

## Frank Porter Graham, Isaac Hall Manning, and the Jewish Quota at the University of North Carolina Medical School

BY EDWARD C. HALPERIN\*

Formal quotas designed to restrict the access of Jewish students to universities probably originated in Imperial Russia. In March, 1881, Czar Alexander II of Russia was assassinated in a bomb attack perpetrated by an anarchist. His successor, Czar Alexander III, was surrounded by advisers who wished to cut Russia off from the liberalizing influence of western Europe. Within one month of the assassination, the reactionary regime countenanced a series of riots, or pogroms, directed against the Jewish population.<sup>1</sup> In May, 1882, the notorious "May Laws" severely restricted Jewish settlement to specific areas within Russia. Furthermore, Jews were forbidden to own mortgages and leases.<sup>2</sup> In 1887 the Russian government instituted educational restrictions that limited the percentage of Jews in universities to 10 percent within the pale of settlement and to 5 percent outside the pale. In St. Petersburg and Moscow the limitation was placed at 3 percent. The program of educational restriction was referred to as *numerus clausus*.<sup>3</sup>

The use of quotas for Jewish students in Russia continued until the First World War. After the war, with the overthrow of the old governmental order in central and eastern Europe, and with the general emancipation of the Jewish

---

\*Dr. Halperin is associate professor, Division of Radiation Oncology, Department of Radiology, Duke University Medical Center, in Durham, North Carolina. He wishes to thank Donna Stephenson and Jeanne Forest, who typed the manuscript, and the Josiah Charles Trent Memorial Foundation, Inc., for a grant in support of research for this article. An earlier version was presented at the annual meeting of the American Association for the History of Medicine in Birmingham, Alabama, April 27-30, 1989.

<sup>1</sup>Abram Leon Sachar, *A History of the Jews* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1967), 317-319.

<sup>2</sup>Bernard Martin, *A History of Judaism* (New York: Basic Books, 2 volumes, 1974), II, 319-348.

<sup>3</sup>Rufus Lears (pseud. for Israel Goldberg), *The Jews in America: A History* (Cleveland: World Publishing Co., 1954), 125.

population, many Jews looked forward to an era of freedom and equality. Unfortunately, postwar events belied that hope, as a wave of anti-Semitism swept throughout the western world. Bolstered by unsettled economic conditions, the rise of Bolshevism, the stigma of Jews' being associated with the Russian Revolution, and the prevalence of nationalism, restrictions on Jewish freedoms gradually developed throughout Europe.<sup>4</sup> Eastern European countries by general agreement and Hungary by law enforced numerus clausus. Student riots against Jews became commonplace.<sup>5</sup> Poland and Romania began admitting Jewish students to medical schools in direct proportion to the number of cadavers supplied by the Jewish community for dissection.<sup>6</sup> Since Jewish religious law restricts the performance of autopsies, that policy severely limited the possibility of a Jewish student's gaining admission to medical school.

In the United States overt anti-Jewish prejudice in the academic community reached its zenith in the 1920s and 1930s, a period when the children of eastern European Jewish immigrants began to enter college in large numbers.<sup>7</sup> Rapid Jewish immigration between 1870 and 1915 and its concentration in a few geographical areas in the northeastern United States generated concerns about a supposed "Jewish problem" and the need to "solve" it by quotas.<sup>8</sup> Anti-Semitic pressure led many schools to impose quotas on the admission of Jews to both undergraduate and professional schools. A. Lawrence Lowell, president of Harvard University, called for a quota system of Jewish admissions in 1922. Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia University, also supported Jewish quotas.<sup>9</sup> The Harvard Trustees defeated the formal quota plan, but an unofficial program of educational restriction, numerus clausus, was adopted and spread to many colleges, universities, and professional schools.<sup>10</sup>

During the 1920s and 1930s there was significant increase in the number of Jewish students in the United States who were seeking admission to medical school.<sup>11</sup> Since the proportion of Jewish medical students nationally remained

<sup>4</sup>Paul Borchsenius, *The History of the Jews* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 5 volumes, 1965), IV, 149-176.

<sup>5</sup>Cecil Roth, *A Short History of the Jewish People* (London: East and West Library, 1969), 421-425.

<sup>6</sup>Heywood Broun and George Britt, *Christians Only: A Study in Prejudice* (New York: Vanguard Press, 1931), 129, hereinafter cited as Broun and Britt, *Christians Only*.

<sup>7</sup>Seymour Martin Lipset and Everett Carll Ladd, Jr., "Jewish Academics in the United States," in Marshall Sklare (ed.), *The Jew in American Society* (New York: Behrman House, Inc., 1974), 255-289, hereinafter cited as Lipset and Ladd, "Jewish Academics in the United States." For more general treatments of Jewish history in the United States see Morris U. Schappes, *The Jews in the United States* (New York: Citadel Press, 1958), and Bruno Lasker (ed.), *Jewish Experiences in America* (New York: Inquiry, 1930), hereinafter cited as Lasker, *Jewish Experiences in America*.

<sup>8</sup>Marcia G. Synnott, "Anti-Semitism and American Universities: Did Quotas Follow the Jews?" in David A. Gerber (ed.), *Anti-Semitism in American History* (Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 233-270, hereinafter cited as Synnott, "Anti-Semitism and American Universities."

<sup>9</sup>Paul E. Grosser and Edwin G. Halperin, *The Causes and Effects of Anti-Semitism: The Dimensions of Prejudice . . .* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1978), 250, hereinafter cited as Grosser and Halperin, *The Causes and Effects of Anti-Semitism*; Synnott, "Anti-Semitism and American Universities," 233-235.

<sup>10</sup>Synnott, "Anti-Semitism and American Universities," 234-260; Grosser and Halperin, *The Causes and Effects of Anti-Semitism*, 250; Lipset and Ladd, "Jewish Academics in the United States," 259-262.

<sup>11</sup>For a general discussion of Jews in medicine, see Cecil Roth, *The Jewish Contribution to Civilization* (London: Macmillan, 1938), 191-216.

between 12 and 21 percent, the pool of rejected Jewish applicants rose. Those rejections seemed to reach a high point during the Great Depression when declining income for physicians prompted the American Medical Association to recommend a drastic reduction in the number of physicians being trained.<sup>12</sup>

During the 1920s a large proportion of Jewish college undergraduates in New York City attended the public, tuition-free College of the City of New York (CCNY).<sup>13</sup> From 1927 to 1930 between 69 and 80 percent of the non-Jewish graduates of CCNY who applied to medical school were accepted. During the same time period the rate of acceptance for Jewish applicants from CCNY fell from 50 percent to 20 percent. By the 1930s restrictions on Jewish medical school admissions were widespread but not uniform (see table 1). Despite a contemporary study arguing that the overall enrollment of Jews in United States medical schools declined by approximately 50 percent during the 1920s and 1930s, the data in table 1 suggest not a decline in Jewish enrollment but a failure to increase enrollment as applications from Jews rose.<sup>14</sup>

America's medical schools offered various explanations for their prejudice against Jews. The medical department of predominantly black Howard University in Washington, D.C., responded to a 1930s Jewish applicant that the school was "obliged to admit a maximum number of colored students to our freshman medical class and a minimum number of representatives from other groups. Just now there is no place in this freshman class which we may offer you."<sup>15</sup> A Jewish applicant to the medical school of Loyola University in Chicago was frankly told that his "application for admission to the School of Medicine cannot be acted on favorably because the quota for Jewish students has been filled."<sup>16</sup> Johns Hopkins Medical School was described as being

not particularly anxious to have either Jews or women as students, and both groups are therefore restricted. There is nothing official in this, however; that is, there is no official ruling or policy. Under the guidance of the powers that be, the number of Jews is restricted in practice to the percentage I have given. There is no discrimination with respect to Jews as internes [*sic*] at Hopkins or at the University of Maryland.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>12</sup>Synnott, "Anti-Semitism and American Universities," 251.

<sup>13</sup>Sherry Gorelick, *City College and the Jewish Poor* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1981), 85.

<sup>14</sup>Broun and Britt, *Christians Only*, 126-160. Broun and Britt did not disclose the sources they used to compile data indicating a decline in Jewish enrollment in medical schools. See also Carey McWilliams, *A Mask for Privilege: Anti-Semitism in America* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1948), 132-141. Additional material can be found in Dan A. Oren, *Joining the Club: A History of Jews and Yale* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 136-158, and 249-257, hereinafter cited as Oren, *Joining the Club*; Synnott, "Anti-Semitism and American Universities," 253-257.

In January, 1934, Rabbi Morris S. Lazeron, a leader of the National Council of Christians and Jews, wrote to almost every medical school dean in America and solicited an analysis of medical school quotas. His letters and the voluminous responses are included in the Morris S. Lazeron Papers, American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio, hereinafter cited as Lazeron Papers. His survey probably represents the most accurate data regarding the percentage of Jewish medical students in the United States at that time. Lazeron found a slow increase in Jewish medical student enrollment from 1924 to 1933, but it was not commensurate with skyrocketing applications.

<sup>15</sup>Broun and Britt, *Christians Only*, 127.

<sup>16</sup>Broun and Britt, *Christians Only*, 130.

<sup>17</sup>Broun and Britt, *Christians Only*, 143.

At Yale University the Jewish quota for medical students was enforced by Dean Milton Charles Winternitz. Winternitz served as dean of the medical school from 1920 to 1935. Although born Jewish, Winternitz personally rejected all Jewish associations. It was Winternitz's practice not to accept more than five Jews into a class of fifty in spite of the fact that from 50 to 60 percent of the applicants for admission were Jews.

Winternitz justified that practice with the following argument:

Although the limitation upon Hebrews is no more arbitrary than for students of other religious faiths, . . . it would be unwise in any event to permit the student body to include an unduly large proportion of any racial or religious group. About 5 percent of the population in this country is Jewish; hence the proportion of Jewish to non-Jewish physicians ought to be somewhere around this figure. On the same basis, the number of candidates admitted from Catholic institutions to the Yale University School of Medicine is not over 10 percent of the total enrollment of the School.

The Yale University School of Medicine is national, not local, in its character. It is endeavoring to adjust itself to the conditions of the country as a whole in respect to the kind of physicians needed in practice. Therefore, it cannot afford to specialize in the training of any one type of specialist or any one racial or religious group, but must endeavor to maintain a balance representative of the population which is to be served.

To facilitate the selection of students, the dean instructed his secretary to mark applications with an "H" for Hebrew and a "C" for Catholic.<sup>18</sup>

While Winternitz justified discrimination on the basis of Jewish representation in the national population, other medical schools based their discrimination on Jewish representation in the local population. Because the Jewish population was small in southern and midwestern states, medical schools in those states felt justified in restricting Jewish out-of-state applicants. Those medical schools argued that they never failed to accept a qualified in-state Jewish applicant; such applicants were, however, rare. The University of Alabama School of Medicine, for example, reported that "If we should accept all the Jewish applicants from the Northeast who offer three or four years of preparation and whose references as to character, etc., seem satisfactory, we should fill up our freshman class twice over and exclude all our own native sons. Obviously this would be unjust to the people who support the state university."<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup>Oren, *Joining the Club*, 136-149.

<sup>19</sup>Broun and Britt, *Christians Only*, 151-152. The dean of the medical school at West Virginia University made the same argument in his response to Lazeron's survey. Dean J. N. Simpson to the Reverend Morris Lazeron, February 22, 1934, Lazeron Papers.

Jews who gained entrance to medical schools often faced discrimination upon graduating. Perhaps the most serious incidents occurred in Brooklyn, New York, at Kings County Hospital. The first incident took place in 1916 when a Jewish intern was overpowered in his room, bound, gagged, and taken by force to a train station and told never to return. That same intern became an army medical officer in the First World War and died in the line of duty. In 1927 at the same hospital an estimated twenty Gentile interns kidnapped, physically intimidated, and warned three Jewish interns to leave the "Christian institution." The Jewish interns were subjected to other insults, including segregation from the dining hall and tennis courts. A subsequent investigation resulted in the temporary suspension of six Gentile interns and the superintendent of the Kings County Hospital. All were eventually reinstated. See the *New York Times*, June 21-30, July 1-3, 5-8, 1927; Lasker, *Jewish Experiences in America*, 72-75.

Among the medical schools adopting a Jewish quota was the University of North Carolina School of Medicine at Chapel Hill. The University of North Carolina (UNC) was founded in 1789. Medical education at UNC began in 1879. In 1896 the modest program developed into a two-year medical school, which was admitted to the Association of American Medical Colleges in 1898. The famed medical educator Abraham Flexner inspected the UNC medical department in 1909. He found that the "laboratories at Chapel Hill are in general adequate to good routine teaching of the small student body. . . . Anatomy is inferior. . . . The work [of the school] is intelligently planned and conducted on modern lines."<sup>20</sup>

The UNC medical school continued as a small two-year program, with modest physical facilities, up to the appointment of Isaac Hall Manning as dean in 1905.<sup>21</sup> Isaac Manning was born in Pittsboro, North Carolina, in 1866. His father, John Manning, was one of the founders of the UNC law school. John Manning had three sons: John M., a physician; James S., a lawyer and judge; and Isaac. All three brothers were graduates of UNC.<sup>22</sup> Isaac, after receiving his undergraduate diploma from UNC, worked as a chemist. He subsequently received his M.D. degree from the Long Island College Hospital in 1897 and did postgraduate work at the University of Chicago and at Harvard. Manning supervised the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad Hospital for two years before returning to Chapel Hill in 1901 as professor of physiology and bacteriology in the medical school.<sup>23</sup> He was appointed dean in 1905, when Dr. Richard H. Whitehead, who had been head of the medical department since 1890, resigned.<sup>24</sup>

For Isaac Hall Manning, life held three great interests. He was devoted to his wife and three sons. They lived a frugal, family-centered life with little time committed to professional acquaintances. Manning was completely devoted, after his family, to the well-being of his school. He gave long hours to the sustenance of the UNC medical school and to maintaining open lines of communication to alumni. His third passion, and apparently only hobby, was bird hunting.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>20</sup>Abraham Flexner, *Medical Education in the United States and Canada: A Report to the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching* (New York: Carnegie Foundation, 1910), 279-282.

<sup>21</sup>W. Reece Berryhill, William B. Blythe, and Isaac H. Manning, *Medical Education at Chapel Hill: The First Hundred Years* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina School of Medicine, 1979), 34-37, hereinafter cited as Berryhill, Blythe, and Manning, *Medical Education at Chapel Hill*; Dorothy Long (ed.), *Medicine in North Carolina: Essays in the History of Medical Science and Medical Service, 1524-1960* (Raleigh: North Carolina Medical Society, 2 volumes, 1972), II, 396-398, hereinafter cited as Long, *Medicine in North Carolina*.

<sup>22</sup>*Durham Morning Herald*, September 30, 1933. John M. Manning was a personal physician to many Jews in Durham and is recalled with affection by them. He also served as mayor of Durham. In 1928, when Durham Jews gathered in the Beth El Synagogue to mourn the victims of the Hebron massacres in Palestine, Dr. John Manning rose from a sick bed to express sympathy. Leonard Rogoff to the author, January 8, 1969. Leonard Rogoff is writing a history of the Jewish community in Durham and Orange counties.

<sup>23</sup>*Durham Morning Herald*, September 30, 1933.

<sup>24</sup>Berryhill, Blythe, and Manning, *Medical Education at Chapel Hill*, 23.

<sup>25</sup>Author's interview with Howard Manning, Raleigh, September 29, 1969 (tapes of interview in possession of author), hereinafter cited as Manning interview.



During the tenure of Richard Henry Whitehead, head of the medical department at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill from 1890 until 1905, the program developed into a two-year medical school and gained admission to the Association of American Medical Colleges. Photograph from the Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library at Chapel Hill.

Dr. Manning directed a period of growth and development of the UNC medical school. He labored tirelessly to improve medical education at UNC. He continually sought to raise the admission standards and to persuade the faculty to revise the curriculum.<sup>26</sup> The prominent members of the faculty were dubbed the "Big Four" by the medical students: Manning (physiology and physiological chemistry), Charles S. Mangum (anatomy), James B. Bullitt (pathology and bacteriology), and William MacNider (pathology and physiology). The faculty generally resisted Manning's attempts to change the curriculum, and department chairmen zealously guarded their teaching time. Manning also worked to expand the space available for offices, the library, research laboratories, and animal quarters. Requests for funds, however, were frequently denied by the North Carolina General Assembly. During the 1920s and 1930s, Manning attempted to expand UNC from a two-year to a four-year program.<sup>27</sup> His efforts

<sup>26</sup>*Durham Morning Herald*, September 13, 1941, February 13, 1946; Berryhill, Blythe, and Manning, *Medical Education at Chapel Hill*, 35; Long, *Medicine in North Carolina*, 396-397.

<sup>27</sup>Berryhill, Blythe, and Manning, *Medical Education at Chapel Hill*, 29-34, 174-176.



Isaac Hall Manning, appointed dean of the School of Medicine at UNC in 1905, resigned from that position in September, 1933, after university president Frank Porter Graham and the medical school advisory committee overturned his decision to refuse admission to a Jewish student. Photograph of Manning from the Southern Historical Collection.

were thwarted by opposition from some members of the faculty, disputes among the state's practicing physicians, and failure to obtain funding. Among the most persistent of Manning's critics was faculty member William MacNider. They found little to agree upon in personal or professional matters. Manning, completely devoted to medical school administration and his family, rarely socialized with members of his faculty or officials of the general university administration. MacNider, on the other hand, had the strongest national scientific reputation of any UNC medical faculty member. He frequently mingled with other members of the UNC community and carried on an extensive correspondence with physiologists and medical educators elsewhere in the United States.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>28</sup>File box labeled "Medical School Expansion, 1922-3"; Isaac Hall Manning to Richard H. Lewis, July 28, 1928, Isaac Hall Manning Papers, in the possession of Stuart Manning, Durham, hereinafter cited as Manning Papers. Evidence of MacNider's national reputation abounds in his voluminous correspondence. See, for example, his appointments to the Board of Editors of the *Society for Experimental Biology and Medicine* and to the National Board of Medical Examiners in A. J. Goldfarb to William MacNider, October 2, 1933, and E. E. Elwood to William MacNider, October 2, 1933, William MacNider Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library at Chapel Hill, hereinafter cited as MacNider Papers.



Charles Staples Mangum, a UNC alumnus and professor of anatomy, succeeded Manning as medical school dean. Photograph from the Southern Historical Collection.

For Manning, a continuing problem of his term as dean was to sustain UNC's two-year medical college. By the 1930s the eleven remaining two-year medical colleges in the United States were insecure. They faced difficulty in attracting and holding able faculty at institutions confined to teaching only such basic medical sciences as anatomy, physiology, and biochemistry. Those schools had no hospital facilities or clinical training. The two-year schools were dependent upon four-year medical schools for accepting the transfer of students for the final two years of clinical training. In 1935 the Council of Medical Education and Hospitals of the American Medical Association recommended that, after 1937, two-year medical schools no longer be approved as medical schools. Eventually a compromise was reached wherein two-year schools were recorded as "schools of basic medical sciences" rather than approved two-year "medical schools." Within a few years after World War II almost all the two-year schools expanded to four-year programs.<sup>29</sup>

In an unpublished manuscript written about 1940, Dean Manning reflected on the issue of Jewish quotas in American medical schools in the 1920s and 1930s:

<sup>29</sup>Berryhill, Blythe, and Manning, *Medical Education at Chapel Hill*, 39-41.



Faculty member William MacNider criticized Dean Manning's administrative policies and later recommended establishing a committee to decide on admissions to the medical program. Photograph from the Southern Historical Collection.

The problem of the Jewish student has become a serious one for all medical schools in the country. Shortly after the World War large numbers were applying for admission—enough as a matter of fact to practically swamp the schools. A considerable number had entered the college or the university [UNC], registering in the pre-medical course in the hope of ultimately getting into the medical school. Many of them were exceedingly objectionable students. Very few were North Carolinians and in no instance had a North Carolina Jewish student been refused admission to the Medical School if he met the entrance requirements. There is no prejudice against Jews as such in a medical school. A number had been admitted and on the whole were acceptable students. Nevertheless, they had to be admitted in couples as in several of the laboratories the students worked together in couples and only rarely would a Jew and a Gentile work at the same table.

The real difficulty, however, was in transferring them. There seems to have been an understanding among the medical schools to admit 10% of the admission in Jews and while many admit a large percentage they usually have their quota. . . . Jewish students of this university have the greatest difficulty in getting into any medical school and it is not any easier to transfer them from the medical school. Many have practically broadcast their application with photostatic copies of their college or medical credits, often Americanizing their names and occasionally forging credits until it became necessary to require photographs of the applicants so that identification might be safely made. I do not believe that these extreme measures have been resorted to by the students of this

university, but the practice throughout the country justifies rigid measures of protecting the school from undesirable students.<sup>30</sup>

Manning had labored hard to place the graduates of his two-year program in four-year medical schools so that they could complete their clinical training. Each year, through applications and letters of recommendation, he placed his forty students. The Manning family never left for summer vacation until Dean Manning had completely placed the class. That often took until late July.<sup>31</sup> The institutions that accepted UNC graduates into the third year of medical school included Harvard, New York University, Long Island College Hospital, the University of Pennsylvania, Johns Hopkins, Rush Medical College, and the University of Maryland.<sup>32</sup> Some of those schools had Jewish quotas. For Manning, the success of transferred students was a measure of success of his two-year medical school. "It is vital to the existence of this school to transfer only such students as can and will hold their own in the schools to which they are transferred," he wrote.<sup>33</sup> Being fearful that he could not place Jewish students in four-year schools and that that inability to transfer students would reflect poorly on UNC, Dr. Manning restricted the admission of Jewish students to UNC medical school to 10 percent of the total class: no more than four students per year.<sup>34</sup> Approximately 0.28 percent of North Carolina's population was Jewish in 1933.<sup>35</sup> The quota system remained in practice through the 1920s and into the 1930s. A 1933 memorandum originating in the office of the medical school dean identified four "Out-of-State Students in [the] Medical School" and four "Jewish Boys Registered in Medical School." Some students were marked as "out-of-state Jews."<sup>36</sup>

Among the applicants for admission to UNC medical school in 1933 was a Jewish UNC undergraduate named Morris Krasny. Krasny was originally from Newark, New Jersey, and as an undergraduate was classified as an out-of-state student. During college, however, the young man married a Jewish woman from Durham, North Carolina, and took up residence in that city. The student

<sup>30</sup>Isaac Hall Manning, "History of the UNC School of Medicine, 1879-1937," 146-151, unpublished manuscript (ca. 1940), Isaac Hall Manning Papers, 1866-1946, Southern Historical Collection, hereinafter cited as Manning. "History of the UNC School of Medicine."

<sup>31</sup>Manning interview.

<sup>32</sup>Isaac Hall Manning to Richard H. Lewis, July 28, 1928; Isaac Hall Manning to Josephus Daniels, August 28, 1928, Manning Papers.

<sup>33</sup>Berryhill, Blythe, and Manning, *Medical Education at Chapel Hill*, 28.

<sup>34</sup>Manning, "History of the UNC School of Medicine," 146-151; *New York Herald Tribune*, October 1, 1933; *News and Observer* (Raleigh), October 1, 1933, hereinafter cited as *News and Observer*.

<sup>35</sup>Harry Schneiderman (ed.), *The American Jewish Year Book 5694* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1933), 239. The Bureau of the Census counted only 4,711 Jewish members out of a total population of 1,274,722 North Carolinians who belonged to a religious group in 1936. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Religious Bodies: 1936* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 2 volumes, 1941), I, 47; II, part 1, p. 759.

<sup>36</sup>Undated memorandum from the Office of the Dean of the School of Medicine, titled "Out-of-State Students in Medical School—Fall Quarter, 1933" and "Jewish Boys Registered in Medical School—Fall Quarter, 1933," General Administration: Records of the President's Office, Frank Porter Graham, University Archives, University of North Carolina Library at Chapel Hill, hereinafter cited as Graham Records.

completed his bachelor's degree in three years.<sup>37</sup> At the time of his application to medical school, after his marriage and adoption of Durham as his home, Krasny claimed that he was an in-state student.

Dean Manning declined to admit Krasny. While he took note of the fact that the student was not originally from North Carolina, Manning would later write that that "was not an important factor in the refusal to admit him to the Medical School."<sup>38</sup> "The refusal," he declared, "was entirely on the ground that four Jewish boys had already been admitted and in the judgment of the dean this was as many as he could hope to transfer. However, [the student] was told to return and if anyone of the four withdrew his application would be considered. He later returned and evidently had made his plans to force an entrance in the event of his refusal. As none of the four Jewish boys had withdrawn, his admission was refused finally."<sup>39</sup>

Krasny's father had suffered financial setbacks in the depression. There were not, apparently, any funds for him to attend medical school abroad, as many other Jewish students did at the time. Nor, apparently, did he choose to change his residence and apply to medical schools in the northeastern United States.<sup>40</sup> Instead, the student retained a Durham lawyer, Reuben Oscar Everett, to appeal for reconsideration of the application for admission.<sup>41</sup>

Dean Manning persisted in refusing admission and sent Everett a letter stating the grounds for refusal. Krasny then obtained a petition supporting his request for admission and signed by a number of UNC alumni from Durham.<sup>42</sup> That petition was submitted to University President Frank Porter Graham, along with a request from the Jewish student that he be admitted to the medical school.

In Frank Porter Graham, Krasny found an ally. Graham was born in Charlotte, North Carolina, in 1886. His father, Alexander Graham, was superintendent of the Charlotte public schools. Frank Porter Graham was a 1909 graduate of UNC. He subsequently graduated from UNC law school and was admitted to the North Carolina bar. During the First World War, Graham served in the United States Marines but never saw any combat. After the war he briefly served as dean of students at UNC and continued his career as an assistant

---

<sup>37</sup>Author's interview with Krasny family, May 5, 1988 (notes on interview in possession of author), hereinafter cited as Krasny interview.

<sup>38</sup>Manning, "History of the UNC School of Medicine," 146.

<sup>39</sup>Manning, "History of the UNC School of Medicine," 147.

<sup>40</sup>Krasny interview.

<sup>41</sup>Krasny's selection of R. O. Everett to make his appeal was a shrewd choice. Everett (1879-1971), a Democratic attorney, represented Durham County in the General Assembly sessions of 1921, 1923, 1925, 1927, and 1933. He also was a member of the Board of Trustees of the University of North Carolina from 1921 to 1940. Members of the Durham Jewish community, moreover, considered Everett a great friend. He defended Jews against anti-Semitic assaults and made a generous donation to the new sanctuary built at the Beth El Synagogue in 1921. The godfather of his son was Henry Brady, president of Beth El. *North Carolina Manual, 1933* (Raleigh: State of North Carolina, issued biennially, 1903—), 176-177; John Cheney, Jr. (ed.), *North Carolina Government, 1585-1979: A Narrative and Statistical History . . .* (Raleigh: North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State, second, updated edition, 1981), 497, 500, 502, 503, 508; Leonard Rogoff to the author, January 8, 1989.

<sup>42</sup>Manning, "History of the UNC School of Medicine," 147-148.



When Dean Manning rejected his application to the School of Medicine, Jewish UNC undergraduate Morris Krasny appealed to President Graham and gained admission to the medical program. Photograph of Krasny from the North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina Library at Chapel Hill.

professor of history. During the 1920s, he pursued studies at the Brookings Institution and at the London School of Economics. Graham worked tirelessly for the furtherance of education in North Carolina in general and for the interests of UNC in particular. In 1930, when Harry Chase, president of the university, resigned to accept the presidency of the University of Illinois, Graham was appointed to replace him.<sup>43</sup>

Graham was a man of strong character with an uncompromising belief in democratic and Christian ideals. He was reared in the Presbyterian tradition. Graham neither smoked nor drank alcohol and was abstemious toward any habits that he thought might weaken his moral or physical fiber. While considering the doctrines of religious denominationalism relatively unimportant, he was strongly religious in spirit. During and after college he was active in the YMCA. In his public and private writings and speeches he often invoked the lessons of Jesus.<sup>44</sup> "I have not in my own mind and heart found it necessary to

<sup>43</sup>Warren Ashby, *Frank Porter Graham: A Southern Liberal* (Winston-Salem: John F. Blair, Publisher, 1980), 3-95, hereinafter cited as Ashby, *Frank Porter Graham*.

<sup>44</sup>Ashby, *Frank Porter Graham*, 30-31, 353.

go outside of the American traditions and the Christian religion to find all and much more than I can hope to achieve in my own small way," he said.<sup>45</sup>

Graham's goals during his career as a history professor, university administrator, and public figure were liberal in spirit. He sought to bring history alive for his young students and to stimulate them to think and act responsibly in society.<sup>46</sup> Graham was also committed to the defense of human values in the troubled times of the South's transition from an overwhelmingly agricultural society to a mixed industrial/agricultural service economy. In 1933 Graham asserted that "freedom of the University . . . means freedom from the prejudices of section, race, or creed; it means a free compassion of [the university's] sons for all in need of justice and brotherhood."<sup>47</sup>

Graham's commitment to human rights frequently resulted in his taking controversial stands. In 1938 he delivered a speech in Birmingham, Alabama, where he spoke out for "the helpless minorities and underprivileged majorities," with special emphasis upon the treatment of blacks as a test for the genuineness of democracy and Christianity.<sup>48</sup> In 1936, disturbed by reports of the treatment of Jews in Germany, Graham supported the idea that the United States should not participate in the Berlin Olympic games if any German citizen were barred. Graham abolished discrimination against Jews in UNC campus housing.<sup>49</sup> In 1949, when North Carolina Senator J. Melville Broughton died, Governor Kerr Scott surprised North Carolina politicians by appointing President Graham to the unexpired term. Graham served a partial term as United States senator but was defeated in his bid for a full term by Willis Smith. The campaign was marked by racial slurs and innuendos directed against Graham.<sup>50</sup> After leaving the Senate, Graham worked on behalf of the United Nations in India and Pakistan.<sup>51</sup>

Krasny's petition to President Graham was reviewed by Robert B. House, executive secretary of the university and assistant to Dr. Graham. House phoned Dean Manning and indicated "that considerable pressure was being brought on the office for the admission of the Jew and that if the admission was made the matter would not be brought to the attention of President Graham." Dean Manning responded that he felt that the signatories of the petition were not really acting in the best interests of UNC medical school and that they had sent the petition as a "wholly perfunctory performance." Manning told House that "If [he] wished to bring the matter to the attention of the President that was his privilege." President Graham reviewed the issue and decided that it was a matter of institutionalized anti-Semitism, which could not be tolerated at UNC.

<sup>45</sup>Ashby, *Frank Porter Graham*, 353.

<sup>46</sup>Ashby, *Frank Porter Graham*, 62.

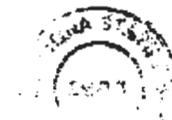
<sup>47</sup>*Report of the President, University of North Carolina Record*, no. 287 (December, 1933), 39-40.

<sup>48</sup>Ashby, *Frank Porter Graham*, 155-156.

<sup>49</sup>Synnott, "Anti-Semitism and American Universities," 262. M. L. Thompson, university cashier, reported to Graham that no discrimination occurred in the assignment of campus housing. Memorandum from M. L. Thompson to Frank Porter Graham, October 4, 1933, *Graham Records*.

<sup>50</sup>Julian M. Pleasants, "The Last Hurrah: Bob Reynolds and the U.S. Senate Race in 1950," *North Carolina Historical Review*, LXV (January, 1988), 52-75.

<sup>51</sup>Ashby, *Frank Porter Graham*, 285-303.





President Frank Porter Graham held strong beliefs in human rights and democratic principles and refused to tolerate anti-Semitic policies at the University of North Carolina. Photograph from the North Carolina Collection.

Graham felt firmly that any state citizen who was qualified for admission to the medical school was entitled to that admission, irrespective of his or her religious preference. The day following receipt of the petition, Dr. Graham invited Dean Manning to a conference at his office.<sup>62</sup>

The meeting between Dean Manning and President Graham was "a brief but frank and friendly discussion of the problem." President Graham said that the university would not approve of a policy that refused admission "to a Jew because he was a Jew." Dean Manning replied that "if it was the policy of the University to fill up the vacancies in the classes in the medical school with Jews . . . the Medical School had just as well close its doors, as with a preponderance of Jews in the School the Gentiles would not come to it, and if such a policy was insisted upon [he] would be forced to resign." There were further meetings with

---

<sup>62</sup>Manning, "History of the UNC School of Medicine," 147-148. Concerning the relationship between Robert B. House and Frank Porter Graham, see Ashby, *Frank Porter Graham*, 37, 117-118, 238.

the university's medical school advisory committee, which chose to support the position of Graham. Executive Secretary House then called Manning and requested the admission of the Jewish student. Dean Manning responded that his "resignation . . . would become effective at 9 o'clock the next morning [Friday, September 29]." The medical school faculty, with the exception of MacNider, supported Manning's position. MacNider was out of town during the episode and stated that he was "not consulted" on the matter. At the instruction of Graham, the "fifth" Jewish student was admitted.<sup>53</sup>

The minutes of the general UNC faculty meetings do not indicate any debate or discussion directly concerning Dean Manning's resignation. The faculty meeting minutes of September 18, 1933, note that President Graham made some comments concerning "continuing opposition of illiberal groups who fear a center of freedom in the state and in the south." At its meeting of October 17 the faculty voted its appreciation for President Graham's declining a position in the federal government's National Recovery Administration in order to remain at UNC.<sup>54</sup> The UNC Board of Trustees, meeting on October 14, 1933, recorded the resignation of I. H. Manning as dean of the medical school. Dr. Manning was to continue on the faculty and to receive his salary of \$5,000 per year.<sup>55</sup>

The Manning-Graham episode was reported in newspapers within and outside of the state. The *New York Herald Tribune* told its readers:

A disagreement between the administration of the University of North Carolina and the medical school over the policy relating to the percentage of Jews to be admitted to the first year medical class led to the recent resignation of Dr. Isaac H. Manning as Dean of the Medical School, it was learned today. Dean Manning had long adhered to a policy of limiting the Jews in the first year class to 10% of the class enrollment, which was 40. He had held that this policy was necessary because of the difficulty in placing Jewish students in the leading medical schools of the country. Frank Graham, University president, held that discrimination by the 4 year medical school was no valid reason for discrimination by the University. The quota of 4 had been filled this fall when a fifth Jewish boy applied for admission. When Dr. Manning refused to admit him, the youth appealed to President Graham, who overruled the Dean and admitted the boy on the ground that the University admits any boy properly qualified and not restricted by law. Dean Manning, who will continue as a member of the faculty, resigned.<sup>56</sup>

Editorial comment quickly followed. The *Raleigh News and Observer*, in an editorial headlined "No Aryan Doctrines at Chapel Hill," commented:

Much as the State regrets the resignation of Dean Isaac H. Manning, of the University of North Carolina Medical School, after 33 years of able leadership, friends of the

<sup>53</sup>Manning, "History of the UNC School of Medicine," 148-149; Berryhill, Blythe, and Manning, *Medical Education at Chapel Hill*, 36-37, 176-177; William MacNider to Charles S. Mangum, October 17, 1933, MacNider Papers.

<sup>54</sup>University of North Carolina Faculty Minutes, September 18, October 17, 1933, microfilm copy, reel 3, University Archives.

<sup>55</sup>University of North Carolina Board of Trustees Minutes, October 14, 1933, microfilm copy, reel 1, University Archives.

<sup>56</sup>*New York Herald Tribune*, October 1, 1933.

University will approve Dr. Frank Graham's act in overruling the Dean in his rule which would restrict the number of Jews in the Medical School.

The true essence of the spirit of the University of North Carolina is liberalism. There is no place for any Aryan doctrines now so familiar in Germany. Any discrimination between Jews and Gentiles in its student body would be a repudiation of its ideals.<sup>57</sup>

The *Charlotte Observer*, in an editorial entitled "Graham's Sound Policy," argued that "No doubt the majority of North Carolina people are with President Graham in his contention, for North Carolina is the last State which should be expected to adopt a policy of discrimination against any class of its citizenship. It is the policy of wisdom that room should be made for our Jewish citizens at the State University."<sup>58</sup> The *Richmond Times-Dispatch* stated that "the example of Hitler's Germany is too fresh in our minds to permit any such policies in this country. Certainly, the University of North Carolina, with its traditions of liberalism, could not afford to draw an arbitrary line such as that which Dean Manning has set up."<sup>59</sup> The specter of Germany was also raised by the *Fayetteville Observer* in an editorial entitled "No Naziism at University." The editor conceded that "From a practical standpoint the dean probably was right in desiring to keep the constituency of his classes of a nature readily absorbed by the higher medical schools. His task, however, was one to be accomplished by tact and diplomacy rather than by a hard and fast rule for the State of North Carolina which supports the University and medical school and recognizes no differentiation between Jew and Gentile."<sup>60</sup>

An editorial in the Danville, Virginia, *Register* appeared under the title "Jews in Medicine." The newspaper related the facts of the Manning-Graham episode and concluded:

The administrative issue here decided scores another liberal victory for the University of North Carolina under President Graham. For the question really was whether we are to have racial quotas in our public education at our State universities. Dr. Manning's explanation that he limited the number of Jewish students because he found difficulty in placing them in leading medical schools of the country is, of course, inadequate. Universities privately owned or endowed can place any limitation they desire on the student body and be within their legal rights. But since we do not apply the standards of Harvard, Princeton, Smith or Vassar, to the generality of Anglo-Saxons, we cannot call discrimination against Jewish students by any other name. Actually, the University of North Carolina has only a two-year medical school. It probably encounters difficulty in placing all of its students in leading medical schools, which prefer to educate them from the first day upon which they tremblingly approach the cadaver, until the day when it is decided whether they are to be allowed to approach the confiding patient. They even prefer to give the years of pre-medical work. Continuity in medical education is a desirable end in itself. The two-year medical school is an anachronism in the history of modern education. . . .

There is something of a personal victory as well as victory for liberalism in Dr. Graham's decision. Dean Manning comes from an influential North Carolina family,

<sup>57</sup>*News and Observer*, October 1, 1933.

<sup>58</sup>*Charlotte Observer*, October 1, 1933.

<sup>59</sup>*Times-Dispatch* (Richmond, Virginia), October 4, 1933.

<sup>60</sup>*Fayetteville Observer*, October 2, 1933.

with one brother on the bench of the State Supreme Court and another the mayor of a large North Carolina city. To oppose political power in the State in the interests of a minority and at the same time rule against precedent, required courage of a high order. Dr. Graham must have known when he made the decision that the blue noses from Charlotte land would be on his trail again.<sup>61</sup>

Manning said that the University of North Carolina student newspaper, the *Daily Tar Heel*, undertook its own investigation of the matter. According to Dean Manning's memoirs, it found "abundant evidence of [the student's] undesirability."<sup>62</sup> None of the alleged evidence, however, was published. The *Daily Tar Heel* defended Dr. Manning for his vigilant trusteeship over his school's admission requirements.<sup>63</sup>

The newspaper reports and editorials set off a torrent of letter writing. Dean Manning reported that "he received many letters from former students, among them several Jews, approving entirely of his action. Other letters came from the deans of some friendly medical schools commending his position."<sup>64</sup> Several individuals objected that Graham was meddling in the affairs of the medical school and that the school should be self-policing. A petition signed by sixteen physicians from New Hanover County, North Carolina, stated that "We are all strongly of the opinion that the University has and will continue to suffer an irreparable loss in the resignation of Dr Isaac Hall Manning as Dean of the Medical School. We are also strongly of the opinion that immediate recognition should be given of the long, outstanding and successful leadership of Dr Manning as Dean of the Medical Dept of the University."<sup>65</sup> Several Durham physicians signed a petition stating "That in the resignation of Dr. I. H. Manning as Dean of The Medical School of the University of North Carolina both the University and the Medical School suffered an irreparable loss. . . . We feel that Dr. Manning's act was not prompted by any personal feeling on his part; but was for the best interest of the Medical School. . . . That after an investigation, we find that the action of Dr. Manning towards the admission of students to the Medical School is in accordance with the usual methods of admission to all grade 'A' Medical Schools."<sup>66</sup>

Frank Porter Graham received letters of support from Jewish organizations, Jewish citizens, and synagogues. The Hebrew United Brotherhood of Charlotte telegraphed, "It is a great source of satisfaction to learn of your stand with regard to admission of Jewish students to the university. In times when race prejudice and rank are seen to be prevalent in many parts of the world it lends us great encouragement to meet with men of your breadth of vision and tolerance. Please accept the heartiest commendation of the Jewish citizens of

<sup>61</sup>*Register* (Danville, Virginia), October 3, 1933.

<sup>62</sup>Manning, "History of the UNC School of Medicine," 149.

<sup>63</sup>*Daily Tar Heel* (Chapel Hill), October 1, 1933.

<sup>64</sup>Manning, "History of the UNC School of Medicine," 150.

<sup>65</sup>Petition from University of North Carolina Medical Alumni, of New Hanover County, to Frank Porter Graham, October 9, 1933, Graham Records. Dr. John B. Cranmer, on whose letterhead the petition was signed, also sent a copy to Governor J. C. B. Ehringhaus.

<sup>66</sup>Petition from physicians of Durham, N.C., to the President of UNC-Chapel Hill, October, 1933. Graham Records.

Charlotte for your noble stand."<sup>67</sup> A Jewish premedical student at CCNY wrote Graham that he was "constantly aware of the increasing difficulty experienced by Jewish students when they endeavor to 'crash' the Grade A medical schools of this fair land of ours—however high and meritorious be their scholastic and character qualifications. I wish to thank you from the bottom of my heart for your keen sense of fair play and sterling justice: it is all the more notable—acts such as yours are so very rare."<sup>68</sup>

Graham also received a letter of support from a Jewish businessman and alumnus, E. J. Evans. Evans, who would be elected mayor of Durham in the 1950s, wrote:

To one who has known you for years, who still recalls your stirring daily lectures on American History, your action did not come as a surprise. It was merely the carrying out of your sense of fair play that has always characterized your actions.

You have earned the undying respect and admiration of millions of Jews throughout the nation. Respect for you and the University's principals [*sic*] of freedom and fair play. Admiration for you and the University's courage to brave the scathing publicity that will follow on the heels of such a memorable achievement. Your picture, in less than three days, blazed across the pages of the country's outstanding Jewish Newspapers, and your name was on the lips of thousands. Thus must you realize how far-reaching and unusual your attitude was.

At any normal time the thing you did would have excited comment. But at a time like this when Hitler and Nazis have ground under their heels the lives and hopes of 600,000 people whose only wrong was their Jewish blood, your action brings a breadth of joy to a despairing people. What a relief to know that unfair discrimination is not yet the policy of one of our leading Universities.

Men like you who will brave the comment of the press that their deep felt convictions of rights and privileges will survive are rare and few. I think Mrs. Eli Nachamson of Durham, voiced the opinion of millions of Jews throughout the world when she listened to the story of your differences with Manning and exclaimed, "Thank God for men like Frank Graham, not so much for what he did to give that one boy a chance of studying for his life's work but for what he did to prove that the concepts of democracy are still alive in the hearts of our great leaders."<sup>69</sup>

Graham received letters of support from prominent Gentile citizens. Josephus Daniels, U.S. ambassador to Mexico and former editor of the *Raleigh News and Observer*, declared: "I was of course not surprised at your action with reference to the Medical Department. It was in keeping with your whole liberal spirit. The University could not live up to its ideals if it had rejected a young Jew who had shown himself in everyway qualified to be admitted to the Medical School."<sup>70</sup>

<sup>67</sup>Telegram from I. D. Blumenthal, president, Hebrew United Brotherhood of Charlotte, to Frank Porter Graham, October 1, 1933, Graham Records.

<sup>68</sup>Louis Birenbaum to Frank Porter Graham, October 1, 1933, Graham Records.

<sup>69</sup>E. J. Evans to Frank Porter Graham, October 6, 1933, Graham Records. Emanuel Joshua Evans, born in Plainfield, New Jersey, in 1907, moved to Fayetteville as a child. He graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1928 with a degree in English and journalism and settled in Durham in 1929. He was elected mayor of Durham for six consecutive terms, 1951-1963. *News and Observer*, June 2, 1965.

<sup>70</sup>Josephus Daniels to Frank Porter Graham, October 11, 1933, Graham Records.

DR. JOHN B. CRANMER  
 20-22 MARKET ST.  
 WILMINGTON, N.C.

[10-9-33]

Dr Frank Porter Graham -  
 President of The University of North Carolina,  
 Chapel Hill  
 N.C.

Dear Doctor Graham:

We - the undersigned- Medical Alumni of the  
 University of North Carolina, of New Hanover County, have heard  
 with deep regret of the resignation-as Dean of The Medical School  
 of Dr Jesse Hall Manning.

We feel that as a result of Dr Manning's resig-  
 nation the Medical School- The University and the State have suffer-  
 ed a distinct and serious loss.

By reason of Dr Manning's long satisfactory and  
 outstanding official connection with The Medical School and in recog-  
 nition of the esteem in which he is universally held, we urgently  
 and respectfully request that he be immediately made Kenan Professor  
of Physiology

We are confident that the six hundred loyal Med-  
 ical School Alumni of the University in North Carolina will join us  
 in making this request.

October 9, 1933.

signed

David B. Sloan  
 A. H. Elliot  
 R. H. Bellamy -  
 John A. Manning  
 W. Hamilton Moore  
 W. H. H. H. H.

A. M. R. Cranch  
 John T. Hoggard  
 F. E. F. F. F.  
 George Johnson  
 W. C. H. H. H.  
 Donald B. K. K. K.  
 E. E. K. K. K.  
 John H. H. H.

Reports of the dispute between Manning and Graham prompted a flood of correspondence supporting both positions, including this letter from UNC medical alumni in New Hanover County lamenting Manning's resignation and requesting that he be named Kenan Professor of Physiology. Document from General Administration: Records of the President's Office, Frank Porter Graham, University Archives, University of North Carolina Library at Chapel Hill.

United States Circuit Court of Appeals Judge John J. Parker, a member of the UNC Board of Trustees, wrote: "I want to say to you that I thoroughly approve of your stand relative to the medical school. It will never do to exclude Jewish students from the medical school on the ground of race. I am inclined to think that there ought to be some restrictions on permitting students from without the state to enter the medical school, but these restrictions should be based on state lines."<sup>71</sup>

The congratulatory letters and editorials, lauding Graham's liberalism, overlooked an obvious form of discrimination at UNC—bias against blacks. The first black student was not allowed admission to the UNC medical school until Edward O. Diggs was accepted in April, 1951. He was admitted by a 6-to-1 vote of the Medical School Admissions Committee, breaking the university's policy of racial segregation. Dr. Diggs graduated in 1955. Four black men were the first of their race to begin studies at the UNC law school during the summer term of 1951. Three black men matriculated as UNC undergraduate freshmen, under federal court order, in September, 1955. Women, on the other hand, were accepted into the UNC medical school quite early in its history. The first, Cora Z. Carpening, matriculated in 1915.<sup>72</sup>

At Manning's suggestion, Graham appointed Dr. Charles Staples Mangum as the new dean although some in the UNC administration favored MacNider.<sup>73</sup> Mangum, sixty-three years old when appointed, had received both his bachelor's and medical degrees from UNC. His M.D. was from Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia. Mangum had joined the university faculty in 1896.<sup>74</sup> He had hoped to be appointed dean in 1905 when Manning was appointed and, according to Manning, "never fully recovered from his disappointment. When he finally became dean in 1933 it was the realization of a long deferred ambition."<sup>75</sup>

Among Mangum's first acts was to set a policy on the admission of Jews to the medical school. Mangum asked MacNider for advice. MacNider recommended, among other things, that admissions policy no longer be solely vested in one individual, the dean, as had been Manning's practice. He suggested, instead, that a committee on admissions and transfers be established under the chairmanship of the dean. That committee could then review applicants and, if possible, size "them up personally. Such a function on the part of this committee, I think, would take care of over admitting any type of undesirable student, especially the Jewish students, who make such an insistent demand upon us." MacNider hastened to point out, however, that he had "no feeling whatever against Jewish students. Some of the very best students we have ever

<sup>71</sup>John J. Parker to Frank Porter Graham, October 4, 1933, Graham Records.

<sup>72</sup>*Asheville Citizen*, April 25, 1951; *News and Observer*, June 12, 1951; *Carolina Times* (Durham), April 28, 1951, Clipping File, Volume 13, North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina Library at Chapel Hill; *Alumni Directory, Edition of 1975* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Alumni Office, 1976), 301, hereinafter cited as *Alumni Directory, 1975*; H. G. Jones, *North Carolina Illustrated, 1524-1984* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), 442.

<sup>73</sup>Manning interview.

<sup>74</sup>*News and Observer*, September 30, 1933.

<sup>75</sup>Manning, "History of the UNC School of Medicine," 151.

had are of this race. . . ." MacNider thought that a committee, in a "personal" way, could handle the issue of admitting "undesirable" students, Jewish or otherwise, without any clearly stated quota.<sup>76</sup>

There were seventy-two applications for admission to the forty spots in the UNC entering medical class of September, 1934. Of the seventy-two applications, twenty were from Jews (two from North Carolina and eighteen from out of state). The medical school admissions committee agreed that "It is the sense of this group that in accepting applicants for admission to this school we should choose them on the basis of scholarship, character, and such traits of personality as qualify an individual for the practice of medicine. Other things being equal, we should give preference to applicants from North Carolina."<sup>77</sup> That policy effectively continued the quota on Jewish students at UNC by restricting the acceptance of out-of-state Jewish applicants while continuing admission of the few in-state applicants. The best evidence that there was no effective change in the admissions policy at UNC is found in a February 1, 1934, letter written by the new dean, Charles Mangum, wherein he reiterated the policy of UNC to admit no more than four Jewish students to a class of forty. Mangum's justification was precisely the same as his predecessor, Isaac Manning. Mangum felt that an inability to transfer more than four Jewish students would reflect poorly on the school and would, in addition, be of no service to Jewish students who would be admitted for two years but would subsequently be unable to complete their medical education.<sup>78</sup>

The assertion by one historian that the Graham-Manning episode "settled the problem of admission of Jews on the three campuses" of UNC is, apparently, inaccurate.<sup>79</sup> Mangum appears to have reinstated the 10 percent quota at the medical school.<sup>80</sup> That restriction continued to exist until at least the 1950s.<sup>81</sup> Charles Mangum continued as dean until 1937 when he was replaced

<sup>76</sup>William MacNider to Charles S. Mangum, October 17, 1933, MacNider Papers.

<sup>77</sup>University of North Carolina School of Medicine Administrative Board Minutes, March 8, 1934, Graham Records.

<sup>78</sup>Dean Charles S. Mangum to Rabbi Moses S. Lazeron, February 1, 1934, Lazeron Papers.

<sup>79</sup>Louis Round Wilson, *The University of North Carolina under Consolidation, 1931-1963: History and Appraisal* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Consolidated Office, 1964), 82.

<sup>80</sup>Approximately 14 percent of the undergraduate freshmen at UNC in the mid-1930s were Jewish. Synnot, "Anti-Semitism and American Universities," 262.

<sup>81</sup>In December, 1952, Robert Levin of Mount Gilead, North Carolina, wrote to William Carmichael, Jr., UNC vice-president, concerning his younger brother Ronald Levin's application to the UNC medical school. Levin wanted to know why his brother had not been admitted and wondered whether, in spite of the young man's good grades (an average above 94), he was being held back by a "quota." W. Reece Berryhill, dean of the UNC School of Medicine, responded to an inquiry from Carmichael that UNC did not maintain a quota "for race, color, or religion." Berryhill continued: "Confidentially, three members of his religious affiliation have already been accepted (for a class of fifty-eight) and there is no reason why a fourth or even a fifth won't be, if he measures up in all other ways." Robert J. Levin to William D. Carmichael, Jr., December 3, 1952; W. Reece Berryhill to William D. Carmichael, Jr., December 9, 1952; William D. Carmichael, Jr., to Robert J. Levin, December 17, 1952, General Administration: Records of Controller and Vice-President for Finance, Admissions, School of Medicine, 1951-1952, University Archives.



Walter Reece Berryhill, dean of the School of Medicine in the 1950s, coauthored *Medical Education at Chapel Hill: The First Hundred Years* (1979), which takes Manning's point of view in recounting the numerus clausus incident. Photograph from the Southern Historical Collection.

by MacNider.<sup>62</sup> Perhaps Mangum's most outstanding accomplishment was to set up a school of public health with the assistance of Dr. Milton J. Rosenau.<sup>63</sup>

Isaac Hall Manning lived until 1946. In the years following his resignation as dean, he completed his term as president of the North Carolina Medical Society, studied medical care delivery systems in Great Britain and France, and served as founder, president, and board member of the North Carolina Hospital Savings Association—a forerunner of Blue Cross.<sup>64</sup> Dean Manning's portrait hangs in the University of North Carolina School of Medicine library. The street on which the modern UNC medical school is located, Manning Drive, is named in his honor.

Two "official" histories of medicine in North Carolina take Dean Manning's side in the numerus clausus episode. Dorothy Long's two-volume study, *Medicine*

<sup>62</sup>Berryhill, Blythe, and Manning, *Medical Education at Chapel Hill*, 41-43.

<sup>63</sup>Berryhill, Blythe, and Manning, *Medical Education at Chapel Hill*, 38-39. Milton J. Rosenau (1869-1946) was a world-renowned scientist in preventive medicine. The recipient of an M.D. from the University of Pennsylvania in 1889, he continued postgraduate work in Berlin, Paris, and Vienna. Rosenau founded the world's first school of public health at Harvard in 1909 and organized the school of public health at UNC in 1935. A Jew, Rosenau was active in European Jewish relief efforts during the 1920s. See the Milton J. Rosenau Papers, Southern Historical Collection; *News and Observer*, April 10, 1946.

<sup>64</sup>*Durham Morning Herald*, February 13, 1946.

in *North Carolina*, published by the North Carolina Medical Society, reports the "unfortunate incident which resulted in President Frank P. Graham's overruling the dean's decision with respect to the admission of a student, a nonresident Jewish undergraduate student who applied for admission in the summer of 1933." Long describes the facts of the case as well as Dean Manning's contention that "Experience at this school had shown that it was unrealistic to expect that more than 10 percent of the class (four students) could be out-of-state Jewish students if transfer of all was to be accomplished. . . . As a final note on this episode, the records of the medical school indicate that this student, while passing the required work in the first two years with a very low grade average, was not accepted for transfer by either of the two four-year schools to which applications were made."<sup>85</sup> A similar account of the episode appears in W. Reece Berryhill, William B. Blythe, and Isaac H. Manning's *Medical Education at Chapel Hill: The First Hundred Years*, published by the UNC School of Medicine.<sup>86</sup> While the general alumni registers of the university list Krasny as the recipient of an unspecified undergraduate bachelor's degree in 1933 and of a bachelor of science degree in medicine in 1935, the history of the UNC medical school does not include him as a graduate.<sup>87</sup>

What became of Morris Krasny? The student's descendants have never given permission to review his medical school transcript. It is not clear how any historian other than Manning could have had access to the records. Krasny's family says MacNider treated him well during the two-year course of study.<sup>88</sup> As graduation approached, Krasny had trouble obtaining letters of recommendation in support of his transfer to a four-year school. The deans of some four-year schools specifically approached Dr. Manning to learn the name of the "troublemaker" in order to prevent his transfer. Manning declined requests to single out Krasny.<sup>89</sup> Unable to transfer, Krasny faced serious financial obligations during the depression. He completed his two-year medical degree and went into the retail shoe and ladies clothing business in Virginia. Krasny's family does not recall him as being either a contentious man or a man prone to take strong positions on political or religious issues. He was not known to have been active in any religious organizations.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>85</sup>Long, *Medicine in North Carolina*, II, 396-397.

<sup>86</sup>Berryhill, Blythe, and Manning, *Medical Education at Chapel Hill*, 36-37, 176-177.

<sup>87</sup>Volume II of Berryhill, Blythe, and Manning, *Medical Education at Chapel Hill*, is a *Centennial Alumni Directory*, compiled and edited by Raleigh Mann with the guidance of the School of Medicine Centennial Committee (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina School of Medicine, 1979). Krasny's name does not appear in it. However, his 1935 bachelor of science degree in medicine is listed in *Alumni Directory, 1975*, 651; *Alumni Directory, Edition of 1954* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Alumni Office, 1954), 505; and *Directory of Alumni, 1984*, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (White Plains, N.Y.: Bernard C. Harris Publishing Co., 1985), 501.

<sup>88</sup>Graham's predecessor as president of UNC, Harry Chase, appointed MacNider as UNC's delegate to the opening of Hebrew University in Jerusalem, but MacNider was unable to attend. At the time of the Krasny incident, Chase wrote MacNider that he knew where MacNider's "sympathies have been engaged in that cause [Jewish rights] ever since." Harry Chase to William MacNider, October 2, 1933, MacNider Papers. Interviews with members of the Krasny family confirm that MacNider was supportive of Krasny.

<sup>89</sup>Manning interview.

<sup>90</sup>Krasny interview.



The UNC medical school class of 1936, of which Morris Krasny was a member. Photograph from the North Carolina Collection.

The debate over a formal Jewish quota at the UNC medical school illustrated a conflict between Graham's liberal ideals and Manning's defense of his two-year school's ability to transfer students. Both Manning and Graham felt that they were acting in the best interests of UNC and were adhering firmly to their principles. Manning, who resigned when he felt his expertise and counsel were not being heeded, believed that the subsequent "failure" of the Jewish student vindicated his position. His resignation probably represents the only instance in which an American medical school dean resigned over the numerus clausus issue.<sup>21</sup> Nonetheless, while the Manning-Graham episode affected the formally stated Jewish quota at UNC for one year, it did not ultimately change tacit quotas for admission of Jews.

---

<sup>21</sup>Dr. John Buhler, dean of the dental school at Emory University, resigned during an investigation of discrimination against Jews at Emory in 1961. Benjamin R. Epstein and Arnold Forster, *Some of My Best Friends . . .* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Cudahy, 1962), 169-173.

**Table 1**  
**The Percentage of Jewish Students in the Graduating Classes**  
**of United States Medical Schools, 1933**

<i>School</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Albany	10
Baylor	4
Boston	48 <sup>a</sup>
Chicago Medical	35
Columbia	25
Cornell	16
Dartmouth	10 <sup>c</sup>
Duke	13 <sup>b</sup>
Emory	12
Georgetown	3
George Washington	32
Harvard	15-20 <sup>c</sup>
Indiana	10
Jefferson	—
Johns Hopkins	14
Long Island College	—
Loyola-Chicago	10
Medical College of South Carolina	8
Medical College of Virginia	9
New York University	61
New York Homeopathic	68
Northwestern	7-10 <sup>c</sup>
Ohio State	7
Stanford	—
State University of Iowa	11
Syracuse	18
Tufts	28
Tulane	12
University of Alabama	—
University of Arkansas	13
University of California-San Francisco	34
University of Chicago-Rush Medical	22
University of Cincinnati	13
University of Colorado	6
University of Georgia	8
University of Illinois	43
University of Kansas	3
University of Michigan	19
University of Minnesota	19
University of Nebraska	—
University of North Carolina	10
University of North Dakota	—
University of Oklahoma	—
University of Oregon	8
University of Pennsylvania	15 <sup>c</sup>
University of Pittsburgh	9
University of Tennessee	6-10 <sup>c</sup>
University of Texas	—
University of Utah	—
University of Vermont	16
University of Virginia	8
University of Washington	20-30 <sup>c</sup>

University of Wisconsin	18
Vanderbilt	10
Wayne University-Detroit College of Medicine and Surgery	54
Western Reserve	11
West Virginia	17-19*
Yale	10*

---

SOURCES: Data were calculated from responses to questionnaires compiled in 1934 by Rabbi Morris Lazeron. The material is located in the Morris Lazeron Papers, American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati. Additional material documenting Jewish enrollment in medical schools can be found in Marcia G. Synnott, "Anti-Semitism and American Universities: Did Quotas Follow the Jews?" in David A. Gerber (ed.), *Anti-Semitism in American History* (Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 233-270. Percentages left blank indicate that the medical school deans furnished insufficient data or none at all. Those percentages marked with an asterisk (\*) show estimates, rather than actual data, provided by the deans. Other sources are indicated below.

---

\*Heywood Broun and George Britt, *Christians Only: A Study in Prejudice* (New York: Vanguard Press, 1931), 148, hereinafter cited as Broun and Britt, *Christians Only*.

<sup>b</sup>Jewish students file, William Preston Few Papers, Duke University Archives, Duke University Library, Durham.

\*Broun and Britt, *Christians Only*, 149.

<sup>d</sup>Dan A. Oren, *Joining the Club: A History of Jews and Yale* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 136-158, 249-257.