A Journal Of Research On African American Men

CHALLENGE

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Challenge
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Gandhi argued that no temporary use of violence for what one considered to be for the good or welfare of others is ever justified. When violence is used, whether temporarily or otherwise, it is a concession to human weakness. When violence is used to kill dangerous insects and animals, it is a concession to human weakness, an admission that we do not know any other way to handle the situation. Violence is always self-defeating. The repercussions from nonviolence will never be hatred and revenge. When one retreats in a nonviolent effort, he must never retreat out of fear, nor because he believes the nonviolence technique will never win. His faith must teach him that nonviolence can never lose because three-fourths of it is invisible and cannot be measured. So it can never be said that the method is impractical, or that it has failed, if a campaign is called off.

from **Born to Rebel**

Preface to the Issue...

In choosing to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the birth of Dr. Benjamin E. Mays who served as president of Morehouse College from 1940 to 1967, the Morehouse Research Institute is doing more than simply paying homage to a brilliant scholar. The Institute is asserting that few issues are more important than educating our youth. A look at any television newscast will show that we as a nation have become preoccupied with violence; the crime rate has risen and many argue that the nation has lost much of its moral fiber. Many citizens argue that crime, unemployment and the falling value of the dollar are the real concerns of the country. However, an examination of the problems will reveal that education, or the lack thereof, is the real problem and is at the root of many of our social ills. Benjamin Mays saw the inherent value of a good and well rounded education and viewed it as the key to developing the nation and the door for equality among the races. The following quotation may shed some light on the value given education by Mays:

> One of my dreams came true at Bates. Through the competitive experience, I had finally dismissed from my mind for all time the myth of the inherent inferiority of all Negroes and the inherent superiority of all whites.... Bates College did not "emancipate" me; it did the far greater service of making it possible for me to emancipate myself, to accept with dignity my own worth as a free man (Mays, 1971:60).

For those who are familiar with Mays' teachings and writings his belief in and commitment to education are obvious; however, many who read this volume may not be aware of the contributions which Mays made to religion, philosophy, and moral education. These concerns along with equal-

ity and equal access dominated Mays' thinking and were reflected in all of his major works, especially his religious writings. From 1930 until 1932 he directed a study of the Negro churches in the United States under the auspices of the Institute of Social and Religious Research in New York City. Out of this work grew his book *The Negro's Church*, written in collaboration with Joseph W. Nicholson and published in 1933. This volume was an exhaustive sociological survey of the Negro church in America. It is based on a firsthand study of 609 urban and 185 rural churches in twelve cities and four rural areas. In this work, we see the beginnings of Mays' social concern. The work, because of its theoretical as well as empirical qualities, could not fail to attract the attention of the nation.

The Negro's Church launched Mays into a career in the area of theology, and, in 1934, he became dean of the Howard University School of Religion. In that position, he stressed the importance of the church, especially the clergy, involving itself in social concerns. In *The Negro's Church*, Mays had this to say about many of the African American preachers, "It is not too much to say that if the Negro had experienced a wider range of freedom in social and economic spheres, there would have been fewer Negroes "called" to preach and fewer Negro churches." (Mays, 1933:251) Mays envisioned an activist minister; one who would challenge social concerns:

> We come this week to think together, to work together, to pray together, and to dedicate ourselves to the task of completing the job which Lincoln began 100 years ago. We recognize the fact that we have had 100 years to make religion real in human relations and that we may not have another 100 years to make good on our theological commitment (Mays, 1971:262).

For the minister to be activist, education was an essential tool. During his six-year tenure at the Howard University School of Religion, Mays was devoted to developing, however inchoately, new social roles for the minister, suited to the oppressed condition of pre-World War II African Americans. This social consciousness followed Mays to Morehouse and was a hallmark of the Morehouse School of Religion.

For three decades Mays represented the United States at various world conferences on religion, social change, and race relations. In 1937 he attended the World Conference of the YMCA in Mysore, India. That year he was also America's delegate to the Oxford Conference on "The Church, Community, and State" at Oxford University in England. Participation in

these conferences afforded Mays the opportunity to observe foreign countries and peoples and, in Mays' words was refreshing: "The United States was so heavily segregated in 1948 that I was always glad to get a breath of fresh air somewhere in Europe" (Mays, 1971:254)

Dr. Mays was adamant that his experience reach the largest possible audience. To accomplish this goal he published nine books in his lifetime: *The Negro's Church*; *The Negro's God*; *Seeking to Be Christian in Race Relations*; *A Gospel for the Social Awakening*; *The Christian and Race Relations* (pamphlet); *Disturbed About Man*; *Born to Rebel*; *Lord, the People Have driven Me On*, and *Quotable Quotes*. Mays' many writings include 19 chapters in books and 232 articles in such publications as the *Crisis*, *Christian Century*, *Journal of Negro Education* (for which he was a contributing editor), *Missions*, *Woman's Press*, and the *Morehouse College Bulletin*. He published 1,871 articles in the national edition of the *Pittsburgh Courier* newspaper from 1946 to 1982. He also published articles in the *Tampa Bulletin*, the *Norfolk Journal and Guide*, the *Atlanta Constitution*, and the *Chicago Defender* newspapers.

About his writings and speeches Mays had this to say, "...In my 27 years as President [of Morehouse], I never ceased to raise my voice and pen against the injustices of a society that segregated and discriminated against people because God made them Black" (Mays, 1971: 1888).

Prejudice and discrimination still exist. Mays' world has changed very little. Why? In an effort to explore prejudice and discrimination and to seek to answer why they still occur, Morehouse held a conference on the status of African American education and the role of Historically Black Colleges and Universities in a modern society. This conference honored the world of Dr. Benjamin Mays and provided the opportunity for 23 scholars and civic leaders to spend three days in concentrated discussion on the key issues germane to the contemporary crises confronting African Americans in secondary and post-secondary education. The participants reviewed the state of knowledge and scholarship on several of the major issues delineated in the writings of Dr. Mays along with the parameters of current public policy.

The inspiration to convene these meetings derived from our observation that many of the issues raised by Dr. Mays during his career remain with us today. Additionally, many of the research agendas and information bases serving the public have been misdirected and largely ineffective. Thus, the immediate primary goal of the conference was to generate information

and insights which could inform public policy and action agendas as they relate to and impact upon African American education in our contemporary society. Two subsidiary long-range goals were to encourage relevant scholarship and to build a viable information exchange network so that educational policy and action would be firmly grounded in equity and research. The preceding goals were the hallmark of Dr. Mays' ideology and research as the following quotation will attest:

> Desegregation, won through court decision, congressional legislation, and demonstrations, has not changed this basic philosophy of inequality. So, to use a good Methodist phrase, Negro colleges have been by design kept on short grass" For the health of Morehouse and other colleges similarly circumstanced, the philosophy must be accepted by philanthropic America and governments that a good college, whether it is predominantly Negro or white deserves equal consideration.... (Mays, 1967 address to graduates)

This volume exists because Morehouse College wished to honor one of its most famous visionaries. However, without the financial support of the Ford and AT&T foundations the conference would never have occurred. These foundations have proven to be good friends of the College and seekers of truth and justice themselves.

Obie Clayton
Lawrence Edward Carter Sr.

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Benjamin Mays and Morehouse College

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Morehouse Before Mays. In 1867, Richard C. Coulter, an Augusta, Georgia, resident and former slave, Reverent Edmund Turney, educator of freedmen and organizer of the National Theological Institute in Washington, D.C., and William Jefferson White, an Augusta Baptist minister and cabinetmaker, founded the Augusta Institute (Jones, 1967). With educating the recently emancipated Negroes as their mission, they started a campaign that was highly unpopular in the South. In addition to operating with inadequate facilities during its early years, the Institute also had to deal with protests from the recently formed Ku Klux Klan (Brawley, 1970 [1917]).

However, under the auspices of the American Baptist Home Mission Society and through the friendship of the Reverend James Dixon, a white pastor of an Augusta church, the Institute faltered, but never failed. Dixon encouraged the Reverend Dr. Joseph T Robert, a white minister, to return to the South to run this Institute. Robert had left the South because he sought not to educate his children in a society that perpetuated slavery. With the approval of the Mission Society, Robert did return in 1871 to become the first president of the school (Brawley, 1970 [1917]).

This essay was taken from the book Mays and Morehouse: How Benjamin E. Mays Devloped Morehouse College, 1940-1967 by Dereck J. Rovaris Sr. and is reprinted with permission of the author.

President Robert provided thirteen years of consistent leadership and secured often hard-to-obtain contributions for the Institute. Other white Southerners would definitely not support this school, so funds were solicited from white Northerners. This met with little success, so Robert turned to the Negro churches for support, and they willingly responded with donations. They helped to pay for badly needed physical repairs and improvement, but the Institute remained in a precarious financial position during its existence in Augusta. In 1879, the school moved to Atlanta and was renamed Atlanta Baptist Seminary. It was later able to receive support from several Northern whites. The Institute continued to prepare future Negro ministers and teachers, and President Robert continued to support it and his students' enthusiasm for education until his death in 1884 (Brawley, 1970 [1917]).

The following year, 1885, President Samuel Graves took over the school and sought desperately to improve its physical condition. He called the students together and asked them to pray with him for his efforts to improve the school. Several years later, after much travel and solicitation on Graves' part, the cornerstone was laid on a building that would be,

> ...dedicated to the improvement of humanity, the instruction and enlightenment of a neglected people, and the acquisition of moral and intellectual qualities which fit men for usefulness and entitle them to respect and confidence of mankind (Brawley, 1970 [1917]).

The presidents who followed Graves firmly believed in these principles. Great strides in development and remarkable continuity characterized the administrations of President Graves and his successors, George Sale and John Hope (Jones, 1967:10).

President George Sale served from 1890 to 1906. During his tenure the Atlanta Baptist Seminary was renamed the Atlanta Baptist College. His administration also saw the building of the President's Residence and Quarles Hall, a sorely needed classroom and laboratory building. The building was so named to honor the Reverend Frank Quarles who had founded Spelman Seminary in Atlanta and was a black pastor who worked hard to further the education of his people. President Sale also increased community involvement and gave the Atlanta Baptist Seminary what Jones referred to as "...a personality, a dynamic, and a faith in itself and its future (Jones, 1967:10).

The first black president, Dr. John Hope, succeeded Sale in 1906. He

served the institution for twenty-five years. Among his contributions were improvements in enrollment, the physical plant, and the faculty. Robert Hall, Sale Hall, the Science Building, and a gymnasium were among the physical improvements made by Hope; salary increases and an improved endowment were among his other contributions. President Hope also was responsible for wooing a young man by the name of Benjamin E. Mays away from his studies at the University of Chicago in order that he might teach at Morehouse (Jones, 1967).

During Hope's administration the college was once again renamed. This time the name of Morehouse College was selected in recognition of a supporter and friend of Negro Baptists. The superior service and contribution to the advancement of Negro education and ministry made the longtime Secretary of the American Baptist Home Mission Society, Dr. Henry Lyman Morehouse, a popular namesake choice (Brawley, 1970 [1917]).

Also during his administration Dr. Hope's vision of educational cooperation took shape in 1929 in the formation of an Oxford-like complex known as the Atlanta University Affiliation. This consortium, which was a major response to the Depression and a major response to the need to pool resources, saw the uniting through a cooperative agreement of Atlanta University, which offered graduate work, Spelman College for black women, and Morehouse College for black men. It was one of the first consortiums in American higher education. Dr. Hope became president of Atlanta University and agreed to relinquish his presidency at Morehouse when it became more financially secure. He stepped down as Morehouse president in 1931 (Jones, 1967).

From 1931 to 1937, President Samuel Archer led the College in one of the more demanding periods of its history. Archer inherited not only a legacy of achievement and success, as established by his immediate predecessor, Dr. Hope, but he also took charge of the College when the nation was in the throes of a deep financial depression. It is to his credit that he managed to keep Morehouse afloat during these turbulent years. Upon his retirement in 1937, he was succeeded by Charles Dubois Hubert who served as Acting President until 1940. Hubert, like Archer, was not able to effect many dramatic improvements, but nevertheless kept the College alive during austere economic times (Jones, 1967).

According to Jones, the achievements of these two administrators (Archer and Hubert) "...cannot be measured in terms of physical advance-

ment and financial gains." Jones feels that their maintenance and perpetuation of "...principles...traditions...[and] of academic standards..." is worthy of merit considering the "precarious" period of our history in which they served Morehouse (Jones, 1967:113-121). Despite Jones' sentiment, the best efforts and intentions of Archer and Hubert did not move Morehouse in a forward direction. They sustained the College, but few new developments occurred and as a result the College became stagnant. Many of its previous successes had been preserved, but the College was in need of improvement if it were to keep pace with the needs of its students and the dictates of an ever changing society.

President Mays and Morehouse. In 1940, Dr. Benjamin E. Mays became President of Morehouse College, succeeding Acting President Hubert. When Mays arrived, he found the College in a very different state than he had experienced during his earlier years there. Morale was low; the endowment was about to lose $1,000,000, and Morehouse had assumed the least favorable position among the Affiliation members. Atlanta University was controlling Morehouse's budget and finances; the Morehouse students had lost their dining hall and were eating their meals on the Atlanta University campus; and medical services were provided on the Spelman campus. In his history of Morehouse, *A Candle in the Dark*, Edward Jones summarized, "Morehouse was the stepchild in the Affiliation..." and was "...fast becoming a junior college" (Jones, 1967:137-138).

These were the conditions at Morehouse when Mays arrived in 1940. Such conditions might have discouraged a lesser man, but Mays seemed, as he said later, born to rebel. He seemed to rebel against Morehouse's weaknesses. He seemed challenged by adversity.

In his own words, "the challenge of the job" was a "persuasive factor" in his decision to accept the presidency (Mays, 1971). Accepting such a position would give Mays an opportunity more fully to utilize his various administrative skills, not the least of which was his ability to communicate.

A gifted speaker, Mays was also an impressive author who utilized the written word to evoke more than just one-way communication. His writing was often designed to elicit more than a simple response as it delivered messages that a reader may not have known he was receiving. A good example of this is found in the language used by Mays in his letter of acceptance to the Board of Trustees.

Mays cleverly chose his words as he accepted the position and also suggested areas of concern that the Board should take into consideration:

> There are other matters, though not a condition of acceptance, which I do hereby present in the attached memorandum, requesting that the Executive Committee of the Board consider them as if they were conditions of acceptance (Mays, 1971:171).

Mays was able to suggest these concerns for Morehouse as conditions for his acceptance of the presidential post but without having them appear as such. In the referred-to memorandum he outlined the immediate concerns to be addressed by the Board. The first was his previous commitment to the YMCA, which would delay his assuming presidential duties until July 1, 1940. Additional concerns appear in the same memorandum:

> As I study the financial condition of Morehouse College, I am convinced that the members of the Board of Trustees were wise in not offering the President of the college more than $500 and a house. On the other hand, our coming to Atlanta is at considerable financial loss since it would hardly be expected that Mrs. Mays would engage in full time employment in Atlanta as was the case in Washington...In view of this situation, I should hope that the Board would not consider the initial salary of the president as being adequate or static...
>
> As I study the salary scale of teachers in Morehouse college, I am thoroughly convinced that on the whole they are too low. They should be raised all along the line...
>
> I request and urge that steps be taken immediately to do what we can to give Morehouse College equality of status in the system (the Atlanta Affiliation) by electing the President of Morehouse College to membership on the Executive Committee of his own college and on the Executive Committee of Atlanta University. Since the two institutions have the same Board of Trustees, this request appears logical and reasonable....
>
> I am strongly of the opinion that it is unsound administrative policy to have the treasurer of Morehouse College outside of the administration of Morehouse. I am convinced that it would make for better working relationships and that the cause of Morehouse would be better served if the treasurer were within the administration of Morehouse....
>
> That we look forward very soon to having a Dean of Instruction... (Mays, 1971:171-172).

A very precise man who chose his words carefully, Mays did not wish these points to be conditions for his employment, yet he presented them in a fashion in which they could not be ignored. He also felt that they "should set forth now in order to avoid possible misunderstanding later (Mays, 1971:172). It was important to Mays that he be understood. Frequent communication was the primary tool utilized to achieve this goal. Archival reviews have revealed numerous brochures, letters, and other written documents authored by Mays that were used to express his ideas of areas of concern. His audiences included faculty, staff, students, contributors, alumni, and others connected in some way to Morehouse College. His use of the President's Annual Report to the Board of Trustees was his most thorough and comprehensive form of communicating the College's accomplishments, needs and goals.

Mays' first annual report listed other needs for Morehouse College that he had identified after completing his first year as president. He was extremely concerned about raising matching funds for the endowment. In the area of faculty concerns he identified a need for faculty housing, retirement and tenure, and salary increases. He reiterated the need for Dean or Instruction as well as the need for a director of housing, a loan fund, a modernly equipped gymnasium, and an athletic field and tennis courts. The physical plant was in need of a new dormitory, chapel, and academic building. Mays also expressed his wish to evaluate the role of the School of Religion and its continued existence (Jones, 1967). He went on to suggest a study of the College to assess its future role. Wrote Mays:

> Since Morehouse is the only college south of Washington, D.C., now devoted exclusively to the education of men, I would like to see a critical study made of the past work of Morehouse College, its activities, curriculum, with the view of determining to what extent we are headed in the right direction. We may be on the right track, but I do not believe we should take it for granted (Jones, 1967:151).

This call for evaluation continued throughout his career and led to a greater and more realistic vision for the College. With these visions he was able to outline needs for Morehouse and develop a means to achieve them.

In his opening address to the College, Mays solicited the help and cooperation of the students, faculty, trustees, alumni, and friends of the institution as he promised to:

> ...give to Morehouse College all that I have...the best of my mind, heart, and soul...I will give...my money until it reaches the sacrificial point...I will serve this institution as if God Almighty sent me into the world for the express purpose of being the sixth President of Morehouse College (Jones, 1967:140).

He then outlined a plan for the expansion and growth of the College that included: raising $400,000 in order to match an offer from the General Education Board; securing annual contributors; building a new dormitory, dining hall, chapel, gymnasium, and classroom facility; stimulating alumni, recruiting, and providing housing for the faculty. In addition he sought to collect $100,000 in student debts and bolster faculty salaries and credentials.

During his administration, Mays saw to it that these goals were accomplished. By 1950, the endowment was increased by $800,000 and by 1967, the year he retired, the $1.1 million original endowment that Mays inherited had been increased to $4.2 million (Jones, 1967). Additionally, annual contributions were secured as well as large grants from the Danforth, Field, and Rockefeller foundations, among others. Mays, in his 27-year tenure raised over $15,000,000 for Morehouse College and its various needs (Jones, 1967).

Not only were the five buildings of Mays' original plan built, but an additional thirteen buildings were added to the Morehouse campus. Instead of one dormitory, seven were built. A music building and extra science facilities were included in this expansion, as were the needed faculty accommodations (Jones, 1967). The proposed salary increases took place as well. In 1940 the faculty salary range was $900 - $2,600. By the 1966-67 school year the salary range was $6,000 - $13,500 (Mays, 1971).

Mays saw to it that the problem with student debts was brought under control during his first few years in office by writing letters explaining new collection procedures and sanctions (Jones, 1967). He also improved his faculty's credentials. By securing fellowships and seeking more qualified instructors, Mays saw the percentage of faculty members with doctorate degrees advance from 1.4 percent in 1940-42 to over 54 percent in 1964-65 (Jones, 1967).

It is hard to determine just how much of this growth and expansion occurred merely as a result of the changing economic, social, and educational fortunes of this country. One might argue that inflation could have accounted for salary increases, that improved race relations could have

contributed to Morehouse's new found benefactors, that better overall economic conditions helped to bring about the growth in the physical plant, and that the G.I. Bill of Rights had helped to increase the pool of qualified instructors and thus resulted in the improved quality of faculty at the College. While these are plausible explanations, they are not sufficient to explain the degree to which these improvements were made.

On the other hand, one also could conceivably argue that these improvements were not big enough. Mays would probably agree as he was not completely satisfied with the faculty salaries and was disappointed that he was not able to increase the endowment more than he did. But bigness was not Morehouse's goal nor that of Dr. Mays. His bigness was concentrated more on improving the quality of education for his students. Mays must have agreed with Dr. W.E. B. Du Bois, who wrote, "...Negro mothers and fathers are not being deceived. They know that intelligence and self-development are the only means by which the Negro is to win his way in the modern world (quoted i Hamilton, 1975:118).

The implementation of programs aimed at improving intelligence and self-development were exactly Mays' goals. He sought to fill the need for "a better quality of students" by improving teaching, increasing student participation in extra-curricular activities, constantly upgrading the curriculum, improving the available resources and acquiring those that were necessary, and by obtaining full accreditation for the College. These often intangible, yet so very valuable goals were all achieved (Jones, 1967).

His goals of academic respectability followed by academic excellence were also realized. In the July 1965 issue of the *Morehouse College Bulletin* was a twenty-page supplement on Mays' administration. An appraisal of his service included this summary:

...under the far-reaching leadership of Benjamin E. Mays, Morehouse College has gone beyond mere academic respectability. Morehouse's bigness is not in student population nor financial resources, but in the quality of an educational program that has led to earned recognition as a front-rank liberal arts college (quoted in Jones, 1967:267).

Mays fulfilled his initial promise of service to the College. He served as if heaven sent, which contributed to his many successes at Morehouse. He gave as if his very existence depended upon it, and he led Morehouse in a direction of success and promise. At a Founders' Day address in 1963, alumnus Dr. Butler Alpohonso Jones gave Mays credit for bringing Morehouse "...from young adulthood to maturity" (Jones, 1967:265). Although

several of his presidential predecessors were responsible for laying the College's foundation, Mays is given credit for giving it form. He molded it and helped make it into a leading institution of higher education. Samuel DuBois Cook, a Morehouse alumnus and current president of Dillard University, said that "the key to Dr. Mays was the persistent search for higher levels of achievement, higher possibilities of life; [he was] never satisfied" (personal communication). This "persistent search" was part of what Mays had envisioned for Morehouse as he sought to develop its funding sources, its faculty, its students, and its physical plant.

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It is discouraging and disturbing to me that there are indications of a subtle move afoot to abolish black colleges. Prior to Emancipation and since, thousands of white writers have taken pride in their determination to brand Negroes as inherently inferior. Something similar has occurred regarding black colleges since 1954. Writers have pounded on the Negro colleges, not with the purpose of helping them, but rather, it seems, of destroying them. Numerous critics have made a crusade of tearing the black colleges apart, but no group of white colleges has been selected and set aside as targets for annihilation. White liberals and white conservatives alike have participated in this tragedy. Colleges that were good enough for brilliant Negro students prior to May 17, 1954, ceased to be so immediately after.

from **Born to Rebel**

Benjamin E. Mays' Vision of Education

Walter E. Massey
President
Morehouse College

Having spent my undergraduate career under the guidance and leadership of "Buck Benny," I am pleased to be asked to participate in this Symposium honoring his 100th birthday. Like many of you I am sure, I also had the opportunity to remain associated with Dr. Mays for several years after my graduation. I last saw him, perhaps a year or so before he died, in Chicago at a small dinner. He maintained his quick wit, the ready smile and the jaunty, debonair manner that he always had. He was really an inspiration to all of us.

This Symposium is very timely in a number of ways. It is an occasion for us to think through again the role of the Historically Black Colleges and Universities, to reflect on what they have contributed in the past, but perhaps more important, to begin to plan for the role they will play in the United States in the future. That role may be somewhat different from the one that they have played in the past. Certainly, the nation's changing attitudes towards race, gender and affirmative action at this time provides a certain urgency to the task of establishing the future role of black colleges and universities.

These prospective changes in the public's attitudes toward affirmative action and race-based programs generally are felt quite acutely in California. Although this issue is now discussed nationwide, it's more visible manifestation began in California, as many things do, good and bad. California may be the first state to have a public referendum on whether or not

programs established over the last 30 years to remove discrimination and enhance the prospects for underrepresented groups will be deemed and declared invalid and no longer necessary.

The debate on these issues is not divided purely along racial grounds. Blacks are on both sides. On March 24, the House Subcommittee on Employer-Employee Relations (Committee on Economic and Educational Opportunities) heard testimony on affirmative action in education and employment areas. At least three of the witnesses speaking in favor of ending affirmative action programs were very prominent black persons. Also, polls indicate that a significant number of African Americans, more than a third, agree that affirmative action programs should be ended.

I do not intend to speak on the pros and cons of affirmative action today. I want to stress another point: that the progress African Americans have made over the past 30 years, although very impressive in many areas, is not so ingrained into the consciousness and fabric of the country that its continuation can be taken for granted.

Some would argue that the clock cannot be turned back. We have sacrificed too much, they would say. Attitudes have changed permanently, and the gains have been so firmly implanted that they would be impossible to erase. I certainly hope this is the case. However, in re-reading Benjamin Mays' autobiography, *Born to Rebel*, I am reminded just how fragile some of these gains may be and how recently they have been achieved in the context of the entire history of the United States.

The last twenty years have produced more black elected officials, both statewide and nationally, than at any time since Reconstruction, the period following the Civil War. As Dr. Mays points out in his autobiography, the period from 1870 to 1902 was one of the most fertile and progressive periods for black Americans in the history of the United States, including today. During this era, practically every southern state had black representatives both in the Senate and House of Representatives. There was also broad black representation in local and state government. South Carolina sent eight blacks to the House of Representatives. Mississippi produced the first black Senator and was (and is) the only state to have produced two black Senators. The Lieutenant Governor of Louisiana was black, which has not been replicated even to this date.

Furthermore, Jim Crow had not reared his ugly head. There was no segregation on public transportation, and laws enforced by the federal gov-

ernment prohibited segregation in many other aspects of life, including employment. Things began to change around the turn of the century. A seminal event, as you will recall, was Plessy v. Ferguson, where the Supreme Court upheld the Jim Crow public transportation laws enacted by the Louisiana legislature. Between 1900 and 1910, every southern state passed laws disenfranchising blacks, not only of the right to vote, but of their right to unsegregated public transportation, their right for job opportunities, and in general, reconfined them in every aspect of their lives to a segregated, second class citizenship.

The disenfranchisement was **not benign**. A leading Virginia legislator said (John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom*), "I was elected to discriminate to the very extremity of permissible action under the limitations of the federal Constitution with a view to the elimination of every Negro voter who can be gotten rid of legally." The disenfranchisement did not distinguish between class, on the basis of education, pedigree or any other level of achievement. Senator Vardanion of Mississippi said, "I am just as opposed to Booker T. Washington as a voter with all his Anglo-Saxon reinforcements as I am to the coconut-headed, chocolate-covered typical little coon.... Neither is fit to perform the supreme function of citizenship."

I refer to this period simply to remind ourselves that things have changed. One should never assume that progress is always upward, and vigilance and commitment can never be abandoned. Thirty years is a very brief period in the history of this country. When those of my class arrived in Atlanta in the 50s, we arrived on segregated trains, to ride on segregated buses from the train station to the campus, to attend movies at the Fox Theater, in the segregated "Crow's Nest," so high up at the top of the building that you could get a nose bleed if you were not in good shape—and everything we were subjected to was legal, the law of the land.

The black colleges were the fountainheads and nurturing environments for those who fought the battle to change those laws and who are responsible for this generation, our children, being able to live, work and be educated in a much different environment. There are some who would argue that the national environment is so changed that the historic role the black colleges have played is no longer necessary, and these colleges may be institutions whose time has passed—relics of another era.

I believe such arguments are seriously flawed. It is still extremely important to have healthy, vital black colleges and universities. Let me

review some of the roles that I believe these institutions have performed so well and that are still important, and indicate two areas where I believe it will be even more important for us to strengthen our activities and improve for the future.

Of the approximately 1.4 million black men and women in higher education today, about 84% are in majority white institutions and 16% in historically black colleges and universities. However, among those who are not in the historically black institutions, about 52% are in two-year colleges. Therefore about one half of all black students in four-year colleges are still attending HBCUs. Simply in terms of serving a growing number of black high school graduates, these institutions still play a seminal role.

However, beyond simply providing a place to accommodate the growing numbers of black high school graduates, these institutions have traditionally played another role, which is still very important: That role has been to take youngsters who have not yet proven themselves academically and provide them with a strong supportive, nurturing environment that allows them to realize their full potential. This is extremely difficult for majority white institutions to do, although some do it very well, and many put a great deal of effort in this regard. However, to provide this kind of nurturing and supportive environment in a predominantly white institution, it is often necessary to create a semi-segregated situation on the campus, through the establishment of such things as ethnic theme houses, separate ceremonies and functions, and minority enclaves within the majority institution. These efforts sometimes work, but quite often their effects are simply not positive.

I have often told people that when I came to Morehouse, I was ignorant, but not unintelligent. I knew I was ignorant, in the sense that there were many things that I did not know. I had not had the best education coming from a small school in Hattiesburg, Mississippi. I did not know how uninformed I was, and I certainly did not have any idea of how intelligent and educated I could become. The professors, faculty, deans and my fellow students throughout the Atlanta University system created an atmosphere and provided the role models and motivation that allowed me, and most of us who went through this institution, to develop to a level that we probably never would have had we attended some other kind of institution. Providing this kind of opportunity is still a necessary and very important role for black institutions.

These institutions are also important for another role they play— producing leaders, individuals who have not only developed their intellectual potential, but who are able to exercise and develop the full range of human potential. Leadership opportunities in student government, campus organizations and other areas are very important for the growth of an individual's full range of capabilities. These opportunities are there in majority institutions, now more and more, but the ease with which this happens, and the expectation that it will happen is certainly more a part of the environment in the historically black colleges. Also, the sheer experience of for once being a non-minority is probably in and of itself a positive growth experience.

A third and very important role that these institutions can play is to set a separate standard and benchmark for what can be achieved by black youngsters. Speaking as one who has spent all of his professional life in majority institutions, it has always been helpful to be able to refer to a Morehouse or a Spelman, Clark-Atlanta, Howard, or North Carolina A & T, to show that it is not impossible for blacks to succeed in any fields they pursue—from mathematics and physics, to philosophy and the arts. The continuing success of these institutions provides examples for majority institutions to emulate.

The argument that there are no black students who are capable of attending our graduate schools in chemistry or computer science becomes undermined when one can point to excellent students graduating in those fields from the traditionally black colleges.

I recognize that one might counter this argument by saying that there are sufficient numbers of black students in predominantly white institutions that such benchmarks can be made within that group of institutions. True, somewhat. At the University of California, we compare our graduation rates, persistence rates and all other data for all our students to our comparison institutions: Harvard, MIT, Virginia, Illinois, Michigan. We watch these figures carefully. But I still submit that having a different benchmark provided by HBCUs can be a powerful motivating factor for the improvement of programs in historically white institutions.

However, I must in all honesty say that this "benchmark" and standard is not as positive or noteworthy as it ought to be. Graduation rates, persistance rates and other measures are on the whole higher at historically white institutions than they are at HBCUs. There is much room for improvement here and the leadership of HBCUs should give a high prior-

ity to making such improvements.

There are two other roles where I believe that black institutions can **improve and should improve, and invest for the future**. These have to do with: a) public service to their communities and b) the support of scholarship and research by black faculty. The historic contributions of the predominantly black universities to the community is an important feature of their legacy; however, the need for involvement in major public issues affecting the African American community today is probably greater than at any time in recent history. The state of our public schools, our neighborhoods, the disintegration of the black family, and the growing problem of crime among teenagers are conditions that will need to be addressed no matter what this nation decides to do with respect to affirmative action programs or welfare programs. This Congress certainly seems to be on a path to making drastic cutbacks in such programs. But these are problems that will need to addressed by the black community itself more and more. Just as the HBCUs provided the leadership and intellectual base for the destruction of Jim Crow laws and the establishment of civil rights and equal opportunity in the 60s and 70s, it is now necessary for these institutions to provide the leadership role and intellectual base to tackle the problems that the African American community now faces, problems that are in many ways as destructive to the community as were the segregation laws of the past.

Even under segregation, or some would argue because of segregation, the quality of public schools for many blacks was much better then than the quality of schools our youngsters have to attend now. The extended family and the support it gave certainly seems to have been more prevalent and healthy then than now.

The second area where I believe HBCUs need improvement for the future is in providing a more supportive atmosphere and more resources to nurture black faculty as scholars and researchers. Just as it is important to have these institutions set standards for their success with students, it is equally important both for the HBCU institutions and for the nation, to have challenging standards set for and by their faculty. I realize that not all the faculty members at these institutions are black, but the majority of the faculty have always been and are still now African American. Therefore, the opportunity and the necessity to set high standards in scholarship and research for such faculty is very important.

This particular time may also provide an opportunity for this to hap-

pen. Certainly, the current job market has put many very bright young African American scholars and researchers in positions where they are seeking employment, and employment at historically black institutions could provide a welcoming opportunity. Most of these institutions are colleges, not research universities, and I am not arguing that they should try to become research universities. But the best of the nation's liberal arts colleges provide the environment and encouragement and have the expectation that a significant number of their faculty will be actively engaged in scholarship and research. This should be no less true for HBCUs.

One final challenge I would issue is to the alumni of these institutions and to the African American community at large—a challenge to increase substantially the financial support that we give to these institutions. This support will be even more important in the future because if many of the changes in programs now being discussed in Congress are implemented, the support that we have received through government agencies will diminish considerably, making it critical that we support the institutions ourselves. I do not confine this challenge to the alumni of these institutions, but to the black community at large, because even though many successful African Americans may not have attended historically black colleges and universities, most likely their parents did, if they attended college at all, and it is highly probable that many of their children and grandchildren will want to attend these institutions in the future. They need to be here and be healthy.

All my life the race problem had been as close as the beating of my heart, circumscribing my thoughts, my actions, my feelings. A black man must not only meet the problem publicly, but invariably when Negroes are by themselves the conversation drifts to some phase of Negro-white relations. It is omnipresent; it creates a physical and spiritual climate from which there is no escape. I thought that for three and a half months, as I traveled around the world, I would be able to forget color, race, and prejudice; that I could be just a man among other men; that I would have a brief respite from thinking and talking about the race problem. I was mistaken. I did find, however, that it works both ways. The Negro dominates the thinking of white people as inescapably as whites are an inextricable part of the thinking of Negroes. There is no eluding the race problem anywhere on this earth.

from **Born to Rebel**

Dr. Mays' Views of a Changing World

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While most people will remember Dr. Benjamin E. Mays as the President of Morehouse College for 27 years and as a former President of the Atlanta Board of Education, he was also an internationalist with strong views of how Christian values might govern the relations between man and nations. Many of his international insights were gained while he was serving as the Dean of Howard University's School of Religion from 1934 to 1940. As Dean, he began to travel abroad to attend world conferences in Europe and India. These travels broadened his perspective of the issues of racism abroad, ethnic and religious conflict, intercultural problems and international politics.

In an article he wrote in 1937 for the *Journal of Negro Education* about his traveling experiences in India, he stated that the problems which confront the youth of the world are:

> International relations, race relations, the relations between those of different religious faiths, youth and the claims of the state and nation, the need to build a new social order, youth and the church, personal decisions and actions (Mays, 1937).

These problems that Dr. Mays identified remain valid in the 1990s even though some may be stated in different terms today. Dr. Mays' travels to India also afforded him an opportunity to meet with the leader of India's non-violent movement for independence, Mahatma Gandhi. With Gandhi, he discussed India's caste system, especially the condition of the untouch-

ables. He urged Gandhi to oppose not only the untouchable situation but the caste system as a whole. While Dr. Mays was already a strong believer in the techniques of non-violent protest to achieve social justice, it was Gandhi who inspired him to look at this technique in a broader perspective and the impact it could have beyond social injustice movements. Gandhi taught Dr. Mays the importance of the use of non-violent protest for mass campaigns of passive resistance in order to bring about meaningful political, economic and social change.

In this same article, Dr. Mays made the following observations on Gandhi:

> The world is too close to him to appraise him adequately... But the fact that Gandhi and his non-violent campaign have given the Indian masses a new conception of courage, no man can honestly deny. To discipline people to face death, to die, to go to jail for the cause without fear and without resorting to violence is an achievement of the first magnitude, and when an oppressed voice ceases to be afraid, it is free.. The cardinal principles of non-violence are love and fearlessness (Mays, 1937).

Dr. Mays was also very strongly opposed to isolationism in the world. In another article that he wrote for *Missions* in 1949, he argued:

> For good or for ill, we can no longer live in isolation, whether we like it or not, what happens in one corner of the earth resounds around the world. In attitudes and ideas, we may be thousands of miles apart; but in time and space we are very near. The press, the radio, the airplane, and sheer economic necessity now make isolation impossible (Mays, 1949).

In the later part of his career as President of Morehouse College, Dr. Mays received a number of honors during the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. In 1961, he was appointed to be a member of the United States Commission for UNESCO. In 1963, he traveled with then Vice-President Johnson to the State Funeral of Pope John XXIII in Rome. On this trip, the two men developed a close personal relationship, but their friendship did not keep Dr. Mays from opposing the Vietnam War. He summarized his views on a changing world order in *Disturbed About Man* in the chapter on "Light for the World's Agony":

> Christian light asserts that the human family began in

> unity.... Whether we like it or not Christian light reveals that we cannot build the world as we please. War has created the ethical and moral laws that will bring peace between nations—between the United States and Vietnam.... God, not war, has created the ethical and moral laws that will generate the stability of a political order. God, not war, has created the kind of justice that will enable one race to live in peace, love and harmony with another race. Our task is to discover these laws and live by them (Mays, 1969).

Since the end of the Cold War, there has been much discussion on what the new world order should be and the role that the U.S. should play in this changing world. Professor Samuel P. Huntington, in his classic article, "The Clash of Civilizations" in *Foreign Affairs*, states:

> It is my hypothesis that the fundamental source of conflict in this new world will not be primarily ideological or primarily economic. The great divisions among humankind and the dominating source of conflict will be cultural. Nation states will remain the most powerful actors in world affairs, but the principal conflict of global politics will occur between nations and groups of different civilizations. The clash of civilizations will dominate global politics. The fault lines between civilizations will be the battle lines of the future (Huntington, 1993).

In order to be responsive to the new type of world conflicts predicted by Professor Huntington, it would appear that the United States should seek to recruit officers for the foreign service composed of people who are representative of the vast cultural diversity available in the United States. This has not been the case historically, and even today still appears to be a major problem as we face the problems and challenges confronting in the 21st century.

The Status of African-Americans and Other Minorities in the Foreign Affairs Community

In the first one hundred years or so of our country's existence, African-Americans did not serve in the Foreign Service nor did they participate in any major way in the foreign policy decision process of the United States. During these early days, foreign policy decisions in the

United States government were considered to be within the purview of the President and his closest advisors who were often from very rich and well educated Anglo-Saxon elite families on the eastern seaboard. It was only in the 1860s when the United States recognized Haiti and Liberia that the President and the Department of State began to explore the appointment of African-Americans in important positions in the foreign affairs establishment. The first African-American to be given a significant Foreign Service appointment was Ebenezer D. Basset. President Ulysses S. Grant appointed this Connecticut-born educator in April 1869 to be Minister Resident and Consul General to Port au Prince Haiti (Skinner, 1994). Another African-American, James M. Turner was appointed in 1871 by Grant to be Minister Resident and Consul General to Monrovia, Liberia. After these initial appointments other African-Americans were appointed to various Foreign Service positions, but most of their assignments were restricted to the black nation states such as Haiti, the Dominican Republic and Liberia. This racialist practice of restricting the assignment of African Americans continued to the Second World War, but there were occasional assignments of African-American Foreign Service Officers to Latin America and Europe, especially in the Consular Corps where most African-Americans spent most of their Foreign Service careers.

The first African-American to become a regular Foreign Service Officer was Clifton Wharton, Sr., the father of Clifton Wharton, Jr., who until recently was the Deputy Secretary of State in the Clinton Administration and the former Chancellor of the State University of New York. Wharton, Sr. entered the Foreign Service in the early 1920s, but it was not until 1925 that he passed the Foreign Service written examination. Initially, assigned to Liberia, he spent some 40 years as a career Foreign Service Officer. He retired in 1964 after serving as the U.S. Ambassador to Norway with the rank of Career Minister, the highest career rank in the US Foreign Service.

The population of African-Americans is currently estimated to be some 30 million people, about 12% of the U.S. population. It is estimated by the year 2000 persons of color will constitute nearly one-third of the U.S. population and by the year 2020 persons of color will comprise 40% of the U.S. population (Goodman, 1994). Even with this large diversity of people of color in the U.S. population, the ranks of our nation's civil and foreign services will still remain very largely under-representative of the overall diversity in the general population. Nevertheless, African-Americans now

constitute a higher proportion of the federal work force than the civilian labor force (16.8 percent versus 10.5 percent). The same is true of Asian-Americans (3.6 percent versus 2.9 percent), and Native Americans (1.1 percent versus 0.7 percent) (Goodman, 1994). These statistics show that generally people of color have done much better in the civil service than in the private sector. The only exception is the Hispanic community, who account for 5.6 percent of the federal work force compared to 9 percent in the civilian labor force. Most people of color still work primarily in clerical and other low level jobs where they are not likely to have any policy or programmatic impact on the decisions made by the federal government. If this picture of overall employment opportunities and the status of the results of affirmative action for people of color appear to be bleak in the federal government, the situation is even worse in this country's Foreign Service.

Even though the Foreign Service Act, the law that governs the establishment and operations of this country's Foreign Service, states in its very opening paragraph a special obligation for the Foreign Service to "be representative of the American people," little has been accomplished to make this statement a reality. In 1974, it was documented in Jake Miller's book entitled *The Black Presence in American Foreign Policy* that African-Americans only represented 2.5% of the officers of the Department of State (Miller, 1978). Since this book was published, the number of African-Americans serving in the various foreign affairs agencies has only increased marginally in the past fifteen years.

In 1993, US State Department publications indicated that for all classes of Foreign Service Officers, including Foreign Service Generalist and Specialist positions, minority males comprise 7% (549) and minority females 4% (320) compared to white males who comprise 56% (4,336) and white females 24% (1,854) of the total Officer Corps (Holmes, 1994). In the elite Senior Foreign Service, the numbers of minority professionals represented in this group are even worse; there are only 5% (38) minority males and 1% (40) minority females compared to 84% (677) white males versus 9% (72) for white females in these senior career grades (Holmes, 1994). These figures also vividly illustrate what many African-American writers have been saying with respect to the recent debate about affirmative action. White males dominate the ranks of this country's Foreign Service and other white-collar professional positions throughout the United States while African-Americans and other minority groups are vastly under-rep-

resented. This is especially true for the top Foreign Service Career Officers in the senior positions of Principal and Deputy Principal Officers. In 1993, there were only 9% (14) minorities in Chief of Mission positions versus 77% (125) non-minority, and the Deputy Chiefs of Mission positions involved only 12% (16) minorities versus 88% (118) for non-minorities (Holmes, 1994).

The Role of International Studies in Higher Education

In this changing world, American higher education institutions have generally devoted too little attention as to how its academic programs should be structured to be enable them to respond to new foreign policy challenges. Most higher education institutions have continued to teach their traditional international studies and area studies programs with only minor changes in concentration requirements and course content. The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, in its study entitled "Changing our Ways America and the New World," states:

> Education is indispensable to our efforts. The executive agencies and congressional staffs for foreign policy must recruit and nurture professionals with fresh eyes, new expertise and sharp appreciation for the melding of our internal and external interests... Our ranks are filled with experts better trained to deal with the past than the future. We must reorient university curricula and develop new cadres professionals—not only for government but for business and finance, science and technology, culture and communications. We must begin before college, importing to children in elementary and secondary schools the necessary language skills and understanding of other people that our international role demands (Goodman, King, Ruther, 1994)

This quote is a very strong statement of weaknesses in the various international studies programs found in American institutions of higher education, programs that were created to train the people needed to deal with the world's problems. Most international studies experts who have studied this situation believe that what is needed in these institutions is a balanced liberal arts education, a good working knowledge of the countries and cultures of the world, and a recognition of the issues that confront world citizens and their leaders (Goodman, King, Ruther, 1994).

While there are some liberal arts colleges in the United States which are able to provide adequate training, most of the institutions of higher education in this country are not producing the types of international studies graduates that will be needed to excel in a career in international affairs.

With the variety and complexity of problems being dealt with in today's international arena, institutions of higher learning in the United States must reorient their international studies programs. They need to be broad-based, cross-disciplinary programs that can provide a strong liberal arts curriculum which integrates the social sciences, natural sciences and the humanities. The programs offered should also provide a strong language studies program in at least one foreign language and should be geared toward providing strong oral communication skills in the language. International studies students should spend, if possible, a minimum of an academic semester abroad, preferably a minimum of one full year, studying in a foreign country.

International studies programs should also focus more on global problems that are multi-disciplinary in nature. Examples of the types of problems that should be studied include the topics of: environmental degradation, ethnic and religious conflicts, democratization, governance, economic growth, economic cooperation and competition, world trade among free trade zones and weapons proliferation. More emphasis has to be placed on improving the teaching methodologies by including more learning by doing exercises and more interactive approaches such as role playing, simulation exercises, case studies and team or group learning exercises. These innovative teaching technologies have proven to be highly successful, and need to be more fully developed in Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) throughout the United States.

At Morehouse College, where this conference is being held, there have been several major innovations made to improve the quality of international studies and to internationalize the curriculum. Likewise, Clark Atlanta University has established a new School of International Affairs and Development that will help to enrich the international studies program of all the Atlanta University Center colleges. Howard University's Center for International Affairs has also started a process to internationalize the University's curriculum and has initiated the development of a program to award a certificate in international studies based on an interdisciplinary studies program.

The most important change that has been carried out at Morehouse

College is the establishment of the new Center for International Studies in October 1993. This Center has begun to implement several programs, including an annual lecture series, a roundtable and research forum, a global issues forum and the development of a comprehensive major in international studies. All of these international studies programs are to be applauded, but Morehouse still needs to further develop its curriculum and the content of its course offerings before it can be said that it has one of this country's better international studies programs.

We must remember that under the leadership of Hope, Mays, Gloster and Keith, Morehouse did produce some of this country's leading African American foreign affairs experts, men who have made an outstanding contribution to the solution of the world's political and economic problems. The best known of these sons of the "House" are Robert Kitchen, a former Career Minister and U.S. delegate to the United Nations Specialized Agencies; Griffen Davis, a Senior Communications Advisor in the Foreign Aid program; John Hicks, the Assistant Administrator for Africa in the Agency for International Development; and Howard Jeter, the current U.S. Ambassador to Botswana. There are others who have also achieved a great deal, but Morehouse needs to move ahead aggressively to train more of its sons to be able to meet the challenges of our changing world and to help make the foreign affairs community more representative of the diversity of the American population.

Dr. Mays stated in *Born to Rebel* on the Morehouse tradition:

> The Morehouse tradition is a proud and honorable one, one to make the best from its students, one that provides a life-long goal. At Morehouse, the B.A. has never been considered a terminal degree. The Morehouse man learned well that "a man's reach should exceed his grasp" and never accepted the idea that the ceiling was the limit of his striving. Rather, the sky was his goal, even though all too often, his wings were clipped at the ceiling level (Mays, 1987).

This tradition and Morehouse's overall success in training some of the top African Americans in the professions of law, business, medicine, education and religion suggest that this college has the potential of making the curricula and course content changes that will be necessary to train the future African Americans who are needed to play a leadership role in meeting the new challenges of our changing world in the 21st Century.

Let us hope that the College's Board of Trustees will make the right choice of a "Man of Vision" to lead this great institution and to build upon the successes of the past to make Morehouse College one of the best institutions of higher learning in this country and the world.

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If Morehouse has done "so much with so little and so few," it is because many factors converged to make it possible. Good students have been graduated and acquitted themselves like men after leaving college. The alumni have made noteworthy contributions to society. The faculty has been able and dedicated. Individual persons and foundations have given the money without which the college could not have survived. The trustees have been loyal. They always gave me to the freedom to do my work, with no restrictions, on the platform or in writing. I was never uneasy about my job, even when I was maliciously and falsely accused of being a Communist fellow-traveler. In my twenty-seven years as President, I never ceased to raise my voice and pen against the injustices of a society that segregated and discriminated against people because made them black. No trustee ever took me to task for what I said in public and wrote in books and articles. This may be hard for some people to believe, but it is a fact. Without this kind of confidence and freedom, I would not have remained at Morehouse all those years, particularly since I had seventeen opportunities to leave during that time. I pay high tribute to the men and women who served on the Morehouse Board of Trustees between 1940 and 1967.

from **Born to Rebel**

Reflections on a Rebel's Journey

Samuel DuBois Cook
President
Dillard University

Editor's Note: This essay served as the introduction to *Born to Rebel: An Autobiography* by Benjamin E. Mays. Samuel Cook was a student of Mays and was truly moved by his philodophy and teachings. This essay sums up the relationship between the two, and we hope that the reader wil be able to discern the "real" Mays.

I unabashedly revered Bennie Mays for his genuine contributions, strength of character, gifts of mind, vision, ability to grow and courage to change, creative restlessness and zest for life, stubborn moral courage, prophetic imagination, deep commitment to social justice, boundless energy and eagerness to tackle new tasks, devotion to academic excellence, capacity for independence of thought and critical judgment, single-minded commitment to the mot precious and enduring values of the human enterprise, and life-long romance with the world of higher possibilities. He was a wise man. His spirit was indomitable, his will inexhaustible.

He was a powerful disturber of the human conscience and an implacable foe of every form of complacency, mediocrity, self-righteousness, oral conceit, and hypocrisy—individual and collective. His prophetic concerns were not limited to technical moral and religious dimensions but extend to the whole institutional life and process of culture and history. He was a hard taskmaster. He was mighty difficult to please because of his vision of,

This essay was taken from the book *Born to Rebel* by Benjamin Mays and is reprinted with permission of the University of Georgia Press, owners of the copyright.

and commitment to, the higher possibilities of human life—the deep longing for something better. Mays was a modern prophet.

His life, echoing and expressing the tragedy and the glory of the black encounter, was that of desperately walking the tightrope in several dimensions of "being" and "becoming," believing and doubting, Spartan immersion in activity and stoic resignation to the inevitable continuity and change, rebellion and adjustment, the saying of "yes" and "no" to history and culture. It was been rough going, but what a magnificent and inspiring odyssey and product! The story tells us something profound about the human spirit at its best—richness, vitality, creativity, resourcefulness, resilience, and wonder.

The achievements of the man would be astonishing for anybody; they were almost incredible in light of the environment of his childhood and formative years. Dr. Mays had earned an international reputation in religion, higher education, public speaking, public life, and the struggle for social justice. He was honored by Presidents of the United States.

A tireless worker, he had authored more than half a dozen books, contributed chapters to some twenty more, penned about one hundred articles, and produced hundreds of reports, pamphlets, and other materials aimed at specialized audiences. Since the mid-1940's, he had written a weekly newsletter column. A silver-tongued orator and eloquent preacher, he had delivered thousands of public speeches and sermons. His list of honors and awards is legendary.

Dr. Mays had, for example, received more than twenty-five honorary degrees from a variety of institutions of higher leaning. He graciously refused the first honorary degree offered him. He did so on the ground that his achievements then did not make him deserving of the honor. His standards of excellence were high both for himself and for others.

The man was inexhaustible. He was, as Jacques Maritain said of the Angelic Doctor, always about his Father's business. He lived in the world not of memory but of anticipation, not of the land conquered but of new challenges and new worlds to conquer. He was driven by higher possibilities. It has been well said that to dwell in the past is to stop work and what is life without any new tasks which drive us.

So, at the age of seventy-five, Bennie Mays, always eager to serve his fellows, responded to popular pressure to run for his first elective public office—a seat on the Atlanta Board of Education. Although he did only a small amount of campaigning, the election returns gave him a landslide victory. A few weeks later, Atlanta confronted one of the worst crises in its

history, involving a court-ordered comprehensive plan for the desegregation of the public schools. Both racial communities were up in arms. Tensions mounted. Fears increased. Doubts grew. White opposition was organized, articulate, and emotion-laden. Hundreds of teachers allegedly threatened to resign. Parents were upset, and many said they would withdraw their children from the schools. Mass rallies were held. Large numbers of students, encouraged by high public officials, marched on the State Capitol. Because of the commanding role of leadership in the resolution of social conflict, the election of the new president of the School Board took on crucial significance. Citizens waited.

Since Dr. Mays commanded near-universal respect and faith in the Atlanta community, his fellow members elected him the first black man to serve as president of the Atlanta Board of Education. Accordingly, Dr. Mays devoted massive time and energy to the improvement of public education in Atlanta. That is a mark of the character, concerns, and commitment of the man. The only thing "retirement" meant to him was a shifting of the chief residence and focus of responsibility. In a variety of capacities, he was as involved, busy, and energetic as ever. His life, therefore, continued to be full of excitement, meaning, zest and productivity. It was not dulled by the passage of time.

Dr. Mays' autobiography is a remarkable document. It is a moving account, laced with wonder, grace, and dignity, of the spiritual, intellectual, and social journey of a great human being. The book is not self-serving. It is a portrait of the human heart, mind, and spirit embarked on a magnificent adventure—sensitively and creatively encountering self, men, events, circumstances, and perceptions of ultimate reality. It is the sage of a dreamer in a land of ambiguity, ambivalence, and "impossible possibility."

But the book is more, much more , than the odyssey of one man. It is a collective autobiography, disclosing the inner and outer experiences of Negroes—their lonely and tragic search for incorporation into the promise and performance of American life, their long night of struggle for equality of citizenship and humanity. In a gentle and luminous way, it captures the essence of the black experience in the New World—the agonies, wounds, fears, tears, humiliations, hopes, anguish, triumphs, inching progressive movements, inner terrors of mind and spirit, exilement at home, burdens, setbacks, breakthroughs, affirmations, and boundless faith in the ideals and promises of the land. Mays went to the heart of the spiritual adventure of black people.

"The first thing I can remember," Mays observes, "is a white mob looking for a Negro to lynch." The statement is fraught with symbolic meaning as well as historical significance. Every reflective and sensitive black man, in the deeper levels of being, is haunted by the symbolic mob of racism perpetually flashing on the screen of consciousness and sensibility; the picture is inescapable—just as Dr. Mays cannot escape the memory of the physical mob during his childhood.

The book is also a social and historical document about America—particularly the legacy, depth, and persistence of white racism with all its tragic consequences not only for black people but for the whole country as well. It probes and illuminates the tangled roots and many-dimensional character of the current racial crisis. This country "is tramping out the vintage where the grapes of wrath are stored." It is experiencing the feedback of three and a half centuries of racial injustice and tyranny. The anger, bitterness, resentment, and hatred in large sectors of the black population the fruit of a long period of oppression, insensitivity, neglect, and moral hypocrisy. The chickens of the years are coming home to roost. Mays tells the story in beautiful and eloquent language.

A chief virtue of the book is that it provides perspective. Historical perspective is crucial. It liberates us from the tyranny and narrow throes of the moment. This book reminds us both of the progress that has been made in race relations over the past few decades and of the distance the country has to go before equality of opportunity and dignity cleanses, enriches, and fulfills the land. And Dr. Mays points the way out of the racial tragedy.

What is the meaning of this man's life? The mind cries out for an answer, even as it perceives the perils lurking in the search. Since the life of every human being is filled with mystery and wonder attempts to deal with questions of the meaning thereof are risky and hazardous business. But I would hardly show fidelity to the teachings of Bennie Mays if I failed to try.

The chief meaning of Dr. Mays' life is the significance of personal responsibility in the human encounter and adventure. It is an affirmation of ethical individualism. The ideals we cherish at the core of our selfhood, the dreams that drive us by day and haunt us by night, the industry and discipline we muster, our will and intelligence, the choices we make, our vision of possibilities, and the faith we live by make a difference in the quality of our lives and the level of our achievements. No shallow determinism can do justice to the radical freedom (within, of course, limits) of

the individual persons. And to the extent that men possess freedom, to that extent they have responsibility. The human spirit is not ordained by the nature of things to be enslaved to the structures of culture. Reinhold Niebuhr has observed that, paradoxically, men are both creators and creatures of the historical process.

Another structure of meaning in the life of Bennie Mays is another ancient, though often neglected, truth. Individuals, particularly those in strategic positions of organizational leadership, have enormous influence on the lives of others—especially the young. Imitation of systems of thought and belief and patterns of behavior is a fundamental fact of life. We imitate, appropriate, and incorporate into our own structure of meaning the values and visions of others, particularly those we respect and esteem. What we are and believe—or appear to be and to affirm—spill over into the lives of others and flow into the rivers and currents of their being. Individuals' lives, therefore, have significant bearing on, and consequences for, others who appropriate their meanings and values. Bennie Mays has touched, enriched, and inspired, in various ways and degrees, the lives of a staggering, indeterminate number of people. Martin Luther King Jr. is simply the most famous one. Imitation and citation, consciously and unconsciously, of Dr. Mays is a common occurrence. He has a rather special gift of memorable epigrammatic utterance and powers of persuasion and motivation.

A third meaning of Dr. Mays is the tragedy of racism. Racism is a search for meaning that is, in a variety of ways, self-defeating. It diminishes life. It impoverishes funded experiences, knowledge, and shared values. It militates against the whole of community. Long ago, Myrdal noted that the "Negro genius is imprisoned in the Negro problem (Myrdal, 1941:28). Because racism is a demonic evil—Reinhold Niebuhr calls it a form of original sin (in Davis and Goods, 1960:232)—Dr. Mays has spent endless time, energy, and talent trying to combat it. The investment has been more than justified. For racism is a problem of human spirit.

But if racism were not such a cancerous reality and social force, Dr. Mays could have spent his time, industry, and gifts of mind on the ultimate issues of religious and philosophical thought. His union of seminal intellect and inexhaustible energy perhaps marked him as a potential Paul Tillich, Reinhold Niebuhr, Karl Barth, Rudolph Bultmann, Nicolas Berdyaev, Josiah Royce, Martin Buber, Jacques Maritain, Emil Brunne, or Walter Rauschenbusch. He could have added significant original propositions to the corpus of religious and philosophical thought. Consequently, the intellectual enterprise is the loser.

Finally, the life of Benjamin Elijah Mays suggests that while the life of reason may be out of style, it is not out of clout and muscle; it is not devoid of creative power and productivity. It is filled with constructive possibilities. The old ship of reason while not without handicaps in negotiating the turbulent waters of the contemporary world, is not completely disabled. It is a good and secure ship—built especially for the troubled waters of the human journey. It is the most reliable ship in the whole harbor of civilization. It is old but ever young. There is no substitute for rational and experimental exploration and evaluation of alternative conditions, possibilities, and consequences, the cool calculation of the probably consequences of each option, the counting of the cost, and the bringing of what is out of sight into view.

To a degree, the message of this remarkable rebel and dreamer has had a transformative impact. Seeds planted in the garden of the continuum of human experience have a way of sprouting, multiplying, and bearing fruit in their own good time. Showing fidelity to the life of reason, Dr. Mays has been a catalyst and instrument of social change for the better—in race relations, education, and religious meaning and relevance. He was, of course, quite dissatisfied with his impact, but his contributions have improved, in a significant measure, the quality of life and promise in the land.

For decades, Dr. Mays quoted the prophet Micah: "He has showed you, O man, what is good; and what does the Lord require of you but to do justice, and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with your God?" The feeling is inescapable that the words had a peculiar meaning for Dr. Mays, summing up his total philosophy of life, and expressing the ultimate depths of his being. "The ideals cherished in the souls of men," said Whitehead, "enter into the character of their actions" (Whitehead, 1955:49).

To the limits of human possibility, Bennie Mays did justice, loved kindness, and walked humbly with his God. Neither the heights of achievements and the bright lights of triumph, nor the depths of disappointment and sorrow were able to separate him from these ideals. Perhaps it is true, after all, that, in this tragic world, a good conscience is our only sure reward. Bennie Mays deserved a good conscience.

But—and this is symbolic of the paradox at the heart of the ethical life—he could never enjoy a good conscience. Only men of genuine ethical sensitivities and deep and abiding sympathies are truly and constantly troubled by the miseries, woes, tragedies, and follies—individual and collective—of their human condition. Their own heroic efforts are insuffi-

cient to eradicate their moral tension and agony. Their sense of guilt is incurable. For it is born of their moral view of the universe and their anguish over the predicament of men and society. The pangs of conscience are always there—nudging, twinging, pressing, demanding more, reminding of the ethics of duty. They cannot have an easy conscience when they know that a better life is a cosmic imperative and within existential reach. Ethically insensitive men are free to wallow in the trough of indifference, moral complacency, and self-righteousness, but the sensitive and creative is ever demanding more of itself, something better, nobler, purer. It is dynamic, not static.

Because of a divine moral restlessness implanted in his Puritan conscience and cultivated and cherished in the depths of his being, Bennie Mays was always morally restless, anxious, and demanding. While understanding the foibles and moral afflictions of human nature, he was a moral perfectionist. He could achieve moral peace; his ethical consciousness was too deep, intense, and demanding for that. The world contains too many evils and therefore challenges for such a man to take a moral vacation. He was too self demanding to have a complacent conscience. Too much remained to be done for him to ever become a spectator of the events, struggles, and encounters of the contemporary science. His vision of the higher possibilities of human life was too grand; his zest for life too immense; and his concern for the lot of his fellows too vast and deep for him to have a satisfied conscience. He was moved by a vision of nobler things that never let him go; neither did he let it go. He grips the vision and the vision him.

It was a precious, humbling, and unforgettable experience to know Bennie Mays. It was also, at times, somewhat embarrassing to us ordinary mortals whose vision of life is less majestic and imperative or who find habitation of the mountaintop—beyond periods of brief duration—too dazzling.

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My mother believed that God answered prayers. Though not so credulous or optimistic about prayer as she, I was nonetheless greatly influenced by her prayer life. I sought a way out through prayer. I prayed frequently as I worked in the field and many nights alone in the moonlight. I often plowed to the end of the row, hitched the mule to a tree, and went down into the woods to pray. On moonlight nights, I would leave the house and go into the field and pray. My prayers were all variations of the same theme: God enable me to get away to school. My desire for an education was not only a dream but a goal that drove and prodded me, day and night. I left the farm not to escape it but to find my world, to become myself.

I accepted the prayer jargon of the older people. I asked God to move out of my way "every hindrance and cause" which kept me from getting an education. Afterward I was sorry that I had prayed that way, for if God had answered my prayers as spoken, Father would have been the first obstacle to be moved out.

from **Born to Rebel**

A Sociology of Immanence and Transcendence: Reflections on the Legacy of Benjamin Mays

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In 1963, about a generation ago, sociologists in America began to examine and reexamine their concepts of caste, class and status. Dennis Wrong presented a paper at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association in which he stated that "Historically, biological continuity has been the major means of preserving the internal solidarity and the distinctive ethos of class from generation to generation..." (Wrong, 1969:518). Wrong mentioned George Orwell's observation, however, that new sets of classes are emerging that are not recruited by the intergenerational transmissions of privilege through the family and whose cohesion does not depend on familial socialization (Wrong, 1969:519).

Adapting to this new development, testing for intelligence was perfected in the United States during the first half of the twentieth century. And the testing centers, according to Wrong, "have become the vehicles for selecting the ruling elite or meritocrats" (Wrong, 1969:519). By way of tests, the non-elites are "scientifically proven to be inferior in ability to their rulers" (Wrong 1969:519).

This discussion by Dennis Wrong, a generation ago, helps us to understand the reason why the Bell Curve was published in 1994 (Herrnstein and Murray, 1994). It is a continuous attempt to use biology as a way of claiming superiority by some people over others. It is a way of attempting to perpetuate the racial organization of American society into castes and

classes.

While Dennis Wrong was trying to make sense out of caste, class and status in 1963, Everett Hughes was trying to make sense out of the turbulence in our society that was caused by the revolt of African American people. In his presidential address at the 1963 annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, Hughes asked this question: "Why did social scientists ... and sociologists in particular ... not foresee the explosion of collective action of Negro Americans toward full integration into American society?" (Hughes, 1963:879). Hughes partially answered himself by stating that "if status arrangements are always tentative and likely to be questioned" but that "the group with the greatest interest in the status quo may...think of the arrangement as permanent, and...justify it by various devices—such as the doctrine of racial superiority and inferiority" (Hughes, 1963:883). Hughes and others failed to predict the civil rights movement because they kept their eyes on the dominant people of power and their various ways of justifying their position in society and failed to understand that the subdominant people of power also have beliefs of their own that differ from those of the dominants.

Sociologists failed to predict the civil rights movement because Hughes, Gunnar Myrdal and others failed to realize that subdominant people have power. They have veto power which the social theorists who examined caste, class and status did not understand because they kept their focus on the elite.

In *An American Dilemma* (1944) Myrdal called "the Negro problem" primarily "a white man's problem" (Myrdal, 1944:669). He described the races as existing in a caste order which is fundamentally a system of disabilities forced by the whites upon blacks in America (Myrdal, 1944:669). In the introduction to his book, Myrdal stated that "the Negro problem exists and changes because of conditions and forces operating in the larger American society," and that the Negro people may realistically acquire power in society only with the help of "interested white groups" (Myrdal 1944:16-17). Myrdal gave little, if any, attention to self-initiated behavior by blacks. Hughes committed the same error. He genuinely believed that African Americans "want[ed] to disappear as a group...to become invisible as a group...[to] be judged as if [being African American] did not matter" (Hughes, 1963:883).

It required the turbulence of the 1960s decade before white social scientists would begin to analyze ways of life of blacks and their adaptations

to circumstances of discrimination. It required the revolt of the 1950s and 1960s before whites began to understand the meaning of the concept of self-determination. Halfway through the 1960s, after the Montgomery Bus Boycott, the March on Washington and the Siege of Selma, Talcott Parsons would write that "the Negro community has the opportunity to define itself as the spearhead of one of the most important improvements in the quality of American society in its history" (Parsons, 1965:1048). Parsons further said "the record of the movement ... makes it clear that a very major part of the credit [for the movement] will go to the Negro community itself" (Parsons, 1965:1048). Sociologist Parsons saw through a glass darkly what historian Meyer Weinberg clearly understood a few decades later. He reported in the 1990s that "since 1940 the single most important factor in the lives of African Americans has been the rise of the civil rights movement. In the main, it was a movement of black people led by black people." (Weinberg, 1991:3). According to Weinberg, Francis Keppel, the U.S. Commissioner of Education, gave voice to a new realizations in the 1960s that "the movement was becoming the principal engine for educational change in this country" (Weinberg, 1991:3).

Increased understanding of the role and responsibility of the black population in this freedom movement was possible as social scientists cleared away the conceptual underbrush anchored in the old ideas and beliefs about caste and class that had blinded them to what was actually happening in society.

By identifying black-white relations as caste and class arrangements of highly formalized behavior sanctioned by religion in which interpersonal activities of exchange are prohibited, social scientists were unable to understand the self-determination behavior of blacks and what was happening in the civil rights movement. By keeping the focus on the social arrangements perpetuated by whites rather than on what blacks were thinking and doing, social scientists were unprepared to witness a new movement being born.

I find no value in the concepts of caste and class, first, because I believe inequality is a function of social organization and its complementary activities and, second, because I am convinced that no group is biologically inferior or superior in all traits. I believe, for example, that social processes such as stability and change complement each other and so do cooperation and conflict. I also believe that socially structured positions such as wealth and poverty and behavior associated with these positions

complement each other. Both have the capacity to be dependent and independent variables. For this reason, I disagreed with William Wilson's concept of an underclass as a permanent and intractable group in American society. An underclass exists because of an overclass and vice versa. The two are interconnected. Each has self-determining capabilities and each affects the other.

We can understand these principles better if we examine them as they are manifested in the life of an archetype individual such as Benjamin Elijah Mays.

Born in South Carolina in 1894 where myths of the inherent inferiority of all blacks and the inherent superiority of all whites were articles of faith, Mays did not accept these and he enrolled in Bates College in Lewiston, Maine to test himself. At the end of his racially integrated college career at Bates, Mays said, "I had done better in academic performance in public speaking and in argumentation and debate than the vast majority of my classmates." (Mays, 1971:60). Thus, he concluded that Bates made it possible for him to emancipate himself, to accept with dignity his own worth as a free person (Mays, 1971:60). Mays said that he wanted to go to New England for his college studies for one reason: if he could compete successfully with the Yankee he would have prima facie evidence that blacks were not inferior. He proved at Bates that he could compete successfully with all sorts and conditions of students. And at Bates, he discovered that "Yankee superiority was as mythical as Negro inferiority" (Mays, 1971:50).

Mays said that he had never accepted his assigned status in South Carolina, for one reason, because he had a reference group that differed from the reference group of South Carolina whites. The people in his rural church were his reference group; they encouraged him, told him he was smart and would "go places" in life (Mays, 1971:50,17). Reference group theory is an important contribution in sociological analysis and helps to explain how individuals overcome and transcend their assigned status in life, how people break out of the constraints of caste and class.

An examination of the life of Benjamin Mays also demonstrates the value of conceptualizing intelligence as a pluralistic, multiple or many-splendored entity rather than as unitary phenomenon as declared by Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray (Herrnstein and Murray, 1994:18-19, 22-23). Mays' life also is clear and present evidence that intelligence is a property of each individual and not a group phenomenon as Herrnstein

and Murray assert that it is.

As a nine-year old boy, Mays received a terrific ovation from the congregation of his church after reciting a portion of the Sermon on the Mount on "children's day" at his church. Having been confirmed as an accomplished public speaker, Mays entered the sophomore declamation contest at Bates College that was held during the first semester. The wife of Mays' biology teacher was good in speech. She coached him and he won first place in the declamation contest. Mays was elated to win over his five white competitors (Mays, 1971:56). This was an important victory for Mays because, during the same semester, he received only one A and also received the first D in his whole academic career. The point is that Mays excelled in one intellectual sphere while not doing well in others. The support and encouragement that Mays received for doing what he could do well early on in his academic career sustained him until he could do other things well. In a section on "Educating Intelligences," in his book, *Frames of Mind*, Howard Gardner asks, "does one play from strength, does one bolster weakness, or does one attempt to work along both tracks at the same time?" (Gardner, 1985:388). Benjamin Mays obviously played from strength. Although he earned grades less than A in most of his courses the first year he attended Bates, he won first prize in the public speaking contest. And accolades he received for his public speaking ability sustained him until he could do better in other subjects. In his senior year at Bates, Mays received A in eight out of eleven courses, a distant experience from his first semester of study at Bates.

There is no such cluster of people known as the intellectual elite in human society. There are many intellectual capacities and, therefore, different kinds of elites. People smart in one intellectual sphere may not be smart in another sphere. Thus, the intelligence testing experts who are attempting to reintroduce biology as the basis for social class differentiation in America are barking up the wrong tree. We know, as Howard Gardner has suggested, that there are multiple intelligences all of which are needed "to solve problems or create products that are valued within one or more cultural settings" (Gardner, 1985).

Finally, the life of Benjamin Mays demonstrates the importance of the temporal aspect of social organization. Although receiving only one A in his first year at Bates, he received eight As in his senior year. Moreover, he was captain of the Bates debating team his senior year, elected Class Day orator and president of the Bates Forum and the Phihellenic Club. Mays

said that his achievement was so outstanding that he conceded superiority to no more than four in his senior class (Mays, 1971:59-60). He graduated when he was twenty-six years old; he graduated with honors.

Several years ago, I conducted a study of *Black Students in White Colleges* (Willie and McCord, 1972). The book, incidentally, was dedicated to Dr. Mays whom I described as "a black student who endured, transcended and overcame." Some years after Mays' study as a black student at a predominantly white college, this book revealed findings for other black students that are similar to those for Benjamin Mays. Only 14 percent of the first-year black students received average grades of B or above after their first semester of study at college, compared with 47 percent of the white freshmen. By the fourth year, however, many black students had caught up with the white students and were doing quite well. In fact, a majority (52 percent) of the black seniors had accumulative averages of A or B compared with 42 percent of the white seniors (Willie and McCord, 1972:87). Clearly, the association between years of study in school and grades received is not fixed, immutable and intractable as those who insist on describing social organization in caste and class terms would have us believe. The Mays experience and my findings of black students in white colleges indicate why tracking is a harmful way of organizing educational experiences. Those who start behind are not destined to stay behind.

May I conclude this discussion by returning to the issue of power. The association, if any, between power, status, and social mobility has been a troublesome problem for many social theorists. Carl Degler argues that "the status of the Negro in the English colonies was worked out within a framework of discrimination; that from the outset, as far as the available evidence tells us, the Negro was treated as an inferior to the white man, servant or free" (Degler, 1975:44-45). Because the church and other institutions sanctioned the inferior status accorded blacks, it has been assumed that blacks also accepted as authentic their low estate. Of course, we have Benjamin Mays' statement that he never accepted his assigned status in South Carolina. But even before the twentieth century, there is plenty of evidence that blacks did not accept the position to which they were assigned by white culture.

Harriet Beecher Stowe was one of the early authors to realize that blacks had not internalized the low estate to which they had been assigned by whites. In the confrontation between Uncle Tom and Legree, one of the most hated slavemasters in the South, Tom refuses to whip a slave

woman as directed by Legree. For Tom's refusal Legree struck him a heavy blow across the cheek. But Tom persisted in refusing to whip anyone in his slave community. He told his master that he didn't think that this was a right thing to do and that he never would do it. Legree became furious after Tom's refusal to obey him. He quoted the Bible to Tom stating that servants were admonished to obey their masters. With blood flowing down his face from the heavy abuse he received from Legree, Tom told him that his soul did not belong to any master, including Legree; it was not for sale because his soul belonged to God (Stowe, 1963:364-366). Benjamin Mays uttered words that were implicit in Uncle Tom's defiance. "To be able to stand the troubles of life," Mays said, "one must have a sense of mission and the belief that God sent him or her into the world for a purpose, to do something unique and distinctive; and that if he does not do it, life will be worse off because it was not done" (Mays, 1983:7). Understanding the power that is inherent in each person, Mays said, "nobody is wise enough, nobody is good enough, and nobody cares enough about you to turn over to them your future" (Mays, 1983:6).

What Benjamin Mays and Uncle Tom understood is that all people, including subdominant people, have power. They have veto power. They can prevent life from continuing as it is unless life takes into consideration the welfare and needs of each of its human critters. Subdominant people of power do not have to go along and cooperate in their own oppression. Like Uncle Tom, all people including subdominants can say no. Because sociologists failed to understand the presence of veto power, they failed to predict the civil rights movement. Our preoccupation with status, class and caste has locked us into a deterministic mode of analysis. Benjamin Mays provided us with a transcendent view of society. He said, "the future is always with those who take the high road, the high road of truth, social justice, love...and concern for the advancement of all humanity." He said, "the future belongs to those who are able to rise above the currently accepted practices and point the way to higher and nobler things" (Mays, 1969:35).

Our preoccupation with caste, class and status has led us down the deterministic path to a sociology of immanency. Benjamin Mays has suggested to us a new way to imagine society by way of a sociology of transcendency. The two go well together and deliver social analysis from the shackles of caste, class, and status.

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Mays Transcendant and Transcending Mays

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The famous African American theologian and Morehouse alumnus, Howard Thurman, has written that:

> The time and place of a man's life on earth are the time and place of his body, but the meaning and significance of his life is as vast and far-reaching as his gifts, his times and the passionate commitment of all his powers can make it (Thurman, 1979:1).

The time of life on this earth for Benjamin Elijah Mays was the years between 1894 and 1984. The places of his life were several because he traveled frequently and widely. But the places most closely associated with his life for considerable periods of time were South Carolina, Bates College, the University of Chicago, Howard University and Atlanta, Georgia. It was in Atlanta where, for almost four decades, he demonstrated his longest and greatest commitment to strong and visionary leadership in the field of education. Therefore, it is fitting that this final session of the celebration of his legacy will explore his impact on education. Because of Dr. Mays' illustrious career as a dean, college president, chairman of the Board of Education of a major metropolitan school system; and because of his renown as a gifted orator and preacher of the Gospel it is very easy to lose sight of the fact that he was first a classroom teacher. In 1921, Dr. Mays came to

Morehouse College, where he taught college mathematics and high school algebra for three years. In his autobiography, *Born to Rebel*, Dr. Mays writes this about his teaching at Morehouse:

> I made history at Morehouse by teaching the first course in calculus ever to be given there. The times do change! (Mays, 1971)

After receiving a master's degree in 1925, Dr. Mays joined the faculty of South Carolina State College, his high school alma mater, as a teacher of English. He remained at South Carolina State for one year.

I think it is appropriate that I mention Dr. Mays' tenure as a college teacher because I believe that this is where his impact on education, especially for African Americans, actually began and took roots. Throughout his lifetime, Dr. Mays was ever the teacher, encouraging young men and women "to reach for the stars." Perhaps, his greatest impact on education was made by way of the many young lives he touched, inspired, challenged and sometimes dazzled through his personal contacts with them and through his speeches and writings. This is one way that the meaning and significance of his life transcends the grave.

It is appropriate that I make special mention of Dr. Mays' work as a college teacher in light of the small number of African Americans pursuing graduate study today. Over the past decade, the number of African Americans receiving the doctoral degree in all fields has either remained about the same or declined each year. This makes it extremely difficult for institutions of higher education to employ African American teachers and scholars who also could be role models for black students. Dr. Mays recognized the need for and importance of graduate education, especially for African Americans, and gave tireless efforts encouraging and assisting faculty and students at Morehouse College not just to pursue graduate study but to obtain a graduate degree.

No doubt Dr. Mays made his greatest impact on and contribution to higher education during his presidency of Morehouse College. As he says in his autobiography, his main reason for accepting the presidency of Morehouse college in 1940,

> ... was the challenge of the job. I thought I might get support from faculty, trustees, alumni and friends to move Morehouse forward. And after all, this was Morehouse where I had begun my teaching career nineteen years before. Many of the students I had known and taught there were making

> their mark in the world .... I considered it an honor to be president of a college that had done 'so much with so little and so few.
>
> I found a special, intangible something at Morehouse in 1921 which sent men out into life with a sense of mission, believing that they could accomplish whatever they set out to do... There is still this intangible something at Morehouse College. If it is ever lost, Morehouse will become "just another college." (Mays, 1971:104)

This was the credo of Dr. Mays as president of Morehouse College. He embodied it totally in all of his being and actions and communicated it to all who came under his influence—students, faculty, alumni, trustees and friends. Benjamin Mays had a great reverence for the human mind. He believed that the mind was man's greatest gift and must never be allowed to be idle or to be wasted. It was to be nurtured through serious study, prodigious research and investigation; trained through rigorous discipline and used to lift one's self and humanity to higher plateaus of fruitful living. He often counselled:

> You are what you aspire to be, and not what you now are; you are what you do with your mind, and you are what you do with your youth. It is not your environment, it is you—the quality of your minds, the integrity of your souls, and the determination of your wills—that will decide your future and shape your lives. The man who out-thinks you, rules you (Mays, 1971:1-3).

Dr. Mays realized early in life the importance and value of excellence in education and this became his life-long goal and pursuit. The first written account in which he articulated this philosophy of excellence was in a speech given at a YMCA conference for African American boys at Benedict College in 1926. He said:

> Young men, you must strive to be an agriculturalist, not a Negro agriculturalist! Strive to be a doctor, not a Negro doctor—just a doctor! Seek to serve your state, not as a Negro, but as a man. Aspire to be great, not [only] among Negroes, but among men. God knows I want to be a great teacher, not a Negro teacher, just a great teacher (Mays, 1971:104).

He certainly fostered that philosophy at Morehouse College. How often did I hear him say while I was a student there, that "if an academic

curriculum is not good enough for whites, it is not good enough for blacks. A college must be judged not only by excellent teachers, but by the spirit and philosophy which permeates it from top to bottom." Dr. Mays advocated a "special" kind of education. While embracing W.E.B. DuBois' theory of the talented tenth, Dr. Mays' conviction and contention were that knowledge must be undergirded with firm moral and ethical principles and values. Knowledge alone can become a double-edged sword. He says on one occasion:

> I am uneasy about man because we have no guarantee that when we train a man's mind, we will train his heart; no guarantee that when we increase a man's knowledge, we will increase his goodness. There is no necessary correlation between knowledge and goodness (Mays, 1971:1).

Like the biblical prophets, Dr. Mays continually preached the need and efficacy of acquired knowledge undergirded with high moral and ethical principles. Both man's head and heart must be changed if his goodness is to show forth in his actions.

Reflecting on Dr. Mays' presidency of Morehouse College, one could establish that he imparted higher education in the following ways: (1) he imbued his presidency with complete integrity, high moral character and sound fiscal management; (2) he sought to Make his presidency one worthy of being emulated by other college presidents and educational managers.

When he became president of Morehouse College in 1940, the College had no endowment. In fact, a precious few, if any, black colleges had an endowment. Dr. Mays immediately set out to establish an endowment at Morehouse and openly encouraged other black colleges, especially the private ones, to do the same.

Also, in 1940, black colleges and universities in the South could not become members of the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (SACS), the regional accrediting body for institutions of higher education. Instead, black colleges and universities were "approved" by SACS. Dr. Mays led and eventually won the fight for full membership of black colleges and universities in the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools. He was never afraid to take a stand for a good and righteous cause.

This educator from South Carolina came to Atlanta in 1940 and seized the helm of a small, financially strapped college and within approxi-

mately three decades built it into a nationally recognized center of academic excellence and fiscal stability. Dr. E. A. Jones, in *A Candle in the Dark, a History of Morehouse College*, says of Dr. Mays' success at Morehouse:

> The spectacular growth and expansion of Morehouse College since 1940 are due in large part to the man who became its sixth president....
>
> No other president of Morehouse College has raised as much money, built as many buildings, added as much land to the campus, or done as much to raise teachers' salaries and enhance faculty morale as has Dr. Mays. He has won for Morehouse new friends who have contributed to its security, growth and expansion (Jones, 1967:1).

Dr. Mays was a tough taskmaster as many of us had the good or sometimes unpleasant occasion to find out. He always gave his best and demanded the same of others. So today, his challenge to us would be to transcend his accomplishments. He would remind us that "of him to whom much is given, even more is required. One must not rest on past achievements. He who would be as great as his predecessor must be greater."

As one who served as president of the Atlanta Board of Education and of Morehouse College, Dr. Mays would be greatly disturbed over the education of African Americans today. He would be disturbed, but not discouraged. He would summon all who would hear him to join efforts to solve this problem. His abiding faith in the redeemability of humankind would be the motivating force behind his efforts.

The legacy of this great educator, philosopher, activist and man of God challenges each of us here today to transcend his accomplishments. To do less will be to subvert the goal and purpose of our being in this place at this time. As he has reminded us so eloquently:

> God has sent every man and every woman into the world to do something unique, something distinctive and ... if he or she does not do it, it will never be done and the world will be the loser (Mays, 1971).

Even now his spirit summons us from the grave to exceed the good done by our predecessors. A tall order indeed! But Benjamin E. Mays issued tough orders and dared himself and others to achieve them.

*This statement was written in 1967 prior to the presidencies of Hugh M. Gloster, Leroy Keith and Walter Massey.

He would be quick to remind us, African Americans, that we are better educated today than ever before, better off economically than ever before (the wide disparity between the incomes of whites and blacks notwithstanding), and black political power is a reality. Thus the question before us is, "Do we have the will to use these resources and to what ends?"

Mays' life was a model of excellence in academic pursuits, of courage and perseverance in action, of love and compassion for one's fellowman and of deep and abiding faith in God. His words, spoken and written, provide us with encouragement, strength and enlightenment for the present and hope for the future as expressed in the following quote:

> As we face the unpredictable future, we do so in the faith that our objectives are sound, that our means of achieving them are practicable, and that man and God will assist us all the way (Mays, 1971).

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Benjamin Elijah Mays: A Perspective

Richard 0. Hope
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I recall attending chapel five times a week and a sixth day on Sunday, since I was in the Sunday Morning Choir. Pop Dansby sat in the balcony with his chart of the seating arrangement and checked off those who were not present. As you progressed through the years from freshman to senior, your seating was moved closer to the podium.

As a freshman, coming by train from Nashville, Tennessee, I found my first day at Morehouse memorable. My first task after getting off the train was to find a taxi to the college, and, growing up in the segregated South, I knew to go to the section where the black taxi drivers were located. After finally negotiating the ride, I arrived at Morehouse College in a severe rain storm which convinced me that Graves Hall was about to slide down the hill. I entered Graves Hall and came face to face with Mrs. Archer, who looked at me and said, "What do you want?" "I came to get a room assignment," I said.

This began an amazing journey that continues to positively influence my life today. This influence began on the first Tuesday in Chapel when I first heard Dr. Benjamin Elijah Mays. He was standing erect, tall—an imposing figure—as he said: "I welcome you, Men of Morehouse College." I recall this reverberating in my mind, the concept of "Men of Morehouse." In the South, at that time, being called a man was rare and feeling empowered by that phrase was even more unusual.

Dr. Mays proceeded to introduce the faculty who stood behind him on the stage. He introduced every member of the faculty by name, degree, and where the degree was obtained, without notes. I was impressed! We were immediately introduced to our role models, our teachers, our mentors, our counselors, our advisors, and, ultimately, our friends. You had the immediate feeling that this was a supportive and nurturing environment where the president and faculty truly cared about you and your success in life.

After introducing the faculty, Dr. Mays began to speak about his vision for Morehouse and the heights to which he expected us to rise and the contributions he expected us to make in life. It is this vision that I would like to speak about today.

We celebrate the life and works of Dr. Benjamin Elijah Mays who was president of Morehouse College from 1940 to 1967. He was a teacher; counselor; community, national, and international leader; minister; husband; and father to Morehouse men. He was a visionary who had a dream of Morehouse College that is yet to be fully realized; an understanding of the power of this vision that has inspired generations of Morehouse men.

Dr. Mays' earliest recollection was of the Phoenix Riot which began in Greenwood County, South Carolina, on November 8, 1898, and spread terror throughout the countryside. Many were lynched during this race riot. Dr. Mays said, in his book, *Born To Rebel*, "I remember a crowd of white men who rode up on horseback with rifles on their shoulders. I was with my father when they rode up, and I remember starting to cry. They cursed my father, drew their guns and made him salute, made him take off his hat and bow down to them several times. Then they rode away. I was not yet five years old, but I have never forgotten them."

How can a man experience this and not have it destroy his life? This early terror and later indignities were used by Dr. Mays as fuel to energize his determination that racial hatred would **not** stop him from his work and his destiny as an educator and leader.

In his early years, Dr. Mays realized his gift of oration when he began to speak in church as a youth and received his first ovation from the parishioners. This ability was to be the cornerstone of his influence. He honed his oratory and academic skills, leading to a bachelor's degree at Bates College and a doctorate at the University of Chicago.

While at the University of Chicago, a most unlikely event occurred that changed his life forever. John Hope, then president of Morehouse College, met Dr. Mays in the library at the University of Chicago and invited him to teach college mathematics at Morehouse. Dr. Mays reports that he was tempted by the "lucrative salary of $1,200" to teach for eight months beginning in September 1921. This began a long and illustrious career as teacher and, later, president of Morehouse.

Dr. Mays spoke to us regularly about the five abiding values guiding the destiny of Morehouse men. These values are:

- maximizing the mind
- developing sound character
- maintaining spirituality
- commiting to civic responsibility
- ensuring confidence of purpose

Maximizing the Mind. Dr. Mays had to be the first to say that "A mind is a terrible thing to waste." He believed this to his core and preached to us of our responsibilities to make maximum use of our talents in a creative and constructive way.

Sound Character. As important as it is to make the mind keen and sharp, the Morehouse emphasis has also been to develop men of integrity and sound character. A persisting concern of Dr. Mays throughout his life was how to become and remain a man of pride, dignity, and integrity in a society determined to rob (strip) him of these qualities. He insisted that Morehouse men be dependable, reliable, trustworthy, and honest—men who can be trusted to carry responsibility both in private and public life. He said: "It is dangerous to train only the mind without equally training good character."

Spirituality. As for maintaining our spirituality, mental and character development should be undergirded by a clear concept of the role of religion in the life of man. Religion was at the core of all behavior and the source of strength that empowers this action.

Civic Responsibility. A fourth emphasis, as Dr. Mays phrased it, is community responsibility. A good citizen is not only one who votes and pays taxes, but one who participates in affairs of the community and lends support to further the ideas of progress and democratic living.

Confidence of Purpose. Concerning the last of Dr. May's guiding values, despite the potentially crippling circumstance of racism and

poverty, Morehouse men go forth from this place with confidence in their future.

"They have been taught to not accept the ceiling as the limit, but the sky, and that a better tomorrow must be molded by them."

"They have learned well that a man's reach should exceed his grasp."

I would like to put these values in the context of concerns that I have, particularly with regard to the rise of the right and conservative trends in this country and their potential impact on our communities and our educational institutions. There is a conservative wave in this country fueled by the fears of average Americans that their basic livelihoods and families are being threatened by poor economic conditions and big government. These fears are being grossly distorted for the aims of the political "Right." Affirmative action is becoming the battle ground of this debate to the extent that facts and accuracy no longer become important in this war of words. It is, however, more than words, since it directly impacts us and our institutions.

Affirmative action has come to mean, for some conservatives, that minorities should be put in positions regardless of their ability to perform the skills necessary. I don't know about you, but when I go into an operation I want to know that the surgeon has the highly competent skills to perform this operation. Affirmative action has never meant hiring less qualified persons.

It refers to the ability of society to ensure that all persons be given full and equal opportunity to participate in all aspects of society. In the context of the array of populations in this country, participation should reflect this diversity.

In the famous study, *Workforce 2000*, it is postulated that the labor force will grow more slowly, become older, more female, and more non-white. By the year 2000, only 15% of the new entrants into the workforce will be white male compared with 47 percent non-white male. As *Time* magazine (April, 1994) stated, "in the 21st century ... racial and ethnic groups in the United States will outnumber whites for the first time. The 'Browning of America' will alter everything in society, from politics and education to industry, values, and culture...."

Efforts in this country should be made to increase the numbers of African Americans who receive quality education, not to fight to reduce these numbers by bogus claims of reverse discrimination. According to a new study completed for the Department of Labor, affirmative

action has caused very few claims of reverse discrimination. Rutgers University law professor, Alfred Blumrosen, says, "My findings poke holes in the theory that affirmative action programs unfairly benefit minorities at the expense of white workers." (*The New York Times*, March 31, 1995:A23.)

What does this mean for Morehouse men and the legacy of Dr. Benjamin Elijah Mays? It says, first, you must prepare your minds to be the best that you can be in your chosen field. Excellence should be your creed and work your companion.

The Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation has long been involved in providing grants and fellowships to talented African American students. Another classmate of mine, Charles Merideth, received a full fellowship to study chemistry at the University of California at Berkeley where he earned a doctorate; he is now president of New York Technical College. Recently, the foundation has funded some fifteen Morehouse students who plan to receive graduate degrees in public policy or international affairs. Some, additionally, have received full funding from the junior year at Morehouse through the Master's degree in international affairs, and will then go into the foreign service.

We, at the Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation, feel that targeted grants to minority students are essential to ensure full representation in career fields where African Americans and other minorities are under-represented. The mosaic must be completed and all careers must reflect the diversity of America. Those who have prepared their minds should receive the resources needed to develop professional competence.

Secondly, it is not enough to prepare your mind, according to Dr. Mays, you must be of sound character as well. You cannot take short cuts in helping people. You cannot take short cuts in working with young children or students. I hear some people say that they give their children "quality time" and that is sufficient to ensure the healthy development of this youngster. There are no short cuts; you must be there when your child needs you. Our parents did it, while working two jobs if necessary.

When given a special award for scholarship as an African American, honor the obligation, even if it means that your first years as a physician are practiced in the inner city or on an Indian reservation. Continue your commitment to work in your community as a teacher, law-

yer, or counselor. Work in the Saturday Academy in Atlanta, be an active participant in the Morehouse tutorial program. Don't take advantage of the public trust.

Thirdly, sound character comes from religion and spirituality, the understanding that there is a higher power which orders our lives, allows us to avoid rampant narcissism—thinking only about ourselves —and to work honestly and dependably with others.

I was very fortunate because I was a member of the Glee Club quartet, and so was able to get to know Dr. Mays more personally. Many weekends the quartet would be put into the Morehouse station wagon with Dr. Mays sitting in the front seat on the passenger side. He would talk to us about his life, philosophy, and circumstances of the day. One weekend, we sang at his brother's funeral and traveled to his family's church. He talked about the role of religion and spirituality in our lives and how it guided all of his decisions in life.

Dr. Mays would say that a fourth emphasis at Morehouse is community responsibility. He said that we are privileged to receive a quality education, and, yes, we are singled out for special awards (we did not use the phrase affirmative action in those days), but with this opportunity must come responsibility to community and society.

This philosophy led us to the teachings of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., who was a student of Dr. Mays. The spiritual understandings of Dr. King's teachings and commitment to community allowed us to participate in the "sit-in" movement that led to the desegregation of public facilities in Atlanta and around the country. Dr. Mays was one of the first to come to the side of our movement even when some would have had us expelled from college.

The fifth and final value suggested by Dr. Mays is confidence in the future and in the teachings of Morehouse College, being self-assured and clear in your direction; knowing truth and not being afraid to speak it; recognizing the writers of the Bell Curve, the hollow mantras of conservatism, and visceral oppositions to affirmative action as efforts to reconstruct reality.

The war continues, the battles wage on. We are confident in our struggle, and we stand on the shoulders of the great ones who have shown us the way. They guide our feet. We walk in their path.

"Guide my feet while I run this race for I don't want to run this race in vain." I hear the voices of Walter Chivers, E. A. Jones, E.B. Williams,

Henry McBay, Sam Williams, Wendell Whalum, James Birnie, and many others coming from the classrooms and hallowed halls of Morehouse. I hear the voices in the Chapel of A. Phillip Randolph, Martin Luther King Jr., Horace Bond, James Robinson, Samuel Nabrit, Howard Thurman, and I hear the voice of Benjamin Elijah Mays saying:

> It will not be sufficient for Morehouse College to produce clever graduates, men fluent in speech and able to argue their way through; but rather honest men, men who can be trusted in public and in private—who are sensitive to the wrongs, the sufferings, and the injustices of society and who are willing to accept responsibility for correcting the ills.

One of my dreams came true at Bates. Through competitive experience, I had finally dismissed from my mind for all time the myth of the inherent inferiority of all Negroes and the inherent superiority of all whites—articles of faith to so many in my previous environment. I had done better in academic performances, in public speaking, and in argumentation and debate than the vast majority of my classmates. I concede academic superiority to not more than four in my class. I had displayed more initiative as a student leader than the majority of my classmates. Bates College made these things possible. Bates College did not "emancipate" me; it did the far greater service of making it possible for me to emancipate myself, to accept with dignity my own worth as a free man. Small wonder that I love Bates College! It was a moving and wonderful experience to return there in 1970 for my 50th class reunion.

from **Born to Rebel**

Business, Philanthropy and Higher Education

Milton Little
AT&T Foundation

AT&T is conspicuous by its presence in support of the post-secondary education of youth especially those of diverse backgrounds. Much, though certainly not all, of this support is provided through grants to Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), majority colleges and universities and to the United Negro College Fund. AT&T supports HBCUs for reasons not dissimilar to those of other donors. Before I describe them, let me place our philanthropy and support for higher education in a broader context framed by the unique role played by corporate philanthropy and the special niche AT&T has tried to carve among corporate donors. Let me begin my remarks by providing a snapshot of philanthropy within contemporary society. Then, I will describe a style of philanthropy practiced by an increasing number of corporate grantmakers. Called "strategic philanthropy," it ties corporate giving closely to business strategy. I'll present AT&T's strategic approach, then close by describing AT&T's commitment to post-secondary education with a focus on our support of HBCUs.

Philanthropy and Contemporary Society. Waldemar A. Nelson in his landmark book on philanthropy, *The Golden Donors* (1985), provides an excellent introduction to the world of grantmaking. Let me share some of the highlights with you. This nation has created something unseen in other nations—aggregations of private wealth devoted to public purposes. No other nation in the world has motivated wealthy individuals and insti-

tutions to create philanthropic entities of the scope and reach of those in the United States. No other has encouraged their creation then given them such freedom to play such a significant role in the nation's life. Private foundations are subject to their own external pressures and controls, but to their own largely self-imposed rules not by market forces, electoral constituencies, membership, or even formally established rules of conduct. These freedoms give them their extraordinary flexibility and potential influence.

Foundation executives have regular contact with leading individuals from academia, science, medicine, the arts and charitable agencies of all kinds. The world of philanthropy is a marketplace where information about trends, problems and emerging ideas in the vast nonprofit sector of society is exchanged. Foundation executives are uniquely equipped to assemble the expertise needed to deal with major and complex issues of public policy.

In the United States, corporations have had a long history as contributors to public issues and concerns. In fact, modern corporate philanthropy grows out of the same tradition of benevolence practiced by the wealthy individuals in early agrarian and industrial capitalism. Corporations have traditionally given because they believe it is in their self-interest to do so. In fact, narrow definitions of self-interest contributed to the development of corporate philanthropy in its early years.

By 1921, the Internal Revenue Service had accepted the idea that business donations to charitable, medical or educational institutions were legitimate if the institutions served the needs of the firm's employees. The prevailing notion was that corporate philanthropy could be justified only where direct benefit to the company could be demonstrated.

A series of legal cases and the evolution of thinking helped corporate philanthropy shift from a practice of valued self-interest to almost a condition of public responsibility. Corporations soon had the same obligation of good citizenship as ordinary citizens. By the 1960s, under pressure to demonstrate their social responsibility, most U. S. companies had established their own in-house foundations. Soon, giving away up to 5% of pre-tax income had become industry's way of holding up its end of a social compact.

Corporate philanthropy has evolved considerably since the 1960s. Now in the 1990s, a volatile marketplace is transforming corporate America and the management of corporate philanthropy. Mergers and acquisitions, globalization, falling profits and layoffs are forcing many corporations to

cut back significantly or end completely their giving. Moreover, a change in thinking about the relationship between philanthropic goals and the corporation's business objectives has taken place. Contributions were once based on the premise that business and society are interdependent and must therefore be mutually supportive. Now, contributions are considered as strategic resources designed to accomplish societal objectives while also addressing legitimate business objectives. AT&T adopted the practice of "strategic philanthropy" with the founding of the AT&T Foundation in 1984. The Foundation's strategic approach relates corporate giving closely to the achievement of AT&T's marketing, recruitment, research and development, community and public relations objectives. Strategic philanthropy has also helped foster synergy across AT&T business units. Strategic philanthropy has helped to bring congruence to and get leverage from AT&T executive board memberships, employee volunteer activities, executive loan, and donated equipment. Perhaps more important, the emphasis on measurable results has led to more carefully focused grantmaking, higher profile, multi-year initiatives and encouraged partnerships with government, private foundations and nonprofits.

Let me describe how strategic philanthropy plays itself out in our grantmaking to higher education and HBCUs.

The AT&T Foundation Education Program: Supporting Higher Education. The AT&T Foundation's scope is global. We provide cash grants throughout the United States and around the world to nonprofit institutions for innovative programs that help people achieve self-sufficiency and lead productive lives. We seek projects that simultaneously meet society's needs and relate to AT&T's business objectives. We are particularly inclined towards projects that employ innovative technological solutions.

We support higher education programs that improve the teaching and learning of math and science and projects that explore the role of technology in education, and its capacity to connect students, teachers, classrooms and institutions. Our support for higher education is provided through the following programs with most grants offered on a competitive basis by invitation only:

- **Special Purpose Grants in Science and Engineering** address research, curriculum development or other departmental needs in such fields as electrical engineering, computer science, chemistry and physics.

- **The Manufacturing Technology Grants Program** strengthens applied engineering disciplines that are essential to manufacturing productivity and industrial competitiveness;
- **AT&T's Industrial Ecology Grant Program** supports projects and faculty fellowships for research and curriculum development that integrate technology and the environment to eliminate or reduce negative environmental effects at every stage of a product's life cycle;
- **AT&T Bell Laboratories Cooperative Research Fellowship Program** encourages minority students to pursue doctoral degrees;
- **AT&T Bell Laboratories Graduate Research Program for Women** seeks to increase participation of women science and engineering;
- **AT&T Bell Laboratories Ph.D. Scholarship Program** aims to increase the number of highly trained Ph.D. recipients in selected technical fields; and
- **The Historically Black Colleges and Universities Engineering and Computer Science Program** is described in the following section.

AT&T's Relationship With HBCUs. The relationship AT&T has had with HBCUs has always been a strategic one. It has incorporated philanthropy, employee voluntarism, AT&T's employee matching gifts program and equipment donations. The relationship has withstood the disruption in the communications industry created by the divestiture of the Bell System in 1984. It survives the tremendously intense competition in today's telecommunications market. Why? Because the support is not charitable giving, it is a sound business investment.

We support HBCUs because they emphasize teaching excellence. HBCU students represent a talent pool that is both extraordinarily wide and deep. The graduates make up a large proportion of the overall number of African-American college graduates and college enrollment trends suggest a resurging interest in HBCUs among African-American youth. HBCUs have almost single-handedly created the African-American middle class. Many of the most prominent HBCU graduates have been life-long advocates for equality and social justice, the major theme having been inclusion in, not exclusion from, mainstream American society.

HBCU professors generally instruct in small settings. They tend to love their craft. They convey knowledge, foster exploration and discovery, transmit values and facilitate learning. They know their students by name. The opportunity for the students to engage in face to face discussion across a table not just an auditorium and to meet teachers outside the classroom is to be treasured and protected.

As an alumnus I reflect on how well served I was by the skills I learned at Morehouse—the ability to think logically and creatively, to speak and write fluently, mastery of the basics of history, literature, philosophy, language, political science, biology and chemistry, fine and performing art, among other subjects. These skills have helped me tackle the problems and issues I have confronted throughout my professional life.

These skills, which HBCUs at their best help their students develop, motivate all supporters and donors. There are, however, other special reasons which motivate AT&T's corporate assistance and I suspect that of other corporations as well. The graduates of HBCUs perform extremely well in management.

Words that former AT&T Chairman Charles Brown once said in another setting apply here.

> A simple look around will confirm that we are living in a high technology, knowledge-intensive society. Technology is the singular mark of our time — in particular, computers and telecommunications. Indeed, despite the dizzying speed of technological advances, we are just beginning to tap the potential of these technologies in terms of the way industries and businesses are run in the way government, education and medical institutions operate; in the way we work; the way we learn; and the way we live.

Does this mean burgeoning opportunities for the hi-tech college students—the computer science majors, the physicists, the electronic engineers? Absolutely!

Does the rise of the information age sound the death knell for HBCU graduates? I say no in the face of those critics of HBCUs who believe otherwise. Most of the critics believe HBCUs are anachronistic, relics of that bygone era when segregation blocked access to many of the nation's colleges and universities. The critics believe inadequate resources of the HBCUs mean they provide inferior education. If the teachers are less paid they must therefore be less competent. Critics who agree that the preva-

lence of teachers as opposed to research scholars means there is little emphasis on scholarship. I do not subscribe to those beliefs.

In AT&T's view, HBCUs offer wonderful opportunities for students to discover the exhilaration of learning, the capacity to weigh evidence, to probe difficult problems, to ponder life's values. Yet, our support of HBCUs stems from more than the strength of the liberal arts education they offer. The real underlying reason for AT&T's support of HBCUs is that they help us achieve an important goal: to increase the pool of minority talent, particularly in engineering and the physical sciences.

AT&T's long history of sustained support to HBCUs goes back to the pre-divestiture Bell System. Recognizing the need to preserve and enhance an American educational heritage, AT&T initiated its aid to black colleges program in the 1960s. Consistent with AT&T's overall education program, that support focused on science and engineering programs. Through visiting professors and loaned executives, AT&T helped establish and build engineering departments on HBCU campuses. Through donations of cash and equipment, AT&T has helped improve facilities and curriculum. Through scholarships, AT&T has provided financial support to students who might not have had access to higher education, particularly in science and engineering.

The mission of HBCUs has always been aligned closely with AT&T's commitment to equal access and opportunity regardless of gender, race, ethnicity or physical limitations. HBCUs have been laboratories and incubators for diversity. They have been educating African-American students to become valued, contributing members of mainstream American society from their inception. AT&T does not view the support to HBCU campuses as a subset of our efforts to support higher education. Rather, the HBCUs are seen as a significant sector of higher education, such that what we do there will be viewed in the larger context of AT&T support for advancing diversity throughout the higher education community.

Since 1984, AT&T has targeted 10 HBCUs for strategic support: Atlanta University Center, Hampton University, Howard University, Jackson State University, North Carolina A&T University, Prairie View A&M University, Southern University, Tennessee State University, Tuskegee University and Xavier University. They have multiple relationships—recruiting, research and development, sales and marketing and philanthropic—with various AT&T entities, including business units, AT&T Bell Laboratories and the AT&T Foundation. Managed under the aegis of AT&T's

University Relations Center, these schools have an AT&T manager and corporate and technical executives assigned to them.

For the last ten years, the AT&T Foundation has been AT&T's primary source of philanthropic support for these HBCUs through the Engineering and Computer Science Program. Under this program, the AT&T Foundation provides cash grants specifically to improve engineering and computer science education. HBCUs have used the grants to meet basic educational needs while attempting to stay current with advances in instructional pedagogy and new developments in the sciences, engineering and technology. In addition to AT&T Foundation support, AT&T continues to include these 10 HBCUs in the AT&T University Equipment Donation Program (UEDP) and visiting professor program. Visiting professors have been vital to the development of HBCU students and curriculum. UEDP grants have provided facility enhancements and increased the instructional and research capabilities on their campuses. AT&T employees have been engaged as lecturers and mentors under the summer research program, the graduate research program women, and the cooperative research fellowship program for minorities and women administered by the AT&T University Relations Center. Business units provide support for special projects and organizations on campus, and employee alumni of the HBCUs contribute to these institutions through the AT&T Employee Matching Gifts Program.

Foundation support of the HBCU Computer Science and Engineering Program during the past three years has been used to address some very basic programmatic and educational needs at the HBCUs. These include: student development/retention; student scholarship support; faculty recruitment/development; curriculum development; and facility enhancement.

That AT&T's employee pool and diversity profile can be improved by our technical recruitment efforts at HBCUs is an important dimension of our corporate diversity strategy which we hope is advanced by the computer science and engineering program. All of the education and programmatic components that have been supported by AT&T Foundation dollars have contributed to that end. These institutions have educated students, many of whom have been academically and/or financially unprepared for college. They have given students the skills and confidence to obtain the technical/professional employment with top-level high tech firms, enter the most prestigious graduate and professional pro-

grams in the country, and achieve success in their fields of study and employment. Many have become professors at majority institutions and have become significant resources for those campuses as they struggle to advance diversity in the higher education community.

In addition to AT&T's targeted support for these 10 HBCUs, AT&T supports the United Negro College Fund and its 41 HBCU member institutions. Since 1984, AT&T has given more than $4.6 million to UNCF. Retired AT&T Chairman Charles Brown chaired the UNCF capital campaign from 1978 to 1982. In 1991 AT&T awarded a $3.7 million grant, payable over 5 years, to UNCF. This commitment to the UNCF's Campaign 2000 represents the largest single grant ever made by the AT&T Foundation. This support is designated to meet library needs at the 41 UNCF schools—a purpose the leadership of these institutions identified as important. Funding is being used to acquire books and other materials and to make physical improvements to the libraries. AT&T's current Chairman, Robert Allen, accepted an award from President Reagan on behalf of the White House Initiative on Historically Black Colleges and Universities.

AT&T's support of HBCUs and UNCF reflects a dedication to improve access to quality educational opportunities for minorities in general, and increase their representation in science and engineering in particular. That dedication is a part of AT&T's overall commitment to education, which grows out of economic necessity as well as social responsibility. It reflects an alignment of social need and business objectives.

Perhaps all that can be said about AT&T's commitment to supporting the higher educational operations of people of diverse backgrounds can be summed up in comments by AT&T Chairman Robert Allen. "More than any business plan or strategy, more than any technological breakthrough, our business will rise or fall on our ability to engage the full poteritial of all AT&T people. Diversity must be integrated into our operating style." Diversity is a business imperative throughout AT&T. There is mounting evidence that a diversified firm can make better business decisions, market more effectively and win, and keep the best employees. AT&T's investment in HBCUs is clearly an investment in the future of this nation and in the full participation all of its citizens.

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The proud and sensitive Negro, if he is to be free in his own mind and soul, must forever be on guard against accepting conditions that will enslave his spirit. On countless Tuesday mornings in chapel I pointed out to the Morehouse students that the only way they could be free in a rigidly segregated society was by consistent refusal ever to accept subservience and segregation in their own minds. As long as a man registers some form of protest against that which is obviously wrong, he has not surrendered his freedom, and his soul is still his own. The struggle to maintain one's integrity is always difficult, but for a black man in a white-dominated world it is a continuous "trial by fire."

from **Born to Rebel**

Twenty-Seven Years of Success and Failure at Morehouse

Benjamin E. Mays
Centennial Commencement Address
with an introduction by Alvin Darden

I will always remember the first time I met Dr. Benjamin Mays. It was an experience that I will always remember. I had the pleasure of meeting him during a wedding reception several years after his retirement as President of Morehouse College. Unfortunately, I matriculated at Morehouse College the year after Dr. Mays retired and did not have the opportunity of experiencing his mentoring firsthand. However, throughout my years at Morehouse, I developed a deep appreciation for Dr. Mays through his writings and speeches. His works and ideology have had a profound impact upon my life.

As many of you know, Dr. Mays was both a minister and a theologian, and the theme of personal values permeates the majority of his writings and speeches. During the later part of his career at Morehouse, Dr. Mays spoke on what constitutes a sound and moral character. The ideals which he stressed continue to influence my personal decision making. Specifically, to hold fast to one's heritage, integrity, identity, and pride as an African American male in our society is an everyday challenge that must be met. Dr. Mays expected Morehouse men to meet these challenges; he settled for nothing less. I am proud to say, even in the light of our failures, African American men have been and are continuing to confront and meet these challenges.

I have discovered in my journey through life that adversity forces us to be stronger. Strength of character defeats adversity. We become who we

aspire to be. I believe if Dr. Mays were alive today he would still be stressing the merits of good character upon students and alumni alike. Mays stated in the speech which follows that "...the future of Morehouse rests with its alumni." The alumni of Morehouse have performed well in their chosen vocations and in Mays' words, "If happiness can be achieved, it will be found in a job well done and in giving not receiving."

As you read the final essay in this special volume of *Challenge*, please keep in mind the many changes which have taken place at Morehouse since 1967. Mays' vision of the College continues to be realized. In 1967 Morehouse had 65 full-time teachers with 52 percent holding Ph.D. degrees. Today Morehouse has a faculty in excess of 150 with 75 percent holding the Ph.D. The endowment of Morehouse is in excess of $65 million, which ensures that the College is on firm financial ground. Morehouse has produced Woodrow Wilson Fellow, Bonner, Luce and Rhodes scholars. The College continues to produce more than its share of doctors, lawyers and businessmen. But more important that these statistics is the fact that the College continues to produce leaders and citizens of sound moral character. The College has done well, but we must be forever vigilant.

I am confident that Dr. Mays would be proud of the successes that have been made by the sons of Morehouse. However, I believe he would equally be concerned about the many and varied problems that face our people, our country, and our world today.

Since 1967 is Morehouse's 100th year, you will understand why I introduce this address with a bit of history, lest we forget the thought patterns out of which Morehouse was molded. When Morehouse was founded in 1867, virtually all of science, religion, and statesmanship were speaking with a unanimous voice declaring that the newly emancipated people were a little less than human.

George Washington, Patrick Henry, and many other fathers of the Constitution owned slaves. A majority of the members of the United States Supreme Court at the time of the Dred Scott decision were slaveholders. Many colleges presidents and professors defended the institution. A Yale professor said: "If Jesus Christ were now on earth, he would under certain circumstances become a slaveholder." Governor McGuffie of South Carolina said in 1835, "No human institution is more manifestly consistent

with the will of God than domestic slavery and no one of his ordinances is written in more legible characters than that which consigns the African race to this condition." In 1860, the pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in New Orleans preached a sermon entitled: "Slavery, A Divine Trust—The Duty of the South to Preserve and Perpetuate the Institution As It Now Exists." Eleven years before Morehouse was founded, a Richmond minister said: "The institution of slavery is full of mercy.... In their bondage here on earthy they [the slaves] have been much better provided for, and great multitudes of them have been made the freemen of the Lord Jesus Christ and left this world rejoicing in the hope of God."

Abraham Lincoln had his misgivings about Negroes. Speaking in Peoria, Illinois, in 1854, he said he would send the slaves back to Africa but that they would perish in ten days. Speaking of social and political equality, Lincoln said, "We cannot make them equal."

The Anthropological Society of America, writing with special reference to the Negro in 1868, said: "The greatest achievement of anthropological science, we conceive, will be the speedy convincing of all civilized nations of the utter uselessness of all these old and expensive attempts to civilize uncivilized races of men." Nott and Gliddon, in their book, *Types of Mankind*, two years before Morehouse was founded, wrote in 1865: "In the broad field and long duration of Negro life, not a single civilization, spontaneous or borrowed, has existed to adorn its gloomy past." Louis Agassiz, professor of zoology and geology at Harvard University wrote about a century ago: "A peculiar confrontation characterizes the brain of an adult Negro. Its development never gets beyond that observable in the Caucasian in boyhood." Thomas Jefferson, the great statesman, said: "Never yet could I find that a Black utter a thought above the level of plain narration; never saw even an elementary trait of painting or sculpture." John C. Calhoun declared he would be willing to give the Negro citizenship when he mastered the Greek verb. Samuel George Morton, the most eminent craniologist in the United States in the 19th century, concluded: "The capacity of the Negro cranium was less than that of the Anglo-Saxon by twelve inches, and that, therefore, the Negro was incapable of intellectual equality with the Anglo-Saxon."

Henry Grady, speaking to the Texas State Fair at Dallas, October 25, 1887, said this: "The races and tribes of earth are of divine origin.... What God hath separated let no man join together." Speaking further, this great Georgian said: "Standing in the presence of this multitude, sober with the

responsibility of the message delivered to the young men of the South, I declare this truth above all others, to be worn unsullied and sacred in your hearts, to be surrendered to no force, sold for no price, compromised in no necessity, but cherished and defended as the covenant of your prosperity, and the pledge of peace to your children, that the white race must dominate forever in the South, because it is the white race and superior to that race by which its supremacy is threatened."

Writing in 1910 in his book, *Social and Mental Traits of the Negro*, Howard Odum helped to perpetuate the image of Negro inferiority. That is what he wrote: "The Negro has little conscience or love of home, no local attachment of the better sort... He has no pride of ancestry and he is not influenced by the lives of great men. The Negro has few ideals and perhaps no lasting adherence to an aspiration toward real worth. He has little conception of the meaning of virtue, truth, manhood, integrity. He is shiftless, untidy, and indolent. Fortunately, Dr. Odum lived long enough to change his mind. All this goes to prove how fallible, how finite, and how wrong the most brilliant mind can be when it plays the role of God and speaks ex-cathedra about the future of man.

This was the matrix out of which Morehouse was born. This was the prevailing notion up to and throughout the first quarter of the 20th century. Though Morehouse did wonders to prove the falsehood of these prejudiced minds prior to 1940, I speak to the subject: "Twenty-Seven Years of Success and Failure at Morehouse."

In September, 1940, in my first speech to the Morehouse faculty and student body, I made a vow. I pledged that I would not cheat on the job. I promised them that I would give to Morehouse all that I had—mind, heart, body, and soul. Twenty-seven years later I come to tell you that I have kept that pledge. I have not cheated on the job. No dishonesty is so reprehensible as that dishonesty where one cheats on a job when great responsibility has been placed on his shoulders.

I have no regrets in retiring from the presidency of Morehouse at this juncture in history. I regret, however, that what has been accomplished in these 27 years trails so far behind my dreams for the College and so far behind what I had aspired for Morehouse to be that I feel a sense of failure. I wish I could tell you today that the future of Morehouse was guaranteed in the stars.

From this point on, I use the pronoun "we." Friends, alumni, trustees, faculty, and students all share in the success of the College. Likewise, we

all share in the College's failure. If an alumnus could have given to the support of the College and did not, he contributed to our failure. If a teacher did not do his job well, he, too, contributed to the College's shortcomings. If students lived down below their capacity, they must share the blame for any weakness manifested during these 27 years. If a trustee might have helped and did not, he must accept blame for not doing his share. If I were derelict in my duty, I, too, must be cited as one responsible for not doing what I ought to have done.

Unfortunately, in 1940, circumstances had converged so that Morehouse was, without a doubt, the weakest link among the affiliated institutions in the Atlanta University System. This weakness manifested itself in a highly inadequate physical plant, a faculty that was being slowly depleted in size, a very meager endowment, and low morale among faculty, students, and alumni. Many factors contributed to this low morale at the College. Morehouse had less of everything except manpower, and soon the ravages of the Second World War began to reduce its manpower to a negligible size. A distinguished trustee was so pessimistic about the small Morehouse enrollment during the Second World War that he suggested that Morehouse should consider closing for the duration.

We believed when we came, and we believe as we leave that the strength of one institution in this affiliation is the strength of all and that the weakness of one is the weakness of all. While we seek to cooperate fully, each institution must strive to be strong enough to add strength to the entire Center. So, our first task in 1940 was to make Morehouse an equal partner in the Atlanta University System so it could give as much as it would receive. Whatever was needed to be done to restore the integrity of the College had to be done, and it was done. Soon the Morehouse morale began to rise and the Morehouse spirit began to hum.

We set out to improve the academic quality of the student body. This accounts for the fact that we have only gradually increased the enrollment since 1941, rather than increase it too rapidly. We have increased the enrollment from 358 to 962, an increase of 169 percent. The increase since World War II is close to 300 percent. The number of our graduates who go on to graduate and professional schools has risen spectacularly. In the 1964-65 school year, 56 percent of our graduates continued their studies in graduate and professional schools; in the 1965-66 year, 51.5 percent. It is significant to note that of the 188 Morehouse graduates who have earned the Ph.D. degree, 62, or 44 percent, of them graduated from Morehouse since

1943, representing 34 universities. Although the majority of our graduates entering medical schools go to Meharry and Howard, increasing numbers are being admitted to medical schools like the University of Chicago, Western Reserve, Rochester, Harvard, Emory, Boston, and the University of Texas. Morehouse must forever strive to provide its students with a quality education.

Perhaps the greatest success the College has achieved in 17 years is the high academic quality of teachers who comprise the faculty. This was our choice despite pressures from many sources to direct our meager funds to other useful and interesting but non-academic pursuits. Not to provide the students with the ablest faculty available is criminal and irresponsible. In 1940, we had the equivalent of two full-time teachers who had earned the Ph.D. degree, or 8.7 percent of the staff. In 1966-67, we have 65 full-time teachers and 34, or 52.3 percent of them, hold doctorates. The number of doctorates on the faculty is 17 times greater than it was in the academic year 1940-41. Excepting one or two, the rest hold master's degrees, and many have studied from one to four years beyond. Three hold the B.D. degree.

In academic training, this places Morehouse above all predominantly undergraduate Negro colleges. Comparing the 1964 Morehouse faculty with data on certain faculties taken from American Universities and Colleges, American Council on Education, 1964, the Morehouse percentage of doctorates exceeded the percentages of doctorates at Albion, Allegheny, Bates, Colby, Cornell in Iowa, Kalamazoo, and Lawrence colleges; and equaled the percentage at Bowdoin and Earlham. Replies from 17 predominantly white colleges in the Southeast on this point, colleges of comparable size to Morehouse, show that in faculty training Morehouse was stronger than nine and weaker than eight. In faculty training, Morehouse stands ahead of hundreds of American colleges. It has taken 27 years of constant planning to build and maintain a faculty of this strength.

Do not misunderstand me, I am not naive enough to believe that a teacher is a better teacher because he holds an A.M., a B.D., or a Ph.D. degree. I am not arguing that a teacher is more honest or loves his students more dearly because he has an advanced degree. I am arguing, however, that less training does not make one a better teacher nor a more honest man. There is no virtue in an academically weak faculty. Since this is true, we have striven in these 27 years to bring to Morehouse the ablest faculty we could command.

Healthy morale, an alert student body, an able faculty must be accompanied by a good physical plant. Although the physical plant needs to be enlarged in housing, worship, and academic facilities, since 1940 the physical plant has been improved by increasing the number of buildings from eight to 25 and the floor space from 101,612 to 304,836 square feet. The floor space is more than three times what it was 27 years ago, and yet five new buildings are needed now. Our laboratory equipment in physics, chemistry, biology, mathematics, psychology, and health and physical education, is first-rate and adds to the healthy morale of our faculty and student body. Again, this was our choice despite pressures from many sources to direct our meager funds to other useful and interesting but non-academic pursuits. The land area has been increased from 10.6910 to 20.1771 acres; the additional 9.4861 acres cost the College $379,444, $40,000 per acre.

We have just spoken of the strong academic faculty that Morehouse has been able to build and maintain. This has been true in part because we have been able to get terminal grants from foundations—grants that must be used up within a specified period of years—and because we have been able to increase the endowment, although the ration of increase has been entirely too slow. The book value of the endowment is $4,500,000, and the market value is approximately $6,000,000. The book value is an increase from $1,114,000 to $4,500,000, which is four times greater than it was in 1940. We had hoped to increase it eight times greater, but we were unable to do so despite excessive efforts on our part. Although some $15,000,000, for all purposes, has been raised in these years, a president of a great university can get $15,000,000 by making two or three visits to a great foundation.

We have made progress in the current budget. Whereas the current budget was only $134,318 in 1940-41, during the present academic year, 1966-67, counting money from all sources, specific projects, and the operating budget, $1,803,782 came to the College from March, 1966, through March, 1967—an increase of 1200 percent in 27 years. Though salaries are lower than they should be, we are happy to report that the lowest salary is six and two-thirds times greater than it was in 1940-41 and the highest salary is six times more than it was in 1940-41. I know, however, that the cost of living has also increased.

Realizing that it would hardly be possible for Morehouse College to build a first-rate School of Religion in addition to a first-rate College, we played a large role in bringing into being the Interdenominational Theo-

logical Center. We initiated conversations with Morris Brown College and Gammon Theological Seminary in 1940; and the Morehouse School of Religion, the Phillips School of Theology of Lane College [Jackson, Tenn.], Turner Theological Seminary of Morris Brown College, and with the leadership of Gammon Theological Seminary, the Interdenominational Theological Center was created in 1959. The four institutions working together succeeded in getting in 1958 an appropriation of $1,750,000 from the Seatlantic Fund and $250,000 from the General Education Board, which guaranteed the reality of the ITC.

What a paradox! Occupying since 1889 a campus that was a great battleground during the Civil War, in the siege of Atlanta, for 100 years Morehouse has tried to develop a free man in a racially circumscribed society. The Morehouse philosophy was and is that a man does not have to accept the view that because he is a Negro certain things were not meant for him. He can be free in a highly segregated society. Long before demonstrations and Supreme Court decisions abolished segregation, the Morehouse students were taught to accept no segregated situation except that which was absolutely necessary; and though their bodies were segregated, their minds could be free. Students who broke faith with this principle and went to segregated theatres, restaurants, and churches went there without administrative sanction.

If the Morehouse graduates, on the whole, have done better than the graduates of most predominantly Negro colleges, it is due in part to the philosophy drilled into them that the Morehouse man can succeed in the world despite crippling circumstances under which he had to live. Morehouse was built on the faith of Negroes and a few white leaders like Joseph T. Robert, Morehouse's first president, a South Carolinian who went North rather than rear his children in a land of slaves.

The College has done well in recent decades, but not well enough. We were naive when we came in 1940. We believed that if you could produce a good faculty, show that the alumni were making their mark in the world, and that the College's able students did well in graduate and professional schools, it would make fund raising relatively easy. It isn't necessarily so. We believed that in ten years we could create a scholarly atmosphere at the College so that the desire to pursue excellence would be so contagious that the majority of the students would pursue excellence and that the purposeless could not survive. We did not fully succeed. We believed in 1940 that, if we moved the College forward and made it better year by

year, with some cultivation, we could raise the percentage of alumni givers to 50 percent. It wasn't true. That dream has not been fulfilled. If we can maintain the impetus of the Centennial, the dream will come true. We believed that Morehouse, a Georgia institution for 100 years and an Atlanta institution for 88 years, would be able to get someone to head a campaign for at least a million dollars in recognition of 100 years of valuable service to the city, state, and nation. We were sadly mistaken. The Negro colleges of Atlanta are not considered part and parcel of the life of the community. My guess is that in a hundred years the six institutions of the Atlanta University Center have not received a million and a half dollars from the Atlanta community nor from the entire South. The Atlanta community has accepted no responsibility for the financial health and development of these colleges despite the fact that we spend millions here each year and provide leadership for the South and for the nation. We believed when we came that each and every person saddled with a responsibility here at Morehouse would do his work so well that constant follow-up would be unnecessary. It isn't so.

The Morehouse administration, and especially the Morehouse faculty, are able, very able. But it is my considered judgment that we are too educationally conservative, inclined to be afraid to experiment, to blaze new paths, I sometimes think we are allergic to change. We tend to be tied to tradition and the past. Our danger lies in complacency, a disease that plagues all too many colleges. The Atlanta community is one of the best social laboratories in the nation. Significant community research should be going on all the time. I know we are busy, but, as a rule, people do what they want to do. In community research and in projects designed to assist the unfortunate in the Atlanta community, we would do more.

Communication is a difficult art. I think we failed to communicate to faculty, students, trustees, and alumni, what our dreams and aspirations are for Morehouse. And, as lovely and loyal, and devoted as you have been and are, the presidency of a college is a lonely job because communication is so difficult; and yet there have been many happy moments and joyous returns. In all these areas, we have felt frustration and a sense of failure.

Now, what about the years ahead for Morehouse? One fact is clear: Morehouse cannot live on its past reputation. Without a doubt, the years ahead will be tough years, but perhaps no tougher than the first hundred years. All of our years have been precarious years, but like England we have muddled through. The first hundred years were years of rigid segrega-

tion supported by law and religion. During the first one hundred years, Morehouse competed mainly with Negro colleges, similarly segregated. No one questions their survival for, after all, Negroes had to have schools. The power structure in politics, economics, and education, whether the school was private or public, never intended to make schools for Negroes first-rate. The racial attitude in America, whether in slavery or in segregation, has consistently been that what was meant for Negroes has to be inferior to that which is designed for whites. It was expected and deliberately planned that segregated schools for Negroes would be inferior. For almost a hundred years no one even questioned this philosophy. A great leader in the Commission on Interracial Cooperation once said in my hearing that in order to advance the Negro child one step, the white child must be advanced two steps.

Desegregation, won through court decision, congressional legislation, and demonstrations, has not changed this basic philosophy of inequality. So, to use a good Methodist phrase, Negro colleges have been by design kept on sort grass! For the health of Morehouse and other colleges similarly circumstanced, the philosophy must be accepted by philanthropic America and governments that a good college, whether it is predominantly Negro or predominantly white, deserved equal consideration in bidding for the tax and philanthropic dollar. If this philosophy cannot be developed, there will exist under the guise of desegregation and liberalism, a form of discrimination as rancid and foul as anything that existed under legal and de facto segregation.

Discrimination in the future will not be administered by poor whites and the people who believe in segregation but by the "liberals" who believe in a desegregated society but not an integrated society. If this battle can be won, Morehouse will have an equal chance to develop like any other good college in America. If discrimination against Negroes is directed now against the predominantly Negro institutions rather than against the individual, the future will be difficult indeed. The Negro's battle for justice and equality in the future will not be against the Wallaces, the Barnetts, and the Maddoxes, but against the subtlety of our "liberal friends" who wine and dine with us in the swankiest hotels, work with us, and still discriminate against us when it comes to money and power. This battle must be won because for a long time the wealth of this nation will be in the hands of white Americans and not Negroes. The abolition of economic, political, and philanthropic discrimination is the first order of the

day, not for the good of Negroes alone but for the nation as a whole. The future of Morehouse will depend upon our ability to "buy" the intellectually talent students just as many of the predominantly white institutions are able to do with finances given for that purpose. To finance white schools for this purpose and not Negro schools is gross discrimination, not by the admittedly prejudiced but by our "liberal friends." Morehouse's record in the educational world has been made in the best graduate and professional schools. If this record is diminished we will be reduced to a role of mediocrity.

Finally, the future of Morehouse rests with its alumni. Yale, Columbia, Harvard, Princeton, and Chicago will survive because their graduates will see to it that they do. Morehouse men have not accumulated millions, but if they really cared, they could contribute to the College $100,000 a year and, in time, $500,000. If the Morehouse alumni will do this, they will cause corporations and foundations and friends to contribute millions of dollars to the College. This is my final plea to the Morehouse alumni. If you really care, the future of Morehouse is secure. If you do not care, its future is precarious.

I cannot close this address without publicly paying tribute to Charles Merrill, Chairman of the Morehouse Board of Trustees. If the Morehouse salaries are fairly competitive, give large credit to Charles Merrill. If we have sent able students to the best professional and graduate schools, give credit to Charles Merrill through the Early Admission Program. If our faculty is widely traveled, salute Charles Merrill. If sixty-odd Morehouse students have studied and traveled in Europe, let us give thanks to Charles Merrill. If Morehouse is on the verge of being accepted as worthy of membership in Phi Beta Kappa, let us take off our hats to Charles Merrill. It has to be an act of God that Charles Merrill came into our life.

Now, my dear Seniors, let me say to you what I said to the graduating class of 1964. Will you please rise?

The curtain has fallen forever on the activities of your years at Morehouse. What you have done, poorly or well, can never be erased. What you should have done and neglected to do cannot now be done. Not even an omnipotent God can blot out the deeds of history. It has been beautifully said:

> The Moving Finger writes; and having writ,
> Moves on; nor all your piety nor Wit
> Shall lure it back to cancel half a line,

Nor all your Tears wash out a Word of it.

Since the events of history are irrevocable, I can only advise you to utilize the past, whatever it is, to good advantage and to look to the future with courage and confidence. Twenty-five years from today, it is more than likely that my days will long since have passed, and you will be about 47 years old. I hope you will return in 1992 to celebrate your twenty-fifth anniversary. I trust you will return economically secure in houses and land, stocks and bonds, car and bank account; intellectually secure in the constant pursuit of knowledge, and affectionately secure with fine wives and handsome children.

Wherever I may be 25 years from today—on earth, beneath the earth, or above it—you will make my spirit glad if you are known in life by the quality of your work and the integrity of your character rather than by the quantity of your possessions.

If your work is Government, I hope you will do your work so well that you will be diligently sought after and widely acclaimed by Government. If your work be that of a chemist, a physicist, a mathematician in industry, I hope you will perform so excellently that when promotions are in order your record will be so impressive that those in power will be compelled to examine your credentials. If you make business a career, I hope the people will say in discussing you that you are both competent and honest. If its politics, may they never say that you achieved office through dishonest means.

If you chose the ministry, I pray that you will be so eloquent in speech, so profound in thought, so honest in performance, and so understanding in the knowledge of the strength and frailties of man that the people will say of you, "He must be a man of God."

If you choose medicine, dentistry, or surgery, I hope you will be so dedicated to the healing art, so skilled in the performance of your duty, and so loyal and devoted to the people you serve that in that reunion at Morehouse in 1992, your classmates will flock around you to talk about your skill in surgery and your knowledge of medicine rather than the size of your bank account or the model of your car.

If you chose teaching, may you be so knowledgeable in what you teach, so devoted to your students, so inspiring in your teaching and so stimulating in your writing that the students will say of you, "He was born to teach."

If you do the ordinary work of the world, do it with distinction and make no apology for it, for all work is honorable if it is beneficial to man-

kind.

My dear young friends, I do not know what happiness is and I do not think it is important that you be happy. But it is important that you find your work and do it as if you were sent into the world at this precise moment in history to do your job. If happiness can be achieved, it will be found in a job well done and in giving and not in receiving.

May the years ahead be motivating, challenging, and inspiring years, and may they be gracious and kind to you and bring success in all the good things you do.

Leben Sie Wohl!