
Theses and Dissertations

2003

**White flight? : George Pepperdine College's move to Malibu,
1965-1972**

Candace Denise Jones

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.pepperdine.edu/etd>

Recommended Citation

Jones, Candace Denise, "White flight? : George Pepperdine College's move to Malibu, 1965-1972" (2003).
Theses and Dissertations. 122.
<https://digitalcommons.pepperdine.edu/etd/122>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by Pepperdine Digital Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of Pepperdine Digital Commons. For more information, please contact bailey.berry@pepperdine.edu.

C 3/2004

54676362

WHITE FLIGHT?

GEORGE PEPPERDINE COLLEGE'S MOVE TO MALIBU, 1965-1972

A Thesis

Presented to

the Faculty of the Humanities/Teacher Education Division

Pepperdine University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

by

Candace Denise Jones

December 2003

R

H

2003

J76

This thesis, written by

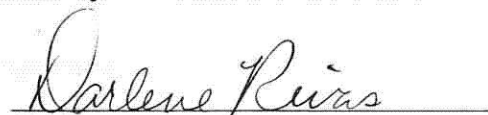
CANDACE DENISE JONES

under the guidance of a Faculty Committee and approved by its members, has been submitted to and accepted by the Graduate Faculty in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

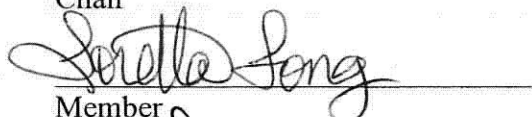
MASTER OF ARTS

December 2003

Faculty Committee



Chair



Member



Member



Dean

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Abstract.....	iv
Dedication.....	v
Introduction.....	1
 Chapter	
1. A Christian College in Urban Los Angeles.....	8
2. Race Relations and the Churches of Christ.....	19
3. Broadening the Scope: The Watts Riots.....	30
4. Tragedy Strikes George Pepperdine College	45
5. Say It Loud: I'm Black and I'm Proud	65
Conclusion: A Miracle in Malibu?	83
Appendix.....	97
Bibliography	98

White Flight?
George Pepperdine College's Move to Malibu, 1965-1972

by

Candace Denise Jones

December 2003

Dr. Darlene Rivas, Chairman

ABSTRACT

George Pepperdine College, a Church of Christ affiliated institution of higher education in Los Angeles, California, had its foundation rocked in the 1960s by two events: The Watts Riots of 1965 and the 1969 shooting of Los Angeles youth, Larry Donnell Kimmons. These events challenged the original commitment that founder George Pepperdine had for the Los Angeles area and forever changed the future direction of George Pepperdine College (GPC). The Watts Riots served as the catalyst, generating a desire by the executive administrators of GPC to leave the perceived chaotic and unpredictable urban setting. The second event, the tragic shooting of Larry Kimmons on the college campus by a campus security guard, ignited Black Nationalist sentiment within the GPC student population and local Los Angeles community. This fervor, which manifested itself in student protests and vandalism, scared GPC administrators and justified their decision to move the institution from the founding location. This thesis will examine the early history of GPC in Los Angeles, the Churches of Christ attitude on Race Relations in American and the Social Gospel, the events surrounding the Kimmons murder and subsequent student reaction, and the actual move to Malibu which in university published material is referred to as the "Miracle in Malibu." Ultimately, this work will demonstrate that the direct and indirect consequences of the Watts Riots and the 1969 shooting of Larry Kimmons brought about the college's move to Malibu.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of Larry Donnell Kimmons. Current Pepperdine administrators should uphold the promises that previous administrators made to the black students and the Kimmons' family. Shortly after the shooting, GPC administrators agreed to create a memorial to Kimmons. This memorial was established in the Vermont campus library so that all students, faculty, staff, and administrators would remember this tragedy. Pepperdine University's administrators today belittle his young life by not memorializing his death on the Malibu campus. Efforts to remedy this blatant disregard for the Kimmons family should be taken immediately.

INTRODUCTION

“Wait a minute, Charlie, I ain’t done nothing. With those pleading last words, his hands raised, 15-year-old Larry Donnell Kimmons had his guts blasted out last March 12 by a gray-haired man whom the boy considered a friend,”¹ announced headlines in a Los Angeles newspaper. Larry Kimmons died shortly after a confrontation with George Pepperdine College campus security guard, Charles Lane. Shock, grief, sorrow, and rage swept through the community that bordered George Pepperdine College. Larry would never witness the vociferous protest that erupted after his death. He would never know that his decision to play basketball at George Pepperdine College would change the racial dynamics of this small Christian institution. Larry’s life and death has significant meaning. Not only did his death alter race relations on campus but also it momentarily changed the historic trajectory of George Pepperdine College.

George Pepperdine College, a Church of Christ affiliated institution of higher education in Los Angeles, California, had its foundation rocked in the 1960s by two events: The Watts Riots of 1965 and the 1969 shooting of Los Angeles youth, Larry Donnell Kimmons. These events challenged the original commitment that founder George Pepperdine had for the Los Angeles area and forever changed the future direction of George Pepperdine College (GPC). The Watts Riots served as the catalyst, generating a desire by the executive administrators of GPC to leave the perceived chaotic and unpredictable urban setting. The second event, the tragic shooting of Larry Kimmons on the college campus by a campus security guard, ignited Black Nationalist sentiment

¹ Unknown, “Guilty Verdict in Death of Pepperdine Visitor,” *Los Angeles Sentinel*, 17 April 1969, sec. A1, No. 16.

within the GPC student population and local Los Angeles community. This fervor, which manifested itself in student protests and vandalism, scared GPC administrators and justified their decision to move the institution from the founding location. In the words of Pepperdine history professor, Dr. John McClung, “everything went downhill after the shooting.” Ultimately, the direct and indirect consequences of the Watts Riots brought about the college’s move to Malibu. The 1969 shooting of Larry Kimmons, which ignited racial tensions on GPC’s campus, justified the administrator’s decision to move the undergraduate operations to the new campus in Malibu.

This thesis is more than just a monograph recreating the events that prompted Pepperdine’s move to Malibu. Significantly, it is the story of increased racial tension on a Christian campus between the white administration and the prominent black student population. Race relations at GPC were complicated. In order to grapple with this complex racial environment it is necessary that this work explore four historical contexts that influenced the decision of administrators to move undergraduate operations to Malibu. This background, GPC’s founding in Los Angeles, affiliation with the Churches of Christ, the Civil Rights Movements, and Black Nationalism demonstrates the multiplicity of factors related to the move to Malibu.

First, it is important to provide background information on the college’s founding and growth. George Pepperdine, in the midst of the great depression in the 1930s, rallied financial resources and personnel committed to the purpose of creating a Christian institution of higher education. The decisions made by founder George Pepperdine, first GPC President Batsell Baxter, and Dean Hugh Tiner were carefully deliberated. The

reverence and respect for the founder's work persisted in future years. The decision to abandon the Vermont Knolls area of Los Angeles, which was carefully chosen by the original founding father as the site of GPC, is noteworthy. Tense relations between white administrators and black students made it possible for GPC administrators to revoke a decision made by founder George Pepperdine. This thesis illuminates the causes of this momentous decision to move to Malibu as affected by the racial tensions on the GPC campus.

The administration and faculty's association with the Churches of Christ also affected race relations on the GPC campus. Many members of the Churches of Christ were reticent to deal with issues of race because they perceived these issues to be outside of the Church's domain. The social gospel, an application of Christian principles to contemporary social problems, was greatly utilized by persons associated with the Civil Rights Movement. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. applied Christian principles to racial discrimination and segregation in the American South. He argued that these acts were inconsistent with Christian concepts of brotherhood. Some members within the Churches of Christ chose to disassociate themselves from worldly values and political entanglements. The social gospel, as applied to race relations in America, was viewed as a connection to the political realm. They believed that "entanglements," like race relations and the Civil Rights Movement, reflected worldly values. Therefore, many members of the Churches of Christ were hesitant to deal with race relations. Evidence of the taciturn approach to the social gospel is found within Church of Christ publications such as the *Gospel Advocate* and *Firm Foundation*. It is crucial to trace the early

teachings of the Churches of Christ in order to understand where the conservative approach to the social gospel originated. The traditionalist approach to the race issue played a silent but powerful role in the transitional GPC period.

Next, the Civil Rights Movement focused national attention on racial injustice. The growing popularity of television, which provided Americans with up close images of the racial struggle, coupled with the continued resistance of Southern whites to racial equality fueled the expressions of anger and frustration by African Americans. The Watts Riots of 1965, a consequence of growing hostility of blacks towards whites, produced fear among residents in the surrounding communities.² The anxiety created by a volatile and changing urban environment must be understood within the larger Civil Rights context. Many white Americans were confused by the seemingly senseless destruction of property and loss of life. Students, faculty, and staff of GPC whose campus was within five miles of the riot area, were deeply affected by this ominous milieu.

Finally, the rise of Black Nationalism as an aggressive mode of self-expression and a form of social protest exacerbated racial conflict at GPC. Black Nationalists on college campuses across the country demanded the immediate action of administrators to resolve discrimination and racial injustice in academic institutions. Black Nationalists like some other student protestors of the period, insisted on systemic change. The Larry Kimmons shooting awakened Black Nationalist fervor in African American students at

² The fear the residents near watts experienced during and shortly after the riots was largely created by the medias coverage of a black youth “who grabbed a microphone and told all in attendance that looting and rioting should move to predominately white areas near Watts.” Reference Chapter Three.

GPC. The tragic, senseless death served as a rallying cry for students of color attacking institutional policy. Black student campus demonstrations, proliferating Black Nationalist literature, bomb threats, and vandalism made administrators believe that the move of undergraduate operations to Malibu was the only means of survival. The militant stance taken by the students challenged the institution's Christian mission and its very existence in a largely black neighborhood.

To explore the decisions behind the move to Malibu, this thesis is arranged chronologically and utilizes a variety of primary and secondary source material. Institutional historical research can be a daunting task. Many institutions, including Pepperdine, lack historical consciousness to collect, document, and objectively interpret materials related to institutional development. As a result, primary source materials in the form of memorandums, presidential papers, and institutional documents are extremely rare. Therefore, in order to construct an accurate though unfortunately incomplete record of events surrounding the move to Malibu, I conducted numerous oral interviews. Oral interviews are a powerful medium to reconstruct past events. These interviews not only provided me with actual locations of relevant materials but also connected me with other persons associated with the events in question. But, caution is required when processing and interpreting the information recorded in interviews. Interviewees often times remember what they choose to remember. Therefore, it is the historians' job to cross reference information taken during the interview with other interviews and written sources.

Race relations at GPC play a significant role in the decision to move the campus from Los Angeles to Malibu. Chapter One examines the founding of a Christian college in the urban city of Los Angeles. This chapter chronicles the college's founding and decisions made by administrators in GPC's early period. It also provides the basis for understanding how the institution initially dealt with issues of race and how administrators, students, and faculty of different races interacted with each other. These relations, later strained by the Kimmons shooting, ultimately shaped the future direction of the institution.

The next chapter evaluates how members of the Churches of Christ viewed race relations given that the majority of the administration and faculty were members. Some members within the Churches of Christ chose to disassociate themselves from social issues, like race relations. Church of Christ minister G. C. Brewer's statement, "the function and the work of the church of God is not primarily for the furnishing of temporal help or assistance, but the paramount work of the church . . . is to spread the gospel,"³ illuminates this steadfast position.⁴ This chapter also characterizes the "changing perception of status"⁵ of Churches of Christ in America during the 1950s and its effect on the decision to move the undergraduate campus to Malibu.

³ G. C. Brewer, "Our purpose and Our Method of Attack," *Voice of Freedom* 1 (January 1953): 2, quoted in Richard Hughes, *Reviving the Ancient Faith: the Story of Churches of Christ in America* (Michigan/Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1996) 279.

⁴ It should be noted that the "steadfast position" is related to white Churches of Christ and will be explored in greater detail in Chapter Two.

Chapters Three and Four evaluate the two pivotal events in GPC's history, the Watts Riot and the shooting of Larry Kimmons. These two events are contextualized within the larger Civil Rights Movement and 1960s historical period. Chapters Three and Four are the heart of this story since they depict events that led to an unpredictable racial environment at GPC. In particular, Chapter Five portrays the rise of Black Nationalist sentiment on the GPC campus as a result of the Kimmons shooting. Black students, affected by the larger social protest movements in the 1960s, challenged administrators and forced change.

The final chapter examines the decision, made by administrators and the Board of Regents, to open a new campus in Malibu, California. This transition, wrought with internal strife, closed the door on an era of George Pepperdine College in Los Angeles. Dissent within the faculty and student body never distracted administrators from their goal. The administrators initially attempted to maintain both campuses, but economic pressures influenced administrators, and within two years of the opening of the Malibu campus they determined that only one campus would remain. George Pepperdine College, after the move, ceased to exist.

⁵ David Edwin Harrell, *The Churches of Christ in the Twentieth Century: Homer Hailey's Personal Journey of Faith* (Tuscaloosa, Ala.: University of Alabama Press, 2000), 151-160.

CHAPTER ONE

A Christian College in Urban Los Angeles¹

*The spirit of a college is its soul, its essence. You will not know Pepperdine until you know its spirit. You will not be a Pepperdiner in the true sense until this spirit becomes a part of you and you become a part of it. No one can give you the Pepperdine spirit; no one can even tell you what it is. You must feel and experience it.*²

In the midst of the Great Depression, George Pepperdine had a profound vision to create a new Christian institution of higher education. Who knew what lay ahead for such an enormous endeavor? On September 21, 1937 over 2,000 persons attended the formal ground breaking ceremony for George Pepperdine College.³ Among the speakers were founding president Batsell Baxter, Los Angeles Mayor Frank L. Shaw, and California Governor Frank Merriam. Who best to represent and articulate the momentous occasion than George Pepperdine himself? He began the speech with these

¹ The primary and secondary sources utilized in Chapter One are limited. To date, there is no critical published history of the institution to date. Jerry Rushford, ed., *Crest of a Golden Wave* (Malibu, Calif.: Pepperdine University Press, 1987) is the single published history of George Pepperdine College and provides a basic celebratory narrative. The works by Bill Youngs, *Faith was His Fortune: The Life Story of George Pepperdine*, (Malibu, Calif.: Pepperdine University Press, 1976); Richard L. Clark and Jack W. Bates, *Faith Is My Fortune: The Life Story of George Pepperdine* (Los Angeles: Pepperdine College Bookstore, 1963); revealed the intent of the founder and the mission set forth by his vision. The work by Audrey Gardner, "A Brief History of Pepperdine College," (master's thesis, Pepperdine College, 1968); provided remarkable insight and served as a guide to primary source material. Oral interviews of this early period were largely secondary. Interviewees mainly conveyed information they heard about since most were not participants in early events. Articles from the *Gospel Advocate* and *Firm Foundation* reference the college's founding. The school's newspaper, *Graphic*, documented the weekly events and concerns of GPC students.

² Rushford, 10.

³ Clark and Bates; Youngs; Rushford. Accounts of the dedication ceremony were found in numerous sources.

words, "Therefore, as my contribution to the well being and happiness of this generation and those that follow, I am endowing this institution to help young men and women prepare themselves for a life of usefulness in this competitive world and help them build a foundation of Christian character and faith which will survive the storms of life."⁴ This mission guided George Pepperdine College throughout its history.

The decision to found a Christian college was not entered into lightly. In 1931, George Pepperdine established a foundation that served as the vehicle through which he channeled gifts to religious, charitable, and educational organizations.⁵ This philanthropic zeal grew into a desire to create a Christian college. The encouragement of Hugh Tiner propelled George Pepperdine toward this end. Tiner, then Supervisor of Los Angeles County Schools, had an acute interest in educating the minds of the young. In February of 1937, Pepperdine engaged Tiner in early planning sessions. Tiner suggested that they also involve former David Lipscomb College and Abilene Christian College president, Batsell Baxter. Baxter had a wealth of knowledge from which to draw. During arduous sessions, the three mapped out the logistics of George Pepperdine College. When the two asked Pepperdine when he planned to open the college, he responded "In September."⁶ This startling answer warranted immediate planning and decisive action.

After early planning sessions Pepperdine felt confident in his decision. He asked Baxter to become the college's first president and Baxter accepted. Hugh Tiner agreed to

⁴ Clark and Bates, 183.

⁵ Ibid., 165.

⁶ Rushford, 3.

serve as the college's first Dean. These were significant decisions since Baxter brought years of educational and administrative experience to this project. More importantly, his involvement secured the confidence of members of the Churches of Christ. This body of members, within its Church of Christ community, is commonly referred to as the "brotherhood." Preacher S. H. Hall illustrated the respect the brotherhood had for Baxter: "It has never been my privilege to work in close connection with any man in whom I placed such complete confidence."⁷ In order for the college to attract students from this tradition, which was heavily concentrated in the South, it needed the support of the brotherhood. This did not necessarily mean financial support, since Pepperdine intended that "this institution, while placing special emphasis on Christian living and fundamental Christian Faith, shall be a private enterprise, not connected with any church, and shall not solicit contributions from the churches,"⁸ but rather proof of concept. If members of Southern Churches of Christ were willing to send their sons and daughters to the West Coast for college, administrators hoped GPC would be their choice.

The next task for the founder and new administrators was to secure a location for the new college. The school's location was not an easy choice given that this was during the depression years and numerous properties were available in southern California. After careful consideration, Mr. Pepperdine selected thirty-four acres in the Vermont Knolls area to serve as the campus. This property originally belonged to Los Angeles socialite Patricia Conneley and later passed to her brother, Joseph Patrick Conneley, who

⁷ S. H. Hall, "Baxter Goes to Los Angeles," *Gospel Advocate* LXXIX (20 May 1937), quoted in Gardner, 8.

⁸ Clark and Bates, 184.

built a mansion in 1912 which attracted the social elite of Los Angeles. A quiet neighborhood grew up around this ranch homestead. Pepperdine purchased this property for \$150,000. The location of the campus was extremely important because Pepperdine believed it essential that the school be in an area where students would have easy access to the job market as well as to the cultural centers of Los Angeles. As he remembered, "It was easily accessible to the downtown area; thus it would be convenient for students to find part-time work in the metropolitan business organizations. Moreover, the students would have ready access to the public library and cultural institutions such as the Philharmonic Auditorium, the opera, and museums."⁹

One hundred and sixty-seven students enrolled the first year at GPC.¹⁰ Many of these new students were transfer students from other Church of Christ affiliated institutions like Abilene Christian College in Texas, David Lipscomb College in Tennessee, and Harding College in Arkansas. The college delivered standard instruction in areas of religion, English, biology, chemistry, physics, French, German, Spanish, mathematics, business, education, psychology, history, economics, government, speech, art, and music. Incoming students could expect to pay approximately \$425 per academic year.¹¹ Efforts to help students financially became a priority for Pepperdine. He made

⁹ Ibid., 178.

¹⁰ Norvel Young, *A History of Colleges Established and Controlled by Members of the Churches of Christ* (Kansas City, Mo.: The Old Paths Book Club, 1949), 193.

¹¹ *George Pepperdine College Bulletin* I (July 1937): 64.

sure that “worthy young people with very little money, but with a burning desire to get an education and make good shall receive special consideration.”¹²

From the day it opened its doors to students, GPC extended admission to persons of African descent. It took another twenty-five years before any other Church of Christ educational institution tendered such an offer. As progressive as that may seem, admission to the college came with certain restrictions. Initially, African American students were not allowed to live in the college’s dorms with other white students. In the July 1937 *George Pepperdine College Bulletin*, a statement on race appeared, “Provision is made for enrollment of students of good character of all races in the classes and laboratories of George Pepperdine College. However, on account of the limited facilities at present, boarding and social provisions on campus are confined to members of the Caucasian race.”¹³ GPC’s administrators failed to resist the prevalent social standards related to racial segregation of the late 1930s and early 1940s regardless of its location outside of the South. The myth of a “promise land” north of the Mason-Dixon line lured thousands of African Americans out of the South into Northern and Western cities. *De facto* segregation dashed the hopes of many when they found themselves relegated to particular areas of most urban cities. Los Angeles, and GPC for that matter, was no different. Racially restrictive covenants in California prevented persons of color from living in predominantly white communities and became the motive behind separating white and black students in GPC’s dorms. This segregationist tendency was also

¹² Clark and Bates, 184.

¹³ *George Pepperdine College Bulletin* I (July 1937): 16.

common amongst members of the Churches of Christ who were unable to resist the acquisition of “Southern values,” demonstrated by the segregation of white and black Church of Christ congregations. Therefore, GPC’s location in a restrictive covenant environment and its connection to a largely Southern based religious movement assured its continuation of dominant social norms. Sources indicated institutional segregation was modified in 1944 as the race provision was shortened to one line, “Provision is made for enrollment of students of good character of all races in classes of George Pepperdine College.”¹⁴ There are no primary documents that indicate how President Baxter and later President Tiner felt about the race issue. All one can surmise is that they supported the stated race provision in the GPC catalogs during the years they served, the provision having changed during Tiner’s administration. Despite the initial segregation policy, credit must be given where credit is due. GPC’s founder and early administrators must be recognized for their willingness to admit students of color long before many other institutions of higher education.

Academic integrity was crucial to gaining national recognition and accreditation, thus, solidifying the long-term viability of the young college. During the Baxter administration, on April 5, 1938, GPC received accreditation from the Northwest Association. President Baxter and Dean Tiner assembled an extraordinary group of

¹⁴ *George Pepperdine College Bulletin* VIII (July 1944-45): 47.

twenty-one educators who served the college that first year.¹⁵ Both Baxter and Tiner taught classes. The appointment of Earl V. Pullias as Dean under future President Tiner lent further academic strength as he held a doctorate from Duke University and continued post doctorate work at the University of London and the Institute of Medical Psychology at Oxford. Attracting top scholars, such as Pullias, enhanced the overall curriculum and academic experience of students. Accreditation, coupled with a talented faculty, demonstrated GPC's ability to compete with other academic institutions.

The Batsell Baxter years are marked by the founding of traditions. Though Baxter only served two years, he set the college on a firm foundation. Since he was highly respected among members of the Churches of Christ, many parents trusted the new school and made the decision to send their children to George Pepperdine College. This trust would be crucial in those early years. Baxter, with a talented faculty and administration, remarkably acquired accreditation for GPC from Northwest Association in one year. In 1939, the Board of Trustees granted President Baxter a leave of absence due to failing health. His successor, Hugh Tiner, was named on April 13, 1939, becoming the youngest college president in the nation at the age of thirty-one.¹⁶

The impending presidency of Hugh Tiner ushered in a new era for GPC. He was the likely choice to replace Baxter since he was so influential in the founding year. Tiner

¹⁵ *George Pepperdine College Bulletin* I (July 1937): 21-23; and Young, *A History of Colleges*, 192. The faculty included: Batsell Baxter, Hugh M. Tiner, J. Herman Campbell, Maleese Black, Callie May Coons, R. R. Coons, Hubert G. Derrick, Edna Deuser, Frances Hinds, Pat Malone, Martha Pitts, Edward C. Petty, E. V. Pullias, William P. Reedy, Wade Ruby, Lela Schrader, Dederick Navall, Russel N. Squire, Jay L. Thompson, J. Eddie Weems, and Marian W. Wright.

¹⁶ Rushford, 73.

inherited a young college with problems to resolve, and many complex issues arose during his long seventeen-year tenure. The first and most immediate concern was the United States' entrance into World War II as a result of the Pearl Harbor bombing. Parents were hesitant to send their sons and daughters to the West Coast fearing a Japanese attack in California. GPC fought through this troubled time, and the student population remained steady.¹⁷

The end of WWII brought about the second crisis. Tiner dealt with growing student population since returning veterans sought education in large numbers. Dealing with this new student/veteran population was a twofold issue. On the one hand, GPC needed the revenue generated by this new population. On the other hand, this new student population did not realize or care about the college's original purpose, and it became extremely problematic for the university to maintain a distinctly Christian environment with an overwhelming secularized student population. The size of the student population strained the faculty and administrative resources. Efforts to accommodate new students revived construction efforts on campus. Normandie Village, designated as married student housing, was acquired to serve this new population. Despite administrative difficulties, the greatest concern with this secularized population was how to require non-Christian students to attend weekly chapel, maintain dress code standards, and comply with dorm curfews. President Tiner made a decision to place less emphasis on rules associated with moral living in order to accommodate the new non-

¹⁷ Consistent student enrollment was referenced in Gardner, 40. Gardner cited the information as coming from D. R. Darnell of the Registrar's office. The current acting university registrar, Emelita Dacanay, said this information is no longer available. The only drop of enrollment between 1943 and 1945 occurred in 1943 but rebounded the following year.

religious, veteran student population. The decision to de-emphasize Christian values later placed Tiner at odds with many members in the Churches of Christ.

By the 1950s, financial crisis struck as founder George Pepperdine experienced economic hardships. Bad investments caused Pepperdine to lose his fortune and forced him to declare bankruptcy. Tiner commented, "Mr. Pepperdine was one of the greatest men I ever knew but he made the mistake so many men in business make. Having made a fortune in one field he believed he could do it in another, one in which he had no experience."¹⁸ This crisis required immediate fundraising efforts by the president, an effort for which he was not prepared. It became necessary for the college to depend on its endowment to counteract the budget deficit. Moreover, in times of fiscal difficulty, opposition against those in power grew. Influential members of the Churches of Christ attacked the Tiner administration for straying from the college's original purpose as, "Yater Tant, editor of the *Gospel Guardian*, charged that President Tiner and Dean Pullias were seeking to 'sell Brother Pepperdine out.'"¹⁹

If Baxter's years were marked by stability and growth, Tiner's would be characterized by the challenges he faced as president. The war years were particularly hard times for the nation. Tiner was forced to maintain a sizable student population in order to meet the operational budget demands. Within a year of the war's ending, his administrative efforts refocused on assimilating a large student veteran population. The decision to de-emphasize Christian values distanced members of the Churches of Christ

¹⁸ Gardner, 34.

¹⁹ Ibid., 45.

from George Pepperdine College. The reconnection with the brotherhood later became the highest priority of third president of George Pepperdine College, M. Norvel Young.

M. Norvel Young took office in 1957. He was quite experienced in matters of higher education since he led the charge to establish Lubbock Christian College in 1956. His work in building one of the largest Church of Christ congregations garnered the respect of the brotherhood. As soon as he was selected for the presidency, support for GPC among the churches rose. Member Lyndell Cheeves offered, "It is not by accident that everyone with whom I speak thinks of you as being the first choice of the presidency. I think you and your influence and prestige can cause a great movement for good in the church and in the college in California."²⁰ Young served from 1957 to 1972. During his tenure, he was forced to deal with faculty dissent, financial crisis, and the two racial crises; the Watts Riots and the Larry Kimmons shooting, upon which this thesis is focused.

A close examination of the earlier era has much to offer to those seeking an understanding of the significance of race relations at GPC in shaping the development of the institution. This background is important because it chronicles administrators' early institutional policy decisions regarding race. The next framework to evaluate, crucial in understanding race relations at GPC, is the institution's affiliation with the Churches of Christ. President Young's commitment to the church and the teachings expressed by members of the Churches of Christ affected institutional decisions made by him and other George Pepperdine College administrators. The teachings expressed by early church

²⁰ Reuel Lemmons, "The Brotherhood Extends Congratulations," *Firm Foundation* LXXIV (6 August 1957).

leaders such as Barton Stone, Alexander Campbell, and David Lipscomb had important implications and shaped GPC administrators' approach to issues of race and social justice.

CHAPTER TWO

Race Relations and the Churches of Christ

Most Churches of Christ not only failed to resist racism in the larger culture but increasingly failed to resist racism within the church itself. Once the apocalyptic vision died, there were few serious theological resources either to sustain a vision of social justice or to prevent the racism in the larger culture from making serious inroads into the church.¹

The Churches of Christ's stance on race relations during the 1960s reveals much about the heart of its culture as an institution.² The concepts of social justice, commonly referred today as the social gospel, provide a foundation for considering race at GPC. Persons who promoted the social gospel applied Christian principles or morals to social problems such as poverty, alcoholism, and mental institutions. Abolitionists also utilized this Christian framework during their quest to end slavery and in their efforts to aid freedmen during the Reconstruction Period that followed emancipation. For many Christians, Christ served as the example. His concern for marginalized groups such as

¹ Hughes, *Reviving the Ancient Faith*, 277.

² Scholarship on the Churches of Christ and its relationship to race relations and the social gospel is substantive. For information on the Churches of Christ refer to Richard Hughes and William B. Adrian, *Models for Christian Higher Education: Strategies for Success in the Twenty-First Century* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1997); Richard Hughes, Henry E. Webb, and Howard E. Short, *The Power of the Press: Studies of the Gospel Advocate, the Christian Standard, and the Christian Evangelist* (Nashville: Disciples of Christ Historical Society, 1986); Gary Holloway and Douglas A. Foster, *Renewing God's People: A Concise History of the Churches of Christ*, (Abilene: Abilene Christian University Press, 2002); Harrell; and Hughes, *Reviving the Ancient Faith*.

the widow, the orphan, or the “stranger” rallied many Christians to help persons in need.³

The question that becomes central to race relations at GPC is why members of the Churches of Christ distanced themselves from the social gospel.

It is not my intent to suggest that since many members of the Churches of Christ rejected the social gospel, racism and/or discrimination was ingrained into the fabric of this religious movement. Rather, I hope to demonstrate how and why many white members of the Churches of Christ, a predominantly southern-based movement, ignored the social gospel as related to race relations and succumbed to the prevailing Southern culture. In contrast to other Christian movements, white members of Churches of Christ focused their efforts on conversion. Church of Christ minister G.C. Brewer stated, “the function and the work of the church of God is not primarily for the furnishing of temporal help or assistance, but the paramount work of the church...is to spread the gospel.”⁴ He and others reconciled biblical scripture with their Southern environment by emphasizing other goals and objectives.

Rejection of the social gospel by many members of the Churches of Christ is attributable to two factors. First, the desire to read the Bible in a “scientific manner” prevented many members from connecting Christian principles to current social issues since there was no exact parallel in the Bible. Second, the pervasive and dominant American Southern culture’s resistance to ideas of social and racial equality, blurred past

³ There are numerous references in the New Testament to the stranger: Ephesians 2:19, Hebrews 13:2, 1 Peter 1:1, 3 John 1:5. The stranger represented virtually everyone outside of Jewish descent.

⁴ G. C. Brewer, “Our purpose and Our Method of Attack,” *Voice of Freedom* 1 (January 1953): 2, quoted in Hughes, *Reviving the Ancient Faith*, 279.

commitments by many members of the Churches of Christ to treat all men equally. Therefore, it is essential to explore the early teachings of Barton W. Stone, Alexander Campbell, and David Lipscomb to piece together the historic attitudes toward the social gospel. The desire to disassociate oneself from worldly values and political entanglements, historic within the Churches of Christ, served to make many members apathetic to the social movements of the 1960s. It was within this Church of Christ context that George Pepperdine College administrators' made their decisions.

The Churches of Christ emerged in the early nineteenth century as a movement dedicated to the restoration of the primitive church as described in the New Testament.⁵ By the end of the eighteenth century, "Americans largely rejected traditional religious authority to appeal to the authority of personal interpretation of the Scripture."⁶ The American frontier offered freedom of thought for many religious leaders and afforded them the opportunity to reflect on the importance of conversion and transformation of members, particularly church leaders. "Christians," as they referred to themselves, regarded the Bible as the sole authority. Two formidable "Christians" laid the groundwork for the Churches of Christ.⁷ Barton W. Stone and Alexander Campbell each held unique understandings of how the church should operate. Stone and Campbell held varying views on human nature, baptism, evangelism, the trinity, and the taking of

⁵ As denoted in the 1906 Federal Census Bureau Records.

⁶ Holloway and Foster, 23.

⁷ Placing Alexander Campbell and Barton Stone at the center of this movement does not lessen the contributions of Thomas Campbell, James O'Kelly, Abner Jones, Elias Smith, and others.

communion by unimmersed peoples.⁸ Since Stone and Campbell differed on many issues, it is remarkable that the supporters of these two men merged into one movement in 1832 and referred to themselves as the “Christian Churches.”⁹ The unity of all believers became the leading objective of the Stone-Campbell Movement. Unfortunately, regional differences and disagreements within this body would prevent such lofty intentions from reaching fulfillment. The Stone-Campbell Movement splintered into three distinct movements, one of which became the Churches of Christ.¹⁰

To understand these divisions, it is essential to examine Barton W. Stone's beliefs about the world around him. Stone generally held a pessimistic view of the world. He believed that one must live as if he were already in the kingdom of God. His allegiance was solely to God's rule; therefore, he rejected the rule of governments. His worldview was apocalyptic in nature. Apocalyptic views led members to separate themselves from secular values because those belonged to the kingdom of man and not to the kingdom of God. Stone viewed all government “devised by the wits of humankind, whether church or state, to be simply illegitimate.”¹¹ Hence, he wanted members to avoid political

⁸ Holloway and Foster, 58-60. An unimmersed person refers to the nature of a person's baptism. Unimmersed peoples are those who were baptized by the sprinkling of water on their heads, probably as a child, without be fully immersed in water.

⁹ Ibid., “The proper name for this united movement challenges historians . . . In order to avoid confusion with the current Christian Churches (Disciples of Christ) or with current Churches of Christ, we will use the term Stone-Campbell Movement for the united church from 1832 until 1906,” 66.

¹⁰ Tom Olbricht, “Who Are the Churches of Christ,” accessed 7 July 2002; available from <http://www.mun.ca/res/restmov/who.htm>. The three movements are Disciples of Christ, Churches of Christ, and the Independent Christian Churches.

¹¹ Hughes, *Reviving the Ancient Faith*, 110.

entanglements and remain uninvolved in efforts to change government policy.

“Stoneites,” as his followers were dubbed, placed themselves under the direct rule of God and refused to conform to the values of the world.

Stone’s theology was complicated and it served as a double edge sword. IN one context, “it prompted passivity on political issues since it advised people to withdraw from politics and work at ethical issues only in the context of the church,”¹² while at the same time it also promoted radical ethical activity on the part of those who held this vision. For example, Stone regarded the issue of slavery as a religious evil not a political issue. He believed that if you owned a slave then you were not truly a Christian. To own a slave signified that one accepted the values of the world and not the values of the kingdom of God. This progressive attempt at dealing with ethical issues in the church under the larger apocalyptic umbrella eroded during World War I and was completely forgotten by the 1960s.

By the early twentieth century many members in the Churches of Christ “abandoned the anti-modern, apocalyptic vision of Stone for the rational, progress-oriented outlook of Alexander Campbell.”¹³ Campbell, a prominent preacher and intellectual, took a separate stance on the race issue. His teachings were rooted in a desire to “unite and build up on the bible alone.”¹⁴ Campbell, unlike Stone, employed a combative style in the restoration movement. His critics argued that this combative style reflected a sectarian spirit; as Jeremiah Jeter, a Baptist preacher from Richmond,

¹² Hughes, email to author, 1 November 2003.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Hughes, *Reviving the Ancient Faith*, 23.

Virginia, suggested: "What is sectarian, but an undue confidence in the soundness of our views of the scripture, an excessive partiality for the party concurring with us in these views, and the lack of candor, tenderness, and forbearance towards those who dissent from them?"¹⁵ Sectarian as it may seem, of Campbell's combative style was still attractive to many. His movement grew in popularity because of his publications and participation in public debates.

Campbell placed great emphasis on the reading of the scripture. He viewed the Bible as a scientific manual. Those who also viewed the Bible in this manner viewed the Bible as a blueprint or manual, "offering rational guidelines for reconstructing the primitive church."¹⁶ Campbell, shaped by the Enlightenment, placed special emphasis on inductive reasoning. This reasoning insisted that Christians collect all the facts and form conclusions based solely on those facts. Campbell believed "the Bible is a book of facts, not of opinions, theories, abstract generalities, nor of verbal definitions . . . The meaning of the Bible facts is the true biblical doctrine."¹⁷ Within this framework, Campbell argued that Christians should be silent where the Bible is silent. Slavery was discussed throughout the Bible, but was never denounced as an evil or as a sin.¹⁸ Thus, Campbell did not view slavery as a sin because the Bible never deemed it so. Rather, he believed it

¹⁵ Ibid., 23.

¹⁶ Ibid., 366.

¹⁷ Alexander Campbell, *The Christian System*, 6, 103-04, quoted in Hughes, *Reviving the Ancient*, 279.

¹⁸ There are several references in the Bible regulating slavery: Leviticus 25:45-46, Genesis 9:25, Exodus 21:2,7, Joel 3:8, Luke 12:47,48, Colossians 3:22.

to be “a political evil, not a religious one.”¹⁹ Campbell stressed conversion over the social gospel. His “scientific” reading of the bible became the dominant method of interpretation employed by the Churches of Christ.

By 1878, preacher David Lipscomb successfully reconciled the perspectives of Stone and Campbell. Lipscomb agreed that racial injustice was wrong and he never tolerated it within the church because the church represented the kingdom of God. He railed against any thought of segregation within the Church and denounced members that supported such ideas. Politics, which lay outside the kingdom of God, was another matter. Political activity reflected the world’s values so Lipscomb, like Stone, contended that Christians should refrain from any connection to political matters. But like Campbell, Lipscomb believed the previous institution of slavery to be irrelevant to the gospel because it belonged in the realm of politics. Reconciling viewpoints of both Stone and Campbell, he argued, that members should avoid speaking on issues related to the political environment.

Understanding the attitudes of Stone, Campbell, and Lipscomb related to the social gospel helps to contextualize Church of Christ journal articles related to issues of racial equality and social justice in the 1960s. The articles demonstrate that most members within the Churches of Christ abandoned Stone’s apocalyptic approach to the kingdom of God for Campbell’s scientific method. It is not clear why one attitude was chosen over the other. Both Barton W. Stone and Alexander Campbell are highly regarded when assessing the Church of Christ heritage. The one factor that weighs particularly heavy when evaluating this transition is the larger American culture and its

¹⁹ Hughes, *Reviving the Ancient Faith*, 275.

influence on the church. Despite the desire to avoid worldly values, the restoration movement members found it difficult to remain aloof from their culture. Hence, members of the Churches of Christ adopted the prevailing Southern values with regard to race. As a result, the mostly Southern Churches of Christ shared values common to most white Southerners.

The Church's reticent approach to the social gospel became indistinguishable from the conservative stance of most whites in the South. The objective of many white Southerners was to maintain the status quo and remain in control of all political, economic, and social activities. Many Southern whites during the 1960s rejected the Civil Rights Movement because it attacked their way of life. Mass protest, Southern whites believed, widened the gap between whites and blacks in the South and negatively affected the entrenched paternalistic relationships. Christians within the Churches of Christ also articulated such notions. Church of Christ preacher James Fowler argued, "It is my sincere opinion that the demonstrations in Birmingham have set back race relations many years, and [have] lessened our communication with our own colored brethren."²⁰ The lack of communication should not be attributed to the Civil Rights Movement, but instead to the differences between black and white Churches of Christ.

Black Churches of Christ, like their white counterparts, also grew out of the dominant Southern culture that set a racial demarcation line between Christian brothers. In this context African Americans within the Churches of Christ began their own colleges, newspapers, and lectureships. Black Churches of Christ remained conservative

²⁰ James Fowler, "From the Midst of Crisis," *Firm Foundation* 81 (31 March 1964): 199, 205.

theologically, accepting the Campbellian rationalism in reading the Bible. In contrast to whites, though, blacks within the Churches of Christ never viewed racism as secondary or compatible with the Christian message. Rather, "they understand [the Bible] to speak directly to the issues of slavery, racism, oppression and economic deprivation."²¹

Black Churches of Christ, with regard to issues of race, focused much of their attentions on desegregating Church of Christ colleges. Black members, as did Barton Stone and David Lipscomb, believed segregation of Christians was inconsistent with the Christian faith. Black preacher Richard Nathaniel (R. N.) Hogan was especially instrumental in calling attention to the apparent quandary. Blacks held anti-segregation campaigns against David Lipscomb College, Abilene Christian College, and Harding College since they remained stalwarts of institutional segregation. In the 1960s, Hogan's critical language became a powerful attack on the perceived hypocrisy. Notably, GPC escaped attack since it was the only Church of Christ College to extend admission to blacks.

Other notable black leaders in the 1950s and 1960s were Marshall Keeble and George Phillip (G. P.) Bowser. Each represented factions within the black Churches of Christ. To provide an analogy between these two men, one could liken Keeble to Booker T. Washington while Bowser represented W. E. B. Dubois. Keeble arguably was the most popular black preacher within the Churches of Christ. Keeble enjoyed remarkable acceptance and financial support from all Christians in Churches of Christ. His humble spirit and focus on conversion were consistent with traditional approaches to the gospel

²¹ Hughes, *Reviving the Ancient Faith*, 287.

similar to most white Churches of Christ. Bowser, in contrast, gathered a following primarily from the black Churches of Christ. His fiery commentary and concentration on the social gospel prevented his wide acceptance in the larger church community. Both preachers traveled extensively in the church community to share their interpretations. Their two perspectives co-existed as the church struggled to find cohesiveness across racial lines. Their perspectives, especially Bowser's, are valuable since they demonstrated that some members of the Churches of Christ viewed racial equality as a spiritual concern.

Despite the differences between white and black Churches of Christ, membership in their respective congregations grew tremendously in the fifties and sixties and with this growth came tremendous change. Historian David Harrell argues that in this period the Churches of Christ changed their "social profile."²² No longer was this movement largely associated with poor people in the South; rather, the Churches of Christ assumed the "status of a modern middle-class establishment."²³ This "new status" or modernization is best illustrated by the decision of members to build new houses of worship. In 1950, prior to his tenure at GPC, M. Norvel Young led an effort on behalf of the Broadway Church of Christ in Lubbock, Texas to build a house of worship capable of seating 2,100 worshippers. He urged other congregations, "to construct facilities that would be not only serviceable but also substantial, attractive, and prominently located."²⁴ Given the larger modernization context, the move of GPC from a predominantly black

²² Harrell, 151-160.

²³ Hughes, *Reviving the Ancient Faith*, 218.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 247.

neighborhood to a secluded, affluent area also represents the Church of Christ's economic transition and change in social profile. Historian Richard Hughes articulates, "the new beautiful Malibu campus, which would become famous as one of the most beautiful university campuses in the world, simply symbolized the extent to which many in Churches of Christ now felt at home in the world their forebears had rejected."²⁵

In addition to Young's modernization efforts, his attempt at reuniting GPC with the Church of Christ brotherhood consequently realigned GPC's administrators with a traditionalist approach to the social gospel and race relations. Any progressive attempt at addressing race relations at GPC was lost when Young's priorities shifted towards reconciliation with the Churches of Christ. Young and other administrators in the Los Angeles urban setting walked a fine line between the concerns of the local black community and those of the Church of Christ brotherhood. All public statements related to race relations were tactfully crafted in order to satisfy all parties concerned. More importantly, the decision to open a new campus in a "prominent" community also reflected the Church of Christ's shift in social profile. Young, as illustrated by his beliefs on new houses of worship, understood the importance of outward appearance. When the Watts Riots of 1965 changed people's perceptions of Los Angeles as a violent, crime ridden, and undesirable inner city, the Los Angeles campus of GPC, within five miles of Watts, did not constitute the substantial, attractive, or prominent location desired by Young. As a result, Young commissioned William Banowsky to secure funds for a new location.

²⁵ Ibid., 252.

CHAPTER THREE

Broadening the Scope: The Watts Riots

They started taking gas out of the pump, putting em' in Coca-cola bottles, and beer bottles, and anything they could, big jugs, and scratching a match, and puttin' it to it, and throwin' it to a car, and blowing it up, taking alcohol and making cocktail bombs out of em', whatever you want to call 'em, and catch a car on fire in a matter of seconds, and peoples just lost their whole car, and some people even lost their lives in the car because they couldn't get out...¹ [sic]

The Watts Riots of 1965 were cataclysmic events that transformed the face of Los Angeles, California. This uprising, fueled by decades of racial injustice, unemployment, poor housing conditions, and police brutality, forced the nation to confront the enduring prevalence of discrimination. In order to better understand the Watts Riots and their effect on George Pepperdine College, it is necessary to examine the racial climate of the nation as a whole. Ultimately, the drive for racial equality, in the form of an organized Civil Rights Movement, created an atmosphere that set the stage for the Watts Riots. In addition to the larger Civil Rights narrative, a more detailed representation of the events surrounding the riots illuminates the day-to-day information that the GPC community received via the media, providing the historical context that enveloped GPC students, faculty, and staff.

One hundred years after the Civil War, African Americans continued to live as second-class citizens. The Civil Rights Era was a period when African Americans worked to secure equal rights and equal protection under the law. In 1954, the United States Supreme Court ruled in the landmark case of *Brown v. Board of Education*

¹ Paul Bullock, *Watts: The Aftermath* (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1969), 41.

(Topeka, Kansas) that the "separate but equal" clause, which was applied following the Plessy v. Ferguson decision, was unconstitutional.² This Supreme Court rendering brought the nation to the brink of racial turmoil. Nineteen Senators and seventy-seven House Members, representing eleven southern states, signed "The Southern Manifesto," a document rejecting the Brown versus Board of Education decision. It stated, "We regard the decision of the Supreme Court in the school cases as a clear abuse of judicial power. It climaxes a trend in the Federal judiciary undertaking to legislate, in derogation of the authority of Congress, and to encroach upon the reserved rights of the States and the people."³ In addition, anti-Civil Rights agitators like Governor George Wallace of Alabama, members of the Ku Klux Klan, and White Citizens Councils sought to undermine the court's authority by any means necessary.

Despite opposition, the search for social justice continued. Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s effort in the 1955 Montgomery Bus Boycott propelled him to national prominence. Later, King participated in the famed "March on Washington," where 300,000 demonstrators heard his renowned "I Have a Dream" speech. Growing opposition to segregation and disenfranchisement resulted in passage of legislation, such as the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights act of 1965. These laws sought to secure voting rights for blacks and end public discrimination and segregation. Section 202 of the Civil Rights Act states, "all persons shall be entitled to be free, at any establishment or place, from discrimination or segregation of any kind on the ground of

² In 1857, the Supreme Court rendered a verdict in the *Dred Scott v. Sanford* case. This case brought about legalized segregation, which was effectively repealed by the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision.

³ *Congressional Record*, 84th Cong., 2d sess., 1956, 102, pt. 4: 4459-4460.

race, color, religion, or national origin.”⁴ The Voting Rights Act of 1965 also created significant change in the voting status of African Americans in the South. It helped to diminish the “entangling web of legislation that bound blacks to second class citizenship.”⁵ The nation seemed to be moving towards racial equality.⁶

It is important to note that the Civil Rights Movement was a movement geared toward ending racial segregation and establishing voting rights for blacks in the South. Despite these efforts, outside of the South the climate of the nation, especially in urban areas, grew increasingly tense. Beyond the Supreme Court victories, blacks in cities outside of the South dealt with discrimination and issues unique to the urban environment. Race riots occurred in cities in the North and West and served as a reminder that the quest for social justice was far from over.⁷

During the 1940s, California received a significant number of migrants seeking job opportunities. Mexican migrant labor, resettlement of the Japanese internees, Okies, and African Americans filtered into communities such as San Francisco, Richmond, San

⁴ Civil Rights Act of 1964, Public Law 88-352, 88th Cong., 2d sess. (2 July 1964); accessed 10 July 2002; available from <http://usinfo.state.gov/usa/infousa/laws/majorlaw/civilr19.htm>

⁵ *African American Odyssey: The Civil Rights Era (Part One)*, accessed 12 July 2002; available from <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/ammem/aahtml/exhibit/aopart9.html>

⁶ Stewart Burns, *Social Movements of the 1960s: Searching for Democracy* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1990), 1-34.

⁷ Kevern Verney, *Black Civil Rights in America* (London and New York: Rutledge, 2000), 63.

Diego, and Los Angeles.⁸ Faced with assimilating thousands of migrants, state officials worked diligently to provide housing, jobs, and educational opportunities. In Los Angeles, state representatives worked to incorporate a burgeoning African American population that grew from “65,774 to 118,888 an increase of 86 percent.”⁹ Racial tensions occurred since new migrants settled in areas that bordered white communities. Whites, fearing integration, favored *de facto* segregation. Racially restrictive covenants prevented the sale of homes to persons of color in white neighborhoods. These measures, set up to protect white communities from black infiltration, were no match for the increasing population of color. In reaction, whites sold their homes and businesses and moved to suburban areas.¹⁰

The “White Flight” phenomenon caused an economic vacuum. The lack of businesses and home ownership diminished the city’s tax base. As a result, African Americans were subjected to poor housing, overcrowded elementary and secondary school systems, few prospects for jobs, and police violence. The population explosion produced housing shortages and weighed heavily on the school systems. The passage of

⁸ On the migration of blacks to the bay area see Albert Broussard, “In Search of a Promised Land: African American Migration to San Francisco, 1900-1945,” 181-209; and Gretchen Lemke-Santangelo, “Deindustrialization, Urban Poverty and African American Community Mobilization in Oakland, 1945 through the 1990s,” 343-376; both in *Seeking El Dorado: African Americans in California*, eds. Lawrence DeGraff, Kevin Mulroy, and Quintard Taylor (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001).

⁹ David Grant, Melvin Oliver, and Angela James, “African Americans: Social and Economic Bifurcation,” in *Ethnic Los Angeles*, eds. Roger Waldinger and Medhi Bosorgmehr (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1996), 381.

¹⁰ Quintard Taylor, *In Search of the Racial Frontier: African Americans in the American West, 1528-1990* (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1998), 269-70.

Proposition 14 in 1965, which moved to block the fair housing components of the Civil Rights Act, accentuated racial tensions.¹¹ The unemployment rate among blacks soared because the business community, along with white citizens, fled the cities. Alleged police brutality exacerbated anger, frustration, and a sense of helplessness.

A routine traffic stop spiraled out of control on Wednesday, August 11, 1965, and served as the spark that ignited the racial time bomb in Watts, California. An African American male named Marquette Frye was pulled over by a white patrolman named Lee W. Minikus at 116th and Avalon. A local citizen alerted Minikus to Frye's reckless driving. Minikus asked Frye, who was twenty-one years of age, and his brother Ronald to exit the vehicle. Minikus gave Frye, the driver, a standard sobriety test. The results confirmed the officer's suspicion that Frye was inebriated.

Officer Minikus called the station and asked that a tow truck be sent to the arrest site. At this juncture twenty-five curious persons were watching the police activity. As the arrest continued, the crowd grew to approximately three hundred persons. Frye resisted the arrest and started yelling at the officer, refusing to be taken to jail. The crowd became hostile as Ronald Frye struggled with the officers. Mrs. Frye came to the scene and seeing her sons being detained, shockingly jumped on the back of one of the officers and ripped his shirt. During the commotion, an officer swung his baton and hit Marquette on the forehead, leaving a bleeding cut. At this point the crowd grew to

¹¹ B. Gordon Wheeler, *Black California: The History of African Americans in the Golden State* (New York: Hippocrene Books, 1993), 248.

approximately one thousand spectators. Wanting to end the confrontation, the police officers arrested all three members of the Frye family.¹²

The scene rapidly became one of chaos, violence, and destruction. Seeking to control the growing crowd, officers arrested two youths on charges of inciting a public disturbance. As the situation became volatile, the officers were instructed to withdraw from the area. An eyewitness described the scene after the arrests; "I saw a lot of police. I saw cars turned over in the streets, and bricks, bottles, and a whole lot of glass lying around."¹³ This account demonstrates the chaotic atmosphere created by the incident.

News of the arrests spread rapidly. The boisterous crowd refused to disperse after the officers left the scene. Instead, they moved up and down the streets in the general vicinity of the arrest site. By 8:15 that evening, the mob started to stone automobiles in the area. Groups of African Americans pulled whites out of passing cars and beat them. According to one participant, "this incident happened where this lady was coming through the project. She was a Caucasian lady . . . she had a purse sitting beside her as she was coming through, and she had to stop for a red light. I opened the door, and I said, "Give me that purse," you know, like that, and it frightened her. She panicked, and I grabbed the purse and I slammed the door and started running."¹⁴ Groups vandalized buildings and other public places. The rioting continued past midnight.

¹² Nathan Cohen, ed., *Los Angeles Riot Study: Summary and Implications for Policy* (Los Angeles: Institute of Government and Public Affairs, UCLA, 1967); and Gregory Alan Williams, *A Gathering of Heroes: Reflections in Rage and Responsibility; A Memoir of the Los Angeles Riots* (Chicago: Chicago Academy Publishers, 1994); *Los Angeles Times*, 12-19 August 1965, *Los Angeles Sentinel*, 12, 18 August 1965.

¹³ Bullock, 38.

The next day, Thursday, the Los Angeles Human Relations Commission called a meeting. The commission's goal was to calm the tensions of the previous night. This meeting took place in Athens Park, near the original arrest site, at 2:00 P.M. African American leaders, city politicians, members from the Los Angeles Police Department, Sheriffs Deputies, the District Attorney, and members of the press assembled to discuss the situation. City officials asked black leaders to encourage members of their communities to remain in their homes. Mrs. Frye, after being released from jail, pleaded for this same sentiment. During the meeting a black youth grabbed a microphone and told all in attendance that looting and rioting should move to predominately white areas near Watts.

The focus of the meeting transitioned from one directed towards calming the previous night's tensions to one in which African Americans threatened further violence and retaliation. Black leaders proposed that white officers withdraw from the area and be replaced by black officers dressed in civilian clothing. The Los Angeles County Police Department rejected this idea because it went against standard policy. Fires, rock throwing, and looting were underway, and rioting was beginning to extend beyond the police established perimeter. After the meeting, Chief of Police William Parker alerted Lt. General Roderic Hill that the National Guard might be needed. By 7:30 P.M., the Chief established an Emergency Control Center as the command post.¹⁵

¹⁴ Ibid., 40.

¹⁵ Robert Fogelson, comp., *Mass Violence in America: The Los Angeles Riots* (New York: Arno Press & The New York Times, 1969), 12-13.

Unfortunately, Friday morning continued like the nights before as crowds formed at 8:00 A.M. Looting resumed, always in close proximity to the Frye arrest site. One participant said of the looting:

I will be truthful with you. About two or three days after the thing happened, everybody was getting what they could get; I figured, well, I might as well get what I could get. So people started talking about they coming down 103rd; they was burning up 103rd . . . They said they was running into the pawn shop, getting guns, rifles, and machetes, all this other thing; . . . we saw these people running with suits in their hands; I never owned a suit in my life, and this just excited me. And when I got there, everybody was running with stuff, tape recorders, and record players; people were—even little kids pushing washing machines down the streets.¹⁶[sic]

By 9:15 A.M., Mayor Sam Yorty and Chief Parker decided to call in the National Guard. They requested one thousand troops since the rioting continued to escalate and firefighters and ambulance drivers refused to go into the area. Lt. Governor Anderson placed the request for troops on hold. It was not until 3:00 P.M., nearly five hours after the initial request that Anderson capitulated. By this point, riot activity spread fifty to sixty blocks north of Watts.

Friday night was the worst night in the riots. One report by a bystander that evening offered this description,

People was turning over cars . . . They ran over to the gas station, on Imperial; they took over the man's gas station, United. They started taking gas out of the pump, putting em' in Coca-cola bottles, and beer bottles, and anything they could, big jugs, and scratching a match, and puttin' it to it, and throwin' it to a car, and blowing it up, taking alcohol and making cocktail bombs out of em', whatever you want to call 'em, and catch a car on fire in a matter of seconds, and peoples just lost their

¹⁶ Bullock, 41.

whole car, and some people even lost their lives in the car because they couldn't get out¹⁷[sic]

By 1:00 A.M. over one hundred fires were burning. Firefighters had a difficult time controlling the fires because they had to deal with snipers. To combat snipers, police officers patrolled the riot areas on foot. This new tactic secured the area and firefighters were able to control the fires. One thousand National Guard members also swept the streets by marching shoulder to shoulder. By Saturday morning, there were 3,356 National Guard on the streets but by midnight, this number dramatically increased to 13,900. Along side the National Guard stood 934 police and 719 sheriff deputies. This show of force allowed the National Guard, police, and sheriff deputies to gain control of the situation. A curfew was instituted that made it a crime to be out on the streets later than 8:00 P.M. Only one major incident occurred on Saturday evening when rioters burned a block of stores between 46th and 48th streets. The worst of the rioting was finally over.¹⁸

The riots caused significant damage to the community of Watts. Thirty-four persons lost their lives and thousands received injuries. One fireman, a deputy Sheriff, and a Long Beach Police officer lost their lives. Of the reported injuries, 90 were Los Angeles Police Officers, 136 were fire fighters, 10 were National Guardsmen, and 731 were civilians. The police arrested approximately 3,500 adults and 500 juveniles during the six days of rioting. The majority in both groups had never been arrested before or if

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Lynn Bowman, *Los Angeles: Epic of a City* (Berkeley: Howell-North Books, 1974), 346-47.

so, had only minor offenses against them. An estimated forty million dollars in property damage was reported. There was reported damage to over six hundred buildings of which two hundred burned down.¹⁹

Shock and disbelief filtered through the nation. The idea that violence and race discrimination only occurred in the American South was quickly dispelled. Racial violence outside of the South made Americans anxious about the overall implication that no major urban city was safe from the threat of race riots. President Lyndon Johnson, wanting to lessen tensions, released a statement regarding the riots. Although he believed that the conditions in Los Angeles needed to be changed he insisted, “we shall never achieve a free and prosperous and hopeful society until we have suppressed the fires of hate and we have turned aside from violence—whether that violence comes from the nightriders of the Klan, or the snipers and the looters in the Watts district. Neither old wrongs or new fears can ever justify arson or murder”²⁰ Many other Americans white and black shared these sentiments. Middle class blacks lamented the senselessness of the destructive activity. Some whites feared that civil rights legislation was moving too quickly. This fear trickled into the hearts and minds of students, faculty, and staff of George Pepperdine College. Anxiety about the growing racial tensions and the rapidly growing urban environment created an uncertainty about the future.

The George Pepperdine College campus, within five miles of Watts, escaped the direct wrath of rioters. Though not physically touched by the riots, the unpredictable

¹⁹ Fogelson, 23.

²⁰ *History Central*, “President Johnson’s Statement on the Watts Riots-1965,” accessed 7 June 2002; available from <http://www.multied.com/documents/LBJwatts.html>

urban setting frightened students, faculty, and staff who were previously at ease in this environment. Helen Young, wife of GPC's third president Dr. Norvel Young, recalled the events surrounding the riots. Dr. Young was in New York on a business trip when the riots broke out. Mrs. Young admitted that she naively told her husband to stay where he was and finish his business rather than come back to campus. Within hours, she and other Pepperdine personnel feared the possibility that rioters could shift towards the GPC campus. Mrs. Young and her children left the campus to stay with close friend Bill Stivers. Subsequently, Bill Teague closed the campus, not allowing faculty or students on campus.²¹ Fortunately, most students had not yet arrived since the Watts Riots occurred a few weeks before the start of the new term.

James C. (Chip) Moore, a student at the time, remembered the events vividly. He worked at a Volkswagen dealership near campus when the riots began. The morning after the first night of rioting, Moore went to work as scheduled. He recalled that the garage door of the dealership swung open and National Guardsmen, with weapons, entered. They ordered the establishment to close immediately. Moore, having no other alternative, got into his car and drove to his parents' home. He recalled not being able to return to the GPC campus until the weekend. Upon his return, he noticed the effects of the rioting along Vermont Avenue. All of the windows in the buildings along Vermont Avenue leading to campus were broken.²²

²¹ Helen Young, interview by author, Malibu, Calif., 18 January 2002.

²² James C. Moore, interview by author, tape recording, Malibu, Calif., 4 June 2002.

Dr. Steven Lemley, Associate Professor of Communication at Pepperdine University in Malibu (2000-present), recalled hearing of the riots just prior to his first year at GPC. He decided to attend GPC because his future wife, Emily Young, transferred there from Lubbock Christian College. Emily was the daughter of George Pepperdine College president Dr. M. Norvel Young. Lemley, then twenty years old, was forced to make some immediate life choices. Should he enroll at GPC under such ominous conditions? Lemley's parents shared this concern. His father called Helen Young to check on the status of the school. She assured Mr. Lemley that the school was safe and that Steven should continue with his plans to enroll at GPC. Reflecting on his difficulty making the decision, Lemley stated, "the riots were very frightening."²³ In spite of his concerns, Lemley made his preparations and drove to Los Angeles, California, by himself within days of the riot's end. His fears heightened, he recalled, when he exited the Harbor Freeway and he witnessed the presence of National Guardsmen on every corner leading to the campus. Smoke and police sirens lingered in the air.

Cookye Rutledge, who also enrolled at George Pepperdine College in the fall of 1965, experienced a similar situation. Rutledge grew up in the area and was very familiar with Pepperdine because her uncle was an alumnus. She remembered attending sporting events on campus as a child. Shortly after the riots, Rutledge's family received a letter from GPC assuring the safety of the students on the Vermont campus. It indicated that

²³ Steve Lemley, interview by author, tape recording, Malibu, Calif., 10 January 2002.

campus security would be increased and all necessary measures would be taken to create a safe environment.²⁴

As uncertainty and fear filtered through the Los Angeles community, George Pepperdine College administrators decided to take action. To calm growing fears, two measures were immediately implemented. The first was a visible act—the construction of a fence around the perimeter of the campus. The administrators hoped the fence would lessen the fears of students and combat the growing crime rate on campus. The second decision, not made public, was the selection of a committee assigned to search for a new location.²⁵

Dr. Lawrence Hornbaker, Executive Vice Chancellor on the Malibu campus (1990-2002), recalled that administrators of GPC considered two options. They could work to purchase property around the campus to serve as a buffer zone between the urban environment and GPC. The second option was to search for a new location and promote a multi-campus concept. The senior administrators considered the two options shortly after the riots. An advisory panel of approximately fifty local businessmen convened to discuss the options given by the senior administration.²⁶ This group served solely as an advisory panel, hence, their decision was legally non-binding. The panel deliberated and cited economic reasons for their decision to search for another location since purchasing

²⁴ Cookye Williams-Rutledge, telephone conversation with author, 8 March 2002.

²⁵ Lawrence Hornbaker, interview by author, tape recording, Malibu, Calif., 11 January 2002.

²⁶ The identities of this advisory committee are unknown. Both Helen Young and Lawrence Hornbaker corroborated its existence. Dr. Hornbaker referred to this group as “the movers and shakers of Los Angeles.” Despite much effort, I could not find reference to this committee in the university archive.

existing property around the campus was deemed as costly as investing in another site. In addition to economic factors, the advisory panel believed declining enrollment numbers were attributable to campus location because parents would not send their offspring to an inner city institution. The panel's findings went before the Board of Trustees.²⁷ Eleven men and one woman, all members of the Church of Christ, determined which course of action to pursue. Their decision to search for a new location set George Pepperdine College on a new path.

The Watts Riots, coupled with changing urban demographics surrounding GPC changed the destiny of GPC in Los Angeles, California. Struggling to attract students, GPC's economic viability was at stake. In order to survive, Dr. William Banowsky, future president of GPC, admitted the institution participated in "White Flight" just like many business and white citizens also faced with the city's changing demographics. GPC's location became a problem for two reasons. First, the college's administrators, Board of Trustees, and advisory committee, believed it would be difficult, if not next to impossible to attract students from a largely conservative, southern, Church of Christ tradition which became a priority for President Young in his quest to reconcile GPC with the brotherhood. Secondly, the perception of Los Angeles after the Watts Riots as a criminal, ghettoized, poor, and predominantly black community, could not coexist with the shifting social profile of Churches of Christ. The emphasis placed on modernization required that that institutions affiliated with the Churches of Christ be aware of its public

²⁷ *George Pepperdine College Bulletin* XXVII (July 1965-66): 174. Board members included Donald V. Miller, H. E. Aclin, W. Austin Ellmore, Robert P. Jones, Lester Lawhorn, James Lovell, Orbin V. Melton, Helen Pepperdine, Jack Perry, Clarence P. Shattuck, Earl Warford, and Nile E. Yearwood.

persona and if at all possible assume a more affluent identity. This new middle class mindset is illustrated by the emphasis on new houses of worship described in the previous chapter. In spite of the changing social profile of the Churches of Christ, the decision to move the undergraduate campus to a new location could not be implemented overnight. It took several years to assess locations, raise funds, and plan for the actual move before the “Miracle in Malibu” was realized. With the opening of the new campus, GPC’s physical presence in Los Angeles ended. Many faculty, students, and local citizens questioned the college’s commitment to its Christian mission and insisted on its obligation to the community that had supported it in the early years. William Banowsky, future president of Pepperdine University, reflected, “The deepest question of all concerns Pepperdine’s profession of Christian mission while abandoning a location which provided a clear-cut mission. However, we decided that we were in the business of Christian higher education not in the business of Christian missionary work.”²⁸

²⁸ William Banowsky, email to author, 6 January 2002.

CHAPTER FOUR

Tragedy Strikes George Pepperdine College

Perhaps the struggle on our campus was to call forth the ones who were serious about serving the Master. Following Jesus is not some nice little social event; it is a journey filled with struggle.¹

The turmoil and fear produced by the Watts Riots was soon replaced by a compelling desire to get back to “business as usual.” George Pepperdine College faculty, students, and staff returned to the daily activities of college life, though anxiety never lay far from the surface. On March 12, 1969 an unfortunate tragedy struck the GPC campus. A campus security guard shot and killed a young African American boy. In order to comprehend adequately the complexity of the Larry Kimmons shooting and the subsequent reaction by black students, it is first necessary to assess the division in the student body based on race. Exploring the division in the student body is essential because the later perspectives on the shooting varied according to the race of the individual. The Kimmons shooting created a volatile environment on the George Pepperdine campus. Protests, bomb threats, and student unrest confirmed that the decision to secure another undergraduate campus, made after the Watts Riots, was indeed the right choice.

After the riots, student life on the GPC campus settled into a predictable pattern. Black student Cookye Williams started her freshman year in the fall of 1965. At the age of seventeen, she was excited about the opportunity to live on campus. Her uncle was a

¹ Catherine Meeks, *I Want Somebody to Know My Name* (New York: Thomas Nelson Inc., 1978), 80.

Pepperdine alumnus, and the college was very much part of her early childhood. She recalled starting the semester with unfettered optimism. She also had a spiritual side, and boasted that when she started GPC she wanted to “major in love, with a minor in peace.”² Coming to Pepperdine, she had assumed she was becoming part of a larger family. This assessment changed almost immediately during her first semester.

Among Church of Christ schools, George Pepperdine College had a unique way of dealing with race on campus. As noted in Chapter One, prior to 1941, African American students were not allowed to live in the dorms on campus. Even after blacks were allowed to live in the dorms, some African Americans experienced *discrimination*. Williams believed that African American students were somewhat on the periphery of the student body. While they were allowed to attend GPC, and later allowed to live in the dorms, they were not fully integrated or accepted into the institution’s social setting. One such example offered by Williams involved her desire to join a sorority on campus. Williams queried a few sororities and felt they were interested in her placing membership. Lucille Todd, Dean of Women, called Williams into her office during the rush period. She expressed her sadness about the fact that some girls did not want to accept Williams into the sorority she had decided to place membership in because she was black. Williams was very hurt and became justifiably angry at the situation she found herself trapped in. During the meeting, Todd requested that they pray. Williams recalled thinking, “Why is she praying?”³ Why didn’t the administration take action on

² Williams-Rutledge, interview.

³ Ibid.

her behalf? Williams wondered why the administration of the Christian institution with Christian values did not do something to combat this blatant racism.

Williams suggested that there were two societies that existed on the GPC campus; one black society and one white society. She believed black students were forced to work within a dual context. This concept is reminiscent of W. E. B. Dubois' "double-consciousness" rhetoric where he argued,

It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness,—an American, a Negro; two warring souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.⁴

Williams insisted there was no interest on behalf of white students to understand a black student's perspective, so naturally the two races operated in two separate worlds.

Offering an example of this separateness, Williams relived an anecdotal moment from her life in the dorms. Female students living in the dorms had a mandatory curfew. There were very few exceptions to this rule. She remembered another black student telling her that the curfew was no problem for black students. If you needed to stay out past the curfew, the student suggested, simply tell the residential advisor that you were attending an NAACP meeting and you would not be questioned further. When Williams tried this, the white residential advisor was unwilling to probe further about Williams' actual whereabouts. Perhaps the advisor feared there would be backlash against her further questioning, or she did not want to appear ignorant about the NAACP, or perhaps she just did not care. Whatever the reason, Williams remembered this tactic worked like

⁴ W. E. B. DuBois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1903), 3.

a charm. The disconnect between whites and blacks in the GPC student body correlates with the division between black and white Churches of Christ discussed in Chapter Two.⁵

Black student Catherine Meeks agreed with the idea that the student body was divided but with a twist. Meeks, even though a member of the Black Student Association, felt she was more connected to the religious student community at GPC than with the rest of the student body, black or white. Even among the religious students, Meeks recognized that, "there was so much unconsciousness in the [white] folks who were trying to use religion to cover up much of their racism that was a part of the Pepperdine community at the time. I was on the margin and felt on the margin even though many folks in the religious community wanted to see me in a different light. This grew out of the perceptions that they had of my being a reconciler instead of a radical. I tried to be a bridge during some of the worst times."⁶

Similarly, white student James C. Moore noticed a split in the student body around 1968. Moore was traveling abroad with the Peace Corps and recalled returning to the United States in 1969 after the Kimmons shooting and having some of his black friends no longer associate with him. He remembered that coming back to the Vermont campus during the height of Black Nationalism was extremely difficult. Dan Hoard, a fellow white student, offered the most telling reason for the split, or at least why white students seemed to be uninterested in racial issues. He remembered the 1960s as complicated and dynamic times. Not only were issues of racial discrimination

⁵ The lack of communication should not be attributed to the Civil Rights Movement, but instead to the differences between black and white Churches of Christ demonstrated in Chapter Two.

⁶ Catherine Meeks, email to author, 27 February 2003.

highlighted in the media, but also other social movements gained momentum. The feminist movement, Black Nationalism, and the protest against the Vietnam War were issues commonly debated. Hoard argued that every student had concerns during this period. He recalled the draft for the Vietnam War being more relevant to white males at GPC than racial issues. He believed that white students were not apathetic to racial issues but rather desensitized as the chaotic and politically charged environment "dulled the senses"⁷ of white GPC students.

One event that illustrates the divide in the student body is the decision of the Student Board to pass a constitutional amendment stating, "African American students will be given one voting member on the student board. The African American representative shall be chosen by the Afro-American students of Pepperdine College at a special election to be called by the Student Board and serve a term of office for one trimester."⁸ Since regular membership to the student board was usually elected by an all-campus election, the amendment demonstrated that white student leaders at GPC believed that black students at GPC constituted a group distinct from other students on campus.

It is important to note that while a split in the student body appeared evident, not all white students were aware of it and not all black students experienced discrimination and/or participated in black student protests. White student Kenneth Waters recalled no definitive white-black split. Rather, he believed there was a greater split between the

⁷ Dan Hoard, interview by author, tape recording, Malibu, Calif., 8 July 2002.

⁸ Unknown, "Blacks, Internationals Given Own ASB Reps," *Graphic*, 15 May 1969, quoted in "Pepperdine Project, Preliminary Report No. 1," (January 20, 1973), 40, University Archives, *Jerry Hudson Papers*, Payson Library, Pepperdine University, Malibu, Calif. (hereafter cited as *Jerry Hudson Papers*).

student body as a whole and the administration. It is worth noting that though Waters recalled no split within the student body, he also took no action to be involved in any activity that many African American students were concerned about. As demonstrated later in this chapter, many African American students protested after the Kimmons shooting without the support of the white student population. Likewise, not all black students felt discriminated against or participated in the later black student protests. Black student Carol Tucker commented, "My attendance at Pepperdine was a result of it being close to my home. I attended classes and went home. I did not establish any relationships nor did I participate in any activities. I just wanted to complete college work."⁹ These perspectives are important because they complicate the traditional black-white dyad seeking to pit all black students against all white students.

Many African American students became increasingly persistent in advocating for diverse academic and co-curricular activities. In early March of 1969, plans for the first annual "Black Awareness Week" began. Guest speakers were invited to participate in various panel discussions. The *Graphic* reported that Black Awareness Week was opened on Monday with a speech by author-playwright Frank Greenwood.¹⁰ The goal of this event was to promote awareness of various social issues relevant to minority groups. Unfortunately, the tragic shooting of Larry Donnell Kimmons overshadowed the rest of the week's events.

⁹ Carol Tucker, letter to author, 5 December 2002.

¹⁰ Unknown, "Black Awareness Week," *Graphic*, 6 March 1969, quoted in "Pepperdine Project, Preliminary Report No. 1," (January 20, 1973), 17, *Jerry Hudson Papers*. The University Archive is missing the *Graphic* newspaper from years 1968 to 1971.

On the evening of Wednesday, March 12, 1969, a group of neighborhood kids were on the George Pepperdine campus. Professor John McClung indicated that having neighborhood kids on campus was a common occurrence. The boys wanted to play basketball in the gym, but finding the gym locked, the boys proceeded to leave the campus. It is at this point where discrepancies occur in the storyline. When the boys came to a gate to leave the campus, they found it locked. Security guard, William Charles (Charley) Lane, confronted the boys and instructed them to leave.¹¹ His version of the story, reconstructed from the *Los Angeles Sentinel's* coverage of the criminal trial, was that Kimmons refused to comply with his instructions.¹² After exiting his vehicle, Lane placed his shotgun on the hood of his car. When Kimmons refused to follow instructions, Lane went to get his weapon. Lane indicated that Kimmons tried to get the weapon from Lane. A struggle ensued and the gun inadvertently discharged leaving Kimmons lying on the ground in a pool of blood. An inquest and criminal trial concerning the Kimmons shooting took place during the following months. At the

¹¹ I contacted the Los Angeles Superior Court on 11 October 2002. Criminal court transcripts are catalogued by the date of birth of the defendant. William Charles Lane's date of birth was 2 September 1908. However, the Lane transcripts were missing.

¹² An exploration into newspapers articles of the 1960s like the *Los Angeles Times* and the *Los Angeles Sentinel* provides a window into the past. These two newspapers present an interesting dichotomy. The *Los Angeles Times* was a white owned and operated publication and the *Los Angeles Sentinel* was black owned and operated. This difference determined the types of stories each paper ran based on readership. Topics concerning the black community, such as the shooting of an African American boy by a white security guard, received considerable attention in the *Los Angeles Sentinel* while barely mentioned in the *Los Angeles Times*. In cases where articles appear in both newspapers, the portrayal of events illustrates differing perspectives.

COUNTY OF LOS ANGELES
OFFICE OF CHIEF MEDICAL EXAMINER-CORONER
BODY FULL LENGTH ANTERIOR

NAME

Larry Kimmons

Date 3/13/69

File # 69-3014

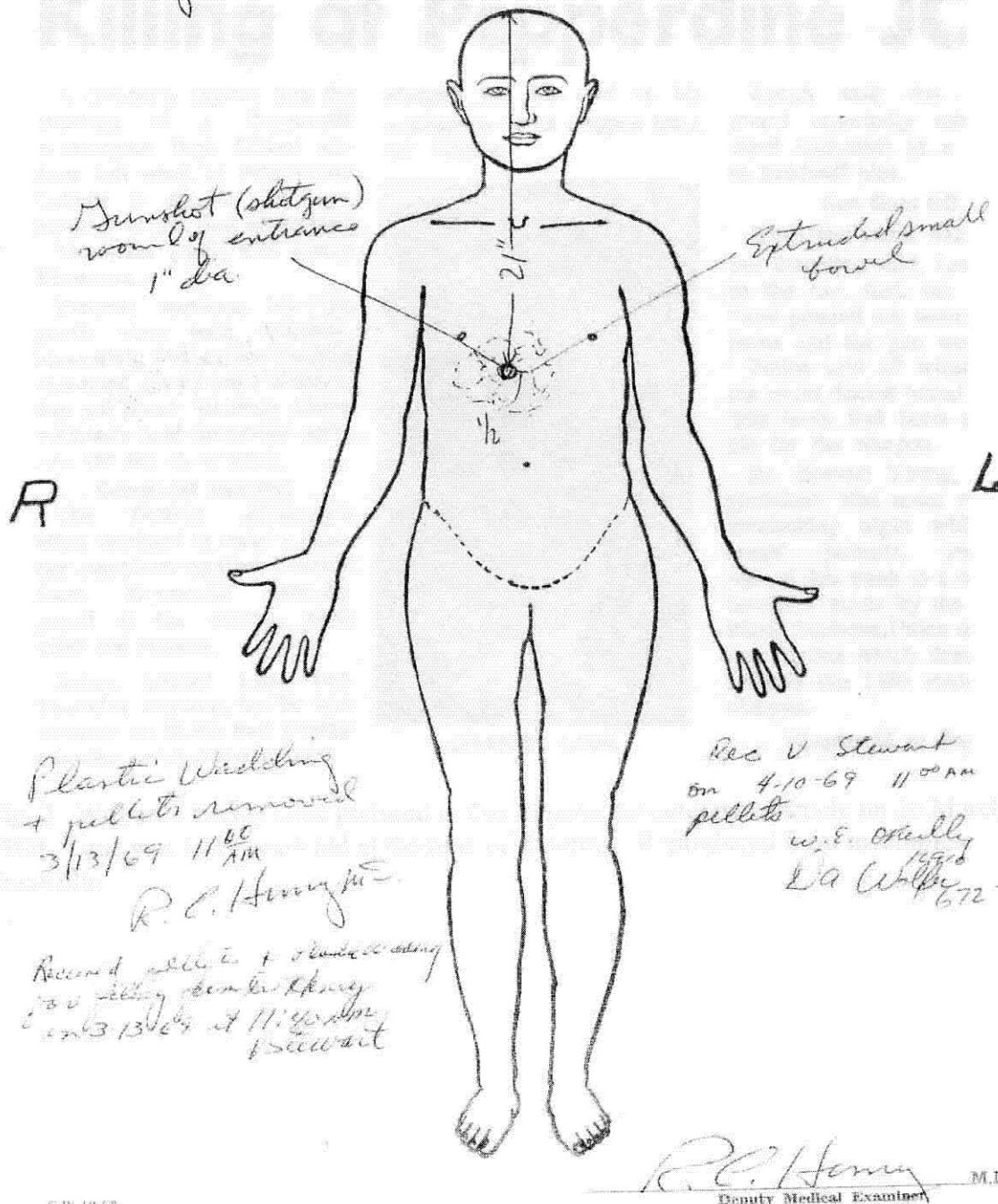


Fig. 1. Autopsy performed on the body of Larry Donnell Kimmons by Deputy Medical Examiner Russell C. Henry, M.D. on 13 March 1969.

Coroner Probes Student Killing at Pepperdine JC

A coroner's inquest into the shooting of a 15-year-old Washington High School student last week at Pepperdine College is set for 10 a.m. Monday in the Hall of Justice.

The slain youth was Larry Kimmons.—

Funeral services for the youth were held Tuesday. Meanwhile Pepperdine College remained closed until Wednesday as Black Students Union members held memorial services for the slain youth.

Complaint Delayed

The District Attorney's office declined to issue a murder complaint against Charles Lane, 60-year-old security guard at the college, until after the inquest.

Police booked Lane last Thursday morning, but he was released on \$5,000 bail Friday morning pending the inquest.

shotgun on the roof of his automobile as he stepped from the vehicle.



CHARLES LANE

Lynch said the guard reportedly moved toward Kimmons in an attempt to handcuff him.

Gun Goes Off

When the youth backed away, the detective said, Lane moved to the car, took the shotgun and pointed it toward Kimmons and the gun went off.

Police said all witnesses at the event denied initial reports that there had been a struggle for the weapon.

Dr. Norvell Young, president, who spent the night with Kimmons' parents, reportedly agreed this week to a settlement of demands made by the Black Students Union at a convocation which drew 1,000 of the 1,600 students to the campus.

(Continued on Page 2)

Fig. 2. William Charles Lane pictured in *Los Angeles Sentinel* news article on 20 March 1969. Lane was sixty years old at the time of shooting. Reproduced from incomplete microfilm.

inquest trial, Lane refused to testify following the advice of his counsel; therefore, there is no first hand account of his story.¹³

Five youths, who were with Kimmons that evening, vehemently disputed Lane's version. In their version, the boys described how they came to campus hoping to play basketball in the gym. Finding the gym locked, they waited around for approximately fifteen minutes hoping that the gym would open soon. Lane first confronted the boys at the gym. The boys asked Lane if the gym would be open later that night. Lane, not knowing, went to find out the answer to their question and returned approximately ten minutes later telling the boys that the gym would not be open till the next day. Lane left. The boys proceeded across campus towards a gate near the men's dormitory that was locked. The boys decided to change directions so they could exit the campus through an open gate on 79th street. Before they could do so, Lane drove up parallel to the boys, parked, then exited the vehicle and placed a shotgun on the roof of the car. Lane told the boys to come to him and the boys complied. He told the group to "take their hands out of their pockets,"¹⁴ and asked where the boys were going. Alvin Perkins and Kimmons approached Lane. Perkins told Lane that they were on their way home. Perkins testified that Kimmons said, "Charley, why don't you open up the gate so we can go home?"¹⁵ Lane responded to this comment by getting out a pair of handcuffs and trying to put them

¹³ County of Los Angeles, Office of Chief Medical Examiner-Coroner, "Medical Examiner-Coroner's Inquest held on the body of Larry Kimmons," (Los Angeles, 11 April 1969), 95 (hereafter cited as Coroner's Inquest).

¹⁴ Coroner's Inquest, 23.

¹⁵ Ibid.

on Kimmons, and threatened them by mentioning Juvenile Hall. According to James Cunningham, Kimmons refused to be handcuffed. Kimmons raised his hands in the air and said, "Wait a minute, Charley, I ain't done nothing."¹⁶ Lane went back to his vehicle where he had placed a shotgun on the roof, turned back around to face Kimmons, "pumped" the weapon, and fired. The boys were in shock. One of the boys, Michael Jones, believed that the shot was just a blank since they thought Lane was just kidding around. Lane asked a bystander, who happened to be a Pepperdine student, to call for an ambulance and then instructed two of the boys to wait by the gate to show the ambulance to the scene. After the authorities arrived, Lane was taken into the 77th Division for questioning and was later held on suspicion of murdering fifteen-year-old Kimmons.

At the time of the shooting, Cookye Williams was a staff member working for Dean Jennings Davis and Dean Lucille Todd. Williams went to the scene of the shooting as a representative of the Dean's Office. She arrived less than one hour after the actual shooting. The body was still in front of the women's dormitory, Marilyn Hall, and students emptied out to see what had happened. Within two hours, the administration closed Marilyn Hall. Students were screaming and crying. Williams remembered that the environment was so confused and tense that white students pretended that they did not even know her. She remembered Catherine Meeks, a black Christian student, being asked to speak with the white students. Meeks recalled the chaotic environment, People were everywhere. Policemen. Reporters. Adventure seekers. Friends. Enemies. The world of our campus was turned upside down. The people from the Los Angeles Rumor Control Center were there trying to learn the facts. Answers were being demanded because this was the

¹⁶ Ibid.

1960s and black folks were not tolerating the murder of blacks by whites as they had before.¹⁷

That evening Meeks and Williams felt compelled to visit Mrs. Kimmons. They went to the family home and learned that they were the first representatives from the college to visit the Kimmons family. Both recalled the almost suffocating sadness that loomed in the home. Meeks remembered, "Someone finally told us to go into her room and say hello. She spoke with us, but she had a dazed expression on her face. If she had not been a strong woman, she would not have lived as long as she had . . . We left feeling that she would make it, but wondered if we could."¹⁸ After paying their respects, Meeks and Williams went to the president's home to discuss the situation.

Williams and Meeks arrived with others at the president's home.¹⁹ Williams verbally attacked the administrators assembled. She insisted that the administrators take responsibility for the shooting and take necessary actions to help the Kimmons family financially. Administrators promised they would take care of the funeral arrangements, and Williams left feeling satisfied with the initial concession. William Banowsky and President Young decided to visit the Kimmons home that evening as well. Banowsky recalled being "received graciously by all of the family and their friends who had

¹⁷ Meeks, *I Want Somebody to Know My Name*, 69. Cookye Williams also made reference to the Los Angeles Rumor Control Center. Since both individuals made mention of this center, the author must assume this entity existed. The author was unable to obtain further information on this department.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 73.

¹⁹ Young, interview. Young also recalled this meeting.

gathered. We expressed our deepest regret and sympathies, prayed together and offered our help.”²⁰

In memorial, classes were initially suspended until Monday.²¹ President M. Norvel Young responded publicly during a meeting held at the campus auditorium the morning after the shooting. Students poured into the auditorium for news, prayer, and to hear the demands from the Black Student Association. The five demands listed in the *Los Angeles Times* were:

1. Keep the Los Angeles Police off the “Christian Campus”
2. Pay the costs of the boy’s funeral
3. Provide financial assistance to allow Kimmons’ brother and sister here to obtain a college education
4. Make efforts to postpone the departure of Kimmons’ brother James, who was due to leave shortly for Vietnam
5. Distribute handbills in the community regarding the youth’s death and announcing memorial services for him²²

The demands listed in the newspaper report appeared reasonable and did not represent radical influence. The first demand, however, seems curious. Anti-police hostility was common among black residents in Los Angeles and was one factor that brought about the Watts Riots of 1965. This demand shows that black students wished to keep the school isolated from outside agencies and were willing to work with GPC administrators to resolve issues. However, there was no evidence to substantiate whether or not other demands were issued and just not reprinted. After the demands were issued, the campus,

²⁰ William Banowsky, email to author, 5 October 2001.

²¹ March 17, 1969.

²² Robert Rawitch and Stanley O. Williford, “Pepperdine Security Officer Jailed in Slaying of Student,” *Los Angeles Times*, 14 March 1969, part 1, p. 3.

though originally scheduled to reopen for classes on Monday, remained closed through Wednesday, March 19.

Funeral services were held on Tuesday, March 18. Meeks recalled the sadness of the affair. She remembered,

The memory of the funeral is forever burned in my mind by a single incident that occurred there. As is the custom in black funerals, the casket was opened for everybody to see Larry's body for the last time. When this was done, his mother screamed out his name and the sound pierced my heart like an arrow. It seemed as if two hundred years of grief were released in that scream. It seemed as if all the years that she and mothers like her had spent scrubbing other peoples' floors and being dehumanized were expressed in that scream. All of my own disillusionment with a system that doesn't work for poor folks or blacks, and the realization that it never was designed to work for them, were expressed in her scream. I heard the memory of discrimination and the loneliness of racism. All of these lived together at that moment in the tearstained bosom of this strong, beautiful black mother.²³

The funeral was well attended by family, friends, teachers and others, including many interested in the overall racial implications of the tragedy. Williams remembered that the wake was called off because the funeral home believed that there would be a problem. She witnessed Mrs. Kimmons speaking with a young, angry, African-American male from Detroit. The group this gentleman was affiliated with was bent on revolution and threatened to burn the campus down.²⁴ Mrs. Kimmons, the model of humility, calmed the tensions and pleaded with the group not to take violent action against the school. She did so because she did not hold the school responsible. She believed that she could not continue living if she knew others would die. Williams and Meeks had a different

²³ Meeks, *I Want Somebody to Know My Name*, 74.

²⁴ Williams-Rutledge, interview. Williams assumed this "group" to be the Black Panthers, but could not say for certain.

reaction to the threat of violence. Rage and frustration threatened to consume them as Williams vividly recalled thinking, "Yes, burn the school down."²⁵

It was the spiritual faith of individuals that calmed, but did not erase, the tensions. The power of prayer was remarkable. In Williams' mind, Christ was the only force that could have worked at that moment since too many of the students involved were willing to lay down their lives for racial justice. "Clearly it was Jesus . . . only Jesus that prevented the loss of more lives."²⁶ She remarked that Mrs. Kimmons led them in the right direction. She was the only person to whom many of the black students would even listen. Meeks also expressed a commitment to Christ and offered this assessment, "Perhaps the struggle on our campus was to call forth the ones who were serious about serving the Master. Following Jesus is not some nice little social event; it is a journey filled with struggle."²⁷

In the backdrop of the campus strife, the Lane trial began. A coroner's inquest was scheduled following the District Attorney's refusal to issue a murder complaint. Lane was released on \$5,000 bail Friday morning, March 14, 1969.²⁸ The inquest was set for the following month and fifteen witnesses were expected to testify before a ten-

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Meeks, *I Want Somebody to Know My Name*, 80.

²⁸ A discrepancy over the bail amount was found in later news articles. Later reports indicate the bail amount as \$6,500.

member jury.²⁹ Jury members were selected from the same pool of potential jurors as those for regular criminal cases. This trial helped determine if criminal charges would be brought against Lane. The witnesses included the five boys who were with Kimmons the night of the shooting, five Pepperdine students, four police officers, and a deputy county coroner.³⁰ Deputy District Attorney Donald A. Musich handled all questions. The attorney representing Lane was Ned R. Nelson, while George L. Vaughn represented the Kimmons family. The DA's office was not legally bound to any verdict from the inquest jury. This trial mainly served as a guideline for the DA's office.

On April 17th, a headline in the *Los Angeles Sentinel* reported, "DA Stalls, Guilty Verdict in Death of Pepperdine Visitor."³¹ The opening paragraph read, "Wait a minute, Charlie, I ain't done nothing. With those pleading last words, his hands raised, 15-year-old Larry Donnell Kimmons had his guts blasted out last March 12 by a gray-haired man whom the boy considered a friend."³² After reviewing the evidence, the inquest jury

²⁹ Coroner's Inquest. The ten-person jury was made up of six men and four women, three of whom were African American. Their names are Levi M. Huff, Joel Silverstein, Irwin W. Engel, Thomas L. Carter, Jr., Alfred C. Monge, Emma N. Lombardi, Arch S. Lightbody, Mary E. Caraza, Sandra L. Sherman, Berniece Holley.

³⁰ Ibid. The five boys were Alvin Charles Perkins, James Henry Cunningham, Michael Jones, Steven A. Roberson, and Melvin Despenza. The five Pepperdine students were Larry Curtis Peters, Cheryl Lynn Lee, Bernardo Rodriguez Lozano, Rebecca Gail Reynolds, and Jennifer Lynn Morrow. The four police officers were Thomas McGuine, Jimmy D. Carter, Edmund Ray Ross, and Dewayne A. Wolfer. Deputy County Coroner, Dr. Russell C. Henry.

³¹ Unknown, "Guilty Verdict in Death of Pepperdine Visitor," *Los Angeles Sentinel*, 17 April 1969, sec. A1, No. 16.

³² Ibid.

returned a unanimous guilty verdict. The testimony of Alvin Perkins, one of the boys at the shooting, gained credibility because the Pepperdine student witnesses corroborated it.

The District Attorney's Office was slow to move on the inquest verdict. Perhaps, given the historical context of the 1960s, prosecutors were hesitant to charge a white man for the murder of a black youth. Nonetheless, nearly a month after the verdict, Lane was arraigned before Judge Antonio E. Chavez on manslaughter charges. Lane was ordered to return to Municipal Court on June 4, 1969, for a preliminary hearing. After two days of testimony, Judge Lawrence Drumm ordered Lane to appear in court on June 19 to stand trial on the manslaughter charge. During this trial, a curious event took place when Drumm stated, "I don't have any faith in them (the boys)."³³ He charged that the boys, Alvin Perkins, Michael Jones, and James Cunningham were signaling to each other and to Steve Roberson, while Roberson was testifying. The judge ejected the boys from the courtroom and completely disregarded their testimony even though other eyewitness testimony from Pepperdine students corroborated their stories. It seems questionable that the boys were signaling each other in order to deceive the judge and jury. The boys had already testified at the inquest trial and the case ended with a guilty verdict. Why would they need to change their stories or signal to each other at that point? In addition, at the inquest trial, Thomas W. McGuine, a police detective assigned to the case was asked:

Q. In the course of your investigation in this matter, have you had an occasion to take statements from the witnesses who have testified and to review any and all statements as to this particular incident from those witnesses?

A. Yes, I have.

³³ Unknown, "Guard to be Tried June 19," *Los Angeles Sentinel*, 12 June 1969, sec. A1, No. 24.

Q. Did you notice any wide differences or inconsistencies in any of the testimony, in relation to any statements that you read or have taken?

A. No, sir.³⁴

Their stories were consistent from their initial questioning to the inquest trial. The judge's decision to remove the boys from the trial is noteworthy.

On July 1, Lane first entered a plea of innocent for the manslaughter charges before Superior Judge James F. Healy Jr.³⁵ His trial was set to begin on September 20. In dramatic fashion, during the week of October 16, Lane changed his plea from "innocent" to "no contest." No information was offered regarding the change in plea. With a "no contest plea," DA Richard Howard stated, "Lane faces a possible 1 to 15 year sentence . . . the degree of manslaughter, whether voluntary or involuntary will be determined by Judge Healy."³⁶ Sentencing was set for November 28, 1969.

The episode was finally laid to rest as headline reported, "Security Man on Probation after Slaying."³⁷ Lane was fined five hundred dollars and placed on probation for his involvement in the March 12 shooting. Judge Healy found the manslaughter to be involuntary and suspended the recommended one year county jail sentence. Judge Healy explained his decision by saying, "Lane has suffered sufficiently from the shooting incident itself and that imprisonment would serve no useful purpose."³⁸ Two conditions

³⁴ Coroner's Inquest, 97.

³⁵ There is no indication why a new judge was brought on the case.

³⁶ Unknown, "Pepperdine Guard Pleads No Contest in Murder," *Los Angeles Sentinel*, 16 October 1969, sec. A5, No. 47.

³⁷ Unknown, "Security Man on Probation after Slaying," *Los Angeles Sentinel*, 4 December 1969, sec. A4, No. 49.

were placed on Lane's probation. The first was the five hundred dollar fine and the second prevented Lane from possessing a firearm unless it was required in his work.

Throughout the trial, Lane remained committed to the belief that the whole episode was an accident. Lane never had any prior incidents in his twelve year career as a security officer that would lead anyone to believe otherwise. James Moore worked with Lane as a student and described him as a grandfather figure. Moore reminisced about his relationship with Lane and stated, "he was personal and professional."³⁹

Accident or not, Lane was responsible because of his decision to carry a firearm. This was not required for his position at GPC. Steve Lemley, son-in-law of President Young, recalled being at the president's home with other persons, and they all questioned why Lane was carrying a firearm. Meeks believed that he carried the firearm because of "Fear. That is why Larry died that night. The security guard had worked on the campus for years. He was there before the community had become more heavily populated with blacks as the whites fled to the suburbs. He was there before the revolt in Watts."⁴⁰

Meeks was perceptive, but since Lane is no longer alive and available to add his perspective, it is not possible to accurately determine why he carried a weapon.

The turmoil created by the Kimmons shooting did not end with the Lane verdict. Black students organized and continued to press the administration to take responsibility for the Kimmons tragedy. This event sparked resistance to perceived discrimination at GPC as students aggressively attacked institutional policy. Pervasive Black Nationalist

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Moore, interview.

⁴⁰ Meeks, *I Want Somebody to Know My Name*, 70.

rhethoric influenced and propelled later protest movements at GPC. Justice for the Kimmons family continued to serve as a rallying cry for black students and unified them against the administration.

CHAPTER FIVE

Say It Loud: I'm Black and I'm Proud

It is necessary that all black members of this student body join us in this effort to overcome the institutionalized racism we are met with here. The time is now for all black students to realize their plight and join in the struggle.¹

Black Nationalist sentiment exploded in the late 1960s as a reaction to the supposed ineffectiveness of the Civil Rights Movement and continued discrimination against African Americans. This movement awakened racial loyalty and pride within black communities and out of this, organizations formed to coordinate the efforts of urban blacks. A shift from a predominately southern, non-violent Civil Rights Movement to an aggressive, urban Black Power movement increased racial tensions and produced fear. This chapter explores the emerging militancy of young blacks in America and the effect Black Nationalist rhetoric had on the black students at George Pepperdine College. Black Nationalist rhetoric, utilized by black GPC students, ultimately increased Pepperdine administrators' efforts to move the undergraduate campus to another location.

Black Nationalist rhetoric dates back to the eighteenth century when enslaved Africans in America fought to resist the dehumanizing effects of slavery. Raymond Hall defined Black Nationalism as, "an ideological construct [which] is complex and diverse, incorporating political, cultural, territorial, and economic factors . . . All of these forms of 'nationalisms' reflect the size and diversity of views that may be enunciated under the

¹ AMALEGUM, "One Nigger to Another," *Black Graphic*, 25 November 1968, quoted in anonymous "Preliminary Pepperdine Report No. 1," *Jerry Hudson Papers*.

umbrella of black nationalism, and all stem from the idea of racial solidarity.”² As a subset of Black Nationalism, “separatist” notions presume a black nation exists independently alongside a white American nation. Many Black Nationalists believed that only by separating or living apart from whites could blacks achieve political, economic, and cultural self-determination. Separatist ideas frightened many Americans since those beliefs violated American concepts of loyalty and citizenship and ran counter to the Civil Rights integrationist agendas.³ Black Nationalists promoted their agendas on college campuses across the nation. They fought for black students’ involvement in institutional decisions, cultural activities that embraced and elevated black studies, and economic endeavors to secure black inclusion in higher education. Aspects of these three nationalistic objectives were demonstrated on the GPC campus.

Historians of Black Nationalist rhetoric argue that black activists such as Paul Cuffee, Marcus Garvey, W. E. B. Dubois, Malcolm X, and many others should not be examined in exclusion of one another. Rather, their ideas must be linked in order to trace the common historical evolution of black militancy in America. In the 1960s, the Black Power rhetoric became especially attractive to urban blacks since “the concentration of civil rights activities in the South left the economic and social conditions such as municipal services, residential segregation, and police relations of the northern black man

² Raymond L. Hall, ed., *Black Separatism and Social Reality: Rhetoric and Reason* (New York: Pergamon Press, Inc., 1977), 1.

³ Rod Bush, *We Are Not What We Seem: Black Nationalism and Class Struggle in the American Century* (New York: New York University Press, 1999), 3.

untouched.”⁴ By 1968, Malcolm X, rather than Martin Luther King, became a symbol for this movement since he had acerbically targeted white supremacy and sought to reconstruct a positive black identity.

Black Nationalist sentiments became the basis for the Black Panthers for Defense that formed in Oakland, California in 1966 as a response to growing needs of urban blacks. The Panthers’ ten-point program combined certain demands of the Civil Rights Movement with Black Nationalist agendas:

In brief, the Panther program asked for self-determination, full employment, reparations for previous exploitation, housing, education, exemption from military service, armed self-defense in conformity with the Second Amendment of the Constitution, release of black prisoners on the grounds of unfair trials, and the establishment of black juries for black defendants on the grounds of trial by a jury of peers.⁵

The Panthers’ programs spread throughout California. Activism on college campuses became a means by which the party could attract members and spread Black Nationalist agendas. The party established chapters at the University of Southern California and the University of California, Los Angeles in close proximity to GPC.

The protests waged against the GPC administration by black students were similar to Black Nationalist inspired movements on other college campuses.⁶ It is important to note that, “of the 2500 colleges and universities in the United States, scarcely two dozen

⁴ Rodney Carlisle, *The Roots of Black Nationalism* (New York: Kennikat Press, 1975), 151.

⁵ Ibid., 154.

⁶ Calvin B. T. Lee, *The Campus Scene: 1900-1970; Changing Styles in Undergraduate Life* (New York: David McKay Company, inc., 1970), 142.

were seriously disrupted.”⁷ This is significant because GPC’s campus was seriously disrupted twice within a year and a half. The school was closed for five days following the Kimmons shooting and then closed for one day during the Ron Ellerbe incident, which will be discussed in the next chapter. During the same academic year as the campus disruptions at GPC, 1969-1970, there were 103 protests carried out on campuses across the nation. Two specific protest movements, one at Cornell University and the other at San Francisco State College, reveal the proliferation of Black Nationalist agendas on college campuses. The unrest at Cornell University erupted on April 18, 1968 when a cross was burned in front of a women’s dormitory. Black students rallied supporters, stormed and occupied the student union issuing a set of demands to the institution’s administration. Students eventually left the student union, but the sight of “students wearing bandoliers and waving shotguns dramatically demonstrated that the failure to cope with student demands might result in the loss of life and the collapse of the university community.”⁸ In the spring of 1969 agitation continued but was characterized by a desire to establish a black studies curriculum.⁹ This objective, a central Black Nationalist cultural principle, was common and correlated to the student efforts at GPC.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ M. Cohen, *Guns on Campus: Student Protest at Cornell* (Chicago: Urban Research Corporation, 1970), 1.

⁹ Alexander W. Astin, Helen S. Astin, Alan E. Bayer, and Ann S. Bisconti, *The Power of Protest: A National Study of Student and Faculty Disruptions with Implications for the Future* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1975), 26-30.

Closer in proximity to GPC, students at San Francisco State College organized a powerful Black Student Union in 1966 and also successfully lobbied for courses in black arts and other cultural areas. In December of 1967, members of the BSU occupied the administration building in an effort to express growing dissatisfaction. This protest ended with the administration calling on the police to disperse the trespassers.¹⁰

The similarities between the protests at Cornell, San Francisco State, and GPC and the subsequent demands issued to the administrations expose a common Black Nationalist agenda. Efforts to establish a black studies curriculum, a desire to increase the black student population and number of black faculty, and an appeal to control decisions affecting black students paralleled other black student protest movements regardless of campus location and were components of the political and cultural tenets of Black Nationalism. The foundation of the Black Nationalist rhetoric rested on the belief that African Americans were owed special consideration and some sort of compensation for past discrimination.

A newspaper study conducted by the American Council on Education, which examined reports of college unrest in college newspapers, further illustrates commonality among black student protests at institutions of higher education. According to the study, ninety-two percent of disturbances categorized as "racial protests" were caused by dissatisfaction with university policy, ninety-two percent of those who participated in and led such demonstrations were black, and twenty-eight percent of demonstrations resulted

¹⁰ James McEvoy and Abraham Miller, eds., *Black Power and Student Rebellion: Conflict on the American Campus* (Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1969), 222-232.

in some sort of violence or destruction of property.¹¹ Each of the cited statistics was relevant to and consistent with the student protests at GPC. Despite similarities, there were two unique features to the protests on the GPC campus that did not occur at larger, state or private institutions. First, the administrators at GPC did not utilize police intervention to disperse protesting students. Rather, as later depicted in the Ron Ellerbe incident, when administrators threatened students with police intervention, protesters willingly dispersed, and GPC administrators were never forced to involve the police. Second, unlike non-sectarian schools, GPC's Christian affiliation provided a religious, moral standard to which black students appealed in their calls for change. Cathy Meeks confirmed, "There was a good bit of activism during the time I was there. Some of it can perhaps be explained by the spirit that was afoot in the entire country, but some of it came out of a sense of the need that we had for a school that purported to have a Christian focus to live up to [that] designation."¹²

In the face of growing opposition, GPC administrators worked within an unpredictable and potentially volatile environment. Proliferating Black Nationalist agendas among GPC students preceded the Kimmons shooting by approximately six months. In 1968, an increasingly politicized group of black students first targeted the Pepperdine Student Board. This politicized group, organized as the Black Student Association (BSA) the precursor to Black Student Union (BSU), forced the Student Board to recognize it as an official student group. This is significant because prior to this

¹¹ Astin, Astin, Bayer, and Bisconti, 67.

¹² Meeks, interview.

acknowledgment, BSA was unable to receive institutional funding for expenses like other student groups. Later, the BSA was responsible for the student demands issued after the Kimmons shooting. The BSA became an effective lobbying body demanding additional black faculty, increased scholarship funds, and an enhanced curriculum focused on the black experience in America. Two of the afore-mentioned demands were met almost immediately following the Kimmons shooting. On March 27, 1969, the *Los Angeles Sentinel* reported the launch of an Ethnic Studies Program at GPC. This program, “worked out in consultation with black students,”¹³ necessitated the immediate hiring of five black educators and a Dean of Ethnic Studies. The Kimmons shooting was a turning point because it served as a bargaining chip for black students who channeled their energies against the GPC administration. The Kimmons tragedy provided the leverage needed over the administration and most demands after this point were met.

As an expression of protest against the GPC administration the first issue of the *Black Graphic* was published in November of 1968 to illuminate racist activities at the college. The contributors to this “underground” publication articulated a strong, militant opposition to the GPC administration. Students who contributed articles to the *Black Graphic* never signed their full names to an article, but rather used aliases. In an article titled, “One Nigger to Another,” a student using the pseudonym, “ALMALEGUM” stated,

We are a part of a racist institution with little or no voice; for this reason publications such as this must be printed and carried to the black faction of

¹³ Unknown, “Pepperdine Announces Ethnic Studies Program,” *Los Angeles Sentinel*, 27 March 1969, sec. A7, No. 13.

this college. It is necessary that all black members of this student body join us in this effort to overcome the institutionalized racism we are met with here. The time is now for all black students to realize their plight and join in the struggle . . . Whether or not you join us you will still be involved with the crap thrown at each of us.¹⁴

An additional section of the *Black Graphic* titled, "Pig of the Month," highlighted the alleged racist actions or attitudes of a selected faculty or staff member. The *Black Graphic* became a means by which the BSA attracted black students in order to create a cohesive, politicized group. Meeks commented, "Blacks who were not members were fairly unpopular, and so people joined for all kinds of reason . . . Loyalty was the only thing we wanted."¹⁵

Protests concerning the Kimmons shooting on campus, as described in the previous chapter, continued through 1969. A week after the shooting, black students marched through the halls of the Academic Life Building yelling that, "the administration had lied"¹⁶ about accepting the students' demands. "[African American students] went through every hall in the building and then out across a lawn which was so serene that the sound of our yells shocked me," Meeks remembered, "We then marched to the administration building which had been locked by the time we arrived. We were forced to stand on the sidewalk and yell our protests."¹⁷ This march ended with no acceptable

¹⁴ ALMALEGUM, "One Nigger to Another," *Black Graphic*, 25 November 1968, quoted in "Pepperdine Project, Preliminary Report No. 1," (20 January 1973), 12, in *Jerry Hudson Papers*.

¹⁵ Meeks, *I Want Somebody to Know My Name*, 70-71.

¹⁶ Ibid., 78.

¹⁷ Ibid.

resolution so black students continued to press for their rights, and in October they issued nine new demands. They stipulated:

In the area of Black athletes, we demand:

1. Brewer be removed from the position of track coach by next trimester because (Winter 1970) of his racism.
2. All Black athletes have their scholarships for the next year or season renewed (See also #7).

In the area concerning justice for Black students as a whole, we demand:

3. A Black placement officer be hired to assist minority students in securing suitable employment after graduation this to be instituted by the Winter of 1970 trimester.
4. At least 2 Black people, picked and recruited by the BSU and college cooperatively, to be over financial aid as far as Blacks, other minority and needy students are concerned—this to be instituted by Winter 1970.
5. Two Black faculty members (one from the Business department and one from ethnic studies) be selected immediately to assist Black students presently having financial problems, with temporary authority given them to set and operate in the area of responsibility presently belonging to the financial aid office or officers.
6. That more Black students be employed by the college on campus and that students be considered for on-campus jobs before off-campus non-students are brought in.
7. A Black coach be elected and recruited for the track team with full cooperation of Black athletes and college in recruitment and selection. (This demand [was] part of demands in the area of Black athletes)

In the area of payable debt this institution owes the family of Larry Kimmons:

8. A life time stipend (in the form of a regular and livable monthly allowance) be presented Mrs. Kimmons by this Christian institute, with once a year review for cost of living increases done by Black business department faculty members given powers to make such increases.
9. Full scholarship be given to the surviving Kimmons children to any college of their choice.[sic]¹⁸

¹⁸ Unknown, "The Black Students' Union 9 Point Program in the Interest of Justice and to Resolve the Practice of Overt or Covert Racism on Pepperdine's Campus," quoted in "Pepperdine Project, Preliminary Report No. 1," (20 January 1973), 63-64, *Jerry Hudson Papers*.

The demands elucidate several concerns of African American students that reflect Black Nationalist influence.¹⁹ The first demand listed demonstrates the Black Nationalist commitment to combat racism and assure racial equality, the basic tenet of both Black Nationalist and Civil Rights agendas. Political activism is confirmed by the Black Student Union's issuance of such demands and reflects the desires of black students to determine and control their academic environment. The Nationalist goal of economic security, which produced economic self-determination through education is reflected in demand numbers 2 through 6. Black students aggressively sought funding to ensure that they would be able to attend school. The one factor that sets these previous demands apart from Civil Rights agendas are the hint of separatist ideas. Separatist notions were not explicitly stated in the document, yet the demands revealed that the GPC black students viewed themselves distinct from other students on campus, thus reinforcing the division in the student body discussed in the previous chapter. Black students, the demands indicate, believed they deserved special consideration or special status and they essentially existed as a separate community.

The separatist notions inherent in Black Nationalist rhetoric and demonstrated in the pamphlet distributed at GPC are noteworthy. Like many campuses across the nation, the GPC student population was divided along racial lines. Yet, despite the racial division, many white and black students at other campuses allied themselves by participating in civil rights activities. These activities lessened the chasm between these student groups and united them in the quest for social justice. In contrast, black and

¹⁹ Lee, 144-147. An effort to control their academic environment, apart from whites, was a common goal of Black Nationalists.

white students at Church of Christ institutions remained isolated. White students on Church of Christ campuses typically did not participate in civil rights activities. This may be attributable to the fact that many of the school administrators, many of whom were members of the Churches of Christ, found it difficult to separate issues related to race from the realm of politics. Demonstrations on campus may not have been sanctioned or looked on favorably. In addition, students of color initiated many civil rights demonstrations on college campuses. Since black student populations on Church of Christ campuses, except GPC, were minimal, it is possible that white students lacked a sense of connection.²⁰

Overall, white students at many secular institutions of higher education, with either substantial or minimal black student populations, participated in civil rights demonstrations. Yet strikingly, white students at GPC, with a considerable black student population, did not take part in any of the black student demonstrations calling for better treatment. White students at GPC operated in a manner similar to other white students at Church of Christ institutions rather than like their secular counterparts. Therefore, the student body at GPC functioned as two distinct communities each having their own concerns and agendas. The lack of camaraderie between black and white students at GPC on issues of civil rights and lack of white participation in protest movement related to discrimination confirms the existence of separate communities.

²⁰ John. C. Stevens, *No Ordinary University: The History of a City Set on a Hill* (Abilene: Abilene Christian University Press, 1998), 268-273. Abilene Christian University admitted its first African American student in the fall semester of 1961.

Dan Hoard, a white student during this period, was not aware of all that was going on with black students but he recalled the growing division in the student body. He remembered that the weekly chapel seating arrangements became increasingly segregated by color. Professor Stephen Sale, a white faculty member, also remembered the tense atmosphere on campus. He recalled that black students were outraged by his teaching a class on the Civil War period. They believed a black man should teach such a class and complained to Provost Jack Scott. Scott remained committed to Sale, and he was allowed to continue teaching the course. A heightened awareness and sensitivity to racial slights and racial discrimination pervaded the period. Perceived racist activities became so prevalent that Sale recalled that black students even contended that the presidential family was racist by alleging that the Youngs had trained their small dog to attack blacks. In this period, no "racist" stone was left unturned.

The height of student agitation after the Kimmons shooting came in December of 1970. Ron Ellerbe, a former black student and then current staff member hired to write press releases for the college, was notified on November 30 that his contract would not be renewed but then was relieved of his duties, prior to his contract's end date, on December 4. Ellerbe, the administrators contended that Ellerbe was "insufficient as a journalist."²¹ The *Los Angeles Times* reported that in reaction, "About 50 members of the Black Student Union at Pepperdine College marched through school buildings Wednesday . . . disrupting classes in protest of the recent firing of a black public relations representative

²¹ Eric Malnic, "Black Students' Strike Forces Pepperdine College Shutdown," *Los Angeles Times*, 11 December 1970, vol. XC, part 1, p. 3.

at the College.”²² The black students went on the offensive because they believed Ellerbe was fired unjustly, so they issued a list of demands. Demands included “efficient full-time counselors and tutors, two buildings to be dedicated to a black student who was killed on campus two years ago, at least two mandatory ethnic studies classes for each student, the immediate hiring of a black financial official who would be more responsive to the financial needs of the black student.”²³ These demands were strikingly similar to those issued in October which indicates that the demands made previously had yet to be fulfilled. William Banowsky believed the majority of “reasonable” demands were met. Additional black faculty members were hired, a memorial to Larry Kimmons was erected in the library, and an ethnic studies general education requirement was instituted. Banowsky commented, “I personally spent at least one-fourth of my time for one year working with the Black Student Union.”²⁴

Black students continued to insist on political, cultural, and economic empowerment. On Thursday, December 10, the students placed chains on the Academic Life Building. Police, television and radio reporters swarmed the campus. Chancellor Banowsky, in the midst of campaigning for donations for the Malibu campus, took a hard public stance against the defiant student action. He told students and reporters that in no way would the administrators of GPC capitulate to student demands, the main demand

²² Unknown, “BSU Protests Negro’s Firing at Pepperdine,” *Los Angeles Times*, 10 December 1970, vol. XC, part II, p. 2.

²³ Ibid. The reference to the black student killed on campus is incorrect. The writer is referring to the Kimmons shooting. Kimmons was not a Pepperdine student.

²⁴ Banowsky, email, 10 October 2001.

being the reinstatement of Ellerbe. Banowsky, in front of television cameras and the students, forcefully stated, "You've got to disperse within five minutes. Every student who does not will be immediately suspended and the Los Angeles Police Department is standing by to disperse you."²⁵ The students complied, but after leaving the academic building, "windows were broken in several buildings and fires causing damage estimated at \$25,000 were set by radicals."²⁶ Feeling the situation was spiraling out of control, GPC administrators sought a court injunction against demonstrators. The decision to seek outside assistance to help quell the student protest is important. Since Banowsky's threat to bring in the police was never realized, this injunction was the first time the institution looked to secular agencies or government to control events on campus. Though the changing profile and political agendas of the Churches of Christ in the 1950s and 1960s is distinctive, GPC's decision to first handle issues within the institutional setting and its subsequent need to seek outside assistance was not unique in higher education. Most institutions of higher education worked arduously to resolve campus crises within the institutional structure unless situations spiraled out of control. This continues to be the mode of operation today.

Ironically, Banowsky had already temporarily reinstated Ellerbe, who was allowed to serve out the remainder of his contract period. This apparent "double-talk earned Banowsky the pseudonym "fox." Black students maintained that Banowsky

²⁵ Malnic, "Black Students' Strike Forces Pepperdine College Shutdown," *Los Angeles Times*, p. 1.

²⁶ Lee Dye, "Pepperdine Will Handle Student Discipline Itself," *Los Angeles Times*, 12 December 1970, vol. XC, part II, p. 1.



Fig. 3. From left to right, Chancellor William Banowsky, Ron Ellerbe, fired public relations employee, and Larry Lynch, director of Public Relations. Photographs were reproduced from a *Los Angeles Times* news article on 12 December 1970.



Fig. 4. Chancellor William Banowsky orders protesters to break up demonstration or risk suspension. This picture was reproduced from a *Los Angeles Times* news article on 11 December 1970.

deserved this title because he would say one thing to black students and turn around and give another statement to the public. Meeks stated, “We accused the administrators of talking out of both sides of their mouths. They had no answer. What answer is there for deceit?”²⁷ Banowsky confirmed that he told different constituents what they needed to hear but justified his position,

I was constantly and unceasingly in the middle of the conflict between the Black Student Union and the conservative constituency of the school . . . I think my critics could easily say that I was too right-wing conservative in my outside image while making many relatively ‘liberal’ decisions within the university. The campus was widely and bitterly divided and since I was in the middle, I was criticized by both sides every day. The one thing I am absolutely certain of is that, since my balancing act was to win friends and raise money, it did not hurt, but rather helped us financially.²⁸

Many GPC leaders attributed the militant attitudes of black GPC students to “outside agitators.” For example, in 1970 during the Ellerbe incident, Banowsky stated, “The disturbance was carried off by considerable off campus assistance” and that “two students who recently from an extended trip to Cuba have been seen in the company of the students involved in the strike.”²⁹ Black students such as Cookye Williams and Cathy

²⁷ Meeks, *I Want Somebody to Know My Name*, 79.

²⁸ Banowsky, email, 20 June, 2002.

²⁹ Dye, “Pepperdine Will Handle Student Discipline Itself,” *Los Angeles Times*, p. 1.

Meeks refuted this claim.³⁰ Although some of the black students at GPC were members of the Black Panther Party and were influenced by the party rhetoric, Williams insisted that the Black Student Association decided upon the militant agenda of Pepperdine students.³¹ The Black Student Association was not the puppet of the Black Panther Party. Despite their claims of a limited role for the Black Panther party at GPC, Williams and Meeks and other students of color admitted to being affected by the party rhetoric. This rhetoric, with its roots in Black Nationalism, affected most African American students whether they participated in social protest movements or not. Affiliations to Black Nationalist organizations outside of GPC, which Meeks and Williams verified, most likely helped shape black student responses to perceived racial discrimination at GPC. There is no evidence to support the administration's claim that "outside agitators" actually participated in or led campus protests. Possibly, the idea of outside agitators comforted administrators since the belief that GPC students were responsible for such militant actions reflected poorly on the institution's image.

The black student protests on the GPC campus may not have been as "radical" or violent as other secular campus disturbances, yet their protests were radical for schools affiliated with the Churches of Christ. GPC was unique in that it had a significant black

³⁰ The reliance on Williams and Meeks' perspectives in this chapter is warranted. Cookye Williams was the main leader of student protest in this period. Her name was given to the author by William Banowsky. In email correspondence on 10 October 2002 he states, "Cookye Williams was the leader quoted every week in the *Graphic*." He made no other reference to other black student leaders during this period. Helen Young also mentioned Cookye by name during her interview. Williams informed the author of Meeks' involvement in the student protests.

³¹ Williams-Rutledge, interview.

student population whereas other Church of Christ schools were slow to integrate. Black students at GPC worked within the conservative, Christian environment. Their reactions were fiery at times, but few acts of violence occurred. Though moderated, Black Nationalist ideas made black students at GPC question the institution's commitment to racial equality and enhanced their feelings of separateness.

Young and Banowsky were forced to walk a fine line during this period. One misstep, in either direction, could cost them potential funding gifts from conservative donors or could warrant more aggressive action by black students at GPC. The militancy of black students and their utilization of Black Nationalist rhetoric strained relations between students and the administration and reinforced the decision, made shortly after the Watts Riots, to secure a new location. Banowsky asserted, "It was a completely white funded and controlled school, which was delighted to serve African Americans but not able to envision a college dominated by them. Something like South Africa, only rather than giving up power we gave up our location for a better one for our purposes."³² But before the Miracle in Malibu could be realized, Young and Banowsky had one final battle to diffuse. Growing dissent within the faculty placed Young and Banowsky, yet again, in the midst of a heated confrontation.

³² Banowsky, email, 6 January, 2002.

CONCLUSION

A Miracle in Malibu?

I hope things continue to remain calm and peaceful on the Vermont campus. But surely no one is under the illusion that such tranquility is permanent or that anything has been solved. The only uncertainty seems to be not whether or not anything else will happen but simply when and how great will the next crisis be.¹ [sic]

In the midst of black student agitation at George Pepperdine College, efforts to secure a new undergraduate location continued. The multi-campus concept was officially announced in a January, 1969 Presidential Report, following the selection of Malibu as an additional campus site. The administration decided to move undergraduate operations to the new Malibu location while the Vermont campus became the site for the graduate schools. Provost Jerry Hudson, “saw the move to Malibu as a wonderful opportunity to develop a new curriculum and a new campus. Those kinds of chances have not come along in higher education very much in the last hundred years.”² On the other hand, others believed that leaving the Vermont campus conflicted with the college’s Christian mission. Founding Dean of the School of Education, Olaf Tegner argued, “We have a moral obligation to this community to stay here to the end of time.”³ Unfortunately, those who opposed the move to Malibu found themselves alienated from the administration and a bitter divide within the faculty ensued.

¹ Zane Reeves to Jerry Hudson, Heidelberg, n.d., *Jerry Hudson Papers*. Contents of letter suggests letter was sent after 11 May 1971.

² Jerry Hudson, email to author, 8 July 2002.

³ Olaf Tegner, interview by Audrey Gardner, in Gardner, 77.

The faculty crisis over the move to Malibu was not the first battle President Young had with the faculty. In 1957, before Young accepted the presidency, Dean E. V. Pullias was fired. In protest, twenty-seven faculty members left the institution during the first year of Young's presidency, which left him in a quandary. A few years later in 1963, opposition to Young's implementation of a trimester system created further agitation within the faculty body. Young's greatest battle intensified because of the decision to move the undergraduate campus to Malibu. This predicament strained relations between portions of the faculty and the administration.

The faculty turmoil, caused by the decision to move to Malibu, heightened tensions since many had committed their lives to George Pepperdine College at its founding location. Jerry Hudson, Provost of the Malibu campus recalled, "There was indeed tension among many faculty—some on philosophical grounds for appearing to be fleeing the inner city and some on practical grounds because initially only a few faculty were selected to move."⁴ Professors John McClung and Stephen Sale reflected on the tenuous situation. Sale reminisced on the transition from the Vermont campus to Malibu, "It makes me feel kind of sad thinking back. It wasn't all good times. It was very hard."⁵ Both McClung and Sale received invitations to teach at the Malibu campus. Initially, Sale decided to stay at the Vermont campus. To him, that campus was truly "Pepperdine." There was a sense of community on the Vermont campus that he believed never transferred to the Malibu location. Unlike Sale, John McClung was excited by the

⁴ Hudson, email, 8 July 2002.

⁵ Stephen Sale, interview with author, tape recording, Malibu, Calif., 31 January 2002.

new opportunity and accepted the invitation to Malibu. He became the Director of Housing and taught part time for the Humanities Division. Sale reconsidered the invitation, given that many of his closest friends decided to move to Malibu, and eventually accepted a teaching position there in the Humanities Division. Others continued to find themselves enveloped in conflict over their decisions to teach at the Malibu site.

Richard Hughes, the youngest faculty member in 1972, was the first person recruited to teach at Malibu. He recalled, "Though that campus [Malibu] created great excitement among virtually all concerned, those were extremely difficult years. They were difficult especially because a vast, ideological chasm now ran through the heart of the faculty, dividing it virtually down the middle."⁶ Each side of the split faculty truly believed it was doing what was best, not only for themselves, but for the institution as well. Due to the bitter divide, Hughes made a difficult decision in 1976. He left the institution conflicted and frustrated by the polarized setting.

Many faculty members were not given the option to teach at the new campus. There were a limited number of positions available and administrators carefully chose those faculty they believed were best suited for the new setting and who supported the multi-campus concept. The Malibu campus offered faculty the opportunity to develop and implement pedagogical reform and a revised curriculum not possible at the Vermont campus. Those chosen to serve on the Malibu campus were excited by the new

⁶ Richard Hughes, "Getting it Together: The Role of Cultural Diversity in a Christian University," in *The University Through the Eyes of Faith*, ed. Steve Moore (Indianapolis: Light and Life Communications, 1998), 132.

possibilities. Some faculty refused to leave the Vermont campus. Sale, and others, believed that those persons who were critical of the administration were not asked to teach at Malibu.⁷ Jennings Davis, Dean of Students, and Professor Zane Reeves remained at the Vermont campus. Sale believed that Davis did not get the invitation because he sympathized with black students during the student unrest. Cookye Williams and Cathy Meeks confirmed that Jennings was a great friend to them and helped them through difficult situations. Speaking of Lucille Todd, Dean of Women, and Davis, Meeks asserted, “they did the only thing a courageous white person should do: they went to their white sisters and brothers and tried to help them see their need for repentance. For their efforts they received what black folk have been getting for two hundred years: rejection and humiliation.”⁸ Malibu was never an option for Davis since the administration “knew where Jennings stood.”⁹

History professor and Director of the overseas Heidelberg program, Zane Reeves, found himself in a similar predicament to that of Davis. His personal letters to Provost Jerry Hudson elucidate his critical perspective. His correspondence is also exceptionally important because despite thousands of miles between Reeves and the Vermont campus his concern over the move and knowledge of events in Los Angeles validate the

⁷ Jennings Davis, conversation with author, Calabasas, Calif., 21 June 2002. His recollections are similar to those of Sale, McClung, and Hudson. The author was not authorized to quote him directly.

⁸ Meeks, *I Want Somebody to Know My Name*, 76.

⁹ Sale, interview.

magnitude of the student protests and transition to Malibu. In several letters, he discussed his confusion over the move to Malibu. On February 22, 1971, Reeves wrote,

Jerry, can you tell me whether or not you might sympathize with Winston Churchill (I think . . .) 'I did not become the queen's prime minister in order to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire,' while he immediately started to follow just that. Have you become Norvel's prime minister not to prevent the liquidation of the Vermont Avenue campus while at the same time allowing it to be liquidated? I said all that to say—are we really giving up on the Vermont campus? I'm sorry, I'm not very good at reading between the lines. Are we giving up on Vermont??¹⁰

In subsequent letters, Reeves became increasingly frustrated with events on the Vermont campus, though he placed great faith in Hudson's ability to remedy the problems. He wrote,

Surely you must realize that you are the only person on the Vermont campus that can talk to both the administration and the students. Jack [Scott] is branded with the "Malibu" brand; Don Sime, Jennings, and the black faculty all are suspect in the administration's eyes. You are the only person that can even talk to both sides. That may be a terribly uncomfortable role but there are a few of us who think you might be able to pull it off.¹¹

Hudson was diplomatic when he responded to Reeves, though in a letter of reply he jokingly opened with the comment, "In the future please send a bandaid with your letters. I burnt my finger as I took the last letter out of the envelope as it was

¹⁰ Zane Reeves to Jerry Hudson, Heidelberg, 22 February 1971, *Jerry Hudson Papers*.

¹¹ Zane Reeves to Jerry Hudson, Heidelberg, n.d., *Jerry Hudson Papers*.

so steamy. I bet you had to pour a bucket of water on that poor German typewriter.”¹²

Banowsky, as Chancellor, constantly found himself criticized by many, especially the faculty. Reeves, for example, had little regard for Banowsky’s abilities. He wrote, “The Los Angeles campus may just make it if that idiot Banowsky doesn’t get himself shot some dark night due to all his politically inspired ‘get tough’ talks. He really is going to live in the ghetto and say all those things? The protest groups will be lining up in front of his door.”¹³ Banowsky became desensitized to such attitudes. In a brief letter to Hudson, he wrote:

Dear Jerry:

It doesn’t hurt so much once you get used to it.

Cordially,

William S. Banowsky¹⁴

This brief letter not only encapsulates the tensions on campus, but also demonstrates Banowsky’s determination to make decisions as he saw fit despite opposition.

Cognizant of the faculty protests against the move to Malibu and not wanting to pour additional fuel on the flame, Banowsky became concerned over the racial demographics of the new Malibu campus. In several Pepperdine inter-office

¹² Jerry Hudson to Zane Reeves, Los Angeles, 4 February 1971, *Jerry Hudson Papers*.

¹³ Zane Reeves to Jerry Hudson, Heidelberg, 11 May 1971, *Jerry Hudson Papers*.

¹⁴ William Banowsky to Jerry Hudson, Agoura, 17 April 1972, *Jerry Hudson Papers*.

communication memos between Jerry Hudson, Executive Vice President Howard A. White, and Banowsky, the three deliberated the issue. Banowsky began, "I am seriously concerned about the comparisons with our black student enrollments here and there, and even more uneasy about the fact we have no black faculty nor administrators for Malibu. We are very vulnerable, and I wish you could hire two or three black faculty members before September."¹⁵ Hudson responded that, "Location is such a logical explanation that I do not believe that we will be greatly criticized for having a much smaller percentage of Black students on the Malibu campus than on the Los Angeles campus."¹⁶ He went on to indicate that he had already hired three black faculty members, though they were hired on a part-time basis. White's reaction to this memo was not found. In a memo from Banowsky to White, however, Banowsky wrote, "I agree with your suggestion, and I feel we need some system of listing several present black faculty members who might teach only a course or two [at Malibu]."¹⁷ Banowsky, always mindful of public perception, neutralized potential criticisms and threats to the "Miracle in Malibu."

This chapter of George Pepperdine College's history ends with "hard feelings and bruised emotions."¹⁸ Hudson recalled, "Several of my close friends vowed not to set foot on the Malibu campus, and several who went to Malibu immediately lost interest in Los

¹⁵ William Banowsky to Howard White and Jerry Hudson, Pepperdine Inter-Office Communication, 26 May 1972, *Jerry Hudson Papers*.

¹⁶ Jerry Hudson to William Banowsky, Los Angeles, 1 June 1972, *Jerry Hudson Papers*.

¹⁷ William Banowsky to Howard White, Pepperdine Inter-Office Communication, 5 June 1972, *Jerry Hudson Papers*.

¹⁸ Hudson, email, 8 July 2002.

Angeles and treated it like it didn't exist."¹⁹ Despite the faculty division, the "Miracle in Malibu," was realized on September 6, 1972. One hundred and twenty students from the Los Angeles campus joined 475 incoming freshman at the new Malibu campus.

President Young and Chancellor Banowsky weathered the storms of black student protest and faculty crisis and set Pepperdine on the path towards national recognition.

Young's presidency can be characterized by the crises encountered. Young maintained composure after twenty-seven faculty left the college when he became president. He never strayed far from his goal to reconnect GPC with the Churches of Christ, which was demonstrated by the increased appearance of references to GPC in various Church of Christ publications. During the fourteen years of Hugh Tiner's presidency, in the *Gospel Advocate*, Pepperdine was only referenced in fourteen articles. In contrast, during Young's first nine years as president, the institution was covered in sixty three entries with one entire issue focused on Pepperdine College.²⁰ President Young, with Banowsky at his side, diffused student agitation by implementing many of the black student demands while publicly maintaining a conservative image. Overall, Young's administration of George Pepperdine College between 1957 and 1970 was considered successful. Many current Pepperdine administrators, personnel, and members of the Churches of Christ believe Pepperdine University is successful today because of President M. Norvel Young.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Gardner, 75. "Since 1943 the *Gospel Advocate*, a leading brotherhood journal, has carried a yearly index of all items for the year in which a special column about Christian college news is gathered under each institution's name."

Few argue against the idea that Pepperdine University is a remarkable success story. The "Miracle in Malibu" created many benefits for the university, but at whose or what expense? The Watts Riots of 1965 generated a desire among executive administrators of GPC to leave behind the perceived chaotic and unpredictable urban setting. The decision to leave, many argued, conflicted with the college's Christian mission since the institution left behind a community desperately in need of people who cared. To Banowsky, however, "We decided we were in the business of ^{Christian (see p. 44)} higher education not in the business of Christian missionary work."²¹ It is clear that persons on each side of the debate held different understandings of the college's Christian mission. The question that one must ask is whether or not GPC, a college related to the southern-based Churches of Christ, ever embraced a "Christian mission" directed toward blacks, toward poor people, or to the inner city. Answering this question may lead to a better understanding of the decision to move undergraduate operations to Malibu.

In order to assess some of the ill consequences of the transition to Malibu, one must first examine the basic premise for moving undergraduate operations to Malibu. Administrators, in public statements, suggested that it would be difficult to attract students to a campus located in an urban community. They cited declining enrollment as the major factor in the decision to move the undergraduate campus. Oddly, enrollment figures cited in the Presidential Reports from 1966-67, 1967-68, and an Accreditation Report in 1970 (see reproduction of Presidential Report 1967-68) revealed an increase in student enrollment in those years, not a decline. The discrepancy is also captured in

²¹ Banowsky, email, 6 January, 2002.

Crest of a Golden Wave, the University's sole published history. It states, "In the years from 1957 to 1966, enrollment at Pepperdine College increased from 1,084 to 1,502. By 1972 there were 3,596 regular students and 3,476 students in the continuing education program off campus, giving the institution a total enrollment of 7,072."²² When questioned about this inconsistency, former Provost Jerry Hudson stated:

I did a study in 1970 of enrollment by majors during the '60s and made the point that enrollment had grown as a whole—but the growth was in selective departments. The number of majors increased dramatically in Business, Psychology, and Sociology, with others staying about even and the number of majors in English, Home Economics, Language, and Math dropping. At that time I proposed combining several departments (Art, Music, and Drama into Fine Arts; and Biology, Chemistry, and Physics into Natural Science) as a means of keeping a liberal arts approach at the Los Angeles campus. The previous point I made was that the number of part-time, evening, graduate, and commuter students was growing and the number of full-time, residence students (the heart of the liberal arts college) was declining.²³

This statement demonstrates that administrators were not really concerned with the decline in student enrollment overall, but feared "a possible retreat of white students,"²⁴ given the changing community demographics. Administrators believed that the institution could not economically survive without a substantial residential population. Many of the African American students lived in the Los Angeles community and commuted to school. Thus, the move to Malibu was an attempt to address the declining

²² Rushford, 106.

²³ Hudson, email, 9 July 2002.

²⁴ William Banowsky, quoted in Lee Dye, "Pepperdine Will Handle Student Discipline Itself," *Los Angeles Times*, p. 2.

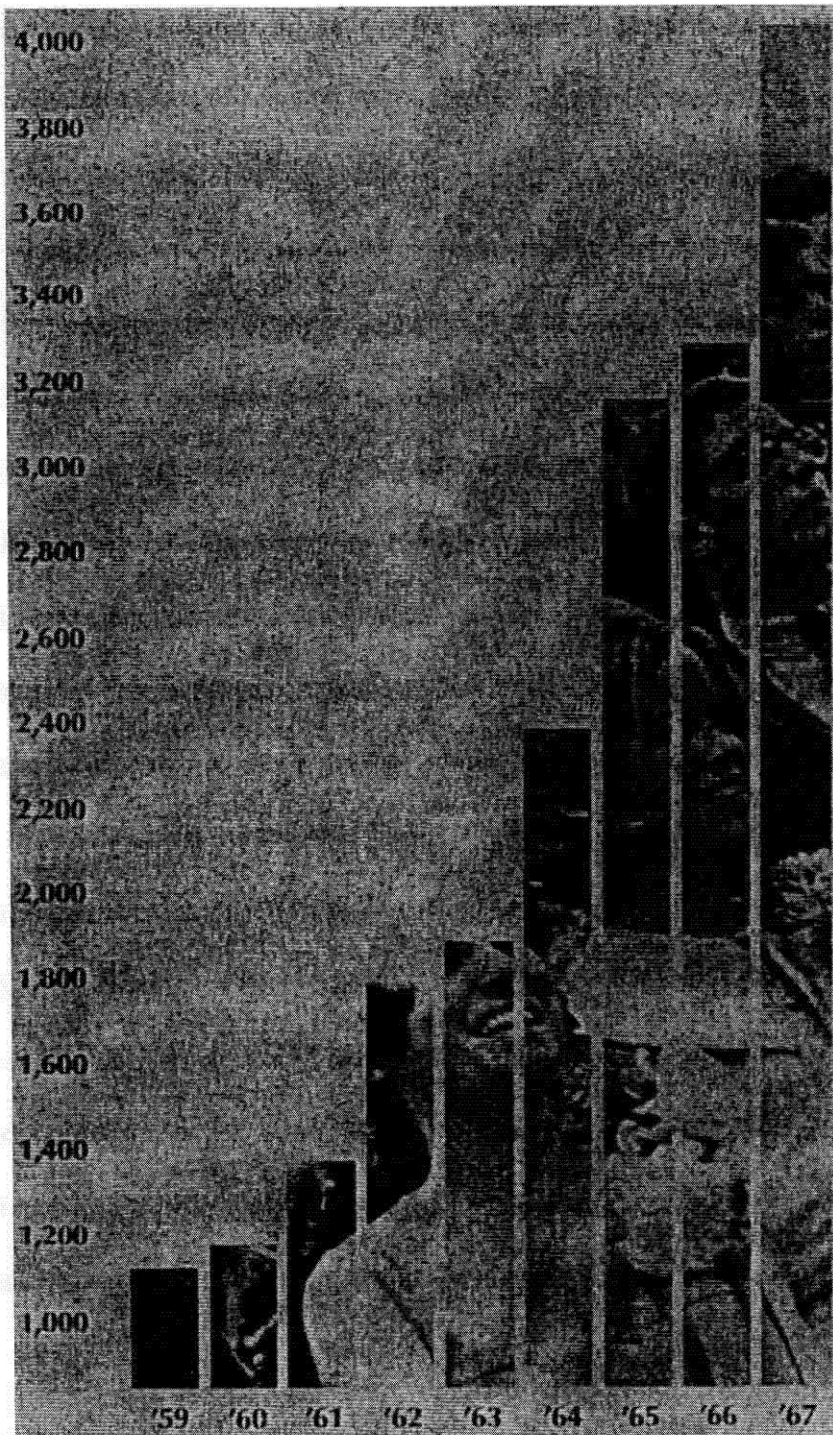


Fig. 5. Enrollment figures were cited in the 1967-1968 Pepperdine College *President's Report*. Graph demonstrates enrollment climbed substantially from 1959 to 1967.

white residential student population. The idea that the move to Malibu was caused by a total decline in student enrollment is false since all institutional documents illustrate a burgeoning student population.

A decrease in racial diversity of the student body is another notable “casualty” stemming from the move to Malibu. In 1970, prior to the opening of Malibu, Banowsky boasted, “Twenty-two percent of our students are black, and we will put that figure up against any other college in the country.”²⁵ By 2003, Pepperdine administrators could not make such a claim since by then the African American student population stood at 6.2 percent.²⁶ The transition to Malibu nearly wiped out the racial diversity of the student body previous administrators boasted about. This issue continues to be addressed by administrators today, but the goal of diversity proves to be elusive.

The debt owed the family of Larry Donnell Kimmons was lost in the transition to Malibu. The shooting of the fifteen year old boy by a campus security guard is largely forgotten. In 1969, administrators, capitulating to a black student demand, agreed to erect a memorial to the slain boy. Professor John McClung and Stephen Sale both recalled a memorial to Kimmons in the Vermont campus library. Unfortunately, the memorial for Kimmons never transitioned to the Malibu campus after the Vermont campus’ closure. This oversight should be re-evaluated by Pepperdine’s administrators.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Pepperdine University Website, “Student Ethnic Group Percentages,” accessed 10 February 2002; available from <http://www.pepperdine.edu/seaver/admission/statsEthnic.htm>

One last ill consequence of the move to Malibu was the loss of the college's actual history. Historical selective memory does little to advance knowledge and understanding. The uncritical nature of the one book-length institutional history of George Pepperdine College casts administrators in an unrealistic manner. People, Pepperdine administrators included, make mistakes. But one would need to search long and hard in that history to believe that Pepperdine administrators are fallible or are even human. There is nothing to fear about a difficult past. Rather, it is those difficult events that build character and make people and institutions who and what they are today.

A growing fear of the urban environment caused by the Watts Riots brought about the college's move to Malibu. The black student protests that came as a response to the Kimmons tragedy reinforced the decision to move the undergraduate campus. The administrators, during difficult times, made choices they believed were right and would in the long run benefit the college. In a sense they were correct. "The new Malibu campus, which would become famous as one of the most beautiful university campuses in the world, simply symbolized the extent to which many in the Churches of Christ now felt at home in the world their forebears had rejected."²⁷ The transition to Malibu may not have been for all the right reasons, but it did allow Pepperdine administrators, similar to the changing social profile of Churches of Christ, to reinvent the school's public image from a small, fiscally endangered college to an affluent university. Though many highlight the positive benefits produced by the move to Malibu, the question this thesis leaves for readers to answer is how does one weigh the benefits with the ill

²⁷ Hughes, *Reviving the Ancient Faith*, 252.

consequences? It is my hope this question will guide future discussions related to institutional development.

APPENDIX

George Pepperdine College Timeline

September, 1937	Founding ceremony
September, 1937- June, 1939	Batsell Batsell Baxter Presidency
July, 1939- April, 1957	Hugh M. Tiner Presidency
December, 1941	U.S. entrance into WWII
January, 1945- August 1950	Veteran student population boom
May, 1957- June, 1971	M. Norvel Young Presidency
August, 1965	Watts Riots
September, 1965	Search committee formed
January, 1969	Multi-campus concept publicly announced
March, 1969	First Black Awareness Week scheduled
March, 1969	Larry Kimmons shot
March, 1969	Ethnic Studies program announced
October, 1969	New demands issued by Black Student Association
December, 1970	Ron Ellerbe fired
December, 1970	Students took over administration building
January, 1971- August, 1978	William S. Banowky Presidency
September, 1972	Malibu campus opened

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Accreditation Report Prepared for the Northwest of Secondary and Higher Schools.

Los Angeles, California (November 1960). University Archives, Payson Library, Pepperdine University, Malibu, Calif.

Annual Report of President to the Board of Trustees of Pepperdine College. (1959-60, 1960-61, 1961-62). University Archives, Payson Library, Pepperdine University, Malibu, Calif.

Banowsky, William. Email to author, 5, 10 October 2001; 6 January 2002; 20 June 2002.

Bowers, Calvin. Interview by author. Tape recording. Malibu, Calif., 11 June 2002.

Carnegie Commission on Higher Education. *Dissent and Disruption: Proposals for Consideration by the Campus.* New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1971.

Civil Rights Act of 1964, Public Law 88-352. 88th Cong., 2d sess. (2 July 1964); accessed 10 July 2002; available from <http://usinfo.state.gov/usa/infousa/laws/majorlaw/civilr19.htm>

Congressional Record. 84th Cong., 2nd sess., 1956. Vol. 102, pt. 4.

County of Los Angeles, Office of Chief Medical Examiner-Coroner. "Autopsy Report of Larry Kimmons," by Russel C. Henry, M.D. (13 March 1969).

_____. "Medical Examiner-Coroner's Inquest held on the body of Larry Kimmons," (Los Angeles, 11 April 1969).

_____. "Verdict of Chief Medical Examiner Coroner's Jury," (Los Angeles, April 11, 1969).

Davis, Jennings. Conversation with author, Calabasas, Calif., 21 June 2002.

Fowler, James. "From the Midst of Crisis," *Firm Foundation* 81 (31 March 1964).

George Pepperdine College Bulletin. I (July 1937); VIII (July 1944-45); XVI (January 1951-52); XVI (March 1952-53); XXVII (July 1965-66). University Archives, Payson Library, Pepperdine University, Malibu, Calif.

Goodpasture, B. C. "Pepperdine College," *Gospel Advocate* XCIX (22 August 1957).

Graphic. 17 November 1937-15 May 1969.

Harrell, David Edwin. Email to author, 21 February 2003.

Henegar, Bill. Interview by author. Tape recording. Malibu, Calif., 9 January 2002.

Hind, John T. "The New Christian College," *Gospel Advocate* LXXIX (20 May 1937).

History Central. "President Johnson's Statement on the Watts Riots-1965," accessed 7 June 2002; available from <http://www.multied.com/documents/LBJwatts.html>

Hoard, Dan. Interview by author. Tape recording. Malibu, Calif., 8 July 2002.

Holloway, Gary. Interview by author. Tape recording. Malibu, Calif., 27 July 2001.

Hornbaker, Lawrence. Interview by author. Tape recording. Malibu, Calif., 11 January 2002.

Hudson, Jerry. Email to author, 8, 9 July 2002.

_____. *Jerry Hudson Papers*. University Archives, Payson Library, Pepperdine University, Malibu, Calif.

Hughes, Richard. Interview by author. Tape recording. Malibu, Calif., 31 May 2002.

Kunkin, Art. "The Negroes Have Voted!" accessed 2 February 2002; available from <http://www.wwfreepress.com/negroes.html>

Lemley, Steven. Interview by author. Tape recording. Malibu, Calif., 10 July 2002.

Lemmons, Reuel. "Brotherhood Extends Congratulations," *Firm Foundation* LXXIV (6 August 1957).

Los Angeles Sentinel. 20 March 1969-4 December 1969.

Los Angeles Times. 14 March 1969-12 December 1970.

Lowry, Randy. Interview by author. Tape recording. Malibu, Calif., 15 January 2002.

Luft, Herbert. Interview by author. Tape recording. Malibu, Calif., 29 March 2002.

McClung, John. Interview by author. Tape recording. Malibu, Calif., 11 January 2001.

McCone, John A., chairman. "Violence in the City—An End or a Beginning?"
Commission on the Los Angeles Riots. Los Angeles: College Book Store, 1965.

Meeks, Cathy. Email to author, 27 February 2003.

Moore, James C. Interview by author. Tape recording. Malibu, Calif., 4 June 2002.

Pepperdine University Website. "Student Ethnic Group Percentages," accessed 10 February 2002; available from

<http://www.pepperdine.edu/seaver/admission/statsEthnic.htm>

President's Reports. (1964-65, 1966-67, 1967-68, 1969-70, 1971-72). University Archives, Payson Library, Pepperdine University, Malibu, Calif.

Race and the Church of Christ. Accessed 12 July 2002; available from

<http://www.mun.ca/rels/hrollmann/restmov/subs/race.html>

Report for the Accreditation Committees of the Western Association of Schools and Colleges. California State Board of Education, Los Angeles, California (October 1970). University Archives, Payson Library, Pepperdine University, Malibu, Calif.

Sale, Stephen. Interview by author. Tape recording. Malibu, Calif., 31 January 2002.

Showalter, G. H. P. "On the Pacific Coast," *Firm Foundation* LIV (7 September 1937).

Tucker, Carol. Letter to author, 5 December 2002.

Waters, Kenneth. Interview by author. Tape recording. Malibu, Calif., 11 January 2002.

Wilburn, James. Interview by author. Tape recording. Malibu, Calif., 15 January 2002.

Williams-Rutledge, Cookye. Telephone conversation with author, 8 March 2002.

Young, Helen. Interview by author. Tape recording. Malibu, Calif., 18 January 2002.

Secondary Sources

African American Odyssey: The Civil Rights Era (Part One). Accessed 12 July 2002; available from <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/ammem/aaohhtml/exhibit/aopart9.html>

Astin, Alexander, Helen S. Astin, Alan E. Bayer, and Ann S. Bayer. *The Power of Protest: A National Study of Student and Faculty Disruptions with Implications for the Future*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1975.

- Baldassare, Mark, ed. *The Los Angeles Riots: Lessons for the Urban Future*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1994.
- Baldrige, J. Victor. *Power and Conflict in the University: Research in the Sociology of Complex Organizations*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1971.
- Becker, Howard S., ed. *Campus Power Struggle: 1900-1970; Changing Styles in Undergraduate Life*. New York: Transaction, Inc., 1970.
- Bowen, Howard R., ed. *Evaluating Institutions for Accountability*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Inc., Publishers, 1974.
- Bowman, Lynn. *Los Angeles: Epic of a City*. Berkeley: Howell-North Books, 1974.
- Bullock, Paul. *Watts: The Aftermath*. New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1969.
- Burns, Gerald. *Trustees in Higher Education: Their Functions and Coordination*. Washington D.C.: Independent College Funds of America, Inc., 1966.
- Burns, Stewart. *Social Movements of the 1960s: Searching for Democracy*. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1990.
- Bush, Rod. *We are Not What We Seem: Black Nationalism and Class Struggle in the American Century*. New York and London: New York University Press, 1999.
- Carlisle, Rodney. *The Roots of Black Nationalism*. New York: National University Publications, Kennikat Press, 1975.
- Clark, Richard L., and Jack W. Bates. *Faith is my Fortune: The Life Story of George Pepperdine*. Los Angeles: Pepperdine College Bookstore, 1963.
- Cohen, M. *Guns on Campus: Student Protest at Cornell*. Chicago: Urban Research Corporation, 1970.
- Cohen, Nathan, ed. *Los Angeles Riot Study: Summary and Implications for Policy*. Los Angeles: Institute of Government and Public Affairs, UCLA, 1967.
- Cowley, W. H. *Presidents Professors, and Trustees*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1980.
- De Graaf, Lawrence B., Kevin Mulroy, and Quintard Taylor, eds. *Seeking El Dorado: African Americans in California*. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2001.

- Divale, William Tulio, and James Joseph. *I Lived Inside the Campus Revolution*. New York: Cowles Book Company, Inc., 1970.
- Dubois, W. E. B. *The Souls of Black Folk*. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1903.
- Fogelson, Robert M., comp. *Mass Violence in America: The Los Angeles Riots*. New York: Arno Press & the New York Times, 1969.
- Gardner, Audrey. "A Brief History of Pepperdine College." Master's thesis, George Pepperdine College, 1968.
- Geschwender, James A., ed. *The Black Revolt: The Civil Rights Movement, Ghetto Uprisings, and Separatism*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1971.
- Goodpasture, B. C., ed. *Biography and Sermons of Marshall Keeble*. Nashville: Gospel Advocate Company, 1936.
- Hall, Raymond L., ed. *Black Separatism and Social Reality: Rhetoric and Reason*. New York: Pergamon Press, Inc., 1977.
- Harrell, David Edwin. *The Churches of Christ in the Twentieth Century: Homer Hailey's Personal Journey of Faith*. Tuscaloosa, Ala.: The University of Alabama Press, 2000.
- Hatch, Nathan O. *The Democratization of American Christianity*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989.
- Henegar, Bill, and Jerry Rushford. *Forever Young: The Life and Times M. Norvel Young & Helen M Young*. Tennessee: 21st Century Christian, 1999.
- Holloway, Gary, and Douglas A. Foster. *Renewing God's People: A Concise History of the Churches of Christ*. Abilene: Abilene Christian University Press, 2002.
- Hoverland, Hal, Pat McInturff, and C. E. Tapie Tohm, Jr., ed. *Crisis Management in Higher Education*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1986.
- Hughes, Richard T. *Reviving the Ancient Faith: The Story of the Churches of Christ in America*. Michigan and Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1996.
- _____, and William B. Adrian. *Models for Christian Higher Education: Strategies for Success in the Twenty-First Century*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1997.

- _____, Henry E. Webb, and Howard E. Short. *The Power of the Press: Studies of the Gospel Advocate, the Christian Standard, and the Christian Evangelist*. Nashville: Disciples of Christ Historical Society, 1986.
- Keeble, Marshall. *From Mule Back to Super Jet*. Nashville: Gospel Advocate Company, 1962.
- Lapp, Rudolph. *Afro-Americans in California*. San Francisco: Boyd & Fraser Publishing, Co., 1979.
- Lee, Calvin B. T. *The Campus Scene, 1900-1970: Changing Styles in Undergraduate Life*. New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1970.
- Mauer, George J., ed. *Crisis in Campus Management: Case Studies in the Administration of Colleges and Universities*. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1976.
- McConnell, T. R. *A General Pattern for American Public Higher Education*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1962.
- McEvoy, James, and Abraham Miller, ed. *Black Power and Student Rebellion: Conflict on the American Campus*. Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1969.
- Meeks, Cathy. *I Want Somebody to Know My Name*. Nashville and New York: Thomas Nelson Inc., 1978.
- Moore, Steve, ed. *The University Through the Eyes of Faith*. Indianapolis: Light and Life Communications, 1998.
- Nichols, David, ed. *Perspectives on Campus Tensions*. Washington D.C.: American Council on Education, 1970.
- Olbricht, Tom. "Who Are the Churches of Christ," accessed 7 July 2002; available from <http://www.mun.ca/res/restmov/who.htm>
- Peterson, Richard E., and John A. Bilorusky. *May 1970: The Campus Aftermath of Cambodia and Kent State*. Berkeley: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1971.
- Phillips, Donald E. *Student Protest, 1960-1969: An Analysis of the Issues and Speeches*. Washington D.C.: University Press of America, Inc., 1980.
- Pullias, E. V. *A Search for Understanding: Thoughts on Education and Personality in a Time of Transition*. Dubuque: WM. C. Brown Company Publishers, 1965.

- Restoration Movement*. Accessed 12 July 2002; available from <http://www.mun.ca/rels/restmov/people/acampbell.html>
- Robinson, John Louis. *David Lipscomb: Journalist in Texas, 1872*. Wichita Falls: Nortex Offset Publications, Inc., 1973.
- Rushford, Jerry, ed. *Crest of a Golden Wave*. Malibu, Calif.: Pepperdine University Press, 1987.
- Scott, Jack, ed. *Declaring God's Good News*. Nashville: Christian Family Books, 1964.
- Stevens, John C. *No Ordinary University: The History of a City Set on a Hill*. Abilene: Abilene University Press, 1998.
- Taylor, Quintard. *In Search of the Racial Frontier: African Americans in the American West, 1528-1990*. New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1998.
- Verney, Kevern. *Black Civil Rights in America*. London and New York: Routledge, 2000.
- Waldinger, Roger, and Medhi Bosorgmehr, eds. *Ethnic Los Angeles*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1996.
- Ware, Caroline F., ed. *The Cultural Approach to History*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1940.
- Weisbrot, Robert. *Freedom Bound: A History of America's Civil Rights Movement*. New York: Norton, 1990.
- Wheeler, B. Gordon. *Black California: The History of African Americans in the Golden State*. New York: Hippocrene Books, 1993.
- Williams, Gregory Alan. *A Gathering of Heroes: Reflections in Rage and Responsibility; A Memoir of the Los Angeles Riots*. Chicago: Chicago Academy Publishers, 1994.
- Young, Andrew. *An Easy Burden: The Civil Rights Movement and the Transformation of America*. New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1996.
- Young, M. Norvel. *A History of Colleges Establish and Controlled by Members of the Churches of Christ*. Kansas City: Old Paths Book Club, 1949.

_____. *Pepperdine University: A Place, A People, A Purpose*. New York:
The Newcomen Society in North America, 1982.

Youngs, Bill. *Faith was His Fortune: The Life Story of George Pepperdine*. Malibu,
Calif.: Pepperdine University Press, 1976.