THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AND THE DRIVE FOR NEGRO EQUALITY, 1945-1951

Cathie Huntoon

History 461

Dr. J. Leonard Bates

May 19, 1966

THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AND THE DRIVE FOR NEGRO EQUALITY, 1945-1951

This paper concentrates on the activities of those people at the University of Illinois who would not allow the momentum generated in the drive for Negro equality by World War II to end in 1945. They sought to translate the spirit of the Negro's wartime gains into concrete local rights. And when memories of the war ideals did die, these people continued to press for Negro equality in their community. The paper ends with the 1951 dissolution and reorganization of the committee which was primarily responsible for the gains made in Champaign-Urbana. But the drive continued.

Although the Negro won many important rights during the war for democracy, the movement for Negro equality did not begin with World War II. Ever since the Emancipation Proclamation and the Thirteenth Amendment Negroes have been striving for true equality. For although the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments guaranteed the Negroes citizenship with all its privileges and the right to vote, these guarantees have been skirted ever since their enactment.

In 1876 the North adopted a hands-off policy toward the South to facilitate the reunion of the two sections. Subsequent events showed that this reunion was accomplished at the Negro's expense. The hands-off policy was supplemented by the Supreme Court's decisions in the 1870's and 1880's which interpreted the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments as applying to only state actions rather than to individual acts of discrimination as well. In addition, the Court ruled in the Slaughter House cases of 1873 that "most privileges and immunities inhered in state citizenship and that they therefore were not protected by the Fourteenth Amendment."[1] Thus the South's Jim-Crow laws of the 1880's and 1890's were safeguarded.

---

[1]Rayford W. Logan, The Negro in the United States (New York, 1957), p. 37.

But the South was not the only offender. In 1883 the Supreme Court declared a national equal accommodations law unconstitutional. Five of the seven cases involved in this decision originated in the North. In addition fifteen northern states found it necessary to pass their own civil rights provisions when the Supreme Court took this position. Three other states strengthened their existing provisions. However, these laws were largely ignored until the 1950's.

The main difference between the North and the South was the extent of the segregation policies of the latter and the disfranchisement through poll taxes, literacy devices, property qualifications, grandfather clauses, intimination, and fraud that accompanied the South's segregation. However in 1915 the NAACP, formed in 1910, won the Supreme Court's invalidation of grandfather clauses. (Although the Court did not irrevocably decide that white primaries, which partially replaced the grandfather clauses and other devices, were unconsitutional until 1944). In 1915 the NAACP also won the Court's decision that residential segregation violated the Fourteenth Amendment.

During World War I Negroes were pulled North by higher wages, jobs, better schools and housing, the right to vote, and the relatively less humiliating discrimination and segregation. Negro units fighting in the war for democracy distinguished themselves and also experienced true equality in France. Therefore after the war when many white people were determined to put the Negro "back in his place," Negroes were just as determined to resist. Race riots, lynchings, and the revival of the Ku Klux Klan were the result.

Nevertheless in the 1920's Negroes made social and intellectual strides in the arts and the professions. And many more Negroes attended high schools and colleges than ever before.

In the 1930's the Supreme Court ruled that Negroes were not to be excluded from juries and that separate school systems had to provide equal facilites for

Negroes and whites. But the depression also hit in the 1930's and usually hit the Negroes the hardest. The New Deal programs, however, helped Negro as well as white citizens and in addition produced some opportunities that had not existed before, such as low-cost public housing, home financing under the Home Owners Loan, education under the National Youth Administration, etc. And the personal attitudes of President and Mrs Roosevelt supplemented the effect of the New Deal programs.

World War II saw immense gains in the drive for Negro equality. On the homefront the Fair Employment Practices Commission operated to keep discrimination out of interstate commerce, labor unions, and government contracts. This Act, combined with the labor shortage, led to the addition of 1,000,000 Negroes to the labor force between 1940 and 1944. There were some serious riots and strikes in the northern and western cities that met the heaviest influx of Negroes during the war, but this opposition met a firm response by the federal government.

The Negro made his greatest gains during World War II in the armed services. The Selective Service Act was passed with an amendment reading, "...in the selection and training of men under this Act, there shall be no discrimination against any person on account of race or color."[2] And the Selective Service System's training program enabled many Negroes to learn trades which they could use after the war. In October 1940 the War Department announced that officer training was also to be opened to Negroes. The Air Force established its first aviation unit for Negroes at Tuskegee, Alabama during WWII. And whereas Negroes had always been only accepted in the Steward's Branch of the Navy, beginning in 1942 Negroes were accepted in the Marine Corps, the other branches of the Navy, and the Coast Guard. In 1946 they were made eligible for all assignments in the Navy, and all special provisions for Negroes in housing and other facilities were abolished.

---

[2]Logan, p. 87.

The end of WWII saw some of the same attempts to put the Negro "in his place" as occurred after WWI: lynchings, KKK activities, and race riots.[3] In Champaign-Urbana, Illinois, however, the only overt reaction to the Negro's war gains was to try to win greater gains for Negroes on the local level. For Negro and white veterans, imbued with the ideals of the war for democracy, were dissatisfied when they returned to local discriminatory practices. The war ideals had also awakened students and faculty at the University to the discrimination about them.

At war's end "the general pattern both on and off the campus was one of segregation."[4] All of the approximately 148 colored students attending the University[5] except one roomed about a mile or a mile and a half from the campus, and these rooms were in the "noisy poor sections of town."[6] An article in the Chicago Defender telling of housing conditions for Negro girls reported that their homes were never more than "recommended" while those for white girls had to be "approved." The article stated that the homes housing Negro girls were not required to meet the standards of size and study facilities that were required for white girls. During the spring semester of 1944, "75 Negro girls were housed between one sorority house, accomodating 18 girls, and 14 private homes 'across the tracks' from which girls walked from 12 to 14 blocks to campus," reported the article. In describing living conditions at the sorority house the author of the article reported that the house was unpainted and unvarnished; that six girls had slept in the third

---

[3]The following books were used as a basis for the intoductory remarks:
John Hope Franklin, From Slavery To Freedom (New York, 1956);
E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro in the United States (New York, 1957);
Rayford W. Logan, The Negro in the United States (New York, 1957);
Jessie Parkhurst Guzman, Negro Year Book (Alabama, 1947);
Walter White, How Far the Promised Land? (New York, 1955).

[4]George Ehrlich, "History of S-CIC," History of S-CIC 1945-1951 folder, Dr. Harry M. Tiebout's civil rights files, University of Illinois.

[5]Albert Lee, "Approximate Number of Negro Students, 1944-45," Housing for Colored Students folder, Arthur C. Willard General Correspondence, 1944-45, Record Series 2/9/1, Box 92, University of Illinois Archives.

[6]Dwight Harwell, "Letters to the Editor," Daily Illini, January 21, 1945, p. 5.

floor attic bedroom without adequate closet space, desks for study, or privacy; and that the house was a fire-hazard. The author also asserted that "in the private Negro homes, 'across the tracks' as many as five girls" had lived with families who had "average-size homes" and that consequently often girls had to "double up" in the same bed which was "against university regulations in white homes."[7] In all fairness to the University it has to be said that the University was suffering from a severe housing shortage and from housing disrepair because of the lack of funds during the war years. It is obvious, however, that housing for Negro students was even more inadequate than that for white students.

A freshman in one of her rhetoric themes for the school year 1944-1945 pointed out that because of the distance from the campus to the Negroes' homes in North Champaign, it was almost impossible for them to return to them for lunch.[8] But outside of the Illini Union and one cafeteria, there were practically no restaurants that would serve Negroes.

Miss Knapp also pointed out that all the theaters reserved a special area in the balcony for Negroes and that the Crystal Lake Park Pool did not allow Negroes to swim.

After the war there was a surge of interest in these problems in the University administration and among pastors and their churches, students, veterans, and faculty. This increased interest led to the formation of the Student Community Interracial Committee (S-CIC), increased discussion of the Negro's problems, several resolutions, and action.

Prior to the fall of 1945 there had been no organization in Champaign-Urbana that was able to deal effectively with these problems of racial discrimination.

---

[7] "No U. of I. Dorms For Negro," Defender, August 4, 1945, Arthur C. Willard General Correspondence, 1944-45, Housing for Colored Students folder, Series Record 2/9/1, Box 92, University of Illinois Archives.

[8] Jean Knapp, "The University of Illinois And Its Negroes," The Green Caldron, April, 1946, p. 12, University of Illinois Archives.

There had been small groups connected with the University YWCA, Wesley Foundation, Bahai Center, and other institutions that had attempted to do something to relieve racial discrimination. But their actions were largely limited to demonstrations of interracial fellowship by sending mixed groups to restaurants and theaters. In 1938 members of such a group attempted to open at least one campus restaurant to Negroes but failed. Dr Gerald M. Moser, an assistant professor of Spanish and Portuguese in the 1940's who became co-chairman of S-CIC in 1946, said in a 1948 WILL broadcast that he believed the failure of these student groups was due to the fact that they were unable to convince those in authority that they had public opinion behind them since they had no community members.[9]

Perhaps this conclusion had been reached earlier, for in 1945 a new group was formed consisting of students, faculty, and townspeople. A small number of persons interested in combating discrimination in the University community were first brought together in 1945 under the unofficial sponsorship of the Chicago Council Against Racial and Religious Discrimination and with the encouragement of Reverend Philip Schug, at that time the pastor of the University Unitarian Church. In November 1945 an organizational meeting was held at Wesley Foundation and the first officers were elected. In March 1946 at a meeting at Latzer Hall the group officially adopted a constitution and a name--Student Community Interracial Committee.

In the 1948 WILL broadcast Dr. Moser also said that it was not by chance that S-CIC was formed in 1945. He believed the formation of the committee was a direct result of the war since veterans and people in general were "conscious of the inconsistencies between what they had been fighting for and what they experienced when the war was over."[10] And the Preamble to the Constitution of S-CIC does

---

[9]Script, "Interview of Dr. Gerald M. Moser," WILL Radio, September 28, 1948, History of S-CIC 1945-51 folder, Dr. Harry M. Tiebout's civil rights files, University of Illinois.

[10]Ibid.

reflect a concern with the lessons of the recent war:

> "We, students and faculty members of the University of Illinois, and residents of Champaign County, realizing the inherent dangers of racial discrimination to our American Democracy, that it is a weapon of certain Fascist and race supremist groups to aid them in their fight against the democratic forces in the United States do hereby establish the Constitution of the Student-Community Interracial Committee...."[11]

In addition, a Negro veteran, Linzey Jones, was the first student co-chairman.

The war ideals also prompted the Negro and white veterans who swarmed to the University of Illinois under the G.I. Bill to voice their feelings on discriminatory practices. The American Veterans Committee passed a resolution in March 1946 which stated the Committee's opposition to racial discrimination in restaurants and public places. The veterans then set up a committee to study methods of putting the resolution into action.

The charter membership of S-CIC shows that veterans were not the only people who remembered the ideals for which the war was fought. Seven pastors from local churches were among the first members of the Committee. In fact, Reverend Schug, besides encouraging the formation of S-CIC, allowed the Committee to use the Unitarian church, its phone, and its mimeographing machine at all times.

Not only did the ministers of local churches become interested in the problems of the Negro, but also their congregations. In the fall of 1942 Wesley Foundation had founded Wescoga, an inter-faith, interracial cooperative house for women. In the summer of 1945 a Negro girl was admitted. One of the girls of the house said, "I had never known any colored persons personally before, but there were no difficulties in student contacts or in the house."[12] Wesley Foundation also conducted a series entitled "Relations with Minorities" early in 1945. Reverend

---

[11] "Preamble to the Constitution," Interracial Newsletter, October 21, 1946, Student-Community Interracial Committee folder, Record Series 41/6/0, University of Illinois Archives.

[12] "Interracial House Proves Beneficial," Daily Illini, October 12, 1945, ~~7548, p.~~ 2.

Paul Burt and Elmer Roberts, professor of animal genetics, spoke on "Race and World Tensions" at Trinity forum at the University Methodist Church in February 1945. In January 1946 the Illinois Disciples Foundation had a worship service centered on the tradition and interpretation of Negro spirituals with a sermon on "The Church and the Race Problem." Taylor Thomas, a local Negro who has been interested in the civil rights movement since the early 1940's, led a discussion at the Illinois Disciples Foundation in January 1946 on "Intercultural Relations." After this discussion, dinner was served to young interracial couples. At two churches, the University Unitarian and the University Place Christian, books on interracial subjects were discussed in the winter of 1945. Frances Snell and Mason Wilkes, active members of S-CIC, spoke in November 1946 at the First Congregational Church on "The Campus Interracial Situation" and a week later, on "What Can Be Done About the Racial Situation."

The charter membership of S-CIC also included the names of four professors--Professor Moser, Professor Vaughan, Professor Satterthwaite, and Professor Charles H. Shattuck who was instrumental in S-CIC's formation and a pillar of strength throughout the Committee's life. Five other faculty members spoke before the Committee during 1946 on different aspects of the racial problem.

Interest was not confined to veterans, faculty members, and churches; it extended to the University administration. In August 1945 President Willard, although only after pressure was exerted, did reserve a room in Busey-Evans Hall after the deadline for application had passed in order that two Negro girls could be found to live in the hall during the school year of 1945-46. Negro boys also were allowed to enter the dorms after the war.

The University Board of Trustees in September 1946 restated and clarified their views on racial minorities, their fourth point being, "To continue a policy which will favor and strengthen attitudes and social philosophies which are necessary to create a community atmosphere in which racial prejudice cannot

thrive."[13] The Illinois Inter-Racial Commission passed a resolution praising President George D. Stoddard, who became President of the University in the fall of 1946, his administrative staff, and Mr. Park Livingston and the University Board for their program, particularly as it concerned itself "with remedying the G.I.'s housing problem, with the easement of racial and religious tensions, and with the plans of the University authorities to place the University of Illinois at the very front of the great educational institutions of our land which are striving for the survival of democratic ideals."[14]

The University also catered to the increase of interest in Negro problems by offering a new course in 1947 entitled "The Negro." The University Library Browsing Room and the Union Browsing Room recognized the new interest by setting aside special shelves for books on interracial topics and by subscribing to the Defender, a Chicago Negro newspaper.

Many students, of course, were extremely interested in the discrimination problem after the war. The students of the YWCA and the YMCA invited speakers to talk to them on different aspects of the racial problem. In February 1945 the YMCA had as its first faculty forum speaker, Sherman D. Scruggs, a noted Negro educator, who spoke on "Christianity and Its Challenge in the 'World-a-Coming.'" In March 1946 the YMCA asked Reverend Clarence Jordan and Lt. Col. John W. Walton to speak on "Relieving Racial Tensions." At the YWCA all-membership meeting in November 1945 Mrs Ulysses S. Keys also spoke on the race problem. And in June 1946 Reverend Harry R. Burt of the Wesley Foundation, Miss Verna Voltz of the YWCA, Harry Grasson and Linzey Jones of S-CIC, and Harold Hull made up a panel for a discussion of race relations on the Illini campus at a YWCA sandwich forum.

---

[13] "Trustees Restate Racial Policy," Daily Illini, September 25, 1946, ~~75:5, p.~~ 3.
[14] Martin Hayes Bickham to George D. Stoddard, October 30, 1946, Racial Minorities folder, George D. Stoddard General Correspondence, 1946-1947; Record Series 2/10/1, Box 9, University of Illinois Archives.

But the YWCA did more than talk. In January 1946 an interracial group formed by the inter-racial committee of the YWCA went to a local steakhouse which had previously refused service to a racially mixed group of girls. The students sat, demanding all of their group be served, until the other students in the restaurant joined in the protest. The group was served.

The Daily Illini, the student newspaper at the University and therefore a spokesman for the feelings of at least a segment of the student body, showed its attitude toward this action by the YWCA group by its choice of words for the headline for the aricle reporting the event: "Inter-Racial Committee Takes Action Against Anti-Democratic Attitudes."[15] The DI consistently voiced the opinion that discrimination was inconsistent with the ideals for which the United States fought in WWII. In July 1945 the Daily Illini ran a cartoon showing Uncle Sam looking across the ocean to a land mass in ruins entitled "Racial Hatred" and saying, "There is a lesson there for me."[16] In November 1945 an editorial contained the passage: "If we want to keep America, it is up to us, as students, and as Americans, to stop minority hatred. If we do not, the ghost of Hitler will look at us and laugh, for you see, the victory will really be his."[17] The DI also praised the decision of the Indee party in 1946 to admit Greek Negro students.

The recognition of the racial problem by student political parties began in 1945 when both the Gung-Ho party (Greek) and the Indee party (Independent) included planks in their platforms condemning all discrimination. But in March 1946 the Indee party also admitted Negroes as members and nominated a Negro, Fred Ford, for sophomore Senator.[18]

---

[15] "Inter-Racial Committee Takes Action Against Anti-Democratic Attitudes," Daily Illini, January 24, 1946, ~~75;69,p.~~ 3.

[16] "Building On Sand," Daily Illini, July 11, 1945, ~~74;194, p.~~ 3.

[17] "Editorials," Daily Illini, November 1, 1945, ~~75;22, p.~~ 2.

[18] The fact that Fred Ford won the election and that Herb McKinley, a Jamaican, was elected "Athlete of the Year" in 1946 shows that the student body accepted Negoes on their merits.

In April 1946 a resolution drawn up by the Indee party, condemning denial of equal services to Negro students in restaurants was adopted by the Student Senate. And on the latter's request the University Senate then concurred in the resolution thus showing its approval of the student stand against the discrimination in campus restaurants. The women's independent organization, Panhellenic, Interfraternity Council, and the men's independent organization also supported the resolution.

S-CIC then took up the move for resolutions and thereafter led the way in combatting discrimination with all interested students, faculty, townspeople, and pastors focusing their attention on the problem through S-CIC. With such statements as "Fascism everywhere...started with a little discrimination--dividing people against each other according to race, relgion, color, political views...." and "We've got to realize that the infection of race hatred will spread into the full-fledged disease of fascism unless we stop it before its too late"[19] fifty additional houses and organizations signed a resolution condemning the discriminatory policies of campus restaurants.

Student-faculty delegations then presented these resolutions to all the restaurants on campus and asked them to sign statements saying they did not discriminate. Most signed but six refused. Therefore during March, April, and May member "tested" local restaurants so that notarized affidavits could be collected from witnesses and from people who were refused service at Hagen's Steak House, No. 2, 507 South Goodwin, Urbana; Skelton's Drug Store, 617 East Green Street, Champaign; Steak-N-Shake Drive Inn, 302 East Green Street, Champaign; and Todd's Cafe, 502 East Green Street, Champaign. In May 1946 a delegation of prominent townspeople, ministers, and faculty members from S-CIC presented this

---

[19]"Sample Speech to be Given to Housing Units Requesting Passage of Resolution," Restaurants (Campus, 1946) folder, Dr. Harry M. Tiebout's civil rights files, University of Illinois.

legal ovidence of racial discrimination in the above four restaurants to State's Attorney John J. Bresee.

The law on the basis of which S-CIC proceeded was Illinois' Criminal Code, Chapter 38, Section 125, enacted in 1885, which guaranteed to all persons within the State "The full and equal enjoyment"[20] of certain enumerated accommodations and facilities.

After testing groups affirmed that the restaurants had ignored Bresee's warning letters, S-CIC decided to picket six offending restaurants on June 4 in order to bring the issue to the public and to prove to the restaurant owners that his customers did not approve of discrimination. Handbills were handed out urging students to patronize only those restaurants which did not discriminate. The 90 students and faculty members participating in the picket lines carried signs reading "Illinois Law Says Don't Discriminate," "Jim Crow Must Go," "Herb Mc Kinley, Athlete of the Year Can't Eat Here," etc.[21]

An undated, handwritten letter from Benjamin J. Schultz, Chicago Attorney and Counselor, to someone of S-CIC (probably Dr. Shattuck, community co-chairman in 1946) indicates that the Committee was dissatisfied with Bresee's handling of the six offending resturants. For Mr. Schultz wrote, "Section 128 of Chapter 38 of the Civil Rights Act provides that in the event the State's Attorney and Attorney General fail or refuse to act, the Judges of the Circuit Court of the County may appoint a special State's Attorney to carry on."[22] This impression is strengthened by a letter of August 27, 1946 from Richard D. Westbrooks, Chairman of the Civil Rights Committee of the National Bar Association, to Dr. Shattuck which read, "It is indeed gratifying to know and learn that the State's Attorney in his official

---

[20]"Bar Intolerance Here," Daily Illini, July 24, 1946, ~~75:185~~, p. 4.
[21]Brad Dressler, "Restaurant Men Say Business Not Affected; Racial Policy Firm," Daily Illini, June 5, 1946, ~~75:153, p.~~ 1.
[22]Benjamin J. Schultz to (Dr. Charles H. Shattuck), Restaurant (Campus) Correspondence folder, Dr. Harry M. Tiebout's civil rights files, University of Illinois.

capacity is producing results."[23] The impression is thus given that Dr. Shattuck had probably written Mr. Westbrook criticizing Mr. Bresee's lack of action. And State's Attorney Bresee could well have proceeded with extreme caution since he was elected by townspeople.

However in July 1946 Mr. Bresee anounced he would seek injunctions from the Circuit Court when it met in September against the six campus restaurants accused by S-CIC of discriminating against Negroes. (This is the probably the "results" Mr. Westbrooks referred to in his letter.) The six restaurants were Todd's Cafe, Hagen's Steak House, Bidwell's Confectionary, Skelton's Drugs, Campus Steak-N-Shake, and Steak-N-Shake Drive Inn.

S-CIC and its supporters again picketed the six restaurants on July 23, 1946. On August 5, 1946 President Stoddard cautiously gave his personal endorsement of S-CIC's activities saying, "Along with any measures within the limits of state statutes that can be brought to bear upon such situations I'm in favour of an educational campaign to break down prejudice."[24] Support also came to S-CIC in the form of money. For it was plain to the Committee that their moves toward legal action was often seen as a bluff since it was known that the Committee had no money. Therefore S-CIC announced on August 3, 1946 that it planned to raise $1000 for lawyers and law suits and within one week it had raised $400.00. Eventually the fund reached over $600.00. Most likely this money did not all come from veterans on G.I. pensions, students, and faculty. At least some of it probably came from interested townspeople. Mrs John Schacht, English teacher and co-chairman of S-CIC in 1948, in telling the writer some of the history of S-CIC said that there were a number of townspeople who paid their dues, patted the Committee on the back, and then retreated. Perhaps many of the donors were like Joseph Kuhn of Joseph Kuhn and Company, 33 Main Street, Champaign, who was Jewish but who was also a businessman. Therefore he gave money to S-CIC at

---

[23]Richard D. Westbrooks to Charles H. Shattuck, August 27, 1946, Restaurant (Campus) Correspondence, Dr. Harry M. Tiebout's civil rights files, University of Illinois.

[24]"Stoddard Hits Discrimination," Daily Illini, August 6, 1946, ~~75:194, p.~~ 1.

various times but wanted no official connection with the Committee or publicity.[25]

However, not everyone agreed with S-CIC's actions. During the week following the picketing of July 23, 1946 a fiery cross was burned at Lawhead School, 408 East Grove Street, Champaign. Less serious but perhaps more typical of the feelings of many townspeople and students was the letter to the editor of the DI of August 13, 1946 in which the author wrote the following:

> "A certain minority group seems to be trying to educate one race with signs saying 'we fought together,' 'Jim Crow must go' and others. At the same time if they are trying to educate...(the other) race it isn't visible. They (Negroes) want equality and yet do not want to shoulder the responsibility to achieve this equality. They seem to want to show a few isolated cases of so-called mistreatment instead of looking at how far they have improved their lot in a comparatively short time....It appears these people merely want someone to wave a magic wand and produce racial equality, giving them another inch so they can take another mile."[26]

Another student wrote, "...can you say that you should give to a person or group all the privileges on a silver platter without effort from the majority? I had to work for mine, what are you going to do for yours?"[27]

Finally, in September five of the six restaurants agreed to end discrimination against Negroes. President Stoddard responded to the news of the restaurants' decision by saying "it is a source of gratification that they understand public sentiment in this matter and that they respond to it."[28] The sixth restaurant, Bidwell's, yielded soon after the other restaurants.

Interest in the problems of Negroes was not confined, however, to local matters. A freshman in the 1946-47 school year wrote a theme advocating establishment of a federal FEPC, for FEPC had been allowed to die in 1946 after working successfully since 1941. The Daily Illini wrote sarcastically about Congress' part in FEPC's death saying, "All of which suggests, of course, that in this great democracy,

---

[25]Interview with Mrs John Schacht, April 15, 1966, University of Illinois.
[26]John D. Paulsen, "Letters to the Editor," Daily Illini, August 13, 1946, ~~75:20, p.~~ 4.
[27]Paul J. Ambrose, "Letters to the Editor," Daily Illini, August 20, 1946, ~~75:208, p.~~ 4.
[28]"Five Cafes End Discrimination," Daily Illini, September 11, 1946, ~~75:216, p.~~ 1.

bigotry is quite normal, although in a real pinch we will condescend to accept anyone's labor."[29]

There was also interest in the Southern reaction against Negroes following the war. One of the chief problems in the South was that of lynching. While federal efforts to pass an anti-lynching law were unsuccessful, President Truman and Attorney General Clark did take action in prosecution of the lynchers of four Negroes in 1946. S-CIC sent letters to President Truman and to the Justice Department urging "further action to bring the offenders to justice."[30] And as a protest over the repeated lynchings and other infringements of the civil liberties of Negroes, a mass meeting attended by over 100 people was held by S-CIC at the YWCA. The speakers at the meeting, M. Earle Sardon, director of public relations of Negro labor, and Ira Latimer, executive secretary of the Chicago Civil Liberties Committee, discussed the "Implications of Racial Atrocities." In addition, Linzey Jones urged Committee members to send postcards to President Truman and Attorney General Clark to "protest the atrocities against Negroes as a threat to American democracy."[31]

In 1946 the Senate held two hearings on whether United States Senator Theodore Bilbo of Mississippi should be allowed his seat. For before the July 2 primary Bilbo had demanded that every "red-blooded Anglo-Saxon man of Mississippi resort to any means to keep all Negroes from the polls."[32] And witnesses in the Jackson, Mississippi, hearing testified that Bilbo and his political managers did just that. S-CIC wrote letters to the congressional committee investigating Bilbo and the Negro vote in the Mississippi primary to urge protection of the lives of the testifying Negroes.

---

[29]"Bigotry Back to Normal," Daily Illini, July 6, 1946, ~~75:172~~, p. 4.
[30]"Interracial Group Lauds Probe of Lynchings," Daily Illini, August 13, 1946, ~~75:201~~, p. 1.
[31]"Interracial Group Attacks Fascism," Daily Illini, September 5, 1946, ~~75:212~~, p. 1.
[32]"Bilbo Incites to Riot," Champaing-Urbana Courier, June 27, 1946, p. 6.

S-CIC also circulated petitions in Champaign-Urbana for the National Negro Congress. Negroes everywhere had been encouraged by the UN Charter which asserted that the United Nations would promote "universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction to race, sex, language, or religion."[33] Therefore the National Negro Congress filed a petition with the Economic and Social Council late in 1946. This petition sought the aid of the UN in the struggle to eliminate political, economic, and social discrimination imposed on Negroes in the U.S.

Thus 1945 and 1946 saw a surge of interest in the administration and among veterans, students, faculty, and churches in the problems of the Negro. This interest manifested itself in protests over the South's treatment of the Negro after the war and in the successful opening of campus restaurants to Negroes. But by 1947 the momentum generated by the war for democracy seemed to have come to an end. The Daily Illini stopped writing about the war ideals and met S-CIC's announcement that they were next going to tackle the problem of discriminating restaurants and theaters in downtown Champaign with the statement that S-CIC should use only education in the local community to gain a more liberal policy.[34]

The interest of many S-CIC members also seemed to slacken in 1947. For in February S-CIC reported in its newsletter that attendance at Committee meetings had "dwindled considerably in the past months."[35] In April Dr. Moser wrote in the Newsletter, "Your chairman knows that the Committee has your tacit support, but to give the Committee permanent strength, your active participation is indispensable."[36]

However, the core of S-CIC remained interested and continued to work for Negro equality. They sent letters to all theater managers asking them to stop

---

[33]Frazier, p. 586.
[34]"A Town For The Townspeople," Daily Illini, September 13, 1946, 72:218, p. 4.
[35]"Attendance Dwindling," Interracial Newsletter, February 17, 1947, 4:1.
[36]Gerald Moser, "Calling All Community Members," Interracial Newsletter, April 7, 1947, 4:4.

their discriminatory practices and on receiving no answers, sent testing groups out to collect affidavits as legal evidence. In March the theater managers agreed to stop their discriminatory policies after State's Attorney Bresee conferred with them.

But S-CIC discovered that changing theater ploicies was not the complete solution, for Champaign-Urbana Negroes kept on sitting in the balcony out of habit. Like more recent civil rights groups the Committee discovered that the people they were trying to help had to be informed and involved. Therefore, handbills were distributed in January 1947 in the Negro community urging Negroes to attempt to take main floor seats and urging them to fill out affidavits against the theater if they were prevented. In June 1947 a petition was circulated in the North End under the signatures of prominent Negro community members, advising the Negro populace of their rights in the theaters.

S-CIC also sent letters to, tested, collected affidavits against, and conferred with State's Attorney Bresee about two twin cities' taverns which discriminated against Negroes. They were opened. Letters were also sent to the Champaign-Urbana Courier and to the News-Gazette protesting the specification of race in want ads. And S-CIC succeeded in 1947 in getting the Crystal Lake Park swimming pool open to Negroes. A delegation met with representatives of the Urbana Park District Board and petitions signed by members of Urbana church, veteran, and civic groups were presented to Bresee so that he could prove to the Pard Board that local residents were willing to have the swimming facilities open to Negroes.

The Committee was still interested in FEPC legislation in 1947. It sent petitions to David I. Swanson, chairman of the State House Judiciary Committee, and to State Senator Wallace Thompson in support of placing the Fair Employment Practices Bill before the Illinois state legislature. In addition twelve members of S-CIC went to Springfield to support FEPC when it did come before the legislature. S-CIC also supported the drive for FEPC on the national level by asking members

to write their congressmen urging passage of the Ives-Chavez bill for a national Fair Employment Practices Commission.

President Stoddard's personal interest also did not wane in 1947. In July he participated in a University of Chicago roundtable discussion on "Equality of Educational Opportunities." He recommended "better state legislation, more state and federal aid, and a common struggle by all racial, religious, and nationality groups for true equality of educational facilities from the lowest levels onwards."[37]

The local drive for Negro equality, after having slowed down some in 1947, gathered speed again in 1948, but its impetus was different from that of 1945 and 1946. In those years many people were spurred into action by the awareness of the nation's hypocrisy in having fought a war for democracy. By 1947 and 1948, however, the poignancy of this awareness had eased. Therefore, the increased activity in 1948 was probably at least in part an outgrowth of the attention the whole nation was giving civil rights. For the Civil Rights Committee's report, Truman's civil rights message to Congress, the split in the Democratic party over their civil rights plank, and Truman's executive order integrating the armed services stirred up the nation.

Truman had appointed his Committee on Civil Rights with Charles E. Welso of General Electric as chairman in December 1946. The Commmittee was made up of fifteen industrialists, clergymen, labor leaders, educators, two Negroes, and two Southerners who were known for their liberal views. Truman wrote in his Memoirs that FEPC during the war had indicated to him that "executive authority was not enough to insure compliance in the face of organized opposition." He believed legislative authority was needed. Therefore he set up his Civil Rights Committee "to get the facts and to publicize as widely as possible the need for

---

[37]"Stoddard Speaks At Round Table In Chicago," Daily Illini, July 15, 1947, ~~76:184~~, p. 6.

legislation." In his executive order creating the Committee he pointed out that "the constitutional guarantees of individual liberties and of equal protection under the law clearly place on the federal government the duty to act when state or local authorities abridge or fail to uphold these guarantees." But he felt that the federal government was hampered by inadequate civil-rights statutes and that the Department of Justice lacked the tools to enforce such statutes as there were.[38]

On October 29, 1947 the Committee gave its report entitled "To Secure These Rights." But in his special message on civil rights to Congress on February 2, 1948 Truman disregarded all those proposals to end segregation by force which the Civil Rights Committee had proposed and limited his proposals to the following, which were also suggested by the Committee: establishing a permanent commission on civil rights, a joint congressional committee on civil rights, and a Civil Rights Division in the Department of Justice; strengthening existing civil rights statutes; providing an anti-lynching law; protecting more adequately the right to vote; establishing a permanent FEPC; prohibiting discrimination in interstate transportation facilities; and providing home rule and suffrage in presidential elections for the residents of the District of Columbia. Although this program was conservative compared with that proposed by the Civil Rights Committee, "a wrathlike rebellion roared up from Mississippi where ten days later four thousand 'all true white Jeffersonian Democrats' joined to oppose the proposals."[39] A bitter controversy thereafter raged both in Congress and at the Democratic national convention in Philadelphia.

Every Democratic platform since 1932 had stressed the devotion of the Democratic party to civil rights. But what aroused many Southerners was that Truman

---

[38] Harry S. Truman, Memoirs (New York, 1956), vol. 2, p. .
[39] Jonathan Daniels, The Man Of Independence (New York, 1950), p. 342.

meant to put the pledge into practice. When Senator Francis Myers of Pennsylvania in July 1948 presented the "usual civil rights plank, designed not to offend the South or make Northern liberals feel too slighted," instead of a quick passage of the plank Mayor Hubert Humphrey of Minneapolis offered a much more extreme plank and exhorted the delegates to "...walk out of the shadow of states' rights into the sunlight of human rights."[40] The Democratic party did walk toward human rights but Strom Thurmond, governor of South Carolina, led a revolt back to states' rights.

July 1948 was significant for another reason, for it was on July 26 that Truman issued an executive order integrating the armed services. And to implement the order Truman appointed a civilian committee with Judge Charles Fahy as chairman, named the President's Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Forces. It remained for the Korean War, however, to complete the integration.[41]

Faculty members and students interested in the drive for Negro equality would undoubtedly have been keenly aware of these events and probably encouraged by them to attempt greater things on the local level.

The biggest and most stubborn problem undertaken by S-CIC in 1948 was that of the segregated washroom facilities for the permanent employees of the Illini Union. The Student Senate had wrestled with the problem in the last half of 1947. They had met several times with W.L. Kretschmer, manager of the Illini Union; Charles S. Havens, head of the Physical Plant; Dean G. W. Peck, Assistant Dean of Men and Assistant Director of the Placement Bureau; and Fred H. Turner, Dean of Men, but

---

[40] Alfred Steinberg, The Man From Missouri (New York, 1962), p. 315.

[41] Besides the sources previously cited, the following books were also used as a basis for the remarks on national events in 1948:
Louis W. Koenig, ed., The Truman Administration (New York, 1956) and
Walter White, How Far The Promised Land? (New York, 1955).

always encountered the inference that the problem was none of their business since there had been no complaints from the employees or from their union.

By 1948 the administrative officials were still insisting that the employees had no complaints and that therefore nothing should be done. The Nonacademic Personnel Department in cooperation with the psychology department even undertook a confidential survey of the interracial attitudes of the employees concerned. A graduate student worked for three months as a regualar employee in the Illini cafeteria gathering material through informal conversations. He reported that the employees were "entirely satisfied with the dressing room accomodations."[42] In February Mr. D. E. Dickason, head of the Department of Nonacademic Personnel, talked to four colored employees of the Illini Union Food Service who were recognized leaders in their racial group. They stated that there was "no sense of unfair discrimination in the minds of the colored employees"[43] and that colored and white workers preferred the arrangement of lockers.

As S-CIC worked on the washroom problem it became obvious that there were differing attitudes within the administration toward S-CIC and the Union situation. Dean Turner had always been antagonistic toward S-CIC. Mr Schacht told the writer that often the comment would come up in a meeting, "Oh we can't do that; you know what Turner would do." For, she said, "Any little thing that members of the Committee might accidentally do, such as a girl getting in at 10:35 after a S-CIC meeting, because they were members of S-CIC, would immediately warrant Dean Turner's direct attention. In addition the Committee had to be careful not to meet on Campus because they knew Dean Turner would find some reason to at least lecture them if not to restrict their activities. When they picketed restaurants he made

---

[42] C. S. Havens to George D. Stoddard, December 29, 1947, Illini Union Building folder, George D. Stoddard General Correspondence, 1948-1949, Record Series 2/10/1, Box 27, University of Illinois Archives.

[43] D. E. Dickason to Wilbur Schramm, February 20, 1948, Illini Union Building folder, George D. Stoddard General Correspondence, 1948-1949, Record Series 2/10/1, Box 27, University of Illinois Archives.

sure they filled every minute detail of University policy to the extent of making sure they only walked a certain distance back and forth in front of the place picketed. In addition, the Committee had to get a permit to distribute handbills and then had to stand in a certain spot on only certain corners and distribute the bills in only a certain way or Dean Turner would call them in.[44]

Mr. Turner's attitude toward student interest in the Union problem had been shown as early as October 1947 when he wrote President Stoddard, ...

> "...we can conclude that this seeming interest in the problem on the part of the Student Senate may properly be classed as agitation of a matter which is not of direct concern to the student committee (Student Senate Special Committee on Discrimination); also the agitation may be of a personal character or the students investigating may be serving as agents for other and unknown parties."[45]

And it is most likely that he meant by "other and unknown parties" S-CIC since one member of the Student Senate Committee was also a member of S-CIC and since the Student Senate turned the problem over to S-CIC in the winter of 1947.

In a letter to President Stoddard asking for help in locating the source of the discriminatory policy, S-CIC reported that Dean Turner told the Student Senate Committee that the situation was none of their business. Dean Turner, who received a copy of the letter, promptly wrote President Stoddard saying, "This is a rather blunt statement but I suspect that the net effect of what I said to them was approximately that, although I certainly tried to decorate what I said to them in courteous terms."[46]

But President Stoddard had indicated his approval of S-CIC's activities in 1946, and in an informal, brief conversation in January 1948 with Dr. Moser at the Unitarian Church, of which he was a member, he helped S-CIC by suggesting

---

[44] Interview with Mrs John Schacht, April 15, 1966, University of Illinois.

[45] Fred H. Turner to George D. Stoddard, October 8, 1947, Illini Union Building folder, George D. Stoddard General Correspondence, 1948-1949, Record Series 2/10/1, Box 27, University of Illinois Archives.

[46] Fred H. Turner to George D. Stoddard, December 23, 1947, Illini Union Building folder, George D. Stoddard General Correspondence, 1948-1949, Record Series 2/10/1, Box 27, University of Illinois Archives.

the Committee talk with the Union representing the employees.

President Stoddard's views on the washrooms also seemed to be more in accord with the Committee's goals than were those of the other administrative officials. Wilbur Schramm, Director of Communications, recommended to President Stoddard that the situation remain unchanged since the labor union and Negro spokesmen seemed to desire no change in policy. Stoddard went one step further; he added a note to Schramm's memo saying "...that any time the Negro employees formally request that the situation be changed, we shall follow their wishes.[47] President Stoddard's final solution of the problem also showed him far ahead of the other administrative officials.

Probably because the employees were said to be in favor of the situation, S-CIC's protest began to be based more and more on the legal reaons for changing the University's policy. The administrative officials were therefore also driven to take a legal position to defend their policy. Dr. Shattuck, Welton Taylor, and George Ehrlick, S-CIC officers, wrote Mr. Dickason in April 1948 saying, "...we believe that the number of employees white or colored, who like or dislike segregation is irrelevant...The state of Illinois has a strong civil rights code; ideally the University should lead and not compromise in applying it."[48] Therefore on May 12, 1948 Mr. Dickason wrote to W. E. Britton, Legal Counsel for the University, asking whether the two sections cited by Dr. Shattuck in his letter bore on the matter and whether the University's practices violated the provisions. Norval D. Hodges, Assistant Legal Counsel for the University, answered Mr. Dickason on June 11, 1948 saying, "...the laws for the State of Illinois and the United States

---

[47]Wilbur Schramm to George D. Stoddard, March 2, 1948, Illini Union Building folder, George D. Stoddard General Correspondence, 1948-1949, Record Series 2/10/1, Box 27, University of Illinois Archives.

[48]Charles H. Shattuck, Welton Taylor, and George Ehrlich to D. E. Dickason, April 11, 1948, Illini Union Building folder, George D. Stoddard General Correspondence, 1948-1949, Record Series 2/10/1, Box 27, University of Illinois Archives.

are being fully complied with, the rule of law being that in such matters equality and not identity of accomodations is the test."[49] This decision was in complete accord with the Supreme Court decisions in the late 1940's which were based on the "separate but equal" doctrine of the 1896 Plessy v. Ferguson case.

On July 26, 1948 Charles J. Jenkins, lawyer and State Senator, wrote President Stoddard stressing the illegality of the Union situation by citing Section 128, subsections K, L, M of the Illinois Criminal Code. These sections provide that "no officer or employee of the State of Illinois...or of any State University...shall deny or refuse to any person on account of race, color, or religion the full and equal enjoyment of accomodations, advantages, facilities, or privileges of his office or services or of any proper under his care."[50] After a conference with Norval D. Hodges in August 1948 Mr. Jenkins wrote President Stoddard again, saying that whether the Negro employees wanted the segregated facilies or not was irrelevant for the segregated washrooms were simply illegal. He continued, saying,

> "If they (Negro employees) want it, then they should be educated out of the slave psychology and inferiority complex that causes them to want it. They should not be indulged in breaking the law any more than the white employees whould be."[51]

President Stoddard evidently made a decision, for on September 13, 1948 V. L. Kretschmer wrote Dr. Stoddard outlining the new policy for assigning lockers without regard to race. On September 14, 1948 President Stoddard wrote to Mr. Kretschmer approving the outline and added the explicit statment: "This means that there will not be in the Illini Union any recognition of color, creed, or place of national origin."[52]

---

[49] Norval D. Hodges to D. E. Dickason, June 11, 1948, Illini Union Building folder, George D. Stoddard General Correspondence, 1948-1949, Record Series 2/10/1, Box 27, University of Illinois Archives.

[50] William E. Britton to D. E. Dickason, September 8, 1948, Illini Union Building folder, George D. Stoddard General Correspondence, 1948-1949, Record Series 2/10/1, Box 27, University of Illinois Archives.

[51] Charles J. Jenkins to George D. Stoddard, August 23, 1948, Illini Union Building folder, George D. Stoddard General Correspondence, 1948-1949, Record Series 2/10/1, Box 27, University of Illinois Archives.

[52] George D. Stoddard to V. L. Kretschmer, September 14, 1948, Illini Union Building folder, George D. Stoddard General Correspondence, 1948-1949, Record Series 2/10/1, Box 27, University of Illinois Archives.

"'Courts,' writes R. M. Mac Iver, 'are not themselves primary agents of social change. They register, often laggingly, the changes that move in the Community.'"[53] This statement is illustrated by the Illini Union washroom situation. The University's attorneys argued, in accordance with contemporary Supreme Court decisions, that equal accommodations did not require identical accommodations. But President Stoddard chose Mr. Jenkin's interpretation that separate facilities were illegal. Although it's only possible to speculate on the motivations of these two men, they must have had the vague realization, although probably not completely formed, that segregated accommodations were inherently unequal because of the psychological impact on Negroes. The Supreme Court did not come to this conclusion until 1954 in the Brown v. Topeka case. Thus President Stoddard was not only ahead of the rest of his administration but also ahead of the nation in his ideas.

From the Illini Union problem S-CIC moved on to discrimination by the Quality Cafe, 105 North Walnut Street. Several Negro fraternity members called several S-CIC members about the Quality Cafe and they "went down to see what would happen."[54] "They" included Mrs John Schacht, co-chairman of S-CIC in 1948, fifteen to twenty Negroes and twenty to twenty-five white students. What happened was that the group sat for one hour without being served until the manager finally decided to close the 24-hour restaurant at 5:15 p. m. although it was Homecoming week-end. The fact that it was Homecoming week-end leads me to believe that the sit-in was not as spontaneous as the newspaper reported it, for a restaurant could lose a lot of business if there was any trouble over such a week-end. And, if fact, Mr. Frank Genes, owner, admitted that he had lost about $1500 that night.

When the restaurant closed the group called their attorney who advised them to wait outside until the restaurant opened. They waited in an orderly manner until 8:00 p. m. when only a couple of students were left to keep watch. The next day

---

[53] Morroe Berger, Equality By Statute (New York, 1950), p. 72.

[54] "Quality Closed As 40 Negroes Seek Service," (paper unknown), November 15, 1948, Restaurants, Community (1947-48) Correspondence, Newspapers, Test 435 folder, Dr. Harry M. Tiebout's civil rights files, University of Illinois.

representatives of S-CIC (Dr. Gerald M. Moser, Reverend Arnold F. Westwood, new pastor of the Unitarian Church, and Richard Overby, student) conferred with State's Attorney, John J. Bresee. Mr. Bresee stressed the need to avoid physical violence and mass action in favor of filing individual complaints. For as Mrs Schacht explained to the writer, although the demonstration was orderly, all the ingredients necessary for a riot were there: tension, impatience, anger, cold, and a large number of people, a group of which were growing impatient with the slowness of legal procedure.[55] But there wasn't any trouble and the restaurant finally was opened with only indirect pressure.

The opening of this restaurant showed how valuable citizen support could be. Mrs Yolande E. Clevenger, community member of S-CIC, took it upon herself to write Mr. Genes, whom she knew personally, telling him how disappointed she was in his policy. She then contributed an additional $10 to the Committee. Reverend Doran of the First Presbyterian Church in Urbana also knew Mr. Genes and happened to see him at a funeral. Therefore he arranged for a meeting between Mr. Genes, Mrs Clevenger, Mrs Schacht, and himself. At the meeting in the Quality Cafe the three chatted about the war and the valiance of the Greeks and the discrimination problem, but no decision was made. However, one day the Committee simply heard that a Negro had wandered into the Quality Cafe on his own and was served. Thereafter there was no more trouble.

Not all S-CIC's activities in 1948 were as spectacular in their results as those involved in resolving the Illini Union and Quality Cafe problems. Nevertheless, S-CIC's other activities also helped to further the drive for Negro equality. During 1946 S-CIC had taken the initiative in collecting surplus University athletic equipment for the Douglas Community Center, 805 North Sixth in Champaign. In 1947

---

[55]Interview with Mrs John Schacht, April 15, 1966, University of Illinois.

S-CIC had voted itself a moral sponsor of the Center's new interracial kindergarten in order to raise funds and collect equipment and toys for it. In April 1948 S-CIC voted to finance two scholarships for needy children, one white and one colored, to enable them to attend the interracial kindergarten for the school year of 1948-1949.

S-CIC also wrote the Star Course Board in March 1948 suggesting it make up a list of possible houses where visiting colored artists could stay in an emergency since the Committee had been called upon several times to help find last-minute housing. In May 1948 the Committee sent a letter to the Ford Hotel protesting their treatment of Pearl Primus' dance group who had been invited to the campus by Star Course.

The downtown theaters in 1948 again began steering Negroes toward the balcony. But this practice ceased when George Ehrlich, student co-chairman of S-CIC, wrote letters reminding the theaters that they were breaking the equal accommodations law of the Illinois Criminal Code and that S-CIC intended to see that it was observed.

1948 thus seemed to be the peak year for S-CIC's activities. The Committee moved from concentrating primarily on student concerns to striving for equal accommodations for Negro employees of the Illini Union and for all Negroes in the Quality Cafe in downtown Champaign. It also took an interest in the housing of colored Star Course performers and struck again at the jim-crow habit in the downtown theaters. But besides simply counter-acting existing prejudices, S-CIC also supported a program of interracial education for pre-school children at Douglas Center.

Truman's civil rights activities also reached a peak in 1948 as far as commanding national attention. The coincidence of these two peaks suggests a causal relationship. And the suggestion is strengthened by the fact that local activities began to slow down in 1949, the very year the Korean War grabbed national attention and Truman's civil rights program was defeated.

Truman had realized his only chance of getting his civil rights program through the Senate was to curb filibustering by Southern Democrats. Therefore, in 1949 he sought to weaken the cloture rule but a more stringent rule resulted. "And the pattern of Congressional response for the remainder of the Truman administration followed a well-gutted negative."[56]

Again it is logical that faculty members and students interested in the civil rights movement, just as they had probably followed and were encouraged by Truman's activities in 1948, were at least not encouraged by the defeat of Truman's program and the lack of national interest in civil rights in the years 1949 to 1951.

Local interest in these years focused only on three areas: minstrel shows, housing, and Negro History Weeks in 1949 and 1951. In May 1948 Newman Club had sponsored a minstrel show and S-CIC had protested. In 1949 Gamma House and Ill Manor planned a minstrel skit for the Spring Carnival, and a campaign to ban student minstrel shows at the University promptly began. The Student Senate passed a "resolution recommending that in the future the committee on student affairs disapprove shows which place minority groups in an unfavorable light."[57] But the Committee on Student Affairs (CSA) rejected the Student Senate's resolution. Nevertheless the debate over minstrel shows continued in the DI. One Negro in a letter to the editor objected to the minstrel show as being "extremely humiliating and embarassing to the modern Negro student...." The DI wrote in reply that "minstrel shows have been an American institution since the last century" and that "Negroes of long acquaintance said it was an honor to the Negro race that white people wanted to imitate them."[58] To these statements by the Daily Illini two Negroes objected with indignation. The same views that appeared in their letters also came up in an interview of three white students and one colored student in April

---

[56]Koenig, p. 119.
[57]"Student Minstrels Meet Opposition From Senators," Daily Illini, April 7, 1949, ~~78:130, p.~~ 1.
[58]"Letters to the Editor," Daily Illini, April 8, 1949, ~~78:131, p.~~ 4.

1949 by a Daily Illini reporter. For one white girl said, "For one thing these shows set them (Negroes) off in a group by themselves and people tend to dislike groups whose characteristics are pointed out as being different from their own.... When the Negro takes a comedy or any servant role, people think that they lack intelligence, which isn't true." However, another white student differed from this girl's first statement. He felt that ministrel shows were beneficial to the Negroes because they stressed the "folk songs of their race." Another white student, in a somewhat more patronizing reply, said, "I think the ministrel shows contain the typical Negro heritage and give them a chance to show their talent. I don't think that minstrel shows reflect anything aginst the intelligent Negro much as Tobacco Road would not offend the intelligent white." Even the Negro interviewed said he did not feel minstrel shows were detrimental to the Negro race although he conceded that there were many divergent opinions.[59]

The issue was raised again in 1950 when the Committee on Student Affairs adopted a policy to ban "blackface shows and other entertainment which may ridicule a minority group."[60] However, this time the issue concerned was the worth of censorship and legislation in changing racial attitudes with the arguments on both sides of the issue sounding much like those raised by the 1965 Civil Rights Act. The Daily Illini carried an editorial saying, "...we believe that such things should be handled in a more careful manner--that prejudice must be eliminated by understanding, tact, and patience, rather than by hasty legislation, and censorship."[61] Russel Risdon, a student, wrote that students were capable of sound reasoning and therefore did not need CSA's censorship and that besides "racial prejudice cannot be legislated out of existence."[62] But Mrs Schacht

---

[59]"It's My Opinion," Daily Illini, April 13, 1949, ~~78:134, p.~~ 2.
[60]Irma Schiekedanz, "Blackface Shows Banned by CSA Move," Daily Illini, January 14, 1950, ~~79:74, p.~~ 1.
[61]"Censorship The Answer?" Daily Illini, January 17, 1950, ~~79:75, p.~~ 4.
[62]Russel R. Risdon, "Letters to the Editor," Daily Illini, January 17, 1950, ~~79:75, p.~~ 4.

argued that "Neither can you legislate dishonesty out of existence; but you can legislate against overt acts resulting from dishonesty...You can also legislate against overt acts which induce or sustain prejudice."[63]

Housing on and off campus was also a center of discussion in 1949 and 1950. It was apparent that campus housing for Negroes had made little progress since 1945 when the dorms were opened to all students. For in 1948 H. A. Grace, assistant professor of psychology, led a discussion on housing at a S-CIC meeting which brought out that the colored students lived "across the tracks in private homes" and that there were no Negroes in the independent houses.[64] In 1949 in answer to a question about bus service George Lockhart, a Negro student, mentioned that there were a "great number os students" who lived in north Champaign.[65] And an answer to a question about the need for cooperative housing Frankie Willis, another Negro student, said "Our housing situation is rather bad. We live so far from campus that it is really difficult to walk back and forth so far three and four times a day....I live in a private home now...."[66] An article in the DI on June 2, 1950 reported that over half of the approximately 300 Negro students enrolled in the University[67] lived more than ten blocks away from the campus with some living in substandard housing.[68]

Because it was aware of these housing conditions S-CIC conducted a survey in 1950 in order to determine whether present housing policies were commensurate with student opinion. Dr. Harry Grace, although he was not in full accord with S-CIC

---

[63] Mrs John Schacht, "Letters to the Editor," Daily Illini, January 18, 1950, ~~79:75, p.~~ 4.

[64] "Racial Group Maps New Campaign," Daily Illini, November 17, 1948, ~~77:59, p.~~ 6.

[65] "It's My Opinion," Daily Illini, October 8, 1949, ~~78:17, p.~~ 1.

[66] "It's My Opinion," Daily Illini, October 29, 1949, ~~78:32, p.~~ 4.

[67] George D. Stoddard to Irving Dillard, February 20, 1950, Racial Minorities folder, George D. Stoddard General Correspondence, 1949-1950, Record Series 2/10/1, Box 36, University of Illinois Archives.

[68] "Views On Housing," Daily Illini, June 2, 1950, p. 1, SCHRC Newspaper Clippings from Daily Illini folder, Dr. Harry M. Tiebout's civil rights files, University of Illinois.

on the advisability of using an attitude survey to reduce intergroup tension and segregation in student housing, advised the Committee on general aspects of the make-up of the survey. Identical surveys were given to 311 randomly picked University students and to 1000 students then housed in University operated residence halls. In the first survey 76% said they would be willing to live in the same house with a Negro; 92% had no objections to minority group members living in the same neighborhood; 65% would not object to "rooming with a Negro of relatively the same interests" as himself. This survey also differentiated between Greek and Independent attitudes, finding that 81% of the latter were willing to live in the same housing with a Negro as compared with only 67% of the Greeks. However, there was only a 7% difference between the number of Greeks and the number of Independents who were willing to room with a Negro although again the difference was in favor of the Independents.[69]

Just as integrated troops in Korea were those who most favored integrated troops,[70] S-CIC's survey of University-housed students showed that those students who were then sharing housing with Negroes were more in favor of integrated housing than the general student body. 95% of the University- housed students favored living in houses with Negroes as opposed to only 76% of the general student body.[71]

Such interracial living existed only in University residence halls, two houses, and one cooperative. One of the interracial houses was Wescoga which admitted a Negro girl in 1945. The other interracial house was "International House" owned by Mrs Ada Lee Parker, an active member of S-CIC since its formation, who had faced neighborhood and Dean Turner's objections to her interracial living project as early as the 1930's. "International Student Cooperative House," commonly called "Isco House," grew from an interracial group of friends who wanted to live

---

69 "Survey Reveals Views of 311 On Housing," Daily Illini, June 1, 1950, p. 1, SCHRC Newspaper Clippings from the Daily Illini folder, Dr. Harry M. Tiebout's civil rights files, University of Illinois.

70 White, pp. 101-2.

71 "S-CIC Study Finds 47% of Students Approve of Mixed Social Dating," Daily Illini, June 3, 1950, p. 1, SCHRC Newspaper Clippings from Daily Illini folder, Dr. Harry M. Tiebout's civil rights files, University of Illinois.

together.

The rest of S-CIC's survey dealt with interracial dating. And the only question on the whole survey that showed widely differing opinion and indecision was the following: "Do you object to social dating among people of different races?" 50% of the students said no; 47% said yes; and 3% were undecided. But asked "Do you think that as time goes on we should have more mingling of racial groups?" only 10% said no while 83% said yes and 6% were undecided.[72]

Students and faculty were also interested in Champaign-Urbana housing during the years 1949 and 1950. The twin cities had been drawing up plans and specifications for a public housing project in 1941 when World War II interrupted their work. However in August 1949 the Champaign City Council announced that the Champaign County Housing Authority was in the process of applying for federal funds to build a 70-unit colored project between Fourth and Fifth streets north of Bradley avenue. Plans had also been made for a white unit at McKinley and Bradley avenues to be constructed after the Negro unit. Urbana shortly thereafter followed the way of Champaign in applying for federal funds to build segregated public housing units. Their funds were approved only a short time before President Truman in December 1949 announced his policy of "denying Federal Housing administration financing to any 'racially restricted properties'."[73]

By March 1950 construction plans were ready for the two 70-unit public housing projects for Champaign and for the 125 units in Urbana--100 for whites and 25 for Negroes. Harold R. Sloan, executive director of the Housing Authority for Champaign County said, "It isn't our practice to change the racial pattern of a neighborhood," although he acted as the distributor for the federal funds. These plans and Mr. Sloan's statement set off a reaction. An editorial in the Daily Illini commented

---

[72]"S-CIC Study Finds 47% of Students Approve of Mixed Social Dating," Daily Illini.
[73]"Truman to Deny Housing Aid to Race-Restricted Areas," Daily Illini, December 3, 1949, ~~78:54, p.~~ 3.

on Mr. Sloan's statement saying that it was "a rationalization because surveys (had) shown that persons of both races live in Champaign's blighted areas" and then went on to say that "Studies by socialogists have shown that one of the best ways to reduce friction is to create a situation where the two groups can know each other in primary relationships--where they meet and live together face to face."[74] This is what S-CIC believed their survey proved. In another editorial the DI quoted a University sociologist who sounded much like Professor Richard Dewey who often spoke to S-CIC: "It (the plan for segregated units) perpetuates and makes official a very informal condition of segregation....separating Negroes from whites in a formal way such as this may lead to discontent among the Negroes and then to crime. A slum," he said, sounding much like sociologists of 1966 explaining the Watts' riots, "is more than a physical condition; it is a matter of the people's feelings."[75]

Besides conducting the attitude survey S-CIC also sponsored Negro History Weeks in 1949 and 1951 not to protest "against injustices suffered by Negroes" but "to highlight the achievements" Negroes had made "in the face of injustices."[76] The Negro History Week in 1949 was co-sponsored by S-CIC and the Young Progressives of America and featured a Teachers-in-Training panel on "Teaching Negro History in the Schools," a program in tribute to the Negro's contribution to American culture entitled "I, Too, Sing America," and a film, "The Story of Dr. Carver, Negro Scientist." One aspect of the program, "I, Too, Sing America," prompted Bernard Century, an instructor in the Department of Theoretical and Applied Mechanics, to write a letter to the editor of the Daily Illini. He praised all of the program except a talk given by Marion Causey of the history department. He wrote, "One

---

[74] "Segregated Units Not Answer," Daily Illini, April 1, 1950, ~~79:122, p.~~ 4.
[75] "Housing Project Small Advance Toward Goal," Daily Illini, March 25, 1950, ~~79:117, p.~~ 1.
[76] "Plans Undertaken For Negro Week," Daily Illini, March 1, 1949, ~~78:103, p.~~ 1.

of the themes of Miss Causey's talk was that if the Negro were to accept a role of submissiveness it would be a great step toward the alleviation of their suffering...and that present day militancy as in the form of legislation, will not solve anything. I express my hearty disagreement with the conclusion of submissiveness and consider that only by an intensified forcing of the issue in educational and legislative manners can the elimination of Jim Crow be accomplished."[77] The difference in the viewpoints of Mr. Century and Miss Causey reflects the long difference of opinion between the followers of Booker T. Washington, who "counseled progress by evolution rather than by agitation or violence, temporary acquiescence in policies of segregation, and co-operation with the ruling white class," and the followers of W. E. B. Du Bois, who denied that Negroes "could ever win economic security without the vote or achieve self-respect as long as they acquiesced in a positon of inferiority...."[78]

The question of the wisdom of having a Negro History Week evidently was raised during its celebration in 1949, for during the following week a panel discussion sponsored by S-CIC discussed the advisability of celebrating the achievements of the Negro. Leonard Levine argued that "special emphasis of such achievements (would) create more religious and racial tolerance" while Frank M. Smith argued that such emphasis "succeeds only in setting minority groups even more apart from the general public."[79] This same issue was raised in 1949 and 1950 when the Student Senate planned to sponsor another Negro History Week for 1951. S-CIC played a large role in organizing the activities for the Week and tried to get as many other campus organizations to participate as possilbe. But Joseph H. Blackwell, corresponding secretary of Alpha Phi Alpha, a Negro fraternity,

---

[77] Bernard Century, "Letters to the Editor," Daily Illini, April 22, 1949, ~~78:139,~~ p. 4.

[78] Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager, The Growth Of The American Republic (New York, 1962), pp. 472-3.

[79] "S-CIC Will Debate Minority Gains," Daily Illini, May 3, 1949, ~~78:146, p.~~ 8.

wrote the secretary of S-CIC refusing to participate in Negro History Week because his fraternity felt it was "a retrogression to the idea which...flourished entirely too long in the United States that the Negro is a separate citizen apart from the remainder of the population...."[80] Representatives of Alpha Kappa Alpha, a Negro sorority, also wrote S-CIC declining to participate in Negro History Week; they felt they should strive to be recognized "as ordinary people and not treated as something special."[81]

However seventeen campus organizations and housing groups did take part in Negro History Week. The week included a concert by the Chanute Airman's Chorus and a speech by Mrs Wendell Green of the Chicago Mayor's Commission on Human Relations on "The Fundamentals of Human Equality" followed by selections by the Men's Glee Club. In the Illini Union there was a coffee hour with Isco House and Delta Sigma Theta, a Negro sorority, as hosts; a jazz program in the Club Commons; and the continuous playing of recordings by famous Negro artists and composers in the Wedgewood Lounge. Dr. Shattuck directed and produced "Our Town" with an interracial cast. Special exhibits were displayed on the main floor of the library, in the YMCA, and at the Illini Union Bookstore. Thus by 1951 the Illini campus could be almost completely organized to recognize Negro achievements.

S-CIC had accomplished much since its formation in 1945 but from 1949 to 1951 all it did was to conduct its survey on interracial attitudes and to celebrate National History Week. Although these activities were not unimportant, it is obvious that S-CIC had done considerably more in other years. And the explanation does not lie only in the lack of national impetus. The Committee's internal divisions also retarded its progress.

---

[80] Joseph H. Blackwell to Juanita E. Dillard, February 21, 1949, Negro History Week 1951 folder, Dr. Harry M. Tiebout's civil rights files, University of Illinois.

[81] Erlene L. Collins and Alnerne Burke to S-CIC, January 1951, Negro History Week 1951 folder, Dr. Harry M. Tiebout's civil rights files, University of Illinois.

By 1951 the older members of the Committee realized that it had as members a fairly well-defined bloc of people who always advocated more agressive and violent action than the slow legal action the older members of the Committee had found to be necessary. Even as early as 1948 this group had consistently advocated more agressive action in dealing with the Quality Cafe. And although the effectiveness of the $600 legal fund lay not in its use but in its psychological impact on those against whom legal procedures were threatened, this group persistently wanted to take the money and start a court case before all other methods which did not cost anything were tried. In 1950 and 1951 it came to the attention of the Committee that there was discrimination at the Rollerdrome, one-half block north of Five Points on Highway 45. The Rollerdrome was a meeting place for tough high school students and drop-outs. Some of the Committee said that S-CIC should not bother the Rollerdrome because it was obvious from the test cases that there was a troublous atmosphere and a circle of tough boys who supported the extremely antagonistic manager; these Committee members believed that pursuing the Rollerdrome prolem would only cause trouble for the Committee in that members were likely to be harmed physically, and a riot was not unlikely. In addition, it was not a place that the community approved of and therefore S-CIC's interest in it would not be approved of. But the same bloc of students who always advocated the more extreme methods wanted to go ahead with the Rollerdrome no matter what the consequences for the Committee and its members. The more conservative members, who were in the majority, discouraged the suggestions of action against the Rollerdrome and let the problem drift.

But it became apparent that discouraging the aggressive bloc and letting the problems they were interested in drift was not a lasting remedy. In addition it was going to be increasingly difficult to exclude all of the more radical members, especially Herb Wolf, from the high offices. It was commonly understood that Herb Wolf was one of the most intelligent people on the Committee and knew more

about the Committee than anyone else. Moreover, he was one of the most dependable, hard-working members of S-CIC. He would do whatever was asked of him whether it was addressing envelopes or cranking the mimeograph machine. He was in no sense a "wide-eyed radical" but rather a "typical math student," a thin, quiet boy with thick glasses. However in his quiet way he advocated taking agressive action toward recalcitrant restaurants, persisted in urging action on the Rollerdrome problem, and urged faster and more aggressive moves to remove the Union problem. And Herb Wolf was probably a Communist like many others of the bloc.[82]

Herb Wolf and a bloc of votes could not be ignored forever; something was going to have to happen. The executive committee therefore with extreme reluctance finally went to Dean Turner, told him they did not want the reputation of a Communist-front organization, and asked his advice. All he could suggest was dissolutionment which they refused to do. Therefore, the more conservative members took matters into their own hands. An undated, long-hand letter to "John" (John Langdon, community co-chairman in 1951) signed "Chuck" (Dr. Charles Shattuck) outlined the solution S-CIC used to solve its problem of undesirable membership. As Dr. Shattuck suggested, it happened suddenly, on March 22, 1951, in one meeting packed with nearly 100 picked, dues-paid members. A statement, essentially the same as outlined by Dr. Shattuck in his letter, from the Executive Committee was read to the membership. The first point was that the Unitarian Church was "dubious of the policies and critical of the membership of S-CIC" and therefore until those matters were corrected, the facilities of the Church were being denied to the Committee. Point four said that the Executive Committee and older members of the group were disturbed because most of the old community members had fallen away and it had been increasingly difficult to attract new community and student members. In fact the statement said that prospective members had informed the Executive

---

[82]Interview with Mrs John Schacht, April 15, 1966, University of Illinois.

Committe that they were unwilling to be officially associated with part of the membership "on the grounds of questionable and dangerous political affiliations." Point five told that the Executive Committee had discovered that the group, American Youth for Democracy (AYD), who had lost their University charter on the grounds of "subversive tendencies," had formally resolved in 1950 "to take S-CIC over." This section of the statement also said that the Executive Committee had been "reliably advised, from several sources" that that part of the membership of S-CIC described as "a small but unanimous and extremely vocal minority" originated from AYD.[83]

After the statement had been read S-CIC on a pre-planned, page-long motion, prepared and read by Dr. Shattuck, voted itself out of existence with all members being refunded their semester dues. The name of the organization was vested in a committee of five persons who were known "to be friends to the organization and free from its dissensions: The Reverend James Hine of the Presbyterian Church, The Reverend E. Kilgore of the University Baptist Church, and Professor Robert Dubin of the department of sociology, and two students: Rudolph Thomas and Fred Ballantine...." in order that they might "reconstitute S-CIC along lines most conducive to internal harmony and outward effectiveness...."[84] The motion was passed 97 to 17 after heated discussion and an attempt at filibustering by Herb Wolf.

Despite the dissolvement of S-CIC the community and campus were evidently still interested in civil rights. For the Trustee Committee "found a great amount of interest everywhere for a comprehensive organization which could do a good job in bettering human relations in the twin cities. Leaders of civic organizations, churches, students, faculty members encouraged the Committee to believe that a

---

[83] Charles H. Shattuck, "Proposed Statement To The Membership of SCIC By the Executive Committee," SCIC Dissolvement and Reorganization folder, Dr. Harry M. Tiebout's civil rights files, University of Illinois.

[84] "Statement presented to SCIC by Professor Shattuck--March 22, 1951," SCIC Dissolvement and Reorganization folder, Dr. Harry M. Tiebout's civil rights files, University of Illinois.

group could be organized that would be more effective"[85] than even S-CIC had been. The Student-Community Human Relations Committee was immediately formed with a strict membership policy and proved both active and effective in the 1950's.

S-CIC wasn't unique in facing the problem of Communist infiltration. For the Kremlin has always ordered its followers to propagandize among the disadvantaged groups in each country. The American Communist party attempted to move in and take over the direction of Negro protests by creating various Communist subsidiary organizations, such as the League of Struggle for Negro Rights and the National Negro Congress. And the NAACP has had to revoke the charters of some of its local units which came under the control or influence of Communists.[86] Thus S-CIC's dissolution, although undemocratic, was not a reflection of McCarthism but a genuine response to a genuine threat to the community.

S-CIC showed interest in the Negro students' housing and eating problems, but the lack of Negro participation in extra-curricular activities was one situation that was little discussed during the period 1945-1951. From at least 1938 to after 1950 only one Negro participated in any other sport besides track and football. Jean Knapp in her freshman rhetoric theme of 1944-45 wrote, "Negroes are not allowed on baseball, basketball, tennis, and swimming teams. They are however, allowed to try out for track and football....It would seem that if a student were good enough to take part in a football game he would be just as eligible to play in a baseball game."[87] The writer asked Mr. Doug Mills, director of the Athletic Association, about Miss Knapp's statements. He said that Negroes are primarily jumpers and sprinters, thus accounting for their participation in football and track. But this assertion also suggests they would be good in basketball. Furthermore, in explaining why Negroes did not take part in baseball, Mr. Mills explained

---

[85] "Report of the Trustee Committee," SCIC Dissolvement and Reorganization folder, Dr. Harry M. Tiebout's civil rights files, University of Illinois.
[86] White, pp. 213-4.
[87] Knapp, p. 12.

that until about the last ten years, most high schools only had track, football, and basketball in their athletic programs. Thus while this could account for the absence of Negroes from the baseball team, it again raises the question of why there were no Negro basketball players. Mr. Mills said that "in general" there had been no discouragement by individual coaches and that there had been no official policy of discriminating against Negroes in any sport.[88]

That there was no official policy of discriminating against Negroes in athletics does not fully remove the blame from the athletic department for the absence of Negroes in sports other than football, track, and swimming for over a thirteen-year period. Mrs Schacht said, "Negroes know where they are not wanted and they simply would not come to the University of Illinois if the University, rightly or wrongly, was known to discriminate in its athletic program."[89] If the athletic department did have a reputation for discriminating against Negroes, it seems to have been a correct one. This is indicated by the note cards Dr. Moser used for a speech at a YMCA forum on April 10, 1948. He had listed under "University policies in regard to race" that discrimination in sports was disappearing and that "basketball was about to change."[90]

However the fact that Ralph Hines was the only Negro on the swimming team in this thirteen-year period is significant. For from 1945 to 1951 graduating Negroes listed as their activites only departmental clubs, fraternity and sorority offices, scholastic honors, participation in plays of the Illini Theater Guild, which Dr. Shattuck headed, YMCA and YWCA offices, football, and track. But Ralph Hines listed besides these activities and football, track, and swimming, President of the Junior Class, Secretary-Treasurer of the Sophomore Class, chairman of the Sophomore Cotillion, Illini Union Committee, Campus Chest, and World Conference of Christian Youth, Oslo, Norway. Thus it appears that in school activities as

---

[88]Interview with Mr. Doug Mills, April 13, 1966, University of Illinois.
[89]Interview with Mrs John Schacht, April 15, 1966, University of Illinois.
[90]Note cards from a speech given by Dr. Gerald M. Moser at YMCA, April 10, 1948, History of SCIC (1945-1951) folder, Dr. Harry M. Tiebout's civil rights files, University of Illinois.

in the athletic program there was no official discriminatory policy but that there was a policy of discouragement directed toward Negroes. However, a person like Ralph Hines who had the ability and was willing to not be deterred could enter the activities he wished.

Although S-CIC didn't take a special interest in this lack of Negro participation in school activities, it was active in trying to resolve many other problems in the years 1945 to 1951. The strength of the local communities' interest and therefore the strength of S-CIC's effectiveness, however, fluctuated. And these changes in local interest seemed to correspond to the fluctuations in national attention. This coincidence suggests that national events influenced the strength of the local movement.

In 1945 and 1946 the ideals of World War II provided the impetus for the formation of S-CIC and then were evoked by the Daily Illini to support this Committee's actions against discriminatory restaurants. Undoubtedly it was also the war ideals that spurred the sudden increase in local interest that provided the support for S-CIC's actions.

In 1947 the war ideals seemed to have been forgotten and the drive for Negro equality slakened. But then in 1948 Truman's civil rights program gained national attention. In this same year S-CIC's activities reached their peak. The Committee opened the Quality Cafe and gained equal accommodations for permanent Negro employees in the Illini Union. It also took an active interest in Star Course Housing for Negro performers, Douglas Center's interracial kindergarten, and discrimination in want ads.

Although S-CIC's work continued in the years 1949 to 1951, they accomplished little. Their decreased activity can probably be explained in part by the lack of national interest in civil rights. Truman's civil rights program had been defeated and the nation's interest was turned to the Korean War.

Not only did the local movement seem to reflect the strength of national interest in civil rights, but it also reflected the national interest in certain problems. Throughout the years 1945 to 1951 S-CIC actively supported the passage of a Fair Employment Practices bill on both the state and national levels. Members of S-CIC were also urged to write letters supporting anti-lynching legislation and calling for the refusal to seat Senator Bilbo of Mississippi by the United States' Senate. The Daily Illini and one faculty member in the dispute over segregation in Champaign-Urbana's public housing projects reflected President Truman's interest in obtaining open housing.

The nation had been involved in a Cold War since 1947 and had been worrying about Communist infiltration of all levels of life. This fear was manifested in the hearings of the Senate Committee on Un-American Activities and Truman's establishment of procedures to guarantee the loyalty of government employees. Although the Communist party has apparently always tried to infiltrate the civil rights movement, S-CIC was a concrete example of the special fear the nation held of Communism from 1945 to the mid 1950's. However, S-CIC's dissolution and reorganization was not a foreshadowing of McCarthyism although the Committee did have to resort to undemocratic procedures to get rid of their undemocratic elements. For S-CIC faced a genuine threat in the form of a well-defined bloc of their membership.

But the importance of local events in these years lies not in the extent to which they reflected national interest and events but in the extent to which they foreshadowed the national civil rights movement of the 1950's and 1960's. The very intensity of their drive for Negro equality was unparalleled on the national level until the late 1950's. And because of the early intensity of their drive S-CIC ran across the same type of slow-moving local officials in State's Attorney John J. Bresee and Dean Fred H. Turner that the national civil rights movement

encountered in the late 1950's and 1960's. S-CIC also met the same shifting of responsibility that the national drive for Negro equality has met. Restaurants said it was their patrons who wanted segregated restaurants. Administrative officials said that it was the employees and their union's responsibility to initiate a change in the segregated washrooms of the Illini Union and not theirs or the students'. Similarly, the Daily Illini said it was not the students' but the twin cities' responsibility to attack discrimination off-campus.

As Dr. Tiebout said, "We were picketing and staging sit-ins way before anyone even thought of such things."[91] S-CIC didn't invent these tactics, but picketing, testing, and sit-ins formed the core of their attack.

President Stoddard's handling of the segregated facilities in the Illini Union occurred at a time when the Supreme Court was still insisting on "separate but equal" accommodations. It was not until 1954 that the Court judged that separate facilities were inherently unequal because of their psychological impact.

The events of these years also foreshadowed the arguments over the merits of legislation versus the merits of education that came to be standard at the time of the 1965 Civil Rights Bill. The dispute over minstrel shows was also indicative of the recent concern with Aunt Jemima, Little Black Sambo restaurants, black-face T. V. minstrel shows, etc.

Thus the University of Illinois in its drive for Negro equality in the years 1945 to 1951 showed how the beginnings of nation-wide changes in the United States often lie in those communities where people are interested in making democracy a reality.

---

[91] Telephone conversation with Dr. Harry M. Tiebout, April 16, 1966, University of Illinois.

List of Works Cited

"Attendance Dwindling," Interracial Newsletter, February 17, 1947.
"Bar Intolerance Here," Daily Illini, July 24, 1946.
Berger, Morroe. Equality by Statute. New York, 1950.
Bicham, Martin Hayes to George D. Stoddard, October 30, 1946, Racial Minorities folder, George D. Stoddard General Correspondence, 1946-1947, Record Series 2/10/1, Box 9, University of Illinois Archives.
"Bigotry Back to Normal," Daily Illini, July 6, 1946, 4.
"Bilbo Incites to Riot," Champaign-Urbana Courier, June 27, 1946, 6.
Blackwell, Joseph H. to Juanita E. Dillard, February 21, 1949, Negro History Week 1951 folder, Dr. Harry M. Tiebout's civil rights files, University of Illinois.
Britton, William E. to D. E. Dickason, September 8, 1948, Illini Union Building folder, George D. Stoddard General Correspondence, 1948-1949, Record Series 2/10/1, Box 27, University of Illinois Archives.
"Build On Sand," Daily Illini, July 11, 1945, 3.
"Censorship the Answer?," Daily Illini, January 17, 1950, 4.
Collins, Erlene L. and Alnerne Burke to S-CIC, January 1951, Negro History Week 1951 folder, Dr. Harry M. Tiebout's civil rights files, University of Illinois.
Daniels, Jonathan. The Man Of Independence. New York, 1950.
Dickason, D. E. to Wilbur Shramm, February 20, 1948, Illini Union Building folder, George D. Stoddard General Correspondence, 1948-1949, Record Series 2/10/1, Box 27, University of Illinois Archives.
Dressler, Brad, "Restaurant Men Say Business Not Affected; Racial Policy Firm," Daily Illini, June 5, 1946, 1.
"Editorials," Daily Illini, July 11, 1945, 2.
Ehrlich, George. "History of S-CIC," History of S-CIC 1945-1951 folder, Dr. Harry M. Tiebout's civil rights files, University of Illinois.
"Five Cafes End Discrimination, " Daily Illini, September 11, 1946, 1.
Franklin, John Hope. From Slavery To Freedom. New York, 1956.
Frazier, E. Franklin. The Negro in the United States. New York, 1957.
Guzman, Jessie Parkhurst. Negro Year Book. Alabama, 1947.
Havens, C. S. to George D. Stoddard, December 29, 1947, Illini Union Building folder, George D. Stoddard General Correspondence, 1948-1949, Record Series 2/10/1, Box 27, University of Illinois Archives.
Hodges, Norval D. to D. E. Dickason, June 11, 1948, Illini Union Building folder, George D. Stoddard General Correspondence, 1948-1949, Record Series 2/10/1, Box 27, University of Illinois Archives.
"Housing Project Samll Advance Toward Goal, " Daily Illini, March 2, 1950, 1.
"Inter-Racial Committee Takes Action Against Anti-Democratic Attitudes," Daily Illini, January 24, 1946, 3.
"Interracial Group Attacks Fascism," Daily Illini, September 5, 1946, 1.
"Interracial Group Lauds Probe of Lynchings," Daily Illini, August 13, 1946, 1.
"Interracial House Proves Beneficial," Daily Illini, October 12, 1945, 2.
Interview with Mr. Doug Mills, April 13, 1966, University of Illinois.
Interview with Mrs John Schacht, April 13, 1966, University of Illinois.
"It's My Opinion," Daily Illini, April 13, 1949, 2; October 8, 1949,1; October 29, 1949, 4.
Jenkins, Charles J. to George D. Stoddard, August 23, 1948, Illini Union Building folder, George D. Stoddard General Correspondence, 1948-1948, Record Series 2/10/1, Box 27, University of Illinois Archives.

Knapp, Jean. "The University of Illinois And Its Negroes," The Green Caldron, April 1946, 12, University of Illinois Archives.
Koenig, Louis W. The Truman Administration. New York, 1956.
Lee, Albert. "Approximate Number of Negro Students, 1944-45," Housing of Colored Students folder, Arthur C. Willard Goneral Correspondence, 1944-45, Record Series 2/9/1, Box 92, University of Illinois Archives.
"Letters to the Editor," Daily Illini, January 21, 1945,5; August 20, 1946, 4; April 13, 1946,4; April 8, 1949, 4; April 22, 1949, 4; January 17, 1950, 4; January 18, 1950, 4.
Logan, Rayford W. The Negro in the United States. New York, 1957.
Morison, Samuel Eliot and Henry Steele Commager. The Growth Of The American Republic. New York, 1962.
Moser, Gerald, "Calling All Community Members," Interracial Newsletter, April 7, 1947.
"No U. of I. Dorms for Negro," Defender, August 4, 1945, Arthur C. Willard General Correspondence, 1944-1945, Housing for Colored Students folder, Record Series 2/9/1, Box 92, University of Illinois Archives.
Note cards from a speech given by Dr. Gerald M. Moser at YMCA, April 10, 1948, History of SCIC (1945-1951) folder, Dr. Harry M. Tiebout's civil rights files, University of Illinois.
"Plans Undertaken For Negro Week," Daily Illini, March 1, 1949, 1.
"Preamble to the Constitution," Interracial Newsletter, October 21, 1946, Student-Community Interracial Committee folder, Record Series 41/6/0, University of Illinois Archives.
"Quality Closed As 40 Negroes Seek Service," (paper unknown), November 15, 1948, Restaurants, Community (1947-48) Correspondence, Newspapers, Test 435 folder, Dr. Harry M. Tiebouts civil rights files, University of Illinois.
"Racial Group Maps New Campaign," Daily Illini, November 17, 1948, 6.
"Report of the Trustee Committee," SCIC Dissolvement and Reorganization folder, Dr. Harry M. Tiebout's civil rights files, University of Illinois.
"Sample Speech to be Given to Housing Units Requesting Passage of Resolution," Restaurants (Campus, 1946) folder, Dr. Harry M. Tiebout's civil rights files, University of Illinois.
Schiekedanz, Irma. "Blackface Shows Banned by CSA Move," Daily Illini, January 14, 1950, 1.
Schultz, Benjamin J. to (Dr. Charles H. Shattuck), Restaurant (Campus) Correspondence folder, Dr. Harry M. Tiebout's civil rights files, University of Illinois.
Script, "Interview of Dr. Gerald M. Moser," WILL Radio, September 28, 1948, History of S-CIC 1945-51 folder, Dr. Harry M. Tiebout's civil rights files, University of Illinois.
"Segregated Units Not Answer," Daily Illini, April 1, 1950, 4.
Shattuck, Charles H. "Proposed Statement To The Membership of SCIC By The Executive Committee," SCIC Dissolvement and Reorganization folder, Dr. Harry M. Tiebout's civil rights files, University of Illinois.
Shattuck, Charles H., Welton Taylor and George Ehrlich to D. E. Dickason, April 11, 1948, Illini Union Building folder, George D. Stoddard General Correspondence, 1948-1949, Record Series 2/10/1, Box 27, University of Illinois Archives.
Shramm, Wilbur to George D. Stoddard, March 2, 1948, Illini Union Building folder, George D. Stoddard General Correspondence, 1948-1949, Record Series 2/10/1, Box 27, University of Illinois Archives.
"Statement presented to SCIC by Professor Shattuck--March 22, 1951" SCIC Dissolvement and Reorganization folder, Dr. Harry M. Tiebout's civil rights files, University of Illinois.

Steinberg, Alfred. The Man From Missouri. New York, 1962.
Stoddard, George D. to Irving Dillard, February 20, 1950, Racial Minorities folder, George D. Stoddard General Correspondence, 1949-1950, Record Series 2/10/1, Box 36, University of Illinois Archives.
---------- to V. L. Kretschmer, September 14, 1948, Illini Union Building folder, George D. Stoddard General Correspondence, 1948-1949, Record Series 2/10/1, Box 27, University of Illinois Archives.
"Stoddard Hits Discrimination," Daily Illini, August 6, 1946, 1.
"Stoddard Speaks At Round Table In Chicago," Daily Illini, July 15, 1947, 6.
"S-CIC Study Finds 47% of Students Approve of Mixed Social Dating," Daily Illini, June 3, 1950, 1, SCHRC Newspaper Clippings from Daily Illini folder, Dr. Harry M. Tiebout's civil rights files, University of Illinois.
"S-CIC Will Debate Minority Gains," Daily Illini, May 3, 1949, 8.
"Student Minstrels Meet Opposition From Senators," Daily Illini, April 7, 1949, 1.
"Survey Reveals Views of 311 On Housing," Daily Illini, June 1, 1950, 1, SCHRC Newspaper Clippings from the Daily Illini folder, Dr. Harry M. Tiebout's civil rights files, University of Illinois.
Telephone Conversation with Dr. Harry M. Tiebout, April 16, 1966, University of Illinois.
"A Town For The Townspeople," Daily Illini, September 13, 1946, 4.
Truman, Harry S. Memoirs, II. New York, 1956.
"Truman to Deny Housing Aid to Race-Restricted Areas," Daily Illini, December 3, 1949, 3.
"Trustees Restate Racial Policy," Daily Illini, September 25, 1946, 3.
Turner, Fred H. to George D. Stoddard, December 23, 1947, Illini Union Building folder, George D. Stoddard General Correspondence, 1948-1949, Record Series 2/10/1, Box 27, University of Illinois Archives.
"Views On Housing," Daily Illini, June 2, 1950, 1, SCHRC Newspaper Clippings from Daily Illini folder, Dr. Harry M. Tiebout's civil rights files, University of Illinois.
Westbrooks, Richard D. to Charles H. Shattuck, August 27, 1946, Restaurant (Campus) Correspondence, folder, Dr. Harry M. Tiebout's civil rights files, University of Illinois.
White, Walter. How Far the Promised Land? New York, 1955.