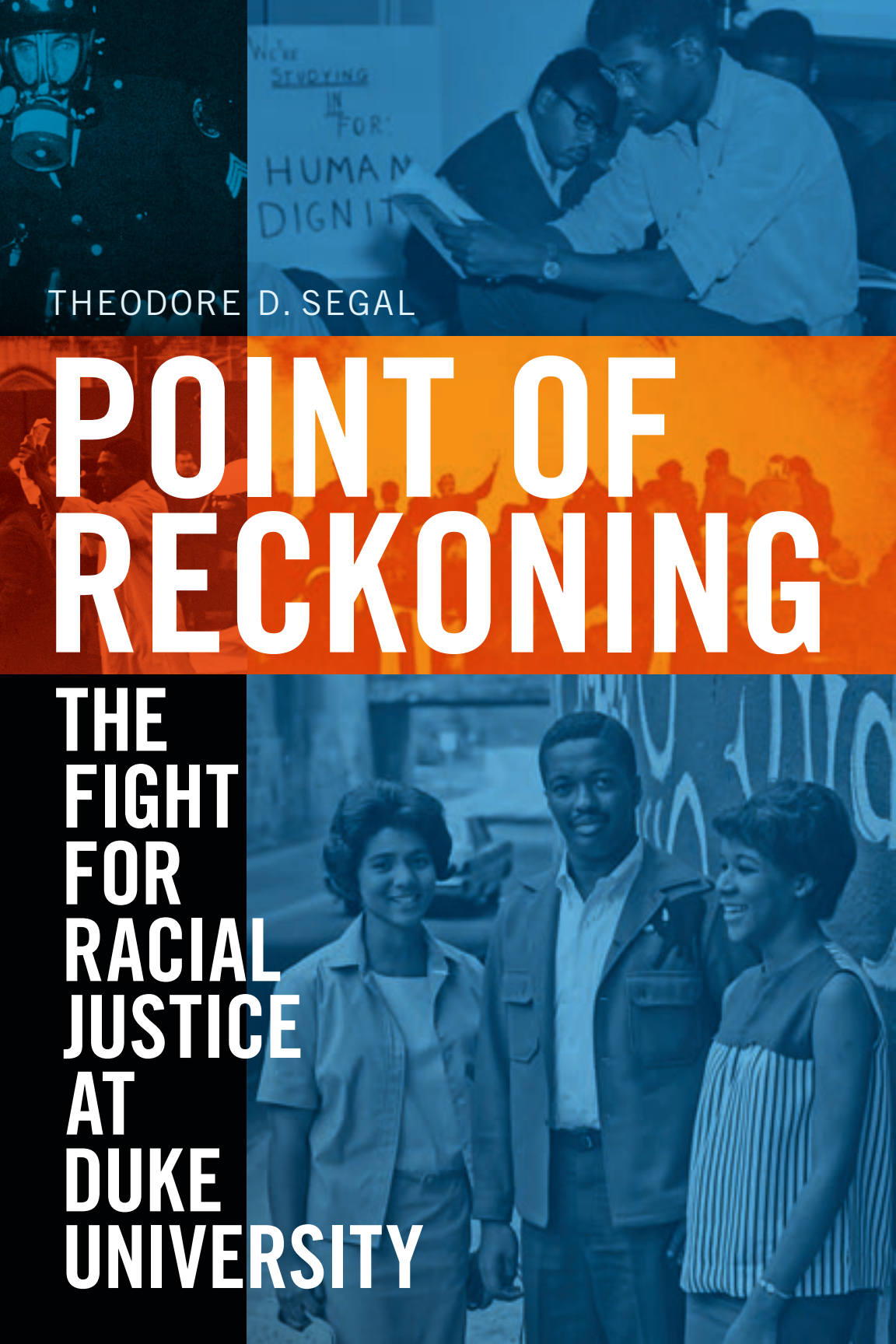
THEODORE D. SEGAL
POINT OF RECKONING
THE FIGHT FOR RACIAL JUSTICE AT DUKE UNIVERSITY

POINT OF RECKONING

THEODORE D. SEGAL

POINT OF RECKONING

THE FIGHT FOR RACIAL JUSTICE AT DUKE UNIVERSITY

DUKE UNIVERSITY PRESS · *Durham and London* · 2021

Printed in the United States of America on
acid-free paper ∞
Designed by Matthew Tauch
Typeset in Whitman by Westchester Publishing Services

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Segal, Theodore D., [date] author.
Title: Point of reckoning : the fight for racial justice at Duke University / Theodore D. Segal.
Description: Durham : Duke University Press, 2021. | Includes bibliographical references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2020021181 (print) | LCCN 2020021182 (ebook) | ISBN 9781478010401 (hardcover) | ISBN 9781478011422 (paperback) | ISBN 9781478012955 (ebook)
Subjects: LCSH: Duke University—Students. | African American college students—North Carolina—Durham—History—20th century. | Racism in higher education—North Carolina—Durham—History—20th century. | Racism—North Carolina—Durham—History—20th century. | Durham (N.C.)—Race relations—History—20th century.
Classification: LCC LC2803.D87 S443 2021 (print) | LCC LC2803.D87 (ebook) | DDC 378.1/9829960730756563—dc23
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2020021181
LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2020021182

Cover art: (*clockwise from top left*) Policeman approaching unidentified student, from *Chanticleer*, 1969; Allen Building study-in, November 13, 1967; Allen Building takeover supporters being tear-gassed, February 13, 1969; Duke's first three African American graduates (*left to right*: Wilhelmina Reuben, Nathaniel White Jr., and Mary Mitchell Harris), 1967; Allen Building takeover, February 13, 1969. Photos courtesy of David M. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Duke University and Duke University Archives.

DUKE UNIVERSITY

We stood yester-morn on the campus of the great Duke University, amazed at its vastness and magnificence. We thought of the stupendous sum of money spent by the Dukes to make this one of America's greatest educational institutions. We thought of the tobacco industry and its rise to one of the largest business enterprises in the world.

We thought of the blood of Negro men, women and children that had gone into the buildings to make up Duke University, and we likened them unto the bodies of Chinese slaves thrown into the Great Wall of China when it was erected. Like a great panorama, this throng of our forefathers passed before us. . . . . some with stooped shoulders, bowed heads and pinched brows made so in order, that a great institution of learning might come into existence. As they trod their weary way, the earth shook about us.

We thought of the great God who sits in judgment over the affairs of mankind and thought of questioning him about the justice of permitting the blood to be squeezed out of black bodies to build a university for white minds . . . only white minds.—"My Lord what a morning."

If white people have labored in the factories of the American tobacco industry for less than enough on which to live, they have had the satisfaction of knowing that their children may reap the benefits in a school that provides the very best training. If Negroes have done the same thing, it must pierce their hearts to know that Duke University has been built for every other race under the sun but theirs. Chinese, Japanese, Germans, Russians or any other foreign race may be admitted to the school; but the American Negro stands alone as the one human being on earth, too loathsome in the eyes of the American white man to share the benefits of Duke University.

Is this the price of humbleness? Is this the price of faithfulness? Where is justice? Where is right? Where is God?

We left Duke University at high noon. The sun had reached its zenith and was casting its brilliant rays upon the school's massive buildings. Everything was in contour and detail; but they tell us the sun went down and that there was darkness—black darkness. My Lord, what a night!

L. E. Austin, publisher
Carolina Times
May 6, 1939

FOR THE BLACK STUDENTS WHO FORCED DUKE

TO CONFRONT ITS JIM CROW PAST; AND FOR THOSE

WHO SUSTAIN THE STRUGGLE FOR RACIAL JUSTICE

AND INCLUSION AT DUKE AND BEYOND

DUKE
UNIVERSITY
PRESS

CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

A&AA · African and Afro-American
AAS · Afro-American Society
ASDU · Associated Students of Duke University
Endowment · the Duke Endowment
Indenture · the Indenture and Deed of Trust of Personalty establishing the Duke Endowment
MSGA · Men's Student Government Association
NCC · North Carolina College at Durham (predecessor to North Carolina Central University)
SAE · Sigma Alpha Epsilon
SDS · Students for a Democratic Society
SFAC · Student Faculty Administrative Committee
SNCC · Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
Special Committee · Special Trustee-Administrative Committee
UNC · University of North Carolina
UPPAC · University Policy and Planning Advisory Committee
WSGA · Women's Student Government Association

KEY ACTORS AND THEIR ROLES, 1963–1969

Name · Position *Unless otherwise noted, all positions are with Duke University.*

William G. Anlyan · dean, School of Medicine, 1964–69
Brenda E. Armstrong · student; chair and member of AAS
Frank L. Ashmore · vice president, institutional advancement, 1963–73
Tony L. Axam · student; member of AAS
W. Waldo Beach · professor, divinity school
Charles L. Becton · law student; member of AAS
John C. "Jack" Boger · student; Vigil Committee of 10
Brenda C. Brown · student; member of AAS
Edwin C. Bryson · university counsel, 1947–71
Louis J. Budd · professor, English; chair of Budd Committee
Stokely Carmichael · chair, SNCC
William H. Cartwright · professor, education; chair, Academic Council
John W. Cell · professor, history
Claudius B. Claiborne · student; member of AAS
R. Taylor Cole · provost, 1960–69
Samuel DuBois Cook · professor, political science
Robert E. Cushman · dean, divinity school, 1958–71
A. Hollis Edens · president, 1949–60
Henry A. Fairbank · professor and chair, physics
Howard L. Fuller · director of community development, Operation Breakthrough
Dick Gregory · Black activist; comedian; author
William J. Griffith · director of student union, 1954–67; assistant to the provost in the area of student affairs, 1963–69; assistant dean, College of Arts and Sciences, 1964–69; assistant provost and dean, College of Arts and Sciences, 1969–79
J. Deryl Hart · president, 1960–63
Oliver Harvey · janitor; labor organizer
J. Lee Hatcher · law student; member of AAS
David M. Henderson · student; Vigil Committee of 10

Marcus E. Hobbs · vice assistant provost and dean of the university, 1960–62, vice provost and dean of the university, 1962–63; provost, 1969–70

Joyce A. Hobson · student; member of AAS

Charles W. "Chuck" Hopkins · student; chair and member of AAS

Bertie R. Howard · student; member of AAS

Charles B. Huestis · vice president, business and finance, 1966–85

Gene Kendall · student; one of "first five" Black undergraduates to attend Duke

Alan C. Kerckhoff · professor, sociology; chair, Kerckhoff Committee

Jonathan C. Kinney · student; ASDU president; Vigil Committee of 10

Douglas M. Knight · president, 1963–69

Harold W. Lewis · vice provost and dean, College of Arts and Sciences, 1963–69; vice provost and dean of the faculty, 1969–80

Michael R. McBride · student; chair and member of AAS

Stef McLeod · student; member of AAS

Mary Mitchell · student; one of "first five" Black undergraduates to attend Duke

Clarence G. Newsome · student; member of AAS

Rufus H. Powell · secretary of the university, 1966–81

A. Kenneth Pye · dean, law school, 1968–70

Henry E. Rauch · trustee; member, Special Trustee-Administrative Committee

Wilhemina M. Reuben · student; May Queen; one of "first five" Black undergraduates to attend Duke

Margaret "Bunny" Small · student; Vigil Committee of 10

Cassandra Smith · student; one of "first five" Black undergraduates to attend Duke

John H. Strange · professor, political science

Wright Tisdale · chair, 1963–68, and trustee, board of trustees

William C. Turner Jr. · student; member of AAS

Charles B. Wade Jr. · chair, 1968–71, and trustee, board of trustees; member, Special Trustee-Administrative Committee

Richard L. Watson Jr. · professor and chair, history

Nathaniel B. White Jr. · student; one of "first five" Black undergraduates to attend Duke

Janice Williams · student; member of AAS

Barnes Woodhall · vice provost and dean, School of Medicine, 1962–64; vice provost in charge of medical affairs, 1964–67; associate provost, medical affairs, 1967–69; chancellor pro tem, 1969–70

Bunyan S. Womble · chair, 1960–63, and trustee, board of trustees

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

When I left graduate school in 1979, I promised my history professor Bill Chafe and myself that I would complete the master's thesis I had started on Black campus activism at Duke in the 1960s. After a break of more than forty years, this book is the fulfillment of that promise. Returning to a topic I had last looked at as a young man was fascinating, absorbing, disorienting, and surreal. Turning that experience into a book would never have happened without the assistance and support of many people.

Most important was Bill Chafe. In the decades since we had been in touch, Bill had become a renowned civil rights historian and author, respected department chair, mentor and adviser to multiple generations of graduate students, and one of the founders of the oral history program and the Center for Documentary Studies at Duke. As dean of the faculty of Arts and Sciences and vice provost, he spearheaded numerous significant initiatives that made Duke a more diverse and inclusive institution. Despite his preeminence, Bill readily agreed to supervise a retired corporate lawyer to whom he had not spoken in years who wanted to finish a history project left over from his distant past. Without Bill's generosity, extraordinary editorial suggestions, and friendship, this book would not exist. In the acknowledgments to my senior history honors thesis on the Duke Silent Vigil, I told Bill that because of his brilliance, he would always be my professor and due to his warmth, he would always be my friend. Those words are as true in 2020 as they were when I first wrote them in 1977.

Others have been instrumental as well. Valerie Gillispie, the Duke University archivist; Amy McDonald, the assistant archivist; and the staff of the Duke University Archives and the Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library have supported my efforts unstintingly over the past three years. They have made the archives easily accessible, answered myriad questions, and helped me locate missing information. The passion Valerie and Amy have for Duke history and for telling the university's many stories helped sustain me over weeks of research in Durham.

As a first-time author, I have been incredibly fortunate to work with Gisela Concepción Fosado as my editor at Duke University Press. Gisela has been a true advocate for my book, providing wise comments, kindness, and deep expertise in the publishing process. She has provided constant encouragement, kept me on track, and shared with me her passion for and deep insights into racial justice and inclusion. Gisela's associate Alejandra Mejía has been ever-helpful in spearheading aspects of the production process. Ellen Goldlust, my Duke University Press project editor, and copyeditor Sheila McMahon did a remarkable job taking my "finished" manuscript and turning it into a polished book.

Various individuals provided input on my manuscript, including Allison Alexander, Elizabeth Bausch, John Dienelt, Susan Fiester, Valerie Gillispie, Robert Korstad, David Patterson, Renee Roth Powers, Judith Sandalow, Rebecca Segal, Zelda Segal, Samson Shifaraw, Michael Wasserstein, Daniel Weiss, Melissa Wiley, and Gail Winston, and I am grateful for their ideas. I am especially indebted to William C. Turner Jr., who read and commented on the manuscript from the perspective of a participant in the events described and a longtime Duke professor. The comments I received were very helpful. Of course, any remaining errors of fact or judgment are entirely my own.

Wesley Hogan has been instrumental to this entire process. A brilliant historian, documentarian, and gentle deliverer of hard truths, Wesley encouraged me and provided input, direction, and inspiration at every turn.

Because I have tried to tell the story in this book in the words of those who lived the events described, interview transcripts have been a key resource. I am truly indebted to those activists and administrators who sat for interviews (with me or other researchers) and am hopeful that I have done justice to their story. Special thanks to Brenda Armstrong, Charles Becton, Brenda Brown Becton, and William Turner, who sat for interviews with me in 1979 and again in 2017.

Several talented professionals have helped with aspects of the book, including editor Lynn Lauber, bibliographer Christopher Catanese, cartographer Tim Stallman, lawyer Kevin Casey, and indexer Jason Begy. Benjamin Klein served as a research assistant and found great resources, particularly on the Silent Vigil. The efforts of these individuals have made this a better book.

One advantage of taking a forty-year pause in a research project is that this interval gave me the time to become father to Brenda Segal Bochner and Gregory Segal, see both grow into terrific adults and marry exceptional partners in David Bochner and Gabriella Meltzer, and benefit from the compelling in-

sights of these four remarkable individuals. Over countless dinners and other family events, my children have been a source of great enthusiasm and interest for this project (not to mention patience).

Finally, I must thank my wife, Joyce Wasserstein. At every stage, Joyce has helped sharpen my ideas, improve my writing, and bolster my energy. Like all other good things in my life, this book would not have been possible without Joyce's wisdom, love, and support. Whatever I have accomplished we have accomplished together, and I am forever grateful for the life we have shared.

Introduction

A Historic Encounter

As they arrived on campus, Black undergraduates who entered Duke University in the early years following desegregation were busy with the tasks all new students face. There were boxes to unpack in too-small dorm rooms, roommates to meet, and tearful, proud parents to send on their way home. Soon orientation would be over, classes would begin, and extracurricular commitments would ramp up. Before they knew it, the first semester of their freshman year would be in full swing.

But although their daily activities tracked those of their white counterparts, these Black students experienced Duke very differently. Gene Kendall, one of the first five Black undergraduates, arrived on campus in the fall of 1963. He stood on the carefully manicured main quad and surveyed the magnificent gothic-style buildings surrounding him. "I was a wide-eyed kid who was fascinated when I looked up at the chapel for the first time," Kendall recalled. "I thought, 'What in the world am I into?'"[1] Brenda Armstrong was overwhelmed by the transition from the predominantly Black atmosphere of her childhood to Duke's "sea of white."[2] Chuck Hopkins recalled waking up one morning early in his freshman year and seeing "all these Black men raking leaves" outside his dorm window. "It was like a plantation," he recalled thinking.[3]

Kendall, Armstrong, and Hopkins were not alone in these sentiments. They were among a vanguard of talented Black youngsters who, in the early 1960s, gained admission to historically white colleges and universities (HWCUS) throughout the South.

The arrival of these Black students marked a profound change for these historically white institutions. For decades, Jim Crow and segregation had defined the organization and daily operations of these schools. For whites, segregation was a given—both entrenched and pervasive.

Hence, when desegregation occurred at HWCUS, it created immense challenges for all parties.[4] White administrators, faculty, and students, many of whom had never interacted with a Black person other than in a service capacity, were forced to learn how to relate to Black students. Likewise, these Black students, the vast majority of whom had never interacted with white individuals as equals, faced their own challenge: how to deal with white administrators and faculty, and white students as peers. This was a historic encounter.

How would they live and work together at Duke? Under Jim Crow, the academic and social opportunities offered by Duke were for white students only. The "Duke Experience" was a training ground for advancement in white America. Theoretically at least, desegregation meant that Black students now would have the chance to share in these opportunities. But how desegregation played out depended on whether Duke was prepared to invest the political capital, as well as economic and human resources, to allow Black students to realize their full potential at Duke. Would the curriculum be changed to reflect the rich history of African American life, culture, and thought, now that Black students were a part of the institution? Would the composition of the faculty and administration change to reflect the presence of Black students on campus? In sum, what resources was Duke willing to reallocate to create an inclusive environment that could serve the needs of all students—both white and Black?

By the end of the 1960s, college campuses throughout the United States were engulfed in Black student protest.[5] At Duke, significant white and Black student protests dominated the campus in the last years of the 1960s. As Black protest at Duke was accelerating, a group of primarily white students and faculty held a "Silent Vigil" in April 1968 in response to the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. The vigil, with more than 1,500 students and faculty eventually occupying the campus's main quadrangle, demanded that Duke University take bold steps to show its commitment to racial and economic justice. The vigil was followed just ten months later by the takeover of key areas

of the Allen Building, Duke's central administrative headquarters, by Black students. The Silent Vigil and the Allen Building takeover show the different ways white trustees, administrators, and faculty perceived—and reacted to—white and Black student protest. How persistent were the assumptions of Duke's Jim Crow legacy?

Looking back fifty years later, how should the actions of Duke trustees, administrators, and faculty be judged? The school's basic principles "have remained constant," Duke's bulletin for the 1963–64 school year declared. The school motto, "Eruditio et Religio," expressed "a fundamental faith in the union of knowledge and religion" and the values of scholarship, freedom and truth, tolerance, and service. Through "changing generations of students," the bulletin announced, the objective of the school has been "to encourage each individual to achieve to the extent of his capabilities an understanding and appreciation of the world in which he lives, his relationship to it, his opportunities and responsibilities."[6] It seems fair to ask to what extent Duke leaders were able to embrace those values and reach for those objectives as they confronted the reality of Black students in their midst. More simply, when Douglas M. Knight, Duke president during this period, and others said that they were acting in "good faith" to address the needs of Duke's Black students, did their actions meet that standard?

I started my study of Black campus activism at Duke in 1978, when I was twenty-three years old. After a thirty-five-year career in corporate law practice, I decided to return to the subject. As a retired lawyer who had spent most of his adult life in business and social settings shaped by white privilege, I saw Black student protest at Duke during the 1960s very differently. Having sat on many law firm "diversity" committees and task forces, I saw how ineffective these initiatives could be. Without substantial investment of resources by the law firm, little was accomplished to advance the hiring and promotion of people of color. Being a parent also shaped how I viewed events when I revisited them. "Black activists" I interviewed in 1978 when I was twenty-three became for me "kids" by 2016—youngsters who entered college with the same swirling mixture of excitement, aspiration, strength, and vulnerability that all children experience at this auspicious moment. As a result, I became fascinated by questions I never thought to ask in my twenties. When talking to Black activists—most of whom were now close to seventy—for a second round of interviews, I knew more and had different questions. I wanted to know about their families, schools, and communities and how parents and other relatives responded to their participation in campus protest. Among

Duke leaders, I wanted to understand the attitudes and institutional framework that blocked them from responding to Duke's new Black students with more empathy and professionalism. For Knight, the liberal Duke president, I wanted to explore why his progressive attitudes on race did not translate more forcefully into leadership on issues he claimed that he cared about. In essence, I wanted to come to terms with the human dimension of people and events that I had previously understood largely as abstractions.

This story challenges the comfortable narrative that has emerged over the decades about the role campus protest played in the history of Duke. That narrative focuses on change—the role Black and white student protesters played in successfully forcing a provincial southern school to confront its Jim Crow legacy. Although some aspects of this narrative may have merit, it overlooks the powerful shape-shifting resiliency of traditional racial attitudes at Duke. As this account shows, Duke deployed an array of strategies to resist change, even when faced with protest. Change, when it did occur, came very slowly because racial inclusion was never a core value of the university.

From the moment it was established, Duke University aspired to greatness. William Preston Few, the president of Trinity College when it became Duke University, told students that they would have an important part in "launching one of the great education establishments of the world." In its "aims," the new university aspired to "advance learning in all lines of truth; to defend scholarship against all false notions and ideals; to develop a Christian love of freedom and truth; to promote a sincere spirit of tolerance; . . . and to render the largest permanent service to the individual, the state, the nation, and the church."[7]

The events that followed desegregation at Duke expose the conflicting forces that converged as a segregated southern institution was forced to confront its long history of racial exclusion. They show that race and the struggle for inclusion stand at the center of the university's story—and the story of the nation. Indeed, Duke University could not approach its lofty aims nor achieve its national ambitions until it came to terms with a racial past defined by segregation and exclusion. The story tells us a great deal about Duke University in the 1960s as well as the dynamics that played out following desegregation at other HWCUs and the country at large. It also illuminates conflicts and challenges that continue to resonate at Duke, within higher education North and South, and throughout the country to the present day.

NOTES

ABBREVIATIONS

AARC · Alumni Affairs Reference Collection, Duke University Archives, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Duke University, Durham, NC
ABTC · Allen Building Takeover Collection, Duke University Archives, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Duke University, Durham, NC
ABTOHC · Allen Building Takeover Oral History Collection, Duke University Archives, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Duke University, Durham, NC
ACK · Alan C. Kerckhoff
AHE · A. Hollis Edens
AHE Papers · A. Hollis Edens Papers, Duke University Archives, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Duke University, Durham, NC
BCB · Brenda C. Becton (Brenda C. Brown)
BEA · Brenda E. Armstrong
BoT Records · Board of Trustees Records, Duke University Archives, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Duke University, Durham, NC
BRH · Bertie R. Howard
CBH · Charles B. Huestis
CLB · Charles L. Becton
CWH · Charles W. "Chuck" Hopkins
DC · *Duke Chronicle*
DMH · David M. Henderson
DMK · Douglas M. Knight
DMK Records · Douglas M. Knight Records, Duke University Archives, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Duke University, Durham, NC
DUA · Duke University Archives, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Duke University, Durham, NC
DVC · Duke Vigil Collection, Duke University Archives, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Duke University, Durham, NC

JDH Records · J. Deryl Hart Records, Duke University Archives, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Duke University, Durham, NC
JW · Janice Williams
JWC · John W. Cell
MEH · Marcus E. Hobbs
OP Records · Office of the Provost Records, Duke University Archives, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Duke University, Durham, NC
RHP · Rufus H. Powell
RTC · R. Taylor Cole
SDC · Samuel DuBois Cook
SOHP Collection · Southern Oral History Program Collection, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
VPSA Records · Vice President for Student Affairs Records, Duke University Archives, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Duke University, Durham, NC
WCT · William C. Turner Jr.
WJG · William J. Griffith

INTRODUCTION

1 Duke University, "50 Years of Black Students at Duke."
2 BEA, interview, December 17, 1978.
3 CWH, interview, January 19, 1979.
4 Although some sources quoted in this book use the words *desegregation* and *integration* interchangeably, they have very different meanings. Desegregation is a legal or political process eliminating laws, policies, and practices separating different racial and ethnic groups. Desegregation meant that HWCUs admitted Black students but simply tolerated their presence at these schools. By contrast, integration is a social process by which members of different racial and ethnic groups receive fair and equal treatment following desegregation. Establishing an inclusive environment is essential for integration.
5 The Black students at Duke were far from monolithic in their approach to protest. Generational differences existed between the desegregation "firsts" who matriculated in 1963 and those Black students who arrived in 1968, when the Black student movement at Duke and nationally was reaching its peak. Most Black students at Duke after 1967 became members of the Afro-American Society (AAS). But even within the AAS, sharp differences emerged around ideology and tactics. This book tells the story of those Black students who were politically active while at Duke and engaged in protest. Notwithstanding individual

differences, the narrative presents a composite picture drawn from numerous interviews and other sources.

6 *Bulletin of Duke University*, 8.

7 William Preston Few, "Trinity Becomes a University: Dr. Few Issues Statement to Students Urging Them to Be Worthy of Great Benefaction," *Trinity Chronicle*, January 7, 1925; *Annual Catalogue of Duke University: Constitution and By-Laws*, 47.

CHAPTER 1. A PLANTATION SYSTEM

1 James B. Duke, "Indenture and Deed of Trust of Personalty Establishing the Duke Endowment," December 11, 1924, in Durden, *Lasting Legacy to the Carolinas*, appendix 2; Kean, *Desegregating Private Higher Education in the South*, 36–37; Durden, *Launching of Duke University*, 496–501; Durden, *Lasting Legacy to the Carolinas*, 142–43.

2 Galen Griffin, "'Potentially Best' Freshmen to Face Academic Emphasis," *DC*, September 11, 1959; Knight, *Street of Dreams*, 100, 97.

3 Tindall, *Emergence of the New South*; Duke, "Indenture," article 7. Duke was sixty-seven when he executed the indenture.

4 Durden, *Launching of Duke University*, x. Including an additional $65 million transferred upon his death, Duke's gifts to the Endowment would, adjusted to present value, aggregate to more than $1 billion.

5 Porter, *Trinity and Duke*, 234.

6 Egerton, *Speak Now against the Day*, 26; Durden, *Bold Entrepreneur*, xiii; Duke, "Indenture," article 7; J. W. Cash quoted in the *American Mercury*, cited in Egerton, *Speak Now against the Day*, 234.

7 Duke, "Indenture," article 5; Porter, *Trinity and Duke*, 235–36; Durden, *Lasting Legacy to the Carolinas*, appendix 1; Knight, *Dancer and the Dance*, 128. The initial Endowment trustees included men who held or would hold one or more of the following positions with Duke Power Company: chairman, vice chairman, honorary chairman, director, president, vice president, secretary, treasurer, assistant secretary, executive committee, and chair of the finance committee. For the remaining initial trustees, Duke selected men with deep business experience outside the power industry. A speech at Duke in December 1930 by Norman Thomas, six-time presidential candidate for the Socialist Party of America, showed the potential for conflict between the Endowment and the university. Learning of the speech by Thomas, William R. Perkins, Endowment vice chair, asked William Preston Few, the Duke president, how the prominent socialist had been selected to speak on campus. Pointing out that a campus group—not the university—had invited Thomas to speak, Few wrote Perkins that "we must take a firm stand that it is the business of Duke University to hear both sides of