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A Legacy Cut Short

The Impact of Pepperdine University on African Americans and South Los Angeles from 1937 – 1981

By
Elizabeth Craigg

Claremont Graduate University
2020

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Approval of the Dissertation Committee

This dissertation has been duly read, reviewed, and critiqued by the Committee listed below, which hereby approves the manuscript of Elizabeth A. Craigg as fulfilling the scope and quality requirements for meriting the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Education.

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Abstract

A Legacy Cut Short
The Impact of Pepperdine University on African Americans and South Los Angeles from 1937 – 1981

By
Elizabeth Craigg

Claremont Graduate University: 2020

Due to the California gold rush in the 1800s, White Southerners seeking quick wealth flocked to the "free-state" of California. These new settlers included enslaved Africans, religion, and Southern attitudes that set the foundation for California to be a Southern-attitude state, which eventually attracted generations of free African Americans and a large White Southern population. White Southerners shaped California through passing discriminatory housing, education, banking, and employment policies against African Americans with the intention of marginalizing African Americans' existence and limiting their economic opportunity. The Church of Christ was largely a Southern and Midwestern religion that was one of the last church denominations and its educational institutions to integrate. Pepperdine University was founded in 1937 in South Los Angeles, becoming the only Church of Christ educational institution to be integrated, which attracted African Americans from around the country seeking to have a Church of Christ religious education. Therefore, Pepperdine became an integral part of the Black Church of Christ. This dissertation provides a historical analysis of the intersection of race, location, and faith as Pepperdine University is forced to confront race during the university's two-campus model from 1972 - 1981 that led to the final demise of the LA Campus.

Dedication

To our shared Legacy.

Acknowledgements

I am the only child of a single mother (Dorothy Sweatt) who invested her life into me. Her father believed in education, and thus she believed in education. Her legacy lives within my passion for education. Her undying support in everything I do is something that I can never repay.

My uncles (Larry Sweatt, Keith Sweatt, William Sweatt, Gary Sweatt, Edward Robbs) who lived close and far have left imprints on my life throughout the years. Their guidance and dialogue shaped me as a person and helped push me forward. My aunts (Myrtle Robbs and Jacqueline Sweatt) continued to support me along the way to ensure that I was okay. My cousins (Hillary Sweatt and TaRon West) would always reach out with their wisdom to remind me that even with distance between us all, we are still connected.

Throughout these adult years, I grew even closer to my friend, sorority sister, and god mother, Adrienne Konigar, Esq. who has been a consistent amount of support in my life. For that, I am beyond grateful and appreciative.

I don't have many friends, but I treasure them as my family because they are family. They have loved and supported me for decades, which makes these last moments of my educational career even more special.

I started this doctoral degree single with no kids, and I am leaving Claremont Graduate University married to Henry Walker with two small children – Haiden and Sawyer Walker. They all sacrificed their time and traveled with me for various conferences. They all know that "mommy has to work," and yet they sit next to me watching YouTube, Netflix, or Disney+ while mommy works. For their patience, love, and support, I am grateful. It was our union that I was

able to gain another family who has been very supportive – Brenda Lindsey and John Lawson. Thank you.

I appreciate all of the professors and staff at Claremont Graduate University who have been able to shape my career focus with excellent instruction and mentoring. I will be forever indebted to three women – Dr. Jean Schroedel, Dr. Linda Perkins, and Dr. Shamini Dias. Dr. Schroedel met with me while I was applying to Claremont Graduate University, and she provided insight about how the program would be difficult. My first semester with her was demanding, but she instilled confidence within me that I maintained throughout my academic career.

A year after I was attending CGU, I enrolled in a class, *Gender and Education*, that changed my life forever. I read everything, and it left me eager to learn more. Dr. Perkins was the very first Black female professor I had in my academic career, and I was intrigued by her intellect. I started down an academic path that I didn't expect. Her incredible mentorship allowed her to be the additional mother and mentor I needed throughout this process and beyond. Without her support and belief in me, along with her encouragement, I am not sure how this dissertation would have reached completion.

Finally, I responded to a job advertisement for a Preparing Future Faculty Fellow. I was hired, and Dr. Shamini Dias, along with the various fellows, helped shape my Teacher-Scholar practice. I have evolved into a better professor, scholar, and an overall person.
I have met some incredible people along this journey that has shaped my academic and personal life.

I am sure that our network of relationships will continue to grow and evolve. This is especially true to the women at Pepperdine University's Archives, in which I have shared

countless hours and emails with over the years and really helped me see this dissertation come to fruition. I am also positive I will spend more time seeing them in future years for additional research projects because there is much more to tell than what I can discuss in this dissertation.

This process was time consuming, so I had to neglect relationships, especially my sorors of Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, Incorporated, specifically the Mu Epsilon Omega Chapter of Orange County. Yet, I appreciate their understanding and support.

Everyone has been important and valuable in my life throughout this process and beyond. Yet, it is the countless hours and guidance of my committee, Dr. Linda Perkins, Dr. Darrell Moore, and Dr. Tabatha L. Jones Jolivet who gave me the needed feedback, push, and inspiration that allowed this moment to happen.

For everyone near and afar, thank you.

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Heuristic

At 8-years-old, my mother bought me a mountain of snacks, additional homework, books, toys, coloring books, and even a hand-held television with headphones as a way to keep me occupied during her late-night classes and study sessions. For 18 months, I sat quietly in a corner listening to the lectures of Dr. Linda Polin in the basement of Pasadena Unified School District Office Building or the Pepperdine University building that was on Slauson Avenue in Culver City. The culminating event happened at the Malibu campus, where I witnessed my mother obtain a Master in Educational Technology in 1991 from Pepperdine University.

Pepperdine University was at the cutting edge of attempting to create academic programs that would inform and mobilize teachers in the newly, evolving technology-filled classroom. What made my mother and her fellow colleagues select Pepperdine University? It was one of the few universities that would come to them and hold classes at their school district's headquarters. Beginning in the 1970s, Pepperdine had a reputation of coming to the school districts to educate teachers.

In 1972, the LA Campus focused on outreach in South Los Angeles through offering courses at district offices, hotel rooms, and any place throughout the community to award teaching credentials and master degrees to current teachers. Many Black graduate students were educated this way, and they became (or continued) to be educators. At the time, the cost of attending Pepperdine was affordable. Even though other universities, such as California State University Long Beach, University of Southern California, California State University Los Angeles, and University of California Los Angeles were all nearby, Pepperdine University actively recruited in predominantly African American areas. My mother and uncles, who came to California in the early 1970s from Terra Haute, Indiana, joined Pepperdine's teaching

credential program, while they taught various subjects (Political Science, Math, and Science) in Compton and Watts, California. Affordability and accommodating were attributes that attracted graduate students to Pepperdine University's School of Education and Psychology.

For my mother and uncles, Pepperdine University was always held in a positive light because they enjoyed their experience. Even though I had this family connection with Pepperdine University, and I would quite often visit Pepperdine throughout my childhood, I never thought I would attend. In fact, Pepperdine University was the only California university I applied to during my senior year. I promised my family that I would attend if I was accepted. In the fall of 1998, I interviewed with a young African American woman at Pepperdine University after I was waitlisted during the Early Decision Admission Period. A few weeks later, I was admitted, and thus, I set aside the other admission letters to attend Pepperdine University.

In the Spring of 1999, I decided to attend the Class of 2003 greeting in Malibu. Along with my friend since 6th grade, we sat and listened to Pepperdine University's College President – Dr. Davenport – orate about this class being the highest academic achieving class up to that point in the history of the university. With high esteem, I purchased an orange Pepperdine University sweatshirt and decided to wear it quite often when I returned to my high school – John Muir High School of Pasadena, California. I was not the only one who applied from my (at that time) predominantly African American high school, but I was the only one accepted.

My experience at Pepperdine University was not very pleasant at all. During my freshman year, I experienced a series of microaggressions with professors, who asked me to define racialized words, such as "oreo" within an all-white class. At the end of the semester, I knew I could not prove I was wrongfully given a lower grade of a B because of my race, but I just knew that my extra effort in the class could not overcome my caramelized complexion that

denied me of an A grade. I had many more negative social and academic experiences with white students, staff, and faculty that caused me to question my "blackness" based on my complexion and my placement within academia.

To further emphasize my struggle with race, I was recruited by the only sorority on campus that had no Black students at all – Sigma Kappa. The very first night of having a bonding moment with my future sisters was a movie night watching their favorite film – *Grease.* As I observed the jokes, games, and the excitement from watching *Grease*, I realized we would never be sisters.

I didn't join Sigma Kappa, yet for the whole academic year, the members of the sorority persisted that I should join. At various places on campus, I would run into the members who told me that I didn't have to attend any meetings as long as I just attended the ceremony to join the sorority. One sorority member became so desperate that she would pay for my dues and all membership fees. I was so offended at the assumption that I could not afford to pay to join the sorority, so I stated, "I could afford the membership fees, but I did not want to join." She insisted that I would not have to pay the yearly fees even after the membership fees just as long as I would join. These women didn't know me at all, but I felt that they didn't *want* to know me, as I was a "token" for them. I never confronted this feeling with asking these women about their motivation to heavily recruit me, but Lawrence Ross (2015) confirmed this belief in his work *Blackballed: The Black and White Politics of Race on America's Campus*, in which Ross described how Black students were recruited into sororities and fraternities to avoid the university punishing the organization for its lack of diversity. Overall, Ross (2015) described how Black students are "In the most formative years, when their belief in American ideals is the strongest, or being questioned, these African American students will learn that their white

university, their white fellow students, and their white faculty are not automatic allies in their journey toward educational success" (5). In sum, Ross (2015) described my years at Pepperdine University. During my sophomore year, the level of stress I experienced during my years at Pepperdine was only balanced because I did join Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, Inc. off campus.

Years after I graduated, I felt very bitter about my years attending Pepperdine. I received a good foundational education, but the social life was very isolating on campus. It forced me to engage in more off campus social activities, which made me miss out on making real connections at Pepperdine University. *Yet, I struggle with understanding how can Pepperdine University have a strong social justice mission in the 1970s that yielded my family a career in education, while my experience was one of social and academic isolation?* When I started this dissertation in 2013, I assumed I would study African American's social experiences while attending Pepperdine from the standpoint of an undergraduate student attending Seaver College in Malibu. It was visiting the archives that I discovered that there were really two Pepperdine's – one that was founded in Whiteness and one that was trying to tackle with integration and race. This dissertation strives to tell the history of a Pepperdine that was brave enough to be the first and only Church of Christ institution to integrate, and thus, tackle the concept of race on a college campus filled with conservative, racist, and mostly Southern student body, faculty, staff, and administrators. The largely ignored years of Pepperdine University is what started my story with Pepperdine University.

My years of reading and researching have allowed me to be at peace with my college experience. In fact, I became more understanding about my years at Pepperdine University, while appreciating the positive aspects of Pepperdine University. As I have continued to visit Pepperdine with my children and for work, I still experience negative microaggressions that still

stings me with the pain I felt as a 16-year-old college freshman. I realize that Pepperdine University now has Historically Black Sororities and Fraternities on the campus with Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, Incorporated (founding date: November 20, 2011) and Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Incorporated (founding date: February 17, 2017), but the microaggressions are still very present in Black students' daily lives.

Just as Pepperdine University has a complicated history with race, my appreciation and hurt from this university is also complicated. Studying, what I would call, "the lost years" of Pepperdine University's history of when the LA Campus was separate from the Malibu campus is examining how a Christian college could be life-changing for residents within the surrounding community through educating students and serving the community through outreach programs. This study will further advance scholarly research through examining how the desire to advance and uplift Whiteness to build a university outweighed the necessity of executing the Christian principles in the curriculum and social programs of Pepperdine University. My placement as an African American woman with Pepperdine has allowed me to provide an analytical and understanding approach about how this university had a turbulent and benevolent relationship with African Americans through placing the founding and formation of Pepperdine in a historical context of California, South Los Angeles, and the Church of Christ, while reading historical documents to understand how these "lost/forgotten years" shaped African American Church of Christ members around the United States of America and African Americans who lived and/or attended the university in South Los Angeles.

Chapter One
Introduction

White supremacy and segregation were in the veins of the Church of Christ. In oppression and separation, Black preachers like Marshall Keeble, S. R. Cassius, and R. N. Hogan rose to grow and develop Black congregations in the South, Midwest, and the West. African American ministers were attempting to advance within the Church of Christ, but they needed to have a theological education with the insurmountable problem of not being permitted to attend any of the Church of Christ theological colleges. With the arrival of S. R. Cassius in Los Angeles in 1902 and the establishment of the first Church of Christ congregation in Los Angeles in 1922, the Church of Christ had the beginning foundation for its development. Yet, R. N. Hogan asked George Pepperdine for $10,000 to plant a Black Church of Christ congregation that took hold in South Los Angeles.

Out of the initial loan to Hogan, George Pepperdine contributed to the growth of the Black Church of Christ, and thus, it also solidified George Pepperdine's influence on the Black community with the founding of Pepperdine College in 1937. George Pepperdine's financial contribution to build the Black Church of Christ was not new, as White members of the Church of Christ would give to Black preachers to start Black Church of Christ congregations that perpetuates Whiteness theology, while maintaining a segregated space. The lack of connectivity amongst congregations allowed Black Church of Christ members to never cross paths and worship with White Church of Christ congregations. George Pepperdine's largest influence on the college was not attaching a Church of Christ congregation to Pepperdine College, which allowed his vision "of having a university that would educate people despite race and gender" to see fruition (Baird 2016). Pepperdine College was the first of the Church of Christ affiliation to be integrated from the very beginning and for decades to come. Even though Church of Christ

congregations are independent, up until the point of the founding of Pepperdine College, each college was founded with a direct connection to a congregation.

Pepperdine College stood out with its inaugural class that obtained one pioneer - a sole African American student. Edward Anderson went to George Pepperdine's office in Downtown Los Angeles to seek a job and admission into this newly formed Pepperdine College. George Pepperdine instructed Anderson to visit President Baxter's office, in which Anderson received a job and admission. In September 1937, Edward W. Anderson, who was a former Baptist and a Keeble and Cassius convert to the Church of Christ, became the first African American student. Anderson's enrollment at Pepperdine College signaled to the Southern-based Church of Christ faith that Pepperdine College would be the first integrated Church of Christ institution.

An integrated campus did not mean true inclusion, as many of Pepperdine College's student body were mostly Southern Church of Christ congregants, in which they never occupied an integrated space. Blacks and Whites could attend school together with no formally written discriminatory policies that stated "African Americans" were prevented from doing anything. However, the Student Handbook (1938) stipulated that "limited facilities at present, boarding and social provisions on the campus are confined to members of the Caucasian race." The Student Handbook (1938) further states: "As soon as the growth of the College will permit, an International Hall is planned for the housing of the various groups of other races." Instead of the only integrated Church of Christ university having a segregated housing policy, Pepperdine included Blacks within the International demographic (there were International Students enrolled) in order to ban Blacks from living on campus. Yet, there was a blatant ban on all international students *and* Black students. This policy was directly uplifting Whiteness in hopes of maintaining a White space even though the classroom was diverse. The International Hall

was never built. Without a record of a vote within the Board of Trustees, administration quietly allowed non-white students to reside in student housing. It is unclear when this policy was lifted because the sentence that "limited facilities at present, boarding and social provisions on the campus are confined to members of the Caucasian race" within the Student Handbook (1938) was no longer in the Student Handbook (1944-1945). Pepperdine University's Archive does not have a Student Handbook between these years, and Student Handbooks were not always revised on a yearly basis. Student enrollment in 1937-8 was 197 students, and between 1937-1944, student enrollment never reached above 412 ("Student Handbook" 1944-45).

The significance Pepperdine College played in African American Church of Christ congregations around the United States is Pepperdine College was the only institute that Black ministers could attend that offered a Bachelor degree in order to advance in their role as an elder in the church. Within the Church of Christ, there is not an overt universal requirement for elders to have a Bachelor degree, yet there is a tradition for Church of Christ congregants to study at a Church of Christ institution. This tradition was an exclusive privilege for Whites, as Blacks did not have a degree-awarding institution to attend before Pepperdine University. Minister Eugene Lawton of New Jersey accounts, being an African American minister is, "being a member of the Church of Christ and being unable to attend a Christian college without going to Southwestern Christian College or 1,500 miles to Pepperdine" (Ross Jr. and Harris 2018). Minister Lawton speaks to the heart of the oppressive White privilege system within the Church of Christ that resulted in African Americans being regulated to only attend one university that offered a liberal arts curriculum, which made Blacks subjugated to the decision of staying home with their families or moving thousands of miles away to a new environment just to experience a Church of Christ centered curriculum. Southwestern Christian College was founded in 1948 as an HBCU,

in which it offered (and still does) an AA/AS and a BA in Religious studies, in which Pepperdine was always a liberal arts Church of Christ institution that offered more than a religious studies degree.

The intersection of four men (Marshall Keeble, S. R. Cassius, R. N. Hogan, and George Pepperdine) laid a foundation for a university to struggle with how to be integrated within the United States of America that continues to have obstacles in achieving racial equality. Pepperdine University has a history of contradiction with an overwhelmingly southern, white student body, staff, and faculty adjusting to fulfilling the promise of the university being fully integrated. Many universities around the country during this same era of the early 1900s had Southern White students who were having their first interaction with Black people when they attended an integrated university. Even though Black students experienced open hostility, Pepperdine University took strides that no other Church of Christ institution was willing to do. It is the duality of maintaining its Church of Christ student, faculty, staff, and administration base, while finding ways to be progressive in its policies that caused (and still causes) a high-level of racism that takes place amongst all departments and colleges of Pepperdine University. Pepperdine University's history is another string in the fabric of the United States of America's history.

Purpose of the Study

Unlike Oberlin College, which was integrated before the Civil War, universities around the United States of America were beginning to integrate – some immediately after the Civil War, while others well after Brown v. Board of Education (1954) and deep within the Civil

Rights Movement. African Americans' student experience with racism on college campuses around the country is not only documented, but there are new narratives being added each day. This dissertation adds to the many African American student narratives, as it tells of their experience from the founding of the university (1937) until it closed its LA Campus (1981).

There is a wealth of research conducted on other denominations, such as Baptist, Methodist, Church of God in Christ, and other Evangelical congregations that have a large number of African American members, yet there is a smaller amount of research conducted on the intersection of African Americans and the Church of Christ denominations (Ferre 1954, Pace 1972, Brereton 1990, Key 2007, Crawford 2008, Henck 2011, Blackenship 2012, Brice 2016). Lynn (2003) estimates that the Church of Christ membership in the 1960s was around 2 million. Amongst the 2 million members, African Americans composed 10% of its membership (Lynn 2003). Due to the small number of members, the Church of Christ has not been a vocal point of study. With approximately 200,000 African Americans belonging to the church around the country, racial inequality within the church and its institutions could largely be ignored. This is especially true when the Church of Christ congregations were not connected to each other, which made each congregation isolated. It is very possible for Black members to never understand the high level of segregation amongst the congregations until people apply to attend a Church of Christ college or university.

As the Church of Christ colleges and universities are uniquely important to the growth of the Church of Christ congregations, there has been a minimal amount of research on how race also intersects with the church and higher education. This study bridges the gap of African American Church of Christ congregants being attracted to attend Pepperdine College during a time that Pepperdine College grew into a university. This study demonstrates how Pepperdine

College also had an internal struggle with race as it ushered integration into the Church of Christ. Being the first and only integrated Predominantly White Institution (PWI) amongst the Church of Christ affiliated institutions for decades, Pepperdine College left an imprint that still resonates, but the journey of how African Americans were treated and integrated into the Pepperdine College family is a continual struggle.

Research Questions

There has been a great deal of research describing African American students' experience on a predominantly white institution; however, the literature does not evaluate the experience African Americans have at a Christian university within a larger metropolitan area, such as Southern California. With there being larger, secular universities to select (UCLA and USC), it becomes more significant to see why African Americans decided against those options in order to select a smaller, Christian institution. Additionally, their experience expands beyond racism while attending the school, as the religious aspect of the university reflects a level of racism amongst the church as well.

At the time Pepperdine was located in South Los Angeles, there were fewer public institutions, but there were Christian colleges in the surrounding area. There has been a large amount of research about more prominent institutions like UCLA and USC, but African Americans made a choice to attend Pepperdine University due to its religious affiliation with the Church of Christ and its outreach to African Americans. Not only did Ross Jr. and Harris (2018) cite Black Church of Christ ministers saying that Pepperdine was the only academic option for Black ministers to attend, there was Bowers (2001) who wrote about Black Church of Christ ministers migrating from around the United States to Pepperdine because of its religious affiliation. Additionally, Anderson (1997), Ives (1997), Meeks (2019), and Lindsay (2019) spoke

about coming to Pepperdine after having contact with someone who was affiliated with the Church of Christ. In the 1960s-1970s, there was a growing number of African Americans moving to Los Angeles for job opportunities largely in the manufacturing industry, and it was in the 1960s and 1970s that there was an increased number of African Americans who attended Pepperdine University. Thus, in the 1970s, African Americans attended Pepperdine in higher numbers than any other institution in California (Wilburn 2019); therefore, conducting an historical analysis of why African Americans selected Pepperdine College over other PWIs will enrich the literature.

Pepperdine University was founded in a predominantly white South Los Angeles neighborhood with a predominantly white faculty and student body until it later moved into a predominantly white suburban neighborhood of Malibu, California. Yet, by the 1960s – 1970s, African Americans were migrating in higher numbers to the Los Angeles area, and they settled in different neighborhoods that included Pepperdine's surrounding neighborhood. Thus, the neighborhood became predominantly Black along with two major events:

(1) The Watts Rebellion on August 11 – 16, 1965; and

(2) On March 12, 1969, the White public safety staff, Charles Lane, shot and killed a young, 15-year-old, Black male, Lawrence "Larry" Kimmons, who frequently played basketball on the campus with his friends that solidified Pepperdine University being part of the community in the surrounding area.

Pepperdine College has always remained predominantly White, yet in 1971, when Pepperdine moved to Malibu, the LA Campus dwindled in White students with Black students significantly increasing to being around 17% and the Black faculty (part-time faculty) and staff were in higher representation; whereas, the Malibu campus returned to an overwhelmingly

predominantly white student body (less than 5% Black) and faculty (1 Black Full-Time faculty member). For the first time, Pepperdine University was beginning to look like the changing community once Pepperdine moved to Malibu. Yet, this was not a fluke, the result of a more representative campus only happened through Black activism on campus, White allies on campus who were vocal about a change needing to happen, and Deans Scott and Wilburn who responded to these demands, which made the LA Campus change.

Due to the LA Campus undergraduate population increasing to a double-digit Black student body, the Malibu campus labeled the LA Campus to be the "Black Campus." The labeling of the LA Campus being the "Black Campus" reinforces racist tropes of African Americans should not be admitted in higher numbers or it will change the "characteristics" of the campus. Even though Whites always were in the majority at both the LA Campus and Malibu Campuses, it was the surplus of Black students being in double digits that made the LA campus, to some White people, as being a "lesser" campus with a lack of rigor and the curriculum being below the standard of the Malibu campus.

The research questions are:

(1) How did Pepperdine University handle the internal and external conflict on race, racism, and religion that consumed the LA Campus during 1937 to 1981?

(2) Specifically looking at the years that Pepperdine moved to Malibu, the Los Angeles Campus became increasingly isolated from the Malibu campus during the years of 1972-1981; thus, how did African American students exist on the LA Campus as they went from being a small minority group on campus to a significantly larger minority group during this brief time period?

(3) What was the surrounding African American community's response to the LA Campus and the full closure of the "Urban Campus"?

Our understanding of how one institution can have multiple significant relationships: (1) to the surrounding community of Southern California; (2) to higher education; (3) the Church of Christ congregations; (4) African Americans who lived in Southern California and/or African American Church of Christ members. Speaking with students, faculty, staff, and administration provides insight on how institutions should evaluate the implications of their decisions on developing and sustaining a college and/or university. As colleges and universities must adapt to the surrounding community and the changing context of higher education, it is vitally important to consider the institutions' reaction to the changing environment along with the ramifications its decisions have on all stakeholders. In the midst of the current Black Lives Matter Movement, colleges and universities have much to learn about successes and failures of universities' responses during the 1960s-1970s.

Thesis

When Pepperdine College formed the two-campus model once it left South Los Angeles to open the main campus in Malibu, the LA Campus of Pepperdine College redefined the meaning of a Christian education. The conflict between the LA Campus and the Malibu Campus was about race (Black students, staff, and faculty demanding better/equal treatment and obtaining social justice), location (the property value of the Los Angeles Campus being undervalued versus the Malibu property increasing in value), and faith (defining what it means to be a Christian university).

Research Methodology and Theoretical Framework

In 2013, I took my first trip to Pepperdine University's archives. At that time, the archives were well hidden upstairs of the Payson Library within an unmarked white door that hid away the treasures of Pepperdine's history. The university maintained its archival history through pure donations. The archives became home to pivotal White people in Pepperdine College's history like Helen Pepperdine's papers, wife of the founder, George Pepperdine. Yet, the archives have very little from Black students who attended. There are no remnants of Black student life, such as the Black Student Union, the Black Church of Christ that George Pepperdine helped fund, the first tenured Black faculty member on the campus, or even any of the archival material from the Ethnic Studies department. Within the archives, Black history at Pepperdine University is minimized to a few interviews of the first Black student and the first Black professor on the Malibu campus. For Pepperdine to be so vital to the Black Church of Christ throughout America and the Black community within Southern California, Pepperdine University does not document Blacks' experience and story in the archives through their own words, documents, and perspective.

Overall, the archives poorly saved and organized documents; therefore, a call was being placed to alumni and former people affiliated with the university to donate their memorabilia. There were glaring holes in the history, as there continues to be Blacks that are almost absent from the archives and virtually erased from the history. The call for alumni or individuals connected to Pepperdine to donate materials did not reach their Black alumni and Black community leaders. This is indicative of the blatant disregard to properly include Blacks within the history of Pepperdine University. The previous archivists and student workers were not properly trained, which led to documents being poorly categorized. The newly hired archivists

and the access to more funding created a pathway to organize the retrieved materials with maintaining the integrity of the collected materials.

In 2014, Pepperdine University received a grant to digitize their archives. The goal was to digitize every single document, which was a task. Within a few short years, Pepperdine University's archival list is now almost 100% digitized, but the documents are not close to being 100% digital. You can search the archival list to find the contents of the University Archive, but for most items, you would have to make a request to the Archivists to view the documents in person. Soon after, Professor David Baird published the most comprehensive history of Pepperdine in 2016 to date. Professor David Baird had a level of privilege being that he was not only an emeritus professor, former elder in the University Church of Christ (a Church of Christ congregation that is located on the current Pepperdine University Malibu campus), and the former dean of Seaver College. Due to Baird's unprecedented access to documents, such as the Board of Trustees Papers that is housed in the President's office, it was in 2016 that Pepperdine released policies about how other researchers would gain access to the Board of Trustees Papers. It was decided that researchers would be able to access the Board of Trustees Papers within fifty years. Yet, it was August 2019 that the Board decided to release the first fifty years, as Baird's book revealed a lot of the history that was never released to the public. The Board thought there was no point to hold onto the Board of Trustees Papers any longer. Thus, the Board of Trustees Papers is now available solely in the Archives from the years 1937 – 1969. Eventually, the Board of Trustee Papers will be digitized.

While reading through the first 50 years of the all-White, mostly all-male Board of Trustees Papers, there is little record of a detailed discussion of how the trustees made decisions. The Minutes within the Board meetings were very vague, as they rarely composed the verbatim

conversations that were taking place. On the rare occasion that there was a record of what was said, the minutes provide abbreviated statements to demonstrate there was a debate. Additionally, there are few records of the full reports that were given by the deans, etc. to The Board of Trustees. This record allowed me to track the growth and the maintenance of Pepperdine College. Yet, I had to analyze other documents, such as newspapers and interviews in order to have a more coherent understanding of Pepperdine College. I read these documents to be as factual, but I was unable to understand the tone and the discourse within the Board of Trustee meetings because discussions were rarely transcribed. If I were to read solely the Board of Trustee papers, then I would have never understood that there was ever disagreement amongst the Board Members on any topic.

As I have grown as a researcher from 2013, so has the Pepperdine archives developed in its holdings and organization. The evolution of Pepperdine's archives and myself has created a level of depth within understanding the LA Campus of Pepperdine University. Therefore, this dissertation utilized documents (*The Graphic* student newspaper, *The Inner View* student newspaper, *Urbis Magazine* student magazine, the Student Handbook, the College Applications, the Shirley Roper Papers (Assistant Vice President of Pepperdine University), Norvel and Helen Young Papers (President of Pepperdine University and his wife), Enrollment demographics, George Pepperdine College Records, pamphlets for new programs at the LA Campus) and interviews (Harris Ives, Edward W. Anderson, and Ralph Beck) that were housed in the archives and outside of the archives (*LA Times, LA Sentinel,* Candace Jones' thesis, "White Flight?," Jack Scott resignation letter, and historical publications about Pepperdine University) to have a more comprehensive understanding of the tension between the LA and Malibu Campus along with Pepperdine College's relationship to the surrounding African American community.

METHODOLOGY

Participants

Even though I had a wealth of knowledge from the resources, speaking with students and the deans who were involved in the LA Campus around the formation of the Malibu campus provided context to understand the duality of the campuses. There were a total of five interviews conducted in this study. Through Facebook, I was able to contact Alumna Catherine Meeks, in which after a few months, she responded to having an interview. Catherine Meeks was heavily involved in the on-campus politics, and she has returned to Pepperdine within the last decade as a voice urging Pepperdine University to remember its past and to provide equity on campus for their Black students. In contrast, I was able to find another alumna through a casual interaction at Claremont Graduate University, when a student informed me that her mother attended Pepperdine University between 1972-1981. After asking her mother for permission, I was able to interview Pearl Hendricks Lindsay. In July 2020, my final student interview was with alumni and former leader of the Black Student Union, Rev. William Moore Campbell. This interview provided a great level of context of organized Black activism on campus.

Through my advisor, Dr. Linda Perkins, I was introduced to Dr. Jack Scott, who has been politically active in South Orange County, Pasadena, and throughout the State of California. Currently, his archive is housed at Pepperdine City College. During the Summer of 2019, I was able to meet with the first Provost of the LA Campus after the separation of the Malibu campus. Dr. Jack Scott invited me to his home for this interview. Dr. James Wilburn was the Provost of the LA Campus that replaced Dr. Jack Scott. Dr. Scott's friendship with Dr. Wilburn led to my interest in speaking with Dr. Wilburn. The Archivist at Pepperdine University was able to

initiate contact with Dr. Wilburn. Immediately after the email was sent, Dr. Wilburn met with me at the Dean's Office at the School of Public Policy for an hour.

Organization

This study will be divided into the following parts: Chapter Two, the Westward migration will provide a background of the Church of Christ tradition and Pepperdine College's founding. Chapter Three will provide a literature review that discusses the relationship between the congregations and the universities. In addition, there is a literature review explaining the racism African Americans endured within higher education and within Southern California. Chapter Four is titled, "Out of the Shadows to the Ashes," discusses race within the Church of Christ that explains the evolving relationship African Americans had with the Church of Christ and Christian education, which shaped their relationship with Pepperdine College. The interviews conducted provide a framework of the relationship between Blacks and the Church of Christ, which centered Pepperdine as an important component of African Americans within the Church of Christ. Chapter Five delves into the intersection of the location of the LA campus, the people of South Los Angeles, and the internal conflict of Pepperdine University to solidify the closure of the LA Campus and the implications of it finally leaving the Los Angeles community. The interviews, Trustee Papers, and student documents provided an understanding of these intersections within the final years (1972-1981) of the LA Campus of Pepperdine University. Chapter Six provides a conclusion that would outline the implications of continuously studying the LA Campus along with the various avenues for future study of this time period in Pepperdine University's history.

Terminology

The term, Pepperdine College, will be used to identify the earlier years before Pepperdine became a university. Simultaneously, with Pepperdine becoming a multi-campus, the administration pushed for the institution to be a university and no longer a college. Therefore, when the Malibu campus opened, Pepperdine College became Pepperdine University.

Chapter Two
Westward Migration

On April 17, 1960 in Washington, D.C., during an interview on *Meet the Press,* Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. stated, "It is one of the tragedies of our nation, one of the most shameful tragedies, that eleven o'clock on Sunday morning is one of the most segregated hours, if not the most segregated hours in Christian America." Fifty years later, in 2009, U. S. Attorney General Eric Holder repeated the same sentiment, as Americans "have done a very good job in melding the races in the workplace…certain subjects are off limits and that to explore them risks at best embarrassment and at worst the questioning of one's character. On Saturdays and Sundays, America in the year 2009 does not, in the same ways, differ significantly from the country that existed" (Frieden 2009). Segregated Sundays is true of most Christian congregations, as many African Americans were forcibly or voluntarily converted to Christianity while enslaved. Jones (2020) asserts how "White Christian churches have not just been complacent; they have not only been complicit; rather, as the dominant cultural power in America, they have been responsible for constructing and sustaining a project to protect white supremacy and resist black equality" (6). White supremacy is the core of the American Christian faith. After slavery, many African Americans continued worshiping within the Christian faith, but their equality within society did not equate to equality within the tradition.

Having a traditional congregation was a code word for a return to a predominantly White institution. The Church of Christ was founded during the Second Awakening between 1790-1840 even though these dates are difficult to narrow down due to each congregation being autonomous and loosely affiliated with each other. The Stone Campbell Movement birthed the Church of Christ with Alexander Campbell and Barton Stone came from two separate positions on

humankind, yet they each resonated on the American Christian congregations should return to a more traditional (primitive) church.

Bowers (2001) asserts the Church of Christ is a southern institution. In fact, W.E.B. Du Bois (1929) critiqued the American tradition of Christianity, but he specifically labeled "The American Church of Christ [congregations] is Jim Crowed from top to bottom. No other institution in America is built so thoroughly or more absolutely on the color line." It is rooted in Southern principles, as the church is the evangelical sect of Christianity, in which congregations were largely founded in the Southern and Midwestern states of Tennessee, Texas, Florida, Arkansas, Kansas, Alabama, Oklahoma, and Ohio.

The Church of Christ was expanding with America's expansion out West along with the fever of a religious awakening. This time period of religious "Enlightenment brought the high point of the African slave trade and the rise of systematic racial extermination" (Wilder 2013). America's expansion displaced and eliminated tribal nations through White Americans physical violence under the guise of the Christian faith. Wilder identifies the intertwined relationship between racial superiority and Christianity, "For white Americans, racial beliefs intermingled with the spiritual promises of evangelism and the economic benefits of territorial expansion to affirm their future" (Wilder 2013). White Americans felt justified in its Western expansion to the detriment of Native Americans especially when Benjamin Franklin asserted the mood of White Americans and the open discussion being held in US Congress about the fear of having a multi-cultural society that would incorporate Native Americans and enslaved Africans: "Why increase the sons of Africa, by planting them in America, where we have so fair an opportunity, by excluding all blacks and tawnys, of increasing the lovely white and red?" (Wilder 2013). Franklin went on to say "the number of purely white people in the world is proportionally very

small"; therefore, the need to eliminate Native people through disease and death would promote the Whiteness of America from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific Ocean (Wilder 2013).

White supremacist ideas followed into the Church of Christ tradition that justified having segregated nondenominational congregations. Hughes (2001) explains that after the Civil War, the Southern Church of Christ congregations had a distinct split with the Northern congregations who sought to remain loyal to the Union. Northern Church of Christ congregations' loyalty to the Union fractured unity with the Southern congregations, yet North and South Church of Christ congregations consist of an anti-integration attitude.

In the 1960s, there was a significant movement of southern Church of Christ members who moved North (New York, Connecticut, Toronto) in order to plant more churches that is called the Exodus Movement. National media (Times and Newsweek) described the Exodus Movement as a "new kind of aggressive evangelism," who are a "bulk of the pilgrims are white-collar workers and most of them have secured jobs in advance" to spread the gospel (Ross Jr. 2006). The migration of these ministers were called vocational missionaries, as they were affluent ministers who planted churches all over the Northern area of America and areas of Canada.

White Southerners are also credited to the growth of the Church of Christ amongst African Americans, as they funded buildings for Black congregants to worship and provided donations for Black preachers to continue to spread a gospel that focused solely on the Bible and not the application of the principles found within the Bible. Having racially separate congregations was a form of comfort that perpetuated racial separation amongst Whites and Blacks, as White residents and the Ku Klux Klan continually terrorized Blacks. Since the Civil War, Black towns were created out of necessity to protect Blacks from being terrorized by

Whites. Also, Black towns allowed them to have a sense of economic and political control within their boundaries. Black towns could thrive as long as Whites did not perceive them as a threat. Yet, there is a history of Black towns throughout the country that were still harassed, burned down, and attacked through policies to dismantle these Black towns and redistribute their land and resources to Whites. In fact, some Black residents would even vote for discriminatory policies along with Whites in order to maintain their own self-interest, such as in Oklahoma "In January 1908 [it was] proposed that male offenders would be hung and females [would be] imprisoned" for any Black person having sexual interaction with a White person (Crockett 1979). As White Southerners funded Black congregations to prevent Blacks from attending their churches, Blacks still overwhelmingly leaned to other denominations, such as Baptist and African Methodist Episcopal. By 1916, a "US Religious Census identified nearly 3 million black Baptists; almost half a million members of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church; 257,169 adherents of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion (AMEZ); 245,749 communicants of the Colored Methodist Episcopal (CME) Church; and around 50,000 black Pentecostals" (Robinson 2008).

The few African Americans, who decided to join the Church of Christ, decided for one particular reason – its apparent close interpretation of the New Testament of the Bible was attractive to parishioners (Anderson 1997, Brooking 2003, Robinson 2008, Crawford 2008). Olbricht (1995) describes the restorative message held within the Church of Christ that has five platforms:

(1) The Bible, the whole Bible, and nothing but the Bible;

(2) Jesus Christ himself being the chief cornerstone;

(3) On this rock I will build my church;

(4) The voice of the Messiah and his Apostles [New Testament]

(5) Organized effort [the churches work together on cooperative projects].

African American ministers who solely preached a direct interpretation of the Bible with a focus on the New Testament attracted African Americans who converted from other denominations, such as Baptist to the Church of Christ denomination. The New Testament was a message of hope along with a focus on forgiveness as a pathway to reach heaven. This message was attractive because it was no longer weighed down with the history of slavery found in the Old Testament, yet the emphasis of forgiveness and turning the other cheek mantra allows African Americans to become more tolerant of living under White oppression.

A prominent African American Church of Christ minister, Marshall Keeble, promoted the gospel as "less emotionalism, and the more of the word of God," with his "relentless…criticism of charismatic activities in worship assemblies" (Key 2007, 98). Keeble contended that the term "Baptist" was not found as a term referencing the Christian church; therefore, it should not be used. Unlike the other Christian denominations, there were few Black Church of Christ ministers who participated in the Civil Rights Movement with the exception being Civil Rights Activist and Attorney Fred Gray. Fred Gray was a minister and attorney that worked along with Martin Luther King Jr. and Rosa Parks, which made Jesus' message of forgiveness within the Church of Christ theological approach blend with a social justice interpretation of the Constitution to be utilized in the peaceful approach of the Civil Rights Movement that utilized the legal system and non-violent marches and protest tactics. Even with notable African American Church of Christ congregations, the Church of Christ colleges and universities became one of the last denominations to integrate two decades after Brown v. Board of Education (1954).

With insurmountable odds for the growth of the Church of Christ, Minister Marshall Keeble traveled the South and Midwest with the focus of developing more congregations within Black communities. Not only did he speak with Black communities to baptize newly converted members to the Church of Christ, White congregations invited him to their churches with the sole purpose of fundraising to start Black churches, since Blacks were not permitted to obtain membership within White congregations.

Black male ministers needing to advance in the Church of Christ denominations did not have a school they could attend until Pepperdine College in 1937. Pepperdine College became a staple in the growth of Black Church of Christ congregations because it was the one institution that Blacks could gain a Christian education under the Church of Christ doctrine. Bowers (2001) calls the group of early Black Pepperdine College students as the "gathers of dreamers" because from Pepperdine College inception in 1937 to 1975, Church of Christ Black preachers from the Midwest and the South traveled to California for the sole purpose of gaining an education at Pepperdine College, as they were shut out of the local Church of Christ institutions due to their race. Calvin Bowers was one of the earlier attendees of Pepperdine College, and he later returned to Pepperdine from 1969 to 1976 as the Dean of Ethnic and Urban Studies after much student protest created the Ethnic and Urban Studies program. From 1976 – 2004, he was a Professor of Communication and Religion and the Director of Equal Opportunity Officer at Pepperdine University.

With every incoming class at Pepperdine College, although small in number, African Americans were part of the student body. For decades, Pepperdine remained the only school within the Church of Christ tradition that would accept African American students, as Abilene Christian University did not admit a Black student until 1961. Through word of mouth, African

American Church of Christ members found themselves seeking out Pepperdine College. There is no indication that Pepperdine College aggressively sought out African American Church of Christ students to attend. It was not until the LA Campus split that there is evidence of an open outreach program to attract Black students, and according to Dr. Wilburn, these Black students did not have to be members of the Church of Christ. It was the separation of the campuses, in which the mission of the LA Campus became directly inclusive of Black students and open outreach to develop programs to help the surrounding community. With their focus on spreading the gospel, they became educated at Pepperdine College in order to help develop the church.

African Americans' migration from the South and Midwest to Los Angeles is significant to Los Angeles' Black population growing each decade from 1900 to 1980. In 1937, Pepperdine College opened its doors with only 1 Black student, but by the 1970s, African Americans made up 17.9% of the student population at a time that Pepperdine University's LA Campus was developed as an "urban campus" with the newly formed Malibu campus being the central Pepperdine University location.

Pepperdine College was founded in a middle-class, predominantly white neighborhood of Los Angeles on Vermont Avenue in 1937. On the corner of Pepperdine College, George Pepperdine donated land for Vermont Avenue Church of Christ, in which many members of the administration, faculty, and students used to attend. With the population change of an increasing African American demographic, African Americans nestled into Watts, Compton, and most of South Los Angeles, which by the 1960s-1970s, caused Pepperdine College and Vermont Avenue Church of Christ to find itself in the heart of a more modest African American community. As more Blacks moved into these White neighborhoods, Whites began to move out of South Los Angeles to head for the suburbs, which left Pepperdine College with a hard decision to make –

stay in South Los Angeles like its neighbor – University of Southern California – or flee to the suburbs. The decision for Pepperdine College to relocate out of Los Angeles was a difficult decision because Helen Pepperdine (George Pepperdine's wife) was steadfast against moving Pepperdine College away from its original location; whereas, Bill Banowsky (President of Pepperdine College) was adamant about relocating Pepperdine College. The Board of Trustee Papers indicate a private fight since 1963 about the decision to relocate, especially since land was gifted to Pepperdine College outside of Los Angeles. The discussion became more public amongst the faculty and staff after the Watts Rebellion, but it became much more evident to the students that Pepperdine College would leave Los Angeles after the murder of Larry Kimmons in 1969.

With a flurry of events, the assassinations of President John Kennedy (1963) and Martin Luther King, Jr., (1968) the local assassinations of Senator Bobby Kennedy (1968) and Sam Cooke (1964), and the tremendous unrest that boiled over into the Watts Rebellion from August 11 to 16, 1965, the pressure for Pepperdine College to either stay or leave Los Angeles was an unavoidable discussion. Former President of Pepperdine University, William Banowsky (2010) reflects on driving away from the LA Campus with the feeling of never returning unless the LA Campus moves from South Los Angeles. Thus, the LA Campus becomes an intersection of religion, location, and race, as the Malibu Campus represents the administration placing the LA Campus and the needs of the surrounding community in Pepperdine University's far distant memory.

Chapter Three
The Growing Tide of African Americans Coming to Southern California

Section One: History of Education within California
The Early Years of Race within Southern California Universities

At the time Pepperdine College was founded in Southern California, there were few options for attending college in the South Los Angeles area. This section will explain how other colleges in predominantly White neighborhoods within Los Angeles area dealt with African Americans on campus. Evaluating how these universities responded to African Americans on campus will provide an understanding of how Black students around Southern California were having a similar academically and socially isolating experience.

The earliest college was University of Southern California (1880) in Los Angeles, in which it has consistently remained in the same location even when the neighborhood shifted from a predominantly White neighborhood to a predominantly Black neighborhood. Similar to Pepperdine College, USC did not officially bar any student admission based on race, color, religion, or sex (Shade 1995). On the opposite side of town, University of California, Los Angeles (1919) was another institution in direct competition with USC. Unlike USC, UCLA was located in a consistently White neighborhood. Both USC and UCLA discriminated against students, staff, and faculty based on race, but USC attracted more African Americans because it was easier to physically attend the school with the LA Inter-Urban Railway Company having a train car that would drop off Black residents from South Los Angeles to USC. UCLA was a public school and was more affordable to attend, but a student would have to switch multiple trains and bus systems to reach UCLA if a student was journeying from South Los Angeles. Due to easier public transportation access to the campus and USC's outreach programs, there were slightly more African American students who attended USC over UCLA. During the 1970s-

1980s, African Americans made up 4-6 percent of UCLA's overall undergraduate student body; whereas, White students made upward to 72-75% (Shakelford 2006). In contrast, USC did accept a few more Black students, 5-8 percent, but not overwhelmingly more than UCLA.

In the early years of USC, Black people graduated from the university, and by the early 1920s, there were "65 black students" in attendance and Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Incorporated (historically African American fraternity) was founded on the university (Shade 1995). By the 1930s, USC "ranked third in the nation in international enrollment with more than 700 foreign students – 10 percent of the student body" (Shade 1995).

The Black community requested a larger presence of African Americans on the USC and UCLA campuses. For different reasons, there was also a struggle for Blacks to attend UCLA that has been well documented throughout the years (Shackelford 2006). One of the major struggles was the physical accessibility to the UCLA campus. It was simply hard to travel to Westwood and Blacks struggled to receive basic services, such as a barber and housing in the Westwood, Brentwood, and Bel-Air neighborhood. In fact, "Blacks could not live in Westwood, were not welcomed at student parties, and were denied campus jobs" (Johnson 2017, 37). The first African American Mayor of Los Angeles (Thomas Bradley) recounts his experience of attending UCLA as a long bus commute to UCLA, and he was only "about a hundred Blacks out of seven thousand students," in which he didn't "know of any Blacks who lived directly on campus" (Johnson 2017, 66). The few Blacks who were students found that UCLA had different campuses: "the original old campus downtown, the one at Westwood, and the one for black students" (Johnson 2017, 36). Therefore, Black students found campus life to be segregated, as the location of the classrooms were different from White students, and Black students were excluded from different social aspects of the campus. Even though Black athletes were shielded

from the level of discrimination on campus, it still existed in "The Reserve Office Training Corps (ROTC) never had a black member, nor were there any black professors on campus" (Johnson 2017, 37). Progress was slow, as it was not until the 1930s that there were three Black football players on the team (two of which were Thomas Bradley and Jackie Robinson) at once, and in 1949-1950, UCLA had its first Black student body president (Johnson 2017, 37-39).

Sherrill Luke, class of 1950, was the first African American student body president of UCLA (UCLA in the 1950s, 2019). While president, he "worked against discrimination on campus and led the student government to reject the UC Regent's 'loyalty oath,' requiring employees to declare non-allegiance to communism or risk losing their jobs" (UCLA in the 1950s, 2019). Long after Luke's graduation, he remained involved with UCLA Alumni, as he became a member of the Foundation Board of Directors, the president of the Alumni Association, and a UC Regent. Through Black students protesting throughout the years, by the 1980s, UCLA had more African American students than the other UC schools (Dundjerski 2011).

Christianity in Southern California Colleges and Universities

Even though USC began under the United Methodist tradition, the university eliminated its affiliation in 1952. USC has remained secular (unaffiliated with any religious doctrine), yet Christianity still lingers in the fabric of USC with an on-campus chapel and the campus has a Center for Religion and Civic Culture that is housed in the Dana and David Dornsife College of Letters, Arts, and Sciences that "is committed to developing knowledge about how religion shapes people and the world" (About CRCC). This institute was developed in 1992 after the Los Angeles Rebellion, as a way to integrate how faith groups can connect with researchers and

scholarly work that would help understand the world around us. Additionally, USC has "between twenty and twenty-five Christian groups/ministries recognized every year at USC" (5). Many of the students who were attracted to USC for these Christian groups were under the American Baptist faith, and thus, the American Baptist has provided greater financial support to USC. These groups have a current focus of being a temporary place of worship for students who are away from home. Just as other secular institutions, like UCLA, students can still study at USC to earn an undergraduate and graduate degree in religion. USC does not have a theological school, but the institute does have religious scholars who have worked within the Christian ministry as a minister, pastor, etc. Students were not required to attend a religion course.

A Christian who is seeking a Christian education found him/herself solely interested in attending a private college or university. George Mardsen's works *The Secularization of the Academy* (1992) and *The Soul of the American University* (1992) denotes the history of Christianity within higher education, yet as higher education became more secularized, a Christian-centered institution has a curriculum that strives to develop the "Christian" self along with providing academic instruction.

Three other Christian-based colleges were founded in Southern California before Pepperdine University. First, Chapman University (1861) moved multiple times due to the school consolidating with other colleges and universities. It was in 1920 that Chapman University settled in Downtown Los Angeles. This university stayed in Los Angeles until 1954, when it moved to Orange County, California. At the time, Orange County was undeveloped, and it attracted a more affluent, religious, and politically conservative crowd.

Second, Azusa Pacific University (1899) in Whittier, California moved around Southern California. For a period of time, it was located in Huntington Beach before it relocated to Azusa,

California. Azusa Pacific University began under the name of Training School for Christian Workers (1899-1939), but it changed its name to Pacific Bible College (1939-1957). In 1957, the college became Azusa College until 1965; then, it became Azusa Pacific College until 1981. Azusa Pacific College became a university in 1981 with its existing name, Azusa Pacific University. Azusa Pacific University began as a Bible Institute with a mission of developing Christians to become missionaries around the world. Many of its missionaries found their way to China, Africa, and even Mexico. Even though it was founded in 1899, it wasn't until the 1930s that the university developed a curriculum. Before the 1930s, the school offered no courses. Rather, it was a self-guided program. A student would come to Azusa Pacific University to determine what he/she wanted to learn about God and the Bible, and then the student would leave when the information was received. The primary purpose was for those who left the school to be prepared to establish churches around the world (Otto 2008).

For many years, Azusa Pacific University did not have any Black students. Reviewing the pictorial history of Azusa Pacific University demonstrates a very diverse university throughout its history with students from Germany, Scotland, Japan, Ireland, France, and England. This high-level of diversity continued with adding Mexican and Native American students. In the 1960s, African American students began attending the university when it began to offer more than a Christian curriculum and the college became a liberal arts institution (Otto 2008).

Finally, Biola University (1908) was founded as a Bible Institute that was located in Downtown Los Angeles. Several years after Chapman University moved, Biola University relocated to La Mirada, California in 1959. La Mirada is not as far into Orange County as Chapman University, but it was an indication that people felt that all of the Christian colleges retreated into an area that had a higher White population.

The movement from larger metropolitan areas to the suburbs was deemed as "White Flight," in which White's feared a higher concentration of Blacks moving into Los Angeles, and thus, they were motivated to move out to the suburbs. When Pepperdine College announced that it would also move to Malibu in 1972, many people (including students, staff, faculty, and the surrounding community) viewed it as "White Flight" (Jones 2003; "Two Newspapers?" 1972). Unlike Biola University and Chapman University, Pepperdine University kept its LA campus until 1981, in which the LA Campus remained a (PWI) that accepted more Black students than Biola University and Chapman University, when the LA Campus became more diverse in the midst of a demographic shift that created a predominantly Black neighborhood. President Norvel Young insisted Pepperdine would maintain the two-campus model, but the Black community and the LA student body that stayed behind did not believe this two-model system would last. Having the two-campus model system was still largely viewed as Pepperdine University abandoning the Black community in Los Angeles, especially when every year, the Malibu campus was extracting resources from the LA Campus that were never replaced.

For at least two decades, Pepperdine College and University of Southern California remained the dominant universities for Black students to attend in South Los Angeles due to their close physical proximity to Black neighborhoods. It wasn't until later that California State University, Los Angeles (1947) and California State University, Dominguez Hills (1960) was founded to give students additional options instead of traveling outside of the residential area.

In the 1950s, the Harbor Freeway (110) was extended that helped increase the accessibility of Watts/Compton/Carson to Northern areas of Los Angeles, such as Pepperdine University and USC. Between 1950-1970, the enrollment fluctuated between 2,000 to 2,802 students at the LA Campus ("Enrollment" 1969 and Davies 1973). Fifteen percent of these students were African

American, which made Pepperdine College so unique because it attracted a high percentage of African American undergraduate students because it was more than proximity, but Pepperdine College being a Church of Christ affiliated attracted African American students, such as Calvin Bowers, who moved from Tennessee because of his Church of Christ membership.

Calvin Bowers was constantly denied admission at other Church of Christ colleges, such as Freed-Hardeman College and David Lipscomb College. In fact, Bowers desired to attend Freed-Hardeman College in Henderson, Tennessee because it was close to home, but his application was responded with, "'We regret to inform you that no provisions are made for colored students to attend Freed Hardeman College.' [Bowers] received similar rejections from David Lipscomb College in Nashville, Abilene Christian College in Abilene, Texas; and Harding College in Searcy, Arkansas" (Bowers 2001, 20). As Pepperdine College was the only Church of Christ institution that accepted African Americans, Bowers moved westward to Los Angeles, California. Bowers called African Americans who migrated to Los Angeles, California as the *dreamers,* who the "majority of these men were drawn to Los Angeles by one thing, a Christian education at Pepperdine College" (Bowers 2001, 82). These young men were being pushed to leave the South and the Midwest because they were "unable to attend Christian schools and the pull of Pepperdine welcoming them made their trip west the thing to do" (Bowers 2001, 82). Since the inception of Pepperdine College, African Americans traveled to the only Church of Christ college that was willing to admit them. Yet, Black students needed to find housing off campus because the housing policy excluded Black people and other students of color until the International Dorm would be built.

Section Two: History of Blacks and Christian Colleges

This section connects the history of African American education being linked to religion. Within the history of Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU) was a strong affiliation between religion and education that contributed to some African American students feeling comfortable attending a religious-centered institution like Pepperdine College.

As of 2020, there are 101 (51 public and 50 private) Historically Black Colleges and Universities that are private and public institutions, which are located within 19 states. The African Methodist Episcopal Church founded Wilberforce University in Ohio, the first Historically Black Colleges and University (HBCU) established in the country. Below is a table that lists the name of the universities founded by Black Christian denominations that is organized by the founding date.

Name of the School	***Religious Affiliation***	***Founding Date***
Wilberforce University Wilberforce, Ohio	African Methodist Episcopal	1856
Payne Theological Seminary Wilberforce, Ohio	African Methodist Episcopal	1856
Edward Waters College (Brown Theological Institute) Jacksonville, Florida	African Methodist Episcopal	1866
Allen University (Payne Institute) South Carolina	African Methodist Episcopal	1870
Paul Quinn College Dallas, Texas	African Methodist Episcopal	1872
Livingstone College (Zion Wesley Institute) Salisbury, North Carolina	African Methodist Episcopal Zion	1879
Morris Brown College Atlanta, Georgia	African Methodist Episcopal	1881
Shorter College Little Rock, Arkansas	African Methodist Episcopal	1886
Central State University (A department of Wilberforce) Wilberforce, Ohio	African Methodist Episcopal	1887

Clinton College (Clinton Institute) Rock Hill, South Carolina	African Methodist Episcopal Zion	1894
Miles College (Miles Memorial College) Fairfield, Alabama	Christian Methodist Episcopal	1905

Some white missionaries also established Historically Black Colleges and Universities that had two foci: (1) through educating formerly enslaved people, African Americans would become 'civilized'; and (2) to continue to perpetuate Christian values that were 'instilled' in these "former slaves" when they were owned by "good, Christian, White slaveowners" (Anderson 1988). Even though many of the founders of various HBCUs participated in abolitionist movements and/or were against slavery, they did not view African Americans as equal to Whites, and thus, HBCUs were mostly led by strict student codes that included supervised dating, mandatory chapel, Bible courses, dress code, curfew, and other requirements.

Among HBCUs, there was a hierarchy, as some universities, Fisk University and Howard University maintained a liberal arts curriculum. These universities shaped leaders, such as W. E. B. DuBois and Nikki Giovanni, who attended Fisk University and Thurgood Marshall and Kamala Harris, who attended Howard University. The liberal arts education was counter to many HBCUs that were focused on trades. The two differing HBCU curriculum gave rise to the W. E. B. DuBois and Booker T. Washington's debate over what Black people should be taught. W. E. B. DuBois leaned toward a classical liberal arts curriculum; whereas, Booker T. Washington wanted a vocational curriculum that would help Blacks to become experts in things like agriculture.

Unlike Black-founded HBCUs that had Black presidents, administrators, faculty, and staff, White missionaries who founded HBCUs had White presidents, administrators, faculty, and staff. Whites held these administrative and faculty positions for decades. Abraham Lincoln

signed the first Morrill Act of 1862 that established state universities around the country, which included the Second Morrill Act of 1890 establishing more public universities that included 18 HBCUs. The land given to create state institutions with the Morrill Act of 1890 was land taken from the Native American population, as "An Indian presence became incompatible with progress" (Wilder 249). The growth of America was attached with the growth of higher education; therefore, the land used for the formation of universities was "White Americans [who] had already made ethnic cleansing a preferred solution" to the development of America (Wilder 248). The "gift" of land to formulate HBCUs was dripped in a long history of racial cleansing.

HBCU land-grant universities

Alabama A & M University (AL)	Prairie View A & M University (TX)
Alcorn State University (MS)	South Carolina State University (SC)
Delaware State University (DE)	Southern University System (LA)
Florida A & M University (FL)	Tennessee State University (TN)
Fort Valley State University (GA)	Tuskegee University (AL)
Kentucky State University (KY)	University of Arkansas, Pine Bluff (AK)
Langston University (OK)	University of Maryland Eastern Shore (MD)
Lincoln University (MO)	Virginia State University (VA)
North Carolina A & T State University (NC)	West Virginia State University (WV)

From the years 1868-1935, HBCUs had a huge focus in educating its students due to few African Americans being denied admission to Predominantly White Institutions based on their race. Therefore, "HBCUs primarily provided preparatory programs – special high schools and

sometimes junior colleges – for students aiming to teach, preach, embark on a mission, or attend a university" (Rogers 2012, 11). White philanthropists viewed HBCUs as a place to train Blacks to be "laborers, to be better citizens, and more efficient workers" (Anderson 1988, 81). An example of such an institute was "Hampton Institute: endeavored to mold teachers who would go out and fashion a submissive, stationary, easily exploitable black laboring class through the language of morals, Christianity, virtue, thrift, and freedom" (Rogers 2012, 14). Hampton-Tuskegee curriculum was a merger of Southern whites who wanted to limit Blacks education and Northern philanthropists who felt educating these former slaves would be necessary for integrating them into society, thus "Hampton['s] program would achieve the proper racial hierarchy by teaching black youth to 'work with their hands,' to have 'few wants,' and to stay in their 'natural environment'" (Anderson 1988, 82). White professors ascribed to this curriculum; yet, there were internal (fear of employment retaliation) and external factors (fear of death and harassment) that would prevent them from deviating from the curriculum. White benevolence was masked in White supremacist notions with education being crafted to help Blacks live moral and simple lives. This same sentiment can be found within the LA Campus curriculum and mission when the Malibu campus opened, as Dean Scott wrote about how the campus would focus on a curriculum that would help develop the surrounding community and its "ghetto businesses." Admitting high numbers of Black students and developing a curriculum that was geared toward professional programs, while maintaining a liberal arts only curriculum at the Malibu campus became a mirroring image of White benevolence that could be found at HBCUs.

Due to these restrictive institutions, Rogers (2012) asserts that these HBCUs were "moralizing plantations," as these institutions were the following: "politically roused to teach subordination; philosophically roused by religious affiliation; the presence of women (who

purportedly needed an additional set of patriarchal rules); the concomitant zealous desire among some egalitarian elites and paternal liberals to nurture or prove racial equality and black civilization to white Americans" (14). Rogers (2012) terse argument minimizes the contribution HBCUs had in educating many African Americans, who proceeded to become leaders and educators within their communities. Similarly, Pepperdine University held a weekly, mandatory chapel that was Church of Christ centered. Women had very strict dressing rules, and they continued to be underrepresented in leadership positions. Rogers (2012) most terse assessment of HBCUs being ran by "egalitarian elites and paternal liberals" is indicative of the LA Campus, as Deans Scott and Wilburn were placed at the LA Campus specifically because of their Democratic Party-leaning affiliation, which made them more open to working in diverse communities. Yet, their tone and attitude about their contribution to the LA Campus is one out of helping Blacks, while proving to the donors, Board of Trustees and Malibu administrators that the LA Campus had equal value and the work done on the campus is important and meaningful. The biggest area of criticism Rogers (2012) made about HBCUs is that "Many of the colleges were that in name only [because] most of the students were elementary, junior, and high school age" (Rogers 2012, 14). This aspect became essential since many Southern states did not have high schools for African Americans.

The majority of HBCUs were located in the South, which made these institutions subject to institutional racism. This is most apparent when looking at the funding of HBCUs, as "segregationist-Democrats substantially reduced the funding of public HBCUs and eradicated anyone and anything at these schools that undermined southern white supremacy and capital accumulation" (Rogers 2012, 16). An example of such practices was in "1878, Mississippi Democrats reduced Alcorn State's annual appropriation, ended state scholarships, reduced

classical offerings, and gave the HBCU a new focus: 'scientific and practical knowledge of agriculture, horticulture, and the mechanical arts'" (Rogers 2012, 16). The inequality in funding between public PWIs and public HBCUs continues to be a pressing issue. As recently as 2020, Maryland House Speaker Adrienne A. Jones was attempting to settle a 13-year lawsuit for $580 million over 10 years after the court found the State of Maryland was guilty of underfunding their public HBCUs for no other reason than racial discrimination (Wiggins 2020). We also see this inequity in funding and resources within the two-campus model at Pepperdine University; whereas, the LA Campus kept seeing a shrinking of their services and resources even though tuition steadily increased and student enrollment increased. Yet, all excess money went to the Malibu campus, which left the LA Campus with a skeleton replica of the Malibu campus, as the LA Campus became the life-blood for the Malibu campus to build more of its campus before shutting the LA Campus doors.

The looming question is what should African Americans be taught? The answer to this question was held primarily, and sometimes, exclusively in the hands of Whites. The conflicting ideas were: "Should black higher education teach African Americans to accommodate [being] disenfranchised, separate, second-class citizenship as semi-skilled agricultural, mechanical, and manual laborers controlled by white capital?" or "should black higher education provide (white) liberal arts training in order to equalize the races and give African Americans the intellectual means to fight for civil rights, and for radicals – power?" (Rogers 2012, 17). Pepperdine University had this same open conversation, when Dean Scott openly outlined the programs that were focused on professional studies, such as business that would be focused on helping Black "ghetto" businesses. There was also a focus on helping Blacks to speak more professionally with Ebonics (African American Vernacular English) courses. Yet, it took years after Dean Scott left

for the administration to directly listen to the students (after student protests) to reform the curriculum based on what the *students* wanted to learn, such as Ethnic and Women studies courses.

HBCUs that had White Board Members and administrators took a longer time for there to be a shift in the curriculum to evolve from being trade focused to a liberal arts curriculum. For example, in 1877, Armstrong (1988) “explored the idea of engaging the Hampton students manufacturing cotton clothing for northern markets,” which resulted in “students regularly perform[ing] hard labor for cheap rates in the school’s workshops” to support America’s cotton economy (Anderson 1988, 42-43). These board members wanted to utilize the college as a financial contribution to the economy, as “According to the 1880 annual report, the school’s Knitting Department produced ‘fifteen thousand dozen pairs of mittens for S. B. Pratt and Company of Boston, who sell them chiefly in the Northwest’” (Anderson 1988, 43). As education was taking place, there was an outward concern of there being too many teachers and preachers within the Black community; therefore, “Armstrong sought to regulate the flow and quality of teachers through a careful admissions process” (Anderson 1988, 46). By the early 1900s, Black faculty was more involved in the university, which created a shift in the curriculum from trade-based to a more liberal arts curriculum that would nurture the minds and hearts of young Black scholars to question the segregated world around them.

Both public and private HBCUs were Christian-centered, in which larger corporate philanthropists like the Slater Fund, Rosenwald Fund, Jeanes Foundation, Peabody Education Fund, and the Carnegie Corporation donated a large sum to private HBCUs (Rogers 2012, 17). Roger (2012) focuses the critique of the treatment of its Black student body on the White religiously affiliated private HBCUs. In the early 1900s, Roger (2012) equates the HBCU

presidents showcasing the students as a perpetuation of slavery with "African American students ordered by HBCU presidents to sing spirituals, which to the benefactors harkened them back to the gold ole days of slavery" (Rogers 2012, 18). Choirs like the Fisk Jubilee Singers and the Morehouse Glee Club would travel around the world, as these choirs were useful for college fundraising. These choirs were very different than the Rogers (2012) seething analysis of these practices, as "the slavery shows went on and the money poured in to pacify the Talented Tenth, as many HBCUs resembled plantations with black and white slave drivers for presidents, powerless faculty as slaves, students as cotton, and corporate capital as the slaveholders" (Rogers 2012, 18). Due to the HBCUs, either all-White or predominantly White administration and professorate, the schools' curriculum "aside from maybe one course on Negro history and another one Negro literature, were hardly distinguishable from those at HWCUs" because African Americans had very little to no input on curriculum development (Rogers 2012, 23). It is important to denote that HBCUs that were founded by Black religious denominations were consistently governed with African American leaders with a curriculum centered on African Americans and their experience.

Anderson (1988) stated the curriculum of HBCUs in the early 1900s were focused on "political economy, civil government, and practical morality" that were taught mainly by "white teachers" (49). Therefore, when African American students moved to the West and the North, there were no HBCUs, so attending the Predominantly White Colleges and Universities was attractive. The history of Blacks being deeply religious from the South made attending Christian colleges more aligned with the traditions they were raised.

Stephens (2019) further studies Black students who have decided to attend a PWI Christian university through interviewing 20 students that represented various Christian

denominations (Pentecostal, Non-Denomination, African Methodist Episcopal, Baptist, Church of Christ, Missionary Baptist, Black Foursquare, Covenant Church, Church of God in Christ, Catholic). Through the interviews, Stephens (2019) found that these students feel as if God led them to attend Biola University, which is similar to how Bowers (2001) felt about the *dreamers* who came to Pepperdine College. These students found that attending a university that will engage in their "spiritual development" was significant in their decision to attend a Christian university (Stephens 2019, 148). Yet, while attending these institutions, the students find themselves having to be silent because they wanted to keep "the peace [due to the] consequences of speaking out" even in the midst of experiencing "racial hostility" within the class or around the campus (Stephen 2019, 153). While attending Christian colleges, they find themselves having to experience more racial conversations on campus than they discuss at home. These conversations on campus are due to a "circumstance when there was a national incident or crisis" (Stephens 2019, 155). When these conversations happen within the classroom, "it was difficult because teachers did not know how to help students process these realities" (Stephens 2019, 155). As these students are balancing their faith and the racist incidents that remind them of their Blackness, these Black students' identities are in process because they are "still processing [their identity as Black and American] in college (Stephens 2019, 160). Finally, these students must maintain strength in order to "persist in the face of racial hostility, [and] moving forward when things are ambiguous" (Stephens 2019, 163).

Section Three: The Changing demographics of Southern California

To further understand Pepperdine College is to understand how California was founded through Whites and Blacks migrating from the Midwest and the South. The history of slavery

and racism is entangled with how African Americans were treated in California, and for the sake of this dissertation, Pepperdine College.

Two out of the forty-four settlers who founded Los Angeles, California on September 4, 1781, were African Americans. From the time California was a territory, and later, a state, it has been an interracial location that was a mixture of Native Americans, Mexicans, Whites, and a small fraction of Blacks with a growing Asian population. Being a desert and hard to cultivate, the population did not grow as rapidly as the eastern and southern states. In addition, traveling from the East and the South to California was not an easy journey, but those who embarked on the journey believed California was a land of opportunity.

California was always a Free State, but the laws "seemingly disregarded California's constitutional prohibition of slavery, legislators passed laws preventing blacks from testifying in court against whites, disqualifying them from sitting on juries, barring them from voting, and authorizing slave owners from outside the state to capture blacks they claimed were their slaves and, with the aid of the courts, compel their return to southern plantations" (McGinty 2020, x). Most pro-slavery Democrats controlled California's government, which made California's laws written to be aggressively against Black people and established Jim Crow Laws. Some of these laws included, "no black or mulatto person or Indian shall be permitted to give evidence in favor of or against any white person" (McGinty 2020, 29). The definition of Mulatto is any person with 1/8th of Negro blood. The laws went even further with stating that, "A crime committed by a white person against a black or mulatto would thus go entirely unpunished even if dozens of blacks were witnesses to its commission" (McGinty 2020, 29). Whites in California attempted to make a hostile environment for Black people to live.

Many Californians originally came from the South had profound effects on the formation of California as a state. Black and White people came to California because there was a possibility of gaining wealth from the Gold Rush. Due to Blacks having a high-level of illiteracy and their cultural oral traditions, the many Black people who traveled to California between 1841-1869 were not as widely documented because of "The prevailing illiteracy of blacks prevented them from keeping the diaries and journals in which many white travelers recorded the important events of their western journeys, or writing the letters to loved ones left behind, and when whites wrote about their travels they almost always avoided mentioning blacks, even when they traveled with them" (McGinty 2020, 9). Black people continued to come to California from the following ways: "(1) Traveling the Great Plains; (2) By sea in ships through the Caribbean to Nicaragua or Panama; (3) Traveling from West Indies" (McGinty 2020, 29). If Blacks came from the South, then they had to demonstrate that they received permission from Whites. There was an African Methodist Episcopal church founded in San Francisco to help support all Blacks with legal fees and held demonstrations to advocate for the betterment of Black people's lives (McGinty 2020).

The stagnant California population limited city growth. In fact, the forty-four settlers in 1781 grew to 102,479 people in the early 1900s (Wilkerson 2010). Out of this small population, around 2% (2,131) were African American (Wilkerson 2010). There have been many reasons for California continuously increasing in population, such as governmental policy focused on increasing the population in the West. Yet, it was the building of the railroads, which made it easier to travel to the West that made traveling around America easier. With the addition of the Gold Rush, the rise of oil industries, the development of irrigation, and the growth of industry,

California attracted many people from different racial and ethnic backgrounds, which caused California cities to emerge and rapidly grow.

After the Reconstruction, African Americans swiftly moved out of the South with the belief they were escaping Jim Crow Laws. Unlike other major cities, such as Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, and Detroit, which all had a large growth of African Americans that almost doubled every ten years from 1916-1970, Los Angeles slowly grew in population. As Whites began to see more Blacks on the streets of major cities like Los Angeles, Chicago, and Cleveland, residential boundaries began to be instituted in the 1910s. These black-only districts began to erect ghettos (Flamming 2005). Yet, Los Angeles was different, as it was not until the late 1930s and the 1940s, after the beginning of World War II, that Los Angeles grew over 1 million residents.

It was during World War II that Los Angeles became home to a large aerospace industry and other manufacturing industries, which attracted many workers to South Los Angeles. There was a large growth of "White Southerners also moving to Los Angeles, and they brought Jim Crow with them, especially in the 1930s" (Johnson 2017, 3). In fact, the Ku Klux Klan was revived in Los Angeles, as they "were not accustomed to working besides black citizens with equal pay" (Wilburn 2019). It was as "early as 1946 for example, [when] Klansmen burned crosses on the lawns of ten Black families who had settled [into] white neighborhoods" (Wilburn 2019). There was such a high influx of people from different races moving to California from all over the United States, which forced segregation policies to change. Yet, de facto segregation was more prominent due to people's attitudes on race being hard to regulate. The rapid growth of population in Los Angeles has been growing ever since World War II, but African Americans really came to Los Angeles in the 1950s-1970s.

In the 1940s, African Americans were only 4% of the population, but it was in the 1950s that African Americans doubled to become 8% of the population. A decade later, the African American population turned into 13.5% of the population, in which it was in the 1970s that the African American population increased to its highest point of 17.9% within the City of Los Angeles. African Americans moved here due to jobs, the belief of economic and social progress, and finally, religion. Within the aircraft industry, African Americans were hired, but initially, aircraft companies "kept their black employees segregated, [such as] segregated dances for African Americans" (Wilburn 2019). Additionally, "factories also sponsored Black sports teams and even a Black choral group at North American" (Wilburn 2019). Policies that established segregated work areas subsided when there became a larger flux of African American workers, but racial incidents were not completely eliminated, such as "Los Angeles aircraft plants [gave] caricatures of the minstrel shows, annually produced at Douglas and Northrop, where white workers blackened their faces and, led by an interlocutor, told jokes and performed skits reflecting the 'Sambo' image of the Black man" (Wilburn 2019). Even though Blacks were working alongside Whites, Blacks were still experiencing racism in all areas of their lives.

When African Americans came to Los Angeles, people believed Los Angeles was better for Blacks than other states. W. E. B. Du Bois praised Los Angeles for its progressiveness after he visited in 1913. Initially, it seemed that this was the case. In fact, "Los Angeles hired more African Americans as police officers and firefighters than most other American cities" (Johnson 2017, 3). For their children, and even adults, K-12 and colleges were integrated, as "African Americans did find better schools that were not segregated, better housing that was affordable and had no covenants prohibiting blacks, and better jobs that freed them from a lowly sharecropper existence in the South" (Johnson 2017, 3). For African Americans, California

seemed like a new hope, in which they could have better educational and economic opportunities that were limited in the South and the Midwest. Yet, when Blacks arrived in California, they discovered that there were many restrictive policies that limited where Blacks could purchase homes.

As African Americans were coming to Southern California, they were settling into South Los Angeles. Of the fifty thousand African Americans in Los Angeles in the late 1930s, thirty thousand lived in a long narrow strip of a community extending from Seventh Street to Slauson Ave, a few blocks each side of Central Avenue (Johnson 2017, 2). White Southerners were migrating to Los Angeles, and they brought their Southern attitudes with them. Yet, African Americans were coming to California at a faster pace than Whites (Johnson 2017, 2). African Americans were settling into areas in Los Angeles that "had been neglected by white owners, and [it] was often occupied by more persons or families than it had been designed to accommodate" (De Graaf 1970, 324-325). There were other racial groups, such as Asians, Latinos, along with African Americans, who were subjected to discrimination laws that restricted their lives. As racialized minority groups clustered together in communities around Southern California, Blacks were able to generate wealth (De Graff 1970). Martin Luther King, Jr. and W. E. B. Du Bois was surprised to find the high-level of African Americans who owned homes. Even in racially discriminated areas, "blacks [were] posing as whites penetrated all-white neighborhoods, and whites sold to other blacks in violation of their covenants rather than live with them" (De Graaf 1970, 337). By the 1970s, former predominantly White areas of Compton, Watts, South Los Angeles, Baldwin Hills, and Ladera Heights, all slowly moved to become predominantly African American residential communities.

Section Four: Institutional and Political Racism in California

Racism is a concept that describes racial inequality, in which one race demonstrates supremacy or a societal advantage over other racial groups. Within different disciplines, there are multiple definitions of racism in order to explain how racial differences are evident in all areas of society. For this dissertation, systematic and political racism is defined as "a racist policy is any measure that produces or sustains racial inequity between racial groups" (Kendi 2019, 18). The restrictive racist policies in South Los Angeles created the setting for African Americans to migrate in the same area as Pepperdine College. This section explains how African Americans began to litigate and insist on policy change that allowed them to settle in South Los Angeles. The high number of Blacks settling in South Los Angeles contributed to "White Flight" and the racial tension within Pepperdine College.

As the Black population grew, new laws excluded African Americans. African Americans were forced to purchase land due to White owners making "agreements [that would] resist blacks from moving in[to their neighborhoods]. With such restrictions, African Americans were forced into fast-growing ghettos like the communities that eventually became Watts" (Johnson 2017, 5). These areas were labeled as "ghettos" based on race, as Blacks were restricted to purchase land in certain areas. Yet, Martin Luther King, Jr and W.E.B. Du Bois viewed areas like Watts as not being a ghetto because it was a very well-manicured area, and Blacks in California had a higher rate of homeownership and small businesses than other locations in the country (Mandel 2010). However, in 1963, when Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. visited Los Angeles, he witnessed Black residents complain about school segregation and housing discrimination against the Los Angeles Board. King helped organize the National Association of the Advancement of Colored People, American Civil Liberties Union, and

Community Organized Relief Effort to form the United Civil Rights Council that "took its cue from the southern civil rights movement and waged a series of nonviolent protests against school authorities" (Mandel 2010). African Americans and Mexicans began pressing against restrictive discriminatory laws through filing lawsuits, such as Mendez v. Westminster (1946), which outlawed racial segregation in state schools and Shelly v. Kraemer (1948) that banned restrictive housing practices.

In the 1940s, affluent African Americans began to move to predominantly White areas, such as the West Adams Heights district and the Crenshaw district (Mendel 2010). The response to Blacks moving to predominantly White neighborhoods was the White population in Los Angeles began putting up resistance to minorities moving into White neighborhoods (Johnson 2017, 5). According to Mendel (2010), Whites moved out of these neighborhoods, as well as Ladera Heights, but property values soared in Windsor Hills and Ladera Heights because entertainers, attorneys, and other successful black professionals moved into the area. By the 1970s, most of the Crenshaw district and Ladera Heights were predominantly black neighborhoods. There were "communities like Inglewood [that] posted signs forbidding Jews and coloreds," and this neighborhood was home for many Pepperdine faculty and staff, such as Dr. Jack Scott and Dr. James Wilburn (Johnson 2017, 5).

Home ownership in Los Angeles was made possible due to African Americans pressing the legal system that ensured them an opportunity to purchase homes. In 1914, two African Americans sued a Los Angeles realty company to stop the practice of having race restriction clauses on property deeds. They were successful, and in 1916, *Title Guarantee and Trust Co. v. Garratt* was settled after reaching California Supreme Court in 1920, which outlawed race restrictions being placed on the sale of property. Even though the law allowed African

Americans to buy a house, African Americans still suffered from discriminatory policies. It wasn't until *Shelley v. Kraemer* (1948) that African and Asian Americans were heard before the US Supreme Court in regard to individuals being restricted from settling into neighborhoods based on race. Before *Shelley v. Kraemer* (1948), Compton had an African American population of 4.8% in the early 1950s ("The City of Los Angeles"). By the 1960s, the African American population in Compton grew to 40% ("The City of Los Angeles").

As African American homeownership grew in Los Angeles, they struggled to gain bank home loans. Around the country, African Americans had a limited opportunity to financial capital. Thus, Black-owned banks became central in establishing "chain stores, printing shops, newspapers, and nursing homes" (Ammons 1996, 471). From 1888 to 1928, African Americans founded 57 banks in Pennsylvania, Virginia, Georgia, Washington DC, South Carolina, Louisiana, Illinois, Oklahoma, North Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Texas, and Michigan (Ammons 1996, 473-474). It wasn't until 1964-1965 that there were two African American banks located in Los Angeles, named Bank of Finance and Pan American. Ammons (1996) asserts that African American banks were created because the Federal government infused capital through the Department of Treasury and the Small Business Administration programs that promoted African Americans obtaining bank loans (477).

Not only did future homeowners struggle to obtain a loan, contractors who desired to build homes for African Americans could not gain financing. At a federal level, African Americans and contractors were subjected to "'redlining' policies of the federal government mortgage-assistance initiatives and bank loan underwriting programs…that discourage[d] investment in neighborhoods with communities of color" ("Survey LA" 2018, 31). Additionally, the Federal Housing Association (FHA) "would not fund renovation projects for older housing,"

projects, which "doomed urban neighborhoods with escalating African American populations to decline in promoting all-white suburban neighborhoods" ("Survey LA" 2018, 31). Legal processes were attempting to thwart these financial limitations for African Americans. With the Civil Rights Movement, African Americans increased their homeownership in formerly White areas of Los Angeles. Consequently, Whites left these areas to move to the suburbs.

To combat racist policies, African Americans began to run for office. In 1934, the first African American, Frederick Madison Roberts, was elected to the State Assembly. He served as the only Black person in the Assembly until 1948 when William Byron Rumford was elected. Pepperdine College Alumnus, Kenneth Hahn became a White ally for Civil Rights when he was elected to the City Council from 1947 to 1952, and he joined the fight for "city and county fair employment" for Mexicans and African Americans ("Survey LA" 2018, 32).

Section Five: Major Events in Southern California

Pepperdine College has been shaped with Whites and Blacks migrating from the Midwest and the South, but it has also been shaped by the events within the United States and in Southern California. The Civil Rights Movement and the Black Power Movement stirred activism on college campuses around the United States of America including California. Increased Black migration to South Los Angeles and the impact of racial incidents in South Los Angeles created fear within the hearts of White faculty, staff, and students, which amplified the Board of Trustees and the administration to move Pepperdine College.

World and local events helped shape South Los Angeles, while the African American population grew and more Civil Rights initiatives were taking roots within the city. John F. Kennedy, Jr. was not popular in the Western states, such as Texas, Nevada, New Mexico, Arizona, and California, as his Democratic Primary competitor, Lyndon B. Johnson, had a

stronger relationship with the Mexican population (Garcia 2000). Even though the Kennedy and the Johnson political factions were not fond of each other, at the 1960 Democratic Convention, a compromise was struck to have John F. Kennedy, Jr. at the top of the ticket, and Lyndon B. Johnson would be the Vice-Presidential candidate. Before America heard of the compromise, Robert "Bobby" Kennedy privately met Lyndon B. Johnson to ask him if he was sure that he wanted this appointment. Johnson's response was firm, yet the ramifications of this action caused anger and resentment between the Kennedys and the Johnsons.

African Americans were still largely Republicans, and even famed Black entertainers, such as James Brown supported the Republican candidate, Richard Nixon. Yet, Martin Luther King, Jr. went to jail again, but this time was different. On October 26, 1960, Martin Luther King, Jr. found himself in jail in DeKalb County, Georgia. King would not be simply bailed out like the many times before; instead, he found himself possibly being sentenced to hard labor. Against Campaign Manager Robert Kennedy's advice, but at Jackie Kennedy's suggestion, John Kennedy, Jr. made a decision to use his influence as senator and the DNC presidential nominee to help 6-month pregnant Coretta Scott King free her husband from jail (*Bobby Kennedy* 2018). By morning's light, Martin Luther King, Jr. found himself walking out of jail to the press asking questions about the now infamous phone call. King thanked Kennedy's intervention, but it was this phone call that continued the rift between Dixie Democrats of the South and the Republican Party, when African Americans swiftly moved from the Republican Party to the Democratic Party, who then favored the Kennedy-Johnson ticket (*Bobby Kennedy* 2018).

As African Americans were making legal and political gains, what appeared to be their audacity of hope died in Texas on November 22, 1963 when President Kennedy was shot in Dallas, Texas. It was that very night that Walter Cronkite announced that President Kennedy

had in fact died from the assassin's bullet, which left Jackie Kennedy in a bloodied pink suit standing next to Lyndon B. Johnson while he was being inaugurated on Air Force One at a Texas airport tarmac. In an already on-the-edge city because of a large young African American unemployment rate and an even larger number of African Americans who are discontent with racial discrimination, the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, Jr. hurt the Los Angeles community.

Within a year and a month, another reverberating blow hit South Los Angeles. Sam Cooke had a long legacy within the music industry and in South Los Angeles. Originally from Chicago, Sam Cooke relocated to Los Angeles when he made music for RCA. Throughout his music career, he was associated with Malcolm X, Mohammed Ali, and other Civil Rights and Black Nationalist leaders, yet it was his Civil Rights message infused within his music and his belief in African Americans owning all means of production of their music that his legacy was cemented. Sam Cooke's most famous song, "A Change is Gonna Come" (1964) was originally released without the second verse that referred to the restrictions of living within a Jim Crow South. RCA censored much of his music that spoke about segregation because Cooke was a crossover musician. Within 1964, Sam Cooke received a number of warnings from people like Sammy Davis, Jr. to stop pushing for Black ownership of his own masters, the power to distribute his music, and the ability to manage his own concert bookings ("Remastered: The Two Killings" 2019). Despite all of the warnings, Sam Cooke forged ahead, so on December 11, 1964, when he was found half-naked, shot within the Hacienda Motel in Watts, California, many people close to him did not believe that he was shot for the reason that he was aggressively chasing after the Hacienda Motel manager.

When the news announced Cooke's death, the LAPD in the 77th police station received a large number of phone calls from concerned people. The police response was reportedly timid, which infuriated the African American population because "if someone like Cooke's death is meaningless to them, then how does the police feel about us" ("Remastered: The Two Killings" 2019). Mystery engulfs his death, and leaders, such as Muhammad Ali vocalized discontent with the lack of the FBI's investigation in his death ("Remastered: The Two Killings" 2019). Even though his funeral was held in Chicago, there were 200,000 people who showed up to protest the circumstances of his death in Los Angeles.

Within a matter of months, the Watts Rebellion occurred. Some of the reasons that led to the Watts "uprising was the result of young African Americans' high unemployment rate, poor quality of housing, lack of access to decent education, and police brutality" ("SurveyLA" 2018). The effects of the Watts Rebellion from August 11 to 16, 1965 were widespread as it diffused "The perception and popular myth that Los Angeles was a city favorable for African Americans was shattered, and whites were forced to publicly deal with the long history of racial inequality" ("SurveyLA" 2018). The Watts Rebellion not only changed South Los Angeles, but it also changed the temperament of Pepperdine College. Pepperdine College was 'home-base' for the National Guard that was used to squelch the Watts Rebellion, which made a statement that Pepperdine College was on the side of 'law and order.' Banowsky (2010) remembers the moment being "After the total evacuation [of Pepperdine students, staff, faculty, and administrators], the Pepperdine campus did not stay empty for long. As the faculty and students moved out, the National Guard moved" on campus (53). Within a week after the Watts Rebellion, George Pepperdine College opened in the Fall semester of 1965 with the community South of the campus still simmering from the Rebellion. Bill Banowsky initially left Pepperdine

College once the Watts Rebellion occurred, as he told President Norvel Young that Pepperdine would need to relocate before he would return. As Banowsky drove away, so did other White students who left Pepperdine, which resulted in fewer White students attending Pepperdine because there were more schools opening in the perceived safer neighborhood of Orange County, such as CSU Fullerton, Chapman University, and Biola University. Yet, White Church of Christ students selected to attend other universities, such as Abilene Christian University and Lipscomb University that were more popular and older than Pepperdine College.

White students, administrators, staff, and faculty pointed out that the neighborhood surrounding Pepperdine College became increasingly dangerous. Wilburn recalls the high-level of crime that was happening to students, faculty, and staff around the campus, as people were being robbed and the campus was being vandalized. Jones (2003) writes how "Dr. Lawrence Hornbaker, Executive Vice Chancellor on the Malibu campus (1990-2002), recalled that administrators of GPC considered two options," as the Watts Rebellion was the catalyst for Pepperdine leaving South Los Angeles (42). Jones (2003) further details how a group was formed to be an "advisory panel" to "deliberate" for a "new location and promote the multi-campus concept" (42). Banowsky (2010) somewhat agrees, as "Heaven may have predestined the Malibu miracle, but the 1965 Watts Riots determined its timing" (51).

In contrast to both Jones (2003) and Banowsky (2010), The Board of Trustees Papers indicate that Pepperdine was considering relocating *before* the Watts Rebellion, but the selection of the property was expedited after the Watts Rebellion. By the 1960s, Pepperdine College had more than one campus, with a professional school in Orange County. Donors were beginning to give or offer land to Pepperdine College around South Los Angeles; therefore, there was a discussion to relocate the campus. Before the Watts Rebellion, the Board of Trustees were

largely against moving the campus. Yet, the Watts Rebellion changed the sentiment because Pepperdine College was losing donors and students if they did not make a decision to leave Los Angeles ("The Board of Trustees" July 30, 1968).

There were a variety of options for Pepperdine to relocate. In 1966, more property was given near the LA Campus along with the $5 million campaign to expand Pepperdine to Calabasas ("The Board of Trustees" August 25, 1966). In 1968, Pepperdine College was given an option to move between the Westlake property that would "yield 77 buildable acres, excluding roads, and the total is 264 acres" and 55 acres in Malibu ("The Board of Trustees" June 24, 1968). The costs of these two locations were considerably different with "1,650,000 for the 55 acres at Malibu and $933,000 for the 77 acres at Westlake. The differential for off site sewer costs were not covered" ("The Board of Trustees" June 24, 1968). Within the June 24, 1968 meeting, the Board of Trustees included H.E. Acklin, W. Austin Ellmore, Robert P. Jones, Donald Miller, James L. Lovell, Mrs. Helen Pepperdine, Arnold Sallaberry, Clarence Shattuck, Nile Yearwood, in which there was a large discussion with some board members wanted to stay in Los Angeles, others wanted to move to Westlake, and others wanted to move to Malibu. Out of the three, the Malibu location was the least favorite, as the beach location would have an

> effect on morals and student exposure of a beach resort environment in general and Malibu in particular. Concern was expressed, particularly as to the future, because of the uncertainty of the environment development at Malibu, whereas the environment at Westlake has already been generally established ("The Board of Trustees" June 24, 1968).

The cost of building a Malibu campus was not the primary argument against the move to Malibu; rather, the Board of Trustees were more concerned about the students' spirituality and conservative morality if they were to attend school in Malibu. For the Board, austerity was closer to God, and the Westlake campus would provide the perfect setting for Christians to remain focused on God and their studies.

As the debate of the location raged, the Board of Trustees was noticeably silent about how race influenced the decision to relocate. The Board of Trustees' silence on race forming its decision on where to move is similar to Toni Morrison's premise within *Playing Within the Dark* as the tension of race must be present because the all-White Board of Trustees was overtly silent on race being a contributing factor for the relocation. The Board was still not completely pushed toward the Malibu location since the Westlake location was receiving the highest consideration amongst the board members, such as Helen Pepperdine (wife of George Pepperdine) who heavily preferred the Westlake location ("The Board of Trustees" July 30, 1968). Yet, Dr. Young received a call from a donor who would give a cash donation of $500,000 if they did move to Malibu ("The Board of Trustees" July 30, 1968). Dr. Young does not disclose the name of the donor, but the move to Malibu "brought substantial pledges from Richard Scaife, the Pittsburgh heir of the Mellon fortune, and Blanche Seaver, the widow of oil tycoon Frank R. Seaver" (Baird 2016). It was this initial offer that finally solidified how "Malibu had an advantage for fundraising appeal which would offset the cost differential" ("The Board of Trustees" July 30, 1968). Blanche Seaver also led the charge to make Malibu Pepperdine University's home through connecting Dr. Young and Dr. Banowsky with a network of donors.

As Banowsky led the charge for Malibu being Pepperdine College's new home, it was Dr. Young that pressed for the two-campus model, in which many of the Board wanted to make "a strong commitment to carry out a creative program on the inner city campus, serving the inner city, and stressing the dual campus idea. Mr. Shattuck put this in the form of a motion, which was seconded by Mr. Crothers and unanimously carried" ("The Board of Trustees" June 24, 1968). There were more members of the Board of Trustees who were committed to Pepperdine University moving, than the number of Board members who wanted to maintain the LA Campus.

As decisions were still being made about Pepperdine moving to Malibu, another blow to America's psyche occurred, Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated on April 4, 1968. Cities around the country were gripped with Rebellion, but luckily, LA did not experience another unrest. Instead, there were a number of memorials around the city. Pepperdine College held memorials, and there was a memorial at "South Los Angeles Church of Christ that had 1500 people, black and white" in attendance (Baird 2016, 158). King's assassination and the subsequent memorial services "prompted college administrators to pledge to recruit black faculty, to organize and offer a black history courses (taught by African American Beulah Marks), to experiment with admission standards for promising black students, to review on campus *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, to involve more black students in college chapel series, and to charter the Association for Black Students (ABS) as a student organization" (Baird 2016, 158). Baird is missing the component that these decisions resulted from Black students continuously pressing administration for Black students to be more included in the social and educational fabric of Pepperdine College.

The day Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated, Robert Kennedy was on a campaign trail. He calmly spoke to the crowd about his experience of having a brother shot just five years before Dr. King. His level of compassion was felt amongst the audience. Yet, just two months later, Robert Kennedy was assassinated on June 6, 1968 in Los Angeles at the Roosevelt Hotel on the very night he won California for the Democratic Presidential Primary Campaign. Unlike King, Robert Kennedy was shot live on television in the midst of supporters, such as Dolores Huerta. Americans could hear the gasps and shocks around the room. Instantly, the shooter, Sirhan Sirhan, was detained at the location. Yet, the shock was felt around California because Kennedy was shot in Downtown Los Angeles, and he was involved in various Californian

movements. Just as King, Robert Kennedy participated in the Farmers Movement with Cesar Chavez. Kennedy was also popular among young people around the country. Violence did not happen around the United States of America, but many Americans stood aside the railroad tracks to give their final goodbye as Bobby Kennedy's body traveled by train from Los Angeles to Boston.

All of these deaths and events helped shape Los Angeles and America within the country, and it was in the late 1960s that helped truly usher in Black Power movements that were more prominent in Oakland, as the Black Panthers (est. 1966) were founded in Northern California, and the US Organization (est. 1965) was founded in Southern California. Both UCLA and USC had demonstrations pertaining to racial inequality.

The subsequent chapter explains race within the Church of Christ institution, which made Pepperdine College an attractive place for African American students. Thus, the influence of Pepperdine College was helping the growth of the African American Church of Christ and the African American community within South Los Angeles.

Chapter Four

The Complexity of Race within the Founding and Evolution of the Church of Christ that Resulted in the Complexity of Race within Pepperdine College's Founding and Evolution

History of the Church of Christ & Institutions

During the 19th century, there were various religious awakenings, yet the Stone-Campbell Movement is the foundation of the Church of Christ testament. It was Barton Warren Stone (1772-1844), who was a Presbyterian minister that asked for individuals who believed in Christ to be called Christian. Additionally, Thomas Campbell (1763-1854) and his son, Alexander Campbell (1788-1866) called for there to be 'one Church of Christ' ("Disciples History" 2020). The focus of this movement creates a doctrine centered on the New Testament. Amongst the Church of Christ, there are "three ordinances or sacraments: Baptism, the Lord's Supper, and the Lord's Day" (Hicks 2008, 1). The Baptism "means grace through faith for justification as we participate in the death and resurrection of Jesus" (Hicks 2008, 2). The Lord's Supper is "grace through faith for sanctification as we remember and/or commune with the body and blood of Christ" (Hicks 2008, 2). Finally, the Lord's Day is "grace through faith for communal worships as we celebrate the resurrection" (Hicks 2008, 2). In 1915, A. B. Lipscomb "editor of the *Gospel Advocate,* published…a special issue on the Lord's Supper" that is "commemorative (memorial, monumental) and declarative (testimonial, proclamation)" (Hicks 2008, 10). The foundation of the Church of Christ grew out of the Presbyterian, Independent, and Baptist traditions that focused on Jesus' grace found within the New Testament. The universities and colleges soon followed, as the first Church of Christ college was founded in 1866.

The Church of Christ was founded as individual congregations, which made each church unique. The differences range from "Only a few Churches of Christ congregations have adopted the use of instrumental music during their worship services; others believe this act constitutes a

blatant disregard for God's clear commands in Scripture" (Crawford 2008, 6). The lack of consistency amongst the various denominations along with the "Lack of official governing body, the Churches of Christ have sought direction through denominational journals, colleges, and lectureships" (Crawford 2008, 6). The journals, such as the *Gospel Advocate* and lectureships that were often held at Abilene Christian College became the place that theological and race discussions happened for the various members of the church to discuss.

Additionally, the colleges provide a foundation for educating congregants, specifically ministers, which was strengthened when Church of Christ congregations became affiliated with a college, institute, and university. Below, is a list of all the Church of Christ affiliated colleges and universities along with the founding date and location:

Church of Christ Affiliated Colleges and Universities

Milligan College, 1866 in Tennessee Lipscomb University, 1891 in Tennessee Abilene Christian University, 1906 in Texas Johnson University Florida, 1909 in Florida Johnson University Tennessee, 1909 in Florida/Tenn. Austin Graduate School of Theology, 1917 in Texas Freed-Hardeman University, 1919 in Tennessee Cincinnati Christian University, 1924 in Ohio Harding University, 1924 in Arkansas Manhattan Christian College, 1927 in Kansas Pepperdine University, 1937 in California Faulkner University, 1942 in Alabama Florida College, 1946 in Florida Oklahoma Christian University, 1946 in Oklahoma	Southwestern Christian College, 1946, Oklahoma Mid Atlantic Christian University, 1948 in Georgia Southern Bible Institute, 1948 in Texas[1] Summit Christian College, 1951 in Nebraska Rochester College, 1954 in Michigan York College, 1890 in Nebraska but transferred to Church of Christ in 1956 Cascade College, 1956 in Oklahoma Lubbock Christian University, 1958 in Texas Ohio Valley University, 1960 in West Virginia Crowley's Ridge College, 1964 in Arkansas Ambridge University, 1967 in Alabama Heritage Christian University, 1970 in Alabama Nations University, 1996 in Tennessee

The Discussion of Race within the Church of Christ

[1] George Bowser founded the Southern Bible Institute, and it was the only HBCU affiliated with the Church of Christ theology. In 1949, the school changed its name to Southern Christian College. This college did not attract a high number of African Americans like African Americans were attracted to Pepperdine College. One of the primary reasons is the curriculum remained focused on obtaining a 2-year degree (and later, a 4-year degree) with a focus in Religious Studies that still remains today.

The Church of Christ was largely a Southern and Midwestern religious tradition that began planting churches in the Northern and the Western states. The Church of Christ has been and continues to be a predominantly white denomination with “membership of just over one million people, 169,000 of whom are African American” in 2007 (Crawford 2008, 5). According to the most recent Pew Research Center on Religion and Public Life (2014), Black membership grew from 10% in 1980 to 16.9%. The Pew Research Center on Religion and Public Life (2014) reports that the Church of Christ membership is 50% Republican, anti-abortion, anti – gay, 60% female, with only 12% consider themselves liberal that demonstrates the conservative beliefs within the church. The congregation is largely without a post-high school education, with 11% are college graduates and 7% have a post college education. Even though African American membership has been sporadically held in low numbers, racism has been vaguely addressed throughout the years.

During the Stone-Campbell Movement (1772-1844), there was minimal discussion on slavery. In fact, Campbell wrote that his primary purpose was to “preserve unity of spirit among Christians of the South and of the North…for that purpose I am endeavoring to show how the New Testament does not authorize an interference or legislation upon the relation of master and slave” (Crawford 2008, 9). As the movement attempted to focus solely on the Bible, it was attempting to ignore a position of pro- or anti-slavery. Campbell’s position is a contradiction, as he lobbied for anti-slavery legislation during the 1829 Constitutional Convention of Virginia, but also asserted that the Bible didn’t contradict the practice of slavery (Crawford 2008, 9). Yet, in 1845, Campbell asserted the position that the abolitionist message is not within the New Testament, as the Bible permits “Christian masters and Christian servants” (Crawford 2008, 9). The only real way to reconcile these diverse opinions is the ability for Campbell to focus on

Bible verses. Within the *Millennial Harbinger*, Campbell has made statements against the treatment of enslaved people not being appropriate and that slavery was a societal ill that America will have to endure. Yet, Campbell was unwilling to take a more public stance as an abolitionist, as the Church of Christ was mainly a Southern denomination.[2]

After slavery was abolished, the growth of the Black Church of Christ began to sprout in the South and the Midwest. The Church of Christ had many white members who "simply dislike blacks, but most whites favored the maintenance of cordial relationships" (Key 2007, 36). These cordial relationships meant that many White Church of Christ members were noticeably silent on increasing equality between Blacks and Whites. In fact, "Worship assemblies that included black and white members were typically segregated with a rope down the center aisle, even though there were occasional exceptions to this practice" (Key 2007, 36). Thus, African Americans mainly had their own denominations, with one prominent evangelist, Marshall Keeble, who traveled around the South and the Midwest to help plant congregations when he began preaching full-time in 1914.

Marshall Keeble was the most prominent Black evangelist within the Church of Christ tradition. He traveled across the South and the Midwest to preach. Keeble was largely influenced by

> White leaders in Churches of Christ who influenced his development as a Gospel preacher. Three white men in Churches of Christ played seminal roles in shaping his ministerial growth, including: David Lipscomb, a formative voice in the southern wing of the Stone-Campbell Movement; Nicholas B. Hardeman, president of Freed-Hardeman

[2] *Millennial Harbinger* was a religious magazine that was founded by Alexander Campbell in 1830. Campbell was the editor until his son-in-law, W. K. Pendleton, who took over in the 1850s. When Campbell passed away, the *Millennial Harbinger* continued until 1870 when Pendleton discontinued it. This magazine was utilized as a way to help congregants communicate about controversial issues, while holding the movement together. The largest issue the magazine covered was the issue of slavery, as the magazine attempted to reconcile the complexity of the pro-and anti-slavery positions within the Church of Christ faith.

> College in Henderson, Tennessee; Joe McPherson, male-carrier preacher (Robinson 2008, 15).

The White Church of Christ members valued the importance of Black churches, such as "A. M. Burton worked diligently to provide moral, spiritual, and intellectual improvement of the black southerners, but never publicly disavowed the racist structures that oppressed and demoralized them" (Robinson 2008, 24). Having separated churches ensured Blacks were still remaining aligned with Christian principles that would make them "civilized." The individualized congregations allowed Blacks to never intermingle the congregations, while the White Church of Christ congregants would maintain their "responsibility" and overt paternalistic governing over Blacks souls through donating money to start Black Church of Christ congregations. The goal of continually planting Black churches became the responsibility of White congregants, as Black churches would need "support" as Black churches were "prone to wander from the teachings of the Bible" because they would not stay true to the words from the Bible (Robinson 2008, 24-25). White congregations became a patron of the Black church with the belief that they were saving the souls of Black people, while reinforcing white supremacy through utilizing the Church of Christ doctrine of Jesus' commanding His followers to constantly forgive those who transgress. Jones (2020) asserts that utilizing Jesus "by most white congregations was not merely indifferent to the status quo of racial inequality; [Jesus] demanded its defense and preservation as part of the natural, divinely ordained order of things" (6). Even though white supremacy is antithetical to Jesus' teachings, the use of Jesus' parables focuses on salvation and less on caring about society. Thus, for White Church of Christ congregants, funding Black churches was doing Jesus' work while also enabling the Church of Christ (and many of its colleges and universities) to mostly remain segregated well after Brown v. Board of Education (1954) and the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Marshall Keeble was very aware of the dangers of traveling within the segregated South to ask for white congregants for financial support of the Black churches. White Southern Church of Christ members would describe Marshall Keeble as "meek," "humble," as Keeble's "acquiescence to segregation's dictates" (Robinson 2008, 36). White Church of Christ members would applaud Keeble for never openly seeking "change in social and political structures; he never commented on the infamous Scottsboro case while preaching in Alabama; never denounced the KKK's brutality he encountered in Florida while establishing black congregations; never publicly celebrated the Brown decision of 1954; never overtly supported the efforts of the NAACP, the SCLC, the SNCC, or any other civil rights organization intent on eradicating Jim Crow in the South" (Robinson 2008, 38). Keeble's silence and ability to focus solely on the New Testament permitted Keeble to be tolerated amongst racists, and his silence also saved his life while preaching in communities that were overtly hostile to Blacks. Additionally, Keeble "never applauded the work of Martin Luther King, Jr. before predominantly white audiences, nor did he denounce the horrific murder of Emmett Till or the hundreds of other lynchings common in the South throughout his life" (Robinson 2008, 38-39). Keeble's ability to openly remain silent on racism allowed him to interact with Whites to help fund his evangelist mission of spreading the Gospel to Black communities. His complete indifferent attitude to racial justice was indicative of many Blacks' attitudes within the Church of Christ tradition. He was able to solely focus on ministering to Black people without acknowledging racial inequality and Blacks suffering under the oppressive Jim Crow institution. Even though this attitude was not about accepting being inferior, Keeble did accept separatism, while uplifting White superiority when he refrained from engaging with racial and social justice issues. He did create separate institutional structures, such as a theological school for Blacks

along with Black Church of Christ congregations within areas throughout the South and Midwest that were plagued with the KKK.

Instead of using his moments to speak out about injustice, he focused on the Word of God. The ability of not being offended from being called a ‘nigger’ or ‘darkey’ allowed him to travel amongst Black and White congregations. Overall, Keeble was able to “close his eyes to the violence lawless white mobs inflicted on black innocents. He personally endured verbal insults and physical assaults, accepting the subordinate ‘place’ white believers assigned him, while drawing back from public criticism of whites in Churches of Christ who supported the Jim Crow system” (Robinson35). His ability to focus solely on the Bible and ignore the Civil Rights issues allowed him to solely focus on growing the Black Church of Christ through spreading the Word of God. Whites permitted Keeble access into spaces that no other Black people were given because he was able to operate within his second-class position without protest and with noticeable contentment. His ability to mask his feelings about race made his mission to spread the Gospel more prominent. Keeble’s meek attitude gained him favor amongst White Church of Christ congregants, while Keeble was a model of how Black Church of Christ congregants should behave. The legacy was not just building the church, but he modeled acquiescing behavior Blacks within the Church of Christ faith should emulate with White people. This silence allowed Black Church of Christ congregants to largely remain silent against racial inequality within the Church and society, which really gave space to benevolent Whites speaking on racial injustice before many Black Church of Christ ministers spoke up.

Keeble continuously attracted African Americans to the church even though he remained silent on issues pertaining to race. It would appear that Keeble attracted more moderate Blacks who did not want to participate in the Civil Rights Movement and was able to tolerate a

symbiotic, benevolent relationship Whites had with Blacks. Many Blacks, who are and/or former members of the Church of Christ, warned "against judging Keeble too harshly because he is heavily regarded within the community when he was just focused solely on the growing the Black Church of Christ congregations" (Meeks 2019). Thus, Keeble remains highly regarded amongst Black Church of Christ members.

Keeble was able to focus on the Bible through spreading a message about how the Word of God is always right. His sectarian beliefs in how the "Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, Pentecostals, and other groups who deviated from the 'written word' were not Christians; only members of the Church of Christ comprised the one true church" was rooted in the White theological interpretation of the Church of Christ doctrine of the Bible (Robinson 2008, 60). These denominations had a vibrant musical element of the service along with "shouting" (dancing with the Holy Ghost), in which the White Church of Christ doctrine judged these actions as deviations from the Word of God. Through his evangelism with tent revivals, Keeble went after attracting these people away from their churches. His beliefs empowered him to be diligent and active in reaching out to African Americans across the South to convince them that they should convert from their own denominations to become a member of the Church of Christ. When evaluating the Christian membership in 1916, "the US Religious Census identified nearly 3 million black Baptists; almost half a million members of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church; 257,169 adherents of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion (AMEZ), 245,749 communicants of the Colored Methodist Episcopal (CME) Church; and around 50,000 black Pentecostals" (Robinson 2008, 99). Keeble was focused on these groups to actively convert African Americans to become members of the Church of Christ.

Brother Keeble stated it was a "blessing" to be able to speak in front of White congregants in order to support his religious pursuits in spreading the Gospel and converting African Americans. He did so with "the financial assistance of white Christians led directly to the emergence of a large number of black Churches of Christ in Alabama, empowering Keeble's evangelistic efforts in that state with their time, money, and presence" (Robinson 2008, 83). Having a Black man preach in front of a White congregation was not a frequent practice, but he was trusted "with their souls, but not with their women" (Robinson 2008, 96). Therefore, there was great care made to limit the level of contact Black ministers had with White women, as White men believed that Black ministers could be very charming and attract the desires of White women. White ministers maintained White supremacist ideas that Black men were sexual deviants; therefore, White women must be more physically protected than their soul being saved.

Keeble had a three-prong plan to save the souls of African Americans: (1) "the white benefactors in Churches of Christ regularly contributed to African American evangelists and their churches," which was done for white patrons to have "God's favor on the white churches for working unstintingly with him to bring salvation to the black race" (Robinson 2008, 74). Keeble continued to demonstrate that it was White congregants' spiritual duty to help Blacks additionally become members of the faith. He maintained and upheld a paternalistic relationship with White Church of Christ congregations, as it was their Christian duty to protect the souls of formerly enslaved people through donating to build segregated churches and financially support Black ministers to preach passivism through focusing on the New Testament that would maintain Blacks staying as second-class citizens

The second part of Keeble's plan was to identify the "'call of the white brethren' with the 'call of God,' answered the requests of white Christians who yearned to see their black neighbors

saved, and his response led to the emergence of African American Churches of Christ throughout the South" (Robinson 2008, 74). As African Americans were already familiar with Christ through the years of slavery being subjected to the limited Bible messages, many Blacks still were devout Christians, but White masters were no longer guiding their spiritual well-being. Yet, Keeble argued that White Christians should continue to care about Black people's spirituality through asking "a good colored preacher" to visit their community to speak with Blacks about being saved and accepting God into their lives (Robinson 2008, 91). The sentiment of a "good colored preacher" speaking to the Black community is reminiscent of the traveling black preacher who would travel to plantations in order to keep slaves comfortable in their servitude roles. Keeble had the ability to ensure that the Black residents would be comfortable with their second-class citizen status and refrain from being involved in the Civil Rights Movement.

When "a good colored preacher" like Keeble arrived, Keeble would complete his three-prong plan by having to preach "a theologically exclusive Gospel that denied the legitimacy of other religious groups and a racially inclusive Gospel that embraced racially mixed audiences and won black and white converts, he received the bulk of his financial support from Caucasian Christians" (Robinson 2008, 74). When Keeble died in 1968, he left a legacy of traveling around the country helping to plant African American churches on the backs of White Christian donors. Amongst his many travels around the West, Midwest, and the South, he felt most comfortable in the South, as his message was more well-received due to his humble demeanor and his inability to involve himself in the Civil Rights movement or even speak about equal rights. His servant attitude appeased the fears of White Church of Christ congregations, which allowed him to be accepted in spaces that many Blacks were not allowed.

Broking (2003) studied Keeble's strategy to determine if he was a "submissive Tom used by whites to accomplish their goals among blacks, or to determine if he was pursuing his own grand strategy to defuse racial tension in the Church of Christ." In 1950, Keeble spoke about his experiences of speaking with other White Church of Christ ministers in front of Abilene Christian College to demonstrate the importance of African American ministers having an education (Broking 2003). The National Christian Institute became a valuable place for Black Church of Christ ministers to study under Keeble. Therefore, he worked heavily into developing a school for ministers to strengthen his work at Nashville Christian Institute until Keeble died. Even with Keeble's reputation, "The Tennessee Board of Education wanted to know how a man with a seventh-grade education would be able to run an accredited school" (Broking 2003). Additionally, Keeble struggled with financing the National Christian Institute, in which Keeble had tent meetings to help fundraise for the school that had expenses of $1000 per month in the 1940s. President Keeble of Nashville Christian Institute would continue to preach and speak at various places, such as David Lipscomb College "during the week [when] the doors would be open for Black Christians. The Black Christians were made to sit in a roped off section in the balcony and a love offering would be taken up for the white school" (Blankenship 2012, 50). Black congregants were not allowed to attend the college, but they were asked to donate to the college to keep its doors open. From behind the rope, Black people gave money to keep colleges open that they would not be able to attend for decades. A year before Keeble died, in 1967, the Nashville Christian Institute closed and transferred its assets to David Lipscomb College – the very college that did not integrate until a few years before the Board for Nashville Christian Institute voted to close its doors (Ross Jr. 2018). Blacks were truly seen as less than second-

class citizens because Whites continued to take from them for the sole benefit of White Church of Christ congregations.

Keeble's high level of admiration amongst the Church of Christ community, especially the Black Church of Christ congregants meant that the closure of National Christian Institute occurring after Lipscomb University integrated in 1967 was heartbreaking. The transfer of National Christian Institute's assets to Lipscomb University instead of the assets being acquired by Fisk University (an HBCU) was a controversial move. This decision led to a lawsuit and an additional level of deep-rooted racial discord between Black and White Church of Christ congregants. Fred Gray sued Lipscomb University in 1967 for its racial discriminatory practices while receiving $400,000 from Nashville Christian Institute (an African American serving institute) when it closed. It was not until 2012 that the president of Lipscomb University reached out to a National Christian Institute alumnus, Fred Gray, who sued Lipscomb University over the transferring of funds. Fred Gray was given an honorary doctoral degree to reconcile the financial dispute and to start the healing process. Fred Gray, student of Keeble and the attorney of Rosa Parks, was a minister of the Holt Street Church of Christ in Montgomery, Alabama. As a Civil Rights attorney, he also worked for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Montgomery Improvement Association[3], in which he worked on other major cases, such as Browder v. Gayle.[4]

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[3] On December 5, 1955, ministers and community leaders in Montgomery, Alabama formed the association under the leadership of Martin Luther King Jr. in order to end racial segregation in Alabama. The focus of this group was to solely organize the Montgomery Bus Boycott after Rosa Parks was arrested for not giving up her seat on the bus. After the bus boycott, the association continued to improve the plight of African Americans in the city in order to improve racial relations. The Montgomery Improvement Association became the founding group for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

[4] This case represented four African American women (Susie McDonald, Claudette Colvin, Mary Louise Smith, and Jeanatta Reese) who were mistreated on a city bus. The defendants

Some White congregations freely accepted Brother Keeble to speak with an all-White congregation, but it was not consistent with many other White members of the Church of Christ who did not want to have a Black preacher speak in their congregation. In a 1941 *Bible Banner* article, Foy E. Wallace Jr. wrote,

> I am very much in favor of negro meetings for the negroes, but I am just as much opposed to negro meeting for white people, and I am against white brethren taking the meetings away from the negroes and the general mixing that has become entirely too much of a practice in these negro meetings. Such a thing not only lowers the church in the eyes of the world [,] but it is definitely against the interest of the negroes. If any negro preacher says that this is not true, that will be the evidence that is true, and that he has been spoiled by the white brethren and wants to preach to white audiences. And if any of the white brethren get worked up over what I have said, and what to accuse me of being jealous of the negro preachers, I will just tell them now that I don't even want to hold a meeting for a bunch of brethren who think that any negro is a better preacher than I am! (Blankenship 2012, 14-15).

This was just another example of racism within the Church of Christ. As the Church of Christ had independent congregations, it was publications, such as the *Bible Banner* that created a space to have open conversations about how race should be handled within the Church of Christ. Two decades later, *The Christian Chronicle* also had articles that continued the support of segregation, as Claude Gentry writes: "The greatest tragedy that could befall the Church of Christ today would be for the church to defend or advocate integration…Integration is entirely unknown in the Word of God" (Blankenship 2012, 38). In fact, Gentry decidedly focused away from Whites' desiring segregation and sought to maintain "segregation as the choice of black Christians who preferred to worship with other blacks. Many white Christians believed their duty to the black church was to provide them with finances for a building, yet few white

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included Mayor William A. Gayle, the Montgomery's Board of Commissioners, Montgomery City Lines, two bus drivers, and the Alabama Public Service Commission, and the city's chief of police. This case went before a 3-judge US District Court that heard arguments about the constitutionality of the laws that permitted a segregated bus system. On June 5, 1956, the US District Court ruled 2-1 in favor of the segregated bus system being unconstitutional.

Christians desired authentic relationships with their black brethren" (Blankenship 2012, 59). Maintaining segregation in the Church of Christ is something that continued for decades, and Black Church of Christ members continue to struggle for equal and fair treatment within the church body and its higher education institutions.

Reasons for Black Church of Christ members engaging in being silent about race and joining a conservative church was due to Blacks "positing finally that African Americans born into the southern system of racial segregation accepted their social inferiority out of habit" (Crawford 2008). The notion of white paternalism derived from slavery as "African Americans slaves over time internalized portions of the slaveowners' ideology" that was founded in "white superiority" (Crawford 2008). In reverence to God, there would not be any time to consider the racial discrimination Blacks experience that subjugates them to the role of a second-class citizen. Keeble and his Black Church of Christ congregations strived to remain separate. Attempting to attend a White Church of Christ college or university was only for the edification of the Black Church of Christ, as these members did not force or ask for any congregation to be integrated.

Black Migration to Pepperdine University

Black evangelists Marshall Keeble, Amos Lincoln Cassius, and Richard Nathaniel Hogan are the foundation of the Black Church of Christ in South Los Angeles. Calvin Bowers was a former Pepperdine College student, and later, chair of the Black Faculty Organization on the LA Campus, Dean of Ethnic Studies, and a member of the Malibu campus faculty upon the closing of the LA Campus, who recalls Keeble, Cassius, and Hogan as giants within the Church of Christ. Bowers describes the growth of the Black Church of Christ within Los Angeles has a foundation of the following dates:

(1) In 1902, S. R. Cassius arrived in California to become the first black Church of Christ preacher;

(2) The first black congregation in Los Angeles was established in 1922;

(3) In 1937, R. N. Hogan arrived in Los Angeles to help expand the Church of Christ faith (Bowers 2001, 20).

As the Black Church of Christ was planted in 1902, it was the arrival of "the titan dreamers," Amos Lincoln Cassius and Richard Nathaniel Hogan allowed the church to flourish (Bowers 2001, 67).

In 1902, the Sichel Street Church of Christ was the first planted church, as it was termed to be the mother of the future congregations. Between 1901-1922, "the first black church was started; there were a total of five congregations in Los Angeles County" (Bowers 2001, 35). The locations of these churches were: Pomona, Los Angeles, Long Beach, Los Angeles, Central, and Los Angeles Southwest. As Blacks began to migrate to Southern California from Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama, Arkansas, Texas, and Louisiana, they carried their faith with them. During the 1920s-1930s, a few Blacks from these states were already introduced to Brother Keeble, as he frequented these states, and thus Blacks began to join Los Angeles Central Church of Christ. By "January 1, 1922, [there were] 84 Christians [who] began the Central congregation at 1220 South Flower Street" (Bowers 2001, 36). Even though the Black Church of Christ was slowly growing, it was in 1937 that more African Americans began to move West for one reason – to attend Pepperdine College.

Black ministers applied to Church of Christ colleges, such as David Lipscomb College, Abilene Christian College, and Harding College, and they were all promptly denied because of their race. Black members struggled to elevate in their congregations due to "a fledgling state,

lacking enough literate men to handle all leadership positions" (Robinson 2008, 14). Keeble "further explained that access to formal education enabled white congregations to develop leadership much earlier than their black counterparts" (Robinson 2008, 66). The problem with trying to grow Black Church of Christ congregations was the lack of educated Black men to lead the congregations, which made Pepperdine College fulfill a need that Black Church of Christ members desperately needed and wanted. Black male ministers made a decision to leave their homes and communities to travel to California for an education. Instead of open outrage from these men, they all shared gratitude for the opportunity to attend a Church of Christ College in order to help grow the church.

In the 1930s, Keeble made his way to Southern California to speak with White Church of Christ congregations. He traveled as far North as Bakersfield and as far South as South Los Angeles. Throughout his travels to the various congregations, he was able to hear about a man named George Pepperdine who planned to create a college in South Los Angeles. In 1933, through Keeble's ministry, he evangelized in South Los Angeles, specifically in areas of Compton and Watts, in which Edward Anderson was at the tent revival to hear Keeble and Cassius preach. After the service, Brother Keeble spoke to him about the Baptist faith by saying, "the Baptist church wasn't in the Bible" (Anderson 1987). Anderson responded by saying that the Baptist church was in the Bible, yet Brother Keeble instructed him to "go home and I don't care how long you study. You go home and bring proof tomorrow night" (Anderson 1987). The next night, he returned to the revival to concede that Brother Keeble was correct, and it was in that moment that Anderson left the Baptist church to become a member of the Church of Christ.

Even though Keeble left California, his mentee, Brother A. L. Cassius stayed in California and became instrumental in the Black Church of Christ denominations forming in

South Los Angeles. Cassius was influenced by the teachings of Booker T. Washington, in which Cassius strived for “moderation and accommodations” (Bowers 2001, 67). Washington statements of “let your buckets down where you are” and “together, they could be as strong as a fist, while socially the races could be as separate as the fingers” influenced Cassius philosophy of how to develop and grow the Church of Christ congregations (Bowers 2001, 67). He fulfilled this principle, as he created one church and helped to see it grow to at least 300 members before moving to create a new church (Bowers 2001, 80). Cassius was hard at work to establish congregations in Southern California through building a church’s membership.

As Cassius was quietly building churches through mentoring and establishing congregations around Southern California, Hogan was more of an evangelist, who attracted large crowds. Bowers described the differences between Cassius and Hogan as being, “a great champion in preaching and debating while Cassius worked more quietly in smaller groups and personal ways” (80). This was most demonstrated in how Hogan preached in large arenas, but Cassius preached places where often there was no church and stayed until one started (Bowers 2001, 80). Hogan was influenced by Richard Allen, Absalom Jones, and black members of the St. George’s Methodist Episcopal Church in Philadelphia (Bowers 2001, 72). Richard Allen was most notable for his work in establishing a new place of worship, the African Methodist Episcopal Church in 1816 that was founded out of the Free African Society.

As the Black Church of Christ expanded in Southern Los Angeles, Cassius and Hogan developed a relationship with George Pepperdine, who was originally from Oklahoma. George Pepperdine was known to donate money to start White Church of Christ congregations. In fact, when George Pepperdine started Pepperdine College, he donated land to Vermont Church of Christ, in which it was a predominantly White Church of Christ congregation, but it was an

integrated congregation. Hogan approached George Pepperdine about purchasing a Jewish synagogue that was for sale on 43rd and McKinley in South Los Angeles. This property was for sale at the price of $12,000, but Hogan was willing to pay $10,000 (Bowers 2001, 61). As advised, Hogan went to ask "Pepperdine [for money] when he first [went to] the office…before he [had] a chance to review sales and profits from the previous week. Coming off a day of worship at church, he [would] be in his best mood" (Bowers 2001, 61). Initially, Pepperdine told him no because he had to stop "lending money to churches because their payback record is so bad" (Bowers 2001, 61). Pepperdine did change his mind through saying that he would not "lend any money to the church, but I am going to lend you 10,000, and I am going to give you ten years to pay it back" (Bowers 2001, 61-62). Unlike other congregations, Hogan fulfilled the commitment, and to Pepperdine's surprise, Hogan paid the entire loan in ten months.

The relationship George Pepperdine had with the Black church had an influence in the decision to open George Pepperdine College as a college that had no Church of Christ congregation govern or affiliated with the college, which allowed George Pepperdine to have an influence in the business and social decisions without any congregational input. Yet, Pepperdine College was influenced by the Church of Christ tradition. George Pepperdine was the initial chairman of the Board of Trustees as "The institution [would place] 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" (Board of Trustees Oct 1937). The benefit of being separate from a specific congregation was Pepperdine College having the ability to admit Black students, in which the curriculum could offer more than biblical courses, and it was one of the first that allowed women to wear pants on campus (Baird 2016). In a sense, Pepperdine was always the more progressive Church of Christ universities.

Within the Church of Christ, the discussion of race always existed. The editorial titled "Segregation or Christianity" within the *Christian Chronicle* questioned the integrity of the Church of Christ still permitting segregation in the church, as the editorial asked, "How long will it be until we can say: 'We do admit the Negro into the Christian schools,' and 'we do worship with them as true brethren'" (Blanksenship 2012, 17). Other Christian denominations affiliated with colleges and universities would admit African Americans into their school, yet it was only Pepperdine College that would admit Blacks within the Church of Christ denomination. The editorial also questions the premise of "Why don't we open the school doors? When will we truly fellowship them in our worship?" (Blanksenship 2012, 17). Black Ministers, such as Brother Richard Nathaniel Hogan further condemned the remaining Church of Christ colleges from limiting African Americans from attending Church of Christ colleges in their community, which forced Black ministers to move from the South and the Midwest to California and receive a Christian education under the Church of Christ doctrine (Blanksenship 2012, 17). Hogan further wrote in *The Christian Echo*[5] that "the irony found in the college bearing the name of Lipscomb does not share his view of accepting the black race" (Blanksenship 2012, 23). Due to African American Church of Christ members being forced to publish their own Church of Christ publication, *The Christian Echo*, White Church of Christ congregants could largely ignore Black church members' concerns about race because for decades, race was absent from their view.

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[5] G. P. Bowser published *The Christian Echo*, which was a response to the White Church of Christ's publications. African Americans were not able to publish within the Church of Christ publications, such as the *Bible Banner* and the *Christian Chronicle*, so Black Church of Christ members created their own newspaper. Vernon R. Boyd was a contributing author for the publication. According to the Archives at Rochester University, G. P. Bowser founded *The Christian Echo* in 1902 in Nashville, TN with the purpose of keeping African American Church of Christ churches in communication with each other. Bowser was a minister who primarily preached in Michigan. This publication remained in print for at least 100 years, as moved from Nashville to Southwestern Christian College in Terrell, TX. There is an interest to find more copies of the early copies of *The Christian Echo*.

Twenty-four and twenty-five years after Pepperdine College opened its doors with Blacks always being able to attend, other Church of Christ colleges began to move away from its segregated colleges. It was not until 1961 that Abilene Christian College started to admit Black students into the graduate school, and in 1962, Blacks were admitted into the undergraduate program. One year later, Harding College integrated in 1963, and David Lipscomb College integrated in 1964. All of these colleges did not begin to integrate until 7 years after Brown v. Board of Education (1954). If David Lipscomb College didn't need "Federal government [grants] for long-term construction loans," then the college would not have integrated in 1964, as the federal government made integration a condition for receiving these loans (Blankenship 2012, 26).

More conservative Church of Christ colleges reached out to Pepperdine College, as they sought affiliations. President Tiner received a letter from George Benson of Harding College, in which the letter

> asked whether or not George Pepperdine College would be interested in cooperating with Abilene Christian College, David Lipscomb College, Harding College and Freed-Hardeman College "In getting general publicity with the objective of selling our brotherhood to a greater measure of Christian Education." The purpose would be to prepare good bulletins and a series of good articles for the religious papers, emphasizing the need for Christian education (Board of Trustees March 1940).

With no explanation, The Board of Trustees declined to be affiliated with other Church of Christ colleges, which emphasized Pepperdine College's independence from the other Church of Christ colleges. This decision affirmed Pepperdine University's unwillingness to not be openly affiliated with other Church of Christ colleges or universities that remained segregated. Yet, Pepperdine College was not willing to openly state its support of true integration. This could be explained through the high number of Southern students, staff, faculty, and administrators who did not hold the belief of equality amongst all races.

Even though many Pepperdine College's faculty and administration graduated from Abilene Christian College, Pepperdine College remained independent as it remained more progressive than the other institutions. The invitation from Harding College was not the only time that Pepperdine's administration, faculty, or staff would stand in disagreement with other Church of Christ colleges and universities. One of the largest dissents from Pepperdine College's faculty against the Church of Christ was the issue of race.

In the summer of 1968, there were 47 Black and White Church of Christ ministers who gathered for two-days in Atlanta, Georgia to discuss race-relations within the church. This meeting happened within three months of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s assassination. One of the organizers was Eugene Lawton, an African American preacher who had been vocal about racial segregation within the church. Lawton asserted that being "a member of the Church of Christ and being unable to attend a Christian college without going to Southwestern Christian College or 1,500 miles to Pepperdine" is being a second-class citizen within the church (Ross Jr. and Harris 2018). The actual meeting even had the participants divided in unequal living quarters, in which White Church of Christ members were staying in "paved streets"; whereas, Black White Church of Christ members were staying in "unpaved streets" in different parts of town (Ross Jr. and Harris 2018). Fifty years after this meeting where White and Black ministers convened to discuss race, Lawton reflected on the experience, as "The white brotherhood wasn't even aware that racism was declared illegal in America" (Ross Jr. and Harris 2018). In fact, Lawton asserted that his mere presence was "tokenism at the time, but most of the Christian colleges didn't open their doors to black students because of love and Christianity. It is based on the federal government saying you wouldn't receive another dime (of student aid) from us [the federal government] unless you integrate your schools" (Ross Jr. and Harris 2018). Outside of

Southwestern Christian College or Pepperdine College, Blacks were denied entrance, and it was only through the Federal government's threats that the Church of Christ colleges changed its policies.

White members seemed to be "unaware" of the level of inequality within the Church, but ministers, such as John Allen Chalk, who preached at Highland Church of Christ in Abilene, Texas asserted that these attitudes developed because it is the culture of being raised in the church, as "My experience with sin and all principalities and powers and world rulers of darkness, just my understanding theologically of the human condition, caused me all through this period to realize that we were really battling, as we still do, very strong forces of evil" (Ross Jr. and Harris 2018). White members who claim to have been "unaware," of racial difference within the Church of Christ is factually untrue. White members within the Church of Christ were aware of inequitable treatment of Blacks within the church, but for years, race was not discussed within the Church of Christ. Chalk further reflects on his life as "Most of us [White members] at that meeting were blinded by our own cultural training and blinded by the evil one" (Ross Jr. and Harris 2018). In order to believe this level of ignorance about racial inequality, then these White members were to have been unaware that almost all of Church of Christ colleges and universities still did not have a Black student, there was a Civil Rights movement that resulted in the Civil Rights Act and the Voting Rights Act, and oblivious to the televised violence against Black people (for example, Emmett Till) that led to more awareness of racial injustice. A few years after the meeting in Atlanta, Chalk left the Church of Christ and became an attorney.

During the Atlanta meeting, Black ministers were struggling to explain the ramifications of separating the races within the church. In fact, Humphrey Foutz, a black minister at Central Church of Christ stated, "You want me to lift myself by my own bootstraps, but you are standing

on my boots" (Ross Jr. and Harris 2018). This led to Minister Carl Spain, and Abilene Christian Bible Professor who was a White minister, to defend his Black brethren through asserting that the "Negro has a soul" (Ross Jr. and Harris 2018). This Atlanta conference became a hinge point within the Church of Christ history, as throughout the year of 1968, various Church of Christ congregations held race relations workshops. It was this conference that different ministers who represented different Black and White Church of Congregations were to affirm a pathway to integrate the Church of Christ and become one church. The statement that was produced "acknowledged the sin of racial prejudice in Churches of Christ and church-related institutions and businesses" along with having guidelines to unify the races within congregations, schools, publishing houses, and businesses (Ross Jr. and Harris 2018). Out of those who attended, twelve of the forty-seven ministers did not sign and left the meeting before the statement was ready for signature. Overwhelmingly, the Atlanta Conference did not complete its mission even though more Church of Christ organizations and businesses did integrate. Fifty years later, many congregations remain *de facto segregated*.

Finance, the Church of Christ, and Pepperdine

Independence from a Church of Christ congregation also proved to harm Pepperdine College because when money was needed to help fund the university, there was not a congregation who consistently gave money to Pepperdine College. Also, Pepperdine College did not have a donor list to ask for money to help balance the budget; therefore, President Norvel Young had to develop donor relationships with anyone who believed in the Pepperdine mission and not based on the Church of Christ faith/affiliation. George Pepperdine was always there to provide an end-of-the-year check to balance the budget, but when George Pepperdine went bankrupt, Pepperdine was unable to make the end-of-the-year donation to balance the budget.

Thirty years after the founding of Pepperdine College, President Norvel Young was forced to heavily solicit donations to keep the college open because of George Pepperdine's bankruptcy. As the college didn't have a history of soliciting donors, the only thing President Young knew was to ask for donations through visiting local Southern California Church of Christ congregations from as far north as Bakersfield and Fresno to as far south as Orange County and San Diego. Even though he traveled thousands of miles, the money didn't match up to the needs of Pepperdine, so Young sought Bill Banowsky to utilize his fundraising skills to solicit donors from wealthy business leaders in Los Angeles, who happened to also be members of the Republican Party.

Banowsky upheld Pepperdine University not having a Church of Christ congregational affiliation, but he also believed there should be an increased number of Pepperdine students who were members of the Church of Christ. Therefore, Banowsky led Pepperdine University adopting the Affirmation Statement:

> That God is
> That God is revealed uniquely in Christ
> That the educational process may not with impunity, be divorced from the divine process
> That the student, as a person of infinite dignity, is the heart of the educational enterprise
> That the quality of student life is a valid concern of the University
> That truth, having nothing to fear from investigation, should be pursued relentlessly in every discipline
> That spiritual commitment, tolerating no excuse for mediocrity, demands the highest standards of academic excellence
> That freedom, whether spiritual, intellectual, or economic, is indivisible
> That knowledge calls, ultimately, for a life of service.

Pepperdine University had every intention of having the principles of the Church of Christ being integrated within the fabric of the university even though the college was not affiliated with a specific congregation. Initially, in 1937, the first members of the faculty, administration, and Board of Trustees had to be "composed of devout Christian men and women, who will give

careful attention to safeguarding and deepening the faith of the students, increasing their loyalty to Jesus and their zeal for saving souls" ("Board of Trustees" Oct 1937). In 1937, the administration and Board of Trustees must be members of the Church of Christ. Over the years, the rules loosen, in which full-time, tenured faculty and part-time faculty no longer needed to be members of the Church of Christ, but they still had to abide by the Christian faith statement that aligns with the Church of Christ even though they do not have to sign a Faith Statement. Yet, High-level members of the administration (such as the President) must be an active member of the Church of Christ. The faculty within the Religion Division must be members of the Church of Christ. On the Board of Trustees, the Religious Standards Committee must be members of the Church of Christ.

The Church of Christ congregants were always the focal demographic for the student body at Pepperdine College. African American congregants in the South and the Midwest were attracted to "a Christian education at Pepperdine College," in which there was a "push of being unable to attend Christian schools and the pull of Pepperdine welcoming them made their trip west the thing to do" (Bowers 2001, 82). One example of this transition is Calvin Bowers documenting his journey from the South (Tennessee) to California as a journey to attend a Christian college or university. When he arrived at Pepperdine College in South Los Angeles in 1955, he found other students who also arrived at Pepperdine College simply because it was a Church of Christ institution. Bowers found five other African American men who came from the South only to find them also attending Pepperdine College. The four men (Jesse Reece, Joe Brasher, Carl Clifford Baccus, Vanderbilt Lewis) all attempted to attend a Church of Christ college in Tennessee or Texas, but their mailboxes were littered with rejections. These rejections were exclusively based on these young men being Black. Yet, in 1955, there was only one letter

that mattered to all of these young men – an acceptance letter from Pepperdine College. It changed all of their lives, such as Joe Brasher, who traveled two thousand miles to Pepperdine" since Freed-Hardeman College in Henderson, Tennessee denied him even though he mowed the school's lawn throughout his childhood (Bowers 2001, 88). Similarly, Vanderbilt was in walking distance of David Lipscomb College, but he was also denied due to his race, and thus, he selected to travel to Los Angeles to attend Pepperdine College. It was acceptable to worship the same God in a different church, and it was also acceptable to work and donate money for the school, but it was not acceptable to earn an education at a Church of Christ institution along with White students. Even though there was no definitive number of Black people within the Church of Christ for this time period, there were enough Black people in the church that would garner the start of Black Bible Institutes as an alternative to being denied from White Church of Christ institutions. Church of Christ colleges were invaluable to Church of Christ ministers, as Rev. William Campbell, Pepperdine Alumni, asserts "The Church of Christ is just focused on its church and it gave no merit to other denominations;" therefore, Blacks who are part of the Church of Christ faith prioritizes attending a Church of Christ institution than any other faith-centered college (Campbell 2020).

When these young men arrived at Pepperdine College, they discovered their White peers tolerated them, but they did not embrace them. When Edward Anderson met George Pepperdine at his office in Downtown LA, Edward recounted Pepperdine telling him that "The college is in construction on 79th and Vermont now. Why don't you go down there and have a look around? Cause we would like to have you there" (Anderson 1987). Anderson went to a construction site of Pepperdine College to meet with Brother Baxton (first Pepperdine president) and Brother Tiner (dean and future Pepperdine president). Anderson was given a job as a janitor, and

eventually, he also became a linen man for one of George Pepperdine's apartment buildings. Many students of all races were given similar types of jobs at Pepperdine's properties.

Anderson was the only African American student on campus; thus, he experienced racism. For example, Anderson recounts not feeling accepted in the classrooms and hallways when he attended class. Instead of Anderson demanding equal treatment, Anderson accommodated his White peers by giving them time to know him with the hopes of his White peers accepting him to spaces around campus. According to Anderson, because he was denied cafeteria privileges, "he would eat a sack lunch or eat with Bro. Alton in the dorms or eat off campus until after 6 months would pass and his peers would allow him to eat on campus" (Anderson 1987). It was within these six months that his classmates became comfortable with him being on campus; therefore, his peers allowed him to eat in the cafeteria. Additionally, his History Professor, Brother Kelley would often use the word *nigger* within common phrases. After a while, Anderson recounts that

> 7 or 8 boys went to Bro. Kelley after class. Now, they were from the Deep South. These were the guys that resented me at first you know. After 6 to 8 months, they were on my bandwagon. They went over to Bro. Kelley, now Bro. Kelley, we want you at the next session or before the next session as soon as possible before we come to class again to Beg for Bro. Anderson's apology. So, he did (Anderson 1987).

After people befriended Anderson, "white students became more assertive to argue for me to be treated more equitably on campus" (Anderson 1987). The incident of Professor Kelley was just one example of how white students argued on his behalf. According to Anderson, "once his peers knew him, then they became more tolerant about African Americans" (Anderson 1987). In 1937, there was no outward discriminatory policy written that would prevent African Americans from participating in any activity on campus or from traveling to any location on campus, but it was the Southern attitudes held by students and professors that made African American students

feel uncomfortable. Yet, Anderson recounts that it was "only time that began to change the attitudes of the Southern student body that shifted the hearts," and thus, the behavior of his white peers (Anderson 1987). These racist experiences were in stark contrast to how Anderson first experienced the Church of Christ, which was through Black Church of Christ ministers. As Anderson was experiencing the stark difference of the White Church of Christ by attending Pepperdine from the Black Church of Christ through his worship experiences, Anderson stayed within the Church of Christ faith even though he did eventually leave Pepperdine College because he needed a better job to take care of his growing immediate family.

Years after Anderson arrived in 1937, in 1955, Bowers came to Pepperdine College, and he found the same type of attitude Anderson experienced previously. Bowers recounts his first experiences at Pepperdine "revealed that many of the staff and faculty members had retained much of their Southern culture, including paternalistic attitudes and subtle forms of racism" (Bowers 2001, 262). Jones writes in her thesis that, "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 [George Pepperdine College] dorms" (2003, 12). Yet, reading the Student Handbook and the Trustee's Papers throughout 1937-1969 does not yield any overt discriminatory policies that directly targeted African Americans from living on campus besides the housing clause in the Student Handbook of 1938. Within the Student Handbook of 1938, the housing policy was only for Caucasians, yet the college "will permit, an International Hall is planned for the housing of the various groups of other races. In this building provision will be made for each group to have its own social functions" ("Student Handbook" 1938). This policy did not overtly stipulate that Black students could not live on campus, as there were also other non-White students, such as Asians (listed as

Oriental in the archival material), International students, and it is unknown if there were Hispanic students because they was not a category for them. Yet, Black students did not live on campus, and Black students did not participate in all student activities, such as joining the fraternities and sororities. These students did live in the margins on campus and experienced racism. Just as many of the other Blacks who migrated to California, Black students lived in the margins of the college experience for decades due to the White Southern attitudes that prevented Blacks from having a fully integrated system.

Another student, William Campbell who attended Pepperdine College from 1967-1968 as a transfer student from Cal Baptist University because of the racial incidents on campus found Pepperdine College was also racist. For example, in religion class, the professor "used a European model to talk about religion. He was talking about the Christian religion, but he would not include the Black experience" (Campbell 2020). Even as Campbell challenged the professor with, "how can you talk about the Christian experience without the Black church," the professor failed to expand the curriculum to be inclusive (Campbell 2020). At Pepperdine College, the Black Church of Christ was non-existent amongst the faculty and administration.

African Americans attended Pepperdine, yet they were excluded from the social environment on campus due to open racial hostility White students had against Black students. In the Student Handbook (1960), the following clubs were opened for co-ed involvement: Ski Club, Students for Non-Violent Alternative, Timothy Club (religious activities), United Mexican American Students, Veteran's Club, Young Democrats, and Young Republicans ("Student Handbook 1960"). White women were able to join the following organizations: Delta Tau Omega, Kappa Kappa, Sigma Pi Gamma, and Zeta Kappa. These were local sororities that did not accept any non-white members. Even though Pepperdine did not have a policy that would

prevent African American women from becoming members of the sororities, Black women were not selected to become members. Some things do not need to be written down – just understood. White men also joined local fraternities: Beta Chi Sigma, Phi Phi Phi, Sigma Tau Sigma, and Tau Rho Sigma. By the early 1960s, the Black Student Union was not formed; but various African American students described their active participation in the NAACP meetings (Jones 2003).

The Manual of Standard Procedure (1967) outlined the functional organizations, which was a separate Dean of Women and Dean of Men ("Manual of Standard Procedure" 1967). The Dean of Women reported to the Associate Dean of Students, and held the following responsibilities: (1) Administration of Women's residences; (2) Counseling women students; (3) Women student programs; (4) Sponsoring women's groups. She also had the following duties:

1. Selects, appoints, trains and dismisses all personnel for the positions within her function.
2. Trains and prepares one of her key women employees to be able to take her place in the event of her absence or promotion.
3. Directs and supervises the performance of all duties related to the management of Women's Dormitories.
4. Implements and ensures implementation of rules and regulations in connection with Women's Dormitories and with other women students' residences.
5. Provides the women students with appropriate counseling in all matters of their student life.
6. Sponsors women's groups and lends support and guidance to their activities.
7. Performs any other duty related to her function or assigned to her by the Dean of Students ("Manual of Standard Procedure" 1967).

The Associate Dean of Students was a woman who was also the Dean of Women. The Dean of Students was a male, who was also the Dean of Men.

These students, among other students, had a relationship with the Church of Christ who felt that Pepperdine College was the only possible opportunity for them to continue their Christian education.

In the school year of 1937-1938, Pepperdine started small with only 197 students enrolled, 5 buildings erected, 4 individuals who graduated, and 20 faculty members ("Student Handbook" 1944-45). Pepperdine College was proud of its low-cost tuition, which attracted a wide variety of people from around the country and in the immediate neighborhood. The first school year opened with tuition and fees being $215 annually, and if you lived on campus, then it would be a total of $567.50 per year ("Student Handbook" 1944-1945). In the first semester of the college opening, just as Edward Anderson, the first and only African American to enroll in Pepperdine during the 1937-1938 school year, the Board of Trustees recognized that the majority of the students would need financial assistance to attend school. Therefore, just as Edward Anderson, Pepperdine College employed many students because the college needed the extra help in building and maintaining the college. Thus, The Board led by Chairman and Founder George Pepperdine made "Aggressive and systematic efforts to help students secure part time employment to assist those who are unable to pay all their expenses. Worthy young people with very little money but with a burning desire to get an education and make good shall receive special consideration" ("Board of Trustees" Oct 1937).

By January 1938, the President delivered a report stating that there were currently "182 students enrolled. The average attendance is 160. Fifty percent of the students are working on the campus for part of their expenses. Twenty-seven percent are working for business concerns

off the campus" (Board of Trustees Jan 1938). Eventually, the tuition grew to become $288 per year, but if a student lived on campus, it would cost $1490.50 per year (Jones 2003).

Initially, most of the student body was members of the Church of Christ and all of the students were Christians. Within 3 years of the school initially opening its doors, Pepperdine College found that "There has been some feeling between the members of the Church of Christ and those who are not members. It is suggested that we make a special effort to have a larger percentage of Christians in the student body at all times" ("Board of Trustees" June 1940). Even though the Board of Trustees preferred students who were Church of Christ members, they would accept Christian students. Yet, settling for Christian students who were not members of the Church of Christ eventually did become a problem because the university and the Church of Christ students were not interested in sharing Christian traditions, and even some Church of Christ students did not want to worship with non-Church of Christ members. The Board of Trustees made a financial situation to accept any Christian instead of maintaining a student body that is purely Church of Christ. The discourse of maintaining a high number of Church of Christ members within the student body is something that is a continual conversation.

When Banowsky became the president, Norvel Young and Bill Banowsky orchestrated the move to Malibu. Eventually, Banowsky had the support of the Board of Trustees for the move. Banowsky and Young aggressively focused on increasing the number of students who were Church of Christ to attend the Malibu campus. Yet, Provosts Jack Scott and James Wilburn did not focus on having more students who are members of the Church of Christ.

Young, Banowsky, Scott, and Wilburn all used the 'membership within the Church of Christ' as coded language for White students because the diversity of the Los Angeles Campus assumed that Blacks were not members of the Church of Christ or that those who were Christian

had no affiliation or connection with the Church of Christ. This premise can be negated with Catherine Meeks and Pearl Hendricks Lindsay, who attended Pepperdine because of the outreach of Black Church of Christ members in their neighborhoods that spoke fondly of Pepperdine College. Both Los Angeles and Malibu campuses were always predominantly White, but the Malibu campus had a larger percentage of White students, who also were mainly members of the Church of Christ.

The LA Campus documented 1 out of every 4 students was a member of the Church of Christ. But, the demographics do not measure how the influence of the Black Church of Christ congregations attracted Black students to the university. Wilburn and Scott did not know Black Church of Christ members even attracted other Christians of different denominations to attend Pepperdine. Dr. Jack Scott, the first Provost of the LA Campus after the separation of the Malibu campus from the LA Campus, was unaware of the influence African American Church of Christ had on attracting Black students to the campus. He stated, "I knew most were not going to be members of the Church of Christ. That was okay. We weren't there to convert students. We wanted to help them. The education would be Christian-based" (Scott 2019). Dr. Scott was oblivious to Blacks being attracted to Pepperdine College due to its affiliation with the Church of Christ. Even during his tenure, Black students, such as Catherine Meeks traveled from Georgia because "I was told to attend Pepperdine because I was a member of the Church of Christ" (Meeks 2019). Pepperdine College, and now Pepperdine University, the undergraduate college has maintained a majority of its student body being Christian, with at its lowest, 8-10% of the student body, being members of the Church of Christ ("Student Fall Semester Enrollment" 2012-2019).

Another African American student, Pearl Hendricks Lindsay was originally from Louisiana, and even though she was not a member of the Church of Christ, there was another family on her street who was an elder with a big family at Mona Avenue Church of Christ. The elder of the church would frequently speak with her family. Once Lindsay became college age, the eldest son of the elder of Mona Avenue Church of Christ, John Williams "asked me about if I was in college…He told me about Pepperdine. It was not on my list. I did drive by it daily. I was thinking of bigger schools like Cal States and those others. Then the son of the elder, John Williams and his brother were students of Pepperdine. They said they would help me get into the program" (Lindsay 2019). After John Williams met with her parents, she applied to Pepperdine and was accepted with a scholarship in the music department.

Even though Lindsay was not a member of the Church of Christ, members of the Church of Christ strategically reached out to fellow Christians to attend Pepperdine *and* to attract Black people to the faith. Lindsay reflects: "From the time I started, I didn't know the doctrine of the church. I met a young man and he gave me a lesson on the history of the Church of Christ. He gave me videos and it was very enlightening" (Lindsay 2019). She was never converted, but unlike Dr. Scott and Dr. Wilburn understood, Black students who attended Pepperdine were familiar with the Church of Christ faith and/or people, and it was that connection that attracted Black students to the undergraduate program at Pepperdine College.

Pepperdine College had a detailed admission process that attempted to try to find out as much information about the student as possible. In order to determine who would be admitted, the university application would mandate a small picture along with recommendation letters that would ask the following questions:

1. What kind of citizen is this student considered to be in his home community?

2. Do you consider this student a promising young person? One who is worthy and will probably do well?
3. How would you rate this student in regard to industry (willingness to work?) Very industrious, Average worker, inclined to be lazy
4. How would you rate this student in regard to honesty, dependability, and similar character traits?
5. What is your personal impression of this student?
6. In your judgment, does this student have the ability to do acceptable work in college?
7. Does this student have reasonably good work habits such as will be necessary to acceptable work in college?
8. To your knowledge, has this student given any serious disciplinary trouble while in high school?
9. Do you believe this student's chances are reasonably good to go through to college graduation?
10. Has this student shown defects in citizenship that might cause trouble in college?
11. What is your personal impression of this student?
12. Does this student come from the type of home that has given him a background that will enable him to fit reasonably well into a Christian environment?
13. Does this student attend church services regularly?
14. If you had a son or daughter living in our dormitories, is this student the kind of person you would like to have rooming with your son or daughter?
15. If this student enters Pepperdine College, do you believe he or she will be (a) an excellent citizen, (b) a good average citizen (c) will give trouble? (Admission Packet n.d.)

The university was more concerned about the type of citizen and Christian the prospective student was than the academic ability. During the early years of Pepperdine College, the average GPA was a 2.47 ("General Information" 1968). Some of the features that were necessary to evaluate is the involvement a person would have with the church and the work ethic of each student in order to predict the ability for the person to complete the degree program. If the student happened to ask for any achievement scholarships, then the student would have to respond to the following questions: "(1) Are the parents living? (2) What is the father's occupation and mother's occupation? (3) How many siblings are within the family? (4) What is your height, weight, and health?" ("Admission Packet" n.d.). The school also required students to either be single or married, as if students who were divorced would only be admitted "in special circumstances [and the application] must be reviewed for emotional health to abide by

the marriage Christian principles" ("Student Handbook" 1964). According to the 1964 Student Handbook, every aspect of the student is considered during admission – grades, personal recommendations, spiritual recommendations, academic recommendations, ACT/SAT scores, pictures, family background, Christian faith, health information, demographics, and marital status.

While attending the university, each student was required to attend chapel twice a week, and adhere to the dress code. The student handbook described that each student had the spiritual opportunity of attending daily chapel, mission study classes, special leaders' training groups, devotionals, fellowship dinners, and the two annual Bible lectureships. All new students had mandatory attendance of chapel twice a week; Monday and Wednesday or Friday during the first trimester they are enrolled. After which, all undergraduates attend chapel assembly once a week. The students had assigned seating, in which each student was forced to take attendance. According to the Student Handbook, when a student was absent, he/she had to give an account by writing on the card provided in the Dean of Students' Office within four days after the absence occurs. A note must accompany any absences that are caused by an illness from a nurse, physician, residence hall staff member, parent, or spouse. If a student had excessive unexcused absences, which is two or more, then there would have been various levels of punishment. After two absences, there would have been a letter reprimand and notification of the parents. If the student continued to have unexcused absences, and would reach four, then the student was suspended from classes and must pay $10 to be readmitted into the institution. Once six absences had been reached, the student would appear before the Student Affairs Committee. To further stress the importance of chapel attendance, in 1941, "President Tiner sent a letter to students asking about their chapel attendance" ("Board of Trustee Papers" 1941).

In the religious environment, the dress code was very standard for both men and women. The young men wore shirts, sport shirts or pullovers with dress or cotton slacks that were recommended for the classroom and Sunday afternoon at the dining hall. If the young men were to walk around campus, attend the cafeteria, or the library, then they were expected to wear dress Bermuda [shorts] and sport shirt combinations, but this outfit could not be worn for class, chapel, in the administrative building, or meeting with the faculty or administrative offices. When men would attend the Friendship Hall, they must have worn coats and ties. For women, they wore dresses or skirts with sweaters when they attended class, chapel, and Sunday noonday meal in the cafeteria. Originally, women were not permitted to have worn dress-style pants, but it became permissible for women to wear pants anywhere on campus. However, dresses were to be worn when attending functions at the Friendship Hall.

With each passing decade, Los Angeles was becoming more diverse, which had a large effect on the surrounding area of Pepperdine College in Los Angeles. In the midst of the rising African American population, the White population still remained the majority of the student body. Provost Wilburn expressed interest in growing the Latino population on campus, but it was highly unsuccessful (Wilburn, "The Provost Years" 2019). The increased percent of Blacks on campus shifted the academic curriculum (courses on business practices that focuses in Black communities and other courses on gospel music), the types of student organizations (the founding of Black Student Union/Association), on-campus activism (more vocalized protests and demands for equal treatment amongst White and Black students and equality between the LA and Malibu Campus) , the residential climate (more dorms were built), the chapel topics (focus on the Black Church), and chapel attendance (dwindled to hardly anyone attending), amongst every other aspect of the LA Campus.

The next chapter will discuss the African American experience on the LA Campus after the split from the Malibu Campus. Additionally, the chapter will cover the intersection of race and class that helped shape the LA Campus, which Dr. Scott and Dr. Wilburn believed to be a Social Justice campus for the brief years of 1972 – 1981 within Pepperdine University's history.

Chapter Five
Out of the Shadows to the Ashes

The Move in the Making

In 1963, Pepperdine College was a vibrant, growing institution. Dr. Jennings Davis, Dean of Students, and faculty member, Dr. Richard Mock, spoke before the Board of Trustees to explain that "student morale seems to be good" with there being no vacancies within the men's dormitory and forty vacancies within the women's dormitory ("Board of Trustee Papers," October 8, 1963). It was also in 1963 that Pepperdine University started the loan program. These two things were vital because the dormitory became a contentious area at both the Malibu and LA Campus, and the loan program expanded student access to afford attending Pepperdine. After the separation of the campuses, Blanche Seaver did donate to build a new dorm on the LA Campus, yet the dorms went largely unfilled because the student body was largely commuter students. This donation was to appease the disgruntled LA Campus that felt that they were not receiving a fair share of the donations between the LA and Malibu Campus. The money could have been used for other more useful things like student grants, keeping the library's books, or preserving the music and sports equipment that was taken in the dead of the night from the LA Campus and given to Malibu.

The Malibu Campus was rushing to build new dorms rather quickly; therefore, they employed many students to help build the campus. The first residents on the Malibu Campus found the campus a work-in-progress. The loan program opened the door for students to be able to attend without heavily relying on working while in school. By the end of 1964, Pepperdine College had 751 students during the school year, and 564 on-campus students during the summer session, which was a decline from 626 students during the summer of 1963 ("Board of Trustee

Papers," June 27, 1964). Even with the decline of students attending, Dr. Howard White (Dean of Graduate programs and Dean of Undergraduate Programs) told the Board "that student and faculty morale are the highest he has seen in his six years here and feels the students are the best qualified, both academically and behavior wise since he has been here" ("Board of Trustee Papers," November 21, 1964). This assessment of student and faculty morale contradicted the campus events.

When Pepperdine University moved to Malibu, some of the LA Campus' White administration, faculty, and staff became more socially active, as there was no Full-Time, tenured Black Faculty throughout the duration of this dissertation (1937-1981). There were a few White faculty members and White administrators who became more vocal about the marginalization of Blacks within the Church of Christ through writing articles in *The Christian Chronicle*. There were also White faculty and White administrators who were vocal about the need for more Black representation amongst the faculty and the administration on the Pepperdine University LA Campus. Amongst the students, *The Inner View* became the students' voice that was heavily critical of the Malibu administration. Additionally, the students protested for more rights for keeping the only female administrator (Dean of Women Lucile Todd) and the marginalized treatment of Black students on the LA Campus. According to Baird (2016) and Campbell (2020), there was not a branch of a Black Nationalist movement happening on campus, but the message of Black Power resonated amongst the students. Banowsky (2010) prides himself on the Black students at Pepperdine being uninterested in having a Black Nationalist movement on campus. This insinuates that the Black students at Pepperdine were the "good students" that would acquiesce toward White administrators.

The LA Campus was changing with more African American students coming to Pepperdine. In 1968, Dean Sanders presented a report to the Board of Trustees that called for the "campus [to] change with the times" ("Board of Trustee Papers," December 17, 1968). He further explained "there has never been a period in the history of the world in which such massive demands for change have had to be faced" ("Board of Trustee Papers," December 17, 1968). These changes seem to direct attention to the growing Black population, as Dean Sanders states that "Black students at Pepperdine [were] here because they want an education and that most of them desire to return to their own communities to help their people" ("Board of Trustee Papers," December 17, 1968). This may be true, but the Church of Christ played an active role within attracting Black students to Pepperdine College. Yet, Dean Sanders, as other administrators, felt that "all Black students are being fed information from outside sources that are designed to create unrest. In spite of these outside efforts, Pepperdine students remain moderate" ("Board of Trustee Papers," December 17, 1968). Activism on campus was presented as if Black students were being provoked by outside racial agitators instead of administrators directly engaging with these students about their concerns.

The attitude of "change" Dean Sanders was referencing the racial conflicts happening on campus, such as Black students voicing their concerns over an annual "Slave Sale." This "traditional activity" drew criticism from the Associated Black Students on the campus ("Board of Trustee Papers," December 17, 1968). The "Slave Sale" was the school's newspaper, *The Graphic,* an event where students were "sold" to do chores for other students. This minor stipulation made Dean Sanders "point out that the conflict is between the Black students and *The Graphic* and not the College. The Black students are now speaking favorably and with no indication of further unrest" ("Board of Trustee Papers," December 17, 1968). This was

indicating that the student newspaper was out of the regulatory control of the college, and thus Black students felt good about attending Pepperdine even though there were separate "student" conflicts. The Board of Trustees and Dean Sanders ignored that the Slave Sale was not an incident amongst the students; rather, the administration's inaction continually allowed White students to poorly treat Black students on campus. This led to the Board of Trustees to ask Dean Sanders about the "screening process" for new students along with "the statistics on non-white enrolled and the volume of scholarship aid including athletic scholarships" ("Board of Trustee Papers," December 17, 1968). The Board wanted more information about the student demographics that demonstrated an overt dismissal of Black students concerns about activities on the LA Campus was diminishing due to the Malibu campus administrators and the Board of Trustees centralized more activities to the Malibu Campus and away from the LA Campus until the LA Campus was sold.

Tensions continued to increase when *The Graphic* published an editorial "Vermont?" on October 23, 1969, which explained that if these campuses were to split, then the LA Campus would no longer have the same standards as the Malibu campus. The editorial persisted with saying that only Black students would attend, and thus, the LA Campus would have lower academic standards. The overtly racist language within the editorial caused greater dissent amongst Black students with *The Graphic*. So, what if the LA Campus became predominantly Black? Who says that a predominantly Black Campus would equate to lesser academic standards? These racist assumptions about Black students devaluing the curriculum and Pepperdine University's caliber of education was overt in the tone of *The Graphic,* and these attitudes persisted in the way the Malibu campus treated the LA Campus.

By 1969, there was not even a public or private statement about the relocation of the campus outside of Los Angeles, but this article was published in a student newspaper that was an unconfirmed rumor. Due to the administration's lack of response to admonish *The Graphic*, for a short period of time, Black students responded with the unauthorized publishing of *The Black Graphic* student newspaper (Baird 2016). As of now, there are no copies of *The Black Graphic* within the archives. Having copies of *The Black Graphic,* which was an unauthorized publication, would really tell the story of Black students on the LA Campus.

Demographic Shifts on the LA Campus and Restoring Whiteness with the opening of the Malibu Campus

The LA Campus remained a majority-White campus, yet the Malibu campus attracted an overwhelming majority of White and affluent students. This left the LA Campus with fewer White students, while "By 1969, African Americans constituted almost 17 percent of the Vermont Avenue campus student body. According to a report by the federal government, that percentage was among the highest in the nation for schools similar to Pepperdine, and far exceeded neighboring UCLA (2.24 percent), USC (2.18 percent), and LMU (1.66 percent)" (Baird, 151-152). Simultaneously, colleges in Orange County began to blossom, such as California State University, Fullerton (founded in 1957) and the relocation of other universities (Chapman University in 1954 and Biola University in 1959) attributed the slow decline of Pepperdine University's White population who rather stay home and attend their home church while attending a university even if it is a secular institution. The LA Campus became known as a Black-dominated school in a Black-majority neighborhood, which made enough White people afraid that significantly dropped White enrollment on the campus as they shifted to White-majority neighborhood of Malibu.

When the Malibu Campus opened, faculty was forced to decide to stay with the LA Campus or the Malibu Campus. Many White faculty decided to leave, but other White faculty stayed out of service to the local community. There was an open argument that believed staying in Los Angeles was the Christian thing to do along with fulfilling Pepperdine University's mission.

The last publication of the academic year, *The Graphic* published an article explaining the separation of the two campuses meant that there would be two newspapers. This would be necessary because of the "apparent geographical differences of the campus communities. The LA campus will be concentrating on a new urban concept while Malibu will explore a new educational approach" ("Two Newspapers?" 1972). Yet, *The Graphic* and *The Inner View* had cultural divisions that would have made it difficult for the paper to co-exist as one newspaper for the college. *The Graphic* was a racist publication because of the conservative viewpoints and the yearly slave auction fundraising activity that included students standing on a slave block as they were sold to students to do menial tasks for that student. In contrast, *The Inner View* would concentrate on "serving the inner-city student with community, local and national news" ("Two Newspapers?" 1972). On October 6, 1972, *The Inner View* wrote an editorial in response to *The Graphic's* October 23, 1969 to explain how the LA Campus did evolve to become the following:

> 1 – To serve as headquarters for the college's multi-campus operation
> 2 – To abide by its commitment to develop a liberal arts curriculum that will be relevant to future student needs and the continuation of a full four-year college and graduate program.
> 3 – To develop a liberal arts- based professional school.
> 4 – To develop an urban affairs college that will contribute to the economic stabilization of the immediate neighborhood of the LA campus and will serve as a base for training students in urban affairs and provide assignments in the worlds of business, community, and government.
> 5 – To increase the campus density of the students by developing programs for studying, living and working off campus. ("Forgotten?" October 6, 1972).

All of these things have been fulfilled except the first one. Even though the LA Campus did have more infrastructure than the Malibu campus, the college president and the administration relocated to Malibu. Additionally, more administrative meetings that would include the LA and the Malibu campus would still meet mostly on the Malibu campus.

The mission became clear, as Pepperdine University's LA Campus was attempting to respond to the demographic changes as Dr. Jack Scott wrote in a Guest Editorial: "This college intends to fully utilize the urban setting of Los Angeles as a laboratory surrounding the campus. For instance, small ghetto businesses will be one of the workshops for the School of Business; art museums and music centers will be integrated into the fine arts curriculum" (Scott 1972). Dr. Scott was progressive in accordance with most of the Pepperdine administration that was located on the Malibu campus, yet calling the businesses in the community "small ghetto businesses" reflects White supremacy that permeated throughout the White members of the Pepperdine community. To assert that the campus would also utilize the surrounding, Black-majority community as a "laboratory surrounding the campus" just further demonstrates a White supremacist notion that Blacks were being gifted the ideas from this White institution to finally allow them to improve in their status. It begs the question, *Why did the White people who stayed at the LA Campus of Pepperdine University believed it was for the purpose of helping Black people? What made them think that Black people needed help?*

In contrast to Dr. Scott, Banowsky recounts the years of great diversity on the LA Campus and the surrounding area as "the Malibu campus developed into a place of perfection, the Los Angeles campus descended into a place of intimidation" (Banowsky 2010, 196). Through the prism of Dr. Banowsky, the Black-majority neighborhood was "intimidating;" whereas, the White-majority neighborhood of Malibu was a "place of perfection." Banowsky

and Scott may have different perspectives about White and Black communities and people, but both of them expressed a White supremacist attitude that prioritizes White people over Black people. The move itself was described in the *Daily Breeze*, as the "evacuation theory," as Pepperdine [was] abandoning its crime-ridden Los Angeles campus to once again become a white suburban college in Malibu" (Crowe 1970). The Malibu campus became exactly what calmed the fears of White students and their families, and it made Pepperdine's administration more comfortable with Pepperdine University returning to an overwhelmingly predominantly White institution located within a White-majority neighborhood that also increased its focus on recruiting students from the Church of Christ congregation. Banowsky's effort to recruit students to the Malibu campus who were within the Church of Christ congregation was a synonym for a call of a White student body.

As Los Angeles was embracing its nuances of existing in a newly predominant Black neighborhood, the Malibu campus was focused on maintaining a predominantly White institution within a predominantly White neighborhood. Yet, there were a few Black students and one Black faculty member who could also be found at the Malibu campus. A few Black students, such as actor Sidney Poitier's daughter found a home in Malibu within the inaugural class. Many Black students did not attend the Malibu campus because of the distance to Malibu, and the lack of transportation to campus became a large factor. There was only one Black faculty member asked to join the Malibu Campus, Harris Ives.

Harris Ives' family came from New Orleans originally, and they temporarily moved to Chicago, in which Harris Ives was born, but his family returned to New Orleans. Abruptly, Ives' family moved to California, as his father, "who was always extremely and continuous to be protective of me was fearful of the white backlash" that could come from Louisiana was forced

to comply with the Supreme Court demanding integration of its schools in 1960 (Ives 1997). When he came to California, he lived in Culver City, and attended Compton Junior College before enlisting in the US Air Force during the Vietnam War to rebel against his overprotective father. While he served in the military, he met a young man who was also "rebelling" from his father through serving in the military and had a plan to attend Pepperdine College. This young man explained how Pepperdine was a "small school. It was provincial. It had a southern flavor to it. He said it operated by the Church of Christ, which was an ultra-conservative, fundamentalist religious group" (Ives 1997). Listening to this young man speak about Pepperdine, Ives became drawn to Pepperdine *and* the Church of Christ. He arrived at Pepperdine in 1969 because of the stories he heard about this conservative campus. Ives was from a conservative, Southern family, so Pepperdine *and* the Church of Christ was representative of his Southern background.

In 1969, he was a student, who was an older student, as he was in the military for four years. He made friends with other older undergraduate students who were married and/or divorced. He avoided "The Black Student Union, at that time, [as it] was going through a period of great unrest. There were protests in the halls. I [was] determined not to participate in the protest because my focus, my main focus as an older student was to make my father happy and finally get the college degree" (Ives 1997). Similarly, Pearl Lindsay (2019) "avoided being around the BSU" because she was focused on school.

While attending, he had a religious awakening that contradicted his Catholic upbringing and faith. He found himself more interested in the Church of Christ through Bible reading, as "he put off all the people who tried to teach me about the Church of Christ. I resented any kind of pushiness. Eventually, I read myself basically into the church. That put me in the

environment of Vermont Avenue" (Ives 1997). Unlike other Black members who were attracted to Pepperdine through the Church of Christ faith, Ives had a dilemma through embracing the Church of Christ faith: being Black in the Church of Christ meant unequal status and the lack of appreciation for Black culture. He did not completely leave his culture, but he was drawn to Christ, which was most important.

Ives joined the Vermont Church of Christ, which was racially diverse, and he worshipped and studied under Dr. EV Pullias. The contradiction became noticeable, in which "Dr. Pullias' dream was to basically eliminate folksiness, not only among blacks but all levels of society. He really was the consummate teacher and he believed that exposure to the fine arts would lift us up and make us finer people. So, he had really no interest in this anthropological love or appreciation of folk culture" (Ives 1997). Ives admired Pullias, but Ives appreciated operating within Black culture, such as having a 'Call and Response' component within the sermons and wearing an Afro. These two things were not highly received, so there were times that Ives would have a haircut and have a more formal sermon that would be well received. After graduation, Ives still worked at Pepperdine as a Research Assistant, when he was asked to teach part-time within the subject of English on the Malibu campus. He happily accepted, as he "never dreamed that I would be part of the Malibu experience, especially in the black community" (Ives 1997). In 1972, on the Malibu Campus, there were only 2 part-time African American faculty members – Harris Ives and Alberta Gragget.

In 1973, Harris Ives was given a Full-Time position on the Malibu campus, yet Dr. Banowsky, the now President of Pepperdine University, did not realize there was even a Black faculty member in Malibu. The faculty was fairly small with there being only 4 buildings (including the dorms) located on the campus at the time. Yet, Banowsky ignored the only full-

time Black faculty member on the Malibu campus. Banowsky responded to the Los Angeles Times reporter's questions about the lack of African American professors on the Malibu campus by saying that within a few years, there will be African American professors. Ives recounts reading this article with a level of "disheartenment" with Banowsky's response, and Ives soon found himself at the Brock House with Banowsky, in which Ives told Banowsky, "he was the teacher that you envisioned would be here in a few years" (Ives 1997). According to Ives, both Banowsky and Ives had a "good naturedly" laugh. Yet, Banowsky's response to not realizing Ives even existed is one of the many instances that reinforces Banowsky's racist views toward Black people. Ives remained the sole African American full-time faculty on the Malibu campus for years. Throughout Pepperdine University's history, especially its time on the Malibu campus, the undergraduate campus (Seaver College) has consistently hired few (if any) Black Faculty who are either full-time or part-time.

The LA Campus of Pepperdine University continued to be located in a mostly Black neighborhood that was suffering from industry changes in Los Angeles that resulted in a decline in middle-class jobs, and social unrest. When Dr. Wilburn became the Provost of the LA Campus from 1973 – 1976, he described several criminal activities that framed his attitude of the LA Campus being located in an unsafe neighborhood. First, he had "female students in [his] office [that reported] being raped while walking between the administration building (one block away from the rest of the campus) and their dorms (Wilburn 2019, 64). Second, he witnessed "an armed robbery in [his] driveway" and in a separate incident in his driveway, "several neighborhood boys in my driveway [were] siphoning gas out of my gas tank" (Wilburn 2019, 64). Third, he did chase down the young boys only to be assaulted with threats, yet he did capture a license plate number that was turned over to the police, in which he was told, "they had

more important crimes to deal with and to simply forget it!" (Wilburn 2019, 64). With Dr. Wilburn experiencing and witnessing crime, it is clear that his attitude about the neighborhood surrounding the LA Campus was unsafe.

According to Dr. Wilburn, there was also criminal activity taking place on campus. The newly developed Police Management Program had a "prostitution ring operating out of our married student housing complex since there were empty apartments" (Wilburn 2019, 64-65). These housing units were soon demolished, and he never told Banowsky or the Board of Trustees why he demolished the housing units because "I didn't have the heart to tell them" (Wilburn 2019). The dorms were also a moment of contention, with fires being set off in wastepaper baskets throughout the dorms, which led to Dr. Wilburn being even more concerned about the safety of the students on campus. Baird (2016) further described small fires that also reached the "Fine Arts Building, Baxter Hall, and the Business Administration Building" (170). The largest fire was set to the college auditorium "with a destruction of property in excess of $50,000" (Baird 2016, 170). The evidence of criminal activity taking place on campus was also lumped together with campus activism.

Just as Wilburn once hired a firm to have an undercover student to report back the various student activities on campus, Banowsky also championed campus administrators around the country to demonstrate "toughness" through "fully cooperating with the police, inviting them on campus and helping them procure court proceedings against student law-breakers," but he did not follow his own recommendation (Banowsky 2010, 203). On occasion, Banowksy did threaten Black protestors with criminal prosecution and academic punishment, which resulted in Black students relenting their protests. He further regarded Black students who engaged in activism should be subjected to an investigation on campus, as campus administrators "should

demonstrate loyalty [to America] through help[ing] the FBI and the CIA to infiltrate the campus and all of its cells of lawlessness" (Banowsky 2010, 203). There was no record in the released Board of Trustee Papers or in the Archive of Banowsky or any administrator engaging with the FBI or CIA to infiltrate the campus. Black students became more active on campus that led to more protests and sit-ins to make administration more aware of their concerns. These Black students also ran the risk of being dismissed from Pepperdine, as Banowsky had a low tolerance for these activists.

Dr. Wilburn asserts that he listened to Black students, and he also served as an ally to them when he tried to convince Dr. Banowsky to sit and listen to Black students in order to find a plan for Blacks to be better represented and incorporated in the fabric of Pepperdine University's community. Also, Black students acknowledged Wilburn not being aware of every discriminatory incident; therefore, Wilburn welcomed students to speak with him directly, and the issue would be immediately addressed (Campbell 2020). Dr. Banowksy was disingenuous and never meant to compromise with Black students even when he sat and listened to their concerns. His focus was to eliminate the LA Campus even though the campus created educational and economical opportunities for many Black people. Through killing the LA Campus, Banowsky uplifted the Malibu campus and maintained the image of white supremacy thriving through every fabric of Pepperdine University, especially the undergraduate college because he systematically eliminated the opportunity for Blacks to be fully incorporated within Pepperdine's present and future.

Black Student Movement on Campus

Before the split between the LA and Malibu Campus, Black students were involved in on-campus activism. In 1967, Joe Hopkins and Bernadette organized the Black Student Union

(BSU) at Pepperdine College. The BSU was a direct response to students wanting "to be valued and integrated in the campus" (Campbell 2020). The BSU was outside of the student governing structure that created independence from Pepperdine College to dictate its campus actions. Yet, during the summer, "during the Break, they were not there. Robert, and two other Black students formed a BSA [Black Student Association], which was a subdivision of campus organizations. This allowed the administration to be able to step in and advise what the BSA could do" (Campbell 2020). This decision allowed Pepperdine College to make decisions (including its budget) on the BSA's behalf, which allowed the invitation of the "black militant Stokley Carmichael" a point of contention between Pepperdine College administrators and its students ("Senate Allocates Publicity Money" 1973, 3). After the "Student Association president Roddy Wright negotiate[d] to bring [Stokley Carmichael]" to Pepperdine with the payment of $150 as a donation ("Senate Allocates Publicity Money" 1973, 3). Yet, the Board of Trustees met about Carmichael coming to the campus, which resulted in Carmichael being prevented from speaking on campus.

To the surprise of the Board of Trustees, there was a swift and open critique to their decision, as the Editor of the *Inner View* and the Professor and Chairman of the History Department, Dr. Truman Clark, who was also a White male, was vocal against the Board of Trustees' decision. Faller (1973) stated, "The refusal to allow Carmichael to speak on campus forfeited any right this university [to] ever be called a university. For anyone to be truly educated, it is essential that we be exposed to the widest range of points of view and opinion" (3). Dr. Clark furthered this sentiment with stating:

> A college education is not a catechistic pouring into the individual of a certain few 'facts' to be carefully memorized and dutifully believed. Instead it is the growing and faculty members involved in a series of studies and exchanges of ideas. Refusing to let ideas be shared, studied, and argued is neither consistent with the aims of higher education. The

> board of trustees tend to be peopled by those more likely to see college education as a business or a catechetical filling station described above ("Senate Allocates Publicity Money" 1973, 3).

The criticism over not allowing Carmichael to speak ignited the argument of the lack of diverse opinions through the invited speakers on the campus. Diverse opinions meant that Black students could have Black speakers that were only approved by the all-White administration. These White administrators were used to passive Black ministers that were found in the Church of Christ, in which they did not speak out about equality and justice. Individuals like Carmichael were in direct contrast to Black ministers in the Church of Christ, and even the few Black Church of Christ Civil Rights activists who used nonviolent methods to force patient change. Therefore, Pepperdine administrators and the Board of Trustees were afraid of Carmichael and how his message would inspire Black students on their campus.

Diverse opinions also meant that the Board of Trustees and the administrators on the Malibu campus were against Democratic voices to be heard because it would anger their Republican donors. Dr. Clark furthered his argument by saying, "Pepperdine has Senator Barry Goldwater coming in to assure folks that President Nixon should be allowed to rule the country without Congress while Pepperdine rejects the possibility of Stokely Carmichael speaking because he is too dangerous. Carmichael is black, a point possibly not lost upon Pepperdine's Southern flavored board of trustees" ("Senate Allocates Publicity Money" 1973, 3). The irony of "Dr. Clark's complaint cannot be ignored when Senator Goldwater's visit was useful for nurturing the relationship with Leonard Firestone, who was deemed one of the more "liberal" members of the Board of Trustees" (Wilburn 2019, 16). The tension over Carmichael being denied a visit to campus was about Carmichael and about how the institution was courting the Republican Party in a way that troubled many faculty, staff, and students. The students wanted

some level of control over who would come to campus even if they paid for the visit, but they never had autonomy. The dispute between The Board of Trustees and the LA Campus not having Carmichael come to the LA Campus was a stark reminder between the overt racism that fueled the cultural difference of the LA and Malibu campuses.

In 1968, the Black Student Association convened about its organizational structure that contributed to Pepperdine College prohibiting Carmichael from being able to speak on campus. Campbell (2020) made a motion "to remove him [BSA president] from office, and it passed. He was removed. I became the chair after the removal and [I] abolished the relationship the BSA had with administration. We then began to restructure the BSA." Campbell soon created Harambee, the BSU's student paper that was sent to Dr.[Thomas] Kilgore, a local minister in South Los Angeles, in order to keep him aware of what was happening at Pepperdine College.

The heightened belief that the Black Nationalist movement was influencing the African American population on Pepperdine's campus was felt amongst the Board of Trustees, Pepperdine's administration that is located in Malibu, and Provost James Wilburn. For them, it was unfathomable that Pepperdine University's Black students were able to independently have legitimate complaints about Pepperdine University outside of the Black Nationalist movement ideology. Thus, Provost James Wilburn was firm in believing that the Black Nationalist movement was not on the campus, but the Black Nationalist ideology was felt through various campus protests, student demands, and on-campus violence that led Dr. Wilburn for hiring "a security agency to place an undercover agent on campus. He enrolled in Pepperdine just as any prospective student would and moved into the dorm as a student. I never knew his name, but I arranged to have a written report from him each week" (Wilburn 2019, 45-46). This security

agency was a private agency that was not attached to the FBI, and Wilburn's decision to hire this agency was made without the knowledge of the college administrators and the Board of Trustees.

Through surveillance, Wilburn was able to find out who was causing some dangerous activities on campus, such as setting fires within the dorms on campus. With just under 400 African American students within the undergraduate student body, the students had no clue that Wilburn had this level of monitoring that targeted Black students on campus. The justification for having such a high level of scrutiny was due to the high level of Black students who were vocal within the community and the level of violent incidents that were happening on campus. Even though Wilburn and Banowsky did not believe Pepperdine students were involved in the Black Panther or Black Power movements, unbeknownst to anyone, Wilburn permitted this undercover student. Wilburn maintains the documents from this undercover student, in which no one at Pepperdine University has been provided access to these reports.

The staff and fellow administrators never knew that information was "indirectly" being collected about their interaction with this undercover student. Wilburn also was able to find out how student services were treating the students, which Wilburn found to be a "wonderful management tool to evaluate our own student services" (Wilburn 2019, 46). The information collected in this report set the tone for Wilburn to further investigate other programs, such as the Urban Studies Department that was experiencing financial and academic irregularities. The investigation led to Dr. Wilburn terminating 15 staff members (Wilburn 2019, 28). Wilburn reflects on the firing of these staff members as "being welcomed by some colleagues who were afraid to disseminate evidence of corruption, while those who were fired were not surprised" (Wilburn 2019). As of today, Wilburn is the only person who maintains a copy of the anonymous undercover student's written reports. He still does not know the identity of the

undercover student. At a time when many US college students were under the FBI and CIA's investigation due to their political activities, Wilburn's investigative tactics aligns with Pepperdine's stance of being on the side of law enforcement. In fact, under Dr. Wilburn's leadership, there were two master programs specifically for police officers.

Activism on college campuses was not only happening at UCLA, USC, and Pepperdine, but it was happening around the country. Some of the demands that "Black campus activists also listed in their demands the termination of racist HWCU presidents, while habitually demanding the fitting of prejudiced non academic staff, such as financial aid counselors, secretaries, store clerks, and security officers. Routinely, when they demanded the firing of racist whites, they wanted them to be replaced by African Americans. Police harassment prompted many demands for black officers (or no officers at all)" (Rogers 2012, 115). These same attitudes found its way on the Pepperdine University campus.

There were few Blacks who were in part-time faculty and staff positions, so when there was an employment dispute with people, such as Willie Davis (the only full-time faculty member) and Ron Ellerbe (full-time staff member), then there was a large swell of Black student response. In 1970, Alumni Ron Ellerbe's contract was not renewed for his position in the Public Relations Office for no reason but wanting to decrease the budget. A large group of students "invaded the classrooms of the Academic Life Building shouting 'strike' and threatening a full-scale student strike if demands were not met" on December 7 (Baird 2016, 170). These students did not "invade" the classroom; rather, they were protesting the inequality in treatment of not just Black students, but Black faculty and staff. Within two days, at least 100 students disrupted chapel services. At a rally in the quadrangle later that same day, one student loudly declared, "The administration will either acquiesce to our demands or we will throw their asses out the

window and burn the buildings down" (Baird 2016, 170). The next day at 7 am on Thursday, December 10, "an estimate of 50 students occupied the Academic Life Building" (Baird 2016, 170). Banowsky made a trip to the campus to confront the protesters, as it being "a 'fabricated incident' and suggested it was 'simply another chapter in student-administration confrontations'" (Baird 2016, 171). Even though the LA Times reported that the LAPD wanted to become more involved in removing the students, Banowsky insisted to handle it internally, in which he announced there would be no criminal charges (Baird 2016, 171). Yet, he threatened these students with dismissal from the university, which resulted in the students' acquiescing to Banowsky's demands to end the protest. With all of the media coverage, Banowsky also reflects that the moments of Black students protesting had "at long last, had publicly humiliated pristine Pepperdine" (Banowsky 2010, 197). Banowsky reflects on this incident as being a good moment that boosted his political aspirations, as Republicans praised his response. This incident and Banowsky's tactics used to defuse the student-led protest helped further propel Banowsky's reputation in Conservative Republican's circles and heightened his notoriety with his weekly's TV show, as he seemed to be firm and unyielding to Black students and their on-campus protests.

This week-long lockout led to black faculty and staff asserting the lack of power that existed within their roles on campus. The litany of their issues consisted of: "black administrators and department heads had less authority than did their white counterparts; did not control departmental budgets; were subordinate to administrators with less experience; were excluded from decision-making committees, meetings, and conferences; and had difficulty accessing college facilities, resources, or supplies" (Baird 2016, 172). The demands went further as the "black faculty strongly recommended rapid development of the new College of Urban

Affairs, organization of a fund-raising program geared to the needs of the Los Angeles campus (as opposed to the Malibu campus), and a re-evaluation of attitudes toward blacks at Pepperdine – beginning with the college president" (Baird 2016, 172). Black students and the majority of the student body on the LA Campus remained critical of Banowsky because he was openly hostile to the existence of the LA Campus remaining open.

The African American student body continued to demonstrate on campus for other issues. After a young, 15-year-old, unarmed African American neighborhood boy, Lawrence "Larry" Kimmons, was killed by a white security guard, Charlie Lane, on campus in 1969,[6]African American students created a list of demands that included:

(1) College to hire African American faculty and staff with the approval and recommendation, consultation, advisement of ABS
(2) Security guards disarmed and input of hiring of new ones

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[6] Pepperdine University would allow members of the neighborhood to play basketball on campus. Lawrence "Larry" Kimmons and his friends, who were all African American minors, played basketball in the early evening. According to Charlie Lane, crime in the neighborhood made Charlie Lane feel unsafe, so he privately decided to arm himself with a shotgun. Pepperdine University profusely denies knowing that Charlie Lane had a gun while he was patrolling. At the time, Charlie Lane was the only full-time security guard because of Pepperdine's budget restrictions. According to Lawrence "Larry" Kimmons' friends, Charlie Lane sat the gun down on the roof of the car, and without warning, he shot Lawrence "Larry" Kimmons in the chest. According to Charlie Lane, he was afraid and shot Lawrence "Larry" Kimmons out of a verbal threat, and possibly, a physical altercation. Even though the events vary based on witness statements, Lawrence "Larry" Kimmons and his friends had no weapons. This event caused a major disruption on campus, as Pepperdine University paid for Charlie Lane's legal defense. Additionally, Richard Nixon and Tom Bradley wrote to the judge on Charlie Lane's behalf to help him have a lighter sentence. Lane was not sentenced to jail; rather, he was given probation. Pepperdine University helped him relocate out of California and helped him find a job at Columbia Christian College in Portland, Oregon.
To adhere to the wishes of Kimmons' family, a painting was created and hung on the LA Campus until its closure. It went missing for years, until one of my many visits to the archives in 2016 during the massive remodel of the Payson Library, when I helped identify the painting that started the process for restoring the painting and the later rededication of the painting in September 20, 2017. Additionally, Pepperdine University started a scholarship that is given out annually. The Kimmons family also filed a lawsuit in 1969 for $2 million, yet the insurance only covered $1 million per death. The settlement has not yet been made available because the Board of Trustees' papers after June 19, 1969 are sealed.

(3) A black track coach and the number of African Americans in administrative and staff positions to mirror the ratio of black students
(4) Dismissal of particular white faculty and staff members they charged as being racist and the expulsion of the campus leader of SPONGE [Society for the Prevention of Negroes Getting Everything], whose very existence was doubted by most administrators[7] (Baird 2016, 162-163).

When Larry Kimmons was murdered, the students protested for a week, and "We shut down the school" (Campbell 2020). Black students supported Ms. Kimmons with marching for an immediate and thoughtful response to the death. At one point, Catherine Meeks remembers there being endless meetings with even talks of violence, yet Ms. Kimmons "was constantly saying that she did not want us to be in other types of violence. She didn't want other black people to lose their lives over Lawrence "Larry" Kimmons. The more moderate voices ended up winning. We ended up talking a lot. His brother and sister could go to school for free and a scholarship starting" (Meeks 2019).

The protests forced Dr. Young to have "a press conference to state that the students were reacting to only this incident and they didn't have any problems before this;" yet, this was simply not true (Campbell 2020). The students were largely ignored until the *LA Times* reporter asked Dr. Kilgore if he agreed with Dr. Young's assessment of the Black student experience at Pepperdine University. Dr. Kilgore supported the Black students, when "he said that it was on the contrary. He had been receiving newsletters about the students on the campus that talked about the issues they were protesting" (Campbell 2020). This forced Dr. Young to admit there was a problem on campus.

[7] SPONGE (Society for the Prevention of Negroes Getting Everything) is a rumored group of White students, staff, and faculty that had the focus of preventing African Americans from having equality on campus. Members of the faculty, staff, and administration never acknowledged its existence, but African Americans believed it existed. Dean Davis and Black students insisted that this group existed to make Black students and faculty feel uncomfortable on campus and to also prevent Black students and faculty from having positions on campus.

Rev. Thomas Kilgore graduated from Morehouse University in 1935, and he was a Civil Rights icon. His legacy includes helping to organize the 1963 March on Washington along with founding the local Los Angeles Chapter of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. He was active within Southern California politics, such as serving on the Community Redevelopment Agency and an advisor for LA Mayor Tom Bradley. He was actively involved in mediating conflict within South Los Angeles throughout the 1970s-1990s, which is why Black students at Pepperdine reached out to him even though Rev. Kilgore was a member of the Baptist church and not a member of the Church of Christ congregation. Also, Rev. Campbell was also a member of the Baptist Church like Rev. Kilgore, which further intensified Campbell's motivation for contacting Kilgore.

Dean Davis responded to these demands by giving the administration a 12-point plan that would attempt to serve as a compromise between the Black students and faculty on campus. These suggestions included:

(1) College to hire African American faculty and staff
(2) Implementing racial sensitivity training for current faculty
(3) Appointing an African American to the board of trustees
(4) Hiring black guidance and admission counselors
(5) Appointing a director of community relations
(6) Security guards should be better trained
(7) Removal of any employee who demonstrated racist or prejudiced attitudes (Baird 2016, 163)

The administration did not agree with many of the suggestions but made a commitment that included the following:

(1) Opposed racial quotas in hiring staff but agreed there should be more Blacks on staff
(2) Unfair employment practices should be eliminated
(3) Certain loans should be distributed equitably among ethnic groups
(4) Hire a track and field coach with ABS approval will be granted (Baird 2016, 164).

Even with a small victory, African American students would continue to persist for greater equality on campus. There was a call for more to happen on campus.

Eventually, Pepperdine's administration did oblige to some of the protesters' demands to start a scholarship and hang a portrait of Lawrence Kimmons on campus. Throughout the years, this portrait was not consistently hung on campus because the portrait was "lost" (for years) when it was just poorly labeled in storage. His mother wanted the history of Lawrence "Larry" Kimmons death to be taught to the incoming classes, but over the years, that history was not always provided[8].

Since March 1969, Dean Sanders presented a report to the Board of Trustees explaining that a Black History course has been taught by Mrs. Marks (a black woman) since 1968, along with other attempts to integrate Black students, such as: (1) The English department wanting to offer a Black Literature course; (2) The Psychology department wanted to teach a course in communication to help White and Black people understand each other; and (3) Establish an inter-cultural committee ("Board of Trustee Papers," March 14, 1969). Dean Sanders further asserts that "Black students seemed to be seeking identity and understanding and that their desire is not to gain control of the school," so the goal should be to "keep the communications lines open with black students and work with them in a Christ-like way" ("Board of Trustee Papers," March 14, 1969). One action item Dean Sanders presented would be to employ Black faculty members, but "they are getting harder and harder to find" ("Board of Trustee Papers," March 14, 1969).

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[8] On September 20, 2018, there was a rededication ceremony of his portrait being hung in the newly remodeled Payson Library. With recent articles about race on Pepperdine's campus that were written and published in the school's newspaper, *The Graphic*, it is hopeful that Pepperdine is beginning to live up to the promise of telling each incoming student about Lawrence "Larry" Kimmons' death.

Dean Sanders posed difficulty in hiring Black faculty, but when Dr. Wilburn became dean in 1973, he made a point to hire Black faculty at least on a part-time basis in order to have more representation on campus (Wilburn 2019; Baird 2016). Catherine Meeks remembers Kimmons' death being the moment on campus as being the catalyst for Pepperdine moving to Malibu, yet "students tried to protest the move" (Meeks 2019). Catherine Meeks found the LA Campus was vital for her and other students because "many of the students in that area would have never graduated from Pepperdine University" since they could not afford to travel to Malibu (Meeks 2019). On the campus, many students found Jennings Davis, Lucile Todd, and Dr. Jack Scott as White administrators with "integrity and helpful to their success" (Meeks 2019). They found these three people were an ally to Black students through speaking out on their behalf and for treating them fairly. Yet, out of these three individuals, the only person who remained the whole time was Jennings Davis. Meeks recounts that Pepperdine's Administration in Malibu "trying to push out Lucille Todd, in which she eventually retired, and Jennings Davis' position was eliminated, but he was able to withstand and moved to Malibu after the LA Campus closed" (Meeks 2019).

Many students, staff, and faculty at the LA Campus felt that the Malibu campus was mistreating the campus as less than equal. Ultimately, many students, staff, faculty, and community leaders protested for equal disbursement in goods and services. Initially, Dr. Jack Scott was told he would be the Dean of Instruction on the Malibu campus, but "Banowsky asked Jack Scott, a religion professor, part time Church of Christ preacher, and faculty leader committed to an inner-city outreach, to serve as provost of the LA campus beginning Sept. 1, 1971. Scott gladly accepted the challenge" (Baird 2016, 176). Banowsky recounts this moment as Scott being woefully disappointed that he would stay at the LA Campus, but Banowsky felt it

was a good fit instead of the Malibu campus (Banowsky 2010). Scott mentioned multiple times that "I did not agree with Banowsky's depiction of my response to be the Provost of the LA Campus" (Scott 2019). In fact, Scott surmised, "I wasn't asked to work at the Malibu campus because I was a Democrat, and in order to work in Malibu, it was understood it was a more conservative Republican community" (Scott 2019).

Publicly, Dr. Scott looked at the changes on the LA Campus to be an exciting adventure. He proclaimed in the *Inner View* that "A personality [is] developing at the LA Campus" even as the "PE equipment was moved to the Malibu Campus," Dr. Scott's response was "it just gives us the opportunity to purchase new equipment" (Clark 1972). Carol Clark (1972) states a litany of things that were taken from the LA Campus and moved to the Malibu Campus that includes: music instruments and the 75,000 books from the library along with the additional 150,000 volume collection that was acquired in the summer of 1972 that has a value of more than a half million dollars. The lack of musical instruments hurt the gospel choir, where the students could only "rehearse wherever they could find a piano" (Murray 1972). Dr. Scott was proven wrong because the items would not be replaced; rather, the Malibu Campus was to provide a bus from the LA Campus to the Malibu campus, so the LA Campus would have access to their own resources. The bus system between the LA and Malibu campuses was never implemented. Privately, Dr. Scott "came to the conclusion that the Malibu Campus did not want to see the LA Campus thrive in this two-campus model" (Scott 2019). Within a year of him taking office, Scott submitted a resignation letter that stipulated the reasons for leaving that included the LA Campus losing its "equipment and books" that diminished the library to fewer than 25,000 volumes than It did one year before, as the 200,000 books were transported to the Malibu campus (Scott 1972). Dr. Scott further justifies his resignation because "he did not want to sit

and participate in the demise of the LA Campus" (Scott 2019). He did not agree on how the LA Campus was being treated, and "I did not think that I would ever leave Pepperdine University. In fact, my children and grandchildren have attended Pepperdine University" (Scott 2019). If he was given the Malibu appointment that he was originally promised, then there is a possibility that Scott would have stayed at Pepperdine University. He did not speak to Pepperdine before he decided to leave. He also would not have converted to be Republican to work at the Malibu campus. Pepperdine University did not have the opportunity to negotiate his ability to stay with the university before he left. His resignation led to Dr. Wilburn, who was later appointed in 1973 as the Provost of the LA Campus.

While the resources were being extracted from the LA Campus, the tuition was steadily increasing by 16% with no additional funds being allocated to the LA Campus. In 1975, the loss of the Pepperdine University sports program on the LA Campus incited even more protests. Community residents, students, and faculty came together to protest against Pepperdine due to the "LA Campus [being] without an intercollegiate athletic program since the fall of 1972 when the entire athletic competition program was moved to the Malibu campus" (Coates 1975). The LA Campus maintained an intramural sports program that would compete against local community colleges, such as Southwestern College and Compton College. This made the LA Campus a second-class campus to the Malibu campus. Willie Davis, one of the only full-time Black Faculty Members of the LA Campus, wanted to "persuade administration officials at Pepperdine to take immediate steps to implement a men's basketball team and a women's track team that will be based at the LA campus" (Coates 1975). Davis went as far as to circulate 800 petitions and questionnaires that supported their position, and the Student Senate wrote the Malibu campus administration expressing how, "the Malibu campus intercollegiate athletic

program does not adequately represent the interest of the Los Angeles campus" (Coates 1975). The students also felt "deprived of emotional, spiritual and educational benefits of an intercollegiate athletic program. Such has led to general student body apathy" (Coates 1975). This letter had over 5,000 signatures from the LA Campus students, staff, faculty, and community leaders (Coates 1975). Dr. Wilburn also acknowledged that the students' attitudes changed since the intercollegiate teams were relocated from Malibu, but he did nothing to save the sports programs. It is understandable that Dr. Wilburn made no effort to save the sports program because at the beginning of our interview, he stated that he knew the LA Campus was going to close, so his appointment was to ease the transition for its closure. There was no point in giving these students hope and equity when the school was bound to end sooner rather than later.

The sports program did not return since new sports equipment was never purchased since their original equipment was relocated to the Malibu campus. LA Campus students were eligible to participate in the Malibu sports, but there was no transportation between the LA and Malibu campuses and all athletic practices were held in Malibu.

The Effects of the Malibu Move – Separate But Equal Doctrine

It was July 28, 1972 that *The Inner View,* the LA Campus school newspaper, wrote an editorial that described the LA campus, as it "No longer will this campus be thought of as a small, quiet campus on 79th street" (Daugherty 1972). This "new" campus would have new programs and philosophies that would be more incorporated into the surrounding community.

After one year of the campus opening, the Editorial of *The Inner View* reports that enrollment increased, and the LA campus had a "good education and a viable degree" (Editorial

1973). The faculty was operating under no "new tenure and no pay raises, [but] they still remained dedicated to education and the LA Campus" (Editorial 1973). Even as enrollment increased, the significant problem the LA Campus had was money. Due to the lack of funds, two psychology department programs did not receive final approval and a doctoral program was not launched, but tuition steadily increased for the fourth consecutive year (Editorial 1973). Even with the advances of the LA Campus continuously growing, the LA Campus was consistently being stripped of its resources, and these resources were being diverted directly to the Malibu campus.

The LA Campus, increasingly, felt slighted, as the Malibu campus was receiving all of their resources. The LA Campus faculty struggled with receiving tenure, and even the closure of the campus did not rectify the understanding if the faculty at the LA Campus would receive and/or maintain tenure if they moved to the Malibu Campus (Baird 2016). Students were forced to request books from the Malibu campus in order to complete their research. Because the bus that was to travel between the Malibu and LA Campus to transport students to both campuses never happened, the LA Campus students did not take classes in Malibu, nor could the Malibu students take classes in Los Angeles.

Students also complained that the higher cost of tuition did not translate into a better quality of living on campus. In fact, the Malibu resident pays $1.85 per day, while the LA resident pays $2.50 per day, yet the Malibu resident receives a healthier food variety than the LA resident (Davis 1972). There were many students who complained about the food. The daily food in Malibu consisted of "pastries, deserts, salads, and main entrees"; whereas, the LA Campus received the "same entrée four times in six days" (Davis 1972). The Professional District Representative Ross Hohn responded to such criticism as it being the problem with

fewer on-campus residents on the LA Campus of 108 versus there being 604 Malibu residents (Davis 1972). The gross inequity in food quality along with fewer students while charging them $.75 more per day allows Pepperdine administrators to devalue the campus and their students. *Weren't the LA Campus students equally important as the Malibu Campus students? Didn't the LA Campus student deserve an equal college experience, especially since they are paying more money than the Malibu Campus students?*

The higher cost of student fees and rising tuition led to more questions about how the money was being disbursed between the LA and Malibu campuses. Vice President of Finance Francis Frank asserted that the "Money raised by the tuition and donations at the LA Campus will be used only for the operation of the urban-centered campus" (Clark, Oct. 6, 1972). The LA Student Government did not believe Frank, and thus, an investigation on tuition costs began that presented the findings: "the money is used for instructional cost, utilities, and maintenance; LA cost is higher because the buildings are older; expenditures are calculated by tuition revenue, donations and expenses; donations are done with a specific campus; and if no designation is made, it goes to the general fund" (Clark, Oct. 6, 1972). It was hard to negate the findings, but the Board of Trustees agreed that moving forward, the funds would be separated.

Basic operations of the campuses were completely through the Malibu Campus. The LA Campus was left with only one employee in the mailroom because all mail was routed through the Malibu campus. Martin Lufton, the only LA mailroom employee, proclaimed, "Malibu took everything, but that is all right because everything is done at Malibu" (Clark, Oct. 27, 1972). Lufton meant that all business and mail was routed through the Malibu campus even if it caused greater problems and delays in receiving mail. Jerry Cassatt, finance advisor, explained that the LA Campus losing control of business functions caused delays in payroll and receiving checks

because all personnel hiring and timesheets, etc. was handled in Malibu (Clark, Oct. 27, 1972). The feeling of discontent was permeating throughout the campus, as the LA Student Campus president cited "apathy" within the campus and *The Inner View's* editor, Mike Daugherty, describes Malibu as an "oppressive administration" (Daugherty, October 27, 1972). The LA Campus even had a difficult time recruiting because the budget to recruit only was restricted to the Malibu campus. For the 1973-1974 school year, the Malibu campus increased its freshman recruitment to attract 300 – 400 people; whereas, the LA Campus received 60 freshmen (Daugherty, October 27, 1972). Even with all of the obstacles, the LA Campus continued to thrive, but these new students were mostly commuter students, which caused a litany of additional issues around the purpose and mission of Pepperdine University *and* the LA Campus.

A Social Justice Campus?

Both the former Los Angeles Provosts, Dr. Scott and Dr. Wilburn, reflect on their time at Pepperdine University as being one as trying to improve the lives of others. Thus, they viewed the LA Campus as one of a social justice campus. It is important to note this is not the overall mission of Pepperdine University. Pepperdine University's mission to be of service to all mankind does not mean social justice. In fact, being of service to all humanity is best defined through the amount of community service the Pepperdine community completes each year. Whereas, social justice was being defined as having a curriculum that was addressing the needs of the student body and educating students to return to the community in order to make a meaningful impact. Students would also receive practical experience to help improve the lives of their community. There would be implementation of programs that would allow the community to utilize the campus' resources as its presence would create a significant impact on

its students' lives along with having an economic and social footprint in the surrounding community that would help improve people's lives.

The initial split of the Malibu and Los Angeles campus really reflects the differing missions of these campuses. The Malibu Campus focused on Liberal Arts, as it shied away from the trade curriculum, such as Home Economics and other trade-related majors that was only offered on the LA Campus. In contradiction to the Malibu Campus, Dr. Scott and Dr. Wilburn believed that the LA Campus would be an exciting campus that would focus on strengthening the connection the LA Campus would have with the surrounding community *and* provide a meaningful curriculum that would meet the needs of its more diverse student body. Thus, Scott and Wilburn both felt that they had a place to be innovative in their curriculum and community partnerships that would offer academic and vocational programs for its students and community leaders. Yet, the branding of Pepperdine University was not aligned with the LA Campus, as President Banowksy was the face of the institution, which focused solely on building the Malibu campus with its building reputation for its wealthy donors attached to the Republican Party.[9]

President Banowsky received consistent hostile reactions from the LA Campus faculty, students, and the campus newspaper, *The Inner View.* Davies (1972) described Banowsky as being a "chief engineer of the plan to keep Pepperdine a small conservative Christian school," who "carried off Operation Glamour," with the opening of the Malibu campus. The dilemma for Banowsky, who was openly hostile against the LA Campus, was how to "avoid the appearance

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[9] Governor Ronald Reagan had a ranch in Malibu. He maintained his relationship with Bill Banowsky and Norvel Young, which included Reagan lending his name for large fundraising campaigns to ensure that the Malibu campus would open. Even though Reagan never gave a financial donation, he led other people to give to Pepperdine. Reagan's first honorary doctorate degree came from Pepperdine University in 1970. Soon following, Azusa Pacific College (Azusa Pacific University) gave him an honorary degree in 1973. His speeches, such as the one at "Birth of a College" cemented the long relationship Reagan had with Pepperdine, especially Banowsky, who supported Reagan's political pursuits.

of giving up on the LA Campus, of abandoning a campus in a 'bad neighborhood'" (Davies 1972). But, Banowsky was adamant against the LA Campus long before there was a Malibu Campus. Banowsky was described as a man with political ambitions with a "credibility gap," who was "aloof from the common student and an 'I'm-the-all-American-boy' fakeness" (Davies 1972). Banowsky became the California Republican Chair of the Nixon Re-Election Campaign, which led to criticizing the LA Campus with *The Inner View* promoting the Democratic Candidate. *The Inner View* called for Banowsky to undergo an investigation during the Watergate Scandal even though Banowsky had a very limited role within the Nixon Re-Election Campaign, as he was only appointed to thwart Ronald Reagan's plan to primary Nixon. *The Inner View* was openly hostile with Banowsky on a consistent basis, so there was no surprise when the Board of Trustees called for the end of *The Inner View* being produced due to budgetary restraints. After a great deal of fighting, *The Inner View* was not saved, as it ended in 1976, five years before the closure of the LA Campus. Closing *The Inner View* was diminishing the voices of the LA Campus students in order for The Board of Trustees to maintain the facade of all Pepperdine students being highly supportive of Banowsky who was financially saving Pepperdine while increasing Pepperdine's credibility amongst Conservatives.

Pepperdine University was consistently having budget restraints, while it was building a Malibu campus and maintaining the LA Campus. In 1973, during Dr. Wilburn's tenure as the LA Provost, he sought the Federal Government to fund many of his programs that helped generate a high-level of community outreach. These programs included the following:

(1) Foster Grandparents Program, which paired elderly people with children from the Crippled Children's Society that created companionship between these two groups of people. Many of the grandparents happened to be African Americans, as Wilburn asserts

that this program, "gave purpose to the lives of the retired people who were mostly from modest and poverty backgrounds" (Wilburn 2019, 19). This program created broad recognition from First Lady Betty Ford, who "paid a visit to the Los Angeles campus to honor the program and to make an award to one of our foster grandparents, Pearl Williams, who was 105 years old" (Wilburn 2019, 19).

(2) Head Start Program provided preschool students with early education with college students who worked within the program. This provided students with practical experience along with students fulfilling their classroom hours to obtain teaching credentials.

(3) Co-operative Education Program was the largest program and government funded program that allowed students to attend schools half-time and also work half-time for on-the-job training, which gave them college credit. This program attracted a high number of Black students and Vietnam Vets. Yet, this program ended abruptly because "Some of these students were Vietnam vets and a few [of them] already had police records for selling drugs or for assault and battery" (Wilburn 2019, 22). At the end of the program, these students refused to move out. Instead, Dr. Wilburn received responses, such as being called "Whitey to Mother-f__er and given threats of damage to the campus by some pretty mean looking characters for whom I had provided food and lodging and tuition free of charge for an entire year" (Wilburn 2019, 22). The NAACP even held a news release condemning Pepperdine for forcing former students to leave the dorms.

(4) Law Enforcement Education Program (LEEP) created several degree programs, such as the Bachelor of Management program, Master of Urban Studies program, the Police Management Program, and Master of Public Administration Program. All of these

programs no longer exist except the Bachelor of Management program, which is not offered at the Malibu campus and it is only offered on its off-site campuses in Los Angeles and Orange County.

The Division Amongst the LA Campus Versus the Malibu Campus

Over the years, African American students attended school and had very little involvement in the school's activities, but the Civil Rights Movement and the Black Nationalism movement that occurred in the 1960-70s led Pepperdine to create various avenues for African Americans to become more integrated in the university. According to Jones (2003), around 1968-69, the Student Board passed a constitutional amendment that mandated African Americans would have one voting member on the student board. African American students on campus voted to select this member (Jones 2003). When the LA and Malibu Campus split, there were more Black students who were elected into the Student Board. Additionally, the Black Student Association was still very active, yet Catherine Meeks added that there was a large level of contention amongst Black students if anyone had a close relationship with White people on campus. Meeks recounts that the Black Student Association would suspend anyone "if you were connected to White people [, then] you were not trusted" (Meeks 2019). Campbell (2020) also agreed with this sentiment of racial divide within the Black Student Association.

In the following years, Pepperdine compromised with Black student protests and created a Dean of Ethnic Studies that was held by the first part-time African American professor at Pepperdine University - Calvin Bowers, who had the following responsibilities: (1) Advice on courses; (2) Scheduling curriculum; (3) Supervision of instruction; (4) Direction of activities related to Ethnic Studies; (5) Counseling students on academic matters; (6) Administration of

Ethnic Studies program (Manual of Standard Procedure 1970). The duties are stipulated in the Manual of Standard Procedure (1970) also included:

1. Gives advice on courses to be included as part of Ethnic Studies program and on the content for such courses, and cooperates with departmental chairmen in arranging such courses
2. Directs and maintains all approved courses listed as ethnic studies
3. Supervises the quality and suitability of instruction of courses under his control
4. Directs or supervises complementary functions such as Ethnic Studies Banquet
5. Counsels students in academic and other related matters
6. Supervises the academic personnel in the performance of their duties
7. Carries out all the administrative duties of his program
8. Performs any other duty related to his function or assigned to him by the Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences.

With fewer resources and more students, the LA Campus continued to grow with dynamic programs that were restricted only to the LA Campus. Former student and now Dean Calvin Bowers offered a bachelor's degree in Ethnic Studies that had the purpose of "creat[ing] a greater awareness of the problems and contributions of minority groups. A further objective of the department is to develop people who will be able to use the knowledge and training they have received in providing solutions to current minority problems" ("Ethnic Studies" 1970). Unlike the other Pepperdine promotional materials, the Ethnic Studies brochure was filled with pictures of minority individuals. It was evident that this major was created in response to Pepperdine students feeling marginalized as the Ethnic Studies brochure posed the question: "Who Am I? We live in a highly industrialized society characterized by massive concrete

structures and by millions of people jammed into metropolitan areas. The individual is almost totally lost in the crowd. Trying to find himself has become the greatest task of young people today" ("Ethnic Studies" 1970).

Within the degree of ethnic and urban studies, the following courses were offered:

COURSE NUMBER	COURSE NAME
ANTH 506	African Culture
ART 316	Primitive Art
BUS 569	Urban Business Problem
ENG 524	American Literature by Black Writers
HIST 444	Afro-American History and Culture
HIST 449	Studies in Mexican American History
HIST 554	History of Africa to 1830
HIST 555	History of Africa from 1830 to the Present
PSYCH 295	Psychology of Human Relations
RELIGION 536	The Black Experience in the Christian Religion
SOC 319	American Minority Relations
SOC 350	Racism
SOC 351	The Black Family

SOC 352	Urban Minority Problems
SPEECH 502	Rhetoric of Black America
SPEECH 310	Inter-Racial Communication

The Ethnic Studies program sought to help students understand who they were within American society along with meeting "the changing needs of the students in the urban environment" ("Who Am I?" 1970). This program was not offered on the Malibu campus, which Dean Bowers concedes this decision was just a misunderstanding and a misconception of the ethnic and urban studies program (Clark, Oct. 20, 1972). Bowers did not further explain this statement, but the Black student protests fought for an Ethnic Studies program that led to the LA Campus offering these programs. With the closure of the LA Campus, Black students did not follow White students to Malibu; therefore, there were no Black student protests to demand for the Ethnic and Urban Studies program to remain at Pepperdine.

The Ethnic Studies minor and its courses remained in Pepperdine University's curriculum after the closing of the LA Campus, yet the courses are rarely, if ever, offered. Students are not even aware of these courses being within the catalog because many students do not read the school's yearly catalog. Pepperdine also has a very limited number of Black professors who would even be able to teach within the program. Therefore, the lack of financial investment in faculty to offer these courses along with students who are not knowledgeable about the program and that these courses are approved allows no one to hold the administration responsible and demand for offering a more diverse and inclusive curriculum. When I was an undergraduate student at Pepperdine, in 2001, Dr. Ira Jolivet, Dr. David Holmes, and other faculty, persisted on reinstating the Ethnic Studies program with a few course offerings. These courses did not last, and as of 2020, the Ethnic Studies program is inactive.

The Continuing Education offered other programs, such as a linguistics class. The reasoning for offering a "Black English and Cultural Linguistics" course was to help a "white person [who would] observe two Blacks engrossed in 'street talk,' [because] chances are, he would believe all he heard was rhetoric" ("Continuing Ed" 1972). This course would "approach ghetto students from the viewpoint that they are communicating effectively in their own environment," while also teaching "these students standard English [because] it would be beneficial to the student to understand that their speech is part of their culture" ("Continuing Ed" 1972). Program Coordinator Tom Adams finds that the institute, which would focus on "ghetto speech and Mandarin Chinese," and it would be the first of its find to be offered in the country ("Continuing Ed" 1972).

Many of the Board members supported maintaining the *separate but equal*, two-campus model. There were even talks of naming the entire Malibu Campus "Seaver University" with the Los Angeles Campus being named the Pepperdine University, but to Blanche Seaver's disappointment, the undergraduate campus of Pepperdine's Malibu campus would bear the name Seaver College (Banowsky 2010 and Baird 2016). Against Bill Banowsky's support, President Norvel Young believed in the two-campus model, yet the community, faculty, staff, and students thought the two campuses would not continue. Ives remembered the move to Malibu being one highly contentious decision on the campus and in the community. Ives recalls the initial announcement of the Malibu campus, in which Dr. Smythe had an unwelcoming reaction during chapel, in which a student stood and said, "Would Jesus walk the rocks of Malibu?" to signify that the move was Pepperdine's way of "losing something of our Christianness, by going into an environment of wealth and an environment of ease that looked like leisure" (Ives 1997). Within the community, the "black preachers saw that move as an escape from the African American

community. Many black preachers had announced 'give it a few years, they would sell the Los Angeles campus'" (Ives 1997). The premonitions were fulfilled when the LA Campus was sold, and Ives recounted that the selling of the campus "left a bad taste in the mouths of many Black preachers" (Ives 1997).

With each passing month, the dislike, and in many cases, the disdain for William Banowsky grew on the LA Campus. Even though Banowsky viewed himself as a "Rockstar" in his memoir, his popularity on the LA Campus was abysmal. Members of the LA Campus knew he was not in favor of their mission and existence. Dr. Wilburn knew that the equality the LA Campus wanted with the Malibu campus would never happen, especially when President Banowsky came to the LA Campus to meet with students about their concerns. During the meeting, Wilburn recalled "the students kept talking over Banowsky and was treating Howard White 'unkind' even though White was a proponent of keeping the LA Campus open (Wilburn 2019). Soon after, the campus closed because the two-campus model was not financially feasible to maintain the daily operation *and* the culture of the LA Campus varied too deeply away from Malibu and Pepperdine University's desire to be a liberal-arts, centered campus.

The Inevitable Closure of the LA Campus

Dr. Wilburn believed he was on the frontlines trying to keep the LA Campus open. Dr. Scott knew early on that the LA Campus would close, which is why he resigned after only being Provost for one year. Dr. Scott stated "he would not sit around and facilitate the closure of the LA Campus, when I believed in the Social Justice mission of the LA Campus" (Scott 2019). The definition of Social Justice is that Pepperdine University would create programs that would address the needs of the people in the community: "I believed that the campus could really help

people, so I would not participate in the campus being closed" (Scott 2019). Dr. Wilburn also believed in the Social Justice mission, but when he became provost, he knew the LA Campus would close, so "I took the route of how do "we" phase it out?" (Wilburn 2019). Therefore, Wilburn's efforts were to keep the doors open long enough until the inevitable closure that would be considerable to the people who were members of the LA Campus. At the end of the Spring 1981 semester (June 1981), the LA Campus closed.

There were several reasons for the closure of the LA Campus with the first being financial. The cost of the Malibu campus was enormous as they had to build streets like Malibu Canyon Road to reach Pacific Coast Highway, street lights, relocate massive amounts of soil, irrigate the land, resurrect buildings, and to create a college out of rugged land. The overall value of the Malibu property would consistently increase. The Los Angeles property was consistently devaluing because of the influx of more moderate-income residents while more middle and upper middle-class White people were leaving the area. The Los Angeles property devaluing is systemic and economic racism, as Black neighborhoods were undervalued. Systematically undervaluing property further motivated Pepperdine University from leaving Los Angeles for a more affluent area. As there were modest donations to continuously build buildings, such as new dormitories, more donors wanted to give to the Malibu campus. An example would be Firestone, who was originally sought to be a large donor for the LA Campus with the goal being for the undergraduate campus being renamed after Firestone; yet, Firestone was also attracted to the Malibu campus. His large donation resulted in the Firestone Fieldhouse that is the home of the Pepperdine Waves Basketball and Volleyball Court with the eventual Olympic-size pool attached.

Provost Wilburn immediately established an all African American Board for the LA Campus to help scout for financial donors. These members included the first (and only) African American Mayor of Los Angeles, Tom Bradley; Long-Term California Legislature, and eventually, House of Representative Yvonne Burke; and Jazz Performer Lionel Hampton who lived in New York, but he was born on Central Avenue. Wilburn thought they could help with the image of the LA Campus, and they could help solicit donations to keep what Wilburn perceived as the "Harvard of the West." Even though these individuals lent their support and advice, these people did not increase the number of donations. Many of these supporters belonged to the Democratic Party, in which Wilburn reflects on how Pepperdine really began to focus on Republicans because they believed in financially contributing to private education in a different way than the Democratic Party. Therefore, Pepperdine attempted to develop relationships with anyone who was willing to financially support Pepperdine, but the vast level of support came from the Republican Party. Wilburn concedes that Pepperdine would align itself to anyone who would be willing to financially support the mission. However, "Republicans tend to believe in funding private education, and thus they give. Republicans were easier to cultivate for donations" (Wilburn 2019). Dr. Wilburn reduces the alliance between the Republican Party and Pepeprdine as a financial relationship instead of an ideological alignment. All evidence points to the Pepperdine's administration on the Malibu Campus were involved in Republican Political Campaigns, which demonstrated that administration sought more than just a financial relationship.

A looming question that prevails is if Pepperdine University had the financial backing it was hoping to maintain both the Malibu and Los Angeles Campus, would the LA Campus close? To help respond to this question would be focusing on the second point of the LA Campus

closing – it was becoming a commuter college. Having a residential campus that was evolving into a commuter campus changed the ethos of the campus. The undergraduate portion of the school was liberal arts that infused Professional Studies. Additionally, there was greater outreach to the nearby community with its graduate professional programs. These graduate professional programs included a Master in Public Administration (which dissolved with the LA Campus), a program in police studies (dissolved with the LA Campus), Women's Studies program (which is currently inactive), Ethnic and Urban Studies (which is currently inactive), Master in Business Administration, and its largest programs were in the School of Psychology and Education.[10]

The School of Psychology and Education made some of the greatest impact in educating teachers and provided Head Start programs for young students in the community. In 1973, the School of Psychology and Education introduced a MA degree in urban school teaching, which created the only graduate program in South Los Angeles that focused on "instructors who are teaching in the public school system" and allowed the university to go to the public school and not to Pepperdine for their courses ("Education MA Approved," July 27, 1973). The overall number of students who enrolled at the LA Campus was larger than the Malibu campus, but the vast majority were graduate students. Many undergraduate students lived in the area, so they walked to campus instead of having to live on campus. Dr. Wilburn viewed the LA Campus as never being able to become the residential liberal arts college as it once was because of the

[10] In 1997, sixteen years after the LA Campus closed, Dr. Wilburn led the way once again to found the School of Public Policy. This program was once housed in the School of Law in Malibu before it received its own campus in Malibu. The School offers a Master in Public Policy degree, which is the closest program Pepperdine currently established to the previous Master in Public Administration and police program.

expense *and* people would compare the LA on-campus living accommodations to the Malibu campus (Wilburn 2019).

The LA Campus being a commuter college changed the campus atmosphere that was visible in the school's newspaper, diminished campus life, and low chapel attendance. Within the school's newspaper, *The Inner View*, ads offered free or reduced fees for reproductive healthcare and low-cost abortion services. These advertisements were counter to the Church of Christ tradition that still had strict restrictions on full-time students not being allowed to have premarital sex and consume alcoholic beverages even if an undergraduate student was over the age of 21.

Campus leaders were despondent about students not being involved in campus activities. Yet, many campus activities were removed from the LA Campus. The sports programs were completely centered in the Malibu campus. The remaining LA Campus sports teams were not competitive against other university teams; rather, the teams would play local community colleges, such as Southwestern College and Compton College. The biggest level of contention outside of the Basketball team was the Cheerleading squad. There was not an intramural cheerleading squad and the Malibu Cheerleading squad would not attend any of the LA Campus games. The LA Campus was asking for at least one woman to be on the Malibu Campus squad, but transportation would not be provided. To justify not equally funding sports programs at the LA Campus was "financial reasons," in which the LA Campus should consider it as a benefit for "not having to bear the financial burden of an expensive sports budget" (Davis, Dec. 8, 1972). School campus activities were diminishing, while community activities were thriving. This becomes more evident as more community activities, like concerts and plays that were featured more than on-campus events and activities in *The Inner View*.

Finally, the largest point of contention was the chapel attendance requirement. Chapel had always (and continues to be) an important component of the school, and it was required three times a week. In the 1960s, the chapel requirement dropped to twice a week. The LA Campus struggled with having students attend chapel on a weekly basis, and the punishment of notifying the parent and meeting with the Dean did little to enforce students attending chapel on campus. With every passing semester, there was a discussion on the chapel requirement, especially for commuter students. Is it really fair to require commuter students to attend chapel? After a great deal of inner contention amongst faculty and administration, the Chapel requirement on the LA Campus was suspended. In July 1973, the Board of Trustees voted to "discontinue mandatory chapel [on the LA Campus] because of the large number of commuter students on campus," but there will be "No classes will be held during the chapel hour so that if a student wishes to attend chapel he is free to go" ("Trustee Vote: No More Chapel" July 13, 1973). Out of protest, some faculty members resigned. Not having chapel as a requirement made faculty feel that the LA Campus was moving further and further away from having a Christian-centered education.[11]

The urban LA Campus secularization and the financial drain became the excuse Pepperdine used for the inevitable sale of the LA Campus to Crenshaw Christian Center in June 1981. The LA Campus would have never been a financial drain if the resources were maintained and more investment went into the campus, yet the secularization, location, and the Malibu administration's desire to return to a less Black campus led to its inevitable closure. To the disappointment of the Vermont Church of Christ, the 32-acre campus was sold for $14 million. George Pepperdine gifted Vermont Ave. Church of Christ a portion of the Pepperdine College

[11] The Malibu campus continued to have mandatory Chapel until 2001 when Chapel became a .5-unit class that everyone was enrolled in every semester. A student could make a choice to attend no chapels and receive an "F" grade as a consequence.

land in 1937, which is where the Vermont Ave. Church of Christ has resided. Some parishioners felt the 32-acre campus should also be gifted to Vermont Ave. Church of Christ, but Pepperdine University could not afford to gift the campus, as Dr. Wilburn stated "the university struggled to make payroll even when President Ford came to speak at the campus, we didn't know how we could afford to have him visit to speak at commencement" (Wilburn 2019).

The surrounding community expected Pepperdine University to leave Los Angeles. Yet, Pepperdine University leaving Los Angeles was a devastating loss. The articles in the *LA Times* and *LA Sentinel*[12] demonstrated the tone of disappointment with Pepperdine University's decision, with the decision for leaving LA is based on its "financial reverses and an apparent unwillingness by many students to attend the aging urban facility" (Roderick 1981). The relocation was called an "escape" from the "turmoil created as its community shifted from White to Black in the 1950s and '60s, and [it] was spared physical damage in the 1965 Watts riot" (Roderick 1981). The article further explains the tension the campus felt about the "ghetto" effecting "donors and parents [which] sped up the development of the Malibu campus" (Roderick 1981). The only saving grace for the community is that Crenshaw Christian Center is an African American ministry, which made the residents focus on how the new owners would "enhance the area since Pepperdine moved" because its presence would "bring more shops and dollars to that area of the city" ("Crenshaw Purchases Property" 1981).

Pepperdine made an attempt to find owners who would make an impact to the community, through the sale of the property below market-rate. Yet, the closing of Pepperdine LA Campus left a void in the community, while Pepperdine University returned to its roots of

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[12] The *LA Sentinel* is an African American owned publication that is centered in South Los Angeles (Compton, Inglewood, Gardena areas) that caters to African American readers.

being a predominantly White, Christian-conservative campus with a minimal impact to South Los Angeles.

Chapter Six
Looking Forward

There was one major decision that shaped the relationship Pepperdine University had with African Americans, which was George Pepperdine deciding to begin an institution that would be integrated and not attached to any particular Church of Christ congregation. This decision made the relationship Pepperdine University would have with Blacks complicated, as the location of the college was originally in a predominantly White neighborhood and the students, faculty, staff, and administration was predominantly White and from the South or the Midwest. Racism hardwired into the architecture of the Church of Christ, institutional racism within Pepperdine College, and the student, faculty, and staff attitudes of racism were intertwined in the fabric of Pepperdine, while for four decades, it was the only Church of Christ institution that allowed Blacks to have an education, and in some cases, provided opportunities for them to have spiritually progress within their education.

As many other elements of American society, accepting Black students at Pepperdine University campus did not mean Blacks were treated equally in all areas of the campus, especially in social settings. As an African American woman who attended Pepperdine as a young 16-year-old child, I did not understand the institutional and social racism I encountered on a daily basis that caused me to retreat from social life on campus and to be silent in the classroom. This dissertation helped me understand how racism was intertwined within the mindset of all areas of Pepperdine. Yet, it was during my interviews with Dr. Scott and Dr. Wilburn that I witnessed them in deep reflection on what it meant to fight for equal treatment of African Americans. Both of them took several moments at different times in the interview to reflect on how they could have done more to improve the lives of Blacks and help Blacks

become more accepted in their local communities and on the Pepperdine campus. Dr. Wilburn did reflect on a time when he was in college at Abilene Christian College in Abilene, Texas, in which he joined a few friends on campus in sending care packages and contributing to paying another African American college student's tuition to attend another local college, as Blacks could not attend Abilene and he did not advocate for Abilene to integrate. It was this moment that he wondered, "why did he even stay at Abilene Christian College" because he was raised in an integrated school system, yet he attended a school that contradicted his moral standing (Wilburn 2019). I am not sure if Dr. Wilburn and Dr. Scott were making a point to excuse their past since I was a Black woman, but I did take both of their reflections seriously with full sincerity. Both Scott and Wilburn, like many members of the early years of Pepperdine University, were ministers within the Church of Christ, yet they both were (and continue to be) outspoken about racism in the Church of Christ.

Socially, Pepperdine University continued to have hindered full inclusion of Blacks, but the administration made pivotal decisions that shaped the relationship with Black Pepperdine students and Blacks within South Los Angeles. First, the involvement Pepperdine had in halting the Watts Rebellion created a strong relationship with law enforcement. Pepperdine was home-base for the police department and the National Guard for them to enter into Watts, which provided additional optics of how the community was changing and Pepperdine was one of the last predominantly White institutions closest to Watts. Additionally, the fear students and their families, administration, staff, and faculty had with staying in South Los Angeles created a sense of urgency to relocate the campus outside of the Inner City.

The second turning point for Pepperdine was the armed campus security member, Charles Lane, shooting an unarmed young boy, Lawrence "Larry" Kimmons. Even though

Pepperdine University stated they did not know and did not authorize Charles Lane to have a gun, especially a shotgun. Lane was the only security guard at a time. The Kimmons family did sue for $2 million, and the Board of Trustee Papers that dealt with the lawsuit has not been released, and the details of this lawsuit is sealed until more of the Board of Trustee Papers will be released. Simultaneously, Pepperdine University paid the legal fees for Charles Lane. Pepperdine University also helped Charles Lane secure support from a variety of people like LA Mayor Tom Bradley and President Nixon (amongst others) to write letters to decrease Lane's sentence, which resulted in Lane having no jail time and Lane relocating out of state to another college job.

Race and racism has been central to Pepperdine's story in a positive and negative way. When we think of the LA Campus and its impact to the Black community and Black students, the three administrators who made a large impact was Dr. Scott, Dr. Wilburn, and Dr. Banowsky in both positive and negative ways. They are all friends even though they do not share the same viewpoint. Dr. Banowsky, along with his mentor Dr. Norvel Young, was instrumental in the Malibu move, but Banowsky was influential in promoting the closure of the LA Campus.

The idea of having a 2-campus model sounded lofty and ideal, but no one believed it would really happen. As people kept fighting for the vitality of the LA Campus, it really seemed that the 9 years the LA Campus remained open was for the successful launch of the Malibu campus. A large part of the Malibu campus was funded off the spike in tuition increases from a largely Black student body on the LA Campus. Financially, culturally, spiritually, and educationally, the LA Campus was a contradiction to the Malibu campus, and thus it was just a matter of time before it closed. The outrage to Pepperdine closing was minimized because it was left in the hands of a Black Christian ministry for a fraction of its monetary value. Also, the

minimal outrage to its closure was because the community already knew the campus would eventually close once the Malibu Campus opened in 1972, so even though it took almost 10 years to close, the LA Campus remaining open was seen as the ability to successfully launch the Malibu Campus. The Malibu Campus used the LA Campus for its resources as the campus was being built.

In the midst of these closing years of the LA Campus, Black students had the largest influence on campus culture, school curriculum, and faculty presence than they ever had before or since. Financially, Black faculty was not hired to be full-time on the LA Campus and there were definite fights over Black faculty struggling to obtain tenure, but Black faculty was hired as adjunct/part-time in a high number on the LA Campus. Sadly, many of the Black part-time faculty did not maintain their employment in Malibu because the degree programs were not offered at the Malibu Campus. Programs, such as Ethnic and Urban Studies that were developed with Black students in mind did not exist after the LA Campus closure.

Just as Catherine Meeks described, many Black students would have never obtained a degree from Pepperdine if they had to attend school in Malibu. In fact, my mother and uncle would have never had the opportunity to obtain their Life-Time Teaching Credentials for an affordable cost within a close proximity to their homes when they first moved to Los Angeles. Both of them received their first teaching jobs in Watts and Compton, California. There were many Black students whose lives were completely changed due to the education they received because Pepperdine was affordable and accessible to the people within the local community. It was this level of appreciation Blacks had for this school that made Black students care so much to see their university live up to the promise of equality and equity in educational opportunities, which made fair treatment amongst all races a necessity and something worth protesting until

change happened. The remnants of the LA Campus can be found in the School of Psychology and Education, which continues to be highly integrated and forward thinking in educating future educators that is located in Los Angeles near Culver City. It is also the only college that has a female, Black dean.

Research Limitations

In comparison to other institutions, Pepperdine University is fairly new at recovering its entire history. Therefore, with each passing day, more information about Pepperdine's past is being revealed. The Board of Trustee Papers are finally being released, but 50 years has to pass before more papers are released. Therefore, each year, more information will be released. It will not be until 2031 when all of the documents pertaining to the LA Campus will become available.

The Archives have a limited amount of Blacks represented. The documents leave Blacks largely invisible. When they are present, Black alumni do not control their own narrative and share their own college experience because their documents are missing. More needs to be done to allow these students to contribute to the University Archives, so we can understand more about Black students at Pepperdine University.

Due to lack of availability, I was unable to interview key individuals who would have enhanced this study – these people include some of the part-time Black faculty as Bishop Kenneth Ulmer who taught Gospel Music and is a pastor in Inglewood and Minister Fred Price, the Founder of Crenshaw Christian Center.

While Pepperdine has conducted oral histories of the individuals who were influential in the early history of the establishing of the Malibu campus, none of the individuals critical to the Los Angeles campus, particularly from the years 1972-1981 when the campuses split have been interviewed for historical and archival purposes. Alumni and important and relevant community

members should be interviewed as well for research purposes. Their perspective is critical to understand this period in the University's history and transformation.

Suggested Future Research

George Pepperdine and Pepperdine University helped shape Black Church of Christ congregations through financial donations and accepting Black students. Their contribution is largely silent within discussions and writings about Pepperdine University. More could be done in highlighting George Pepperdine and Pepperdine University's relationship with Black people. As racist many Pepperdine's administrators, staff, faculty, and students, Pepperdine University has made significant stances about race within the Church of Christ tradition without any support from fellow Church of Christ ministers around the country. The level of insufficient information (lack of documents, narrowed access to the Board of Trustees, and no substantial Black alumni network for interviews) to explain a complete picture of how race was handled within Pepperdine University continues to maintain a White supremacist mindset in washing away a complete historical truth that I attempted to provide. My limitations will provide myself and other future researchers to have more avenues to provide voices that have been ignored and disregarded in Pepperdine University's history.

Not only are Blacks minimized and close to eliminated in Pepperdine University's history, but women are highly disregarded and undervalued. There is a need to research the White women who helped shape Pepperdine University. As influential as George Pepperdine was in founding and maintaining the school, Helen Pepperdine (Wife of George Pepperdine) was equally influential in building Pepperdine. Helen Pepperdine was vocal in her discontentment on moving Pepperdine University to Malibu along with every other decision made pertaining to Pepperdine University. Blanche Seaver was another influential member within Pepperdine's

history, as she was the single largest donor (besides George Pepperdine). Her money and support led to other people giving, such as the Ahmanson's, who donated the Malibu property to Pepperdine. Helen Pepperdine and Blanche Seaver are just two of the many women who contributed to Pepperdine over the years, and yet women are not the centerpiece of this study and hardly any other historical writings about Pepperdine University.

At the same time there was a Black Nationalist movement, there was a Women's Movement that is documented in *The Inner View*. The areas that need to be focused upon would be: How female students were treated on campus; How were their concerns and needs addressed; How was the lack of female administration (outside of the Dean of Women) handled? These questions, and more, need to be considered in the context of the Church of Christ as well. The Church of Christ has and continues to prevent women from advancing in the ministry, which seems to also be similar attitudes that are prevalent within areas of Pepperdine University. The women of Pepperdine deserve to be researched, so Pepperdine University's complete history can be explored, and their contribution to the college can be acknowledged.

While the Black Nationalist movement and the Women's movement were happening, the Chicano movement was happening as well. Pepperdine University had Latino students, but their attendance was not recorded in a category until the Malibu campus opened. The demographic data always included International students, but it is unclear if Latinos were in that category. Dr. Wilburn briefly explained how he tried to attract more Latinos to Pepperdine, but he was unsuccessful. There was one Latino professor, who worked along with the Latino community. The role of Latinos at Pepperdine University is one that needs to be described, but it is important to note that the Church of Christ tradition was not prevalent in Latino communities as the church was in Black communities. Over the years, Latinos attending the university have increased due

to a higher percentage of Latino workers on the Malibu campus in the service area (housekeeping, food services, and groundskeeping) who are also offered to have their children attend the college with tuition discounts. Evaluating their role to the Pepperdine community would further understand its relationship to Latinos in South Los Angeles.

Conclusion

Pepperdine University *is* its people. When Pepperdine moved to Malibu, its emblem became a shining light on the hill. The light in the tower was dimmed due to complaints from the Malibu residents. The intention of shining a light for the world to see is what George Pepperdine tried to do, and every single person who was affiliated with Pepperdine, knowingly or unknowingly, also tried to emulate. Yet, Pepperdine is its people, and there are many times that Pepperdine failed to shine its light for the world to see.

Black people were drawn to this institution for a variety of reasons, but the principal reason is because it was a Church of Christ institution. Unfortunately, Black people found an institution that did not welcome them; most of the Pepperdine faculty, administration, staff, and students were overtly racist. The same level of racism they experienced in other areas of their lives was also found within the walls, classrooms, and lawns of Pepperdine University. Even with the painful experiences that some of the Black people had, many of them still have an affinity to Pepperdine for the opportunity that they would have never received – a Christian-centered education. Campbell (2019) puts these students' feelings into words: "Pepperdine is a victim of the American experience. There are a lot of things they do not see. I don't doubt the Christian ethic of what their intent is, but the Christian ethics is flawed."

For me, and like many others, Pepperdine *is* home. It is also, at times, a painful home. In 2020, due to the Black Lives Matter Movement, Black students are now asking for the very same

things that Black students were asking for in the 1970s on the LA Campus: a Diversity Officer, a mandatory Diversity and Inclusion course, and a move to have a more inclusive campus for Black students. There is more that they could ask for, such as an increase in Black faculty, Black academic administrators, and more funds allocated to support Black students. Sadly, many of the things that these students are asking for are things that were given to the LA Campus in the 1970s, but the Ethnic Studies courses, the Black faculty, and the Diversity Officer Position were not maintained on the Malibu Campus. In 2020, Dr. Jim Gash (newly installed President of Pepperdine University) has the opportunity to unify the university through creating a plan to deal with racism on campus. Instead, Dr. Gash has made inappropriate jokes, and he has been slow to act and respond to these students, which has affected morale amongst undergraduate and graduate students.

Overall, it is hard to negate the meaningfulness Pepperdine had to the Los Angeles community, African Americans, and the African American Church of Christ congregations. Even though Pepperdine still leaves its impression and lessons on the lives of many students, who then has helped thousands of people around the world, it was the LA Years between 1972-1981 that Pepperdine had a large impact on Black people within South Los Angeles in a variety of ways that includes educating, training, housing, and employing people within the community. Filling that hole with Crenshaw Christian Center was useful, but Pepperdine University's influence was irreplaceable.

This research is just the start in understanding that the Malibu Miracle was miraculous in moving and building a university of its size so quickly, but the Los Angeles Campus was a miracle in changing lives. There is more work to be done in fully explaining the legacy of a university that has and continues to tackle issues of race, justice, and equality within a Church of

Christian tradition. I look forward to continually building upon understanding and analyzing Pepperdine University's legacy.

Appendix A. Interview Protocol Questions

Individual Interview Protocol: The interview will consist of a few questions pertaining to the research question along with possible follow-up questions that would be relevant to the individual's response. Each interview will last between 30 – 60 minutes. The interviewer will record and/or transcribe the interview.

Alumni Questions:

1. What made you select Pepperdine University to attend?
2. Are you a member of the Church of Christ?
3. What was your experience as a student at Pepperdine University?
4. What was the relationship between the LA Campus and the Malibu campus for you?
5. What was your attitude about the administration?
6. What was your involvement on the campus?

Administrator Questions:

1. What made you work at the LA Campus versus the Malibu Campus?
2. What did you feel about the campus climate during 1968-1981 (your time period at the university)?
3. What was the relationship between the LA Campus and the Malibu Campus?
4. How do you feel about the term "Social Justice Campus"? Did you feel that the LA Campus was a "Social Justice Campus"?
5. What do you believe contributed to the closure of the LA Campus?

Appendix B. Informed Consent Form

INFORMED CONSENT

Determined to Remain: The Los Angeles Campus of Pepperdine University, 1972-1981

Principal Researcher
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Background:
You are invited to take part in a research study. Before you make the decision to participate within the study, then you should understand the research study and the importance of your involvement. Take time to read the consent form carefully. If you have any questions, then please ask the researcher for more information.

The purpose of this study:
This will be a historical case study that will address the intersection of race, location, and religion within a higher education institution. This study will analyze Pepperdine University's LA Campus during the years of 1972-1981, as African American students existed as a minority group on the LA Campus before 1972 to become the majority group on campus between these years (1972-1981). The research will describe the relationship Pepperdine had with the surrounding community during these years.

Study Procedure:
Your expected time commitment for this study is: 30-45 minutes.

I will be interviewing you at a location of your convenience for the duration of 30-45 minutes.

Risks:
The risks of this study are very minimal. The only risk would be experiencing memories that you may be uncomfortable with during the interview.

Benefits:
There will be no compensation for participating in this study. Your interview will contribute in the following way:

> The current history of Pepperdine evaluates these years as a fragmented part of history; therefore, interviewing participants who are connected to Pepperdine University during these years will allow me to provide a more complete history of the university during this time period.

Confidentiality:
Your interview is solely for this research study. The researcher will keep all materials in a secure manner. If you would like to have your interview to be a part of the Pepperdine University archive, then you can provide a written request for it. The transcript will not be shared with anyone unless you provide written consent to release it.

Person to Contact:
If you have any questions about this research project should be directed to: Elizabeth Craigg Walker, Elizabeth.craigg@cgu.edu, elizabethcraigg@gmail.com.

Institutional Review Board:
If you have any questions regarding your rights as a research participant or if there are any issues that arise that you cannot discuss with the researcher, then please contact the Institutional Research Board office at irb@cgu.edu or (909) 607-9406.

Voluntary Participation:
Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. You are the sole person who makes the decision to participate within the study. You will be asked to sign a consent form, but if at any time you want to withdraw from the research project, then your decision will be honored.

Costs to the Participant:
There is no cost to you for participating within the study.

Compensation:
There is no monetary compensation for you to participate in this study.

Consent:
By signing this consent form, I confirm that I have read and understood the information and I have the opportunity to ask questions. I understand that my participation is voluntary and I am able to withdraw at any time without any reason and without cost to do so. I will be given a copy of this consent form. I voluntarily agree to take part in this study.

Signature: ____________________________________ Date: __________________________

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