

# *Amherst in the World*

Edited by

Martha Saxton



Amherst  
College

Copyright © 2020 by Amherst College



This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License. To view a copy of this license, visit <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/> or send a letter to Creative Commons, PO Box 1866, Mountain View, CA 94042, USA.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3998/mpub.11873533>

Print: 978-0-943184-20-3

Open access: 978-0-943184-21-0

Library of Congress Control Number: **TK**

Orra White Hitchcock (1796-1863), one of the first American women artists of science, drew all the images on the front cover: a world map indicating volcanic areas, a mastodon maximus skeleton, and the shift of stone obelisks at a convent in Calabria, Italy caused by an earthquake. The colors on the spine are from her graphic representation of valleys. She made 61 illustrations in all for her husband Edward Hitchcock's classes on geology and natural history.

# Contents

Introduction: Amherst in the World	I
<i>Martha Saxton</i>	
<b>PART I: STUDENT BODIES AND SOULS</b>	
Fulfilling the Founders' Purpose: The Religious Careers of Early Amherst College Graduates	II
<i>Gary J. Kornblith</i>	
Remembering Edward Jones: First Black Graduate, Missionary Hero, "Genteel Young Man of Excellent Disposition"	29
<i>David W. Wills</i>	
Amherst and the Native World	51
<i>Frederick E. Hoxie</i>	
Nijjima Jō, the Dōshisha, and the Christian Liberal Arts in Meiji Japan	73
<i>Trent Maxey</i>	
Exclusivity, Segregation, and Democracy: Amherst College and Its Fraternities	89
<i>Nicholas L. Syrett</i>	
Jewish Experience at Amherst College	101
<i>Wendy H. Bergoffen</i>	
Coeducation: The Unanticipated Revolution	115
<i>Martha Saxton</i>	
Creating a Place for Latinidad at an Elite Liberal Arts College: Amherst College, the 1970s through Today	129
<i>Rick López</i>	

Remembering Dunbar: Amherst College and African American Education in Washington, DC	147
<i>Matthew Alexander Randolph</i>	
Feeding Amherst	163
<i>Daniel Levinson Wilk</i>	
<b>PART II: THE COLLEGE AND BEYOND</b>	
“The farthest West shakes hands with the remotest East:” Amherst College, China, and Collegiate Cosmopolitanism in the Nineteenth Century	183
<i>K. Ian Shin</i>	
“Vesuvius at Home”: Emily Dickinson, Amherst, and Nineteenth-Century Popular Culture	201
<i>David S. Reynolds</i>	
“Fables of Extinction”: Geologist Edward Hitchcock and the Literary Response to Darwin	217
<i>Jane F. Thraillkill</i>	
Eclipses, Ecology, and Emily Dickinson: The Todds of Amherst	235
<i>Julie Dobrow</i>	
The “Meiklejohn Affair” Revisited: Amherst and the World in the Early Twentieth Century	249
<i>Richard F. Teichgraeber III</i>	
The Amherst Man in the Jazz Age	269
<i>Debby Applegate</i>	
<b>PART III: EMERGENCIES</b>	
“We are and will be forever Anti-Slavery Men!”: Student Abolitionists and Subversive Politics at Amherst College, 1833–1841	291
<i>Michael E. Jirik</i>	
“Some of the Sweetest Christians”: The Wartime Education of Amherst’s Boys in Blue	305
<i>Bruce Laurie</i>	

“Ain’t Gonna Pay for War No More”: Taxes, Resistance, and Antiwar Activism in the Pioneer Valley and Beyond <i>Molly Michelmore</i>	325
“A Pervasive and Insistent Disquiet”: Amherst College in the 1960s <i>Christian G. Appy</i>	339
<i>List of Contributors</i>	353
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	357



# *Creating a Place for Latinidad at an Elite Liberal Arts College*

Amherst College, the 1970s through Today

*Rick López*

Amherst College admitted its first cohort of working-class Latinos in 1972, inspired by the War on Poverty, the ongoing civil rights movement, and by its own mission to educate the best and the brightest students of all backgrounds. This small group of Latinos initiated a long struggle for inclusion within a student community that sometimes virulently rejected them. This chapter traces the process of diversification and cultural and economic inclusion at an elite college from the late 1970s to today. It also considers the dynamic between top-down and bottom-up initiatives.<sup>1</sup> The creation of space for *Latinidad* within Amherst has been inseparable from the role the college should play in the country and the world, and how the country and the world would be reflected within the campus community.

The surprisingly few studies of minority-student activism are based mostly on large universities in California or on K–12, and focus on ethnic studies programs and on repression that administrations deployed against student activists. While the findings of such studies reflect the general climate in which Amherst College students and administrators acted, Amherst's trajectory is different.<sup>2</sup> Elizabeth Duffy and Idana Goldberg's *Crafting a Class* remains one of the best studies of the interplay between minority admissions practices and social mission, yet it does not account for the agency of student activists nor campus climate, and twenty-five years have passed since it came out.<sup>3</sup> The lack of parallel case studies makes it hard to measure Amherst against other schools, but preliminary comparisons suggest that it was a leader, and remains so. This study attempts to explain how and why Amherst College emerged as a leader, along with the possibilities and limitations of its efforts.

## PART I. CREATING A LATINO PRESENCE: FOUNDING LA CAUSA

When Les Purificación and Tomás Gonzáles (both class of 1976) entered Amherst College in 1972, as two of only five Hispanic freshmen, they were at the cusp of a transformation.

Together with Edmundo Orozco (class of 1974), who had arrived two years earlier, they created a Latino student organization called *La Causa* to foster community and help the college recruit Hispanic applicants.<sup>4</sup> Roderick Ferguson, studying student protests of the '60s and '70s, shows that elite institutions admitted minority students, but "at low numbers," deliberately staving off any potential challenge to the cultural and political status quo. Administrators felt enormous pressure to maintain the status quo by preventing minorities from impacting the culture of the campus, the epistemology of academic inquiry, or the power relations that sustained the existing model of higher education. This pressure came from multiple levels, ranging from the Nixon administration's 1970 "Report of the President's Commission on Campus Unrest" to the college's own influential alumni and affluent student families.<sup>5</sup> When Amherst College Latinos created *La Causa*, with its prescient commitment to recruiting working-class Latino applicants, they changed the future of *Latinidad* and set the course for the ways elite colleges could embrace economic and ethnic diversity.

It was Edmundo Orozco who initially led the way. He arrived at Amherst College in 1970 after being personally recruited by dean of admission Eugene Wilson (class of 1929 and dean from 1946 to 1972). Undeterred by the fact that he was one of only four Hispanics in the student body, the working-class Mexican American student from Carlsbad, New Mexico, enthusiastically immersed himself in the life of the college.<sup>6</sup> His freshman year, he served on the search committee that hired president John Ward (1971–1979), and by his junior year, he gained acceptance into Amherst's prestigious Independent Scholar Program to study US Latino entrepreneurship, mentored by the sociology professor Norman Birnbaum.

Dean Eugene Wilson is well known for moving beyond recruitment as a tool simply to "fill each entering class" and instead toward strategic recruitment and mindful admissions to shape the character of the college while fulfilling its mission. Wilson argued that Amherst's privileged position of having a low acceptance rate, a high retention rate, and strong financial resources gave it flexibility to lead in recruiting and educating a diverse student body. He engaged in "extensive recruitment both to make Amherst's name nationally known and to draw applicants of outstanding intellectual promise from every socio-economic class and region of the country."<sup>7</sup> To this end, Wilson and his protégé and successor Edward "Ed" Wall (dean of admission from 1972 until 1982), hired Orozco at the start of his sophomore year to travel the country in search of promising Hispanic students from low-income backgrounds and lesser-known high schools.<sup>8</sup>

In the late 1960s, colleges and universities worked to attract the best black students to enhance their school's reputation and to establish it as an agent of progressive social change.<sup>9</sup> Amherst College was among the first to extend this same reasoning to US Hispanic and low-income students.<sup>10</sup>

Paying attention to economic class and cultural nuance, Wilson avoided lumping together Latin American students with its US Hispanics. This was important to the school's social mission because, while both groups contributed to student diversity, Latin American students at that time came largely from the white upper class, while US Hispanics tended to be poorer and had to overcome prejudice and inequality to achieve the academic preparation needed to gain admission to Amherst. Hence, Amherst and its



peers saw Wilson's attention to US Hispanic and low-income students as an influential innovation.

Orozco saw the first fruits of his contribution to this endeavor at the start of his junior year, when Purificación (a working-class Latino from New York City who earned a reputation for political debate) and Gonzáles (a Mexican American son of a diplomat who had a reputation among his peers as a gifted and politically aware writer and orator) enrolled in Amherst. The three collaborated to found La Causa at the end of that same fall semester of 1972.<sup>11</sup>

Its charter stated: "La Causa shall have the following aims: the creation of a viable Latino social, cultural, and political body; also, the enlargement of Latino enrollment in Amherst College. La Causa shall be comprised of Latino students and concerned individuals." Toward these goals, it established the Central Committee, plus five subcommittees: *cultural*, to emphasize "the plurality" of "Latino culture within the United States"; *educational*, to develop resources in "areas concerning our academic interest"; *community affairs*, to encourage "socio-political ties to surrounding Latino communities, both in the Valley and" beyond; and, crucially, *recruitment*, to work closely with the admissions office to identify and recruit Latino students.<sup>12</sup>

According to Gonzáles, members knew that to create change, "you need numbers."<sup>13</sup> So, "one of the major things we did was get together with Dean Wall and go recruiting so that we could add to our numbers . . . to . . . be stronger." Katie Fretwell (class of 1981), who joined the admissions office in the 1980s and served as dean of admission from 2012 to 2018, describes Wall as "an outspoken advocate for coeducation and diversity at Amherst" who "orchestrated dramatic changes in the composition of the student body" and "[made] each student feel that he or she had been handpicked to play an important role in the life of the college."<sup>14</sup> Alumni from the era consistently express this view of Wall, who in turn respected them as agents of institutional change.

Juan X. Roca (class of 1975), from a prosperous South American family, found common cause with his working-class US Latino peers. In early December 1974, as cochairperson of La Causa, Roca sent a letter to high school students on La Causa letterhead stating that the group, "in conjunction with the Office of Admission and members of the faculty," was trying "to increase our enrollment of Latinos on campus." He announced that two Latino Amherst students, perhaps accompanied by a faculty member and an admissions officer, would soon visit their school to "speak with as wide a range as possible of both male and female" Latino "prospective applicants."<sup>15</sup> Such collaboration between Dean Wall and La Causa yielded seven Latino matriculants in the fall of 1975, a notable improvement over 1969, when the entering class lacked any Latinos.<sup>16</sup>

The seven working-class Latinos who started in 1975, along with nine white female transfer students (the vanguard for full coeducation the following year), introduced new kinds of students into the college, and some white male students made it clear to both groups that they were not welcome.<sup>17</sup> Ed Camacho (class of 1979) was a member of this 1972 cohort. Despite the small number of Latinos at Amherst, Camacho initially saw it as a huge improvement over his experience as a scholarship student in a New York City prep school, where he had been the only Latino in his graduating class and one of only three in

the entire school. But Camacho recalls that faculty and administrators, and especially his fellow students, made him and other low-income Latinos feel like ethnic tokens and economic charity cases who, in exchange for an elite education, were expected to give up things that other students did not, such as connections to their family and culture.<sup>18</sup>

Soon after Camacho and his cohort arrived, the Student Allocations Committee (SAC) announced that it would no longer fund La Causa.<sup>19</sup> Previously, Orozco had used his connections in student government to gain fair funding for La Causa. But his graduation left Latinos without an experienced student advocate. SAC's actions taught Camacho and the other newly arrived Latino students that they would have to proactively demand a place within the Amherst community.

Struggling to adjust to life at Amherst College, they turned to the administration for support. Their interactions with Prosser Gifford, dean of the faculty from 1967 to 1979, left them dispirited. Though Gifford taught African politics, and seems to have been supportive of coeducation, Orozco and González, along with Camacho and other members of the new cohort, describe Gifford as hostile to African American and Latino students. A similar sense of Gifford's approach to students of color emerges from a 2011 interview, in which he claimed that the black student activists who occupied Converse Hall in February 1970, calling for the creation of a black studies department, were essentially saying, "We want to be in control, we want to be in control of what we learn,' but ultimately it wouldn't work, and I think the better ones saw that."<sup>20</sup>

Orozco described Gifford as opposing the efforts of Wilson and Wall to diversify the student body. Camacho remembered that when he and other Latinos reached out to Dean Gifford in 1972 for support, he accused them of trying to separate themselves from the rest of the student body. Their multiple interactions with Gifford left Latino students with the impression that he would have preferred Amherst without the disruptive presence of working-class or minority students. Amherst administrators never reacted against student activists with the virulence seen at places such as Berkeley, where administrators cast minority student activists and ethnic studies as *threats* to diversity and institutional stability, and resorted to turning police powers against them.<sup>21</sup> Yet, Gifford's response demonstrates congruence with the paternalistic attitude that minority students encountered on other campuses.

Nevertheless, Wall persisted in his recruitment of Hispanic applicants. In 1975, Amherst accepted nineteen US Latinos (plus four Latin Americans). Ten of the fourteen initially accepted the offer, but, at the last minute, three of them decided not to enroll, leaving only seven US Hispanics to matriculate. As a consequence, Wall's office successfully deepened its collaboration with La Causa, involving its members not just in recruitment but also in encouraging Latino admitted students to enroll. The next year (1976) saw an increase to twelve US Latinos (2.9 percent of the entering class), the highest level that Amherst had achieved up to that date.

From 1976 through the 1980s, the office of admission continued to rely on La Causa members, openly sharing with them the names and contact information of Latino applicants and admits.<sup>22</sup> Institutional records show that between 1976 and 1985, Latino enrollment fluctuated between two and twelve new students per year, for an average of nine

(just over 2 percent of each entering class). This small but relatively stable Latino community included a growing percentage who were female, working class, and from outside the Northeast.

Camacho recalls that the need for the sense of community that La Causa created was acute. La Causa welcomed “students who were white and who were black” and from all economic backgrounds, “anyone who was sympathetic to this notion that we needed to exist.” But Latinos, in particular, saw La Causa as the only setting on campus where they could be themselves. It broadened their understanding of what it meant to be Latino while helping them feel enough of a sense of belonging on campus that they could focus on their studies.<sup>23</sup>

To create community while combatting negative stereotypes, La Causa members started with simple things like bringing a salsa band to campus and partnering with Valentine Dining Hall for Puerto Rican food night, serving *tostones*, *pernil*, and *arroz con gandules*. Luis Chaluisan (class of 1986), who was part of the cohort of working-class Latinos who started at Amherst in 1975, used theater and music to forge connections among people. He and Gonzáles each hosted a radio show on the college station, and, in 1975, Chaluisan founded Pa'lante, an annual dinner and talent show that brought together students from across the Five Colleges (the collaborative among Amherst College, Smith College, Mount Holyoke College, Hampshire College, and the University of Massachusetts, Amherst). Pa'lante continues today as one of Amherst's enduring student traditions.<sup>24</sup> Despite these initiatives, Latinos failed to convince the majority-white student body to accept them as equals within the Amherst community.

## PART 2. THE FAYERWEATHER SIT-IN OF 1978 AND THE CREATION OF THE CENTRO CULTURAL JOSÉ MARTÍ

The chapters by Christian G. Appy (class of 1977) and Matthew Alexander Randolph (class of 2016) in this volume describe the long-standing expectation that nonwhite students should avoid gathering in groups larger than three, lest white students accuse them of separatism. This placed the burden for integration on minorities while absolving white students from any similar responsibility. Like Chicano activists across the country who rejected what they critiqued as the assimilationist politics of the preceding Mexican American generation, Amherst Latinos of the 1970s refused to abide the by the old rules. Instead, they congregated, increased their numbers, and demanded a two-way process by which whites and minorities shared the work of fostering an inclusive community.

On Wednesday, December 6, 1978, approximately thirty students walked into the Amherst College snack bar in Fayerweather Hall and began a three-day sit-in that swelled to one hundred activists. Three months earlier, Latino students had started the school year with high hopes. In his convocation speech, President Ward argued that the college needed to be a place “where differences . . . can be joyously sustained” rather than treated as supposed threats to the Amherst community.<sup>25</sup> The student government had ended the previous academic year with a plan to defund La Causa and other affinity groups. But, inspired

by Wall's speech, Michael Barach (class of 1980) announced that the Student Activities Committee, which he chaired, would take into account that "minority groups can contribute as much to campus life as . . . [the radio station] WAMH and The Amherst Student" newspaper, and therefore deserved to be funded.<sup>26</sup>

In contrast to Barach's message of good will, the editors of the *Amherst Student* characterized the small number of Latinos as a threat to the college. They urged "the entire student body [to] maintain a close watch" to assure that these "special interest groups do not" engage in activities that might "undermine the sense of community."<sup>27</sup> With this, they dashed the hopes that President Ward had expressed.

Tensions spread from pages of the newspaper into a conflict over the airwaves. Minorities had complained for years about the fact that WAMH segregated soul, rhythm and blues, and other nonwhite music to specific hours during the weekend, prohibiting such music from being played on weekdays. Unable to convince WAMH to alter its policy, the Afro-American Society, La Causa, and an organization from the time called Straight Ahead sent a letter to the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), charging that the station was failing to "fulfill the FCC's charter which requires educational FM stations to take community interests into account," and therefore should be temporarily taken off the air.<sup>28</sup>

The groups that had drafted the letter to the FCC proposed a solution: add an official minority representative to the WAMH programming board. When the radio station balked, La Causa member Chaluisan threatened that if those in charge of WAMH refused to take minorities into account then, as "an absolute last resort," minority students might occupy the WAMH offices.<sup>29</sup>

The SAC supported minority students by threatening to withhold funding unless WAMH changed. Radio station leaders finally agreed to accept a minority representative on the programming committee, selected by their majority white staff. After prolonged negotiations, everyone finally agreed that the minority representative would be selected by the minority members of the staff.<sup>30</sup>

Revealing some students' sense of indignation, commentary in the *Amherst Student* charged that whites, out of a misguided sense of guilt, regularly allowed themselves to be steamrolled by minorities. A member of the class of 1980 complained that when white students called out minorities for infantile intransigence—comparing minorities to children throwing apple fritters in a dining hall and refusing to be corrected—they found themselves intimidated by accusations of racism. The student seized the opportunity to also denounce freshman orientation programs for African American students, not just as "useless, but actually harmful."<sup>31</sup>

Latino students recall how animosity from their white peers took a toll on their ability to focus on their academic and emotional well-being. Confronted by growing hostility, Camacho and Latinos requested from the dean of students a room where La Causa members could host events "as part of the campus experience and part of campus life." They met unexpected opposition. "I think his name was Dean [of students James] Bishop. . . . He was African American, but he didn't really understand why the Latino students and the black students" felt a need to meet together for community and to plan campus activities. "He

perceived it as us . . . separating ourselves from the rest of the campus. His view was that we were all Amherst students, and that we shouldn't engage in that type of thing."<sup>32</sup> Even the editorial board of the *Amherst Student*, which instigated antagonism against minorities, expressed dismay at Bishop's refusal to acknowledge the existence of racial tensions on campus.<sup>33</sup>

La Causa members considered President Ward one of their few administrative supporters, but they became frustrated even with him. Reporter Emily Rubin (class of 1981) explained, in 1978, that in February 1976, Ward had promised La Causa members "all the help I can give" for a Latino cultural center. After almost two years of stalled negotiations, La Causa "quietly" occupied his office. Ward assured them that they would receive a Latino cultural center "in an accessible, visible, central location, not in a basement." But a week later, Ward wrote to Camacho, claiming it was "Dean Bishop's area to find 'a suitable solution.'" Bishop proposed three options: a room in Wilder Observatory more than a kilometer from the middle of campus, a small basement room in White Homestead that could accommodate only two folding chairs, or a basement storage room in Stone dormitory. Speaking to Rubin in 1978, Camacho said that "on a symbolic level the basement is the administration's way of shoving the cultural needs of La Causa underground. . . . The administration has an obligation to minorities to provide the means for developing and communicating cultural diversity."<sup>34</sup>

In mid-November 1978, President Ward abruptly announced his resignation, leaving Latinos worried that any hope of getting a cultural center was disappearing. They acted quickly. La Causa members found that "as long as you don't interfere with the process of learning according to the student Code of Conduct," it was "difficult to get suspended" for staging a sit-in. So "we decided to take over the snack bar at Fayerweather Hall."<sup>35</sup>

At that juncture, on Wednesday, December 6, 1978, students walked into the snack bar and art gallery in Fayerweather Hall and announced they would "remain . . . [there] until President Ward responds favorably" to La Causa's request for a meeting space. When administrators tried to force the protestors out by closing the snack bar, the students declared that if the administration refused to negotiate, they would claim part of the snack bar, Fayerweather room 102, as the Latino cultural center. President Ward finally met with the protestors, who assured him that they would leave the room as soon as they were offered a reasonable space.<sup>36</sup>

Student organizations, academic departments, and individual faculty across the Five Colleges sent letters supporting the sit-in to La Causa and to President Ward. One professor wrote that the fact that "Latino students at Amherst feel compelled to take over a building for something as simple as an adequate place to gather . . . speaks volumes about the College's lack of concern for the . . . needs of those students."<sup>37</sup>

However, editors of the *Amherst Student* chided Latino students, characterizing their occupation of the snack bar as "both unjustified and intolerable" intransigence by petulant minorities. The newspaper editors even created a "Dubious Achievement Award" to give to La Causa that they mockingly named "THE, 'HEY I HEAR YOU'VE GOT A SPECIAL ON TACOS TODAY' AWARD."<sup>38</sup> This award was combined with racist awards for other minorities. Camacho noted that "to his credit, President William Ward" recog-

nized that these responses were “racist,” “quite inflammatory,” and “not the right thing for the white students” to be doing. They “proved the point that this is why this [cultural space for Latinos] was needed.”<sup>39</sup>

President Ward apologized to La Causa for the newspaper’s insulting award, and met with the one hundred protestors. Addressing them in the snack bar, Ward term the white students’ insults “a minor strain of nastiness.” He granted La Causa a former art classroom in Fayerweather Hall as a Latino cultural center, promising that when “a larger room should become available . . . , La Causa will have priority.”<sup>40</sup>

The *Amherst Student* refused to back down, prompting other white students to defend their Latino peers. Emily Rubin (class of 1981), for example, criticized the “insensitivity and lack of recognition which the administration has shown toward Hispanic students, the insulting way the newspaper portrayed the protest . . . and the . . . many students who seemed more concerned with missing a few munchies than the important issues which were at the root of the occupation.”<sup>41</sup>

The Latino cultural center opened in January 1979, and even the *New York Times* covered the students’ success.<sup>42</sup> Steven Epstein (class of 1981) reported that La Causa “named the cultural center after [the famous Cuban essayist and poet] José Martí because he represents ‘universal revolutionary struggle,’ the same type of struggle which La Causa underwent last semester in securing the cultural center.”<sup>43</sup> At the entrance to the Centro Cultural José Martí, they placed a plaque that read: “Conocer es Resolver,” meaning “To Know Is to Resolve.”<sup>44</sup> La Causa arranged a formal inauguration in March, with lectures by professors from Amherst and the other five colleges.<sup>45</sup> When Amherst constructed Keefe Campus Center in 1987, student activists held the administration to its promise to move the Centro Cultural José Martí to the new building. Disappointingly, however, the space they received was in the basement.<sup>46</sup>

### PART 3. THE BACKLASH

After the Fayerweather sit-in of December 1978, Latinos found themselves confronted with backlash from some white students who viewed minorities as interlopers tearing at the foundation of Amherst culture. According to college records, at that time, there were only fifteen Latinos (eleven men and four women) out of 1,500 students, a mere 1 percent of the student body. There should have been twenty, but five had departed without completing their degrees. These fifteen Latino students contended with daily reminders that they were unwelcome. The editors of the *Amherst Student* even dampened Latinos’ celebration of the Centro Cultural José Martí by warning them “not to let their cultural center become a place which fosters separatist attitudes and hostility to the majority culture.”<sup>47</sup>

When individual minority students failed to convince the editors of the *Amherst Student* to offer balanced coverage, a group of student organizations drafted a joint letter to the newspaper criticizing its “shortsighted ignorance” and callous mockery of Latinos, blacks, and other groups. The authors asked: “Does *The Student* mean to say that minorities, in all aspects of the word, and their organizations are undesired . . . at Amherst College?”<sup>48</sup>

They argued that, for balanced coverage, the newspaper should give minorities a page in each issue to offer their own perspectives.<sup>49</sup> The editors accused minority organizations of trying to quash free expression. As the debate became increasingly acrimonious, the administration decided to step in to mediate.

The winter recess brought a short respite, but tensions reignited when a member of the class of 1979 accused minorities of taking advantage of white people's tolerance and posing a "separatist" threat:

This is an unusually tolerant institution. [But] apparently, a minority of minorities have the attitude that this is a situation readily lending itself to short-term exploitation. . . . They seek special status as a group rather than fair treatment as individuals. They shy away from individual accountability and action. . . . A double standard exists. Minorities can coercively occupy buildings, slander the College, the student body, and society as a whole, but claim immunity from the fact [that] two plus two equals four, a la 1984. You'd better see five fingers or you're being insensitive and need to learn more about your own racism.

He concluded that blacks and Latinos "don't want equal treatment. It is abundantly clear that they want preferential treatment. . . . It's time to say, 'Enough!'"<sup>50</sup>

Tensions rose even higher after a member of the class of 1981 charged that "Black students cannot cry racism every time they are denied a whim, like the child who wails that his parents don't love [him] if they don't let him have an elephant or a ton of candy. Most students just laugh and say, 'no Mr Mtima [referring to Lateef Mtima (class of 1982), a black student leader], we aren't racists, we do love you, but this one piece of candy you just can't have.'"<sup>51</sup> In a cartoon that the newspaper initially tried to censor, John G. Russell (class of 1979) shot back by depicting a white, privileged Amherst student reclining in an armchair, paternalistically lecturing an adult-faced black child in his lap. He shakes his finger at the child, stating: "Now, repeat after me, my child: I have no rights that need to be recognized; I have never been abused; to be different is to be unequal."

Camacho also countered: "We want to be part of the College, but" without having to check our Latino culture at the door.<sup>52</sup> Responding to accusations of a supposed anti-intellectual disdain for individualism, Walter Harris (class of 1979) wrote, "I certainly have never been accepted here as an individual. I am constantly reminded of my blackness, by whites in a hundred ways and on a daily basis. . . . The blunt reality is that we are perceived by the white community not as individuals, but as Blacks, Latinos, or Asians, i.e. collectively as members of a group. Racism at Amherst is a collective problem requiring a collective solution."<sup>53</sup> Even President Ward joined the conversation, arguing that "Latino and Black students wish to be part of Amherst College, and they wish to be perceived and treated with decency and respect, individually and collectively. Too often they are not."<sup>54</sup>

David O. Russell (class of 1981), of future film-making fame, argued that the real question is not why minorities might want a page in the *Amherst Student* to share their perspectives, but why some of his white peers reacted so vehemently against the idea that they should have a voice, and against the idea that La Causa should have a space within

the Amherst community. "I am a white male from a relatively affluent background. . . . If I feel alienated, then one can imagine how the real minorities must feel." He asked: "Will students at Amherst give minorities an office and hope they'll shut up? Will students tell minorities, in more ways than one, to transfer? Or will the majority of affluent preppy whites at Amherst be receptive to different people and work to change and enlighten themselves socially, racially, sexually, and economically?"<sup>55</sup>

In the middle of February, President Ward convened an all-campus meeting to plea for greater acceptance of diversity.<sup>56</sup> The ideal, Ward said, was "the yearning for brotherhood and decency," but these "are not the reality of the College, and I'm sad to say they're not." He stated his greatest concern in the form of a question: "How do we honor . . . and I mean *honor* . . . the diversity among ourselves while asserting the value of our shared and common life together?"<sup>57</sup>

In the heated discussion that followed, Luis Chaluisan stood up to declare that being a minority at Amherst was to be treated like "a piece of shit," as though "[we are] against everything that Amherst stands for."<sup>58</sup> John G. Russell called out white peers who he claimed refused to accept him and other minority students as part of the Amherst community.<sup>59</sup> Clearly, the meeting had not gone as Ward had hoped.

But in the coming months, individual faculty and administrators offered personal support to besieged minority students, and the *Amherst Student* newspaper eventually brought in a new editorial board that was more accepting of diversity.

In the 1970s, the Office of Admission, under the direction of Eugene Wilson and Ed Wall, had established Amherst as a leader in student diversity and helped set the course that led to the creation of La Causa and the blossoming of Latino activism. However, under Ward's successor, Julian Gibbs (president from 1979 to 1983), those who felt uneasy about the presence of minorities on campus saw the tide shift in their favor.

## LEGACIES, 1980S TO TODAY

The late 1970s through the 1990s saw gradual progress in how Amherst College presidential administrations thought about diversity and inclusion and how they responded to those who opposed the trend toward a diverse student body, but the path was not smooth. Wall and Ward were committed to diversifying Amherst but never managed to enroll a class of more than 2.9 percent Latinos. This dipped slightly under president Julian Gibbs, with a low of 1.6 percent, possibly to assuage certain conservative white students and alumni who were anxious about cultural change.<sup>60</sup>

After Gibbs died in office in 1983, he was replaced by Peter Pouncey (1984–1994). Pouncey and dean of admission Henry Bedford (1982–1986) increased the percentage of Latinos to a new high of 3.9 percent.<sup>61</sup> Linda Davis Taylor (1987–1989), Bedford's successor, accelerated this trend. Just three years later, when she handed the office to Jane Reynolds (1989–1998), she and President Pouncey had increased the number of Latinos from twelve to thirty-nine, establishing a new high of 9.3 percent for the class that entered in 1989. Initially, the Pouncey administration had recruited middle-class and high-income Latinos



from prep schools but, for the class of 1989, Pouncey and Davis Taylor had shifted toward a much more difficult focus on working-class Latinos from urban and rural high schools.

Shifts that look small in term of statistics powerfully impacted the experiences of Latino students, particularly those from a working-class background. Under President Gibbs, as the number of Latinos, particularly those of working-class backgrounds, sagged, a rift emerged between the dwindling number of low-income US Hispanics and the more economically well-off Latin Americans. Uncomfortable with La Causa's ideals, a number of Latin American students created a splinter club called *Hispanía* in 1980, which was dedicated to hosting cultural receptions as a sort of extension of the Spanish department and competed against La Causa for funding from the student government. This split was difficult, because the number of Latino students was so small. By the late 1980s, the two groups had reunited, but at the price of La Causa abandoning most of its social or political ambitions.<sup>62</sup>

In May 1991, Aaron Greenman (class of 1993) correctly observed in the *Amherst Student* that La Causa had become so apolitical over the years that the organization had become "virtually non-existent."<sup>63</sup> He also noted that La Causa seemed poised for resurgence. The class of 1993 not only included the largest share of Latinos in the college's history, but it also was the most regionally and economically diverse and the most heavily low-income and first-generation group that the college had seen.

The new wave of Latino students resuscitated La Causa during the 1989 to 1990 academic year under the leadership of Anthony Wright, Michelle Duran, Jorge Armenteros, Nelson González (all class of 1993), and others, and then reclaimed a political consciousness and progressive agenda in 1991 under the leadership of myself (class of 1993) and Gilberto Simpson (class of 1994). Under a revitalized La Causa, Latino students became committed to fostering both mutual understanding and collective action.

Similar to what had happened in the 1970s under President Ward, the college's impressive recruitment efforts under President Pouncey came without a plan for how to create an inclusive environment. Students called for courses and epistemologies of knowledge that recognized the history and experience of minorities, pleaded with the administration to recruit faculty and staff of color, and to foster a culturally inclusive student climate.

In the spring of 1992, as riots broke out in Los Angeles in the wake of the acquittal of four policemen in the beating of Rodney King, La Causa joined with the Black Student Union (BSU) in a student takeover of the main administrative offices in Converse Hall.<sup>64</sup> They asked for better support for students of color, diversification of the faculty, and opening of the curriculum to diverse histories and experiences. Students won the support of a number of faculty, and their actions led to the hiring of a visiting professor in US Latino studies as well as a promise to work on diversifying the faculty. In a partial replay of 1979, this success was met by a backlash from segments of the Amherst community. Rather than give in to the backlash, Pouncey and Reynolds stood by their goal of diversifying the student body.

During the student takeover of Converse Hall in 1992, the *Amherst Student* picked up its role as mouthpiece for antidiversity voices, publishing articles such as "Force-Feeding Multiculturalism," "Diversity Seats do Little for Students," and "Ethnic Studies Depart-

ment Unnecessary.” But unlike 1978–1979, the newspaper now welcomed minority students’ rebuttals, with articles such as “College Lacks Latino Studies Department” and “Diversity Seats Give Minorities Voice in Government,” as well as letters to the editors defending the needs of minority students on campus.<sup>65</sup>

Pouncey and his administration had helped Latinos achieve a critical mass, and this made a difference for their campus experience. Whereas fifteen Latinos in 1979 had found themselves besieged, this time, there were around one hundred and twenty Latino students to support one another, respond to criticism individually and collectively, and maintain genuine debate.

The gains made by Pouncey slowed under his successor, president Tom Gerety (1994–2003). Under President Gibbs, Latinos averaged 2.25 percent of each entering class. Pouncey almost doubled this to an average of 4.38 percent in the first half his term, then almost doubled it again to 8.56 percent per year the second half of his term. Under Gerety, the percentage of Latinos in each entering class declined slightly to 7.74 percent per class during the first half of Gerety’s term, then to 7.56 percent in the second half of his term, with a low of 5.3 percent (twenty-three students) in 1997, a figure not seen at Amherst since the mid-1980s. The hiring of Tom Parker as dean of admission and financial aid in 1999 led to improvements in 2000 and 2001, but the number of Latinos and other minorities dropped again and remained at that level for the remainder of Gerety’s term.<sup>66</sup>

More significant than the stagnation of the numbers under President Gerety was the change Latino students felt in the campus climate, both from the administration and from white peers. La Causa members were well aware of the sagging or stagnating number of Latino and working-class students. They voiced their opposition when President Gerety cancelled minority orientation, refuting his claim that it encouraged minorities to engage in separatism. They also pushed back against the growing number of white peers who seemed to have become emboldened in their opposition to affirmative action and diversity efforts. The student government, meanwhile, slashed La Causa’s funding, claiming that because not enough white students chose to attend its events, the organization was not serving the campus community. The tone of the school newspaper also turned decidedly negative. The lack of diversity among faculty and staff meant that minority students found few allies of color to whom they could turn for support at this moment when they felt that they had to contend with challenges on all sides.<sup>67</sup>

Yet, the outcome was not the same as it had been in the 1980s, because a group of students led by Lori Casillas (class of 1995) and others had formed an organization called the Chicano Caucus in 1993 and had created a US Latino cultural house called La Casa. The Chicano Caucus provided politically engaged Latinos (not just Chicanos) with a space in which to express their concerns and defend their political ideals on and off campus in collaboration with La Causa and the Black Student Union. And La Casa, the cultural house, gave students a place to find a sense of belonging within a campus on which they felt marginalized.

Latino students found relief when President Gerety was succeeded by Tony Marx (2003–2011). The new president made ethnic and economic diversity a priority for his administration and brought Latino enrollment to a new high of 13.7 percent (sixty-three

students) by the end of his term. President Gerety had favored a hands-off approach regarding diversity and inclusion. President Marx, by contrast, took a personal interest in increasing the college's ethnic and economic diversity, while recruiting ever more academically competitive students. He brought his senior staff on board, offered sustained institutional support for these goals, and fostered student conversation. Marx partnered with Parker to develop the college's relationship with QuestBridge (a national organization that connected low-income students with selective colleges and universities) to recruit low-income students and to inaugurate a new policy that enabled them to graduate debt free. Marx and Parker added admissions staff to focus on the recruitment of nontraditional students, created a fly-in program for low-income prospective students to visit campus, and reached out to trustees, alumni, and other donors to win their enthusiastic backing.<sup>68</sup>

Marx's successor Carolynne "Biddy" Martin (2011–present) and her senior staff solidified diversity and inclusion as core elements of Amherst College's modern cultural identity. Dean of admission and financial aid Tom Parker was succeeded by Katie Fretwell (class of 1981) in 2015, and then by Matt McGann in 2019, each of whom devoted themselves to recruiting the best students of every ethnic and economic background. Except for a small dip in 2017, when Amherst lost students to Yale's effort to increase the size and diversity of its student body. Latinos comprised between 13 and 14.2 percent of each Amherst College entering class.

In the fall of 2017, President Martin supported the creation of the US Latinx and Latin American studies (LLAS) program, which grew out of years of planning by a group of faculty and students.<sup>69</sup> Through LLAS, Amherst has affirmed an institutional presence for diverse ways of experiencing and studying Latinidad. Through its curricular offering and institutional presence, LLAS welcomes US Latinx and Latin American students and faculty into the Amherst intellectual community while preparing *all* Amherst students to succeed in a changing world.

## CONCLUSION

Reflecting on the impact of her time at Amherst, Mari Curbelo (class of 1980) proposes that perhaps it was the adversity she overcame at Amherst within an intimate community that led her to develop her political consciousness. It "was almost like an incubator for some of us to then move on and bring that sense of identity and community and social justice to the outside world."<sup>70</sup> The case of Amherst College suggests that the strength of its transformation results from the fact that its commitment to diversity and inclusion was forged through struggle and experimentation, advanced by ideal-driven leadership from above and committed student activism from below. This process has made the changes more enduring than if they had been merely rhetorical, or imposed from on high, or if they had been only tolerated or subtly undermined, as scholars have found has occurred too often within higher education.

The absence of similar case studies focusing on other elite campuses makes it difficult to draw definitive conclusions about how the success of Amherst College compares

with other campuses, but existing studies, combined with a sense of the broad landscape of higher education, do allow for some tentative conclusions. Amherst did not resort to intensive policing or criminalization of student protesters, nor did it delegitimize student voices while casting the professionalized administrative bureaucracy as the true defender of diversity and inclusion. On the contrary, even as it has done so imperfectly, Amherst has prioritized intensive engagement among its students and among students, faculty, alumni, and administrators. By creating enduring change through leadership and sustained engagement, rather than by bureaucratic fiat, it has become a leader among its peers on economic and ethnic diversity.

### Notes

1. Students from the US Latino history course taught by myself and professor Solsiree del Moral in the fall of 2016 located and organized these documents and deposited the collection into the Amherst College Archives and Special Collections. I want to thank the following student researchers for their work organizing the La Causa Papers and conducting interviews: Irma Zamora (class of 2017), Helen Burgueño (class of 2021), Joshua Hernández (class of 2020), Genesis Peña (class of 2020), Brittanie Lewis (class of 2017), and Diego Gómez (class of 2020). Thank you, also, to Mike Kelly and Rachel Jirka in the Archives and Special Collections; the many alumni who shared their stories through interviews; Jesse Barba in Institutional Research for his help with data; and the Latinx and Latin American studies program (inaugurated in fall 2017) for its ongoing support for research into the history of Latinx students at Amherst College; and to my colleagues who read the drafts of this essay and offered crucial feedback and advice.

2. Roderick Ferguson, *We Demand: The University and Student Protests* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2017); Irum Shiekh, *On Strike! Ethnic Studies, 1969–1999* (Center for Asian American Studies, University of California Berkeley, 2008), documentary film; Carlos Muñoz Jr., *Youth, Identity, Power: The Chicano Movement* (New York: Verso, [1989] 2007); Suzanne Oboler, *Ethnic Labels, Latino Lives: Identity and the Politics of (Re)Presentation in the United States* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), 59–66; Kathryn Schumaker, *Troublemakers: Students' Rights and Racial Justice in the Long 1960s* (New York: New York University Press, 2019); Victoria-María MacDonald, *Latino Education in the United States: A Narrated History from 1513–2000* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004), 215–73.

3. Elizabeth Duffy and Idana Goldberg, *Crafting a Class: College Admissions and Financial Aid, 1955–1994* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998).

4. Note that students at the time used the terms *Hispanic* and *Latino* interchangeably to individuals of Latin American heritage who grew up in the United States. On rare occasions, their use of the term *Latino* also encompassed individuals from Latin America. In this chapter, I will follow their practice of using *Hispanic* and *Latino* interchangeably to refer to individuals who grew up in the United States, and will try to clarify where I refer to international students from Latin America.

5. Ferguson, *We Demand*, 9–10.

6. Edmundo Orozco, interview by Rick López, May 15, 2018. Two Hispanics entered in 1968, zero in 1969, and two (including Orozco) in 1970, according to a data report from the Amherst College Department of Institutional Research.

7. Elizabeth Duffy and Idana Goldberg, eds., “Admission to Amherst College: The O’Connell Report,” in *Crafting a Class: College Admissions and Financial Aid, 1955–1994* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998), 25, 37, and 45.

8. Orozco, interview.

9. Duffy and Goldberg, "Admission," 141.
10. Minutes of the Faculty Committee on Admission and Financial Aid, March 18, 1970, Amherst College Archives, cited by Duffy and Goldberg, "Admission," 147. In her 2011 study of student recruitment at Amherst College, Rachel Rubin shows that the institution's success resulted from the fact that it had an unusually long-term commitment to diversity that transcended rhetoric. See Rachel B. Rubin, "Recruiting, Redefining, and Recommitting: The Quest to Increase Socioeconomic Diversity at Amherst College," *Equity & Excellence in Education* 44, no. 4 (2011): 512–31.
11. Orozco, interview; Ed Camacho, interview by Rick López, March 22, 2018; Les Purificación, interview by Diego Gómez, June 8, 2018; and Tomás Gonzáles, interview by Diego Gómez, May 16, 2018.
12. Constitution of La Causa, circa 1972/73, Box 1, Folder 13, La Causa Papers, Archives and Special Collections, Amherst College, Amherst, MA. The founders disagree about whether they chose the name "La Causa" in honor of the United Farm Workers' Union led by César Chávez, where, unbeknownst to the students, Jerry Cohen (class of 1963) served as general counsel starting in 1967. On Jerry Cohen and the United Farm Workers, see Jerry Cohen, "Gringo Justice: The United Farm Workers Union, 1967–1981" (unpublished manuscript, February 2008), and the rich holdings of the Jerry Cohen Papers, Archives and Special Collections, Amherst College, Amherst, MA.
13. Gonzáles, interview.
14. Katie Fretwell, "In Memorium: Ed Wall," *Amherst Magazine*, Winter 2004.
15. Juan X. Roca, "Co-Chairperson of La Causa to high schools," December 2, 1974, Box 1, Folder 9, La Causa Papers, Archives and Special Collections, Amherst College, Amherst, MA.
16. Data Report, Department of Institutional Research, Amherst College, Amherst, MA.
17. Helen Deutsch, "Women's Studies, Solitude and Struggle," *Amherst Student*, October 5, 1978. Deutsch writes: "When Women first arrived at Amherst in 1976, a Women's Studies major arrived with them," and in 1978, there were three students completing the major.
18. Ed Camacho, interview by Brittanie Lewis, June 25, 2017; and Ed Camacho, interview by Rick López, March 22, 2018.
19. Daniel Calvert, "La Causa: Siempre Pa'lante" (unpublished senior honors thesis, Amherst College, May 18, 2007).
20. Prosser Gifford, interview by Robert Townsend, June 8, 2011, Amherst College Oral History Project, Frost Library, Amherst College, Amherst, MA; "Blacks Seize Buildings," *Amherst Student*, February 18, 1970; "Black Demands in Brief," *Amherst Student*, February 19, 1970.
21. Ferguson, *We Demand*, 6–11; and Shiekh, *On Strike!*
22. Lists of Hispanic American students matriculating each year, 1976–1981, Box 1, Folder 7, La Causa Papers, Archives and Special Collections, Amherst College, Amherst, MA, and Data Report.
23. Gonzáles, interview; and Ed Camacho, interview, June 25, 2017.
24. Gonzáles, interview; Héctor Banegas, interview by Diego Gómez, January 5, 2019; Program for Pa'lante, inaugural year of 1975, in possession of Luis Chalusian; quoted from Ed Camacho, interview, June 25, 2017.
25. Quoted in Martin Melaver, "Ward Opens Year," *Amherst Student*, September 11, 1978.
26. Quoted in "SAC Receives Record Requests," *Amherst Student*, September 25, 1978.
27. Editorial Board, "Funding Communal Plurality," *Amherst Student*, September 25, 1978.
28. "WAMH, Minorities, Airwaves Rippled," *Amherst Student*, October 9, 1978.
29. "WAMH, Minorities."
30. "WAMH modulates," *Amherst Student*, October 12, 1978.
31. Gib Hecker, "Racism, a Tragedy of Errors," *Amherst Student*, October 26, 1978.
32. Camacho, interview, June 25, 2017.

33. "A Dean for Students," *Amherst Student*, November 6, 1978.
34. Rubin, "Fayerweather Occupied." *Amherst Student*, White Homestead was later converted into the Wilson Admission Center. On the size of the rooms, see Tomás González, interview by Diego Gómez, May 15, 2018; Juan X. Roca, interview by Brittany Lewis, August 6, 2017; and "Amherst Sets Protest Deadline," *Boston Globe*, December 8, 1978.
35. Camacho, interview; Héctor Banegas, interview by Diego Gómez, January 5, 2019; Emily Rubin, "Fayerweather"
36. Camacho, interview.
37. Roberto Márquez, professor at Hampshire College to John William Ward (Amherst College president), December 8, 1978, Box 1, Folder 10, La Causa Papers, Archives and Special Collections, Amherst College, Amherst, MA. La Causa's archives contain letters from student organizations at Amherst College, University of Massachusetts (UMass), Mount Holyoke College, Hampshire College, and several UMass academic departments and centers.
38. Editorial Board, "'The Cause' Celebre," *Amherst Student*, December 7, 1978.
39. Camacho, interview, March 22, 2018, and Calvert, "La Causa."
40. Emily Rubin, "La Causa Sit-In Successful," *Amherst Student*, December 14, 1978.
41. Anonymous, letter to the editors, *Amherst Student*, December 14, 1978.
42. "A Sit-In Ends at Amherst College after Accord on Hispanic Center," *New York Times*, December 9, 1978.
43. Steven Epstein, "Centro Cultural to Open," *Amherst Student*, March 8, 1979.
44. Camacho, interview, March 22, 2018.
45. Ginger Howard, "La Causa Center Opens," *Amherst Student*, February 1, 1979, and Epstein, "Centro Cultural."
46. Cesar Paulino (class of 1988) describes the conversations that led to the move to Keefe and the support of dean Ben Lieber. See Cesar Paulino, interview by Diego Gómez, December 22, 2017, and Ben Lieber, dean of students, to Cheng Gon Jon, January 23, 1987, Box 1, Folder 10, La Causa Papers, Archives and Special Collections, Amherst College, Amherst, MA.
47. Editorial Board, editorial, *Amherst Student*, December 14, 1978.
48. Third World Forum, Afro-American Society, La Causa, Gay Alliance, Women's Center, and Straight Ahead Committee, letter to the editors, *Amherst Student*, December 14, 1978.
49. Diane Oklandek, "Third-World Groups Demand Page," *Amherst Student*, December 14, 1978.
50. Eric Grover, "Chauvinistic Opportunists," *Amherst Student*, February 5, 1979.
51. David Bershtein, "Nihilistic Racism," *Amherst Student*, February 5, 1979.
52. John Rosenzweig, "Minorities Spurn E-Board," *Amherst Student*, February 1, 1979.
53. Walter Harris, "A Collective Problem," *Amherst Student*, February 8, 1979. See also *Going through College, a Perspective*, directed by John David Coles and Kim Farry, 1978, Archives and Special Collections, Amherst College, Amherst, MA.
54. Quoted in Harris, "Collective Problem."
55. David O. Russell, letter to the editors, *Amherst Student*, February 8, 1979.
56. "College Meeting," *Amherst Student*, February 5, 1979.
57. Quoted in Brad Justus, "Ward Report to Campus, Discussed Racial Climate," *Amherst Student*, February 12, 1979.
58. Justus, "Ward."
59. Ezekiel Emanuel, letter to the editors, *Amherst Student*, February 15, 1979. Emanuel describes Russell's comments in order to take issue with his accusations.
60. This observation emerged repeatedly among interview subjects, and is corroborated by institutional admissions data.

61. Rachel Rubin similarly notes the importance of presidential leadership in setting the agenda for the Amherst Office of Admission, as well as for the broader campus culture. Rubin, "Recruiting, Redefining, and Recommitting," 512–31.

62. María "Mari" Catalina Curbelo, interview with Diego Gómez, February 29, 2018; various, Box 1, Folder 3; La Causa Minutes, Meeting #2, September 21, 1980, Box 1, Folder 8, La Causa Papers, Archives and Special Collections, Amherst College, Amherst, MA.

63. Aaron Greenman, "Amherst Cultural Organizations Enliven Campus Life," *Amherst Student*, May 26, 1991.

64. Sarah Levesque, "Students List Demands, Amherst College Takeover Continues," *Collegian* (UMass), Wednesday, May 6, 1992, front page.

65. Walton Burns, "Diversity Seats Do Little for Students," *Amherst Student*, October 26, 1994; Nikhil Rao, "Ethnic Studies Department Unnecessary," *Amherst Student*, May 3, 1995; A. E. Sokol, "Force-Feeding Multiculturalism," *Amherst Student*, April 5, 1995; Jorge Armenteros, "Diversity Seats Give Minorities Voice in Government," *Amherst Student*, December 4, 1991; Luis Espinoza, letter to the editors, *Amherst Student*, September 30, 1992; Amanda Birmingham, "College Lacks Latino Studies Department," *Amherst Student*, March 2, 1994; and Susan Williams, "BSU Letter Addresses Black Enrollment," *Amherst Student*, November 6, 1996, front page.

66. "Amherst College Annual Reports to Secondary Schools" and Institutional Research Reports.

67. La Causa budget documents and letters, Spring 1998, Box 1, Folder 5, Archives and Special Collections, Amherst College, Amherst, MA; Antonio Martinez, La Causa Alumni Representative, letter to alumni, March 9, 1997, Archives and Special Collections, Amherst College, Amherst, MA; Rina Reyes and Seagram Villagomez, to E-Board La Causa Paper, Archives and Special Collections, Amherst College, Amherst, MA.

68. Tom Parker, interview by Diego Gómez, August 12, 2014.

69. During a spring 2014 dinner meeting at President Martin's home with faculty, students, and staff, President Martin, endorsed the proposal by La Causa member Carlos González Sierra (class of 2014) to explore the possibility of such a major. She appointed Rick López (class of 1993) chair of the ad hoc exploratory committee. Faculty and students (including Hugo Sánchez [class of 2017] and Irma Zamora [class of 2017]) met weekly for about a year (2014–2015) and consulted with colleagues at Amherst College and within the Five Colleges to consider all options, and then proposed a detailed plan. After a reorganization of the Spanish department during the 2015 to 2016 academic year, including the hiring of professor Paul Schroeder Rodríguez to chair Spanish, a group of faculty consisting of Rick López, Paul Schroeder Rodríguez, Solsiree del Moral, Leah Schmalzbauer, and Mary Hicks drafted a proposal for the new major during the 2016 to 2017 academic year. In light of the Amherst Uprising that had occurred during November 2015, and with strong support from the dean of the faculty Catherine Epstein, President Martin, the Committee of Six, and the Committee on Educational Policy, they proposed the new department to the faculty, which, on May 18, 2017, voted unanimously to endorse its creation.

70. Curbelo, interview.

