

Carleton's Rockefeller Years, 1964-'76

Higher Education for Low-Income Urban Blacks in a Rural White Setting

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Carleton College's first real commitment to Black students began in the mid-1960s but intensified greatly in the early 1970s. This focus centered around two significant grants from the Rockefeller Foundation, a handful of activist professors, some energetic students, and a key admissions recruiter, Fred Easter—who held numerous titles. Together their efforts resulted in enrollment of a much higher percentage of Black students in the Carleton College student body than in the previous decade.¹

So insignificant was the presence of Blacks in the first 100 years of the college's history that the topic receives only half a sentence in Professors Headley and Jarchows' 1966 book *Carleton; The first century*. But, over the course of a decade, Carleton attempted to change the culture of this excellent, small, Midwestern, liberal arts college dramatically by challenging the "proper criteria" for student admissions. In the late 1960s, Carleton College placed itself on the forefront of progressive initiatives for Blacks by admitting large numbers of students from previously excluded groups.²

The college definitely encountered obstacles to making the inclusion of urban, mostly low-income Blacks an ongoing part of Carleton's culture. In 1969, Black students received almost no specialized support, except from other Black students. In Carleton's hometown of Northfield, Minnesota, racism showed itself in all its ugliness on occasion. Racism against Blacks also stemmed from students, their parents, and, occasionally, from professors. Smooth adaptation to Carleton and academic success were elusive for quite a few Black Carls. But many Black students thrived, and many white students had their worldview overturned.

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Carleton pledged, in 1964, to transform a fraction of “have not” Americans into “haves.” This promise, however, lasted little more than a decade. It was not entirely an altruistic promise; Carleton undoubtedly wanted its reputation to be as strong as that of other small liberal arts colleges that were moving in this direction. By the late 1970s, the departure of some key players, elimination of outside funding, and new financial pressures for the college detrimentally affected Carleton’s commitment to this pledge.

In 1963, President John F. Kennedy sought to change the nature of race relations across the United States by creating new educational and employment opportunities for Blacks. And the national philanthropic foundations Ford, Carnegie, and Rockefeller all helped subsidize better Black education. Scholarships to excellent private secondary schools and colleges, it was assumed, would help smart and committed students turn into leaders who could steer the United States out of oppression, discrimination, and poverty.^{3, 4}

The Ford Foundation focused on decreasing juvenile delinquency. The Carnegie Corporation centered its efforts around bolstering the faculty and staff at HBCUs. Meanwhile, the Rockefeller Foundation decided that high school and college scholarships for Black students would provide avenues to upward mobility for the groups they deemed most disadvantaged. Through Rockefeller, the programs ABC (A Better Chance) and Upward Bound were launched for high school-aged young people. And the foundation picked a handful of private colleges to receive money with which to enroll Black students, not necessarily ABC graduates. The first of these colleges were Reed, Grinnell, Antioch, Occidental, and Swarthmore. Carleton and Oberlin were added soon afterward.⁵

Through the national high school program ABC, hundreds of exceptional Black students around the country were invited to attend prestigious, exclusive private schools, mostly in New England. If these students flourished in such settings, they were competitively recruited by Ivy League and other fine colleges around the country.

Carleton’s first alliance with the Rockefeller Foundation revolved simultaneously around college scholarships and ABC. For a couple of years, special ABC summer camps allowed chosen high school students from across the U.S. to get intensive academic preparation before heading off to boarding school or, in Northfield’s case, a good public school. In 1966 and ‘67, Carleton offered a six-week camp, under the direction of Professor Arthur Gropen and then Professor Frank Morral. Some students who were about to enter college were included.

Northfield High School (NHS) was one of the very first public schools to admit ABC students. And Carleton not only housed many of Northfield’s ABC teens in an off-campus house but helped these students find funds with which to buy books, return home for Christmas vacations, and pay extracurricular fees. It also provided Carleton students as tutors. In conjunction with ABC, Northfield High School graduated 36 young men and women from 1969 to 1976. The program continued until 1988. The Northfield Human Relations Council committed to raising \$10,000 a year for the ABC program.

Carleton's ABC House opened in the fall of 1968, under the direction of Professor Richard Crouter and his spouse, Barbara Crouter. Carleton provided what had been Jewett House, on the corner of Union and Second Streets, and a long list of directors to supervise first boys, then girls, in this house. Those not housed in ABC House lived primarily in the private houses of Carleton and St. Olaf families. Teens in the House had Northfield "Sunday sponsors" who invited them into their homes on Sundays and holidays and provided special attention in other ways.⁶

One Carl, Brenda Garrett Green '73, is also a graduate of Northfield High School. As an ABC student from Houston, Texas, she lived with a Northfield family and attended NHS for one year, graduating in 1969. After Carleton, Brenda achieved her law degree from the University of Minnesota and eventually became a state district judge in Dallas County, Texas, a position she held for many years. A handful of other graduates of Northfield High School's ABC program went on to Carleton and St. Olaf College, also in Northfield. Another distinguished ABC alum is Richard Hobson, professor and renowned baritone.⁷

Carleton was not immune to major social changes throughout the 1960s and early '70s. The college liberalized social regulations restricting women, removed its religion requirement, and saw eligible students vote primarily with the Democratic party. Furthermore, opposition to the Vietnam War was vigorous and vocal on campus.^{8,9,10,11}

In 1963, the Carleton Student Association (CSA) allotted money for two scholarships specifically for Black students. In fact, three Black freshmen enrolled on the Northfield campus that fall. All of them graduated four years later. The most important impetus behind Carleton's newfound push to admit Black students came from John Nason, president of the college from 1963 to 1970. A Rhodes scholar with degrees from Carleton, Yale, and Harvard, Nason became a Quaker later in life and was influenced by the Friends' philosophy. He had taught at and then was president of Quaker-affiliated Swarthmore College.^{12,13}

Nason brought with him a sense of social responsibility and a commitment to conscience (though he has also been described as very arrogant). Before Carleton, one of his most remarkable accomplishments was getting the United States government to agree, during World War II, to let college-age Japanese-American students attend college or university rather than languish in an internment camp. Nason's strong compassion for minorities— and his desire to assist them— included Blacks. He pushed strenuously for Carleton to increase its enrollment of Black students.^{14,15,16}

Amid the Civil Rights Movement, Nason praised Carleton students for working, during the summer, with SNCC (the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee) in southern states. He used their example to highlight what he thought Carls could accomplish. Nason challenged the

majority academic culture to open its doors to underrepresented groups. His commitment to the education of Black students continued throughout his tenure at the college.

Furthermore, members of the Board of Trustees and individual students began participating in movements for Black equality. *Carletonian* articles focus on students' experiences in Freedom Summer events and Black voter registration drives. The CSA endorsed Kennedy's Civil Rights bill by a vote of 9 to 3. Approximately 150 Carls protested Alabama Governor George Wallace's speech at the University of Minnesota in 1964.¹⁷

Because of John Nason, Carleton and the Rockefeller Foundation formed a strong bond in 1964. Carleton's official notice of its first Rockefeller Grant being approved came in early April of that year. Black students were the exclusive focus. While the first grant brought only a limited number of Black students to campus (seven in 1965; eleven in 1966; fourteen in 1967), Carleton's first major steps in educating Black students had begun.¹⁸

Meanwhile, the admissions department struggled to determine appropriate enrollment criteria. In 1964, Charles Gavin was Director of Admissions. In the *Carletonian*, student Lee Westenberg questioned Gavin's commitment to diversity. Gavin did, indeed, adopt a highly controlled approach to the admission of Black students. Although he initially expressed enthusiasm for the Rockefeller grant, he had strict ideas about the grant's implementation. And he was the first, but not the only, administrator to warn of "fragmentation" among the student body. This word was used for quite a few years on campus to criticize Blacks who were not willing to "act white" and "fully integrate" with white students. Black House, which began in 1970, was repeatedly accused of fragmentation. It should be noted that there were some whites who were happy with segregation. ^{19,20,21, 22}

During the mid 1960s, white women who were placed with a Black roommate freshman year received a letter from the Associate Dean Sheila Best using positive language but basically warning them that they would be rooming with a Black woman. "You will be pleased to learn that you have been selected to room with one of our few American Negro students." Sarah Johnson Entenmann '73 received no such letter in the summer of 1969 about her freshman roommate, Brenda Hutchison. According to her, four Black and white freshmen in Watson that fall had excellent roommate relationships.²³

On the other hand, Elizabeth Davenport McKune '70 tells a harrowing story from 1966.

I was going to room with a white student my sophomore year. Her father threatened to withdraw her from school.... The room [we had chosen]...went to her. I couldn't find anyone to room with at that late date. I was put in, basically, a closet with no windows, by myself.... At no point did anyone from Carleton's administration look in on me to see if I was faring okay. Although I was able to finish my sophomore year, I dropped the beginning of my junior year, in part because of delayed reaction to the incident.

McKune did return, but she graduated from Carleton a year later than she had originally planned.²⁴

Administrators, faculty, and students argued about how to open up the campus without “watering down” standards. SAT scores were, of course, a big topic of discussion. Nobody was going to have an easy time adjusting to the new normal. Many Black students arriving at Carleton encountered academic and social difficulties. Said one student during an interview for Carleton’s Oral History Program, “We needed spiritual support; we needed adult mentors. We got— I mean, there was *nothing*, because we were expected to come here and integrate. There was absolutely no support or even recognition that we were going to be different in any way.”²⁵

An internal review of the Rockefeller grants in 1967 recognized that “the College took the view that the incoming black students should not receive special treatment. Therefore, Carleton had no academic or cultural programs or support services for its growing minority population.” In other words, Carleton recruited many of the Rockefeller students from environments extremely dissimilar to almost all of the white students’ home environments. But there was almost no attention paid to unique, individual needs. Many Black students, therefore, struggled with both academic and social life at Carleton.^{26,27}

Nonetheless, Carleton’s academic support structure for Rockefeller students quickly evolved. After just one year of instruction, Carleton administrators recognized that some of the Rockefeller students required additional tutoring to learn effective study skills. Particularly interested in helping these students succeed were professors Frank Morral, Bob Tisdale, and Arthur Gropen. Diet Prowe and Carlton Quale also receive praise. ^{28,29,30}

Carleton’s neighbor Dacie Moses was welcoming and helpful to nonwhite students. According to Elizabeth (Liz) Davenport McKune ‘70, she was always gracious and positive toward her. She even invited Liz’s father to stay in her house at the time of Liz’s graduation. And she warmly befriended a Japanese-American student, Takashi Kodera.³¹

Administrator Fred Easter was recruited by Professor Morral in 1966 from Massachusetts, where Easter worked at the Windsor Mountain School in Lenox. He was hired as Carleton’s Assistant Minority Director for the summer ABC program. Morral then lobbied the administration to hire Easter as a full-time staff member, because Easter had experienced many of the issues Carleton’s Black students confronted. Easter grew up in a lower-class Black environment in Harlem; he then attended and graduated from Harvard, after entering Harvard with 17 other Black men in 1959.^{32,33,34}

Easter set the tone for the implementation of Carleton’s true commitment to Black students. He also served as a liaison with the white townspeople of Northfield. For example, in 1973, he almost single-handedly diffused a race-related conflict at Dino’s Restaurant in town.³⁵

Easter brought a new style and philosophy that revolutionized Carleton's recruitment of Black students. Vast amounts of his time were spent establishing Carleton's position in Black communities across the nation. He would meet prospective applicants in their cities, sympathize with their problems, then focus on the importance of higher education in improving lives and communities. Selling the value of a good education became more important to him even than selling Carleton.³⁶

For Carleton's Oral History Program, Linda Johnson Thomas '73 spoke, in February of 2020, about Fred Easter's role in her decision to enroll at Carleton. In 1968, he visited her and her mother in Georgia.³⁷

Fred came, and Fred was Black; he was the minority recruiter for Carleton. He talked to my mom, and mom was like, "No. Where is this???" So he got out the map. We were sitting in the dining room, and I was seen but not heard. And my mom and Fred were having this conversation, and I think he was kind of in awe of her. She said, "Wait a minute. This is not gonna happen." Then he showed us a video of Carleton— I guess it was a reel-to-reel of Carleton— on the dining room wall. And I fell in love. It was so pretty. It was the winter scenes, and it was just so pretty, and the lakes... So Fred said, "Well, why don't you go on ahead and apply and we'll see about it."

And I asked about the application fee. He said, "Don't worry about it." I just remember distinctly mom said, "Let me ask you this. That's a long way for my baby to go. She needs to come home sometime." And he said, "Oh, she can come home." Mom said, "I don't have money for her to come back and forth. And I don't want her on the bus for two or three days."... And he said, "Ms. Johnson, don't worry about it. If she comes to Carleton, we will get her home. We will make sure she's taken care of." She made him write it down! She said, "I'm not gonna just take your word for it. You're gonna have to write this down."

He was the one who stood out. Other ones came, and they talked to her, but he just kind of stood out, she felt like.

Indeed, three of four alums from the class of '74 interviewed by Ben Wood about their reasons for choosing Carleton reported that Easter was a pivotal reason they chose this school. In addition to Fred Easter's contributions recruiting Black students, the Easter family pioneered a viable Black community in the city of Northfield. Fred, Mary Easter, and their daughters lived in town and exhibited a strong commitment to the Black students at Carleton.³⁸

At Carleton, Mary Easter had a lengthy tenure as the Rae Schupack Nathan Professor of Dance and the Performing Arts. Throughout her many years in Northfield, Mary Easter remained an important resource for Black students. Carleton had an additional Black professor in Mary Easter's early professorship; Vannie Wilson taught biology from 1966 to 1970.^{39,40}

Fred Easter incorporated the task of minority counseling into his activities. Although his frequent recruitment trips meant he was often away from campus, he nonetheless established his

reputation as a resource for Black students' issues of all kinds. At the same time, students had founded two major groups focused on racial issues: the Negro Affairs Committee (NAC) began first; soon afterward white students started the White Action Committee (WAC).

In the *Carletonian*, student Terrence Farrell describes the NAC's purpose: "to make white students aware that Negroes are here and that they are Negro." NAC members sought to provoke Carleton liberals to examine their true beliefs. The WAC responded to that challenge, inviting "white liberals to become followers, not leaders, in the new 'black' civil rights movement...changing the attitudes of the white majority."^{41,42,43}

Professors Morral and Gropen ignited Carleton's first hard look at collegiate race relations by writing a "Memorandum on Negro-White Education at Carleton." They also wrote a letter to John Nason in which they said, "both in terms of an increase in numbers of Negro students and in curricular reform to create the kind of racial perspective and balance so noticeably lacking in our overwhelmingly white oriented education, we believe that Carleton can...actively [move] to improve the American racial situation." In response, Carleton created the Committee of Negro Affairs in 1967; in 1968, this evolved into the Ad Hoc Committee on Negro Affairs. This committee made recommendations to President Nason on March 11 of that year. Recruitment, fundraising, advising, and curriculum were all addressed. The committee recommended that Carleton "admit an incoming freshman class which will be at last 10% Negro."⁴⁴

In 1968, Carleton's first Rockefeller grant came to an end. Nason marked the occasion by declaring that "In many ways the Rockefeller students have contributed as much to the College as they have received." The college had not managed to spend close to the full \$275,000 grant over the three years that were allotted for its use. Despite Carleton's first Office of Black Activities, launched in 1968, the number of Black students remained small. Nonetheless, Carleton expressed a stronger commitment to achieving higher numbers by requesting another Rockefeller grant.⁴⁵

On March 8, 1968, the Rockefeller Foundation approved Carleton's request for a second \$275,000 grant "for the discovery of talented Negro and other minority-group students and the improvement of their undergraduate education." Furthermore, Carleton was allowed to roll over the balance of the first grant. It now had \$400,000 in its treasury designated for the admission of Black and other minority students. By June 30, 1976, all unused funds would revert back to the foundation. Carleton appears to have been the only college anywhere to receive a second Rockefeller grant.⁴⁶

But Nason vacillated about the timing of the commitment to a 10% Black student body. He called that figure "an ultimate objective or possible maximum goal." Financial predictions influenced his views. Even with the outside funding from Rockefeller, as early as 1968 a segment of Carleton administrators and trustees questioned the present and future cost of diversity. What would be the effect on the endowment? Would gifts need to increase? Would there be deep cuts into the college's savings?^{47,48}

The many national issues playing out on college campuses throughout the tumultuous Sixties and Seventies did persuade some at Carleton to forge ahead. After Martin Luther King was assassinated on April 4, 1968, students -- 650 of them -- fasted for three days to honor the fallen Civil Rights hero. Still, there was talk that Blacks coming to Carleton would not integrate successfully. Instead, separation (as mentioned, called fragmentation by administrators) was feared. Dean Bardwell Smith argues against this being a problem in a *Minneapolis Tribune* article. "If by integration you mean accepting black students and forcing them into the mold of white values, then no, we are not integrating Carleton." 49,50

SOUL (Students Organized for Unity and Liberty) was dissatisfied with admissions director Paul Garman, who had replaced Charles Gavin in the summer of 1968. Garman claimed to be following in Gavin's footsteps. This was not considered good news by members of SOUL. Garman was attacked for lacking the motivation and technique needed to increase Carleton's Black student population. The students demanded that the newly appointed Easter administer the admission of Black students. SOUL put down the entire college for failing to achieve a commitment to a 10% Black student body. Financial problems were not a good enough excuse, they said. 51,52

President Nason and his staff took the SOUL demands seriously. Although Nason refused to agree with the students' severe criticism of Garman, he acknowledged some "ambiguities between our goals for black students and our actual performance. These should be clarified, and either our goals modified or our practices improved." He told key administrators and faculty that he wished to deemphasize the 10% goal but nonetheless substantially increase the number of Black students attending Carleton. 53,54

The upshot was that Fred Easter took responsibility for Black student enrollment in 1969. As head of the new Minority Admissions Office, he brought more than thirty Black students into the freshman class in 1970. Carleton's Black population exceeded that of most ACM (Associated Colleges of the Midwest) schools that year. Macalester, however, did register more than twice as many Black students on its campus in St. Paul. 55

All of the Black Carleton alumni interviewed by Ben Wood for his 2003 paper reported growing up in economically disadvantaged households. Other Black alums report that they came from middle-class families. Easter had a passion for socio-economic change through educational uplift. This involved an expensive price tag, but for the time being expenses were almost fully covered by the Rockefeller grant. 56,57

John Nason left the Carleton presidency in June of 1970. Before departing, he wrote a farsighted critique of the college's path toward financing diversity. He predicted that a 10% Black student body, even with some of these students not receiving scholarship aid, would create problems not the students' fault. Carleton did not need to accomplish this admirable goal in any specific period, he concluded.⁵⁸

Fred Easter also wondered what would happen after the Rockefeller grants' exhaustion. "Clearly some long-range plan needs to be worked out," he said. Easter continued to worry about financial aid throughout the rest of his time at Carleton (he left in 1976).

Howard Swearer arrived as Carleton's next president. He said, in 1971, he was "impressed with the serious-minded way in which the College has attempted to shoulder its responsibilities for minority education... Our goal is ten percent and we have the staff, structure and experience to achieve it over the next couple of years. The main obstacle is financial aid." But the college had begun encountering downward donations at the turn of the decade.⁵⁹

Easter chose to capitalize on Swearer's enthusiasm for more Black students on campus. He recruited students with difficult backgrounds as well as from suburban neighborhoods. But he was overworked; heading minority admissions, serving as a counselor, and doing all kinds of liaison activities became overwhelming. Carleton therefore hired LeRoy Richardson to assist him with recruitment and admissions. Richardson had a background in both ABC and Upward Bound; his work allowed Easter to focus on already enrolled students.^{60,61}

Carleton's incoming Black student population increased steadily from 1969 to 1972. In 1972, approximately 50 of 400 freshmen were Black. Richardson and Easter brought to Northfield students with varied preparation levels and life experiences. An increasing number of class members each year gained admittance on "alternative criteria." Board scores, Easter believed, held natural biases against certain racial and class minorities. As Carleton's Black population increased, the average SAT score for admitted Black students dropped.⁶²

To examine what the college's proper path should be, Carleton's Long Range Planning Committee created an admissions policy task force in October of 1970. A wedge existed between some faculty members who thought "intellectual factors most important in selecting students" and other faculty who wanted to "include non-academic factors." Middle-ground committee members persuaded everyone to "simply redefine what [Carleton] means by exceptional." This compromise was agreed on; thus Carleton moved to the cutting edge of admissions reform in the U.S.⁶³

Everyone in Northfield— Carleton and St. Olaf College students, college employees, townspeople, high school students, professors and teachers— was learning what it meant to be more multicultural. Things didn't always go smoothly. At Carleton, Black students were helped

greatly by the introduction of a Black Student Lounge in 1968 and Black House (for student housing, approximately one block from the main campus) in 1970. They also benefited from getting together with an increased number of Black students at St. Olaf.

Stories of racism in the town of Northfield in those years are not hard to come by, though there are also stories of people trying to learn. However you looked at it, Northfield was a white, white, white town, with no grooming resources for Black young people or experience with Black culture. Occasionally racial slurs were heard. Especially at the high school, interracial dating was frowned upon. Many Northfield residents resented the presence of ABC students in their community. Early on, there was even a court case in which a group called Northfield Concerned Citizens and Parents tried legal methods to make the high schoolers leave. (The court rejected their arguments.)⁶⁴

On the other hand, amazingly close interracial friendships developed between young people at Carleton, St. Olaf, and Northfield High School. Warm feelings developed between host families and the ABC teens they welcomed into their homes. ABC student Larry Thomas was (and remains) tight friends with Pierce Johnson; they got to know one another in the early 1970s when Pierce's family became Larry's "Sunday hosts." Pierce's father, St. Olaf professor emeritus Lowell Johnson, said recently, "A couple of years ago in one of our visits, he called us mom and dad." Another Northfielder traveled to Williamsburg, Virginia with her host student, Serena, long after Serena left Northfield High School.^{65,66}

But another Northfield resident was quoted as saying, "I wouldn't mind living next door to Negroes if they acted like whites."⁶⁷

Problems between Carleton faculty and Black students are difficult to document. A Black alum told of being advised not to major in psychology, though she was encouraged by a different psych prof to ignore what the other professor had said. Easter wrote, "Our students have real problems in the sciences. This is due partly to weak high school backgrounds and partly to departmental racism, particularly in Chemistry and Biology." Dean Smith also noted racism in some teachers' comments. It seemed there was sometimes difficulty adjusting to the college's increasing Black student population.^{68,69,70,71}

Problems also arose between Black and white students. One alum told of a white upperclassman deciding the music played by Black freshmen, during their first week on campus, was too loud. He "walked into our room, walked past six Black men, walked over to my stereo, and turned it down." No discussion; no compromise.⁷²

Another alum, William Smith '73, told of being physically assaulted, very seriously, by a "big white dude" who took offense to a Goodhue Black dance party, before midnight, on a Saturday night. The next morning, the white sophomore went into the Black freshman's room, locked the door, and savagely beat him. The noise the sophomore made alerted a student who lived next door. The neighboring student was able to access a proctor who, with his key, rescued the

beat-up Smith. The Dean of Men, saying his hands were tied, did not discipline the assailant. Smith told the story for Carleton's Oral History Program:⁷³

Before I could see anything, there was this big boot coming down on me. I had enough time to go, "Oh shit, that's a boot." Then, BAM, right in the head, and I'm trying to get myself oriented. I was barely awake, I was still recovering from surgery, I was in my jammies, and I had only had diabetes for a year. I had lost sixty pounds as a result of getting diabetes in the summer before I went to Carleton. I was weak! This guy was a big guy. He was a wrestler, I found out later. He got me in a couple of wrestling holds....

Black students entered the college in record numbers throughout the first half of the 1970s. To its credit, Carleton did improve its support structures; assistance evolved to meet the need for academic and personal help. Many Black students benefited significantly from their time at Carleton and went on to graduate school or fascinating careers. Nonetheless, some of the students Easter brought to Northfield didn't graduate from Carleton. Between 1969 and 1976, Carleton graduated around 60% of its Black students. But the white graduation rate wasn't much different; only 70%, approximately, of white students graduated. It is unclear whether these are graduation rates only for students who graduated within four years.⁷⁴

In 1974, Carleton received a Special Services Pilot Program Grant to provide paid tutors for a limited number of students. The Math Skills Center and Write Place originated as minority tutoring programs. Although the tutoring programs started under the Minority Affairs Office's jurisdiction, students from many backgrounds sought assistance through them when these programs were opened to all Carls in 1975.⁷⁵

A slowdown in the national economy and decreased outside funding put a chill on Carleton's commitment to Black students. Even with a large number of Black students on campus, Carleton ended its progressive admissions practices in 1972. After the second Rockefeller grant ended, Carleton did not sustain its financial aid budget. It is true that Carleton's fiscal outlook in the early Seventies was very, very different from that during the prosperous Sixties.⁷⁶

Carleton increased the size of incoming classes without any acknowledgement of the elusive 10% Black student body goal. A program called the Minnesota State Scholarship Program meant that the more in-state Carls the college enrolled, the more money Carleton got. In 1974, the incoming class was 30% Minnesotan, and Carleton received \$100,000 from the state. In 1974, fewer than 1% of the state's residents were Black.^{77,78}

Meanwhile, Richardson increased his recruiting of "more affluent" minorities. In 1972, Easter swapped positions with LeRoy Richardson. Thus Easter became Carleton's Assistant Director of Minority Affairs. At the same time, he became the Director of the newly formed ABC regional office in Northfield; this latter job ended for Easter in 1974. Sixty-five Carleton faculty members

signed a petition asking President Swearer to somehow retain Easter. He remained affiliated with Carleton until 1976.^{79,80}

In the 47 years since Sarah Entenmann graduated from Carleton College, the size of the Black student body has fluctuated greatly. Sarah is also affiliated with Northfield's St. Olaf College; in both colleges, she has noted that some (though certainly not all) of the nonwhite students in the 21st century are from wealthy overseas families. Both colleges have made efforts to bring Black American students to campus and support them, but both schools have had, as a primary goal, being hyper-vigilant about the cost of everything.⁸¹

Will an elite, top-tier education always be something available primarily to elite Americans? Will the world of higher ed ever again open up to someone with nine siblings and a dad with only a third-grade education (who then went on to get her PhD)? Since the death of George Floyd in Minneapolis on May 25, 2020, the whole world has had its eyes on Minnesota. Perhaps new things can and will happen at the nearby colleges in Northfield, Minnesota.⁸²

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