

Gilded Pawns and the Guise of Diversity: 20th Century Admissions Practices and the Function of Early Black Students at Columbia College

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Introduction

After carefully compiling a competitive application, a young Milton Moran Weston II anxiously awaited to hear from a school most only dream of attending, Columbia University in the City of New York. He had done all he could to ensure his success. Attached to his application was coursework from St. Augustine's Junior College in Raleigh, N.C., where he would soon graduate as valedictorian in 1928.[1] Having survived the discrimination and violence of the South, Weston, a 17-year-old hopeful Black student, longed to escape his North Carolina home and capitalize on the comparably endless opportunities in the North.

Weston was not alone in realizing the value of higher education and the effect it could have on the African diaspora—the product of hundreds of years of enslavement in North America. W.E.B. Du Bois also viewed education as the ideal conduit of true assimilation for the race.[2] Chains and shackles no longer bound the race to servitude, however, upward social and economic mobility was stunted because a staggering number of

individuals were forbidden from learning to read and write while enslaved. Only around eight percent of America's Black population was literate in 1862. Illiteracy was not linked to a naturally diminished mental capacity, rather it was the consequence of a prohibition on schooling that prevented individuals of color from accessing an education. This remained the case for a significant portion of the 20th century, especially in the South.[3] Seeking to bridge the residual literacy gap that remained between whites and Blacks, Weston and Du Bois both turned to primarily white institutions for their undergraduate studies.[4]

If granted admission, Weston would not have been the first Black student to occupy a seat within a lecture hall of what would become the Ivy League. Dartmouth College was among the first of these prestigious institutions to graduate a Black student, Edward Mitchell, in 1828. Before emancipation, Yale would follow suit, graduating Richard Henry Green in 1857.[5] Sixty years before Moran Weston's ascent up the Ivy tower, Richard Theodore Greener (1844-1922) entered Harvard University's undergraduate Class of 1870. Greener received his bachelor's degree and subsequently etched his name in the histories of many notable institutions as an educator. In 1873, during the last few years of the Reconstruction era, he became the first Black faculty member at the University of South Carolina. After obtaining a law degree, he relocated to Washington, D.C. in 1877 where he was appointed to the faculty at Howard University School of Law, later serving as the institution's dean.[6]

Similar to its sister schools, Columbia University admitted its first Black graduate in the 19th century. "The curiosity was James R. Priest", a student at the Columbia School of Mines.[7] However, Columbia College, the University's undergraduate liberal arts program, lagged behind other institutions in welcoming Black students. Not until 1906 did Pixley ka Isaka Seme become the first Black graduate of Columbia College (to date, Seme is the first known Black graduate of the liberal arts college).[8] This milestone ushered in a new 20th-century tradition of scattering a few Black students across undergraduate classes, creating the appearance of a diverse student demographic.

Attempting to identify these early students, who paved the way for African Americans at Columbia College today, would push any researcher to insanity's brink. One could

imagine young Weston's frustration trying to locate his predecessors without the assistance of archives or the internet. Many of these early, exceptional students have slipped through cracks in the archives. Notwithstanding, much can be learned about their function at Columbia through an analysis of admissions practices, early yearbooks, and various university publications. When the Columbia University Daily Spectator, Columbia Alumni News, and Columbia College Today are put into conversation with comments made by the admissions department in the late 20th century, it paints a portrait of discrimination and exploitation. Together, they present a dishonest example of racial integration at Columbia College and show that unwritten admissions policies hindered Black applicants. Concomitantly, the marginalized few that entered were frequently paraded, creating a guise of diversity. Thus, shielding its discriminatory admissions practices from scrutiny until the 1960s. Additionally, despite their tokenistic function, early Black students at Columbia College—between 1906 and 1940—personified the very ethos of the institution that doubted their competence, galvanizing their individual merit and that of Black students as a whole.

Equal but Separate: Undergraduate Admissions Standards

As would any prospective applicant today, Moran Weston would need some knowledge of the application process. Otherwise, he would not be aware of what was expected of him as an applicant and what standards he must meet to earn a spot in the Columbia College Class of 1930. Some institutions implemented whites-only admissions policies. For example, the College of Physicians and Surgeons, founded in 1807 and absorbed into Columbia University in 1860, had a written policy against admitting Black applicants, although some exceptions were made under stipulations. James Barnett was expelled from the school, who claimed he had lied about his race to gain admission in 1848. Just two years prior, in 1846, a Black applicant had been rejected by the medical school due to his race.[9]

Lucky for Weston, Columbia College had no such whites-only policy. The College's Circular of Information for the year 1882-1883, printed in the wake of emancipation and

reconstruction, makes no mention of race as a requirement for undergraduate admissions.[10] Furthermore, the College had already graduated Seme and a handful of other Black students by the time Weston's application was under review. Still, one is left to wonder if early Black applicants were examined differently due to their socio-economic situation and the racial bias and blatant racism that infected some, if not all, of the country during their time. To this question, there exists no simple black and white answer. Instead, admissions practices at Columbia College occupied a greyish middle ground, viewing hopeful Black students as both equal and separate compared to their white peers.

Columbia's treatment of Black students became a popular topic during the 1960s, lifting the veil of diversity and exposing the dishonest eyes of the Office of University Admissions. During this tumultuous period of campus unrest, which led to the crisis of 1968 and the subsequent restructuring of the University, Henry S. Colman '46, held numerous positions on the Morningside Campus. For seven years he served as the Director of College Admissions (1960-1967). As the foremost authority on undergraduate admissions, Coleman was frequently called upon to decode and defend the unwritten parameters piloting the Admissions Office.

Inside the fall edition of Columbia College Today, published by the Office of Alumni Affairs and Development, Coleman claims that "the Class of 1968 was selected by the highest standards we [the Admissions Office] have ever applied in the admissions process." He boasts, "more than one-tenth of the class ranked either first or second in their graduating class." [11] However, just six pages after the freshman Class of 1968 is lauded, the tone of the publication shifts drastically to discuss "Negro enrollment". A brief report on the disadvantages the Black community faces prefaces a slanderous allegation that the quality of "Negro freshman" is lackluster. According to the College, "it has selected some Negroes for admission whose preparation was inferior to that of many of the [white] students rejected—and admitted them with scholarships which frequently total more than \$8000." Further highlighting the inadequacy of these students, the publication mentions that "no Negro student has yet been chosen for Phi Beta Kappa." [12] By generalizing that the most meritorious Black applicant pales in

comparison to rejected white applicants, the surreptitious bias behind undergraduate admissions is revealed. It becomes obvious that Black applicants and white applicants are not viewed objectively during the evaluation process. Rather, each race constitutes separate applicant pools.

To refer to early Black applicants as African American applicants would be a misnomer. Modern connotations accompany the term that would discount the discriminatory environment in which they lived. When Columbia began to slowly incorporate Black students on campus, the English lexicon included a breadth of racist words and phrases to refer to Black people. At the time, Negro was the popular term. African American did not become the politically correct identifier for the demographic in the United States until the end of the 20th century.[13] So when Moran Weston's application was under consideration, it would have landed in the Negro pile to be considered separate from white applicants.

Since, according to Henry Coleman, Columbia's Class of 1968 had been held to the highest standards in school history, one would expect an observable difference between them and the earlier Negro applicants. Although, close examination of earlier Negro students provides evidence to the contrary. At seventeen, Milton Weston had distinguished himself as an exceptional candidate, regardless of his race. His journey through academia began at a small parish day school founded by his grandfather, an Episcopal clergyman.[14] From there, Weston fought his way to the top of his class at St. Augustine's Junior College in Raleigh, North Carolina. Like the glorified one-tenth of Columbia's Class of 1968, M. Moran Weston held the title of valedictorian.[15] No student graduates as valedictorian without demonstrating consistent and exceptional marks. Aptitude and performance situated Weston atop the same pedestal as Coleman's lionized Class of 1968.

Surprisingly, or maybe not, Weston did not receive a welcome befitting an applicant of his caliber. A letter dated May 9, 1928, signed "Very truly yours, Harold K. Chadwick", delivered the discouraging news. It read, "the records previously on file with reference to your previous application are such as to render a grant of admission impossible. We shall, however, be glad to have you file records for any work which you have completed

during the present year.”[16] With just two sentences the clarity of Weston’s future faded. The weight of fewer than fifty words attempted to crush the dreams of the bright Black youth. Thankfully, Weston did not see this denial of admission as final. Again, he assembled the application materials, including the final few courses he completed to graduate as valedictorian. After a second review, M. Moran Weston was admitted into the Class of 1930 at Columbia College with a total of 60 transferable credits (the maximum number of transferrable credits allowed today at Columbia University).[17]

Young Weston’s triumph illuminates the underlying discrimination that hindered an honest embrace of Negro students during the early 20th century. Absent the title of valedictorian, he was deemed unworthy, but after obtaining the same accolade as the most distinguished members of the Class of 1968, Columbia was willing to gamble on the Negro applicant. Inside the admissions arena, Weston intellectually competed well above his weight class. In 1928, decades before the Civil Rights movement would address the educational barriers that stunted the intellectual growth of Black Americans, Weston’s cerebral prowess dwarfed the academic accomplishments of hundreds of white students adjudged worthy of the Ivy League.

Another prime example of an early student whose accolades rivaled that of any white applicant is Francis H. Bowen. Although he hailed from Jamaica, Bowen would have still been subjected to the racial bias that constituted the core of the College’s subjective policy on Negro admissions. Before enrolling at Columbia, he served as a Second-Class Warrant Officer as part of the British West Indies Regiment, an extension of the British Army during the First World War. Following tours in France, Belgium, and Italy, he added several citations and medals to his résumé.[18] While it is unknown how many members of the magnificent Class of 1968 were decorated military officers who served in a World War, it’s unlikely to have been the majority. Therefore, once more, a Negro applicant differentiated himself from his white peers, not as a marginal risk but as a model applicant of the highest caliber.

Yet, in the eyes of the College, the Negro application pool remained subpar into the latter half of the 20th century. As the Admissions Office comes under fire by student activists on campus in the late 1960s, the chief of Admissions again slips up to reveal

the institution's discriminatory view of Negro applicants. Coleman attempts to explain how Columbia has attempted to increase diversity over the years and welcome Black students. He purports that the "trend" among U.S. colleges has been "to take as many qualified Negroes or good "risk" candidates as are available." Then, he acknowledges that "it may be to the applicant's advantage to be a Negro" because "there is the obligation to educate the Negro." [19] Upon arrival, "approximately half of the College Negroes" were placed on a "troubled list" so that their performance at the College could be monitored, according to the Dean's Office. [20] Clearly, Negro admits were viewed as a gamble that had to be carefully considered and surveilled.

When combined with exemplary student examples like Weston and Bowen, the subjective risk assessment that decided the fate of Negro applicants is brazenly groundless. Early Black alumni shatter the validity of the admissions department's claims regarding their policy towards Negro applicants, highlighting the racial bias that postponed diversity on campus. It is impossible to imagine how an "obligation to educate" denied Moran Weston's first application but accepted the valedictorian's second. No matter how high the bar is set, both Weston and Francis Bowen flaunted résumés that would astound any Ivy League admissions office today. Nevertheless, race constituted a risk at Columbia when considering 20th century Negro applicants.

Black Excellence and the Illusion of Inclusion

According to the Office of Alumni Affairs and Development, Columbia College "had four Negro graduates between 1875 and 1900." [21] However, no record of those students exists today. Any inquiry online or with Columbia's Archivist, Jocelyn Wilk, will lead you to Pixley Seme of the Class of 1906. The *Columbian*, the College's undergraduate yearbook, yields identical results. Not a single portrait of a Black student exists in any yearbook prior to 1906. After Seme, another lonely Black face does not appear for some time. Beside the caption "His face is dark but his mind brilliant", a youthful photograph of George W. A. Scott ends the four-year gap between Black graduates. [22] While previously believed to hold the title of first known Black American to graduate from

Columbia College (Seme was from South Africa), Scott's degree was not conferred until 1911, leaving a small window of opportunity for a faceless name to steal the title.[23]

With Pixley Seme graduating, Columbia College saw fit to admit John Dotha Jones (sometimes written John Dothar Jones), a Philadelphia native, that same year. Academics were his primary concern during his time as a student in New York City. He kept himself occupied with an extensive course load that focused heavily on linguistic studies. In total, Jones completed eleven courses in German and Latin, which seems significant considering the current College curriculum only requires four language courses, providing students with barely an intermediate grasp on only a single language. Records indicate that the polyglot completed his Bachelor of Arts in 1910.[24] While George W. A. Scott and Jones graduated together that year, Jones' degree was conferred that same year, granting him the title of the first Black American graduate through a technicality.[25] Interestingly, Scott was the only Black student pictured among the graduates.[26]

Failing to properly recognize graduating Black students became a frequent characteristic of The Columbian. Of the thirty Black alumni of Columbia College located between 1900 and 1940 for the visual project that accompanies this research, only fourteen students were pictured with their graduating classes.[27] Faceless names, like John Dotha Jones, coupled with unrecorded statistics on racial demographics granted the University complete control over the diversity narrative. Picking and choosing which Black alumni existed allowed the University to conceal the success of some to highlight the shortcomings of others, justifying their racial bias. For example, Columbia College Today stated that "no Negro student has yet [as of 1964] been chosen for Phi Beta Kappa." [28] If this were true, it could, in some distorted manner, support their claim that Negro applicants have historically underperformed. But the memory of John Dotha Jones would aptly rebut this fabricated statistic. Without his picture and accomplishments listed alongside his classmates, the College was able to effectively erase the fact that he had been inducted into Phi Beta Kappa on May 30, 1910, and graduated with "Highest Final General Honors." [29] Here, forgetting to record an early

Black student gave credence to the College's reason behind its inability to accept more Negro applicants.

In addition to camouflaging the Black presence within Phi Beta Kappa, suppressing Jones' memory preserved the white face of Greek life on campus. Fraternities and secret societies have long been a tradition among students at the College. They are the incarnation of friendship, brotherhood, and community. One year before his graduation, Jones joined six others in a successful attempt to conjure up a similar fraternal culture in the City of New York for Black students. Four of the cohort—John Dotha Jones, George W. A. Scott, Shelton H. Bishop '11, and Ralph H. Young '12—were from Columbia College. After petitioning Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Inc. for membership, a charter was granted to "The Jewel" Chapter at Columbia on June 5, 1909, altering Greek life at Columbia forever.[30] This monumental feat, as well as its co-founder John Dotha Jones, was overlooked by *The Columbian*. Also, it failed to list the fraternity with George W. A. Scott's biographical information. Over the next several decades, Black fraternities were not listed nor were their members pictured together, like white fraternities.[31]

Mistakes happen, though excluding Black faces from *The Columbian* became somewhat of a tradition during the early 20th century. Periodically, tradition would give way to a few Black students to maintain the illusion that Columbia College's student body was diverse. Such was the case in 1925—a year in which five Black graduates are proudly displayed.[32] Shortly after, the Class of 1928 included no pictures or biographies of any individual Black students. Upon further inspection, two dark faces are visible within the Class photograph, peppered in a sea of pale faces. Hillery C. Thorne—mentioned in a 1939 article highlighting Negro alumni and a 1928 graduate according to the College's alumni registry—was likely one of the faces lost in the crowd.[33]

Feeling inclusive, Columbia allowed M. Moran Weston to join his graduating class in 1930 on picture day. His biography, sandwiched between three white students, paints a small picture of his time on campus. During his two years as an undergraduate, he participated in interclass boxing, played junior varsity football, and competed twice for the Curtis Medal for oration. Also, Weston is listed as a member of Kappa Alpha Psi, a

Black fraternity chartered at Columbia in 1921. Interestingly, neither Kappa Alpha Psi nor Alpha Phi Alpha (William A. Burton is the only other Black graduate pictured and is member of Alpha Phi Alpha) are named among the fraternities in *The Columbian '30*, showing that the College was willing to highlight a few individual Black students but reluctant to reveal information that would offer insight into the larger picture of Black enrollment.[34]

Columbia kept no official data on race or ethnicity until the late 20th century, leaving any statistics on Black enrollment at the University riddled with inconsistency. Race was allegedly deemphasized in admitting Black applicants and when highlighting the achievements of Black Colombians.[35] As a result, Columbia's history of diversity and integration remains at best sketchy. Ironically, the memory of these students was called upon frequently when their achievements shed a positive light on the University. A procession of examples parades Black students through this murky history, fueling the perception that the College is confronting the Negro Problem of education head-on. Simultaneously, Columbia limited the number of "risk" students it accepted, concealed the true number of Black students it had, and habitually capitalized on the publicity generated by those who thrived in the lion's den.

One opportunity to showcase the talented few Negro applicants admitted was the George William Curtis competition in oration. Each year, contenders from the undergraduate school engaged in verbal arguments regarding various topics. Oftentimes, these students made headlines because they were victorious, and Black. Pixley Seme gained national stardom in 1906 when he shocked the country by placing first. The articles that mentioned his success made sure to frequently mention his race.[36] Four years later, George W. A. Scott won the silver medal with a speech on whether the "Negro [was] fitted for full citizenship". The following year his eloquent argument on the enslavement of children secured him the gold.[37] M. Moran Weston also competed for the prize during both his junior and senior years. Coincidentally, all three were included in their yearbooks.

Although no official list of early Black students exists, in 1939 *Columbia Alumni News* was able to muster enough names to fill nearly two pages in an article titled "Columbia's

Colored Alumni Fill Posts of Importance. This celebratory article includes graduate and undergraduate alumni who have achieved excellence across all professional fields of human endeavor. Medical doctors, lawyers, judges, dentists, athletes, musicians, artists, architects, and clergymen of color from the early 20th-century sketch a timeline that from a cursory glance would lead any reader to the conclusion that Columbia must have a massive roster of Black alumni. However, the majority of the names listed were not undergraduates at the College; most of them obtained undergraduate degrees elsewhere then came to Columbia in pursuit of an advanced degree at one of the graduate schools. By grouping all of the programs of study together, it creates a deceptive image of the University. Of the almost one hundred alumni, only twenty are graduates of Columbia College. What source provided these names remains unclear—as some of the names are not pictured in yearbooks and some of the pictured students, like Francis H. Bowen, are not included in the article—accentuating the fragmentary nature of Black student history at the College.[38] This patchy celebratory timeline elucidates the Black presence at Columbia University, clearly revealing the function of Black students at the College as tokenistic markers of diversity.

A deceptive public relations campaign occurred at Columbia University throughout the 20th century. On the surface, the University garnered prestige as a progressive haven for all by claiming it was above placing an emphasis on race. Thus, morally posturing itself above the tense racial climate that loitered outside the boundaries of its campus. Underneath this façade, Columbia placed no significance on individual Black students themselves. Countless faces and personal narratives slipped through the holes in Black student enrollment history. Black names, photographs, and fraternities were scrubbed from the record out of either negligence or malice, or simply because they were not truly valued. Selective remembrance led to an unknown number of historical casualties and became a tool to simulate diversity at Columbia College. When convenient, the University reached into its little Black book of names to maintain the illusion that it was genuinely interested in and actively cultivating Black youth. The few that made it in went on to accomplish great things, affording their alma mater the chance to exploit their success for personal gain. During the early decades of the 20th century, the sporadic presence of Black students at Columbia College was a show of smoke and mirrors to

conceal a whitewashed reality. In the eyes of this soon-to-be Ivy League institution, they were nothing more than gilded pawns in a low-risk game, in which they had nothing to lose and everything to gain.

Conclusion

Admittedly, some Negro college applicants came from socio-economic situations that may be considered disadvantageous. Emancipation did not provide any semblance of true upward mobility for their 19th-century ancestors. It may have freed them from servitude, but they remained bound by social and legal systems whose reverberations still hinder African Americans today. Generational trauma left their grandparents and parents often unable to provide them with a basic elementary education. The educational opportunities available to them were often subpar, rarely measuring up to white facilities because of limited resources. Somehow, this did not discourage the thirty Negro applicants that prospered at Columbia College between 1900 and 1940.[39] Their applications were stamped with the resiliency and strength that has always allowed the African diaspora to survive the baneful effects of hatred and prejudice.

From the moment their biographies and résumés entered the Office of Undergraduate Admissions, Negro applicants were pigeonholed into a category separate from their white peers. Technically, race was not a written consideration on the checklist of an admissions officer. Instead, they regulated the flow of Black students into Columbia College by classifying Negro applicants as a whole as risky. Effectively, discriminatory gatekeeping served as a barrier that hastily blocked otherwise qualified Negro applicants. Without real justification, it blocked M. Moran Weston's admission in the spring of 1928. Unfortunately, transparency and record-keeping were not institutional virtues, therefore, the number of this policy's victims remains unknown.

As luck would have it, several cases exist that debunk the notion of racial inferiority tethered to the perception of early Black students at the College. In addition to those previously mentioned, many others also devoted their time to extracurricular activities

from which the school reaped benefits. Richard Maurice Moss '19 ran track during his freshman and sophomore years. John H. Johnson '20 was a valuable member of the basketball team. From the Class of 1921, Aaron J. Cuffee represented the College in both track and cross-country. Also, he demonstrated sound leadership as Director of the Columbia Chapter of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew. William Jackson '23 and Alvin H. Jones '25 battled on the gridiron against Columbia's football rivals. Before graduating, Charles Alston '29 helped compose several of Columbia's most successful periodicals and publications, including *The Jester*, *The Morningside*, and *The Columbian*. Together with M. Moran Weston '30, William A. Burton '30 played junior varsity football. The list continues. Through their participation and success, these early examples prove that they were not "borderline" or risky admits rather they were capable of much more than surviving Columbia College; each student thrived and actively contributed during their undergraduate studies.[40]

Furthermore, identifiable alumni from Columbia College constitute a model roster of high achievers that would rival any catalog of white alumni. Young Weston blossomed into a powerful force on the island of Manhattan. After graduating in 1930, Weston worked as a social worker in the city and pursued several advanced degrees. He wrote a column on labor in the *Amsterdam News* and organized numerous civil-rights rallies in New York City. Together with 14 others, Weston founded the Carver Federal Savings Bank "in order to help Black homeowners obtain first mortgages." By 1954, he earned a PhD in social history from Columbia. Previously ordained in 1951, the Reverend Dr. M. Moran Weston would become the rector at St. Phillips Episcopal Church in 1957, where he served admirably until his retirement in 1982.[41]

Most notably, for the purpose of this discussion, Weston came to the aid of his alma mater during what was arguably the most turbulent few years in its history. During the late 1960s, Student activism had targeted almost every facet of the undergraduate student experience at Columbia. Accusations were made against the College and the Admissions Office. The truth about their ineffective and discriminatory treatment of Black applicants and Black students had finally been unearthed. In the wake of the 1968 campus crisis—student occupation of various buildings on Columbia's campus by

several activist groups—Black students were demanding a revised admissions process for Negro applicants, a curriculum that included Black and African history, and more Black administrators and faculty.[42] In response, almost forty years after his name and yearbook photograph represented nearly the entire Black identity at Columbia College, remembering the memory of young M. Moran Weston '30 salvaged Columbia's image. Weston, now well established in Harlem and the greater New York area, was elected to Columbia's Board of Trustees. A "risk" taken in the early 20th century had, again, yielded a substantial return.

Weston harbored no animosity toward Columbia University. He was grateful to the institution for providing the steppingstone from which he authored his own remembrance demanding narrative. Similarly, the other students that Columbia paradoxically doubted, forgot, celebrated, and exploited did not disappear quietly. They became educators at prominent institutions, magistrates, doctors, and much more, carving their names into histories elsewhere. However, many Negro applicants fell victim to the predacious and bias approach taken by the Admissions Office. Sadly, Columbia miscalculated the risk they constituted. Qualified applicants were judged separate from their white peers because of their race. At the same time, admissions standards remained the same across the board. As a result, with the graduation of each predominantly white class, an unimaginable amount of potential was lost. Hopefully, the value of these budding young scholars was realized somewhere with less nefarious motivations. To the faceless, forgotten, and undervalued, Columbia College owes recompense.

Endnotes

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[15] St. Augustine’s College Commencement Program; 1928; M. Moran Weston papers; Box 3 and Folder 19; Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University Library.

[16] Admission Denial Letter from Columbia University; May 09, 1928; M. Moran Weston papers; Box 3 and Folder 23; Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University Library.

[17] Transfer Credit Evaluation; September 1928; M. Moran Weston papers; Box 3 and Folder 23; Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University Library.

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[24] Polly E. Bugros McLean, Remembering Lucile: A Virginia Family's Rise from Slavery and a Legacy Forged a Mile High (Colorado: University Press of Colorado, 2018), 204.

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[29] Polly E. Bugros McLean, *Remembering Lucile: A Virginia Family's Rise from Slavery and a Legacy Forged a Mile High* (Colorado: University Press of Colorado, 2018), 204.

[30] “Fraternity & Chapter History,” Sons of Eta, Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Inc., accessed November 16, 2021, <https://sonsofeta.com/history.html> .

[31] I searched *The Columbian* in the following years and could not locate a Black fraternity or list of its members: 1909; 1910; 1911; 1912; 1914; 1919; 1920; 1921; 1922; 1925; 1928; 1929; 1930; 1931; 1937; 1940

[32] *The Columbian '25; 1925*; University Archives, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University Library.

[33] Ben Johnson, *Columbia Alumni News: “Columbia’s Colored Alumni Fill Posts of Importance”*, page 10; May 12, 1939; University Archives, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University Library.; *Columbia University Committee on General Catalogue, Columbia University Alumni Register 1754 - 1931*, July 1932, 878.

[34] *The Columbian '30; 1930*; University Archives, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University Library.

[35] Peter A. Green, “Number of Negro Students Increased Slowly Since 1877,” *The Supplement of the Columbia Daily Spectator* (New York, NY), Apr. 26, 1967.

[36] Paulina Fein, “The Treatment and Framing of Early Black Students at Columbia University,” *Columbia University and Slavery*, Columbia University, accessed November 01, 2021, <https://columbiaandslavery.columbia.edu/content/treatment-and-framing-early-black-students-columbia-university-0> .

[37] "Plea For Children Wins," Columbia Daily Spectator (New York, NY), Apr. 06, 1911. <https://spectatorarchive.library.columbia.edu/?a=d&d=cs19110406-01.2.7&srpos=2&e=-----191-en-20--1--txt-txIN-George+Scott-----> .

[38] Ben Johnson, Columbia Alumni News: "Columbia's Colored Alumni Fill Posts of Importance", pages 5, 10,13; May 12, 1939; University Archives, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University Library.; The Columbian '25; 1925; University Archives, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University Library.

[39] Referring to the 30 students I was able to locate during the 40-year period. More may exist.

[40] Columbia Alumni News: "Columbia's Colored Alumni Fill Posts of Importance", pages 5, 10,13; May 12, 1939; University Archives, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University Library.; The Columbian; 1919–21, 1923, 1925, 1929, 1930; University Archives, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University Library.

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