president of Scarritt College. The college no longer exists.
allowed white students to attend. Furthermore, Sweet Briar College had almost a three year legal battle over integration due to a provision in the will of its founder which stated the school was "for the education of white girls and young women." The United States Supreme Court ordered the lower federal court to hear the Sweet Briar case. In the summer of 1967, the three judge federal court ruled that the state could not rule in favor of the will since such compliance was forbidden under the 14th Amendment. While under a court injunction, Sweet Briar admitted their first African-American student in the fall of 1966.

Randolph Macon College's integration process has aspects similar to Emory & Henry College. Like Emory & Henry, Randolph-Macon, a Methodist-affiliated college, was established in the nineteenth century and went through a

---


12Ibid. Other schools throughout the South had to take their cases to the courts to bring about integration. For instance, Emory University had to go to the Georgia Supreme Court to integrate because the state law stated if integration occurred the private school involved would lose its tax exemption status.
major growth period during the 1950's. In 1963 Associate Professor John Howies of Randolph-Macon presented a student-signed letter calling for integration of the college to the President of the college and the Board of Trustees. A number of Randolph-Macon Board of Trustee meetings were held on this issue, some of which were not publicly recorded. Also, like Emory & Henry, that college's board of trustees hesitated to integrate. In May 1964 the Board of Trustees of Randolph Macon College voted to reaffirm the statement in its catalog which made no mention that African Americans were not allowed to attend the college. Unlike Emory & Henry, Randolph-Macon appears not to have debated the subject of integration over several years. Furthermore, it seems economics may not have played a significant role in Randolph-Macon's decision to integrate. Randolph-Macon's integration did not have any stipulations to only admit African Americans as day students, unlike Emory and Henry. In contrast, in 1968 Randolph-Macon had its first African

---

American pictured in their yearbook, Emory & Henry had ten African Americans in attendance.14

When Emory & Henry integrated it had already researched how various institutions handled integration of their student bodies. One school that particularly influenced Emory & Henry was Bridgewater College. These similarities were a result of President Hunt soliciting advice from President Warren Brown at Bridgewater College. Both colleges were church-affiliated and situated in rural communities. Like Bridgewater, Emory & Henry was able to prevent most publicity when it integrated, which made the transition smoother. The decision to integrate was ultimately decided by a governing body of both colleges. Also, the first few students to attend both colleges were day students and, in many cases, early students were from the local community. Though it is not known if Bridgewater College had a policy that African Americans could only attend as day students initially, Emory & Henry's Executive Committee adapted this policy for their own use.

Bridgewater also integrated its athletic programs soon after it enrolled African Americans.15

Emory & Henry's integration, like many other institutions of this period was influenced by many conflicting factors. Integration at Emory & Henry was a process which took several years. For integration to be approved it required the willingness of the community, the students and others directly involved with Emory & Henry College to accept change. The chief architect of integration was President Earl Hunt, who was aided by several individuals on the campus including Chaplain William (W.C.) Mason and Dr. Daniel Leidig. Because of these individuals Emory & Henry stood at the forefront of private institution integration. This occurred despite the passive role played by the Methodist Church at this time. The success of the integration was also a result of the backgrounds and personalities of African Americans who attended Emory & Henry. Furthermore, Coach Ramsey and the athletic program played an important role in allowing African-American males an opportunity to go to college and assist in the integration process. These African-American students made sacrifices, but their dedication, hard work

15Appendix 2; Warren D. Bowman, President of Bridgewater College to President Hunt, 23 August 1957, Presidential Papers of Earl Hunt, Emory & Henry College Papers, Emory, Virginia.
and perseverance assisted in making integration possible at Emory & Henry. When change occurred there was some resistance, but overall the integration process was successful.
APPENDIX 1

To research the integration process of Emory & Henry College various groups of individuals were sent one of three types of questionnaires. Early in 1995 these questionnaires were mailed out and replies were received by April of 1995. Each questionnaire had a general letter explaining the purpose of the thesis and a self-addressed stamped envelope so their answers could be mailed back. These questionnaires were sent to the African-American graduates from 1968 to 1972, graduates of the college from 1960 to 1971, and certain members of the faculty, administration, and members of the Board of Trustees from 1955 to 1970. Also, the questionnaires included a section for the respondent to sign stating how their views could be used in the thesis. Some respondents just sent back their questionnaire having a note stating they could not assist the author on this subject. Refer to the Questionnaires to see the options the respondents could sign.

Replies to the questions varied from each individual. Some responses were answered with a simple yes or no answer; while others wrote out their responses in an essay. In fact, some actually sent copies of materials or books they wrote. A copy of each type of questionnaire follows this summary.
The white student alumni were selected by looking at the Sphinx, the school annual, to find those who were engaged in numerous activities at the college. Also, the Alumni Office at Emory & Henry was consulted to find graduates who they thought would be most open to discuss this subject and best assist this thesis. Addresses were gained through the Emory & Henry College: 1993 Alumni Directory. Eighty-nine alumni from this period were sent the questionnaires and 46 responded in some manner. Of those who returned the interrogatory, 14 stated that the author could directly quote them and 13 stated that the author could quote them but to not attribute their name to their thoughts. In general the responses showed that for the white students integration was not a major issue as they perceived the desegregation of the college to have occurred smoothly.

Twenty-one African-American graduates from 1968-1974 were sent questionnaires and five sent them back (no letter was sent to Rosemary Gray Bundy since she was interviewed before the questionnaire was developed). These names came from a list of the African-American graduates of the college compiled by the Alumni Office for a minority student reunion. Of the five who returned their questionnaires four stated that they could be directly quoted for the thesis and the other individual agreed to having their ideas and thoughts used but not be quoted. Their replies greatly
assisted in showing that each African American had a unique outlook on their role in integrating the college. Also, it indicated that each person faced different adjustments to the college, participated in a variety of activities, had different friends, and some commented on how their skin color affected their college career.

Finally, forty-five questionnaires were sent out to various former members of the Board of Trustees, Executive Committee, faculty, and members of the administration from the late fifties through the end of the 1960s. The faculty selected were chosen from the 1963 *Sphinx* annual with guidance from the Alumni Office of the College. Also, the Board of Trustees names were gained from the October 1962 meeting attendance sheet and addresses for both faculty and members of the faculty and administration were gained through the college's alumni office records. No board members responded which can be attributed to the fact that most of them are deceased and the few who are alive are quite elderly, but fifteen members of the faculty/administration returned the questionnaire and four called the author. Half of those who replied stated they could be directly quoted in this thesis, while the rest fit into the other categories. Their responses, in general, noted the influential role President Hunt played in the decision to integrate. Also, most of the questionnaires
returned stated integration occurred smoothly and the African-American students were treated the same as other students on campus.
February 14, 1995

Dear Scott Arnold:

I am a recent graduate of Emory & Henry College, class of 1992, who is pursuing a master's degree in history at the University of Richmond. Currently I am working on my master's thesis, an investigation of the integration of African-American students at Emory & Henry from 1963-1970. To properly research my topic I am currently contacting various students, faculty, members of the board of trustees, and staff members who were at the college during this period.

Enclosed is a brief questionnaire which I would appreciate you spending a few minutes to fill out and return in the provided self-addressed envelope. If you request, I will maintain confidentiality by not mentioning your name in the thesis. Please check and sign the last page of the questionnaire, giving me permission on how to cite your thoughts. Your response will greatly aid in my research of this topic. If you could please fill it out as soon as possible I would be very grateful. If you have any further comments or questions, feel free to contact me at 804-278-9324 in the evening or during the weekend.

Sincerely,

Scott Arnold

Enclosure
ADMINISTRATION/FACULTY/BOARD OF TRUSTEES QUESTIONNAIRE

QUESTIONS ON THE INTEGRATION OF EMOY & HENRY COLLEGE

Feel free to answer the questions in the space provided below, the back of the questionnaire and/or write your responses out on your own paper. Please remember to sign and check the last page of this sheet regarding the confidentiality of your answers and return it in the self-addressed envelope.

1. Briefly state your name, background, years involved at Emory & Henry and the position(s) you held at the college.

2. What was Emory & Henry like in the early and mid 1960'S? Did the growing enrollment and building process change the college atmosphere?

3. During the October 30-31, 1962 Board of Trustees meeting the board voted to allow African-American students to attend Emory & Henry College as day students. (This meeting occurred during the Cuban Missile Crisis) What do you remember of the Board of Trustees meeting? What role did you play in this decision? Was this decision a long and drawn out process or did it happen suddenly? Were the faculty, students, Board of Trustees, and/or Methodist Church pushing for the integration of the college?

4. Who were the chief actors involved with the integration of the college and how did these individuals help or impede the integration of the college?
5. What role did the local community, the Methodist Church and other organizations play in bringing about or preventing integration of Emory & Henry College?

6. Why do you think Emory & Henry College took longer to integrate than the public institutions in Virginia and Tennessee? For instance Virginia Tech integrated in 1953 and the University of Virginia in 1950.

7. You may know that in 1962 the Board of Trustees only allowed African-American's to attend the college as day students. Do you believe this decision was a compromise?

8. Were there individuals or groups openly or discreetly against integration of the college?

9. What do you remember of the early African-American students at Emory & Henry? What sticks out in your mind the most and why? Did you have a close relationship with any of them?

10. What role did the campus faculty, staff, students, etc. play in assisting the early African-American adjustment to the college? If so, who was involved and how did they accomplish this task?
11. Do you remember any positive or negative incidents that involved integration?

12. Did any Civil Rights leaders speak at Emory or the surrounding region?

13. Is there any further comments you wish to make on this subject or any questions you believe I have failed to address?

14. Who else would you suggest I contact on this subject? Also, would you be willing to be further interviewed on this subject by telephone or in person? If so, could you please list your phone number?

Please sign below and check the option in which I can cite your opinions and thoughts. I will keep your confidentiality at your request.

________________________
signature

_______ I give permission for you to quote my thoughts and opinions directly.

_______ I give you permission to quote my thoughts and opinions, but you can not attribute my name to them.

_______ I give you permission to use my ideas, but you can not directly or indirectly quote my thoughts or opinions.
AFRICAN-AMERICAN QUESTIONNAIRE

QUESTIONS ON THE INTEGRATION OF EMORY & HENRY COLLEGE

Feel free to answer the questions in the space provided below, the back of the questionnaire and/or write your response out on your own paper. Please remember to sign and check the last page of this sheet regarding the confidentiality of your answers and return it in the self-addresses envelope.

1. State your name, years attended Emory & Henry, major, activities you were involved with, and why you decided on Emory & Henry?

2. Were you recruited by the college? If so, by who? What led you to attend Emory & Henry?

3. Who were you recruited by and did you receive financial aid, athletic, or academic scholarships?

4. What was Emory & Henry like during the 1960's? What kind of campus environment existed?

5. Who do you believe were the campus leaders (i.e. students, faculty) and how did they lead the campus? Did they assist or prevent the integration of African-American students?
6. Did the administration and/or faculty ever talk to you about the issue of integration at Emory & Henry? What were your impressions of the integration process at Emory & Henry?

7. What individuals were the most helpful in your transition to the college? Did previous experience in life help in you going to college and why?

8. Were you ever discriminated against openly or discreetly? Did people treat you differently?

9. Did you ever feel you had to strive harder at Emory & Henry because you are an African-American? Did you feel like you had any additional pressure to succeed or play an active part on the campus? Were you treated differently by the college administration, faculty or other students?

10. Who or what organizations do you believe contributed to the integration of Emory & Henry?

11. Was the Civil Rights Movement discussed at Emory & Henry? Did any of the movement leaders ever come speak at the college or the surrounding region? If so, what was the reaction of the people on campus and in the area?

12. How did the communities of Abingdon, Emory, Glade Spring, and Bristol treat African-American students? Were you ever treated differently in restaurants or other establishments?
13. Are there any further comments or questions that you believe I should address?

14. Who else would you suggest I contact on this issue? If possible could I have their address or phone number? Also, do you have any useful written information on this topic, that I could use as a source for my thesis?

15. Would you be willing to be further interviewed by telephone or in person? If so, could I have a phone number to reach you and the best time of the day for me to contact you.

Please sign below and check the option in which I can cite your thoughts and opinions. I will keep your confidentiality at your request.

____________________

signature

____ I give permission for you to directly quote my thoughts and opinions.

____ I give you permission to quote my thoughts and opinions, but you can not attribute my name to them.

____ I give you permission to use my ideas, but you can not directly or indirectly quote my thoughts and opinions.
STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRE

QUESTIONS ON THE INTEGRATION OF EMORY & HENRY COLLEGE

Feel free to answer the questions in the space provided, the back of the questionnaire and/or write your response out on your own paper. Please remember to sign and check the last page of this sheet regarding your confidentiality of your answers and return it in the self-addressed envelope.

1. State your name, years attended Emory & Henry, major, activities you were involved with, and why did you decide to go to Emory & Henry?

2. What was Emory & Henry like during the 1960's? What kind of campus environment existed?

3. During the October 30-31, 1962 Board of Trustees meeting the board voted to allow African-American students to attend Emory & Henry College as day students. (This meeting occurred during the Cuban Missile Crisis) Was this decision a result of a long and drawn out process or did it happen suddenly? Were the faculty, students, Board of Trustees, and/or the Methodist Church pushing the integration of the college? Do you believe this decision was a compromise?

4. Full integration was approved at the October 1964 Board of Trustees meeting. Were there any students and/or parents against having their son/daughter have an African-American roommate? Could this have prevented full integration at the college earlier?

5. Were there any fears that integration could detract from the atmosphere of the college?
6. What role did the local community, the Methodist Church and other organizations play in bringing about or preventing integration of Emory & Henry College?

7. Were there students, parents, professors, etc openly or discreetly against integration of the college?

8. Who do you believe were the campus leaders (i.e. students, faculty) and how did they lead the campus? Did they assist or prevent the integration of African-American students?

9. Did the administration, campus organizations and/or faculty ever discuss the issue of integration at Emory & Henry? What were your impressions of the integration process at Emory & Henry?

10. What do you remember about the early African-American students at Emory & Henry? What sticks out in your mind the most and why? Did you have a close relationship with any of them?

11. Do you remember any positive or negative incidents that resulted because of integration of the college?
12. Was the Civil Rights Movement discussed at Emory & Henry? Did any of the movement leaders ever come speak at the college or surrounding region? If so, what was the reaction of the people on campus and in the area?

13. Are there any further comments or questions that you believe I should address?

14. Who else would you suggest I contact on this issue? If possible, could I please have their address or phone number? Also, do you have any useful written information on this topic that I could use as a source for my thesis?

15. Would you be willing to be further interviewed by telephone or in person? If so, could I have a phone number to reach you and the best time of day for me to contact you.

Please sign below and check the option in which I can cite your thoughts and opinions. I will keep your confidentiality at your request.

______________________________
signature

[ ] I give permission for you to directly quote my thoughts and opinions.

[ ] I give you permission to quote my thoughts and opinions, but you can not attribute my name to them.

[ ] I give you permission to use my ideas, but you can not directly or indirectly quote my thoughts and opinions.
APPENDIX 2

The following table was compiled through sources listed in the Bibliography. These sources include books, articles, and personal correspondence written by various college presidents to President Hunt in 1957. Also, a brief questionnaire was sent out to seventeen different colleges. Thirteen of these institutions responded. Data listed in this table varies depending on the available information. This chart represents a few colleges that have similar characteristics with Emory & Henry or are located in Virginia. The following sample questionnaire was sent to some of those institutions:
Dear Scott Arnold,

I am a graduate student at the University of Richmond and I am currently working on my master's thesis. My thesis investigates the integration of African-American students at Emory & Henry College from 1963-1970. To properly research my topic, I am contacting various other private colleges to find out about their experiences in integrating their institution. The following are the questions I have about your college's integration process.

1. What year did your college/university integrate?

2. Why and how did your college/university integrate (i.e., was it a result of faculty/student pressure, the 1964 Civil Rights Act, Board of Trustees' action, etc.)?

3. When your college/university integrated did it only allow day students to attend or were the students allowed to live on campus? If your college only allowed day students to attend, when did full integration occur at your institution?

4. Were there any positive or negative events that occurred as a result of your college's/university's integration?

5. Does your institution have any records or literature on this topic, and would you be willing to share with me, so I could use it as a comparison to Emory & Henry's integration process?

6. Who might I contact that could further assist me on the integration of your college?

If you could please respond to my questions as soon as possible I would be very grateful. If you have any further comments or questions, feel free to contact me at 804-278-9324 in the evening or during the weekend.

Sincerely,
## Integration of Various Southern Colleges

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Year Integrate</th>
<th>Manner of Integration and/or Results</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Berea College++, Berea, KY</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>College was integrated when it was founded in 1855. Became segregated as result of the 1904 Kentucky state law designed to segregate the college specifically.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bridgewater College++, Bridgewater, VA</td>
<td>1954</td>
<td>Faculty and Board of trustees verbal commitment to integration, first African-American student admitted as a teacher in Spring of 1954, 2 further day students admitted in fall of 1954.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davidson College++, Davidson, NC</td>
<td>1962</td>
<td>Debated as early as 1955, approved by Board of Trustees in 1962, first African Americans admitted in 1964-1965, but blacks from Africa admitted as early as 1963</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Mennonite College++, Harrisonburg, VA</td>
<td>1948</td>
<td>The Mennonite conference left decision up to the school's Board of trustees and the Board of trustees delegated the decision to the Committee of Administration, first students admitted as part time/day students, 1949 first African American to live on campus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Tennessee State College+, Johnson City, TN</td>
<td>1955</td>
<td>Staggered admission, first candidates were admitted to graduate school in 1955, seniors in undergraduate programs in 1956, juniors in 1957. Some were full-time and others part time students.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emory University++, Atlanta, GA</td>
<td>1961*</td>
<td>1961 Board of Trustees meeting confirmed no policy in school's charter, first black student attended in 1963, integration held up by threats by state of Georgia, which would take tax exempt status away from the college if it allowed blacks to attend.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hampden-Sydney College++, Hampden-Sydney, VA</td>
<td>1968</td>
<td>First African American graduated in 1972, school never had a specific written policy on integration.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hollins College++, Roanoke, VA</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>Year first black student attended the college.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kentucky Wesleyan College++, Owensboro, KY</td>
<td>1958*</td>
<td>The President of the college received approval by the Board of Trustees in 1958, but discussions were held as early as 1955, and 1963 the first black was recruited to play basketball at the college.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King College++, Bristol, TN</td>
<td>late 1950s-early 1960s</td>
<td>The college first admitted married black women, but after a few years younger men and women integrated and by 1969 the college had students living on campus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary Baldwin College++, Staunton, VA</td>
<td>1968</td>
<td>Integrated in 1968, but integrated in principle by 1963.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maryville College++, Maryville, TN</td>
<td>re-integrate in 1954</td>
<td>The college was integrated until 1901 when state laws forbade it to be integrated. A number of African-Americans graduated from the college in the 1880s-1890s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical College of Virginia/Richmond Professional Institute (RP I)+, Richmond, VA</td>
<td>The Medical college integrate in 1952* and RPI during the same time frame</td>
<td>These schools became Virginia Commonwealth University. At the Medical College of Virginia in 1956-1957, 8 black men were enrolled in the college and 2 black women were enrolled. RPI had African Americans who attended the college at the graduate level, primarily in the field of social work.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radford University+, Radford, VA</td>
<td>1963</td>
<td>Integrated while the women's division of Virginia Tech, admitted first black at graduate level and the first black undergraduates enrolled in 1967.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Randolph-Macon College++, Ashland, VA</td>
<td>1964*</td>
<td>Board of Trustees vote after a student letter calling for the integration of the college.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Randolph-Macon Women's College++, Lynchburg, VA</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>The Board of Trustees in the Spring of 1963 voted to integrate the college, the first student attended in 1964 as part time student, who was also a college employee. In 1965 two African Americans were accepted as boarding students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Year/Period</td>
<td>Event/Details</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roanoke University++ , Roanoke, VA</td>
<td>Mid-1960s</td>
<td>By 1968 nine blacks attended the college that had a total student population of 1,572 students.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scarritt College++ , Nashville, TN</td>
<td>Mid-1940s</td>
<td>Methodist affiliated Bible school which developed interracial relationships informally with Fisk University.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweet Briar College++ , Sweet Briar, VA</td>
<td>1966</td>
<td>This women's college, took the case to federal court to bring about integration, due to the school's founder's will forbidding blacks to attend the institution. The case occurred over several years.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tusculum College++ , Greenville, TN</td>
<td>1956</td>
<td>The first student was a married African American woman, who lived in Greenville.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union Theological Seminary++ , Richmond, VA</td>
<td>1935</td>
<td>The first student attended as a graduate student. Also, black undergraduates by 1957 resided in the dorms of the college.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Richmond++ , Richmond, VA</td>
<td>Early 1960s</td>
<td>First African-American who lived on campus was in 1968 (he attended the T.C. Williams Law School) and the first undergraduate enrolled in 1970.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virginia Intermont College++ ,</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>College believed it needed to integrate as result of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University++, Blacksburg, VA</td>
<td>1952-1953</td>
<td>Early black students lived and ate off campus. The first black graduated in 1958. African Americans could attend the college as result of previous court decisions at University of Virginia and other colleges were black students could attend since their was no black engineering school in the state of Virginia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Virginia++ , Charlottesville, VA</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>Three person federal court ruled to allow African American to take classes in law school. First public school to integrate in Virginia, but even in 1961 the school did not have undergraduate black students.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington &amp; Lee University++</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A, but college biography from 1969 noted that the &quot;the general agreement . . . seek &amp; welcome qualified students w/out reference to race.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William &amp; Mary+, Williamsburg</td>
<td>circ 1951-1954</td>
<td>Graduate students first attended the school in the early 1950s and first undergraduate black student enrolled in 1963. As early as 1945, individual students called for integration at the college.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*or year the institution stated they would allow African-American applicants
+denotes public institution
+denotes private institution
Pictured from the top left and going clockwise is President Earl Hunt, Jr.; Emory & Henry College employee Charlie Foster; long time Board of Trustee and Executive Committee member, William N. Neff, and Chaplain William C. Mason, Jr. (Photographs, except for picture of Neff, taken from *The Sphinx*, courtesy of Emory & Henry College Alumni Office. William N. Neff picture from "In Honor of the Late Bill Neff: Anonymous $100,000 Gift Received By Emory & Henry," *Washington County News*, 10 September 1981, 1.)
Pictured from the top left and going clockwise is Dr. Daniel Leidig, English Professor, Dean of the College, and interim President of Emory & Henry when the college fully integrated in 1964; Jeonell White, first African-American to live in the dormitory in 1965; Rosemary Gray, first African-American to graduate from the college in 1968; and Theron "Scrapper" Broady, first male graduate of the college in 1970. (Photographs taken from *The Sphinx*, courtesy of Emory & Henry College Alumni Office.)
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Manuscripts:

Emory & Henry Alumni Office Records. The Alumni Office, Emory & Henry College, Emory, Virginia.

Dean of Students Papers. Emory & Henry College, Emory, Virginia.

Emory & Henry College Papers, Emory, Virginia. A collection of various correspondences, documents, and other materials from Presidents of the Emory & Henry College and various other school documents. Information located in the Kelly Library.

Minutes of the Meetings of the Board of Trustees of Emory & Henry College, 1955-1964.

Other Emory & Henry College Printed Material:

The Sphinx, 1955-1972, Emory & Henry College's Annual.


Interviews:

Jeffrey M. Adams, several interviews and discussions 1994.

Anonymous interview, name withheld at request, 25 February 1995, Emory, Virginia.


Dr. Edgar Bingham, 8 April 1995, Emory, Virginia.

Virginia Bingham, 8 April 1995, Emory, Virginia.


Marie Brown, 7 October 1994 & 6 April 1995, Emory, Virginia.

Rosemary Gray Bundy, 7 October 1994, Emory, Virginia.

Merrimon Cuninggim, 21 July 1995, phone interview.

Mary Cox, 7 April 1995, phone interview.

Henry Dawson, 5 April 1995, Emory, Virginia.

Dr. Loren Dow, 8 April 1995, Emory, Virginia.

Dr. William Finch, 10 November 1994, phone interview.

Dr. Sherry Gash, 7 July 1995, phone interview.

Dennis Hill, 6 April 1995, Emory, Virginia.

Robert Hill, 9 April 1995, Emory, Virginia.


Dr. Charles Lippse, 9 August 1995, phone interview.

Dr. James Logan, 8 July 1995, phone interview.

Freddie Mason, 7 April 1995, phone interview.
Arthur Mitchell, 7 October 1994, Emory, Virginia.

Dr. James B. McNeer, 28 March 1995, Petersburg, Virginia.

Dr. Jack Roper, 9 December 1994, Emory, Virginia.

Dr. Eugene Rasor, 30 September 1994, Emory, Virginia.

Dr. Samir Saliba, 30 September 1994, Emory, Virginia.

Mary Virginia Smith, 8 April 1995, Glade Spring, Virginia.

Dr. George Stevenson, 7 October 1994, Emory, Virginia.

Dr. Charles Sydnor, Jr., 5 June 1995, phone interview.

Patsi Barnes Trollinger, 2 June 1995, phone interview.

United States Legislation:


Unpublished Material:

Cunninggim, Merrimon, unpublished material, rough draft of published material The Story of Desegregation at Perkins, SMU.

Questionnaires (refer to Appendix 1 & 2 for further explanation):


College Questionnaires returned from colleges in Virginia and the surrounding states.

Faculty Questionnaires returned to author from faculty who were involved at the college from 1963-1970 and before that period.
Student Questionnaires returned by students who attended Emory & Henry College from 1956-1970.

Journal:


Newspapers:

"Darden, Black Talk to Board on Race Ruling." Richmond Times-Dispatch, 15 September 1950, A2.


"E&H Names W.C. Finch President." Richmond Times-Dispatch, 10 October 1964, A1, A5.


"In Honor of the Late Bill Neff, Anonymous $100,000 Gift Received by Emory & Henry." Washington County News, 10 September 1981, 1.

Latimer, James. "VA Wins Time to Study Broader Aspects of Race Issue by Its Swanson Case Concessions." Richmond Times-Dispatch, 10 September 1950, 4B.


"These Are Desegregated," Afro-American (Baltimore) 18 February 1961, 7.

"U.Va. Awaits Registration of Swanson," Richmond Times-Dispatch, 8 September 1950, A6
Other Published Materials:


Secondary Sources

Books:


Daniel, W. Harrison. History at the University of Richmond. Richmond, Virginia: The Print Shop of the University of Richmond, 1991.


Magazines and Periodicals:

"After 125 Years," *Time,* 18 September 1950, 50.


"Negro Gains." Newsweek, 27 November 1950, 23.


Dissertation:

Scott D. Arnold was born in Ann Arbor, Michigan in 1970 and grew up in Albuquerque, New Mexico and Fairfax County, Virginia. He entered Emory & Henry College in the fall of 1988 and graduated cum laude with a B.A. in history and political science.