The staff of The Hatchet, *George Washington University's student-run newspaper, reviewing their work in 1954. The newspaper served as the chief organ for an increasingly politicized student body. Despite editorial pressure from the university's president,* Hatchet *editorials advocated desegregation. (Courtesy, GWU Archives.)*

The Desegregation of George Washington University and the District of Columbia in Transition, 1946–1954

by Andrew Novak

For much of the mid-twentieth century, the George Washington University in Washington, D.C., was under the leadership of a strong-willed and fiscally austere president, Dr. Cloyd Heck Marvin. The institution's longest-serving president, Marvin rapidly expanded the school even during the Great Depression and World War II. In a third of a century, Marvin doubled the size of the student body, tripled the size of the faculty, and increased the endowment ninefold. During his tenure between 1927 and 1959, the campus grew rapidly from a single city block to nearly ten blocks at the time of his retirement.[1] Yet, his conservative educational philosophy and personal dominance of the administration attracted strong criticism throughout his tenure. George Washington's status as the last segregated university in the District of Columbia would prove especially controversial in light of Marvin's strong personal control over university life. Racial segregation had a much longer history at George Washington than at the other District universities because, with only the loosest oversight by the board of trustees, Marvin's office was insulated from many social forces.

During the years between the world wars, George Washington University officially sanctioned its longstanding practice of segregation. It is unclear when the exclusionary policy was implemented. In the second half of the nineteenth century, some Howard University students were permitted to take selected courses, but the races of these students do not seem to have been recorded.[2] Marvin affirmed segregation. "There are no colored students in The George Washington University," he wrote in an unaddressed internal policy statement in 1938, noting that Howard and other facilities sufficiently provided for the African American community in the District. "Students of any race or color perform their best educational disciplines when they are happily situated in a congenial and homogenous group, and the University, in its tradition and social environment, has long preserved this policy."[3] Marvin concluded that George Washington would not enroll African American students.

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After World War II, George Washington University became a major center for federal government contracts and research. In this photo, Captain Calvin Lee Frederick, Assistant Professor of Air Science, teaches basic techniques. (Courtesy, GWU Archives.)

In the late 1940s, the university transitioned from a commuter school catering to the aspirant professional class, many of whom attended night school while working in the expanding federal government, to a residential university populated by full-time students with a strong campus identity. In many ways, the changes that occurred on campus reflected changes in the District of Columbia after the New Deal. The city's population had mushroomed from just over 600,000 in 1930 to more than one million in 1941. The number of government employees more than doubled during World War II alone and increased many times over since the beginning of Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration and the New Deal. Given the university's proximity to the center of national government, many of the most contentious debates deeply affected the campus, whether it was fear of Communism, anti-war protest, or racial division. By the 1950s, Washington was still "a very confused city," torn between a Southern provincialism and a more cosmopolitan mindset fitting of a national capital. The larger George Washington became, especially as a residential school, the more campus life confronted social forces in Foggy Bottom and the wider city. University historian Elmer Louis Kayser wrote of a "new breed of college student in the 1930s, "a product of the Great Depression and the New Deal." By the end of the decade, students had taken a keener interest in federal politics than they had just a few years earlier, and they began embracing ideologies and adopting causes.[4]

When the desegregation controversy swept through the District after World War II, George Washington's campus was not immune. Although segregation had no legal standing in public places in the District of Columbia after the Civil Rights Acts of 1872 and 1873, the laws were omitted when the District Code was rewritten in the 1890s.[5] Restaurant and department store protests succeeded to some degree. The Howard University chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People staged sit-ins at restaurants on U Street and in Penn Quarter in 1943 and 1944.[6] The Coordinating Committee for the Enforcement of the D.C. Anti-Discrimination Laws (CCEAD), led by Mary Church Terrell, successfully integrated Kresge and Hecht's department stores after weeks of protest in 1951; Murphy's Dime Stores followed in 1952. After local courts upheld the 1872 and 1873 Civil Rights Acts as valid in the District, the Supreme Court affirmed these holdings in 1953.[7] The District was a lively site of racial and political change in this period, and these social forces reached campus sooner rather than later.

By the late 1940s, especially with the influx of veterans to campus under the GI Bill and the increasingly prominent contractual relationships between the university and federal government agencies, this exclusionary policy was increasingly difficult to maintain. The desegregation of George Washington University, the last segregated university in the Washington area, was the product of both internal and external pressure and a campaign of regional and national importance that united students, faculty, and community leaders.

Cloyd Heck Marvin, a young, brash administrator raised in rural Ohio, succeeded the scholar William Mather Lewis as George Washington University president in 1927. With his election came a lasting change not only of leadership but of philosophy. While the elite Lewis staunchly defended liberal education and the humanities, Marvin pioneered education as a business. With a degree in business administration and economics from Stanford and a master's degree in business from the University of Southern California, Marvin received his Ph.D. from Harvard, where he wrote a dissertation on education as a means of improving human efficiency, particularly with the expansion of business and commercial curricula.[8] Throughout his tenures as president of the University of Arizona and George Washington, Marvin consolidated authority in the Office of the President at the expense of faculty committees, constitutions, and deanships. He advocated business- and science-oriented curricula over traditional liberal arts and humanities.[9]

Although Marvin succeeded as dean of the Southern Branch of the University of California, his vision encountered resistance when he became president of the University of Arizona in Tucson in 1922, and the youngest college president in the country. His sweeping reorganization of departmental units, especially the colleges of mining and agriculture, and premature termination of faculty appointments led to an investigation by the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) and widespread opposition by faculty members.[10] Marvin became a victim of the partisan rivalry between Democratic governor George Hunt and his primary challenger E. E. Ellinwood, the chairman of the university's board of regents, and his continued administration became a highly contentious topic of debate. Although impeachment charges filed against Marvin were dismissed, his supporters lost a majority of the board of regents and he, the Democrat Ellinwood, and the Republican appointees on the board resigned in a highly public spectacle.[11]

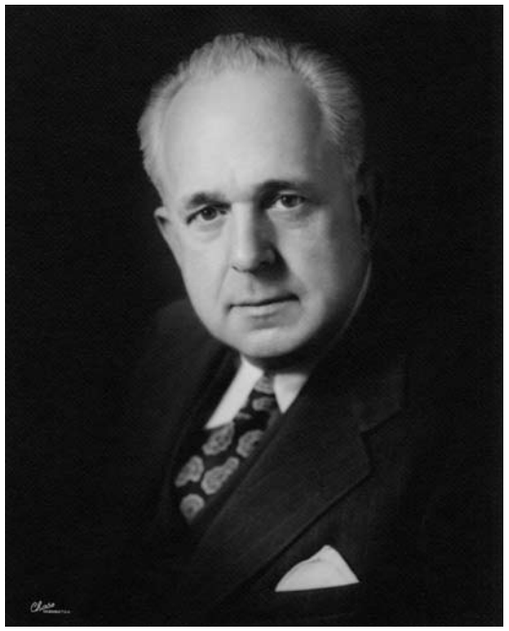
Upon becoming president of George Washington, Marvin faced a very different reception, with an eager non-political board of trustees at a private university that had only recently avoided financial disaster. He proved he could be a prolific fundraiser after securing a $1 million grant from the Scottish Rite of Freemasonry to establish the School of Government. The board also appreciated his efforts to streamline the administration and centralize hiring and tenure decisions in the Office of the President. The termination of seventy-one medical school faculty in 1931, the abolition of departments, demotion of executive officers, and forced resignation of the hospital superintendent, led to a renewed AAUP investigation and set the tone for faculty-administration relations throughout the 1930s.[12] With forced budget cuts on liberal arts and humanities departments, Marvin's purges affected nearly every academic unit during the Great Depression, and the students began to take notice.[13] In 1936 the non-renewal of the contract of English professor Marvin Herrick led a group of students to create the Committee for the Retention of Dr. Herrick and send a petition to the student newspaper, the *Hatchet*, with over seven hundred signatures.[14] Herrick himself appealed his case to the AAUP for an investigation and warned that the "day may come when the rebellion, which surely exists in the minds and feelings of many faculty members and students, may break out into the open."[15]

Evelyn Jones Kirmse, the assistant dean of women at George Washington and later the dean of women at the University of Arizona, provided a unique perspective on Marvin's tenures at both institutions. She recalled that her colleagues at George Washington protested Marvin's "carelessness with the truth, his arbitrary attitude and his disregard for academic courtesy," and when she arrived in Arizona she found a faculty still divided over Marvin's leadership. Although he governed with the same style, she recalls, he was more successful at George Washington "simply because, in such a different situation, with no responsibility to the public, he could manipulate successfully—even his trustees." She concluded that although he "left the institution a better University than he found it in 1927 . . . those who suffered under his leadership until their own retirement, even while recognizing his accomplishments, never respected him nor trusted him."[16] Her criticism of Marvin's personal micromanagement and unwillingness to delegate was an enduring criticism of his personal leadership style.

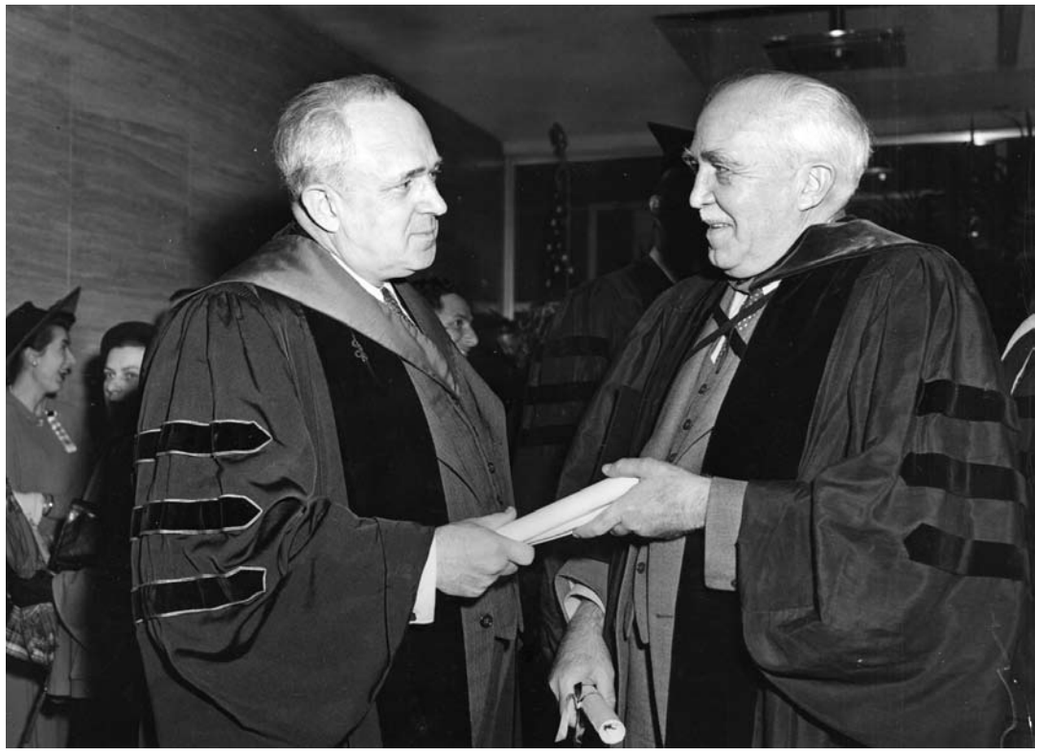
During the 1930s, as students attempted to organize political clubs aligned with national leftist organizations, they confronted the rarely used Rule 6 of the board of trustees, which prohibited any student group from aligning with national chapters, except for religious, military, professional, and Greek organizations.[17] Rule 6 was repeatedly invoked to stamp out liberal dissent on campus into the 1950s.[18] When the Student Union, a forum where students could debate the major political issues of the day, sought membership in the left-leaning American Student Union, Marvin invoked Rule 6. When a group of students formed a committee to participate in the nationwide Strike Against War and Fascism on April 12, 1935, Marvin refused to officially sanction the event, despite protest by labor leaders, peace activists, and several congressmen. He also denied admission to high school students who participated in left-wing protests, on the basis of their questionable moral character.[19] Two years later, Marvin prohibited any student involvement in peace protests, but about three hundred students abandoned classes and defied his orders. The students grew bolder. In May 1937, they launched their own appeal to the AAUP protesting violations of academic freedom.[20] The editor-in-chief of the *Hatchet* resigned after he led his staff to publish a front-page editorial in January 1938 entitled "Can George Washington University Become a Genuine Fortress of Democracy?" in which the editorial board condemned the use of Rule 6 against liberal student groups and the prohibition of student participation in the peace protests. In a meeting behind closed doors, Marvin dumped the entire board of editors and chose six members of the senior staff as replacements.[21] With a politically conscious student body and an administration less tolerant of dissent, a clash was certain.

That clash, Dr. Herrick's predicted "rebellion," erupted in the spring of 1940 when a young, charismatic professor of English named Martha Gibbon resigned in protest after being passed over for promotion and tenure.[22] "If my case proves anything at all," she wrote in an appeal to the AAUP, "it proves that all the deans and department heads here at George Washington are mere cogs, like the rest of us. Democratic procedure at our university is a pantomime and a farce; this is a one-man institution, and that one man is a ruthless tyrant." The resignation triggered a city-wide media spectacle with wide coverage in the local newspapers, forcing the trustees into an emergency meeting. Students and alumni formed ad hoc investigative committees, wrote letters to the four major papers, lobbied AAUP staff members in person, and circulated petitions signed by hundreds of students. However, the *Post* printed a staff editorial warning that the issue of Professor Gibbon's resignation was only a "teapot tempest" and the real issue was "wider antagonisms aroused by Dr. Marvin's vigorous and progressive leadership." That brought a sharp response from Professor Gibbon.[23]

The Martha Gibbon affair was almost certainly not simply a matter of faculty tenure. One former student wrote to the *Post* that during "the Spanish [Civil] War Miss Gibbon had the audacity to put on her required reading list in her classes the radical magazines *The Nation* and *The New Republic*. She also took the liberty of stressing her sympathy for the Red government of Madrid. A number of us, finding her views too objectionable after a time, lodged a protest with Dr. Marvin." Two students recalled being told by Jessie Fant Evans, a member of the board of trustees, that "Marvin says that [Gibbon] is a communist. He says she has a Red Card." Later, two George Washington professors visited the secretary of the AAUP and told him that "Professor Gibbon is a Communist and was a member of the League for Peace and Democracy, which . . . was condemned by" the House Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities. Both Trustee Evans and the two professors believed that Gibbon's personal political views played a role in her departure. As Kayser recalls, the episode revealed the extent to which the student body had evolved, launching a protest against war and fascism, demanding the right to align itself with national leftist groups, injecting itself into questions of faculty tenure and academic freedom, and "attack[ing] the president



Portrait of Dr. Cloyd Heck Marvin taken near the end of his tenure. Between 1927 and 1959, as society underwent great change, he ruled with an authoritarian style that suppressed dissent among students and faculty. (Courtesy, GWU Archives.)



At the opening of the new George Washington University Hospital in 1948, President Marvin presented an honorary Doctor of Civil Laws degree to Maj. Gen. Phillip B. Fleming, administrator of the Federal Works Agency. The new hospital benefited from grants and credits received from this agency. (Courtesy, GWU Archives.)

personally and so bitterly that the Trustees had to take cognizance of its charges and clear the president by a sweeping vote of confidence."[24]

World War II drastically changed life at George Washington. The political consciousness of the student body fell dormant during the war, although the *Hatchet* continued to ruffle university administrators on issues of campus life. The university was on the verge of a major expansion. As it grew, town-gown confrontations between the university and the federal government on the one hand, especially with the move of the State Department to Foggy Bottom, and neighborhood residents on the other, became more serious and more frequent. A stalwart follower of President Herbert Hoover, Marvin opposed the New Deal and resisted the temptation to allow the university to benefit from federal money, contracts, and land early in his tenure.[25] The war changed this tendency, and Marvin played an important role in securing contracts with government agencies during and after the war; he also served on numerous government boards during those years. The George Washington University Hospital, completed in 1948, benefited from a grant from the Federal Works Agency.[26] Construction on the hospital occurred simultaneously with the planning and construction of Lisner Auditorium on the corner of 21st and H Streets, NW, the opening of which would spark another clash between Marvin and liberal elements of the university and city communities.

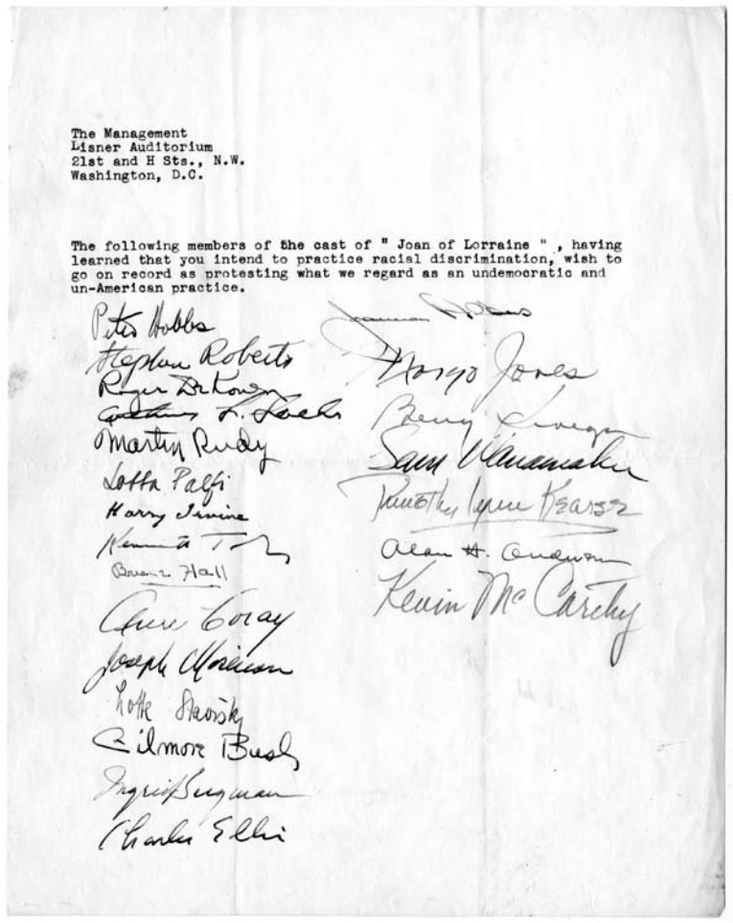
In 1946, Lisner Auditorium opened on campus following trustee Abram Lisner's $750,000 bequest made upon his death in 1943. Said to be the largest theater south of New York at the time, the 1,500-seat venue and fifty-nine-foot stage promised to be a significant asset to cultural life in the District. With modern light and sound systems, the theater would host graduation exercises, large public lectures, a radio station, and an art gallery in addition to commercial performances. However, even when opened to the public, the auditorium reserved admission only for the white community. As historian Paul Cooke writes, "Adhering to the most rigid racial policy-practice of all District colleges, George Washington University even extended racial exclusion to the institution's Lisner Auditorium." On October 10, 1946, the *Star* reported that a group of attendees was denied admission to a ballet performance because the group included two African Americans.[27]

The segregated policy of the Lisner Auditorium undoubtedly would have sparked controversy, but its opening play, *Joan of Lorraine*, starring twenty-nine-year-old actress Ingrid Bergman, intensified the conflict. The debut performance, in October, sold out by mail even before the box office opened. Starring as Joan of Arc and famous for her liberal political views, Bergman vividly remembered the opening of Lisner Auditorium. The role of Joan of Arc was one she cherished, but as soon as she learned Lisner was opening as a segregated theater, she told playwright Maxwell Anderson, "Shame on you, coming with this play to Washington, knowing this would happen. If I'd known black people weren't allowed in, I'd never have put my feet in this town." At the press reception on October 31, 1946, the day before the play's opening, Bergman told the reporters that she would never return to Washington: "I will not come back here again until black people, just like white people, can come to the theater. We play for everybody. Everybody!" Bergman also composed a petition, signed by her fellow cast members, that deplored the "undemocratic and un-American practice" of segregation.[28]

Bergman's actions sparked intense coverage in the Washington press. The *Washington Post*'s editorial board objected to Lisner Auditorium's whites-only policy: "One would suppose it, as a seat of scholarship, to be above prejudice. One would suppose it, as a place of learning, religious in origin and consecrated to Christian ideals, to be above the meanness that would deny men opportunities for entertainment on account of the color of their skins." Letters to the editor in all the city newspapers showed deep divisions in the community: "The revenue to be derived is poor compensation for the injury done to the conscience of American citizens by this continuance of injustice in our National Capital," read one letter to the *Post*. Others called segregation traditional and called on Bergman to book a ticket back to her native Sweden.[29]

Letters also poured in to auditorium management representing both sides of the desegregation controversy. One anonymous supporter of segregation wrote that white and black communities preferred the privacy of their own groups and the existing social tradition should be preserved.[30] Another wrote that she had "no respect whatsoever" for Bergman, because "any white person that preaches he wants colored [persons] surrounding him in his social life must be mentally unbalanced." Another called Bergman "white without and black within, a negro in a white man's skin." On the other hand, the auditorium also received letters from patrons threatening to boycott until the racially restrictive policy was reversed. Several came from World War II veterans who believed that racial segregation was a vestige of fascism, over which American democracy had only recently triumphed.[31]

Pro-segregation protesters outside the theater on opening night spat at Bergman, and worse. An anti-segregation organization, the Birmingham-based Southern Conference



The Management
Lisner Auditorium
21st and H Sts., N.W.
Washington, D.C.

The following members of the cast of " Joan of Lorraine " , having learned that you intend to practice racial discrimination, wish to go on record as protesting what we regard as an undemocratic and un-American practice.

Peter Hobbs
Stephen Roberts
Ryan DeYoung
Martyn Rudy
Lotta Palfi
Harry Irvine
Brenda Hall
Joseph Anderson
Lotte Stavisky
Gilmore Busby
Charles Ellis
Margo Jones
Sam Wanamaker
Alan H. Anderson
Kevin McCarthy

Performers in the first production at the Lisner Auditorium, the cast of Joan of Lorraine *protested the segregation of the theater. The politically outspoken actress Ingrid Bergman was among the twenty-two signers of this petition. (Courtesy, GWU Archives.)*

on Human Welfare, also picketed in front of the entrance on 21st Street. The leader of the group called for ending the university's tax-exempt status. Bergman recalled how she feared she had "put the kiss of death on the play," but the theater filled and the play was a commercial success. "How could I go out there on the stage every night crying Joan's words . . . 'But to surrender what you are, and to live without belief—that's more terrible than dying—more terrible than dying young,'" she wrote later. "Joan was eighteen years old and was burned to death. All I had to put up with was a bit of spit."[32]

The auditorium's director, Vincent de Angelis, defended the racial policy as "no different from the dual systems at the other Washington theaters or restaurants or schools generally."[33] In this, he was seconded by the director of National Theater three blocks away, which was also segregated.[34] A boycott against segregation by the Dramatist's Guild, composed of Washington's playwrights, threatened National Theater's fall 1946 schedule. The *Post* harangued both theaters, believing they would suffer no loss in revenue or disruption in audience, and may even benefit from desegregating. As a newer, more liberal city newspaper, the *Post* had long advocated desegregation in Washington. As Katherine Graham recalled of her husband, then-*Post* editor Philip Graham, he was willing to use the paper to achieve the political goal of desegregation. Another city paper, the more conservative and established *Evening Star*, disagreed with the *Post*. Its editors did "not believe that local sentiment supports the elimination at this time of restrictive [racial] practices."[35]

The controversy over segregation in Lisner sparked protests from students as well, particularly among a group of socially liberal

veterans. On opening night, a student group billed as the George Washington University chapter of the American Veterans Committee (AVC) passed out leaflets with Bergman's picture and her quote to the press in support of her statements. The AVC, an unrecognized student group claiming about three hundred members and led by student Don Rothenberg, transgressed the infamous Rule 6 with improper use of campus facilities and the university name. The officially recognized campus veterans group, the University Veterans Club (UVC), passed a resolution denouncing the AVC's unauthorized use of the university's name—then immediately followed with another resolution condemning segregation in Lisner Auditorium.[36]

President Marvin threatened to expel Rothenberg for violating Rule 6, which led to another round of attacks in the press. A *Post* editorial quipped that veterans should have no trouble adjusting to life back at the university: "For their former drill sergeants they have exchanged a university president who seems to think that an institution of learning is a school for conformity." A university must have room for a clash of ideas. "Where intolerance is encouraged, whether in respect of race or of opinion, education can be nothing more than a sterile recitation of dogma." The *Hatchet*, vigorously defended the AVC, although it printed letters to the editor in opposition from students decrying the AVC's alleged Communist Party ties. In answer to President Marvin's threat to expel Rothenberg, the *Hatchet* wrote an editorial entitled "Expulsion—Be Damned!" and warning that expulsion would constitute an "unjustified" attempt to suffocate the freedoms of speech and assembly. The paper once again suffered for its independence, as the student government, backed by President Marvin and the governing committee on publications, opened an investigation into the paper's supposed communist leanings with hearings and testimony by newspaper staff in the spring of 1947.[37]

To the city papers, Marvin defended his threat to expel Rothenberg, claiming it derived from the AVC's violation of school regulations and not from "the Negro issue which they are dragging in like a dead cat." Student letters poured into the *Post*. One wrote, "I am ashamed that the university with which I am associated has taken such a stand." An investigating committee of five faculty members and student leaders eventually exonerated Rothenberg and the other students involved from charges including "doing the university irreparable harm" and seeking to "destroy" the university.[38] After accusations appeared in the local press that Marvin had threatened the academic freedom of faculty members, the GWU Chapter of the AAUP issued a statement in November 1946 denying that Marvin had ever done so. Marvin was not the only person who viewed the AVC's support of desegregation as a front for more nefarious Communist sympathies. The House Un-American Activities Committee cited the protest at Lisner Auditorium by the George Washington chapter of the AVC as evidence of leftist sympathies in its investigation of the national AVC organization for alleged Communist activities.[39]

During the Lisner Auditorium controversy, the board of trustees vowed to maintain segregation in higher education so long as it was maintained in public schools. For a period of time following *Joan of Lorraine,* the auditorium temporarily closed its doors to commercial plays of any kind, choosing to restrict the theater to university functions involving the all-white student body. However, on February 4, 1947, a special committee of the board of trustees drew up a statement of principles governing the auditorium's use. First, university classes and affairs would be the principal use of Lisner Auditorium. Second, when not so used, and at the discretion of the management, the auditorium may be opened for lease to outside organizations. Finally, when opened for lease, the university would impose no restrictions on attendance.[40]

With the passage of the G.I. Bill and return of veterans to campus, the composition of the student body at George Washington changed significantly. These new groups, particularly the veterans, increased the pressure for desegregation. Here, a veteran registers for classes in 1946. (Courtesy, GWU Archives.)

The *Hatchet* had the last word the following week: "It is our conviction that a change in admissions policy, whereby Negroes would be allowed to witness events at Lisner, would be a commendable and progressive step." Integrated commercial performances "would add immeasurably to our cultural life and to the prestige of the University," the students wrote. On February 13, 1947, the Board of Trustees formally voted to desegregate Lisner Auditorium.[41]

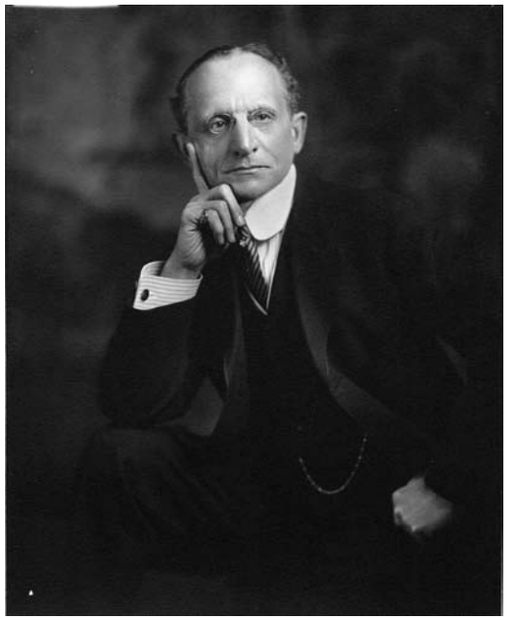
Following the debate over the desegregation of Lisner Auditorium, President Marvin and the board of trustees faced pressure internally and externally to remove all racial barriers to admission and enrollment at George Washington. The internal pressure came from students and faculty, as well as by other university divisions, including hospital staff, students enrolled in night and extension courses, and students taking courses under contract with the federal government. External pressure came from accrediting organizations and the merger of the segregated George Washington Law School with the integrated National University Law School in 1952. In June 1954, the month after the Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* and its companion case applying to the District of Columbia, *Bolling v. Sharpe*, the trustees finally voted to desegregate, beginning with the incoming class in the fall of 1954.[42]

In late 1949, the *Hatchet* printed the most famous editorial in the student paper's century-long history. "The time has come, we feel, for the university to reconsider its present admission policy and remove the barrier it has maintained against Negro students." The editors cited the desegregation of many of George Washington's sister schools in the District, including Catholic, American, and Georgetown universities. "There will be many who, at first thought, will cry, 'Let us wait a while.' To them we say, THE TIME IS NOW." The *Evening Star* noted President Marvin's reply to the editorial: "The *Hatchet*, as the student newspaper of the university, is free to reflect without interference the opinion of its editors. The position of the university in the matter of its membership is known to the community."[43] The editorial received regional and national newspaper coverage.[44] A former member of the *Hatchet* editorial board, Jack Skelly, recalls that the newspaper staff was suspended for the editorial. Marvin explained to the suspended students that integration would threaten recent gifts made to the university by several important benefactors, including the gift by Abram Lisner's estate. According to Skelly, lobbying by *Washington Post* editor J. Russell Wiggins, whose children attended George Washington and were friends with the *Hatchet*'s editors, was enough to lift the suspension.[45]

Letters, mostly supportive of the student paper's position, flooded the *Hatchet's* editorial pages. "Now is the time for our University president to prove that his faith in democracy is more than lip-service," one student wrote. Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota congratulated the paper's editors for endorsing "higher democratic values," but at an open forum hosted by the paper some twenty anti-integration protestors threatened to transfer to southern schools if the university desegregated. The *Hatchet* followed with three more editorials directed at the board of trustees prior to their meeting on December 8, 1949. The editors wrote that "admitting students on the basis of scholastic ability and potential alone, disregarding race entirely, is the right, the moral, the just course of action for the University to follow." The trustees took no action at the December 8 meeting.[46]

The editorial campaign in the student newspaper sparked one of the more perplexing episodes in the drive to desegregate George Washington. Irwin Glatstein, the director of the Hillel Foundation of B'nai B'rith, the Jewish student ministry on campus, supported the *Hatchet* editorials and desegregation of the university. The leader of the Hillel student council also wrote a letter to the *Hatchet* on behalf of Hillel calling for the removal of racial barriers. On January 13, 1950, an article in the *Jewish Telegraphic Agency* reported that President Marvin, speaking "wildly" of a "Jewish plot," had threatened to fire Glatstein and force Hillel off campus. The exposé reported that Jewish students had faced discrimination at the university and cited Don Rothenberg's suspension as such an incident.[47] On the floor of the U.S. House of Representatives, Congressman Arthur Klein of New York denounced Marvin's "outburst of racial and religious bigotry" after reading the *Jewish Telegraphic Agency* article, according to Klein's press release and an article in the *Star*. Marvin promptly denied the charges, and he received support from several prominent Jewish leaders. The *Post* reported that Congressman Klein's allegations had "backfired."[48]

Neither the author of the article in the *Jewish Telegraphic Agency* nor Congressman Klein



A 1909 photograph of Abram Lisner, benefactor of the Lisner Auditorium and longtime university trustee. Though one of the most prominent Jewish figures in the university's history, anecdotal evidence suggests that restrictions on his bequest was one reason for the whites-only policy at the Lisner's opening. (Courtesy, GWU Archives.)

retracted their statements. The author insisted that he had in his possession affidavits and sworn depositions "to prove the integrity" of the article. He implied that administration officials were intimidating the Hillel director and defended Klein's statement: "I think Representative Klein is to be commended for his fearless and accurate exposé." Klein was surprised that the Jewish community defended President Marvin. "I have no retraction to make, and intend in the future to continue my exposure of the brutal policies of racism embraced and practiced" by the university, he said. "I admit error on only one point," he continued. "I seriously underestimated the depth and strength of the bigotry of Dr. Marvin's policies."[49] Although the allegations in the story are impossible to verify, the episode was another example of the difficult relationship Marvin had with the city press.

Other student groups joined Hillel and the student newspaper in calling for the university's desegregation. The Baptist Student Union, the Catholic Newman Club, and the Religious Council condemned the racial admissions policy, holding meetings for their members on the topic of segregation and writing letters to the *Hatchet* editors. Brotherhood Week, an event hosted by the university's religious organizations on campus and around the District of Columbia in February 1950, provided an occasion for all the student body presidents at the District's universities to call for desegregation in a jointly signed open letter. The following month, a student council resolution backed by council president Charles Chrichton unanimously confirmed the report of the student committee to investigate the university's racial policy calling for desegregation.[50] The report was sent to President Marvin and the board of trustees. The *Hatchet*'s editorial board affirmed the student committee's report, hoping the trustees would "take to heart the recommendations of [the] students and speed up the process of making more democratic the university's admissions policy." When letters of protest did appear in the *Hatchet's* pages, the paper insisted that its views represented only those of the editors and not of the entire student body.[51] The administration continued to delay on desegregation. Dr. Marvin encountered *Hatchet* editor Estelle Stern Katz participating in a lunch counter sit-in protest, and called her to his office. "I have a memory of him putting his hand on my head and making veiled threats," she remembered.[52]

Another source of pressure on the administration arose from the desegregation of the university hospital. An old administrative rule allowed all hospital staff to take one free course, and the rule had never changed after the desegregation of the hospital staff in the 1940s. Emma Parker, an African American nurse, tried to enroll in a secretarial studies course, according to a memorandum by the director of admissions to Dr. Marvin.[53] Parker was denied admission, as were four dieticians who worked at the hospital. The dieticians, told that the university had a racial bar when they attempted to register for the course, protested in a letter to Marvin that "we are being deprived of an extremely important privilege offered all professional employees of the University." "We were subjected to a cruel form of embarrassment." They asked for Marvin's help in closing the loophole, and Marvin responded courteously, acknowledging the loophole and promising to change the rule. "I can say to you that your letter has helped bring the solution of the problem closer, and . . . I am fully cognizant of the request that is being made, and . . . I am sympathetic with it," he wrote to the women.[54] In the meantime, the women were forced to wait.

A similar problem arose over the enrollment of black graduate students from Howard University who sought to take courses at George Washington when similar courses were not offered at Howard. Records show some Howard graduate students had been barred from attending courses at George Washington. A full-time professor at Howard, who needed to take inorganic chemistry for his doctorate, applied to take the course at George Washington, the only school that offered it at night without interfering with his teaching schedule. After discussing the matter with the board of trustees, Marvin told the director of admissions, "The only answer we can give at this particular time is that we cannot be of service."[55]

The university was generally more accommodating toward minority students attending special courses under contract with the federal government. Black trainees in the U.S. Air Force contract programs were permitted to attend courses in Monroe Hall without incident.[56] However, the university does not appear to have had a uniform policy toward foreign nationals or children of African or Afro-Caribbean diplomats, who were subjected to discrimination elsewhere in the District, which generated friction with American allies by the early 1950s. As historian Paul Cooke notes, the minister of Haiti was unable to enroll his son at the university, although the university had admitted international students from Latin America, the Middle East, and Asia since at least the 1930s.[57] The admissions office did consider the application of Paul Joseph Chretien, a Haitian national categorized as "negroid" on his application, for enrollment in Economics 223, Monetary Policy and Central Banking, under a State Department contract.[58] On May 20, 1952, the admissions office received an application from Joseph F. Taylor, who was stationed at Fort Belvoir, Virginia, for an associate of arts degree in the off-campus division of the College of General Studies. "As this is the first application from a Negro student for any degree under the College of General Studies it is important that all implications be carefully examined," the director of admissions wrote to President Marvin. In response to the Taylor application, the director of veterans' education at the university, Don C. Faith, wrote to Marvin advocating that black veterans of the Korean War applying for admission under the G.I. Bill be admitted to the university.[59]

These "special cases"—hospital nurses, Howard graduate students, black veterans, foreign students, and students attending under government contracts—eventually forced a limited change in admissions policy. Although the longtime director of admissions, Harold Griffith Sutton, personally supported segregation, he was aware of the social and administrative costs of continuing strict segregationist policies. In a memorandum, Sutton wrote that the university should consider admitting several qualified groups of black students: graduate students seeking to enroll in courses not offered by Howard University, black veterans of the Korean War, hospital nurses, and foreign students with government departments such as the departments of state and commerce who come to the United States for special study. In the fall of 1952, the admissions office allowed these categories of "special cases" to enroll. According to the directive, black students were to be held to the same academic standard as white students and must be bona fide enrollees. They must not be Communists, the statement indicated in a racial generalization of African American liberal politics. The university and the students were forbidden from publicizing their enrollment, as the admission was only experimental.[60] Even with these exceptions, the pressure on President Marvin and the trustees continued to mount.

The most immediate pressures on the board of trustees to desegregate George Washington came from the law school community. At a December 1950 meeting, the Association of American Law Schools (AALS) passed a resolution opposing racial segregation at any of its accredited schools and called for integration at "the earliest practicable time." The AALS also amended its articles of association to include as one of its objectives encouraging member schools to "maintain equality of opportunity in legal education without discrimination or segregation on the ground of race or color."[61] The AALS accredited a total of 110

law schools, of which seven public and eleven private schools, all located in southern states or the District of Columbia, were still segregated. George Washington, one of the eleven segregated private law schools, was the northernmost among them.[62]

A year earlier, Marvin had attacked the AALS and the Association of American Medical Colleges in a speech before a meeting of the Association of American Colleges, an umbrella accrediting body. Marvin shocked his audience by claiming that the AALS was "dominated by" special interests. He claimed accrediting organizations interfered with university governance and dictated institutional policy, a view consistent with his preference for a strong and efficient centralized administration. A *Post* editorial later claimed his accusation was unjustified, and Marvin underwent another round of criticism in the city press.[63] Following the AALS declaration, and especially the threat to withdraw accreditation of any law school that did not desegregate within two years, the faculty of George Washington law school overwhelmingly voted in favor of desegregation in late 1951[64] and set up a committee to issue recommendations on the issue to the board of trustees.

The confidential report of the Faculty Committee on the Admission of Negroes was submitted on December 1, 1953, following extensive conversations with AALS administrators and officials of other universities, as well as the George Washington University community. The report predicted that only a small number of African Americans would enroll the first few years following desegregation. Catholic University, which desegregated in 1943, only had five African American students out of a total of seventy-one, Georgetown had thirty African Americans out of 809 law students, and American University had twenty out of 229. None of these schools saw a decline in white enrollment or significant protest at the inclusion of black students, and the same was true at all Maryland and Virginia law schools except for the still-segregated University of Richmond and Washington and Lee. The committee considered and discarded forms of partial segregation, including separate facilities or allowing students to change their seats, since this probably would not comply with the AALS mandate. A proposal to allow black students into the bachelor of laws program only rather than masters or doctoral programs was also discarded. Even the desegregation of athletic facilities and dormitories had met with less friction than administrators expected. "The admission of Negroes to the Law School will call for careful handling, but it can be handled," the report noted. Desegregation could be "dealt with successfully by the use of tact, intelligence, and good will."[65]

Added to the pressure of the AALS and the law school faculty was the looming merger of the National University and George Washington law schools. National University Law School, founded in 1869, had desegregated in 1952 and enrolled nine black students out of a total enrollment of about 175. It is possible that the issue of desegregation held up the merger; the GWU board of trustees did not ratify the merger until the June 30, 1954 meeting after the vote to desegregate.[66] All students were able to transfer to the new institution without interruption; George Washington also assumed all debts and liabilities, as well as a handful of professors and the law library beginning in the fall of 1954. According to the *Post*, six black students from National University enrolled on the same basis as George Washington students and were eligible for either a National or a George Washington law degree.[67] The institutional merger created the newly named National Law Center at the George Washington University.

On June 30, 1954, the board of trustees raised the issue of race in admissions policy for the final time. Earlier that day, by a vote of 83–4, the tenured faculty opted to change the admissions policy. President Marvin told

The George Washington University Board of Trustees in 1955. Responsible for oversight, this group voted to desegregate the University in June 1954. In doing so, they spurned Marvin's recommendation to study the impact of this policy reversal. (Courtesy, GWU Archives.)

the trustees that, in the face of law school pressure and the threatened loss of government contracts, desegregation would allow the university to maintain its status in the community. He later wrote: "In light of the principles enumerated by the Supreme Court, in light of our holding a Federal Charter, and in light of our relationship to government departments through contracts, it was felt we could not lag behind the new social front that is establishing itself."[68] Racial discrimination by government contractors had come under increasing scrutiny following a series of executive orders by Presidents Harry Truman and Dwight Eisenhower in the early 1950s, and the university's racial ban eventually came into conflict with federal contracting agencies.[69] However, Marvin again chose delay and recommended that the board take no action until a committee could further study the academic implications of desegregation.[70]

Chairman Robert Fleming told the trustees that every person admitted would still have to meet the institution's scholastic standards. Trustee Charles Tompkins questioned whether standards could be maintained. In response, Fleming told the board that he had every confidence in Marvin and the administration, but

the danger of incensing public opinion and in losing government contracts, crucial to the university's endowment after World War II, was high. In the end, the trustees voted unanimously in favor of a change. The final statement read:

> In accordance with The George Washington University's long established policy of seeking to meet the changing needs of the American community, it accepts as students, without regard to race, all who are able to profit by the educational service it extends, as made manifest by their meeting its admission requirements and maintaining its standards of scholarship.[71]

The change in racial policy made front-page headlines in the city's newspapers. According to the *Star*, "The action by GWU means that all major colleges and universities in the Washington area have dropped race bans."[72] According to school spokesmen, African Americans would be able to register for courses as of the fall 1954 term. Marvin had his personal doubts about the change, noting in an open letter to university staff that one could expect little change in the composition of the student body for the near future. "I think our standards of admission and the high expectancy of our classroom work would deter many," he wrote.[73] Certainly, the tuition might have deterred minority students, and two endowed tuition scholarships continued to have racial restrictions at least until 1958 when the trustees offered a $200 tuition scholarship open to students of any race.[74] Similarly, the dormitories remained whites-only until the early 1960s.[75]

In a congratulatory letter to Marvin, George Washington alumnus and native Arkansan Arthur Caldwell, then-chief of the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice, wrote that in his position he had "become acutely aware" of the difficulties caused by segregation. Though Marvin "may have a few protests from other graduates, permit me to assure you that I, for one, heartily support you in this move." Marvin responded that the decision came after years of deliberation. "Now we have wiped out the last vestige of prejudice," he told Caldwell, a sentiment seemingly at odds with his private statements.[76] The early 1950s had changed Washington, with lunch counter sit-ins and pickets outside segregated department stores; finally, the city-wide battles had changed the campus as well.[77] A *Hatchet* editorial lauded the trustees' decision when the university finally opened as an integrated institution in the fall of 1954. "The *Hatchet*, as an organ of student opinion, has been a strong advocate of racial integration, and it is with gratification that we welcome this long-awaited stance."[78] Although a number of internal and external considerations limited the trustees' options, the student body claimed some role in the decision.

Marvin's presidency at George Washington ended in 1959. His later years were not without controversy, as his type of centralized, socially conservative governance became increasingly outworn in a new era of university governance that rescinded codes of dress and behavior, permitted co-educational dormitories, and relaxed policies on alcohol use. Marvin's alleged firing of an atheist professor in 1956 again led to front-page news after he publicly announced that the university did not have professors who did not profess belief in God.[79] But Marvin could not stop the future. Thomas H. Carroll and Lloyd H. Elliott followed as university presidents during the tumultuous 1960s and 1970s, an era of Vietnam protests that caused the campus to close. The transition in presidents mirrored a more general transition in higher education, as the *in loco parentis* doctrine declined in importance and university control grew less centralized. The student protests of the 1930s and 1940s, including the debate over segregation in the early 1950s, were the precursors to a much more radical and active student body.

Again the most political of debates touched the campus community as the university wrestled with an identity in the changing District of Columbia.

George Washington was the last university in the District of Columbia to desegregate. In the end, the administration chose to remove its racial barriers because it was under pressure from external and internal forces. The pressure developed much later at George Washington than at schools like American, Catholic, or Georgetown universities, where segregation had come later and was never as complete as at George Washington, and where protests occurred as early as the 1930s, particularly among religious elements on and off campus.[80] Given the sweeping changes in the District in the late 1940s, with sit-ins and protests that desegregated restaurants and department stores, it was no coincidence at all that the desegregation controversy would first strike the university at its most public venue, Lisner Auditorium, which hosted commercial theater productions and was perhaps the single element of the university most outside Marvin's control. Because of the centralization and personalization of George Washington University's administration in the Office of the President and the limited avenues of dissent open to students, staff, and faculty, the university failed to be a trendsetter and instead changed only when its urban context changed. The racial bar did not disappear overnight, but it did fall, when the campus and city communities, accrediting organizations, and a Hollywood actress pushed the administration to end it.

NOTES

The author would like to thank staff members in the archives at GWU, the University of Arizona, UCLA, and the AAUP for their assistance in compiling the research of this article.

1. For an overview of President Marvin's administration, see Andrew Novak, "A President's Mixed Past: Marvin Center Namesake Expanded GW, Supported Segregation," *The Hatchet*, April 7, 2003. See also Novak, *The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit: A Critical Portrait of Dr. Cloyd Heck Marvin* (Washington, DC: Privately Published, 2004).

2. Kayser suggests otherwise: African Americans attended GW Law after the Civil War. Elmer Louis Kayser, *Bricks Without Straw: The Evolution of George Washington University* (New York: Appleton Century Crofts 1970), 292. A letter by President Marvin to Paul Cooke concurring is quoted in, Paul Cooke, "Desegregated Higher Education in the District of Columbia," *Journal of Negro Education* 27 (1958): 344, footnote 9.

3. Cloyd Heck Marvin, Memorandum on Admissions Policy, about 1938, RG0002, Series 4: Box 30, Folder 5, GWU Archives.

4. David Brinkley, *Washington Goes to War* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1988), 105; Cooke, "Desegregated Higher Education," 342; Kayser, *Bricks Without Straw*, 271–72.

5. Beverly W. Jones, "Before Montgomery and Greensboro: The Desegregation Movement in the District of Columbia," *Phylon*, 43, no. 2 (1982).

6. Flora Bryant Brown, "NAACP Sponsored Sit-Ins by Howard University Students in Washington, D.C., 1943–1944," *Journal of Negro History* 85 (2000): 278–79.

7. Jones, "Before Montgomery and Greensboro," 148–54. See also, *District of Columbia v. John R. Thompson Co.*, 346 U.S. 100 (1953).

8. "Ex-Grocer's Clerk, now Business Man, to University of Arizona at Age 33," *Pittsburgh Dispatch*, January 7, 1923. See also Cloyd Heck Marvin, *Commercial Education in Secondary Schools* (New York: H. Holt & Co., 1922), 216.

9. Andrew Novak, "The Marvin Doctrine and its Discontents: Dr. Cloyd Heck Marvin and the Shaping of the George Washington University, 1927–1959," paper presented to the Washington, D.C. Historical Studies Conference, November 5, 2005. In the paper, I used the term "Marvin Doctrine" to describe President Marvin's dual educational philosophy that favored streamlined authority in the Office of the President and a curricular bias favoring business courses and hard sciences at the expense of the liberal arts and humanities.

10. For an overview of Marvin's administration at the University of Arizona, see Mary Huntington Abbott, "The Marvin Affair," *Journal of Arizona History* 23 (1982): 59–80.

11. For the political aspects of Marvin's administration at the University of Arizona, see Andrew Novak, "The Cloyd Heck Marvin Years Revisited: Another Look at the University of Arizona's Controversial President," *Journal of Arizona History* 47 (2006): 103–30.

12. George Washington University nearly failed as an institution in 1910, until it was revived over the next decade and a half by Presidents Charles Stockton and William Miller Collier. For more on the Freemason grant, see "Million is Given to G.W. University by Masonic Body," Washington *Evening Star*, December 27, 1927, p. 1. For more on the purges in the Medical School, see Petition to AAUP, October 10, 1932 (AAUP Committee "A" on Academic Freedom and Tenure Case Files, Box 51); Enclosures with Petition, Oscar B. Hunter to AAUP, October 10, 1932, AAUP Committee "A" Files, Box 51, GWU Special Collections [hereinafter GWUSC]. The AAUP archives, which are housed in the Gelman Library at GWU, are only partially processed and do not have a comprehensive folder numbering system; they are organized by university and by date.

13. For more on the numerous professors in the liberal arts and humanities, see Novak, *The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit*, chap. 3. This history is based on dozens of appeals in the AAUP archives (see AAUP Committee "A" Files, Box 51, GWUSC).

14. See, Undated student petition, probably written by Davis Harding, March 1937, AAUP Committee "A" Files, Box 51, GWUSC; "Herrick Sympathizers Claim 700 Have Signed Petition," *The Hatchet*, April 27, 1937.

15. Marvin Herrick, Appeal to the AAUP, April 30, 1937, AAUP Committee "A" Files, Box 51, GWUSC.

16. Oral Interview with Evelyn Jones Kirmse, "Notes for the Marvin File," February 24, 1984, MS 460, Box 11 Folder 7, Evelyn Kirmse University of Arizona Centennial Collection, 1885–1986 (bulk 1930–1986), University of Arizona Archives.

17. Andrew Novak, "1930s: When *The Hatchet* Found Its Voice," in *The GW Hatchet: A Century in Focus, 1904–2004*, Francesca Di Meglio, ed. (Washington, D.C.: Hatchet Publications, 2004), 22.

18. Rule 6 held that "no student clubs or societies (except social fraternities, sororities, scholastic honor societies, religious or professional clubs or societies) organized as a branch or affiliate of a non-George Washington University organization will be recognized by the Student Life Committee." Novak, *The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit*, 126.

19. "Bone, Other Senators Support Strike," *The Hatchet*, April 2, 1935, 1; "600 Curiosity Seekers Walk Out Friday in Two Demonstrations Against War," ibid., April 16, 1935, 4; "Carliner, Tech Liberal, Not Denied Admission for Views, Marvin Says," ibid., February 5, 1935, 1.

20. Charles Kiefer, et al., Appeal to the AAUP, May 3, 1937, AAUP Committee "A" Files, Box 51, GWUSC.

21. Editorial, "Can George Washington University Become a 'Genuine Fortress of Democracy'?" *The Hatchet*, January 4, 1938, p. 1; Elissa Liebowitz, "A History of the GW Hatchet, 1902–1995," senior thesis, George Washington University, 1995.

22. Kayser, *Bricks Without Straw*, 275–78; Novak, *The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit*, chap. 4. For press coverage, see "Students Indignant at Miss Gibbon's Departure," *Washington Post*, March 12, 1940; "Resigned Professor Assails GW Head," *Washington Daily News*, March 13, 1940; "500 Students Fight Ouster at GWU," *Washington Daily News*, March 14, 1940.

23. Martha Gibbon, Appeal to the AAUP, March 10, 1940, AAUP Committee "A" Files, Box 51, GWUSC); Editorial, "Smoke Without Fire," *Washington Post*, March 24, 1940; Martha Gibbon, Letter to the Editor, "Miss Gibbon's Viewpoint," *Washington Post*, March 26, 1940.

24. Lee C. Patton, Letter to the Editor, *Washington Post*, March 27, 1940; Helen Dillon to Ralph Himstead, March 19, 1940, AAUP Committee "A" Files, Box 51, GWUSC; Internal Memorandum by Ralph Himstead, April 1940, AAUP Committee "A" Files, Box 51, GWUSC; Kayser, *Bricks Without Straw* , 277–78.

25. Novak, *The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit*, 198–99, 236–44, 251–62.

26. Kayser, *Bricks Without Straw* , 283–84.

27. Ibid., 284–85; Cooke, "Desegregated Higher Education," 344; "G.W. Auditorium Barring of Negroes Protested," *Evening Star*, October 10, 1946, B1.

28. "Bergman Play is Sold Out," *Washington Post*, October 10, 1946, 7B; Jay Carmody, "Miss Bergman is Easy, Poised and Articulate in Interviews," *Evening Star*, October 28, 1946, A12; Ingrid Bergman and Alan Burgess, *Ingrid Bergman: My Story* (New York: Delacorte Press, 1980), 162–63. Erin Lamb, "Actress Protests Lisner Auditorium Opening," *The GW Hatchet Centennial Supplement*, 2004, available at: http://gwhatchet.dreamhost.com/centennial/stories/120803-5.html.

29. "Lisner Auditorium," editorial, *Washington Post*, October 31, 1946; Robert E. Sherwood, "Jim Crow Theaters," Letter to the Editor, *Washington Post*, October 29, 1946; Letter to the Editor, *Washington Post*, October 31, 1946.

30. Typed letter from "A Segregationalist," Lisner Auditorium Desegregation 1946, undated, Lisner Auditorium Records, 1946–2005, RG0055 Series 4: Office Records, 1946–1952, Box 1, Folder 4, GWU Archives.

31. Letter, signed Irene Palus, October 31, 1946, Lisner Auditorium Desegregation, 1946, RG0055 Series 4: Office Records, 1946–1952, Box 1, Folder 5, GWU Archives; Jean Williams to Ingrid Bergman, November 15, 1946, RG0055 Series 4: Office Records, 1946–1952, Box 1, bolder 9, GWU Archives; letter, signed Irving and Leah L. Feingold, February 5, 1947, RG0055 Series 4: 4: Office Records, 1946–1952, Box 1, Folder 16, GWU Archives. The letter is representative of others in the Lisner Auditorium Desegregation folder; letter from Arnold Abbott, October 28, 1946, RG0055 Series 4: Office Records, 1946–1952, Box 1, Folder 14; letter, signed Ethel Jean Davis, February 6, 1947, RG0055 Series 4: Office Records, 1946–1952, Box 1, Folder 20, GWU Archives.

32. Clark Foreman, Letter to the Editor, *Washington Post*, October 31, 1946; Bergman, *Ingrid Bergman*, 163.

33. Chris Kormis, Sandy Holland, et al., *From Strength to Strength: A Pictorial History of George Washington University, 1821–1996* (Washington, D.C.: George Washington University, 1996), 62.

34. For more on the desegregation of National Theater, see Roger Meersman and Robert Boyer, "The National Theatre in Washington: Buildings and Audiences, 1835–1972," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society* 71/72 (1971–72): 190–242. At the National Theatre, African Americans were permitted on stage but not in the audience, while at Constitutional Hall, another famously segregated Washington institution, African Americans were permitted in the audience but not on stage. "Ingrid Bergman, Swedish Actress, Hits Race Ban," *Washington Post*, October 28, 1946, 10B.

35. "Race Issue Threatens to Close National Theater Before Jan. 1," *Evening Star*, November 14, 1946; "Jim Crow Theaters," Editorial, *Washington Post*, November 17, 1946; Katherine Graham, *Personal History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997), 185; "Race Discrimination Issue," Editorial, *Evening Star*, November 19, 1946.

36. Dorothy Henry, "Veterans Club Files Complaint Regarding AVC," *The Hatchet*, November 7, 1946.

37. "Student Life," Editorial, *Washington Post*, November 19, 1946; Robert C. Bone, Letter to the Editor, *The Hatchet,* November 14, 1946; "Expulsion—Be Damned!," Editorial, ibid., November 21, 1946; "Council Probes *Hatchet*," ibid., March

18, 1947; Editorial, "Upon Being Investigated," ibid., March 18, 1947.

38. "Proposed Expulsion Hearing Set for AVC Leaders at GWU," *Washington Post*, November 17, 1946; Helen Bissel, "Witch Hunting at George Washington," Letter to the Editor, *Washington Post*, November 19, 1946; "GW Probers Decide Against Expelling AVC Leaders from School," *Evening Star*, November 20, 1946.

39. GWU Chapter of the AAUP, Resolution, November 26, 1946, GWU Archives; "GW Decides Not to Expel AVC Leaders," *Washington Post*, November 21, 1946.

40. Myrna Sedgwick to Newell Windom Ellison, Notes Concerning the Special Committee on the Lisner Auditorium, December 8, 1946, RG0001/005-0005-0006 #000018, 1946–1947, GWU Archives; Kormis, et al., *From Strength to Strength*, 62; Cloyd Heck Marvin to Carroll Glover, Attachment, February 4, 1947, RG0001/005-0005-0006 #000018, 1946–1947, GWU Archives.

41. "Magnificent Tomb," Editorial, *The Hatchet*, February 11, 1947; C. H. Marvin, Internal memorandum, February 13, 1947, RG0002, Series 4, Box 12, Folder 8, GWU Archives.

42. For more on *Brown* and *Bolling*, see Mark V. Tushnet, *Making Civil Rights Law: Thurgood Marshall and the Supreme Court, 1936–1961* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), chapters 10–15. See also, Lisa Crooms, "Race, Education and the District of Columbia: The Meaning and Legacy of *Bolling v. Sharpe*," *Washington History* 16 (2005): 14.

43. "The Time is Now," Editorial, *The Hatchet*, November 15, 1949; "Student Paper at G.W. Calls for Lifting of Bar on Negroes' Entrance," *Evening Star*, November 15, 1949.

44. These newspapers included the Louisville *News* and *Courier-Journal,* the Buffalo *News*, the New York *World Telegram*, the Baltimore *Afro-American*, the Norfolk *Journal and Guide,* and the Lewiston, Maine, *Sun*. For a complete file of clippings on the *Hatchet* editorial calling for desegregation, see the 1950–51 scrapbook at GWU Archives, RG 0002, Series 39, Box 11.

45. Personal interview with Jack Skelly, April 28, 2003.

46. Letter to the Editor, *The Hatchet*, November 22, 1949; Kormis, et al., *From Strength to Strength*, 64; "What Will They Do?," Editorial, *The Hatchet*, December 6, 1949; Personal interview with Jack Skelly, April 28, 2003."Still a Live Issue," Editorial, ibid., December 13, 1949.

47. Letter to the Editor, ibid., December 20, 1949; "Bigotry Charge Against Marvin Refuted by Group," *Washington Post*, February 23, 1950.

48. "Dr. Marvin Accused by Klein of Bigotry in Dispute at GWU," *Evening Star*, February 22, 1950; "Bigotry Charge Against Marvin Refuted by Group," *Washington Post*, February 23, 1950.

49. "Rep. Klein Renews Charges Despite Dr. Marvin's Denials," *The Hatchet*, February 28, 1950.

50. Letter to the Editor, ibid., December 20, 1949; "All Men Have Same Dignity As Children of God," ibid., February 21, 1950. See also, "Brotherhood Week," Editorial, ibid., February 21, 1950; "Council Approves Racial Report," ibid., March 21, 1950.

51. "Democratic Progress," Editorial, ibid., March 21, 1950; Ted Carroll, Letter to the Editor, ibid., March 28, 1950.

52. Quoted in, Donna Brutkoski, "1950s: In the Face of Adversity," in *The GW Hatchet: A Century in Focus, 1904–2004*, Francesca Di Meglio, ed. (Washington, D.C.: Hatchet Publications, 2004), 38.

53. Application of Emma Parker, Internal Memorandum, Undated. Signed by H. G. Sutton. RG0002, Series 4, Box 30, Folder 5, GWU Archives.

54. Evelyn Harris, Lorraine Paul, Georgia Morgan, and Charity Jackson to C. H. Marvin, February 2, 1953. RG0002, series 4, Box 30, Folder 5, GWU Archives; C. H. Marvin to Harris, et al., February 19, 1953, RG0002, Series 4, Box 30, Folder 5, GWU Archives.

55. C. R. Naeser to C. H. Marvin, Internal Memorandum, March 11, 1952, RG0002, Series 4, Box 30, Folder 5, GWU Archives; C. H. Marvin to Trustee Wetmore, Internal Memorandum, April 3, 1952, RG0002, Series 4, Box 30, Folder 5, GWU Archives.

56. Leroy Merrifield, et al., Faculty Committee on the Admission of Negroes, Report, December 1, 1953, GWU Archives.

57. Calvin B. Holder, "Racism Toward Black African Diplomats During the Kennedy Administration," *Journal of Black Studies* 14 (1983): 31–48; Cooke, "Desegregated Higher Education," 344.

58. Application of Paul Joseph Chretien, Internal Memorandum, signed by H. G. Sutton, undated, RG0002, Series 4, Box 30, Folder 5, RG0002, Series 4, Box 30, Folder 5, GWU Archives.

59. Memorandum, H. G. Sutton to C. H. Marvin, May 20, 1952, RG0002, Series 3, Box 18, Folder 42, GWU Archives; Memorandum, D. C. Faith to C. H. Marvin, August 5, 1952, RG0002, Series 3, Box 18, Folder 42, GWU Archives.

60. H. G. Sutton, "Admission of Negro Students," Directive, October 7, 1952, RG0002, Series 4, Box 30, Folder 5, GWU Archives.

61. Quoted in, Gwen Y. Wood, *A Unique and Fortuitous Combination: An Administrative History of the University of Georgia School of Law* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998), 102.

62. Merrifield, et al., Report.

63. "Accrediting Units Hit by Marvin," *The Hatchet*, January 10, 1950; "Academic Accreditation," Editorial, *Washington Post*, January 15, 1950.

64. Merrifield, et al., Report.

65. Ibid.

66. Memo on the Board of Trustees Minutes, June 30, 1954, RG0002, Series 4, Box 30, Folder 5, GWU Archives. See also, RG0002, Series 3, Box 18, Folder 42 (contains copies of the document and additional notes).

67. "National Law School, Founded in 1869, to Merge with GWU," *Evening Star*, July 1, 1954; "GW Law School to Admit Negroes from National U," *Washington Post*, July 7, 1954.

68. Memo on the Board of Trustees Minutes, June 30, 1954, RG0002, Series 4, Box 30, Folder 5, GWU Archives.

69. Robert S. Pasley, "The Nondiscrimination Clause in Government Contracts," *Virginia Law Review* 43 (1957): 837 et seq. (detailing the increasing enforcement of contract compliance after 1951).

70. Memo on the Board of Trustees Minutes, June 30, 1954, RG0002, Series 4, Box 30, Folder 5, GWU Archives.

71. Ibid.

72. "GW Rules Out Race Bans for Next Term," *Evening Star*, July 8, 1954.

73. C.H. Marvin to University Staff, Open Letter, July 8, 1954, RG0002, Series 4, Box 30, Folder 5, GWU Archives.

74. It is unclear from the notation in the finding aid when the whites-only restrictions terminated. Board of Trustees Committee on Legal Affairs, November 24, 1958, RG0001, Series 5: Committees (1911–1960), Box 8, Folder 12, GWU Archives.

75. See generally correspondence with the Office of the President in GWU Archives, RG0002, Series 3, Box 18, Folder 42. The folder contains a number of letters referring to the first African American students to move into the dormitories in the early 1960s.

76. Arthur Caldwell to C. H. Marvin, Letter, July 22, 1954, RG0002, Series 4, Box 30, Folder 5, GWU Archives; C. H. Marvin to Arthur Caldwell, July 30, 1954, RG0002, Series 4, Box 30, Folder 5, GWU Archives.

77. Jones, "Before Montgomery and Greensboro," 144–154.

78. "Integration," Editorial, *The Hatchet*, September 30, 1954.

79. "GW Won't Hire Persons Who Don't Believe in God," *Evening Star*, November 20, 1956. See also, "GW Will Not Employ Atheists," *Washington Post*, November 20, 1956.

80. Compare with C. Joseph Nuesse, "Segregation and Desegregation at the Catholic University of America," *Washington History* 9 (1997): 54 (for Catholic University) and Cooke, "Desegregated Higher Education," 343–45 (for Georgetown and American universities).