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Introduction

"YOU PEOPLE SEEM to have been born into a time of crisis," Edwin D. Harrison told the students gathered inside the old gymnasium at the Georgia Institute of Technology the morning of January 17, 1961. Wearing a dark suit and tie squarely positioned over a white shirt, the forty-five-year-old college president stood behind a skinny lectern, flanked by a microphone to his right. Students squeezed into the crowded bleachers. Others sat on tables, leaving their legs swinging beneath, while the rest sat on the gym floor. The students leaned forward with uneasy frowns or held their heads with worried, aimless gazes.

Harrison hosted an informal meeting every quarter to provide an opportunity for students to chat with him about any topic. But this assembly was different. Roughly two thousand students attended, a record number for an open forum. Therefore, when Harrison stepped before the crowd of somber young white faces, he took the first steps to address what would become "Georgia Tech's toughest test"—desegregation.[1]

The uneasiness that hovered over the gymnasium came with the swirling suspicion that Georgia Tech, a state-supported university, would succumb to the same racial violence that had occurred a week earlier only seventy miles east of its Atlanta campus. In Athens, a white mob overran the University of Georgia after a federal court order allowed two Black students, Charlayne Hunter and Hamilton Holmes, to enroll. Several white students and Ku Klux Klan members rioted in tandem. They set fire to Hunter's residence hall, launched makeshift missiles, and tossed bricks and rocks at local police officers

1. This January 1961 quarterly meeting is notable for both the record attendance and the decision to record the transcript of President Edwin D. Harrison's conversation with the students, which was later printed with photographs in the Georgia Tech alumni magazine. For more, see "Approach to a Crisis," *Alumni Magazine*, March/May 1961, Location UA003, 6:4; 33:1, 3, Georgia Institute of Technology Archives & Records Management (location hereafter cited as GT).

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and journalists. Afterward, allegations spread that Georgia's segregationist governor, Ernest Vandiver, intentionally delayed dispatching state law enforcement to help control the mob violence.[2]

The events in Athens prompted Georgia Tech students to rattle off a barrage of inquiries as soon as Harrison opened the floor for questions. One student asked, "How has the racial crisis affected Tech's ability to attract and retain a competent faculty?" Another asked, "What can we do to show our displeasure at being forced into an integrated situation?" And another question: "In some northern universities, some of the student organizations have been forced to integrate or get off campus. Do you think that is apt to happen here?"[3]

Then more questions came in rapid fire: What would happen to students who protested the enrollment of Black students? What was the university's policy to stop outsiders like Klansmen from causing trouble on campus? What challenges did Harrison anticipate Black students would bring to Georgia Tech besides potential violence? Since the press had worsened the Athens situation, according to one student's assessment, could journalists be banned from Georgia Tech? One after another, student questions revolved around desegregation: how, if, and when. But Harrison's answers demonstrated that desegregation was a far more complex issue for college presidents than the students could imagine.[4]

With each response, Harrison introduced a new issue he was dealing with regarding civil rights. He explained that Georgia Tech was the only technological institute in the South with a respected national academic reputation. In fact, non-Georgians widely believed it was a private university because of the stigma carried by state-supported southern white colleges of being social clubs rather than intellectual hubs. The exceptional academic performance of Georgia Tech students also led nonsouthern companies to hire its graduates. Yet, he said, mob violence would certainly damage this reputation.[5]

In answering another student question, Harrison pondered local residents' varying opinions on desegregation and whether the rapport between campus and the community would worsen depending on how the university managed desegregation. Additionally, when considering the consequences of violence,

2. For an account of the University of Georgia riot, see Daniels, *Horace T. Ward*, pp. 154–155. The violence at the University of Georgia often takes a backseat to other violent moments in higher education's racial history, such as the sit-ins in 1960, the Freedom Rides of 1961, or the University of Mississippi's desegregation in 1962. Regarding the national significance of the Georgia riot, see Pratt, *We Shall Not Be Moved*, pp. 103–106.

3. "Approach to a Crisis," *Alumni Magazine*.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

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Harrison explained how outside journalists—those in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Chicago—regularly critiqued white southerners' resistance to desegregation. He then gingerly weighed the idea of banning journalists from campus alongside concerns about freedom of the press. This answer dovetailed with his bolder threat to expel any student demonstrators.[6]

Those issues aside, another student question prompted Harrison to note the Ford Foundation's recent $690,000 grant to Georgia Tech to support doctoral programs; however, those funds could be jeopardized if the institution mishandled desegregation. Media influence, community relations, freedom of expression, academic freedom, and private donors were just some of the sources of pressure that emerged alongside concerns about student resistance. "Any actions and activities which you could undertake if and when a crisis should arise on our campus," Harrison advised students, "will affect greatly the future of the institution."[7]

As news of Harrison's remarks to Georgia Tech students spread throughout the region, James E. Walter, president of Piedmont College, a segregated white college in Demorest, Georgia, immediately wrote Harrison. "Power to you as you carry the ball for many of us," Walter remarked. A similar message came from Florida, where Franklyn A. Johnson, president of the segregated Jacksonville University, concluded, "I have no doubt that we here will grapple with this sort of a situation sooner or later."[8]

From the largest to the smallest institutions, private or state-supported, the academic leaders of segregated white campuses knew the first presidents tasked with addressing desegregation were simply that: the first. They were attentive to the long-anticipated race question at white institutions, but no amount of anticipation would prepare them for the actual pressures of the day. Thus, as Joe W. Guthridge, Harrison's assistant and Georgia Tech's director of development, warned Harrison the day following the quarterly student meeting, "we should not be led into a sense of false security based on the positive reaction we received."[9]

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid. For specific information about Georgia Tech's academic reputation, see O'Mara, *Cities of Knowledge*, pp. 182–185. Georgia Tech was also considered unique among southern universities because it enrolled a significantly high number of out-of-state students. For more, see Daniels, *Horace T. Ward*, p. 155.

8. James E. Walter to Edwin D. Harrison, January 18, 1961, E. D. Harrison Collection, Desegregation File, GT (collection hereafter cited as Harrison Collection); Franklyn A. Johnson to Edwin D. Harrison, January 18, 1961, Harrison Collection, GT.

9. Joe W. Guthridge to Edwin D. Harrison, January 18, 1961, Harrison Collection, GT.

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The Campus Color Line is a history of the Black Freedom Movement as seen through the actions of college presidents. The most pressing civil rights issues—desegregation, equal educational and employment opportunity, fair housing, free speech, economic disparities—were intertwined with higher education. Therefore, the college presidency is a prism through which to disclose how colleges and universities have challenged or preserved the many enduring forms of anti-Black racism in the United States. Through this book, the historic role of college presidents is recovered and reconstructed. It expands understanding regarding college presidents and racial struggles, and it breaks down our regional conceptions while broadening our perspective on how these academic leaders navigated competing demands.[10]

Historical accounts of the Black Freedom Movement have suggested that the nation's college presidents—as a national collective—were neither protagonists nor antagonists in the debate over racial equality. Institutional histories and individual presidents' biographies demonstrate that there are some exceptions, but overall, college presidents as a group are not portrayed as directly responsible for racial segregation, nor were they expected to lead the challenge against segregation. In essence, college presidents walked a fine line between constituents on opposite sides to protect themselves and their institutions from reprisal. This captivating narrative demonstrates the precarious position of these academic leaders; however, it is incomplete. There is more to learn about the broader struggle for Black freedom through college presidents.[11]

The Black Freedom Movement presented numerous new challenges for college presidents. Student and faculty demonstrations were perhaps the most visible, but they were not the only cause for concern. How a college president managed racial tensions also affected the recruitment and retention of faculty. The support of local entities—businesses, churches, and civic organizations—also hinged on where academic leaders stood on racial advancement. Journalists from local and national media outlets frequented campuses to assess how college presidents were handling racial crises; in turn, college presidents became increasingly focused on maintaining good publicity.

10. On the term "anti-Black racism" and its use as a theoretical framework, see Benjamin, "The Black/Jamaican Criminal," particularly pp. 60–89.

11. My use of "college presidents," as well as "academic leaders," refers to chief administrative officers (i.e., president, chancellor) as a group. When referring to a specific campus, I use the local term associated with that chief officer, which may be president or chancellor, because the individuals featured in this book led institutions of varying histories, sizes, and governance structures. Therefore, terminology varied by institution, and I incorporate the terms of the specific institutions being discussed.

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Trustees and alumni donors stirred new questions about higher education governance, and college presidents were forced to mold new university practices around free speech and academic freedom. College presidents also exchanged pleasantries with the executives at private foundations to stay on the good side of philanthropists. Meanwhile, those same philanthropists' dollars helped fund the physical growth of universities and, subsequently, strained relationships between academic leaders and local residents.

These issues and others demonstrate why President Harrison's open forum with Georgia Tech students is significant. It was a rare moment when a college president publicly discussed the breadth of challenges associated with desegregation and broader civil rights struggles. College presidents usually held such conversations behind closed doors, through private correspondence, or within mediums limited to academic circles. But Harrison stood before the Georgia Tech student body and candidly laid bare some of the issues college presidents quietly managed. During struggles for racial equality, college presidents played varied roles, from mitigating free speech concerns to soliciting private foundations to fund racial initiatives, occasionally reaching beyond their campuses to shape urban renewal programs.[12]

University leaders continue to play these roles today, as racism, racial tensions, and racial violence resonate loudly on college campuses once more. Education researchers have found that current college presidents sometimes alienate members of their campus communities when they respond to racial unrest—suggesting that campus officials do not always understand or utilize history well. Legal scholars have assessed that college presidents' mishandling of contemporary racial unrest have resulted in "millions of tuition dollars lost,

12. Black college presidents frequently used the *Journal of Negro Education*, founded in 1932, as an outlet to discuss desegregation. Many of them published scholarly studies and commentaries that assessed or offered opinions regarding the future of Black colleges in a desegregated America. It is also notable that administrators at southern white institutions anticipated Black students in an effort to refine their strategies to stay segregated. I offer two examples, one during Reconstruction and the other following World War II, both key periods in Black citizens' fight for equality. In September 1870, University of Mississippi chancellor John N. Waddel said his university "never, for a moment, conceived it possible or proper that a Negro should be admitted to its classes, graduated with its honors, or presented with its diplomas." John N. Waddel to R. S. Hudson, September 28, 1870, J. D. Williams Collection, Box 6, Folder 4, University of Mississippi, Archives and Special Collections. In November 1949, University of Alabama dean A. B. Moore anticipated that some people would "expect Negroes to be admitted to state universities, as has been done in three states." A. B. Moore to John R. McLure, November 17, 1949, Frank A. Rose Papers, Box 6, Location 084–079, Folder: Integration Plans, University of Alabama, W. S. Hoole Special Collections Library.

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statewide and national reputation[s] harmed, [and] relations with [legislatures] damaged." Journalists have also deemed recent campus unrest "a second civil rights movement" and "a rebirth of the civil rights movement." But these contemporary assessments are shaped by a long history of racism, and college presidents' responses to it, on college campuses.[13]

The Campus Color Line builds upon and intervenes in existing literature, ideas, and arguments about the Black Freedom Movement. Many scholars have rightfully centered Black colleges when interrogating mid-twentieth-century racial struggles. This has been critical for understanding the power and agency of Black college students, not just formal civil rights leaders. In centering Black colleges, scholars have also challenged the broad summations of Black college presidents during the movement. For instance, in 1964, former Spelman College professor Howard Zinn stated, "Presidents of state-supported Negro colleges, with an eye on trustees, regents, and state legislatures, lashed out at their student rebels." This was a common sweeping appraisal—one that drew a distinctive line between private and state-supported Black colleges; however, scholars have offered more nuanced accounts about these presidents over the years.[14]

For example, historian Jelani M. Favors has argued that Black colleges were "the most important space for sheltering budding activists, inculcating a second curriculum of racial consciousness, and providing the communitas necessary to generate the sense of solidarity and connections sufficient to launch a full frontal assault on white supremacy." That study focuses on activism and further solidified Black college students' legacy as leaders; however, in explaining how Black colleges cultivated activists, Favors also offered insight into Black college presidents' support of students. In a history of the movement in Greensboro, William H. Chafe illustrated not only how President Willa B. Player at Bennett College, a private Black college, was a pivotal figure but also

13. Douglas, Lane-Bonds, and Freeman, "There Is No Manual"; Cole and Harper, "Race and Rhetoric"; Trachtenberg, "The 2015 University of Missouri Protests." For descriptions of recent racial unrest as the second civil rights movement, see both Chuck Hobbs, "Missouri Football and the Second Civil Rights Movement," *The Hill*, November 10, 2015, http://thehill.com/blogs/pundits-blog/civil-rights/259670-missouri-football-and-the-second-civil-rights-movement (accessed February 17, 2017); and Joseph P. Williams, "Welcome to Missouri, and Civil Rights 2.0," *US News & World Report*, January 5, 2016, http://www.usnews.com/news/the-report/articles/2016/01/05/welcome-to-missouri-and-civil-rights-20 (accessed February 17, 2017).

14. Zinn, *SNCC*, p. 30.

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how the president of the state-supported North Carolina A&T surprised local whites when he refused to reprimand Black students for the lunch counter sit-ins.[15]

Joy Ann Williamson-Lott further demonstrated the complexity of the Black college presidency in a study of Mississippi. There, to prevent the president of a state-supported Black college from even thinking of empowering student activists, white leaders vetted potential candidates to ensure that the most accommodating Black leaders were hired. As a result, white supremacists positioned themselves to encourage those state-supported Black college presidents to reprimand student and faculty activists through firings, suspensions, or expulsions—more akin to Zinn's assessment. Yet, although some presidents of private Black colleges utilized their more independent governance structures to support civil rights efforts, Williamson-Lott explained that even the presidents of private Black colleges were not immune from being fired for aiding the movement. What remains widely unexplored within institutional and state-level histories, or individual biographies are the collective strategies and intraregional networks that southern Black college presidents used to navigate the constraints of white supremacy.[16]

Beyond Black colleges, scholars acknowledge white college presidents when discussing the tensions between federal and state officials over the desegregation of white state-supported institutions in the South. Supreme Court rulings in the 1930s through the 1950s gradually opened graduate and professional programs to Black students at some southern white universities, but the scholarship on the desegregation of these universities is typically about specific institutions in the Deep South. Thus, the bulk of scholarly attention to white southern presidents is concentrated where white resistance was most pronounced. In Alabama, Mississippi, and Georgia, for instance, the presidents of the leading white state-supported universities are often noted as having failed to halt the white mobs who violently resisted desegregation, or as being removed from any substantial decision-making as segregationist governors sparred with federal officials. Yet, deeper insight into the Black Freedom Movement is gained by interrogating these institutions before and after desegregation.[17]

15. Favors, *Shelter in a Time of Storm*, p. 11; Chafe, *Civilities and Civil Rights*, pp. 95–97.

16. Williamson, *Radicalizing the Ebony Tower*, pp. 97–105, 114–119; Williamson-Lott, *Jim Crow Campus*, pp. 51–57, 64–71; Williamson, "'This Has Been Quite a Year.'"

17. See chapters 4 and 5 of this book for an examination of college presidents during the pre- and post-desegregation of state-supported white universities. There are also a number of institutional histories that briefly discuss desegregation, and references to college presidents are just as brief. For example, University of South Carolina president Thomas F. Jones consulted

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For example, David G. Sansing's comprehensive history of Mississippi higher education is a deeply valuable and serious investigation of a complex state. Yet, there is an intriguing leap in his book, *Making Haste Slowly*, from James Meredith enrolling as the first Black student in September 1962 directly to Meredith studying for his final exams before his August 1963 graduation. For Sansing and many others, there is only brief reference to the difficulties University of Mississippi academic leaders faced after the campus riot during the 1962–63 academic year; however, *The Campus Color Line* provides an account of southern higher education from the perspective of the white presidents who failed to halt racial violence and those who successfully prevented it.[18]

As we consider how college presidents are positioned within the prevailing historical narrative, we might surmise that this is why the general populace is more familiar with the tactics of segregationist governors or prominent student activists like Diane Nash, John Lewis, Patricia and Priscilla Stephens, or Stokely Carmichael. But college presidents during the mid-twentieth-century fight for racial equality remain virtually nameless when we remember higher education's role in civil rights struggles. For instance, the Greensboro lunch counter sit-ins and the four freshmen at North Carolina A&T are commemorated every February. Yet, who was the president of that state-supported Black college that did not reprimand the students? The violent desegregation of the University of Mississippi conjures memories of Governor Ross Barnett, US president John F. Kennedy, and James Meredith, the Black admitted student, but the chancellor's name does not immediately roll off the casual reader's tongue. The same is evident at the University of Alabama, where Governor George C. Wallace's "stand in the schoolhouse door" is remembered more than the university president's months of planning for peaceful desegregation.

There have been numerous books and scholarly articles written about these watershed moments in US history, but college presidents as a group have not emerged as a focal point. Therefore, it is unsurprising that Edwin D. Harrison is largely unknown despite leading Georgia Tech to become the first Deep

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Georgia Tech president Edwin D. Harrison, who "managed desegregation at that school quietly and without incident," but Henry H. Lesesne's history of the university does not interrogate the details of the strategizing between the two presidents. For more, see Lesesne, *History of the University of South Carolina*, p. 141.

18. Sansing, *Making Haste Slowly*. For the specifics of discussing Meredith's enrollment and graduation, see ibid., chaps. 11 and 12. The presidents of white segregated private colleges faced similar pressures as their colleagues at state-supported white institutions. For more, see Kean, *Desegregating Private Higher Education*.

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South university to desegregate without violence or a court order. He was regularly sought out among southerners for his counsel on how to admit Black students peacefully, but our collective memories have not done the likes of Harrison and other college presidents justice for their roles in shaping how the nation engaged the race question.[19]

That said, the most glaring historiographical lapse regarding the college presidency and race might be that what we *do* know is almost exclusively southern. This is important, considering the significance of the fight for racial equality in other regions. Thomas J. Sugrue, a historian of race and public policy, argued that studying civil rights beyond the South "opens up new ways of exploring the most important, and still unfinished, history of race, rights, and politics in modern America." There is significant room for further understanding of social movements and racial initiatives on nonsouthern campuses before the "Black Revolution on Campus," as described in historian Martha Biondi's book about the Black student activism of the late 1960s and early 1970s.[20]

More recently, Stefan M. Bradley has documented Black student resistance at Ivy League institutions from the 1940s to the 1970s. Therefore, just as scholars have wisely framed the southern movement as the culmination of decades of Black resistance, the post-1965 racial unrest in the Northeast, Midwest, and West was also an extension of years of racial frustration in those regions. It is important to study the Black Freedom Movement nationally to challenge assumptions around racial policies and practices based on geography, space, place, and time. Historian Matthew D. Lassiter argued that "[r]acial inequality is a constant theme in American history, but the manifestations of racism are evolving and multifaceted, refracted through frameworks such as economics

19. "In 1961, Georgia Tech became the first university in the Deep South to open its doors to African American students without a court order." For more, see Georgia Tech Division of Student Life, "History and Traditions," http://studentlife.gatech.edu/content/history-and-traditions (accessed March 12, 2019); Ibram X. Kendi also noted that Georgia Tech first "peacefully" opened its doors to Black students in the Deep South when violence and other forms of white resistance were common at other southern institutions. For more, see Kendi, *The Black Campus Movement*, pp. 26–27.

20. On the importance of studying racial struggles outside of the South, see Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty*, p. xxviii. An additional scholarly argument is the need to expand the narrow conception of region. See Nickerson and Dochuk, *Sunbelt Rising*, specifically pp. 13–15, for the benefits of doing away with the strict "regional concept" in exchange for the "conceptional region." This is important because of the connectedness of college presidents across the nation from an ideological standpoint more than a geographic one. For a national survey of the Black student unrest in the late 1960s and early 1970s, see Kendi, *The Black Campus Movement*, and Biondi, *The Black Revolution on Campus*.

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and geography." Therefore, college presidents outside of the South were engaged in different types of racial struggle but were influential nonetheless.[21]

For example, nonsouthern academic institutions have been described as being focused on technological and scientific advances during the Cold War. Those universities, often considered as more advanced than their southern counterparts, secured the bulk of government defense contracts, and their college presidents were touted as the leaders of intellectual engines. The critical question that remains unknown, however, is how did those college presidents engage the white powerbrokers who wanted to ensure that civil rights pressures in the Northeast, Midwest, and West did not negatively impact federal grants, private foundation funds, wealthy alumni donors, and urban renewal projects tied to university campuses.[22]

The Campus Color Line examines a national cohort of college presidents' strategies amid unrest over desegregation. It explores how that unrest impacted their relationships with local community leaders, trustees, faculty members, business leaders, alumni, journalists, state and federal officials, and students alongside concerns about governance, public relations, free speech, academic freedom, and fundraising. This account of academic leaders offers a panoramic view of American higher education from the 1940s through the 1960s and transcends regional boundaries to demonstrate how college presidents handled intensified questions about race and racism. This book turns attention toward college presidents' offices, where numerous racial practices were conceived and facilitated. In doing so, it argues college presidents were a driving force behind many of the social changes, initiatives, and struggles that emerged during this era as they actively, though often quietly, shaped racial policy both inside and outside of the educational sphere.

In investigating the actions of college presidents, the following chapters examine the philosophical, social, economic, and political elements that shaped the American higher education system during the mid-twentieth century. There was greater public interest in higher education as student enrollments increased, and dramatic societal shifts beyond the college campus resulted in more cross-sector communication. Academic, corporate, state, and federal leaders worked together to protect the nation's interests because the global

21. Bradley, *Upending the Ivory Tower*; Lassiter, *The Silent Majority*, p. 4.

22. O'Mara, *Cities of Knowledge*; Levin, *Cold War University*; Winling, *Building the Ivory Tower*.

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perception of US race relations belied the nation's espoused commitment to democracy and undermined its standing around the world. The international pressure that accompanied World War II and the Cold War resulted in a remarkable amount of power and influence bestowed upon college presidents. As a result, many presidents utilized their new realm of influence to mold institutional, state, and national racial policies and practices.

This book begins in the 1940s and progresses into the 1960s. Black presidents used silent networks to shape policy in segregated states while strategically not appearing too radical. These strategies were essential mechanisms that presidents of state-supported Black colleges used to mold racial practices. Networking was also present among their southern white counterparts. Although much less covert, the presidents of segregated white universities, particularly state-supported campuses, were not the hands-off actors typically depicted in history.

Beyond the South, the urban renewal program's displacement of Black communities is well documented, but it was elite private university presidents who coordinated federal, state, and local funding to redevelop urban centers at the expense of Black and underserved citizens. At nonsouthern state-supported universities, presidents developed university systems and launched campus initiatives touted as more racially inclusive than those of segregated white universities; however, those same academic leaders contradicted themselves when demands for Black liberation emerged on campuses in the Midwest, Northeast, and West. Each chapter follows college presidents' actions as a lens to examine a larger theme about racism and higher education and demonstrates the varied roles academic leaders accepted in shaping racial policy.

The first chapter explores how Black college presidents negotiated several pressures in order to help maintain control of their institutions, secure money from white legislators, fight back against racists, and balance student demands with other demands—and they relied on silent networks to accomplish these tasks. Focused on Martin D. Jenkins, president of Morgan State College in Baltimore, the chapter challenges the perception of Black college presidents, especially those at state-supported institutions, as being publicly deferential to white officials. By contrast, Jenkins was a prolific scholar who advised white state and federal officials on racial inequalities. His survey research on Black youth also helped him build relationships with Black teacher associations and civic groups. Combined, his professional and personal networks made him a sought-after speaker from Maryland in ways unimaginable to the presidents of state-supported Black campuses in the Deep South. Thus, the chapter allows us to see that Black college presidents' most defiant intellectual and political efforts to support the Black freedom struggle often occurred offstage.

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Chapter 2 examines chancellors Lawrence Kimpton and George Beadle at the University of Chicago and how urban university presidents shaped unfair housing policies in the United States. Following the New Deal in the 1930s, whites took advantage of new federal home loan policies and developed local housing practices that systematically discriminated against Black residents. Restrictive covenants were paired with redlining to segregate neighborhoods by race. By the 1950s, however, the postwar migration of Black southerners increased Chicago's population without increasing the number of neighborhoods willing to welcome Black residents. In response, academic leaders sought to protect the university from the encroaching Black "slums" and coordinated a nationwide effort among other urban university presidents to acquire slum properties. Universities across the nation followed Chicago's lead and displaced thousands of Black residents in the name of urban renewal. The peak of this effort, called "Negro removal" by its opponents, was a result of Chicago chancellors' large-scale, public relations–friendly commitment to racial equality to downplay concerns about gentrifying Black communities—a method that would be duplicated across the nation.

In chapter 3, the university president/campus chancellor governance structure is evaluated for its strategic use to stifle Black liberation and maintain white supremacy. In the 1950s, state officials crafted the California Master Plan for Higher Education, touted as the nation's premier higher education system. This created widespread conflict, as the plan outlined three college systems for the state—one for two-year colleges, another for state colleges, and a third for the University of California campuses. New racial concerns emerged: Was this tiering higher education? Would fewer Black and low-income students be admitted to UC campuses? As state officials and residents critiqued the plan, Franklin D. Murphy, the new chancellor of the University of California, Los Angeles, sought complete autonomy—starting with ending racial discrimination on campus and supporting students' civil rights activities. Yet, conservative California leaders and the UC president Clark Kerr did not agree with Murphy's support of UCLA students' demands for racial equality. The university system's structure added new layers of organizational complexity regarding how, or even if, the chief academic leader of an individual campus could support students' grassroots efforts to address racism.

Chapter 4 analyzes the continued fight for the autonomy to lead a state-supported institution through the chancellorship of John Davis Williams at the University of Mississippi. In 1962, Governor Ross Barnett stripped Williams of any authority to decide if James Meredith, a Black applicant, could enroll. By the time Barnett reinstated the chancellor's authority, it was too late to prevent violence as a white mob battled federal troops dispatched to the campus by US president John F. Kennedy. In the process, the regional

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accrediting agency threated to remove the university's accreditation if it did not maintain an environment conducive to learning: free of violence, without state officials' interference, and protective of academic freedom. Afterward, Williams immediately started a statewide campaign that gained a regional and then national reach to reframe the "Mississippi story." His efforts were significant to how university leaders could recover from campus racism and violence and restore its public image, but only when concerns of academic freedom and race are addressed.

Chapter 5 dissects how, shortly after the violence in Mississippi, the academic leaders of other segregated white universities began implementing preventative measures on their campuses. This proactivity of college presidents is important as seen through University of Alabama president Frank A. Rose's strategic efforts to ensure that his campus remained peaceful during desegregation. He coordinated a statewide call for "law and order" and worked with the state's most influential business leaders to establish a shared understanding that racial violence was bad for the state's economy. Rose then convinced the national alumni association to have each local alumni chapter condemn any violent resistance to desegregation, and similar messages were shared among faculty, students, and local residents. But the 1963 inauguration of segregationist governor George C. Wallace made maintaining peace more complex. Wallace vowed to keep Alabama segregated, and Rose was left to play the middleman between the governor and federal officials. In the end, Alabama became the site of Wallace's dramatic-but-nonviolent "Stand in the Schoolhouse Door," but it was Rose's relationships with the private sector and public officials—including those in the White House—that established the college president as the key facilitator in preventing racial violence.

The next chapter analyzes the tension between free speech protections and racial and intellectual diversity in higher education as white supremacists were invited to speak on campuses where academic leaders were also recruiting more Black students. At Princeton University, President Robert F. Goheen managed this free speech crisis years before the Free Speech Movement at the University of California, Berkeley. He advocated for racial equality, but the student debate society's invitation to Mississippi governor Ross Barnett to speak at Princeton created a dilemma. After his failed but defiant effort to keep Mississippi colleges segregated, Barnett was invited to speak across the nation, and Goheen was conflicted about whether to allow the governor to speak at Princeton or condemn his appearance as counter to the university's efforts to diversify the student body. Goheen chose both. He angered Princeton's influential southern alumni base when he denounced Barnett's racist ideas but appeased them by allowing him to address the campus. With racial tensions at their peak, Goheen's hands-on coordination resulted in a peaceful Barnett

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public address before a standing-room-only audience, but his greatest coup was using the controversial speaker as the impetus for racial advances in campus admissions and Princeton borough's business, housing, and employment practices.

Bringing the book full circle, chapter 7 evaluates the nation's first higher education affirmative action programs—mostly geared toward strengthening Black colleges and universities. Yet, white college presidents quickly dismantled the initial system-wide affirmative action goals and made those programs solely focused on objectives applicable to their individual campuses. For instance, University of Wisconsin president Fred Harvey Harrington aimed to position his university as the nation's leading institution in addressing the racial challenges Black citizens faced. He used the national interest in affirmative action to solicit private foundations—Ford, Carnegie, Rockefeller, and others—to fund Wisconsin's racial initiatives. Harrington also coordinated similar efforts among other midwestern universities to follow Wisconsin's lead, but with millions of dollars available, white college presidents soon competed among one another. The self-serving motives of those academic leaders derailed the broader affirmative action goals that included the nation's Black colleges. This decision set the stage for the Black campus movement of the late 1960s, and race-based admissions practices became the surviving original program—making affirmative action solely about a select few white colleges and universities.

Due to the national scope of this book, I use "civil rights" in the broadest sense. In the South, it meant challenging legalized racial discrimination. In nonsouthern states, people joined the civil rights efforts intent on racial equality despite there being no formal laws that mandated the segregation that existed. Therefore, civil rights may convey a nuanced meaning throughout the book based on the particular issue and locale being discussed.

Additionally, a number of historians and other commentators on the Black Freedom Movement describe the United States with binary terms: "North" and "South." What is not the South is simply referred to as "the North"—a mythical region that spans from Maine to California; however, with the exception of direct quotes, I use the terms Northeast, Midwest, and West to more accurately locate accounts of college presidents and racial unrest.

It is also important to note that only the first of the seven chapters focuses solely on Black colleges, despite this book being about the Black Freedom Movement—a social movement intertwined with Black institutions. Beginning with a Black president centers Black colleges in the movement, and Martin D. Jenkins's frequent travel and speaking engagements made him an

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intellectual leader and an activist—descriptors not commonly assigned to Black presidents during this era or today. Therefore, he is a unique figure as the leader of a state-supported Black college, and he sets the foundation for understanding the multifaceted roles of college presidents. From there, the remaining chapters exhibit how white academic leaders determined how the rest of American higher education responded to and engaged the movement.

A final point of interest is the variety of colleges and universities examined in this book. This approach offers a robust opportunity to learn more about higher education and racism by looking across the spectrum of institutional types and regional differences. These presidents led prestigious private or state-supported institutions as well as regional colleges, commuter campuses, and aspiring research universities. There are numerous institutional histories but nothing so broad as this book in demonstrating the shared role of the collective American higher education system during the Black Freedom Movement.

In the mid-twentieth century, higher education inherited a broader meaning as a cultural structure and distinctive aspect of a democratic society, and each chapter conveys a multifaceted tale of the college presidency and its new and competing pressures. *The Campus Color Line* illustrates the variety of challenges academic leaders confronted and the range of strategies they employed as they ushered the full range of institutions into new social and political significance and influenced how municipal, state, and federal officials engaged racial policy and practices. There are lessons to be learned from how these individuals negotiated organizational needs and pressures that conflicted with academic missions and espoused institutional values. This national study of the college presidency—from smaller colleges to elite universities—conveys historical accounts that must be reckoned with if we are to ever envision college presidents better equipped to effectively address racism, racial tensions, and racial violence in US higher education.

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