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**Injustice sheltered: Race relations at the University of Illinois
and Champaign-Urbana, 1945-1962**

Franke, Carrie, Ph.D.

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1990

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**INJUSTICE SHELTERED:
RACE RELATIONS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
AND CHAMPAIGN-URBANA, 1945-1962**

BY

CARRIE FRANKE

**B.S., University of Illinois, 1980
Ed.M., University of Illinois, 1984**

THESIS

**Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Education
in the Graduate College of the
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1990**

Urbana, Illinois

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN

THE GRADUATE COLLEGE

AUGUST 1990

WE HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS BY

CARRIE FRANKE

ENTITLED INJUSTICE SHELTERED:
RACE RELATIONS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
AND CHAMPAIGN-URBANA, 1945-1962

BE ACCEPTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR

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Carrie Franke, Ph.D.
College of Education
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1990
Paul Violas, Advisor

This is a case study of the history of race relations at the University of Illinois and Champaign Urbana from the World War II era to the early 1960s. It tells the story of racial injustice perpetuated within this town-and-gown community and how those who were disconcerted with it struggled, resisted, challenged, and changed aspects of this system. Playing host to major overlapping institutional spheres and linked together in fundamental ideological, economical, political, and social ways, Jim Crow was manifest in blatant and institutionalized ways, teetering dangerously on the imaginary Mason-Dixon line, taking on characteristics of Southern and Northern racism. Just as Jim Crow was both overt and covert in real life, so, too, was the evidence as to its existence. Many rich archival sources were openly-shelved and logically-labeled; many, however, were housed under obscure titles, and it was by chance and much reading that they were discovered.

The three major institutional arenas of housing, employment and public accommodations were the major focal point of the study. The patterns and practices of housing discrimination set the tone which had a detrimental effect on race relations in all other areas of living and remain the most difficult to change. Like housing, the institution of employment was also laden with discriminatory practices with the university largely mirroring the community in its racial practices, and these too remain difficult to rectify. Finally, Jim Crow existed in everyday college life as well as in everyday society, yet it was here that protest organizations made the most strides. Placed in the context of American apartheid and resistance to it, this case study reveals how the beliefs and stereotypes of Jim Crow were stubbornly perpetuated in this Northern academic community well into the twentieth century.

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This study would not have been possible without the help of many excellent teachers and many loving friends. Thank you to Paul Violas who served as my dissertation chair and who read and re-read the seemingly countless drafts I passed his way; to Patricia Violas who read, and revised, and made suggestions; to Clarence Karier who also read and critiqued my work; and to Georgia Garcia who not only served on my committee, but who has also offered careful guidance in my life as a teacher. I would like to acknowledge William Trent and Ralph Page for their hours of conversations and their support. Finally, James Anderson's teachings have had the most profound impact on my life. It was a privilege to take his courses, to work with him, and to share in what I hope will be an unending discussion of the importance of education. Though I still have so much to learn, it is my fervent desire that his wisdom and careful thinking will remain with me for a long, long time. I want to pass on to others as best I can the gifts he has given me, and that's a tall order. I also wish to thank Raymond Bial for generously providing me with outstanding photographs of the people whose stories have been told in this dissertation. His contribution brought "life" to this study.

In addition to the faculty, I have been blessed with a rich family of friends whose encouragement, support, and love never let down, even when I did. Mary Prignano, Melanie Turnipseed Kenney, Connye Vyverberg, Steven Franke, and Eric and Sandy Geyer all believed that I could balance scholarship with relationships, in spite of the terrific forces in graduate school that seem to work against such a desire. In addition to these friends, I especially want to acknowledge Amy McAninch who has been with me every step of the way and who consistently provides the theory to my very practical teaching and research orientation. Finally, I wish to thank my dearest confidant and teacher, Laura Wozniak who has listened patiently, guided gently, and believed in me strongly; and, my newest friend Mark Burns who has helped me see that the completion of this dissertation does not signal the end of my education, but that life's most important learnings have only just now begun.

PREFACE

**The universe is on the side of justice . . . there
is a creative force in this universe that
works to bring the disconnected aspects
of reality into a harmonious whole.**

--Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION:

JIM CROW DISGUISED AND REVEALED

A white man sits before a mirror, dips into a jar of theatrical paint, and gradually spreads it over his face, watching his whiteness give way to total black, except for the eyes, surrounded by white circles, and the mouth, turned upward into a perpetual grin. Then a kinky wig, a multicolored set of pants and shirt, a cutaway and top hat--behold, the minstrel man . . .¹

The minstrel man was a Northern creation. On stage, in attempts to conceal the true origin of this manifestation of the ideology of black inferiority, white actors disguised themselves in black-face, acting out stereotypes of African-American thought and behavior. This disguise and accompanying charade served both as a vehicle to create and perpetuate the image of innate black inferiority as well as a personae behind which to hide. Yet, for African-Americans and those who lived by the ideals of equality and justice, this disguise was transparent; the truth of Northern white racism was obvious.

Offstage, as with on, Northern whites attempted to conceal their racist ideas and actions. Complex bureaucratic institutions served as the greasepaint behind which these actors hid. Real life settings laced with rules, procedures, hierarchies within hierarchies, and institutions within institutions were the stage on which these actors attempted to conceal their own racism. This attempt at concealment was carried out by shifting the responsibility for the discriminatory philosophy or practice onto other characters or settings. Yet, like the minstrel show performers, actions of institutional actors were at times so blatantly racist that attempts at hiding or disguising

1. Joseph Boskin, *Sambo* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 5. The nature of the imagery of minstrel shows is treated in depth in Appendix A. This treatment is important because it provides an understanding of an extremely popular, common and pernicious way stereotypes of blacks were transmitted and "learned." For this dissertation, the phenomenon of minstrel imagery is both metaphor and concrete. The essay in Appendix A will serve as the foundation of this motif that frequently appears throughout this work.

them could not conceal the resultant Jim Crow practices.

Well past the first half of the twentieth century, the University of Illinois and its community of Champaign–Urbana provided such a setting for both staged and real-life as well as disguised and conspicuous Jim Crow. Though north of the Ohio and though housed within a state which proudly proclaimed itself to be the Land of Lincoln, this Northern university community assigned subordinate and menial roles in inferior segregated settings to African–Americans. These positions were cast in spite of Illinois laws and University of Illinois policies which mandated racial equality.

Sanctioned by the federal government by the Compromise of 1877 and then further by the Plessey decision of 1896, each state was granted the right to create and enforce laws which would govern the conduct of and between whites and African–Americans.² Southern law (as well as Southern white behavior) nearly perfectly and consistently prescribed superior roles to whites and inferior roles to blacks.³ In nearly all arenas of life, Southern restrictions of black behavior governed personal lives, housing, employment, public accommodations, and education.⁴ In the

2. Though the Federal Compromise of 1877 sealed it, historian John Hope Franklin provides evidence that statutes upholding racial segregation were in place before the election of 1877: "Beginning in Tennessee in 1870, Southerners enacted laws against intermarriage of the races in every state. Five years later, Tennessee adopted the first 'Jim Crow' laws and the rest of the South rapidly fell in line." In John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom (New York: Vintage Books, 1969), 340.

3. The Southern courts upheld white supremacist behavior and policies. In 1948, W. E. B. DuBois stated what was all too clear to blacks (and whites): "It is, of course, well known that during and since Reconstruction times, the courts in the South have been used largely as an instrument for enforcing caste rather than securing justice" (W. E. B. DuBois cited in Neal R. McMillen, Dark Journey [(Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989)], 197). Torturous coerced testimonies, fear of violence, speedy proceedings with no time to prepare, white judges, juries, officials, attended by the white mob and guarded by white police with automatic weapons were what blacks could expect if on trial in the South. (For more information on Southern justice, see especially McMillen, Dark Journey, part IV; Aldon Morris, Origins of the Civil Rights Movement [(New York: The Free Press, 1984)]; and PBS Documentary (Video), Eyes on the Prize, 1987).

4. The following examples of Southern law can be found in Jack Greenburg, Race Relations and American Law (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960). Examples of Southern race laws are manifold. This list is only the tip of the iceberg but will provide a general idea of what white Southerners saw fit to make law. In Greenburg: Personal lives: 22 states had statutes forbidding miscegenation (344). Housing: the federal government allowed racial zoning laws (32, 42). Employment: up through the 1960s, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Texas, and Tennessee had laws

North, however, race laws and policies were for the most part racially equitable.⁵ Though laws may have mandated equality, Northern practices and customs made a mockery of them. Illinois had statutes, for example which charged its citizens to provide for the "full and equal enjoyment of the accommodations" for all its people and which prohibited "discrimination and intimidation on account of race or color in employment under contracts for public buildings or public works."⁶

Requiring more than even the state, the University of Illinois Board of Trustees mandated in 1946 that "the officers of the University will continue a policy of long standing which is necessary to create a community atmosphere in which race prejudice can not thrive."⁷ Yet the spirit and letter of law and policy was violated in countless ways by factions of the university and community.

Ironically, white Northerners maintained that inconsistencies between Northern race policies and actions were consistent with democracy. Historian Leon Litwack provides the insight that to most white Northerners, segregation was "not a departure from democratic principles, as certain foreign critics alleged, but simply the working out of natural laws, the inevitable

requiring separate washroom facilities in mines; Louisiana required separate washroom and eating facilities; South Carolina said it was "unlawful for cotton textile manufacturers to permit different races to work together in the same room, and use the same exists, bathrooms, etc." (383). Public Accommodations: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia all had laws requiring or authorizing segregated train and bus travel (116, 132). Education: even after the Brown decision of 1954, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Virginia had statutes which refused to permit desegregation, requiring that, as in the case of Georgia, "no public funds may be granted to support nonsegregated schools," or, as in the case of Virginia, "upon enrollment of members of both races, schools must close" (386).

5. Several Northern states had racially discriminatory laws. For example, North Dakota's code (still in effect in 1959) forbade "unmarried racially mixed couples occupying the same room" (see Greenburg, Race Relations and American Law, 396).

6. See Appendix B for direct quotations of the main sections of the major Illinois statutes which govern race relations between 1865 and 1963. Illinois Revised Statutes, 1885, compiled and ed. by Harvey B. Hurd (Chicago: Chicago Legal News Co., 1885), 388; Laws of Illinois, Sixtieth General Assembly, 1937, printed by the authority of the state of Illinois, 1937, 484-85; Revised Statutes of the State of Illinois, 1933, Smith-Hurd (Chicago: Burdette-Smith Co., 1933), 682-683.

7. The University of Illinois, Transactions of the Board of Trustees, Forty-Fourth Report 1946-1948, 2 September 1946 (Urbana: University of Illinois), 54.

consequence of the racial inferiority of the Negro. God and Nature had condemned the blacks to perpetual subordination. Within the context of ante bellum thought and 'science,' this was not an absurd or hypocritical position."⁸ This antebellum idea was not much different than the logic that was persistently acted upon throughout the twentieth century and to the present. It was, as Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. said, "twisted logic" and yet it became the guiding principle with which whites interacted with blacks. "If," according to King's interpretation of the twisted thought, "the black man was inferior he was not oppressed- his place in society was appropriate to his meager talent and intellect."⁹ The twisted logic of black inferiority as consistent with democracy was manifest in the twin cities. Indeed, the principles of democracy were exalted by University President Arthur C. Willard in 1941 on the opening day of the Illini Union. Willard envisioned the building as the symbol of "the democratic spirit of a great university. . . will furnish not only service but real inspiration for better living and a finer University to all who enter its door."¹⁰ Yet this building would house, as did this community and state, long standing and undemocratic segregationist customs.

This dissertation is an historical case study of race relations. It relates the story of injustice perpetuated within the University of Illinois and the community of Champaign-Urbana and how those who were disconcerted with injustice struggled, resisted, challenged and changed aspects of this system. This work was originally designed to provide an understanding of the quality of life in higher education for black students at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign in the 1960s. Early on however, it was discovered that it was impossible to separate life in academia from life in the community. The two played host to major overlapping

8. Leon Litwack, North of Slavery (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 98.

9. Martin Luther King, Jr., "A Tribute to Dr. DuBois," in W. E. B. Dubois, Dusk of Dawn: An Essay Toward an Autobiography of a Race Concept (New York: Schocken Books, 5th printing, 1971), vii.

10. A. C. Willard, President of the University, 1934-1946, At the Opening of the Illini Union, 8 February 1941, in "Ten Years," by Ralph Eckstrom, n.pag., 1951, in University of Illinois Archive Reference File "Illini Union 1926-1941."

institutional spheres, linked together in fundamental ideological, economical, political and social ways. Further, in an effort to gain meaning of the 1960s, it was necessary to understand the degree to which Jim Crow had thrived hitherto. Because much of the available evidence on segregation was contained in post-World War II archival materials (due in large part to the records kept by 1940s civil rights organizations documenting the process of change they were able to affect), the decade and a half following the World War II became the new focal point of this study.

Just as Jim Crow manifested itself in overt and covert ways in this university community, so too did the evidence of its existence. Many sources offering the critical voices of African-Americans and others were openly-shelved and logically labeled for relatively easy access to rich stories about the community. Such was true of the Black Oral History Project housed in the Urbana Free Library archives. Hopefully, this dissertation will provide an even more public forum in which these voices and viewpoints can be heard. Yet, other equally rich sources, particularly those which revealed white officials' racial ideology as well as those rare secondary sources which were critical of it, were filed in the University of Illinois archives under obscure titles and headings. Such was the case of the Library Services Papers. This collection housed valuable secondary source race information compiled by University of Illinois staff, faculty, students and other civil rights organizations.

This evidence yielded a race story that on balance provided the ideas, feelings, and actions of both the oppressed and the oppressors. The three major institutional arenas of housing, employment, and public facilities became the organizational structure with which to present the evidence. Thus, the first chapter of the case study will focus on housing discrimination. Housing is explored first because the policies and customs of both local and university housing systems set the tone, which had a detrimental effect on race relations in all other areas of living. It is positioned first also because in this Illinois community (as is true in virtually all regions of the United States) the patterns of segregated housing remain the most difficult Jim Crow practices to

change. This chapter begins to establish the inextricable ties between the University and the cities of Champaign and Urbana.

The second chapter of the case study will explore race relations in employment. The evidence reveals that like housing, this was an institution with a rigid racial hierarchy obstinate to change. It further reveals that the University largely mirrored the community in terms of racial hiring practices.

The final chapter of the case study will describe the Jim Crow racial situation of public facilities offered by the University and by the community. Protest groups and individuals made the most strides within this arena, chipping away at the segregationist practices with tenacious will and relentless struggle.

When appropriate, references to and comparisons of other U.S. institutions and regions will be cited throughout the case study to help place this regional inquiry in broader context. Additional contextual information will also be provided in the final chapter of this dissertation. Thus, the epilogue will be an interplay between further contextual information and the major findings of this case. By the end of the dissertation, it will be clear that in Champaign-Urbana and its many institutions, Jim Crow teetered dangerously on the imaginary Mason-Dixon line by taking on characteristics of both brands of Northern and Southern racism. Like the infamous minstrel man refrain "Wheel about, turn about, do jis so / An' ebery time I wheel about I jump Jim Crow!" the white community sought to keep blacks on their knees and in their place with their confusing array of prejudicial customs.¹¹

Though the heyday of the black-face minstrel was in the nineteenth century, the beliefs and stereotypes which minstrelsy transmitted were stubbornly perpetuated in town and gown into the twentieth century. As will be shown throughout this dissertation, together this Land of Lincoln University as well as the community knowingly or unknowingly supported the racial attitudes of the Great Emancipator when he said, "While they do remain together there must be

11. Harry A. Ploski and James Williams, eds., The Negro Almanac: A Reference Work on the Afro-American, 4th ed. (New York: Wiley-Interscience Publications, 1983), 1079.

the position of superior and inferior, and I as much as any other man am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race. . . . We cannot, then, make them equals."¹² And unequal they were treated. Born in the North, Jim Crow sang his discordant song for the white masses not only on the stage of minstrelsy, but in the minds and in the lives of the east-central Illinois Lincolnland citizenry.

12. Abraham Lincoln quoted in C. Vann Woodward, The Strange Career of Jim Crow (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), 17. Lincoln made these statements on 21 August 1858 during the first debate with Stephen Douglas in Ottawa, Illinois.

CHAPTER II

SHELTERED JIM CROW: HOUSING AT
THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
AND CHAMPAIGN-URBANA

From its founding in 1867, the University of Illinois depended upon the community to house its students, and the community wanted it that way. When the Morrill Act was passed in 1863, Champaign and Urbana residents, speculators, and legislators lobbied intensively and extravagantly to ensure that this east-central Illinois location would be chosen for the new industrial and agricultural institute.¹ Knowing that a university would bring business opportunities, local speculators, Illinois Central Railroad investors, and other business people "spent generously from their slush funds, providing drinks, light refreshments, oyster suppers, quail dinners, and theatre tickets" to persuade the Illinois General Assembly that theirs' was the best location for the new land grant institution.² Desperately excited over the possible fortunes to be had, Champaign-Urbana speculators knew that, as one University of Illinois historian put, "money was to be made in real estate rather than in education."³ According to historians Charles N. Glaab and A. Theodore Brown, "owing to the bribery of legislators and political bosses, Champaign's bid was finally accepted in 1867."⁴ By the publication of the University's First Annual Report in 1867, the private sector had begun to provide boarding houses for students,

1. Winton U. Solberg, The University of Illinois, 1867-1894, An Intellectual and Cultural History (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1968), 59, 71-77.

2. Solberg, University of Illinois, 77; see also Charles N. Glaab and A. Theodore Brown, A History of Urban America (New York: Macmillan Co., 1967), 114.

3. Calvin S. Sifferd, "History of Housing Owned and Operated by the University of Illinois In Its First Hundred Years," typewritten manuscript (30 March 1967), Reference File "Housing," University of Illinois Archives, 2.

4. Charles N. Glaab and A. Theodore Brown, A History of Urban America (New York: Macmillan Co., 1967), 114.

reaping the profits from their newly captive population.⁵ Significantly, this early student population was white males only; females were not admitted until 1870 and, as for blacks, the Organic Act of 1863 which laid out the first policies for the new institute "explicitly provided for admitting any white Illinois resident."⁶ From its inception student housing had been bargained for and won by town factions creating an implicit--almost contractual--symbiotic dependence between town and gown. And, from its inception, the recurrent theme took root of extending priority to white males first, white females second, and blacks, if considered at all, last.

Provision of Student Housing

Although during the twelve-year span between 1868 and 1880 the University did rent approximately sixty-five rooms to white males in a single building which housed the dormitory and chapel and which contained many of its classrooms, these quarters were largely destroyed by an 1880 wind storm. From that day until the World War I era when the first dorm was built (Busey Hall-1918), the university would not own any student housing, and "was to depend almost entirely on the Champaign-Urbana community to provide the food and shelter its students required."⁷ The private housing industry boomed, and continued to thrive throughout the first half of the twentieth century.⁸ By 1941 and through 1948, the University owned only three

5. University of Illinois, Transactions of the Board of Trustees First Annual Report, 1867-1868 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press), 59.

6. Solberg, University of Illinois, 160, 79-81, 81. The first black student at the University of Illinois was Jonathon A. Logan, who attended for one year in 1887; William Walter Smith was the first black graduate from the institution, in 1900; see also Albert E. Lee, "The University of Illinois Negro Students," 2, Arthur C. Willard Papers, General Correspondence, 1934-1946, C-Cu, Series 2/9/1, Box 42, File "Colored Students of Illinois," University of Illinois Archives.

7. Raymond F. Zammuto, "Housing Division University of Illinois," 5, Physical Plant Housing Papers, Series 37/6/10, Box 9, File "'Housing Division' by Raymond Zammuto," University of Illinois Archives; Sifferd, "History of Housing," 11-12; Anon., "A Short History of Certified Housing at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign," 1. Physical Plant Housing Papers, Series 37/6/10, Box 9, File "History of Certified Housing," University of Illinois Archives.

8. See "A Short History of Certified Housing at the University of Illinois" and Sifferd, "History of Housing."

dormitories which had the capacity to house only 841 of its students although the 1940 fall enrollment burgeoned at 12,358.⁹ Table 2.1 displays the total dormitory units at the University of Illinois between 1880 and 1948.

Table 2.1

Residence Halls, University of Illinois, 1880–1948

Name of Hall	Date Completed	Capacity
Busey Hall	1918	197
Evans Hall	1926	159
The Triad	1941	<u>485</u>
Total capacity		841

Source: Calvin S. Sifferd, "History of Housing Owned and Operated by the University of Illinois in Its First Hundred Years," 30 March 1967, Reference File "Housing," University of Illinois Archives; Raymond F. Zammuto, "Housing Division University of Illinois," 5, Physical Plant Housing Papers, Series 37/6/10, Box 9, File "Housing Division' by Raymond Zammuto," University of Illinois Archives.

Twin Cities¹⁰ landlords and housemothers were in control and in the money. The extent of their control as compared to the University's control was significant as brought to light by a Big Ten housing study. In a letter to University of Illinois Building Committee Member Professor W. C. Huntington, Fred H. Turner, Dean of Students, compared Illinois' housing to seven other Big Ten schools and reported that "Illinois has the lowest percentage of its women in dormitories in the seven considered, next to the lowest percentage of men accommodated, and the

9. Zammuto, "Housing Division University of Illinois," 5; Admissions and Records Statistics, Series 25/3/0/10, Box 1, File "Enrollment Tables, 1936–," University of Illinois Archives.

10. Throughout this dissertation, Twin Cities will refer to Champaign–Urbana.

lowest percentage of the total men and women."¹¹ Given Illinois' limited housing capacity, and the predicted shortage that was anticipated with the advent of the world war, Turner concluded that Illinois should construct new dormitories.

Though Illinois ranked rock bottom in the context of Big Ten housing, the local rooming operators strongly wanted to keep it that way. When the Independent Men's Housemothers Club was informed by the University's Housing Division representative that the University was considering building dormitories so that it could, like its contemporaries, both regulate living conditions and rent, the housemothers were outraged. The minutes of this meeting were punctuated with the question "Why is the university interfering with housing?"¹² A discussion ensued and afterward it was recorded that if the housemothers cooperated with the university, perhaps dormitories would not be built as they were at other institutions of higher learning.¹³ The housemothers were outraged that University officials would consider the possibility of depriving them of their livelihood, after their long history of cooperating with the University by housing the students it enrolled.

11. Turner to Huntington, 15 February 1944, Student Affairs Papers, Series 41/1/1, Box 4, File "Special Housing Facility Committee," University of Illinois Archives. The Turner report listed the summary of percentages of students housed in dormitories in Big Ten Universities, 1940-1941 as follows:

Total--Men and Women:	
1. Michigan	21.3%
2. Indiana	20.1%
3. Purdue	19.2%
4. Wisconsin	16.2%
5. Northwestern	13.7%
6. Minnesota	9.0%
7. Illinois	7.2%

The agency or person who compiled the survey was not revealed in the Turner letter, nor in the "Indee Housing Report," which also made reference to the survey.

12. Emphasis added. The Independent Men's Housemother Club meeting minutes, April, 1940, 1, Physical Plant Housing Papers, Series 37/6/10, Box 4, File "House Director's Club- Minutes of Meetings (From 1939-)," University of Illinois Archives.

13. Ibid., 2.

The housemothers' panic was for nought, however, and they were still able to control rent and rooming conditions; shortly after the threatening meeting, the country became involved in World War II and with this involvement, the University was required to give all its available dorm space to the housing of war troops thus relinquishing any of its already tentative control of the housing of students.¹⁴ Yet, the worst of the housing crisis years were still to come. The end of the war signaled the return of thousands of students who wanted to continue their education, and most significantly, the thousands of veterans who were now entitled by law to receive a government-funded college education in accordance with the GI Bill.¹⁵ These students required housing, and once again, even with the dorms free of military personnel, the university's curse was a very profitable blessing to the community's housing industry.

By the 1945–46 school year, owners, landlords, housemothers, and rooming managers once again had the upper hand. In Spring, 1945, the enrollment jumped to 12,788 from the previous Fall's enrollment of 8,799. By the 1946–47 term, enrollment skyrocketed to 20,043.¹⁶ Table 2.2 shows this dramatic increase in enrollment. The university still owned only three dorms which were built to house only 841 students.¹⁷ In a desperate attempt to house the students, officials authorized that bunk beds be installed in existing dorm rooms, and that the Old Gymnasium Annex, Engine Annex, Ice Rink, and the Great West Hall of the Stadium be converted into barracks-type housing. Still, the supply was grossly inadequate.¹⁸ Indeed, so critical was the need for living quarters that, according to University of Illinois housing historian

14. Sifferd, "History of Housing," 41–43. These troops resided in the dorms for three years, from 1942 to 1945. Willard to Jenkins, 8 August 1945. Arthur C. Willard Papers, Series 2/9/1, Box 92, File "Housing for Colored Students," University of Illinois Archives.

15. Sifferd, "University Housing," 44.

16. Admissions and Record Statistics, Series 25/3/1/10, Box 1, File "Enrollment Tables, 1936–," University of Illinois Archives.

17. Zammuto, "Housing Division," 5.

18. Sifferd, "University Housing," 45, 46; "A Short History of Certified Housing," 4–5. Military was also housed in the Men's Gymnasium.

Table 2.2

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Enrollment, 1940-1950

School Year	Total Enrollment
1940-41	12,358
1941-42	11,403
1942-43	10,681
1943-44	5,103
1944-45	7,344
1945-46	8,799
1946-47	20,043
1947-48	18,293
1948-49	19,094
1949-50	19,521
1950-51	17,162

Source: Admissions and Records Statistics, Enrollment Tables, 1936-, Series 25/3/0/10, Boxes 1 and 2, University of Illinois Archives.

Charles Sifferd, "enrollment in the University was contingent on whether or not one could find housing."¹⁹ The vast majority of students required (and no doubt preferred) community-owned housing. Private housing, however, also left much to be desired; though privately-owned housing was understandably preferred over ice rink or gymnasium living, the time was ripe for profit-hungry exploitation: overall, conditions were over-crowded and dilapidated, rents were high, and

19. Sifferd, "History of Housing," 50.

this atmosphere lent itself easily to rampant discrimination, especially against women, Jews, and suffering most severely, blacks.²⁰

Separate and Unequal Housing

Housing discrimination against a great many students based on gender and religion was widespread in town and gown during this post-World War II period; housing discrimination in the form of racial segregation was virtually 100 percent complete. Through the 1940s and extending into the 1950s and even 1960s, all blacks were required either by policy or practice by both town and gown to live in the outskirts of town known as the "North End" or "Negro District."²¹ In 1945, all of the University's approximately 148 black students lived "about a mile or a mile and a half from the campus, and these rooms . . . [were] in the noisy, poor sections of town."²²

20. See Sifferd, "History of Housing," 45; at the 20 January Board of Trustee's meeting, a petition was received from 2,560 irate students which read, "We, the undersigned students, hereby petition the President of the University of Illinois to take immediate action for the alleviation of the inadequate and unsatisfactory housing conditions existing on the Urbana campus of the University." This petition did not mention race; white students were feeling exploited, and their lot was much better as compared to black students'. Housing was in demand by other groups as well, especially vets, married couples and faculty members. Though these groups suffered, as did white males in the quality and availability of housing they could procure, they were by and large not discriminated against to the degree that women, Jews and blacks were.

21. League of Women Voters, Champaign County, "A Community Report Twenty Years Later: The Status of the Negro in Champaign County," 57-60, October 1968, Local History Room Collection, Champaign Public Library and Information Center; Indee Housing Report, January 1945, 3-4; Review of Miss Yolanda Barnett's Visit at the University of Illinois YWCA as sent to National Student Council of YWCA, 22-23 February 1943, YMCA Subject File, 1906- , Series 41/69/331, Box 4, File "Interracial Policy of YWCA 1940s 1944-48," University of Illinois Archives; Huntoon, "The University of Illinois and the Drive for Negro Equality, 1945-1951," 4, 30; Knapp, "The University of Illinois and Its Negroes," 12; Dwight Harwell to the Editor, Daily Illini, 21 January 1945.

22. The rare find of black enrollment came from a 3 X 5 card in President Willard's Papers. The card's content's were thus:

"Approximate Number of Negro Students
1944-1945

	Men	Women	Total
Undergraduate	71	71	142
Graduate	2	4	6
Totals	73	75	148

Further, with the exception of one black fraternity (Alpha Phi Alpha) and two black sororities (Alpha Kappa Alpha and Delta Sigma Theta), all black students lived in the homes of local black families. This practice of segregation was so entirely accepted by the majority of University affiliates that in virtually all official housing documents dated prior to 1945, the housing needs of black students were never mentioned--they fended for themselves with the help of other local blacks. Further, black students were only mentioned in housing documents of 1945 due to a controversy initiated by outside groups who were dedicated to the rights of African-Americans. As will be described in detail later in this chapter, this conflict centered on the issue of whether or not blacks should live in University dormitories. This issue was forced on the administration; it did not arise due to enlightened academic leadership by University officials towards recognizing that black students exist and that the University is legally responsible for their housing and equal treatment. Indeed, the state of Illinois had passed a statute in 1937 which mandated that "no office 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 the accommodations, advantages, facilities or privileges of his office or services or of any property under his care."²³ Until this 1945 dormitory crisis, black students, however, were treated as if invisible, and the requirement that they live far from campus helped keep them that way.²⁴ Through custom,

A.K.A. House--18
Delta Sigma Theta--8 (same neighborhood in
Southeast [sic] Champaign)."

Note: There is an error in this card in that blacks resided in the Northeast neighborhood of Champaign, not Southeast. See Arthur Cutts Willard Papers, Series 2/9/1, Box 92, File "Housing for Colored Students," University of Illinois Archives; Harwell to the editor, Daily Illini, 21 January 1945; Huntoon, "The University of Illinois and the Drive for Negro Equality, 1945-1951," 4.

23. Laws of Illinois, Sixtieth General Assembly 1937, 480 (printed by the authority of the state of Illinois, 1937).

24. For example, in Fred Turner's 1944-45 documents which focus on the extreme housing problems of the immediate post War era, single men, veterans, married couples and single women are mentioned, but nowhere is the plight of the black student mentioned. See Fred H. Turner Papers, Series 41/1/1, Box 12, File "Student Staff Housing September 1949 Rough Drafts," University of Illinois Archives.

policy, and covenant, the white public of Champaign–Urbana insisted that blacks live in the racially segregated North End of the Twin Cities. Containment of blacks in this isolated, congested, old and deteriorated part of the community was deliberately planned and enforced using a variety of quasilegal and extralegal means to do so.

Conditions of the White-Designated Black Part of Town

Sociologists Charles S. Johnson and Herman H. Long studied the characteristics and effects of housing segregation and containment in Northern cities and with their 1947 findings discussed the circular reasoning (of whites) laden with stereotypical thinking which evolved into creating and sustaining a self-fulfilling prophecy of the image of black inferiority. Johnson and Long reasoned, "For the mass of white citizens, if they give the matter any thought at all, the unsightly appearance of the overcrowded Negro areas is sufficient evidence of carelessness, neglect and a disregard for the upkeep of property; and these are cited as racial traits."²⁵ Johnson and Long further argued that these inferior "traits" of the designated section of town then "become the reason for public insistence that Negroes continue to live in it."²⁶ This description was particularly true for Champaign–Urbana during the post–World War II era when Long and Johnson studied other Northern urban communities. To gain a more complete understanding of the Champaign–Urbana brand of housing segregation, it would now be helpful to turn to a description of the quality of living in the "Negro designated section of town," accepted by community whites as the appropriate place to hide and house African–Americans.

In 1947, the "Champaign–Urbana Shack Study" was released by the Social Welfare Committee of the League of Women Voters of Champaign County. This study described in detail the conditions of the community's substandard housing, and it was no coincidence that the major

25. Herman H. Long and Charles S. Johnson, People vs. Property: Race Restrictive Covenants in Housing (Nashville: Fisk University Press, 1947), 4–5.

26. Long and Johnson, People vs. Property, 4.

portion of the Twin Cities with substandard housing consisted of those in the North End.²⁷ The report described abhorrent living conditions. It began by stating that "the area is not beautiful. Streets are unpaved and sidewalks at a premium. The mean little shacks are strangely haphazard and ugly, the yards teeming with litter, stagnant pools of water are underfoot, the privies, doorless, send out their stench, and everywhere the mud lies thick."²⁸ This statement alone is packed with implications. Though streets were paved in other neighborhoods, here they were not. Unpaved streets become muddy, and it was made known to the committee that private garbage collectors reported that their justification of neglect to collect refuse was that "the conditions of the alleys and streets are so muddy . . . [that they] refuse to take their heavy trucks over the unpaved streets of the district."²⁹ The Committee's report stated that city ordinances which forbade such neglect were not enforced in this North End neighborhood.³⁰ As for privies, both cities had regulations for their construction and maintenance, but neither had inspection requirements which would ensure regulation compliance.³¹ If indoor plumbing did exist, it, too, was substandard in this area due to the "inadequate size of existing sewers."³² Thus, garbage was littered about the North End because collectors refused to take it and sewage backed up in homes and streets because the city did not build adequate conduits to serve the needs of the area. Open outhouses meant that profound indignities were suffered. Nevertheless, such conditions were apt to be considered sufficient "proof" in support of the inferior stereotypical image held by whites that blacks are dirty, neglectful, and have little dignity. It is highly likely that this kind of logic

27. A map is included in Appendix C showing the exact location of the area investigated by the committee.

28. Social Welfare Committee of the League of Women Voters of Champaign County. "Champaign-Urbana Shack Study," typewritten manuscript (March 1949), City Planning Library, Vertical File Collection, University of Illinois.

29. Social Welfare Committee, "Shack Study," 3.

30. Ibid.

31. League of Women Voters, "League Report," 58.

32. Ibid.

was one of the driving forces in perpetuating racial segregation and containment in the housing industry.³³

The authors of the Shack Study continued, stating that under such dire circumstances residents kept the insides of these dwelling units "surprisingly neat" even when "falling sills, rickety stairs, leaking roofs, vermin and termite infestation, broken and boarded up windows, screens, if any, broken, rotten and splintering wood," and the like, prevailed.³⁴ The tightly-clustered dwellings were not well-insulated, were heated by either a coal stove or kerosene lamp, and had in two-thirds of those studied, only outside water faucets.³⁵ Rooms were small, ceilings low and none had closets or cupboards.³⁶ Much of the committee's report provided examples of overcrowding within the tar-paper homes, citing that in a "converted shed containing three tiny rooms the mother said the children were restless because all six had to sleep in one bed," and that in another, "nineteen people shared the use of a kitchen and a common living-room, and one flush toilet."³⁷ The median rent for such a home was \$22.50 a month, yet utilities usually exceeded the cost of rent.³⁸ The study stated that in the context of rents paid in other parts of town, this price was "excessive."³⁹ When the League of Women Voters asked the Champaign Chamber of Commerce about who was interested in clearing away these conditions, the League reported "we were told that no one was."⁴⁰ The organization of women verified this candid disclosure by following the activities and meetings of the Champaign City Council. Nothing was done. The

33. League of Women Voters, "League Report," 59.

34. Social Welfare Committee, "Shack Study," 1.

35. *Ibid.*, 2.

36. *Ibid.*, 3.

37. *Ibid.*, 4.

38. *Ibid.*, 2, 5.

39. *Ibid.*, 5.

40. League of Women Voters, "League Report," 60.

area would not be cleaned up and whites would not let blacks out. The study stated that there were families and individuals who could "afford a better place," but, because of the tightly restricted boundaries of the area, frustrated residents understood that there was no other place for them to go.⁴¹ Significantly, the Public Health Department acknowledged the high degree of communicable diseases in the area as a result of such conditions, yet in their report the League of Women Voters stated that the Public Health Department "has the authority to condemn dwellings, but considers it impossible to exercise this authority when there is no place for people to move."⁴²

Gatekeeping

The gatekeeping roles of various community actors has been studied by a number of historians and sociologists in the attempt to understand the subtleties and complexities of systems that have as their outcome separate kinds and locations of living arrangements for blacks and whites.⁴³ It has been found in other areas of the country that the primary gatekeepers typically have been subdividers, real estate agents, lending institution agents, and landlords/ladies and their operators and managers. The study of Champaign-Urbana supports these findings. On an institutional scale, individuals within these various Champaign-Urbana housing affiliated organizations intentionally and routinely prohibited black citizens to own or rent homes in neighborhoods outside the North End. These gatekeepers used a variety of techniques to lock blacks out at each step of the hierarchical process of procuring a living space. If a prospective

41. Social Welfare Committee "Shack Report," 5, 1.

42. Emphasis added. League of Women Voters "League Report," 59.

43. See, for example, Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma (New York: Harper and Bros., 1944); Dorothy K. Newman et al., Protest, Politics and Prosperity (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978); Long and Johnson, People vs. Property (Nashville: Fisk University Press, 1947); Robert C. Weaver, The Negro Ghetto (New York: Russell and Russell, 1948); W. E. B. DuBois, The Philadelphia Negro (New York: Schocken Books, 1899); Joe R. Feagin and Claerice Booher Feagin, Discrimination American Style (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1978).

black resident made it past one actor, there were others down the line to cut them off. These techniques, ranging from blatant acts of hostile prejudice to justifications based on anything but race, may or may not have seemed sophisticated enough to hide the whites' bigotry from themselves. The evidence of the experiences of Champaign-Urbana blacks (including oral histories, newspaper editorials, and other period reports) overwhelmingly supports the conclusion that the Twin Cities dual housing market did not exist because of chance, income level or the personal preferences of African-Americans. Instead, whites, whether acting as individuals or as members of institutions, deliberately and continually kept black residents confined to the tiny parcel of space in the North End.

Racially Restrictive Covenants

Of all the constrictive methods used by gatekeepers to segregate blacks, the racially restrictive covenant was the most egregious. In all, eighteen racially restrictive covenants were written into new subdivision deeds in Champaign County, Illinois between the years 1941 and 1950: one in Rantoul, one near what is presently the village of Savoy, and sixteen in Champaign-Urbana.⁴⁴ The total number of notarized and recorded land parcels defined by these covenants was 774, with 65 in Rantoul, 50 near Savoy, and 587 in Champaign-Urbana. All of the racially restrictive covenants in Champaign County except one (in Rantoul) were worded exactly as follows:

44. See Appendix D.1 for the complete list of names of each subdivision, original owners of each subdivision, and dates that property with racially restrictive covenants were recorded. See also the map enclosed in the back pocket of this dissertation for the location of each restricted parcel. Plat Books A through J were searched which include properties deeds to communities in Champaign County Illinois between 27 May 1875 through 5 November 1957. Racially Restrictive Covenants were found in: Plat Book F, September 1935–July 1946, F205–206, F304–309, F310–312, F295–300; Plat Book G, 20 July 1928–12 June 1948, G14–18, G24–30, G192–194, G197–200, G219–222; Plat Book H, 14 May 1947–8 December 1949, H5–7, H16–19, H40–42, H68–71, H72–75, H114–117; Plat Book I, 9 October 1949–15 December 1950, I38–40, I113–115; all in the Champaign County Illinois Courthouse Recorder's Office, Urbana, Illinois. Photocopies of portions of these deeds as well as the map of each deed are now housed in the Archibald Anderson Library, University of Illinois College of Education Department of Educational Policy Studies, Room 360.

No part thereof will be sold or leased, either in whole or in part, to or permitted to be occupied as owner, or tenant by any person or persons not of the Caucasian race.⁴⁵

As compared to covenant statements elsewhere in the Midwest, the wording of those in Champaign County were the most severe and limiting. For example, of all the racially restrictive covenants in Chicago, only 1.4 percent of them applied to all races except Caucasians.⁴⁶ Most of the race covenants in Chicago (85.1%) applied to "All persons with 1/8 part or more Negro blood."⁴⁷ Further, covenants in other Northern cities specified a range of time in which the covenants would be in affect. Again citing Chicago as an example, 53.1 percent held that the covenants would be pending "until abrogated by written agreement of owners of 75 percent of frontage."⁴⁸ Only .5 percent of all race covenants in Chicago implicitly or explicitly provided for an indefinite duration of the contract. Yet, in Champaign County, with omission of such a statement, all racially restrictive covenants were to continue indefinitely. Champaign County covenants were designed to limit the most people--including races other than African-Americans--for as long as the property existed.

All Champaign County race covenants were recorded between the years 1941 through 1950, inclusive. It is probably no coincidence that covenants of this kind appeared during this decade. Significantly, between 1940 and 1950 Champaign-Urbana experienced the biggest increase in the black population with the number of blacks nearly doubling in ten years' time.⁴⁹ The figures in Table 2.3 represents this dramatic increase in African-American population. This

45. See Appendix D.2 for a photocopy of one of these property deeds with the attached racially restrictive covenant. Plat Books F-I: The wording of the racially restrictive covenant for the Flesner Addition Subdivision in Rantoul is, in total, "That the sale of said lot shall be restricted to the Caucasian race." Plat Book G: G197-200.

46. Long and Johnson, People vs. Property, 18.

47. Ibid.

48. Ibid.

49. Richard A. Schwarzlose, "Poverty in Champaign County: A Case Study of a Minority Group," 8 June 1965, Library Services Papers, Series 35/3/18, Box 8, File "Papers, Reports, and Theses on the Disadvantaged," University of Illinois Archives.

Table 2.3

Total Population and Black Population of Champaign-Urbana, Illinois, 1910-1950

	1910		1920		1930		1940		1950	
	Total	Black	Total	Black	Total	Black	Total	Black	Total	Non-White
C	12,421	759	15,873	1,234	20,348	1,598	23,302	1,802	39,563	3,269
U	8,245	117	10,244	335	13,060	394	14,064	304	22,834	884
C-U	20,666	876	26,117	1,569	33,408	1,992	37,366	2,106	62,397	4,153

C=Champaign

U=Urbana

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census: Thirteenth Decennial Census, 1910. Vol. II. Alabama-Montana, Characteristics of the Population, 506, 511; Fourteenth Decennial Census, 1920. Vol. III. Characteristics of the Population, 263-64; Fifteenth Decennial Census, 1930. Vol. III, Pt. 1. Alabama-Missouri, Characteristics of the Population, 609, 613; Sixteenth Decennial Census, 1940. Vol. II, Pt. 2, Florida-Iowa, Characteristics of the Population, 619, 627; Seventeenth Decennial Census, 1950. Vol. II, Pt. 13, Illinois, Characteristics of the Population, 13-79, 13-89 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1913, 1922, 1932, 1943, 1952, respectively).

pattern of the appearance or increase of racial compacts with rising black populations occurred in other Northern cities as well.⁵⁰ After studying St. Louis and Chicago, Long and Johnson summarized that "as more and more Negroes came to these cities and the need for additional housing accommodations increased, at the same time, efforts to limit the available accommodations through the use of restrictive covenants were heightened."⁵¹ They could well have concluded the same for Champaign-Urbana. Table 2.4 shows how the number of properties with race restrictions increased with the post-World War II black migration.

Again, it was precisely during the decade of greatest black growth in Champaign-Urbana that these racist covenants came into existence and increased in number. Prior to 1948, these instruments of segregation were considered legal. Yet, the Fourteenth Amendment to the United

50. Long and Johnson, People vs. Property, 12-19.

51. *Ibid.*, 16.

Table 2.4

Dates and Locations of Plats Holding Racially Restrictive Covenants, Champaign County, Illinois

Name of Plat ^a	City	Date Owners Signed Deeds
Country Club Manor	Champaign	April 1941
Country Club Manor	Urbana	May 1946
Greencroft Addition	Champaign	June 1946
Harvard Place	Champaign	March 1946
Elmwood Addition	Champaign	February 1946
Garden Park	Champaign	July 1946
Flesner Addition	Rantoul	March 1948
University Downs, Second Plat	Urbana	May 1948
M. John Ennis, First Addition	Champaign	May 1948
Greencroft, Second Addition	Champaign	June 1947
Floyd D. Leichner Subdivision	Champaign	October 1948
Garden Park, Second Addition	Champaign	April 1949
First Replat of Elm Knoll Addition	Urbana	April 1949
Highland Park Addition	Champaign	October 1949
Lange's Second Subdivision	(Savoy)	June 1950
Greencroft Third Addition	Champaign	December 1950

Source: Plat Book E, September 1935–July 1946, F205–06, F304–09, F310–12, F295–300; Plat Book G, 20 July 1928–12 June 1948, G14–18, G24–30, G192–94, G197–200, G219–22; Plat Book H, 14 May 1947–8 December 1949, H5–7, H16–19, H40–42, H68–71, H72–75, H114–17; Plat Book I, 9 October 1949–15 December 1950, I38–40, I113–15; all in the Champaign County, Illinois, Courthouse Recorder's Office, Urbana, Illinois.

^aThe plats represented by this table appear in the order presented in the Plat Books.

States Constitution addresses the rights of U.S. citizenry, which includes the rights to property. It states:

No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.⁵²

Although deeds with attached racial covenants appear to violate the federal constitution in that these parcels of property are reserved for only certain citizens, the Fourteenth Amendment was interpreted differently by the United States Supreme Court in 1896 in the Plessey vs. Ferguson case. Here, the court, represented by the written decision of Justice Henry Billings Brown, addressed the issue of the Fourteenth Amendment and declared that segregation of the races was constitutional. Statements specific to the Fourteenth Amendment read:

The object of the amendment was undoubtedly to enforce the absolute equality of the two races before the law, but in the nature of things it could not have been intended to abolish distinctions based upon color, or to enforce social, as distinguished from political equality, or a commingling of the two races upon terms unsatisfactory to either.⁵³

"In the nature of things," the decision of the Plessey case gave states the right to segregate the races as they desired, so long as the accommodations were "equal."

Interestingly, the State of Illinois had in its legislative books--prior to the Plessey decision--a Criminal Code which forbade racial discrimination in public accommodations. This 1885 code read:

All Persons Entitled to the Full and Equal Enjoyment of the Accommodations at Inns, Etc.: 1. Be it enacted by the People of the State of Illinois, represented in the General Assembly: That all persons within the jurisdiction of said state shall be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of the accommodations, advantages, facilities and privileges of inns, restaurants, eating houses, barber shops, public conveyances on land or water, theatres and all other places of public accommodations and amusement, subject only to the conditions and limitations established by law, and applicable alike to all citizens.⁵⁴

52. Long and Johnson, People vs. Property, 87.

53. Richard Kluger, Simple Justice, 74.

54. Criminal Code, Illinois Revised Statutes, 1885, 388.

Further, a 1937 Illinois Criminal Code reiterated the 1885 code and amended it, strengthening the language of the law with other forms of accommodations in which African-Americans were entitled full and equal enjoyment.⁵⁵ Because private lands were up for public sale, it seems reasonable that these Illinois Criminal Codes applied to property accommodations as well as to others the Codes specifically named, yet again, these statutes were not interpreted to extend to property rights.

In addition to the 1937 amendment, the Illinois General Assembly passed another Civil Rights statute. Section 1 of this Act states:

No officer or employee of the State of Illinois, or of any political subdivision thereof, or of any county, or of any Park District, or of any Forest Preserve District, or of any State University of subdivision thereof, or of any State Normal School or of any subdivision thereof, or of any municipal corporation in the State of Illinois, shall deny or refuse to any person, on account of race, color or religion, the full and equal enjoyment of the accommodations, advantages, facilities or privileges of his office or services or of any property under his care.⁵⁶

The city councils approved each land parcel that was to be annexed to each city. Since members of the city councils are "officers and employees of the State of Illinois," their approval of deeds with racially restrictive covenants would appear to violate yet another Illinois law. Yet once again, this 1937 statute was interpreted narrowly by state and local governments, as well as by the subdivision owners. Indeed, Illinois legislators themselves voted against two bills which would have strengthened the 1937 statute and which would have specifically called for the law-enforced prohibition of race covenants. Introduced in 1944, both bills failed to pass.⁵⁷ Thus, state lawmakers kept their previous Civil Rights statutes while at the same time conferred legitimacy on the restrictive covenants.

Interpreted to be bona fide documents then, racially restrictive covenants were openly employed as an instrument of segregation and containment. It was not until 1948 that the U.S.

55. Criminal Code, Laws of Illinois, Sixteenth General Assembly, 1937, 485.

56. Laws of Illinois Sixtieth General Assembly, 1937 (printed by the authority of the state of Illinois, 1937), 480.

57. Long and Johnson, People vs. Property, 100.

Supreme Court struck down the race covenant as unconstitutional and legally unenforceable. The case was an National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)-initiated one--Shelley vs. Kraemer--originating in St. Louis, Missouri. Chief Justice Vinson delivered the opinion which stated that:

The States have made available to such individuals [those "private individuals (who) impose such discriminations as they see fit"] the full coercive power of government to deny to petitioners, on the grounds of race or color, the enjoyment of property rights in premises which petitioners are willing and financially able to acquire and which the grantors are willing to sell . . .⁵⁸

Justice Vinson's decision continued:

The historical context in which the Fourteenth Amendment became a part of the Constitution should not be forgotten. Whatever else the framers sought to achieve, it is clear that the matter of primary concern was the establishment of equality in the enjoyment of basic civil and political rights and the preservation of those rights from discriminatory action on the part of the States based on considerations of race or color.⁵⁹

Theoretically, this explicit ruling applied to all people in all states. In practice, however, it was widely ignored.

There were many people in occupations of high authority in Champaign-Urbana who initiated and authorized racially restrictive covenants even after the U.S. Supreme Court struck them down.⁶⁰ In the year of the Shelley vs. Kraemer decision (1948) there were introduced eight plat deeds to Champaign County holding such restrictions. In 1949, there were three more land tracts with added race clauses attached, and in 1950, two more. These five tracts recorded in 1949 and 1950 were initially owned by a total of seventeen individuals. Of these seventeen, two did not reside in Champaign-Urbana and as a consequence records of their occupations are not readily available. Of the remaining fifteen, five were listed only as wives following their husbands' names in the Champaign-Urbana City Directories. There remained ten individuals

58. Richard Bardolph, The Civil Rights Record: Black Americans and the Law, 1849-1970 (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1970), 282.

59. Bardolph, The Civil Rights Record, 282-283.

60. See Appendix D.1; also D.3 for a complete list of all covenant initiators (owners), their subdivisions, and their occupations.

whose occupations are known. These individuals held positions of power in the community, especially concerning the institution of housing. They were: Howard O. Watson, Field Supervisor for the Equitable Life Insurance Company; H. A. Richter, Real Estate Agent and Insurance Agent; L. M. Rovelstad, Real Estate Agent and Secretary/Treasurer of the Commercial Savings and Loan Association; Myra Rovelstad (L. M. and Myra were married), Real Estate Agent; Cecil R. Ozier, General Contractor for Ozier-Weller; Scott E. Weller, General Contractor for Ozier-Weller; Catherine M. Weller (Scott and Catherine were married), Secretary/Treasurer of Ozier-Weller; Gordon F. Kamerer, Manager of the Urbana-Lincoln Hotel (now Jumer's); and, last and perhaps most significant, Charles M. Webber, presiding as Champaign County's only judge from 1935 to 1946 (during which time he annexed two other subdivisions to Champaign with race covenants) and who returned to practice law as an attorney with Webber and Balbach following his judgeship.⁶¹

In addition to these prominent individuals, other community leaders were involved with race restrictions in housing. Each property exchange included documents authorized by many parties, including at a minimum: the developers/owners; the mayor (representing the decision of the City Council); at least one notary public (usually more); the county survey engineer; the county recorder of deeds; the county clerk; the buyer(s), and, every subsequent buyer thereafter. Thus, the highest elected Twin Cities and county officials authorized, supervised and ensured the racial segregation of their community, with hundreds of new property deeds signed, sealed, and delivered into the hands of whites only.

Directly affecting the quality of the lives of black Champaign-Urbana residents, the existence of restrictive covenants as contracts for land and housing usage were also social contracts as well. Though race covenants did not cover all land parcels outside of the North End, the individuals who wrote them into existence had the power and influence to manipulate the already willing whites of the housing market to conform with their social ideologies. Indeed race

61. Champaign-Urbana City Directory (1950), 401, 128, 318, 325, 286, 405, 402, 389; and, 1946, 26 (yellow), iv, 166, 333.

covenants were very important instruments which gatekeepers used to lock blacks out of all but the North End, but covenants were only one instrument. There were other methods: there were other gatekeepers. Significantly, the primary and most influential gatekeepers were Real Estate Agents, Contractors, and Lending Institutions. So, while the original owners such as Watson, Richter, Rovelstad, Ozier, and Weller publicly sectioned-off certain neighborhoods for whites only, they also could depend on more than their racist covenants to safeguard the purity of neighborhoods as these individuals were themselves real estate agents, contractors and lending institution agents and could promote their racial policies through their businesses. Further, it is highly probable that the views behind their authored-covenants operated not only in direct dealings with housing, but also who they saw fit to employ. Most likely, employed by these owners and officers were white people who held views in concert with their own.⁶² Finally, in and amongst these community founders and leaders was Judge Webber--the only county judge Champaign had--whose three recorded racially restrictive deeds indicate his biased social views which most likely affected the quality of the outcome of the eleven years-worth of cases over which he presided.

As will be seen throughout this dissertation, the ideology inherent in the housing and social contracts permeated throughout other aspects of race relations in the Twin Cities. Indeed, Long and Johnson's work of other cities supports this interpretation. In their 1947 book People vs. Property, they emphasized that "the race restrictive covenant is significant not only as a legal instrument limiting the housing supply and defining residential racial segregation, but also because its use brings into existence a body of social practice, attitudes and policy having a detrimental effect upon the character of race relations for the total community."⁶³

62. See the chapter III on employment. Virtually no blacks were employed in jobs other than menial laboring positions through the 1950s and beyond.

63. Long and Johnson, People vs. Property, 10.

Real Estate Agents as Gatekeepers

Real estate agents were gatekeepers, and until the waning years of the 1940 decade, they could rely on the racially restrictive covenant to enforce their beliefs that people of different races ought not live next door to each other. Indeed, this belief in separation was so strong that Article 34 of the National Association of Real Estate Boards (NAREB) Code of Ethics formally required that agents play a major role in this practice. The passage reads:

A Realtor should never be instrumental in introducing into a neighborhood a character of property or occupancy, members of any race or nationality, or any individuals whose presence will clearly be detrimental to property values in that neighborhood.⁶⁴

NAREB's "ethical" code seemed to imply that a black family would lower the property values of a neighborhood. They believed other ways, in addition to covenants, were needed to ensure the enforcement of the ideology behind NAREB's code of ethics. These ways ranged from the direct refusal to sell to blacks to more subtle, but equally effective methods.

The following case history of the twelve-year quest for a house by Champaign resident Taylor Thomas and his wife will help illustrate on a personal level the institutional nature of the discriminatory affects of Twin Cities housing. Thomas, a graduate of Tennessee State (1931), was for many years severely underemployed both in the Twin Cities and elsewhere (see next chapter). He was finally hired in 1948 by the Danville, Illinois, School District to teach, where he did so until 1956.⁶⁵ During this time, he and his wife lived in a tiny upstairs apartment in the North End on Columbia and Fifth streets, then later on Fifth and Vine Streets, and during this entire time, the couple sought housing commensurable with their income but could not get it.⁶⁶

Thomas remarked:

64. Feagin and Feagin, Discrimination American Style, 89.

65. Taylor Thomas interview transcript, 28, Black Oral History Project, Box 332, Urbana Free Library Archives.

66. Thomas interview transcript, 28–35. Throughout this dissertation, references to individuals' "wives" will be made. Most of the evidence during the time period studied refers to married women as "Mrs." or as "wife" with no first name and with the man's last name. Wherever possible, I have tried to track down women's names. Unfortunately, many will remain without their full names in this dissertation.

. . . we think that we knocked on so many doors. . . . We received all kinds of insults and everything else in trying to get housing. Housing was very hard, I mean wherever you wanted to buy it, it isn't that you--sometimes there's a certain house that you'd like to have and I don't care where it is, if you can afford to buy it you'll like to get it, but you couldn't.⁶⁷

In one instance, Thomas made a phone inquiry about a home with a real estate agent. When Thomas met the agent at the available house, Thomas reported he was told "Oh, well if you would of told us who you were over the phone, you would have saved both of us a lot of time."⁶⁸ The agent, of course, had not known Thomas and his wife were black until they met. The dual housing system went unquestioned and unchallenged by this agent; no excuses or lies were necessary: race was the sole reason for the Thomas's rejection upon first sight.

In another instance, Thomas reported that he approached a realtor in efforts to buy some land. Here, the agent required "earnest money" as a down payment. Less direct than an outright refusal, Thomas interpreted this as a ploy by the realtor; if cash were required it would hopefully deter the prospective black buyer from purchasing the land. The stereotype that all blacks are poor was also in operation here. If the fee were high enough, the black "threat" would be easily eliminated. Thomas, however, had the money. He sent the specified amount to the realtor at which point his check was promptly returned. The note attached stated that the owner "wouldn't sell to you."⁶⁹ Whether the agent's delayed tactic was of his own volition, or whether the agent did indeed approach the owner with Thomas's offer, the result was no sale, and it was obvious to Thomas, in his years of experience in such matters, that it was due to his race.⁷⁰

Owners as Gatekeepers

In addition to realtors, Thomas was denied a home directly by the owners themselves. After being shown the advertised house, Thomas stated that he might be interested in buying it.

67. Thomas interview transcript, 31.

68. Ibid., 32.

69. Ibid., 33.

70. Ibid.

Upon asking the price, the woman of the house explained that her daughter (who lived in California) had equity in the house and they would have to contact her first. Thomas continued,

We said, well okay you talk with her and we'll call you. And we called them back and they said, my daughter didn't want to sale her equity. I mean this is another rouse to get around selling it, because the house was still advertised in the paper for sale see. And we mentioned that to him and he said, "Well we put it in for so many days and they just haven't taken it out yet."⁷¹

Here, Thomas had encountered home owners who acted independently to keep an African-American couple out of their neighborhood.

Financial Institutions as Gatekeepers

In addition to realtors and individual home owners, financial institutions were also cogs in the process of home ownership. These lending institutions created additional roadblocks so that it was difficult for blacks to buy homes in neighborhoods other than "their own." With no uniform standards and only arbitrary and subjective measures by which to judge the risk potential of prospective buyers, loan officers could discriminate at will. Here, blacks were particularly caught in a no-win situation. A terrible double-bind was in operation: lenders considered it too risky to issue loans to those black patrons who would build in the black-designated part of town, and out of the question for building in the white part of town.⁷² Taylor Thomas experienced the discriminatory effects of the local financial institutions as well as with real estate agents and home owners.

After twelve fruitless years searching for an appropriate home, the Thomas's found one out in the countryside near Urbana whose owner was willing to sell. The owner required a downpayment due in forty-five days. The search for a lender began. Said Thomas:

We kept trying and trying, and we went to everyplace in town. We went to insurance companies, we went to banks. . . they wouldn't let us have the money saying that it was out in the country. . . . We tried First Federal, and finally there was an insurance company, Equitable. . . but we finally went--we said well there's one more, and we'd

71. Thomas interview transcript, 33.

72. See Newman et al., Protest, Politics and Prosperity, 153-59 for an excellent discussion of this double-bind.

tryed (sic) every bank in town except that bank. And we said well, we'll try them, we don't think were (sic) going to get it there either.⁷³

The final bank was Busey Bank. Incredibly, the loan was granted for a higher sum than Thomas had required. The bank personnel said a "home in the country" was no problem to finance. Finally, the Taylor family had a suitable home. But, in their twelve-year pursuit, the Thomas's had been rebuffed by realtors, owners, and lenders, and their story is consistent with the collected experience of other North End residents.⁷⁴ With the variety of institutions and individuals, along with the variety of methods that they used, Champaign-Urbana is consistent with the findings of Dorothy K. Newman et al.: "From the first visit to the realtor, up through various institutions locally, and even shaping the many layers of governmental policy which underwrites so much of the housing financially, separation is virtually ensured."⁷⁵

Landlords as Gatekeepers

Effectively then, gatekeepers existed in Champaign-Urbana, and they and their techniques functioned extremely well. In addition to federal, county and local governments, realtors, lenders and other owners of property and buildings, there existed in the Twin Cities (and

73. Thomas interview transcript, 35.

74. Virtually all those interviewed for the Urbana Free Library's Black Oral History Project mentioned the dismal state of housing discrimination and cited poor housing as the main problem they had to endure. See Black Oral History Project, Box 338, Urbana Free Library Archives, Urbana, Illinois.

In the mid-1970s, the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing conducted a study of Realtors discriminatory methods in the New York metropolitan area. Newman, et. al., summarizes the finds of the study:

Misrepresenting the price or availability of houses, saying the customer does not qualify financially, delaying the submission of an offer until a white buyer can be found, saying a house is not available for inspection, and breaking appointments to show houses are only some of the devises used by a determined realtor. (Newman et al., Protest, Politics and Prosperity, 152)

Newman et al. added:

There are many other ways the knowledgeable agent can influence the result. A broker can simply fail to encourage the prospective purchaser by not "selling" the house as he would to a white buyer, by not pursuing financing strongly, by not alerting the black client when a house comes on the market, or by interpreting the buyer's needs so strictly as to be able to say, "Sorry, I don't have anything for you." (Newman et al., Protest, Politics and Prosperity, 152-53.

75. Newman et al., Protest, Politics and Prosperity, 145.

elsewhere) additional gatekeepers in the form of landlords and landladies and their managers and operators.⁷⁶ These actors also enforced segregation. They had a direct effect not only on black residents, but on the black students as well. A rare repository of evidence exists which details interactions between black University of Illinois affiliates as prospective tenants and the rooming operators they approached. This valuable repository or archival files dates from 1965–1970 and was kept by a progressive group of University affiliated personnel, appointed by the Chancellor, and they formed the University of Illinois Housing Review Committee.⁷⁷

The Housing Hearing Committee heard and filed complaints of alleged racial discrimination in housing of private operators who had, in a written document, vowed not to discriminate along racial, ethnic or religious lines. By the fall of 1965 (a time period beyond the major scope of this dissertation) the University had finally required that all students live in housing in which the owners and operators leased on a non-discriminatory basis and the Housing Hearing Committee would enforce this policy, as well as Illinois Civil Rights statutes. A brief account of the history which led up to the formation of the committee will now be helpful.

Pressed by the Senate Committee on Student Affairs to require pledges of non-discrimination of rooming operators by September 1963, President David Henry drafted a letter in February, 1962 to the University of Illinois Board of Trustees, advising them to require that in regards to racial discrimination in housing, "I believe that clear action with respect to commercial housing can be taken at this time."⁷⁸ In the letter, Henry recounted the 1960 Board of Trustee

76. The use of lord and lady to describe ownership needs to be updated. I resort to these terms not because they are appropriate, but because the language gives us little else with which to work.

77. As stated in a housing document dated 6 September 1968, "the committee shall consist of six different staff members, serving overlapping three-year terms, three students at least one of whom shall be an undergraduate student, one a female student, and one a Negro student, each serving a one-year term, and, as ex officio members, a member of the Housing Division staff." See "Statement of the Function and Duties of the Housing Review Committee," Housing Review Committee Files, 1962–1971, Series 4/6/17, Box 2, File "Open Hearings, 1969," University of Illinois Archives.

78. Henry to the Board of Trustees, Transactions of the Board of Trustees, 21 February 1962, 1328–34.

statement which "encouraged" non-discriminatory practices from all who served students and then proceeded to recommend to the Board that "approval will be denied to such houses which have not, by 1 September 1965 [note that this is a full two years after the student-demanded deadline], indicated that their facilities are available to all students, without regard to race, creed, or national origin."⁷⁹ Operators and landlord/ladies would therefore be required to sign pledges of non-discrimination in order to list their accommodations with the University and in order to have students as tenants.⁸⁰ In his letter, President Henry recounted that previously, only as late as 1960 had the University "encouraged" (their word) non-discriminatory practices. This resulted in only 8 percent compliance by the month of March 1960, and by January 1962, only 25 percent had voluntarily pledged compliance.⁸¹ Even as late as 1963, owners who represented 551 of the total 1005 units had not signed pledges.⁸² The Board considered Henry's housing history as well as his recommendation and approved the 1965 compliance deadline. Nowhere, however, were the Illinois Civil Rights statutes mentioned.

It is interesting to note that the action of Illinois administrators lagged behind similar actions taken by other universities in the Big Ten and elsewhere, as well as behind other factions at the University of Illinois itself. In 1959, the Urbana chapter of the American Association of University Professors issued an official statement, urging the administration to "move with all

79. Henry to the Board of Trustees, Transactions of the Board of Trustees, 21 February 1962, 1330. Note that there was no mention of gender discrimination.

80. The pledge form was continually revised. See the development of this form in Housing Review Committee Files, 1962-1971, Series 4/6/17, Box 2, File "Non-discrimination Pledge Program," University of Illinois Archives.

81. Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 21 February 1962, 1329.

82. See Appendix D.4 for a complete list of those who had and had not signed the pledge of non-discrimination by July 1963, the location of their units, and the number of units, represented. Non-Discrimination Stats, Pledge List, Housing Review Committee Files, 1962-1971, Series 4/6/17, Box 2, File "Non-Discrimination Stats, Pledge List," University of Illinois Archives.

deliberate speed to eradicate the evil of discrimination from the University community."⁸³ To bolster the professors' argument, the statement included accounts of actions taken by other universities:

Action by the University to eliminate discrimination in privately-owned housing is feasible. The record of such action by sister universities demonstrates that no trails need be blazed here. What has been done in Berkeley, Minneapolis, East Lansing and Madison, can be done in Urbana-Champaign.⁸⁴

The report continued by describing the actions taken by each institution cited. The Champaign-Urbana community was clearly resistant to integration.

By February 1965, a document entitled "Report Concerning University Policies Relating to Racial Discrimination in Private Student Housing," was issued by the Housing Review Committee and in it was the statement that there were still "about 52 percent of spaces in uncertified homes and 80 percent of the apartments that were offered to students through the Housing Division listing service before March 1965 that are not now listed because of the operator's failure to sign the pledge of nondiscrimination."⁸⁵ This represented a loss of 200 spaces in private approved-housing and would, according to the report "create a more serious housing shortage for single undergraduate students than is already anticipated."⁸⁶ The owners and operators of these 200 spaces represented the more forthright individuals in the community's housing industry. They were, at least, honest in their racism. The repository of accounts of alleged prejudicial treatment of landlords and ladies towards blacks in the Housing Committee's files exists because of discrimination by operators who had signed the pledge.

83. Statement by the Urbana Chapter of the AAUP on Discrimination in Privately-Owned Student Housing and in Fraternity and Sorority Houses, 1, Library Public Services Papers, Series 35/3/18, Box 8, File "AAUP," University of Illinois Archives.

84. AAUP Statement, 1959, 7.

85. Report Concerning University Policies Relating to Racial Discrimination in Private Student Housing, 15, February 1965, Housing Review Committee Files, Series 4/6/17, Box 2, File "Non-Discrimination Stats, Pledge Lists," University of Illinois Archives.

86. Report Concerning University Policies Relating to Racial Discrimination in Private Student Housing, 2, Housing Review Committee Files, 1962-1971, Series 4/6/17, Box 2-3, File "Non-Discrimination Stats, Pledge Lists," University of Illinois Archives;

These files then contain the interactions between the black prospective renter and the rooming operators who had signed the pledge of nondiscrimination. Some files also contain records of the types of intervention by the Housing Review Committee. The testimonies therein reveal patterns of interactions initiated by rooming operators. Though each interaction was unique by its own terms, all the cases on file fit roughly into three main categories in which operators explained why they would not rent to African-Americans. These categories include dialogue where: (a) operators' statements were blatant admissions or indicators of racial bigotry, (b) operators' initial statements were openly prejudicial coupled with reasons other than race, and (c) operators' only statements involved rationale other than race. While some of these landlords and landladies may have had single rooms to let, others, like Ozier and Dobrovolny had many units, with apartment complexes scattered throughout the Twin Cities.

There were many operators who had signed the pledge of non-discrimination who still openly stated to black would-be tenants and other inquiring parties (including the University of Illinois Housing Review Committee) that "No Negroes" would be permitted to reside in their "available" units. While some of these operators offered no explanation as to why they would not rent to blacks, others made quite clear their irrational aversion. In a written statement to the University, Jeffrey R. Nash wrote that rooming operator Mildred Brown told a friend of Nash's that "her houses (especially the Oregon) are objects of pride. She was not going to allow undesirables or disruptive boys to live there--no 'chocolate drop Charlies are going to run around my house!'"⁸⁶ It is significant that Mildred Brown, in addition to being a landlady, was a real estate agent as well.

In another case, remarks similar to Brown's were made by a manager for the Storybook Homes Corporation, another real estate firm headed and owned by M.W. Ozier.⁸⁷ It was

86. Housing Review Committee Hearing Papers, Series 4/6/17, Box 2, File "Jeffrey R. Nash, Mildred Brown, Mrs. Elsie Lacer 1967," University of Illinois Archives.

87. It is likely that M.W. Ozier was related to Cecil R. and Gleena Ozier, property owners and authors of a 1949 racially restrictive covenant. Plat Book H, 114-17.

by University students Peter Skeller and Macray Landry that when they inquired as to whether the units at Stonegate Village would be leased to students, the manager stated "I'd rent to anybody as long as their skin wasn't coal black."⁸⁸ In a letter to the Housing Review Committee, Ozier defended his manager and proudly stated that of course he discriminates when renting housing units as he wants the best tenants in his complexes.

Yet another case involved the University's first black professor Robert A. Eubanks. When Eubanks sought housing in 1965 (one year after he was hired), it was conveyed to him by owner Henry Voightlander (of Landmark Apartments) that he "had not planned to rent an apartment at that location to a Negro, but that he might, possibly, make an exception in . . . [Eubank's] case."⁸⁹ Understandably, Eubanks filed a complaint. In it he relayed to the committee that he had gained the sense that Voightlander felt that the advantages of himself as a renter were that:

- (a) I seemed clean, neat, and presentable
- (b) I anticipated a tenure appointment at the University
- (c) I am single and have no children or pets
- (d) I might be acceptable to the "Medical doctor and other high-class people" to whom he had already leased apartments.⁹⁰

Professor Eubanks did not fit the prevailing and tenaciously-accepted stereotypes of blacks by the majority of whites in this community. Indeed, by Eubanks' statement, it is clear that Voightlander stereotyped whites as well; he felt "high-class" (educated) whites were less prone to hold prejudicial beliefs than lower class whites. This is precisely one of the myths this dissertation is written to dispel. Eubanks went on stating that Voightlander expressed that if he were admitted, "other American Negroes might 'come around and say you rented one to him, why

88. University of Illinois Housing Review Committee Papers, Series 4/6/17, Box 2, File "Pierson-Ozier 1964-65," University of Illinois Archives.

89. University of Illinois Housing Review Committee Hearing Papers, Series 4/6/17, Box 2, File "Eubanks-Voightlander Closed 1965-66," University of Illinois Archives.

90. Ibid.

not me?"⁹¹ Voightlander continued to stall, vacillating on the pros and cons of having "the right Negro in the Main Street Location."⁹² Summing up his statement, Eubanks accurately portrayed the affects of Voightlander's position. Eubanks said, "In conclusion, I should point out that I have absolutely no interest in the acquisition of an apartment on the basis of being 'different,' or on the basis of being a token 'Show Negro.'"⁹³ Social or professional status was not-the determinant factor for this member of the local housing institution--skin color was.

As recorded in the files between the years 1962-1971, other incidents similar to the blatant acts of prejudice encountered by Nash, Skaller, Landry and Eubanks were experienced by graduate student Willa Doss who was told by Mrs. Paul Dauten that she "did not want 'colored' in the apartment"; graduate student Dele Ajayi who, by coincidence, in his opinion experienced prejudicial treatment from the same Mr. and Mrs. Paul Dauten at a different location when it was expressed to him that, "foreign students are frequently dirty and unsanitary as tenants" and "foreign students, particularly black foreign students, are undesirable for these and other reason"; Duane Dayton who, using a University-provided list of housing accommodations used during tournaments for a DeKalb High School team was told by Mrs. Louis Reuss "No Negroes"; and, Ada Dubson when it was made "quite clear" by Mrs. Charles Flora that she was "not interested in showing the facility to Negroes."⁹⁴ As with all the types of cases, it is certain that these few represent the tip of the iceberg in terms of actual blatant discriminatory interactions. These examples represent only those prospective tenants who were aware of the Housing Review

91. Ibid.

92. Ibid.

93. Ibid.

94. Housing Discrimination Complaint, 24 September 1969, signed Willa Eva Doss, File "Dauten vs. Doss, Dauten vs. Ajayi 1969"; Housing Discrimination Complaint, 26 September 1969, Mr. Dele Ajayi (unsigned), File "Dauten vs. Doss, Dauten vs. Ajayi 1969"; Statement prepared by Mr. Kartman (?-name illegible) at time of an Interview Relative to a Housing Discrimination Complaint 20 March 1968, File "Louise Reuss, 1968"; untitled statement, signed S. W. Rahn, 22 May 1967, File "Dubson-Flora 1967"; all in Housing Review Committee Files, 1962-1971, Series 4/6/17, Box 2, University of Illinois Archives.

Committee and who took the time and energy to voice the injustices.

While some rooming operators were verbally consistently forthright in their aversion to renting to blacks, others shifted back and forth using both blatantly racially discriminatory statements as well as other rationales for excluding black tenants. In June 1968, Mrs. Charles Hursey was shown an available unit at 611 W. Healey, Champaign by Mrs. Vernon Gray. Hursey wanted to sublet the unit from Gray and asked if the landlord, Jerry Dobrovolny would accept as tenants an interracial couple and their 17-month-old child. Gray explained that she thought it was satisfactory, but that Dobrovolny had the final say. When Gray inquired with Dobrovolny, the landlord originally said he "knew the local family , knew there would be Negroes involved, and would therefore not take the Hursey's as tenants as they would naturally have Negro visitors as the family is local family and the other neighbors in the complex would probably object to such visitors."⁹⁵ It is significant to note that Jerry Dobrovolny was Professor and Head of the Department of General Engineering at the University of Illinois and that a pledge of non-discrimination had been signed by his wife, representing him, on 13 October 1966.⁹⁶ After the Housing Review Committee gathered the complaints, they contacted Professor Dobrovolny to request an interview concerning the allegations.⁹⁷ An angry Dobrovolny wrote a letter (on General Engineering Department letterhead stationary) to Secretary of the Housing Review Committee Stanley W. Rahn. In it Dobrovolny stated "I have heard of these kinds of procedures used in the totalitarian countries; however, I was not aware that they were being practiced here at

95. Memorandum concerning an attempt by Mr. and Mrs. Vernon Gray to sublease an apartment at 611 W. Healey, Champaign to Mr. and Mrs. Charles Hursey, 19 June 1968, Housing Review Committee Files, 1962-1971, Series 4/6/17, Box 2, File "Dobrovolny vs. Gray-Hursey 1968," University of Illinois Archives.

96. University of Illinois Housing Division Pledge of Nondiscrimination, 13 October 1966, Mrs. Jerry Dobrovolny, Housing Review Committee Files, 1962-1971, Series 4/6/17, Box 2, File "Dobrovolny vs. Lewis-Muller 1968," University of Illinois Archives.

97. Dobrovolny to Rahn, 12 July 1968, Housing Review Committee Files, 1962-1971, Series 4/6/17, Box 2, File "Dobrovolny vs. Gray-Hursey 1968," University of Illinois Archives.

the University of Illinois."⁹⁸ Dobrovolny expressed further that he felt that his position at the University was threatened by this "challenge." He continued, "I feel that the action taken by you and the committee is an invasion of my private rights as a citizen to enter into business in the community and also a violation of my academic freedom by having implied a threat of sanctions to be taken against me if I do not 'knuckle under' to the totalitarian procedures of the committee."⁹⁹ Dobrovolny expressed so clearly one of the main themes that emerge from the study of this community: there are important links between the institutions of housing, employment and the university. As professor and landlord, Dobrovolny was at once a member of the academic community and business community. Racial attitudes are likely to permeate into each arena with which a person is involved. This particular case was put aside until the facts of another case involving Dobrovolny were assembled.¹⁰⁰

The second case against Professor Dobrovolny was filed with the Housing Review Committee because Gordon Muller wanted to sublet from a Dobrovolny tenant named Dan Lewis. Lewis called Dobrovolny for permission, "indicating in the course of the conversation that he [Gordon] was from Guiana."¹⁰¹ Dobrovolny then asked Lewis if "the prospect was colored and, if so, he would not rent to him."¹⁰² Both Muller and Lewis wrote letters of complaint to the Housing Review Committee, at which time a formal hearing was arranged.¹⁰³ In an unusual

98. Dobrovolny to Rahn, 12 July 1968.

99. Ibid.

100. Handwritten memo, 18 November 1968, SWR (Stanley W. Rahn), Housing Review Committee Files, 1962-1971, Series 4/6/17, Box 2, File "Dobrovolny vs. Gray-Hursey 1968," University of Illinois Archives.

101. Stanley W. Rahn to Jerry Dobrovolny, 27 September 1968, 2, Housing Review Committee Files, 1962-1971, Series 4/6/17, Box 2, File "Dobrovolny vs. Lewis-Muller 1968," University of Illinois Archives.

102. Rahn to Dobrovolny, 27 September 1968.

103. Dan Lewis to Sir, 11 September 1968; Gordon J. Muller to Stanley Rahn, 11 September 1968; all in Housing Review Committee Files, 1962-1971, Series 4/6/17, Box 2, File "Dobrovolny vs. Lewis-Muller 1968," University of Illinois Archives.

situation, Dobrovolny appeared with his attorney Robert Corley. Corley, who happened to be a University of Illinois Professor of Business Administration, "requested a verbatim transcript."¹⁰⁴ Lewis testified that during his phone conversation with Dobrovolny in which they discussed Muller, "Mr. Dobrovolny asked if he is colored. As I remember this I asked are you kidding me. He said no. He said I have had experience with them. They live like pigs. I don't give a damn what he is doing here, they're filthy."¹⁰⁵ It was also revealed during the course of this hearing by Attorney/Professor Robert Corley, that, in an effort to make it appear that both he and Dobrovolny were not prejudiced towards blacks, he stated in the sum of their position "let me assure the Committee that we are interested in the University's welfare and the non-discrimination clause, though some might not believe it. I am co-owner of the only Negro housing project in the Community."¹⁰⁶ This remark is amazing in that Corley openly (and righteously) admitted his practice regarding racial segregation, and he did so in efforts to defend Dobrovolny who was charged with contributing to the separation of the races. Further, like Dobrovolny, Corley is also a good example to illustrate how intertwined the housing, business and university institutions are. The hearing continued (61 pages of transcripts), however, with no apparent ruling during the session.

It appears, as evidenced by yet another complaint against Dobrovolny, that his units were removed from the university listing source. In this third case, Steven Schmitz made a phone inquiry concerning the unit at 501 S. Race, Urbana. During the conversation, he was told by apartment manager William Warren that "subletting was not allowed because they wanted no

104. This hearing pertained to the Lewis-Muller complaint only; it was to have dealt with the Gray-Hursey case; however, evidence to this previous case stops--it seems likely that the Hurseys did not want to deal with the time and energy-consuming nature of such hearings. Notes of the Housing Review Committee meeting, 11 October 1968, p. 1, Housing Review Committee Files, 1962-1971, Series 4/6/17, Box 2, File "Dobrovolny vs. Lewis-Muller 1968," University of Illinois Archives.

105. Notes of the Housing Review Committee Meeting, 10-11.

106. *Ibid.*, 55.

'niggers' in the facilities."¹⁰⁷ The complaint concerning Schmitz continued, stating that Warren "indicated that there had previously been Blacks in one of the apartments through a subletting procedure and he had tried to get them to move by 'giving them hell.'"¹⁰⁸ The next day, in a second conversation between Warren and Schmitz, Warren indicated that there were no units available, when in reality, as told by Dobrovolny himself, there were two units available.¹⁰⁹ Dobrovolny did not use the University listing service any more and so, therefore, as he expressed to the Housing Review Committee, there should be no investigation of the complaint against him.¹¹⁰ In sum, these cases involving Professor Dobrovolny illustrate how a combination of messages were used to keep blacks out of rental units.¹¹¹

There were other rooming operators who trapped themselves in a combination of covert rationales and open admissions of prejudice. When first year law student George E. Cove inquired with landlady Mrs. Bilbrey by phone in August 1968 about a unit at 108 E. California in Urbana, he was told it would be vacant for the term he desired. Cove visited the apartment and wanted it and made an appointment with Bilbrey to discuss the details of the lease. According to Cove, when he met Bilbrey, "she seemed uneasy from the moment she saw me."¹¹² When Cove

107. Housing Discrimination Complaint, 2 September 1970, Housing Review Committee Files, 1962-1971, Series 4/6/17, Box 2, File "Brooks vs. Dobrovolny," University of Illinois Archives.

108. Housing Discrimination Complaint, "Brooks vs. Dobrovolny."

109. *Ibid.*, 2.

110. Prentice H. Marshall, Chairman of the Housing Review Committee to Mr. Montel Brooks, 18 September 1970, Housing Review Committee Files, 1962-1971, Series 4/6/17, Box 2, File "Brooks vs. Dobrovolny 1970," University of Illinois Archives.

111. Other cases that involved blatant admissions of bigotry followed by creative excuses or ploys are found in the files "Sons-Scoles 1968"; "Geoffrey Phillips vs. Opal Price,"-- in this incident, when the landlady Price saw the Trinidadian Phillips approach her house, she hid and had someone else answer the door and he said no one was home; "Henry Schrock vs. Andrew Davis 1969"; and, "Pierson-Ozier 1964-65"; all in Housing Review Committee Files, 1962-1971, Series 4/6/17, Box 2, University of Illinois Archives.

112. George E. Cove to Mr. Stanley W. Rahn, 27 August 1968, 1, Housing Review Committee Files, 1962-1971, Series 4/6/17, Box 2, File "Bilbrey vs. Cove 1968," University of Illinois Archives.

offered terms of deposit and so forth, Bilbrey bumbled about with several phrases including, as quoted by Cove, "Let me be honest with you," "you put me on a spot," "you're not stupid." and "I don't like to have to do this."¹¹³ Cove continued stating that in a "very self-congratulatory fashion, Mrs. Bilbrey told me she 'personally' wasn't prejudiced," followed with, she was "'sure I would make a good tenant' but she 'had better not rent to me.'"¹¹⁴ In the end, Cove stated that "Bilbrey admitted 'the only reason she would not rent'" was because he was black.¹¹⁵

In a similar case, Mary Rucker had made phone arrangements with landlord Professor Emeritus of Sociology B. F. Timmons in effort to rent a unit in Saffer Court apartments in Urbana.¹¹⁶ Rucker had described herself as single, but did not tell Timmons she was black; she assumed that since this landlord had signed the pledge of non-discrimination race was not a pertinent issue.¹¹⁷ When Timmons met Rucker, the Professor Emeritus began explaining, saying "that 'everyone' would have something to say about who rented the apartment."¹¹⁸ Rucker felt his reluctance, so she mentioned the pledge of non-discrimination, at which point Rucker stated that Timmons said "he knew the 'talk' that I would be subject to if I were to rent the apartment."¹¹⁹ Rucker felt that Timmons indicated that it was because she was single that a controversy would occur yet Timmons was aware that Rucker was single before they met.¹²⁰

113. Cove to Rahn, 27 August 1968, 1.

114. Ibid., 2.

115. Ibid.

116. B. F. Timmons to Provost Lyle H. Lanier, 10 November 1965; University of Illinois Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations Memorandum, 13 July 1965; both in Housing Review Committee Files, 1962-1971, Series 4/6/17, Box 2, File "Rucker-Timmons 1965 Closed--Not Delisted" University of Illinois Archives.

117. Memorandum, 13 July 1965, 1.

118. Statement of Miss Mary Rucker, 1, Housing Review Committee Files, 1962-1971, Series 4/6/17, Box 2, File "Rucker-Timmons 1965 Closed--Not Delisted," University of Illinois Archives.

119. Statement of Miss Mary Rucker, 1.

120. This case is a good example of race and gender discrimination.

When Rucker filed her complaint and a member of the Housing Review Committee made an inquiry, Timmons "declined to attend a hearing before the committee," finally stating that he was "not willing to accept a Negro tenant in this property."¹²¹

The third pattern that existed in Champaign-Urbana to deny blacks access to rental units was that in their interactions with prospective tenants, rooming operators devised rationales which omitted race as the basis for rejection for leasing. These operators (and there were many of them) did not waver and would admit no personal racial prejudice, yet still would not allow blacks to live in their units. This type of interaction was experienced during a housing ordeal faced by Troy Simpson, Jr., and his wife. In July 1966, Simpson had made arrangements by phone to rent a unit from Mrs. Tom Whetzel.¹²² When the Simpsons arrived at Whetzel's to make a down-payment, Simpson reported that "when she met us and realized we were Negroes, she began to revoke the unwritten agreement."¹²³ There was much hemming and hawing with no approval of the Simpsons as tenants; Troy Simpson then filed a charge of discrimination. When Mr. and Mrs. Whetzel were interviewed by members of the Housing Review Committee, Mrs. Whetzel stated that the Simpsons were refused because they could only rent for 9 months.¹²⁴ Then, Mr. Whetzel "indicated that he and Mrs. Whetzel have no prejudice and this is supported by the fact that he employs Negroes in his construction firm and his yardman, a Negro, has been with him a dozen years at least."¹²⁵ This statement was made after Mrs. Whetzel admitted that because they had "unsatisfactory experiences with a Korean and Ukranian as tenants," they "would never

121. Memorandum, 13 July 1965, 1.

122. Mr. Troy Simpson, Jr., to Mr. Paul Doebel, Director, 25 August 1966, 1, Housing Review Committee Files, 1962-1971, Series 4/6/17, Box 2, File "Simpson-Whetzel Case Closed 1966-68" University of Illinois Archives.

123. Simpson to Doebel, 25 August 1966, 1.

124. To: Housing Review Committee Re: Interview with Mr. and Mrs. Tom Whetzel, 20 September 1966, 2, Housing Review Committee Files, 1962-1971, Series 4/6/17, Box 2, File "Simpson-Whetzel Case Closed 1966-68," University of Illinois Archives.

125. Whetzel Interview, 20 September 1966, 2.

again rent to a Korean."¹²⁶ The Whetzels' property was removed from the University's approved housing list.¹²⁷ Mrs. Whetzel could not make the connection that acting on her views that all Koreans (and Ukrainians?) would be unsatisfactory as tenants was a direct violation of the pledge of racial non-discrimination. Further, as was common thinking of whites in the North, Mr. Whetzel felt that since he employed blacks (one as a personal yardman, a menial position to be sure--further, it is likely that blacks employed in his construction firm were hod carriers [see next chapter]) it was proof that he and his wife did not discriminate due to race.

In another case, albeit a more unusual incident, landlady Bertha Curzon rented a unit to Vance Matheson and his wife, both of whom were white. On moving day, in January 1969, a black couple assisted the Mathesons' move. According to Matheson, "about January 23, the date when we [he and his wife] arrived on the premises and actually expected to occupy the apartment, Mrs. Curzon asked to speak to us. At that time she informed us that the apartment would not be available as the property was probably going to be sold. She reported that the development had actually occurred the day when our friends were assisting with the moving."¹²⁸ Matheson filed the complaint, but after 10 March, Matheson wrote the Committee saying that "he did not wish to pursue the charge."¹²⁹ In this alleged case of discrimination due to race, blacks were not even the tenants; association with them was enough for the operator to devise a way to exclude even the whites who interacted with them.

126. Ibid.

127. Minutes of the Meeting of the Housing Review Committee 17 October 1966, 3, Housing Review Committee Files, 1962-1971, Series 4/6/17, Box 2, File "Simpson-Whetzel Case Closed 1966-68," University of Illinois Archives.

128. Housing Discrimination Complaint, Vance Matheson (unsigned), Housing Review Committee Files, 1962-1971, Series 4/6/17, Box 2, File "Matheson-Curzon 1969," University of Illinois Archives.

129. Handwritten by SWR on Stanley W. Rahn to Vance Matheson, 28 February 1969, Housing Review Committee Files, 1962-1971, Series 4/6/17, Box 2, File "Matheson-Curzon 1969," University of Illinois Archives.

In yet another case, Professor Mobin Shorish of the College of Education filed a housing discrimination complaint on 5 October 1970 in behalf of his sister-in-law, Donia Yourish.¹³⁰

Professor Shorish's wife had called rooming operator McCown and found that the advertised room was available. According to Shorish's statement, "I and my sister-in-law, who is from Afghanistan, as I am, drove to Mrs. McCown's home immediately, an interval of some 10-15 minutes from the time of the telephone call."¹³¹ Shorish's statement continued:

6. We were told that the room had been rented when we spoke to Mrs. McCown. I informed her if this had indeed happened in that short space of time she should have called my home immediately to report this change. I informed her this matter would be reported to the University.
7. About 1:15 p.m. that same day my wife called on Mrs. McCown alone and without identifying herself, inquired about a room. She was told by Mrs. McCown that a room was available at that time. This was about one hour after I had been told by Mrs. McCown that it was filled.¹³²

McCown wrote the Committee stating that the whole thing was a "misunderstanding, no doubt due to a lack of proper communication."¹³³ McCown's letter is interesting and it does indicate that interactions may have been more confusing than Shorish's account indicates. It appears that Shorish did not wish to proceed with the hearings because, as of 5 January 1971, no reply from him was recorded by the Committee to continue with the case.¹³⁴

There were other similar cases where race was purportedly not the deciding factor in renting apartment units. These included: Jarrell vs. Johnson, where landlady Katherine Johnson

130. Housing Discrimination Complaint, 5 October 1970, signed "Mr. and Mrs. Mobin Shorish," Housing Review Committee Files, Series 4/6/17, Box 2, File "Shorish vs. McCown 1970," University of Illinois Archives.

131. Shorish Housing Discrimination Complaint, 5 October 1970.

132. Ibid.

133. Ethel C. McCown to Mr. Stanley W. Rahn, 17 October 1970, Housing Review Committee Files, 1962-1971, Series 4/6/17, Box 2, File "Shorish vs. McCown 1970," University of Illinois Archives.

134. Handwritten note on Stanley W. Rahn to Mr. Mobin Shorish, 26 October 1970, Housing Review Committee Files, 1962-1971, Series 4/6/17, Box 2, File "Shorish vs. McCown 1970," University of Illinois Archives.

first would not answer the door and then claimed the apartment had been rented (it was later confirmed that it had not); Amunsi vs. Taylor, where landlord Taylor would show only an inferior basement apartment and then said that the unit of which the prospective tenant was interested was already rented (again, it was confirmed that it was not); Davis vs. Spicer, where Davis made arrangements by telephone with landlady Spicer and when Davis arrived five minutes later, Spicer said another had rented the room--here, Davis told Spicer she was lying and then Davis proceeded to give "Mrs. Spicer the finger (an unfavorable expression) and then he walked away"; and, Dade vs. Voightlander, where landlord Voightlander "reported he had checked with some of my friends and learned that some of my friends were not prompt in paying their debts" though Voightlander did not check Dade's own references--Voightlander also said he preferred an older couple in the unit.¹³⁵ Thus, rooming operators functioned effectively as gatekeepers to neighborhoods along with real estate agents, home owners, and lending institutions. Indeed, some were, in addition to being landlords and ladies, realtors themselves. Keeping in mind that the cases described here occurred after the modern Civil Rights Movement, and many after the assassination of Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., it is probable that if instances of racial discrimination in renting occurred during the 1960s, they occurred--if blacks dared to try--with more force and frequency during the preceding decades.

Black students were not immune from this discriminatory treatment by local agents. Though the community's racist practices help explain in part why black students had to live in the black neighborhood in the outskirts of town, these customs do not fully explain why they were not housed in any of the University dormitories, or why University administrators allowed housing operators to extend racially prejudicial treatment toward its own students.

135. Boyd Jarrell to Mr. Stanley Rahn, 17 July 1967, file "Boyd Jarrell-Katherine T. Johnson, 910 W. Nevada 1967"; Housing Discrimination Complaint 7 June 1968 signed Stanley W. Rahn, Secretary, file "Amunsi vs. Taylor 1968"; Lonnie E. Clark to Stanley W. Rahn, 11 April 1969, file "Spicer vs. Davis 1969"; Housing Discrimination Complaint, 24 March 1970, file "Voightlander vs. Dade 1970-71"; all in Housing Review Committee Files, 1962-1971, Series 4/6/17, Box 2, University of Illinois Archives.

No Blacks in Dormitories

In a 1945 article entitled "Just Like Dixie," the Chicago Defender reported that "University of Illinois officials freely admit that no Negro girl has ever lived in Busey or Evans Hall, the two university-owned dormitories [for women], but say as freely that there is 'no discrimination.'"¹³⁶ The article was accurate on both counts. First, long aware of the problem, State Representative Charles J. Jenkins and the Illinois Association of Colored Women's Clubs began to pressure the administration about the racially segregated housing situation in July 1945.¹³⁷ It is interesting to note that during this time Jenkins co-authored both bills put before the Illinois General Assembly (both of which failed) which would have banned racially restrictive covenants.¹³⁸ Jenkins reported to University of Illinois President Willard that "housing conditions for colored women in Urbana and Champaign are just simply a nightmare," emphasizing to the President that "if you were to look it over I think you will be shocked."¹³⁹ Jenkins' second point (especially regarding housing matters) referring to the treatment of blacks as second class or invisible persons by University officials was so taken for granted as natural and normal that the evidence indicates University officials truly believed that no racial discrimination was involved.

Living in the white-prescribed black section of town could indeed, in many ways, be considered a nightmare and the attempt to seek housing outside the North End resulted in insults, door slams, and lies. Black students endured great hardships. There were additional factors that added to the privation. Distance alone was a major problem. This was compounded because the trip to and from campus would often have to be made several times a day, as the black students

136. Chicago Defender, 4 August 1945.

137. Jenkins to Willard, 26 July 1945, Arthur C. Willard Papers, Series 2/9/1, Box 92, File "Housing for Colored Students," University of Illinois Archives.

138. Long and Johnson, People vs. Property, 100.

139. Jenkins to Willard, 31 July 1945.

were, until the Illini Union opened in 1942, forbidden to eat in university-run food halls, as well as in campus restaurants.¹⁴⁰

Though a great many black students were graciously (and for profit) taken in by local black families, these students were greeted after the long, tiring walks home from campus by a neighborhood with unpaved streets, non-existent sidewalks and outhouses and inadequate sewers.¹⁴¹ Though not all blacks lived in run-down homes, they nevertheless lived amidst the squalor of a neighborhood which the city did not maintain.

With racially discriminatory local customs so entrenched, it was taken for granted by white locals as well as by University officials that this arrangement was satisfactory for all concerned.¹⁴² Blacks, however, did not accept such arrangements as adequate. In his August 1945 letter to President Willard inquiring about the dormitory situation, State Representative Charles Jenkins also informed Willard that the Illinois 1937 Civil Rights Act prohibits racially unfair accommodations and that the University should act immediately to rectify the situation.¹⁴³ The Defender printed that President Willard claimed that race "has never been a consideration" in accepting applicants for dormitory space and that "just qualified applicants" are allowed.¹⁴⁴ Willard was right, with blacks heretofore treated as invisible with all of them

140. Black exclusion from Twin Cities restaurants was so well known and the discrimination so keenly felt that it was mentioned by a very large percentage of those interviewed for the Urbana Free Library Black Oral History Project (see Box 332). Also, though the University of Illinois provided meal service for most students, there was no place on campus for black students to eat until the Illini Union Building was opened in 1942. See Albert Lee, "Presidents I Have Known," 20, Albert Lee Papers, Series 2/6/21, Box 1, File "University Presidents I Have Known of Illinois August 1942," University of Illinois Archives; and, Turner to Willard, 24 June 1936, Arthur C. Willard Papers, Series 2/9/1, Box 15, File "Turner, Fred H.," University of Illinois Archives. Finally, 40 sworn and notarized affidavits testifying to the racial discrimination they experienced in local restaurants are on file in Harry M. Tiebout Papers, Series 15/16/21, Box 3, File "S-CIC Restaurants (Campus) Affidavits 1946-47," University of Illinois Archives.

141. League of Women Voters, "League Report," 57.

142. It is a commonly believed by whites that blacks prefer to live with their own kind. See Leon Litwack, North of Slavery (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961).

143. Jenkins to Willard, 31 July 1945.

144. Chicago Defender, 4 August 1945.

sequestered north of the tracks, race had indeed never been a consideration.

Paradoxically, especially in light of the practice of ignoring blacks, dormitory applicants were required to specify their race on dormitory application forms. Still, University officials claimed that student merit, and not race was paramount in their selection criteria. Both President Willard and Housing Director Earl Thompson justified their meritocratic claim that the knowledge of the applicant's race was required "so that we can place girls congenial to one another in the same room."¹⁴⁵ Seemingly contradictory, two of the University's highest officials at once maintained that race had "never been a consideration" and, that racial identity is necessary "so that we can place girls congenial to one another in the same room."¹⁴⁶ These officials belied the fact that race had ever been a consideration when they admitted with no hesitation that racial identity is crucial for reasons of congeniality. Put another way, these officials operated under the assumption that blacks and whites are not congenial with one another, and, this has nothing to do with racial discrimination.

Moreover, there were other housing guidelines which allowed for racial discrimination. It was stated in the "Residence Hall Room Assignment Guidelines" that "the Director of Residence Halls has the authority and responsibility for refusing to admit to the Halls any applicant whose past record is, in his opinion, indicative of serious social maladjustments," and that spaces "will be rented to the most desirable tenants available."¹⁴⁷ In the climate of these times, where blacks were considered innately inferior, this University policy gave the director of housing considerable (and dangerous) leeway in determining who would be deemed socially acceptable and desirable as dormitory tenants. That a racially exclusive interpretation of housing policy would be used is especially true in that Residence Hall Director Earl Thompson held stereotypical views of blacks. In an August 1945 letter to acting President A. J. Janata, Thompson stated that "it is my opinion

145. Willard quoted in the Chicago Defender, 4 August 1945; Thompson to Janata, 6 August 1945.

146. Thompson to Janata, 6 August 1945; Chicago Defender, 4 August 1945.

147. "Residence Halls Room Assignments," 1945, Fred H. Turner Papers, Series 41/1/1, Box 4, File "Housing Residence Halls Apartments," University of Illinois Archives.

that most colored students attending the University of Illinois are as well, if not better, housed than they are in their own homes."¹⁴⁸ Thompson's statement to Janata is interesting in that while it is irrelevant to the real issue, and though it is a stereotype that is based somewhat on reality, it reveals that Thompson assumes that segregation and dilapidation is a life condition suitable for blacks. With white attitude consisting of the belief that congeniality in housing is best served through segregation of the races, coupled with Thompson's belief that essentially black students were well-off living in the North End, it is understandable why no blacks were allowed to reside in University dormitories. These precious dorm spaces were reserved for whites only.

After days of urgent meetings and memos between State Representative Charles Jenkins and the Illinois Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Willard and Thompson agreed to reserve one room for Quintella King and June Arhetta. According to President Willard, "assignments of rooms are being completed, but I have asked the Director of the Division of Student Housing to hold space for two girls for the time being, because I want the group which is interested in the situation to feel that the University is being absolutely fair."¹⁴⁹ These women would, it was hoped by State Representative Jenkins, prove to be "successful pioneers blazing the trail for other Colored Women."¹⁵⁰ To be sure, Willard and Thompson broke from heavily entrenched tradition in allowing King and Arhetta in the dorms. It was, however, due to pressure and protest and not university initiative which made it possible for the token "pioneers" whose experience would most likely be more profound than token. Due to protest efforts, these young women did indeed open the way to dormitory living for other blacks.

148. Thompson to Janata, 6 August 1945.

149. Willard to Jenkins, 2 August 1945, Arthur C. Willard Papers, Series 2/9/1, Box 92, File "Housing for Colored Students," University of Illinois Archives.

150. Jenkins in Jenkins to Thompson, 11 August 1945, Arthur C. Willard Papers, Series 2/9/1, Box 92, File "Housing for Colored Students," University of Illinois Archives.

Gender Discrimination

The dormitory issue was only one of many with which University officials were struggling to cope. Meanwhile, while Housing Director Thompson believed that blacks, specifically black women were better-off housed in the North End of town, with President Willard claiming the same, the University administration devoted most of their energy towards administering to the needs of other groups of students.¹⁵¹ In the process, double standards were created and perpetuated that were discriminatory by race as well as by gender.

Previously, on 16 February 1940, the University of Illinois Board of Trustees voted to uphold the provision that students must live in units approved by the University both in physical and "moral surroundings." Until the Fall semester of 1945 when King and Arhetta were allowed to live in the dormitories in a single room together, the governing body had meant all white students, male and female; black students were still invisible to them: black students lived in, officially speaking, "unapproved" housing.¹⁵² This double standard would not be the last officials would create in housing the students. By World War II's end, "all attempts to enforce the requirement that men live in approved housing was abandoned," due to greatly increased enrollment.¹⁵³ At this time, University officials allowed and aided white single male students and, though living conditions may have been undesirable, this policy change at least allowed males (blacks as well as whites) to enroll and attend the University.

White women, however, were not as fortunate. The University Committee on Post-War Housing stressed that adequate housing for women requires that certain social facilities and

151. Willard to Jenkins, 8 August 1945, Arthur Willard papers, Series 2/9/1, Box 92, File "Housing for Colored Students," University of Illinois Archives.

152. University of Illinois, Transactions of the Board of Trustees, 16 February 1940, 753-754.

153. "A Short History of Certified Housing," 5; emphasis added.

protective supervision be furnished."¹⁵⁴ Typically, during this era, it was largely believed that women were not only distractions to men, but were largely unable to care for themselves and therefore needed close supervision. Enforcing policies concurrent with these views, this administration thus prohibited qualified women from procuring a college education. In addition to the racial double standard, a second was now sanctioned by the University according to gender.

Indeed, letters were sent from the University of Illinois Housing Division to women who were interested in and qualified to attend the institution which explicitly stated that one must "not plan to enroll for the Fall semester of the school year 1945-46 later than August 15, unless you have secured satisfactory housing accommodations by that date."¹⁵⁵ Where the University was responsible in securing housing for the white men (even if it was makeshift rink or gymnasium quarters), it was left up to the women to find their own. To be sure, the Federal government by law, required that institutions such as the University of Illinois provide education and housing for war veterans and this the University did. This is evidence however, that if there is a mandate, if the priority is there, action is taken. Non-veteran women and blacks were not seen as priorities and were thus treated as second class students.

In all the evidence of the meetings, letters, memos and the like concerning housing, there was still no mention of blacks. Dean of Students Fred H. Turner followed suit and submitted to President Arthur C. Willard a report on the 1945 housing shortage problem.¹⁵⁶ The report emphasized the shortage experienced by three groups of students: married couples, single men, and single women. The report included possible makeshift housing arrangements that could be provided for both males and married students, in addition to restricting enrollment of these two

154. University of Illinois Committee on Post-War Housing Report, 26 February 1945, Fred H. Turner Papers, 41/1/1, Box 6, File "Housing Shortage Material 1944-46," University of Illinois Archives.

155. Assistant to the Director of Student Housing Fay to Prospective Student, n.d., Fred H. Turner Papers, Series 41/1/1, Box 6, File "Housing Shortage Material 1944-46," University of Illinois Archives.

156. Turner to Willard, 15 October 1945, Fred H. Turner Papers, Series 41/1/1, Box 12, File "Student Staff Housing September 1949 Rough Drafts," University of Illinois Archives.

groups by "selective methods."¹⁵⁷ Yet, for single women, Turner's solution was more exact: "There seems to be no alternative," stated Turner's letter to the President, "other than to restrict enrollment to the available housing capacity."¹⁵⁸ Where makeshift housing units were made for white men and their families, especially as required for veterans, women were both displaced, as well as denied an education, due to the University's priority in housing white men and those affiliated with them, and to the very limited supply of "approved" housing units for white women.

Ethnic and Gender Discrimination

During the war, the University was required to house members of the United States military. Consequently, these men were placed in the three dormitories constituting the institution's only owned rooming accommodations.¹⁵⁹ Two of these three dormitories were originally intended to house women; so with the war, these women were displaced from their rooms and required to find housing elsewhere. At this time, this task was relatively easy: housemothers of approximately 23 fraternities opened these private units to women while most of the men were off to war.¹⁶⁰ Enrollment of women during war was up and housing was available. By 1946, however, the men returned and the 800-900 women housed in the fraternities were required to seek housing elsewhere.¹⁶¹ According to one survey, over 300 of these women

157. Turner to Willard, 15 October 1945, 5.

158. Ibid., 6.

159. Sifferd, "History of Housing," 41-42.

160. News Release to Housing Locals from Joe Wright, n.d., Fred H. Turner Papers, Series 41/1/1, Box 12, File "Student Staff Housing September 1949 Rough Drafts," University of Illinois Archives; Turner to Willard, 15 October 1945, 3.

161. Turner to Willard, 15 October 1945, 3. Turner's letter states that 900 women would be displaced. Wright's release on housing to locals states that 800 women would be displaced by returning men to their fraternity houses. See Wright release to Housing Locals, n.d.

could not find the required "approved" rooming accommodations for the 1946 school year.¹⁶² Of these, 225 were Jewish.¹⁶³

Securing housing was no easy matter for displaced women, especially Jews. First of all, the University itself placed limitations on women by requiring that they live in "approved" housing, and, as summarized by the 1944–45 student–compiled *Indee Housing* report, there weren't many to approve. Of all the types of living arrangements including fraternities, sororities, dormitories, and private rooming houses, it was in the approximately 500 private rooming homes (for whites) "that the poorest living conditions exist."¹⁶⁴ Upon investigation, the *Indee* Committee summarized that there existed lack of adequate toilet facilities, lighting, furniture, floor space, and meal service and that proximity to campus were among the most common complaints voiced by the students.¹⁶⁵ The Champaign Fire Marshall concurred with the report findings. The Marshall stated that "many of the houses have poor furnaces, bad electrical appliances, and flues that are in bad condition. Most of the houses are very ill–equipped for fires, and a great many of them are too crowded."¹⁶⁶ Though the *Indee* report specified that some of these homes were "approved," it is safe to assume that because the University regularly inspected women's housing units and enforced their 1940 policy regarding physical (and moral) surroundings of women, a great many of these 500 houses were not approved for women room seekers.¹⁶⁷ Further, these were the best rooming facilities provided by the community. If

162. Citizen's Committee on the University of Illinois, *Dr. Fox's First Report*, 1, n.d., Fred H. Turner Papers, Series 41/1/1, Box 6, File "Housing Shortage Material 1944–46," University of Illinois Archives. Fox's report claims that 800 women were dehousing from the fraternities.

163. Memorandum on existing conditions in Housing in the University of Illinois community at Champaign–Urbana, 12 June 1946, from Martine Hayes Bickman, Chairman Illinois inter–racial Commission, 2, Fred H. Turner Papers, Series 41/1/1, Box 6, File "Housing Shortage Material 1944–46," University of Illinois Archives.

164. *Indee Housing Report*, January 1945, 1–3.

165. *Ibid.*, 3–10.

166. Fire Marshall quoted in *Indee Housing Report*, January 1945, 3, emphasis his.

167. "A Short History of Certified Housing," 5.

conditions for whites were sorely inadequate, this gives the context with which to better understand the housing conditions with which blacks had to endure.

In addition to limiting the availability of rooms for white women as compared to white men, the University was aware and in fact accepted that housing for Jews, especially Jewish women would be even more restricted. According to a report filed by the Citizens' Committee on the University of Illinois, the University's "approved" boarding room housing list at this time included asterisks beside the names of those houses and housemothers who "would not take Jews."¹⁶⁸ This open acknowledgement and approval of segregation by religion was unlawful, unequal, harmful, and, the report rightly stated that "these students face the prospects of being unable to return to the University this summer and autumn to continue their education."¹⁶⁹

With housing limitations based on racially, ethnically, and sexually discriminatory policies imposed by the University, there were other factors that existed that contributed to unfair housing requirements. In terms of gender, local operators clearly expressed that they preferred to rent to men. The University's Division of Student Housing report of Summer 1944 stated that 90 percent of the apartment owners had "signified their intention of renting to boys after the war, giving as their reason not only that it is more remunerative [to rent to "boys" rather than "girls"] but that bath facilities are not satisfactory for both men and women and that the cooking odors [attributed to "girls"] are objectionable."¹⁷⁰ The housemothers of the fraternities had much the same feeling towards renting to young women as the landlords. The housemothers justified their

168. Citizen's Committee on the University of Illinois, Dr. Fox's First Report, n.d., 2. Later, asterisks were used on official University housing publications to signify that owners and operators would not rent to blacks. At this early date, however, racially segregated housing was so well established, that it was understood that black students would have to locate their own housing in the segregated section of town.

169. Memorandum on existing conditions in housing, 12 June 1946, 3. There is no further evidence at this time which can be found to indicate whether or not these Jewish women had to forego their education at the University of Illinois because of the housing shortage and University-sanctioned discriminatory practices of Boarding Room owners and operators.

170. University of Illinois Division of Student Housing Apartment Housing Survey, Summer 1944, 1-2, Fred H. Turner Papers, Series 41/1/1, Box 6, File "Housing Shortage Material 1944-46," University of Illinois Archives.

preferences in renting to males with "boys were less trouble than girls. Girls need more attention; are more careless with their room furnishings; leave powder puffs and cosmetics lying about; are being constantly called up, and in other ways are more troublesome than boys."¹⁷¹ Evidently, the fraternity housemothers could tolerate the stereotypical traits they purported that the young women had when it was these women who provided the housemothers with their major source of income during the war. But, coupled with University policy concerning approved housing, views like theirs' as well as other local landlords' ultimately deterred all women from attending the University: between the 1945–46 school year and the 1947–48 academic term, female enrollment dropped by 828 while the male enrollment skyrocketed by 10,322. Table 2.5 displays this decline in female enrollment and the dramatic disparity between male and female scholars. The

Table 2.5

University of Illinois at Champaign–Urbana, Enrollment by Sex, 1944–1948

Year	Males	Females
1944–45	2,770	4,574
1945–46	4,002	4,797
1946–47	N/A ^a	N/A ^a
1947–48	14,324	3,969

Source: Admissions and Records Statistics, Series 25/3/0/10, Box 1, File "Enrollment Tables, 1936–," University of Illinois Archives.

^aThe total enrollment for the 1946–47 school year was 20,043. This was the only year in which enrollment records do not tally the total by gender.

recommendation to President Willard by Dean of Students Turner to limit female enrollment had, by 1947, taken effect.

Housing units in the black North End, of course, were not included in the University's

171. Citizen's Committee on the University of Illinois, Dr. Fox's First Report, 1.

official "approved" housing listings.¹⁷² Again, the University was involved in a complicated web of double-standards. Whereas white and black men were explicitly or implicitly allowed to live in "unapproved" units, white women, especially white Jewish women were severely limited or unable to enroll because they were required to live in only "approved" housing. Yet, though meeting with white social approval, all blacks lived in officially "unapproved" housing units. Physical living standards in the North End were not inspected by the University and in light of the reports of the living conditions there, most likely could not be considered as adequate according to University standards for white students.

Perhaps it could be argued that, as with white males, residing in substandard housing would be better than foregoing an education as white women experienced. This was not entirely true, however, for blacks. The North End's housing supply was extremely congested, and the availability of housing units was severely limited.¹⁷³

Further, by not concerning themselves with the approval of black women's resident units as they did with white women, University officials transmitted the race and gender-bound message that black women do not deserve the protection and supervision that white women do. The sexually discriminatory policy harmed both black and white women, with black women experiencing the additional racial bias. Part of this situation was reported in the Chicago Defender. The article stated: "This 78-year-old state university was revealed here this week as having literally forced Negro girl students to live 'across the tracks'--14 blocks from school grounds. No Negro girl has ever been allowed quarters in the dormitories of Illinois . . . [this]

172. The University-conducted apartment survey of summer, 1944 confined its study, and approval, to an area bounded by Springfield Avenue on the north, Pennsylvania Avenue on the south, Busey Avenue on the east, and First Street on the west. (See Thompson to Turner, 8 November 1944, "Apartment Housing Survey," 1.) North End homes were quite a distance from this circumscribed area.

173. A student wrote of this concern to the editors of the Daily Illini, saying, "Twelve Negro women of whom I know had planned to come here this semester, but could not find adequate places to stay, so they entered other colleges." Dwight Harwell to the Editor, Daily Illini, 21 January 1945. All the evidence supports this, especially the League of Women's Report and The League of Women's Shack Study.

shocking double-standard segregation policy [has been] boldly practiced since the school's beginning."¹⁷⁴ Further, the paper reported that Housing Director Earl Thompson, Housing Director, admitted that "Housing for colored women is probably somewhat less desirable than the average facilities provided on the campus due to the fact that their units are located some distance from our classroom buildings, and are in general less attractive."¹⁷⁵ Here, Thompson admittedly stated that black housing conditions were worse than those for whites. That, as has been discussed, he felt the situation was just as evidenced by his remark that blacks were housed better in the North End than they were at home. This was good enough for him, until, of course, he was pressured to allow two blacks in the dormitories under his purview. Again, Thompson took for granted that blacks and whites should be separated.

Dormitory Integration

With the token integration gesture of 1945, the operators of the dormitories at the University of Illinois slowly began to admit more blacks. Paradoxically, this integration of the university dormitories (albeit a slow process) proved disappointing to some local blacks. Interestingly, it was not the snail's pace of integration that was necessarily disconcerting to them, but that the University was now drawing the community's highly revered young people away from their neighborhood.¹⁷⁶ Further, the black community not only looked up to these educated

174. Chicago Defender, 4 August 1945.

175. Ibid.

176. Local black resident, Carrie Nelson, lamented that the black students no longer visit within the community as they once had during segregation. "They were inspirational," she said, "because I can remember looking up to them, you know, because they were in school." Carrie Nelson interview transcript, 26, Black Oral History Project, Box 332, Urbana Free Library Archives. Erma Bridgewater liked it better when the students were involved with church activities and the like. She missed the togetherness that came with segregation. Erma Bridgewater interview transcript, 7, Black Oral History Project, Box 332, Urbana Free Library Archives. At the time of his interview for the Black Oral History Project, Mr. Les Jamerson expressed the wish that the black students of the present would have the good relations with the black townspeople as they had had previously. He went on to describe how the black townspeople think that black students feel superior to them. Les Jamerson interview transcript, 5, Black Oral History Project, Box 332,

youths, but were dependent to some degree on the income they generated. In adapting to an apartheid system, certain desirable situations such as social contacts and income are often created by those oppressed by the system. The price of "integration," token that it was, involved losing precious resources by the local black community.

By 1950, University of Illinois Illio yearbook photos show that 11 black women and 2 black men resided in University-owned dorms, and by 1955 the numbers increased to 23 and 12 respectively.¹⁷⁷ 1960 Illio photographs show that only 20 black women lived in dormitories and only 14 black men resided there, even with the increase of the newly-built dormitories which could house a total of at least 4,592 students.¹⁷⁸ Though the actual number of blacks in the dorms increased, these same dormitories actually became less integrated. As compared to other housing factions connected with the University however, this degree of "integration" was the best the town and gown offered. Though University officials at least made the gesture towards integrating their own facilities, this gesture was obscured by the abhorrent racially segregated conditions that existed in the majority of student housing because it was claimed by officials that "the University has no control over any business activity conducted by private operators."¹⁷⁹ Referring to both community-owned housing as well as student-run independent houses and fraternities and sororities, as late as 1955, the University's official (and erroneous) stance as advised by legal council was that "a privately-operated student rooming house at which such discrimination is practiced does not constitute a public nuisance" according to Illinois statute.¹⁸⁰ Supervising only token integration of black students in their dorms, the University claimed its

Urbana Free Library Archives.

177. Illio, 1950, 1955.

178. Illio, 1960; Zammuto, "Housing Division, University of Illinois," 5.

179. University of Illinois Alleged Discrimination in Off-Campus housing Memorandum, Kretschmer to Brown, 20 July 1955, Physical Plant Housing Papers, 37/6/10, Box 5, File "Policies and Regulations 1950-52, 1955," University of Illinois Archives.

180. Kretschmer to Brown, 20 July 1955, University of Illinois Alleged Discrimination in Off-Campus Housing.

hands were tied with regard to racial conditions and housing of the vast majority of its students.

While it could hardly be claimed that the operators of dormitory living were enthusiastically receptive to integration, the existing evidence indicates that the dorms were the most integrated living situation for students during the years this paper surveys. This is important because it shows that once university officials have been pressured, and when these same officials are certain that the University owns and controls a specified unit such as a dorm, they are, in their eyes, in the position to uphold their officially recorded policies on fair race relations. One such policy was recorded in the 23 September 1946 Transactions of the Board of Trustees and reads:

The officers of the University will continue a policy of long standing which will favor and strengthen those attitudes and social philosophies which are necessary to create a community atmosphere in which race prejudice cannot thrive.¹⁸¹

Unfortunately, the University had so little in dorm space to offer. In 1956, University President David D. Henry presented the Board of Trustees with the statement that, as previously disclosed in 1941, "Illinois now ranks last percentage-wise among the 'Big Ten' universities in providing housing for students."¹⁸² In his statement, Henry urged the Board that housing be given "first Priority," and lamented the fact that (as was the case ten years prior) "hundreds of women students are turned away because of lack of living quarters, and that untold numbers are discouraged from even trying to attend the University because of reports of inadequate housing."¹⁸³ Yet, with only token dormitory integration, with women being turned away, and with no mention of black students in official housing problem documents, the status of discrimination in housing was virtually the same in the mid-1950s as it had been immediately following the war. Significantly, race was again made invisible; nowhere was it mentioned in Henry's long, detailed description of the problems of University housing.

181. Transactions of the Board of Trustees, 23 September 1946.

182. Transaction of the Board of Trustees, 28 January 1956. No data is given by the president to support his claim. It might be possible that he relied on the same study that was conducted in the early 1940s, but it seems highly unlikely that he would use such old data.

183. Transactions of the Board of Trustees, 28 January 1956.

Other Independent Homes and Race

Up through the late 1950s, with most black students living in the segregated North End of the Twin Cities--either in black fraternities and sororities or in the private homes of local black residents there, and with a token number beginning to be allowed to reside in the University dormitory system, there were a few student-organized independent homes that had non-white student residents.¹⁸⁴ Though it is not certain when the men's organized independent houses first integrated their quarters, the Methodists' Women's organization Wescoga became "interracial" [their word] in the summer of 1945, with one black woman joining their housing group.¹⁸⁵ Though the women students of Wescoga "wanted to have a house where there were no racial barriers," its Board of Sponsors were leery. That summer, as reported by the Chicago Defender, the single black woman "will not live at Wescoga next term, however, for the 'winter session is a social season.' Directors of the house cannot allow whites and Negroes to be 'thrown together' in a social atmosphere."¹⁸⁶ The taboo against inter-racial-inter-gender mixing was strong. This young woman had to give up her home, even when her peers said they wanted her to stay. If a newspaper in Chicago had been made aware of and printed the story, chances are favorable that students and residents of Champaign-Urbana were aware of it as well. Chances are equally as strong that this type of situation would deter others from attempting to integrate predominately white housing organizations. Yet, with Wescoga, significantly, as was often the case, the students were more receptive towards furthering positive race relations through integration than the supervising adults.

184. Some of this data is based on an IlliQ study I conducted in which non-whites were counted in every individual housing unit photographed. It is impossible to determine whether a non-white is an African-American, or a foreign student. Nevertheless, even if those non-whites were foreign students, receptivity to them indicates a step towards the direction of more positive race relations. University of Illinois IlliQ Yearbook, 1950, 1955, 1960, 1965.

185. "Wescoga," found in YMCA Subject File, 1906-, Series 41/69/331, Box 4, File "Interracial Policy of YWCA 1940's 1944-48," University of Illinois Archives.

186. Chicago Defender, 4 August 1945.

By 1950, there was at least one other independent housing unit (for males) that, like Wescoga, had one black in residence.¹⁸⁷ By 1955, the racial make-up of the independent housing market situation was nearly identical as 1950, with Wescoga housing one black woman, and a different men's residency housing one black male.¹⁸⁸ Five years later in 1960, there were at least six male and female housing organizations with at least one black student in each organization.¹⁸⁹ Though this evidence is based on yearbook photographs leaving the validity of the findings on a shaky foundation, the 1958 NAACP report on segregation and integration in University of Illinois housing found much the same. In their student-landlord housing survey, the NAACP combined both organized and unorganized privately-operated facilities.¹⁹⁰ Though the survey did not differentiate between housing units such as Wescoga and housing units in the form of apartments, the findings supported the numbers yielded by the Illio photos with the NAACP concluding that "segregation is the rule rather than the exception in privately-operated facilities-approved housing."¹⁹¹ Indeed, only 25 percent of those operators surveyed were willing to rent to African-Americans, and only half of these, ever had.¹⁹² Interestingly, as was the case with Wescoga, 100 percent of the students polled in these units (64 of 64) "reported that having an American Negro student in their house was a satisfactory arrangement."¹⁹³ Though white

187. Illio, 1955. In light of the 1945 report by the Defender, we cannot be certain that, especially for Wescoga, the black student was able to reside in the independent housing for the entire year.

188. Illio, 1955.

189. Illio, 1960.

190. The University of Illinois Chapter and the Champaign-Urbana Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, "Segregation and Integration in Student Housing at the University of Illinois: An Analysis of Data on the Present Situation and Campus Community Attitudes Towards It," 1 May 1958, 11, "Blacks and Minorities File," University of Illinois Archives.

191. NAACP, "Segregation and Integration," 11.

192. *Ibid.*, 10-11.

193. *Ibid.*, 12.

student sentiment seemed encouraging towards racial integration, it is difficult to discern whether their response was rhetoric or one that would really be carried out in a positive manner.

Jim Crow Fraternities and Sororities

There was one very large faction of University of Illinois students, however, who opposed housing integration and that was the white fraternities and sororities of one of the largest Greek letter societies in the country. An indicator of the extent of their opposition was made known to the NAACP. For purposes of the 1958 NAACP survey, the Inter-Fraternity Council (IF) was the only group on campus that refused to even distribute survey questionnaires to individual houses. Further, they would not even agree to discuss the survey at any IF meeting.¹⁹⁴ This refusal was symbolic of the hostility the IF felt on the topic of racial integration of their societies; the issue was non-negotiable. The Panhellenic Council (women's sororities) did approve the distribution of the forms to its constituent members, and, as would be anticipated with the men, the survey conclusions revealed that with only a tiny fraction of foreign students, "almost total segregation . . . exists in sorority houses."¹⁹⁵

The Greek letter societies at Illinois had long had exclusionary and discriminatory supremacist policies and practices. In the early years of the University, they were banned from existence by University administration. The student newspaper Illini also opposed such societies "primarily on the grounds that they were anti-democratic."¹⁹⁶ By 1891, however, the ban was lifted by the Board of Trustees, and, according to historian Winton U. Solberg, "fraternities enjoyed excellent prospects at Illinois . . . they could fill a real void in the social life at Urbana

194. NAACP, "Segregation and Integration," 14.

195. *Ibid.*, 15.

196. Solberg, The University of Illinois, 296.

and insure their own success by ministering to the great need for board and room."¹⁹⁷ Solberg was on the mark on both counts. First, the University desperately relied on "private" ventures for student housing, and, largely because officials had gotten themselves in such a predicament, they felt they had to abide by "private" sector sentiment. From the perspective of the University administration, this in turn allowed for private sector control, especially when it came to race. Secondly, Urbana's social void was alleviated, with, among other things, the University-sanctioned existence of the Illinois fraternal chapter of the Ku Klux Klan.¹⁹⁸

During the early 1920s when the Illini Chapter of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) existed openly, its membership consisted of representatives from at least 20 other chapters of University of Illinois fraternities.¹⁹⁹ This group was one of two Klan chapters that was affiliated with a university in this country during this time.²⁰⁰ White supremacy pervaded the inter-fraternity system with the very existence of the Klan and so accepted was the Society that the official University publication Illio, printed the names, affiliations, and photographs of Klan members. The University approved of the racist order enough to put them on display for all time.²⁰¹

Though the evidence regarding the University chapter of the Ku Klux Klan disappears after the mid-1920s, white supremacy was still tenacious in the Greek system. In 1959, according to a report submitted to the University administration by the Urbana chapter of the American

197. Solberg, The University of Illinois, 379. Solberg argues that the 1890s regime of Selim H. Peabody as President was detested by the students as too strict and disciplinary and that, along with other reasons, Peabody was forced to resign. Stated Solberg, "Peabody's departure freed the Board of Trustees to initiate a major transformation," and the allowance of Greek societies was included in the changes (327).

198. Illio 1898, Theta Nu Epsilon (in full Klan garb), 68; Illio 1920 Ku Klux Klan, Caption: "The Inter-Fraternity Junior Social Organization, Founded at the University of Illinois 1908," with the list of membership of individuals from 20 other fraternity houses, 427; Illio 1921, Ku Klux Klan, claiming it was founded in 1906, 521; Illio 1922 Ku Klux Klan, 527; Illio 1923 Ku Klux Klan, 588; Illio 1924 Tu-Mas, 472.

199. Illio, 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925.

200. It would be interesting to find out the location of the other Klan chapter.

201. See Appendix D.5 for photocopies of Illio pages for all the years the University of Illinois chapter of the Ku Klux Klan was represented in the school yearbook.

Association of University Professors (AAUP):

Of the 58 fraternities and 28 sororities represented on campus, about six or seven are required by national constitutions to exclude certain students from consideration for membership because of race or creed.

In practice, colored students are pledged only by the few Negro chapters on campus [there were four black houses; two sororities and two fraternities], and Jewish students only in the predominately Jewish chapters.²⁰²

In addition to fraternity constitutions such as Sigma Nu's, which as late as 1961 read that the fraternity would pledge "men, free born and of free ancestry, and without Negro blood," the other significant method used to maintain an all white membership in these housing organizations as reported by the NAACP was that "a single 'blackball' (negative vote) or a few blackballs can block admission to a Greek letter society."²⁰³ Adding to the complexity of the issue, no evidence has yet been uncovered indicating whether or not any blacks desired admittance to such groups, prior to 1965.²⁰⁴ With the strong and pervasive taboo amongst whites against living or socializing with blacks, it would not be surprising if blacks chose to stay away. That this may be true, however, does not excuse the Greek letter houses for operating a racially discriminatory or anti-Semitic housing system, nor the University administration for allowing racially or ethnically prejudicial practices to exist there.

The 1955 Report of the Urbana Chapter of the American Association of University Professors which criticizes the administration's de facto laissez faire stance on discrimination within student organizations and housing (as well as gives recommendations for alleviating the

202. "Statement by the Urbana Chapter of AAUP on Discrimination in Privately-Owned Student Housing and in Fraternity and Sorority Houses" Summary, 24 March 1959, Library Public Services Papers, Series 35/3/18, Box 8, File AAUP," University of Illinois Archives.

203. Daily Illini, 27 March 1961; NAACP, "Segregation and Integration," 16. Webster defines blackball as "to exclude from membership by casting a negative vote; ostracize." It would be interesting to trace the origin of the concept. One could justifiably anticipate that the "black" in blackball referred to African Americans.

204. The first black male photographed in the Illio with a fraternity other than Alpha Phi Alpha or Kappa Alpha Psi appears in 1965 with Theta Delta Chi. Illio, 1965. There were no black females in sororities other than Delta Sigma Theta and Alpha Kappa Alpha in any of the years of the Illio survey, including 1945, 1950, 1955, 1960, 1965, and, 1970.

problem) shows that, like the students, there exists in a university many different factions and that all factions do not necessarily share the same sentiment. This group of professors condemned the administration's officially documented stance which, in University of Illinois Official Notice No. 40, 15 September 1958 entitled "Code of Fair Educational Practice," reads:

VII--Student Social Organizations. The problem of restrictive clauses in the constitutions and by-laws of student social organizations is primarily a student problem and therefore should be solved by the students concerned. However, the University encourages student organizations to eliminate qualifications based on race, creed, or national origin.²⁰⁵

Characterizing the situation as a "grave social evil," the professors' report further stated,

We cannot accept a situation in which "the University deplores any discrimination on the part of operators of private housing," and "encourages nondiscriminatory practices in commercially operated rooming houses," yet discriminatory practices continue with only slight abatement.²⁰⁶

Quoting from University Board of Trustee policy statements, the professors expressed their abhorrence at the hypocrisy of an administration who failed to enforce their policy statements.

Continued Discrimination

Housing discrimination at the University of Illinois did indeed exist without much abatement, on into the early 1960s and beyond. Women ("several hundred") were turned away in 1955 because, stated the President's Office, there was an "inadequate supply of rooming facilities" for them.²⁰⁷ Women were still refused in 1960 when 300-400 female applicants were denied because of lack of space for them.²⁰⁸ Racial discrimination eased only slightly and this was largely due to expansion of dormitory space, for, by 1962, the University had increased its dorm

205. AAUP, "Statement on Discrimination," 2.

206. Ibid., 5.

207. President to Turner, 6 October 1955, Turner Papers, Series 41/1/1, Box 20, File "Discrimination," University of Illinois Archives.

208. Daily Illini, 24 September 1960.

capacity to house 6,607 students.²⁰⁹ Enrollment however had reached 17,030 men and 7,139 women for a total of 24,169 for the school year 1962–1963.²¹⁰ That left 17,562 students (73%) who were required to seek housing in a racially discriminatory market. By 1965, Illio photos show that of the 37 male dorm units pictured, a total of 12 blacks were represented and of the 23 female units shown, 14 black women were pictured for a total of at least 26.²¹¹

Yet, although the administration was to allow some blacks into the dormitories, officials claimed that Greek letter houses, the independent rooming houses and the private housing and apartment industry was beyond its purview to govern when it came to fair racial standards and practices. This justification to allow racial discrimination to persist was not sound, and various organizations took issue with University administrators. In 1955, the University administration was informed by the Religious Workers' Association that "the Fall issue of the newsletter of the Midwest Committee on Discrimination in Higher Education lists forty-one midwestern colleges and universities that have eliminated discrimination in their approved housing."²¹² The Religious Workers' Association reasoned that if these universities could eliminate discrimination so could Illinois. Further, the Association described the absurdity of the University's stance stating that "surely no one will argue today that what happens to people's minds through discrimination or non-discrimination is less important than plumbing or the thickness of the mattresses which are

209. Zammuto, "Housing Division , University of Illinois," 5.

210. Admissions and Record Statistics, Series 25/3/0/10, Box 5, File "Enrollment Tables, 1936- ," University of Illinois Archives.

211. Illio, 1965. Unfortunately, there are no figures of black enrollment during the early to mid-1960s time period. University of Illinois Archivist Maynard Brichford claims that in 1966, there were 380 black students on the Urbana campus, as determined by a Mr. Ed Russell. Brichford would not reveal Russell's or his own sources, yet insisted I should trust the figure 380. Regardless, even though 36 is most likely an inexact number of black dorm residents, and that 380 may or may not be accurate, we can be sure that the majority of black students had to seek housing on their own and had to do so in a racially intolerant environment of owners and operators.

212. Westwood to Morey, 23 June 1955, Fred H. Turner Papers, Series 41/1/1, Box 20, File "Discrimination," University of Illinois Archives.

regulated by the University."²¹³ Indeed, if the University regulated such things as plumbing, curfews and study habits, the same University could require non-discriminatory practices of those affiliated with it.

In 1959, the AAUP informed the administration that it considered it a crime that racial discrimination in housing was allowed to continue and cited Chapter 38, sections 125 and 126 of the Illinois Revised Statutes as evidence.²¹⁴ The professors expounded, stating that other universities had taken action to eliminate discrimination in privately-owned housing, and "what has been done in Berkeley, Minneapolis, East Lansing and Madison, can be done in Urbana-Champaign."²¹⁵ And, in terms of the Greek letter society housing units, University of Illinois should heed Wisconsin's policy which read that no "organization which has in its national or local constitution or pledge instructions a discriminatory clause shall be approved by the University after July 1, 1960."²¹⁶

In 1961, University officials became aware that other Universities--specifically Cornell, Wisconsin, Iowa, Michigan State, and Michigan--all had banned racial discrimination in housing, by not allowing their students to live in any dwelling whose owners discriminated against students by race.²¹⁷ The University of Illinois, however still supported racial segregation.

On 22 February 1962, it was reported that the University of Illinois Board of Trustees ruled that:

213. Westwood to Morey, 23 June 1955, Student Affairs Papers, Series 41/69/70, Box 1, File "Religious Workers Association Papers, 1922-1967," University of Illinois Archives.

214. AAUP "Statement on Discrimination," 6.

215. *Ibid.*, 7.

216. *Ibid.*, 12.

217. Turner to Deebel and Knox, 12 May 1961, Physical Plant Housing Papers, Series 37/6/10, Box 8, File "Fair Educational Practices," University of Illinois Archives.

From and after September 1, 1965, single undergraduate students will not be permitted to reside in commercially operated rooming houses in which occupants are selected on the basis of race, creed or national origin.²¹⁸

Yet, though action was taken regarding boarding room operations, none was taken concerning discrimination in Greek fraternities and sororities.²¹⁹ University of Illinois lagged behind various factions of their own institution in terms of racial progress and it lagged behind its contemporary institutions.

Methods used by rooming operators in Champaign–Urbana to keep blacks out of their apartment units were very similar to those employed by real estate agents, home owners, and personnel of lending institutions. The individual cases of racial discrimination in renting represent a range of rebuffs from the obnoxiously blatant "no chocolate drop Charlies are going to run around my house!" to the more subtle but equally effective hesitation because an older couple was preferred for the particular apartment. Many of the rationales were based on stereotypes similar to those found in minstrel shows and in concert with what their eyes beheld when driving by the city–neglected North End. In many cases, leasers were also realtors or professors; in many cases lessees were also students or professors. As demonstrated by the Professors Dobrovolny, Corley, and Timmons, some University of Illinois faculty were not above discriminating against racial groups even though many hold the belief expressed by landlord Henry Voightlander that, "high–class people" might accept integration more than others. As demonstrated by Professor Eubanks's search for an apartment, income and occupational status did not matter if one were African–American; race did.

From its inception, the University of Illinois was inextricably linked with the community norms, especially in housing. While University leaders were resistant to change towards positive race relations and integration so too were other community leaders. Indeed, many of those with

218. Daily Illini, 22 February 1962.

219. *Ibid.*

the most power in both town and gown promoted racial segregation as the ideal for harmonious living, even when it meant breaking Illinois law.

Relying heavily on the convenient justification that the University's hands were tied in race and housing matters, University of Illinois officials allowed, perpetrated, and even approved of discriminatory treatment against their own students. With priority treatment given always first to white male scholars, next white female scholars, then finally Jews and blacks, the institution of higher learning ranked, for at least a decade (1941–1951) and probably more, dead last in providing housing for students in the surveyed Big Ten schools. Until 1945 when two black females were allowed to live in University-owned dorms, all black students and townspeople were required by custom and covenant to live in the tiny segregated black neighborhood North of town. Though blacks seemed all but invisible to University officials, the hardships these students endured in their living conditions were all too real. The University perpetuated a complicated web of double-standards in terms of race, gender, and ethnicity on into the early 1960s. Minority students who were fortunate enough to gain admittance to their own state school were welcomed with injustice.

CHAPTER III

JIM CROW AT WORK: EMPLOYMENT AT
THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
AND CHAMPAIGN-URBANA

The story of black employment at the University of Illinois and Champaign-Urbana from the post-World War II era through the early 1960s (and even beyond) is aptly characterized in a brief statement by long-time Champaign resident Sandy Jordan. Describing an institutional arena of white dominance and black struggle, Jordan said, "you couldn't get a job, they wouldn't hire you. You'd be qualified for it, but they wouldn't hire you. They wouldn't hire. You done went through college or school degree, they wouldn't hire you. And you had more qualifications than this white woman or white man hired you All your mother's kids--you know what I mean--you doing what is right, and keeping it up."¹ Keeping it up with tenacious efforts and will, black workers in the community fought to earn their livelihood in a system fraught with racial discrimination. Jordan understood the nature of black work in this Northern community and eloquently expressed the frustration that must have been felt by his peers. He knew on a personal level what other employment sources inform on a structural level. Interrupting momentarily the personal statements made by Jordan (and later many others) who survived the system it is necessary first to turn to U.S. Census data, the Champaign-Urbana City Directory, and several secondary account reports.

1. Sandy Jordan interview transcript, 13, Black Oral History Project, Box 332, Urbana Free Library Archives.

Black Occupations: Census.

City Directory. Secondary Reports

The 1940 Census supplies racial data for Non-white labor force participation in Champaign and Urbana in five broad categories. These categories include: (a) rates of employment, (b) rates of unemployment, (c) rates of ownership, (d) rates of salaried workers, and (e) rates of emergency relief workers. The section of the census labeled "Non-white" includes combined data on blacks, Chinese, and other Non-whites. For 1940 Champaign-Urbana however, it is safe to say that only a tiny fraction of this "Non-White" section represent individuals of races other than black.² Though the "Non-White" category provides far less detailed information than that which is provided for the population as a whole in other parts of Census documents, an analysis of the category (which is not provided by the subsequent 1950 Census) begins to reveal some vitally important information regarding the overall nature of white and non-white Twin Cities labor participation³ (see Table 3.1). By nearly every measure provided, of those who participated in the 1940 Champaign-Urbana labor force non-white workers fared worse than whites. Proportionally fewer non-white males and females were employed than white males and females in both Champaign and Urbana. Of these, again for both cities, fewer non-white men and women owned businesses as compared to white men and women. Further, a higher percent of non-white females fourteen years and older participated in the work force than white females in

2. Because Hispanics were considered Caucasians by U.S. Census takers prior to and during the 1940s and 1950s, and since most Asians during this same era lived on the West coast and in other large cities, only a few percentage points of non-whites represented people other than black in Champaign and Urbana. Thus, 95 percent black is a conservative estimate; 99 percent black is probably more realistic.

3. In 1940, the total population of Champaign was 23,302, and of that, 10,305 individuals participated in the labor force. For the same year, Urbana's total population reached 14,064 with a total of 5,706 individuals in the labor force. Thus, for the Twin City community as a whole, of 37,366 total, 16,061 white and non-white males and females participated in the 1940 labor force. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Sixteenth Decennial Census, 1940, vol. II, pt. 2, Florida-Iowa Characteristics of the Population (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943).

Table 3.1

Persons Fourteen Years and Older in Labor Force by Race and Sex in Champaign and Urbana,
1940

	Champaign				Urbana			
	Non-White Males	White Males	Non-White Females	White Females	Non-White Males	White Males	Non-White Females	White Females
14 years and older	675	8,237	735	9,382	115	5,225	124	6,095
In labor force	76.3% (515)	78.8% (6,488)	44.6% (328)	31.7% (2,974)	65.2% (75)	76.1% (3,975)	27.4% (34)	27.4% (1,672)
Employed	74.4% (383) ^a	92.5% (6,002)	83.8% (275)	95.6% (2,843)	66.7% (50)	91.3% (3,629)	85.3% (29)	94.3% (1,576)
Wage and salary work	68.0% (350)	75.8% (4,916)	80.5% (264)	84.4% (2,510)	64.0% (48)	77.4% (3,078)	85.3% (29)	82.6% (1,381)
Owners	7.38% (38)	16.1% (1,042)	2.44% (8)	9.11% (271)	2.67% (2)	13.0% (515)	0% (0)	9.45% (158)
Emergency work	19.0% (98)	29.4% (191)	13.7% (45)	1.92% (57)	25.3% (19)	3.60% (143)	11.8% (4)	2.27% (38)
Unemployed	6.60% (34)	5.07% (329)	2.44% (8)	2.49% (74)	8.00% (6)	5.11% (203)	2.95% (1)	3.47% (58)

Source: Derived from the U.S. Bureau of the Census, Sixteenth Decennial Census of the United States, 1940. Vol. II, Pt. 2. Florida-Iowa, Characteristics of the Population. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943.

^aParenthetical information represents actual number of individuals by race and sex.

the same age group.⁴ (How this is interpreted as an indicator of discrimination towards blacks will be discussed later in his chapter.) Finally, the greatest disproportionality between races is represented by the figures showing those workers on government emergency relief work programs, with the percentage of non-whites in such programs significantly higher than whites for both sexes, for both cities.

This is all the racial work data the census provides. This data, however, is sufficient enough to reveal that the extent of exclusion of non-whites from top-rung ownership positions, coupled with the overrepresentation of non-whites in bottom-rung emergency work, outline an occupational structure that benefitted whites over non-whites. These figures represent the result of the long-term practice of hiring whites for upper level occupations while either excluding blacks altogether, or hiring them for work in the lowest level jobs. This habit of hiring becomes rigid and routinized, extending into equally rigid and routinized practices of promotion. This allows for the upward mobility of whites, while it limits and restricts the upward mobility of blacks. The census figures represent the cumulative effect of these unequal practices.⁵

Though government census data provided detailed occupational breakdowns for the South and for larger urban areas of the North, it did not provide detailed occupational distributions by race for Champaign-Urbana. A privately-published source does exist however that delineates the occupation for each Twin Cities adult resident, white, black, and Chinese.⁶ Dated only four years prior to the 1940 census, the 1936 Champaign and Urbana City Directory provides an alphabetical listing of the names, addresses, occupations, and race of all adult workers residing in the community. Though these directories have been published in different forms up to

4. The fact that black women were more often required to work than white woman for the economic survival of the family will be discussed later in this chapter. See also, Lynn Weiner, From Working Girl to Working Mother: Female Labor Force in the United States, 1820-1980 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985).

5. For an extensive discussion of institutional racism see Joe R. Feagin and Claerice Booher Feagin, Discrimination American Style: Institutional Racism and Sexism (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1978), chaps. 1-3.

6. Champaign and Urbana City Directory (1936) (Flanigan-Pearson Co. Pub., 1936), 9-303.

the present, 1936 was the last year in which the discriminatory practice of listing the racial background of citizens occurred; that is, "(col)" identified black residents as "colored," "(Chinese)" so-labeled Chinese residents, and names without racial identification represented the white residents of the Twin Cities.⁷

The 1936 Directory provides the occupations of a total of 472 black male and female workers of Champaign-Urbana as compared to a total of 522 non-white male and female salaried workers and owners as outlined by the 1940 census. This means that within a 4 year period, there was an increase of only 50 blacks of working age between the years 1936 and 1940. Several factors may account for this increase in black workers, including: (a) a general increase in black population; (b) the fact that, in addition to blacks, other races were included in the Non-White 1940 Census category which may slightly increase the total of working age non-whites; (c) the children who were younger than the legal working age of 14 in 1936 grew older and thus contributed to the total working age population of 1940; and, (d) the increase of black migrants between 1936 and 1940 who were able to procure employment. Though the occupations of a small number of black workers were not provided by the 1936 Directory as compared to the 1940 census, knowledge of the exact nature of these 1940 jobs would not significantly alter the distributions of black workers in the Twin Cities labor force from 1936 to 1940. To support this claim, yet another source exists which delineates the black occupational structure of the Twin Cities. This information is provided by a report published by the League of Women Voters of Champaign County (League Report). As will be discussed later in this chapter, this League Report outlines a labor situation in which virtually no change had occurred in the occupational

7. The 1937 Champaign and Urbana City Directory has been missing from the library for the duration of this research project. It may be possible that race was designated in that year as well. Of interest is that the 1936 Directory did not provide the definition of the abbreviation "col," though the compilers did list other abbreviations and their meanings in the introduction to the volume. Only by searching through directories of previous years is the expected meaning "colored" provided for the abbreviated "col." By matching the names of those designated as "col" in the 1936 Directory with those designated as "colored" in previous years, the meaning of "col" is verified to indeed mean black. In some years, "c" was placed in parentheses after a black resident's name, but the practice most likely was discontinued because "C" also stood for "Champaign."

distribution of blacks from 1936 to the time the report was published in 1948.⁸

By returning to the 1936 Directory, a more in-depth understanding of the meaning of the census category "owners and salaried workers" can be gained.⁹ A summary of data derived from the Directory shows that Champaign-Urbana blacks owned or managed one funeral home, one restaurant, one confectionery, one dry cleaner, a small hotel, two groceries, and two home barber shops.¹⁰ Black professional workers included seven pastors, three public school teachers, four musicians, a chiropodist, patrolman, and two University of Illinois employees employed as chief clerk to the president and mail clerk.¹¹ By far however, the greatest majority of black salaried workers were employed in the occupational categories of laborers, railroad laborers, porters, janitors, cooks, maids, and other similar labor-intensive or service-related positions. In all, more black males were employed (362) than black females (110) with black males employed in more job categories (27) than black females (6). Thus, with this combined study of the 1940 Census and 1936 Directory it is clear that while a tiny percentage of blacks owned small businesses or practiced a profession, the overwhelming majority of Champaign-Urbana blacks occupied the lowest-rung, lowest paying, and least desirable jobs of the occupational hierarchy. Table 3.2 illustrates the hierarchy in more detail.

In support of the census and Directory data, the employment section of the 1948 League Report delineates the same occupational structure. The League data was compiled largely as the result of information revealed through interviews with Twin Cities employers, employee union

8. League of Women Voters, Champaign County, "A Community Report Twenty Years Later: The Status of the Negro in Champaign County," Local History Room Collection, Champaign Public Library and Information Center, October 1968, 53-56.

9. See Appendix D.6 for the complete list of the occupations of black Champaign-Urbana residents derived from this 1936 Directory.

10. Champaign and Urbana City Directory (1936). That blacks either owned or operated these businesses had to be inferred by the information provided in the directory. For example, Theo. W. Boyd's name was listed, followed by the customary "(col)", then "(Boyd's Confectionery)". Since the name of the business and the name of the resident are the same, it seems likely that Boyd owned the business. Others were similarly listed.

11. Champaign and Urbana City Directory (1936).

Table 3.2

Black Labor Force Participation by Sex and Occupation in Champaign-Urbana, 1936

Occupation	Male	Female
Porter	90	0
Maid	0	71
Cook	19	31
Railroad	31	0
Janitor	27	0
Barber	17	0
Helper	14	0
Cleaner/presser	11	0
House man	10	0
Shoe shiner	9	0
Car washer	9	0
Owners	8	1
Dishwashers	8	0
Pastors	7	0
Drivers (truck)	7	0
Chauffeurs	6	0
Musicians	4	0
Waiters	4	0
Public school teachers	0	3
Resettlement office	0	3
Mechanics	3	0
Beauty operators	0	1
Doctors	1	0
Clerk to U of I pres.	1	0
U of I mail carrier	1	0
Shoe repair	1	0
Elevator operators	1	0
Yard men	1	0
Ice men	1	0
Totals	361	110

Source: Derived from Champaign and Urbana City Directory (1936). Champaign-Urbana: Flanigan-Pearson Co., Pub.; McCoy Directory Company, Compilers, 1936.

members and officials, and black citizens.¹² While in some cases the League Report provided the actual number of blacks in specific occupations, most of the data were summarized in a single page entitled "Sample list of community job opportunities for Negroes--Jan. 1947 (partially rechecked-May, 1948)"; this list did not delineate the number of blacks employed, but classified the availability of jobs to blacks in Champaign-Urbana in four main categories. These categories were labeled: (a) "Open on equal basis", (b) "Open for limited and/or segregated work", (c) "Occasionally open to Negroes by certain employers," and (d) "No Negroes employed at present."¹³ As these categories imply, the League sought to understand discrimination against black workers who may have been qualified for jobs in which they would not be hired or who were hired only on a token basis because of their race. Put another way, The League wanted to uncover the level of severity of discrimination in different types of occupations and so set out to discover those occupations in which there was no discrimination against blacks in hiring practices, those which were open to blacks on a token basis only, those in which blacks were excluded altogether because of race, and, those that were largely prescribed for blacks because of their race. The League's data revealed that hiring practices in Champaign-Urbana represented entrenched and elaborate patterns of racial discrimination. Table 3.3 presents black employment data as derived from the League's list as well as from other parts of their Report.

The findings of the League's study not only support the data gathered from the 1940 government census and 1936 Champaign-Urbana City Directory, but further show that very little had changed in the Twin Cities employment arena in over a decade's time. Of the changes, it can be seen that there was an increase in the number of black teachers in the public schools from three in 1936 to eight in 1948. There was a decrease in the number of black doctors, but that was from one to none. By 1948, the University of Illinois employed four black mail carriers and began to employ a few blacks (numbers are not provided) as stenographers, clerks, and assistants in the

12. League of Women Voters, "League Report," 53-56.

13. *Ibid.*, 56.

Table 3.3

Community Job Opportunities for Blacks in Champaign-Urbana, 1948

Occupation	Open on Equal Basis	Limited or Segregated	Occasionally Open	None Employed
Street laborers	X			
Building laborers	X			
Railroad laborers	X			
Grain processors	X			
Barbers		X		
Teachers		X		
Steamers and pressers		X		
Bootblacks		X		
Cooks		X		
Dishwashers		X		
Porters and janitors		X		
Domestic helpers		X		
Laundresses		X		
Truck drivers		X		
Firemen and oilers		X		
Switchboard operators		X		
Garage mechanics			X	
Police officers			X	
Confectioners			X	
Waiters			X	
Ice manufacturers			X	
Shoe repair			X	

Table 3.3 (continued)

Occupation	Open on Equal Basis	Limited or Segregated	Occasionally Open	None Employed
Mail carriers			X	
Machine operators			X	
Blacksmiths and forgers			X	
Factory and electrical workers			X	
Store clerks				X
Linesmen				X
Mill workers				X
Accountants				X
Nurses				X
Doctors				X
Bank clerks				X
Pharmacists				X
Cold storage workers				X
Engineers				X
Conductors				X
Locksmiths				X
Fuel oil salesmen				X
Theatre ushers				X
Sign painters				X
Upholsterers				X
Tire repairers				X
Telegraphers				X
Sewer builders				X

Table 3.3 (continued)

Occupation	Open on Equal Basis	Limited or Segregated	Occasionally Open	None Employed
Plastic workers	X			
Dairy manufacturers	X			
Milk drivers	X			
Bus drivers	X			
Grain dealers	X			
Fruit and veg. dealers	X			
Exterminators	X			
Sanitary hauler	X			
Butcher	X			
Milk handlers	X			
Librarians	X			
Professors	X			
University administrators	X			
Carpenters	X			
Painters	X			
Electricians	X			
Lawyers	X			
Welders	X			
Printers	X			

Source: Derived from The League of Women Voters of Champaign County, "A Community Report--Twenty Years Later: The Status of the Negro in Champaign County," October 1968, 49-56.

library.¹⁴ There were still in 1948, only one black-owned shoe repair shop, one government mail carrier, and one police officer. Otherwise, the League Report indicates that the occupational structure for blacks in 1948 did not change significantly from that of 1936. In sum, the 1948 League Report, the 1940 Census, and the 1936 Directory depict an employment situation that had blacks disproportionately overrepresented in the worst jobs the community could offer while disproportionately underrepresented in all the rest. Set within the context of a community that rigidly adhered to the rules of Jim Crow, this pattern of employment was firmly established well before the immediate post-World War II era and lasted for decades to follow.

By 1960, some changes in the percentages of blacks at each occupational level had occurred, yet the occupational distribution was still heavily lopsided, with more whites (56.8 percent of the white population) employed as professional workers while only 26.9 percent of the black Twin Cities population held white collar positions. Table 3.4 provides a clearer view of employment by race in Champaign-Urbana as derived from the 1960 census. Even more revealing is that while 73.1 percent of the Champaign-Urbana blacks worked blue-collar jobs, only 43.2 percent of the Twin Cities whites held such positions. Finally, most heavily skewed were the categories of Service Workers, where 29.5 percent of the African-Americans labored, with only 11.3 percent of the white workers doing the same, and the Private Household Workers where 10.8 percent of the blacks labored as compared to a mere 1.5 percent for whites.¹⁵

One year prior to the 1960 census, Bernard Karsh and Kenneth Downy of the University of Illinois Schools of Labor and Industrial Relations and Social Work conducted a study which they titled "Merit Employment in Champaign."¹⁶ Though (unfortunately) this study did not include the employment patterns of the University of Illinois, it does offer helpful information.

14. League of Women Voters, "League Report," 54.

15. 1960 Census data as derived by the League of Women Voters, League Report, 18.

16. Bernard Karsh and Kenneth Downy, "Merit Employment in Champaign," n.d., A Report prepared for The Commission of Human Relations, City of Champaign, in Vertical File Collection, File "Champaign, II--Employment," City Planning Library, University of Illinois.

Table 3.4

Percentage of White and Non-White Workers in Labor Force, Champaign-Urbana, 1969

Occupation of Employed	% of Total	% of White	% of Non-White
White-Collar Workers	55.2	56.8	26.9
Professional, technical	22.5	23.0	13.7
Manager, proprietors	7.7	8.1	2.5
Clerical	16.1	16.6	7.6
Sales	6.7	7.0	1.0
Blue-Collar Workers	44.8	43.2	73.1
Crafts, foremen	9.8	10.1	3.8
Operatives	8.2	8.0	10.8
Service workers	12.3	11.3	29.5
Private household workers	2.0	1.5	10.8
Farmers/farm managers	5.5	5.8	0.0
Farm laborers and foremen	1.9	2.0	.3
Laborers except farm and mine	3.3	2.8	12.2
Occupation Not Reported	4.0	3.8	7.8
Unemployed	2.9	2.5	10.2

Source: The League of Women Voters of Champaign County, Illinois, "A Community Report--Twenty Years Later: The Status of the Negro in Champaign County," 18, October 1968, Local History Room, Champaign Public Library and Information Center. (Note: The League derived these figures from the 1960 Census.)

Karsh and Downy discovered that what was true for 1936, 1940 and 1948, was true for 1959:

"Negroes were substantially over-represented in job opportunities which characteristically offer unstable employment."¹⁷ Further, though 1960 census data lists that 26.9 percent of the black population were of professional status, Karsh and Downy found that these occupations were University of Illinois-affiliated; according to their study, "no Negroes were found to hold professional (or managerial) occupations in our private sample of employers."¹⁸

17. Karsh and Downy, "Merit Employment," 4.

18. Ibid., 7. The researchers studied 75 of Champaign-Urbana's firms, representing a total of 6,988 employees, 545 of whom were black (p. 1; p. 3).

When the team of investigators interviewed managers and owners of the local businesses and firms, one of the questions they posed concerned owner and operator perceptions of the quality of black work. Many white employers said that they appreciated black workers yet, according to Karsh and Downy, "the statements of satisfaction with the work of Negro employees imply that they can be exploited more readily than white employees since they feel less secure in their jobs and are, consequently, more dependent upon the employer."¹⁹ The authors listed several employer responses which either reflected commonly-held stereotypical beliefs about blacks, or a fondness for them because without African-Americans, no one else-- no whites-- would do the work. Here are the examples cited:

They do a better job at cleaning and scrubbing and you couldn't get a white man to do it.

All the pressers (dry-cleaning establishment) are Negroes. They can stand the heat better than whites.

Negroes are just as satisfactory . . . they need the jobs more than whites and value them more.

In this kind of work, a Negro can take pride in it but a white man wouldn't. He'd consider it degrading.

They're better than white . . . more responsible . . . not afraid to do a little extra when you need them . . . they need the money so they work all the hours they can.²⁰

These employers not only stereotyped blacks, they stereotyped their own race. Whites will do any job, in any kind of heat, no matter how degrading if that is all that is left. They did so in the depression years in the South, for example, taking jobs from blacks which were formally considered "nigger work."²¹ Ironically, these employers were happy with their black employees because of their own perceptions that blacks hold these "labor-perfect" innate attributes.

In 1965, Richard A. Schwarzlose studied black employment in Champaign-Urbana, relying largely on census data. He compared census figures of the Twin Cities with other

19. Karsh and Downy, "Merit Employment," 34.

20. Ibid.

21. Anderson, The Education of Blacks in the South, 229-34.

metropolitan areas of Illinois. From this data, Schwarzlose concluded: "Champaign-Urbana, compared with other more industrialized Illinois cities, has an under-representation of Negroes in the more skilled blue-collar craftsmen and operative occupations."²² Within the hierarchy of occupations exists another, and blacks were to hold down the lower ends of each. And by 1965, Schwarzlose reported that the local black unemployment rate was 17.2 percent, a significant change from the figures for black unemployment for 1940²³ (refer to Table 3.1). Three years later in 1968, the unemployment rate for Twin Cities' whites was 2.6 percent, where for African-Americans, it ranged between 12 and 20 percent, depending on the season.²⁴ All told, it was an institutional arena fraught with racial discrimination, yet, the story of the development of this extensive structural web to differentiate and subordinate has yet to be told.

The numbers and descriptions of job categories given by census and Directory data provide the foundation with which institutional racism in employment in this east-central Illinois community can begin to be understood. Quantitative sources alone do not capture the experiences or the feelings of the people, like the opening statements of Sandy Jordan illustrates. Oral histories and testimonies of Jordan and other black and white citizens of Champaign-Urbana balance out the structural and secondary source data with personal views. Though many of the transcriptions of oral accounts presented here will reach back as early as pre-1920 and extend into the 1940s and 1950s, there was so little change in basic employment patterns throughout the decades that it is highly probable that these accounts and experiences would most likely be representative of those experienced by blacks as late as the late 1950s and early 1960s. By carefully studying personal biographies, keeping in mind the background overview provided by Census, Directory, and secondary source data, insight can be gained concerning the ways in which employers discriminated against blacks, the justifications they used for treating blacks in an

22. Schwarzlose, "Poverty in Champaign County," 23.

23. Ibid., 28.

24. League of Women Voters, "League Report," 16, as quoted by Illinois State Employment Service.

inferior manner, and, how in the face of such adversity blacks struggled and worked to survive a system that was rigged against them.

Jobs Incommensurable With Education

There were college-educated African-Americans who could not obtain employment in Champaign-Urbana commensurable with their education. In the late 1940s and early 1950s when over half (52%) of the nation's white workers were high school drop-outs, a college degree earned by any person, black or white, was a relatively rare and admirable accomplishment.²⁵

Ordinarily, the labor market would absorb college graduates. This, however, was not true for blacks in the Twin Cities. The sting of underemployment was keenly felt by them. Born and raised in Champaign and cognizant of the limited opportunities for members of his race in both town and gown, Taylor Thomas (see Photo 3.1) chose to enroll at the historically black college of Tennessee State, where, said Thomas, "I gained confidence in myself and was able to participate in everything."²⁶

Thomas took his degree in 1931, then returned to Champaign seeking a teaching and coaching position. Thomas estimated that he painstakingly wrote 75 to 100 letters of application--both locally and out of town--yet experienced no success in procuring a professional-level job. Thomas explained that to survive, he had to take what was offered. He said:

I did odd jobs. I did whatever I could do--I waited table, I waited table at both the country clubs and some of the hotels in town, and I would see fellas that did not have as much training as I had that were in better jobs than I was. Basically, these were whites of course. And then I got a job on campus in a sorority as a porter waiting table and firing the furnace and doing odd jobs.²⁷

25. Dorothy K. Newman et al., Protest, Politics and Prosperity: Black Americans and White Institutions, 1940-1975 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 87.

26. Taylor Thomas interview transcript, 8, Black Oral History Project, Box 332, Urbana Free Library Archives.

27. Ibid., 9-10.



Photo 3.1. Portrait of Taylor Thomas (taken by Raymond Bial, 1985).

After leaving the porter job over a wage dispute, Thomas said, " I was still waiting table on the side. A lady that ran the Country Club Cafeteria said that her sister and her sister's husband wanted someone as a houseman, more or less, and would I be interested in the job. I said "Yeh, I'll do the job." I could still wait table extra and work for them. So I started work for a private family, and I worked for a private family for a while. And then I just couldn't take this any longer--I mean these piddling jobs.²⁸

Thomas had kin in Indianapolis and decided to move there to look for professional employment, whereupon he was finally hired in an insurance business that catered to blacks. Required to leave the Twin Cities where the job ceiling for blacks was rigid Thomas found work in an Indiana community that contained a black population which could sustain a black professional. Still wishing to live in his home-town community, however, Thomas continued to seek an employment opportunity in Champaign-Urbana. As stated in the previous chapter, Thomas was hired by the Danville, Illinois schools in 1948. It was not until 1956 that the Urbana schools hired Thomas, which gave him the distinction of being the first black teacher in the Urbana School District #116.²⁹

Thomas was not the only college-educated Champaign born and bred black who had to leave town to secure a job commensurable with a university degree. Bernice Brightwell attended the University of Illinois and received a bachelor's degree in Education in 1930.³⁰ Having attained his degree before her, Brightwell's brother (his name is not made known in the transcript), like Taylor Thomas, left his hometown community for Indianapolis to procure a teaching position at the Crispus Attucks High School--a segregated, all-black school. With kin ties strong, Bernice Brightwell graduated from the University of Illinois, while her brother left Attucks High and the team of Brightwell educators were able to secure employment at Tennessee

28. Taylor Thomas interview transcript, 12.

29. Ibid., 20-21.

30. Bernice Brightwell interview transcript, 3, Black Oral History Project, Box 332, Urbana Free Library Archives.

State University in Nashville.³¹ Soon after however, Bernice returned to Champaign to care for her ailing mother. Brightwell said that upon her arrival home, "I ran into so many difficulties in getting good positions--the positions that I should of had according to my training. I ran into difficulties because back in those days it was so much prejudice. You had to go south to do anything worth while really."³² The perception that she had to go south to do "anything worthwhile" was a fairly strong indicator of the level of racial discrimination blacks faced in Twin Cities employment and other arenas of living as well. Required to go south to do anything worthwhile also challenges the popularly-held belief that the North extended fair employment opportunities for blacks.

Bernice Brightwell was finally hired for work in the University of Illinois library where she continued to bear the insult and irony of underemployment. While there, she re-enrolled at the University and received a Master's of Art in English. In reflecting on education for personal employment and earning potential, Brightwell remarked that, "Really it didn't do me very much good. I look around see how these children can get jobs now without all of that training even. You know, and get much better jobs that I got with all that training. It was very difficult for us. You don't realize it how those prejudices hurt us young people in those days. We did well if we got a job in domestic service really. So I took little jobs--I was glad to get any sort of job--"³³ Thankful for her job in the library--thankful it was not domestic work like so many of her black kith and kin were compelled to endure--Brightwell expressed her frustration with the injustices of the labor market as well as relayed her first-hand experience that for Champaign-Urbana blacks, the American Dream of education for professional advancement was simply not true.

Like Brightwell, another educated local resident, Mr. Leslie Jamerson (see Photo 3.2), had to settle for "any sort of job." Beginning in the 1927-28 term, Jamerson attended the

31. Bernice Brightwell interview transcript, 3.

32. Ibid., 4.

33. Ibid.



Photo 3.2. Portrait of Leslie Jamerson (taken by Raymond Bial, 1985).

University of Illinois for one year, "but when he and the other black player on the team did not receive their numerals, he transferred to Tennessee State College."³⁴ Like Thomas, Jamerson and his friend were students as well as athletes. They chose not to attend the University of Illinois due to such a racially intolerant climate of both the community and the University and instead went South in efforts to achieve their rightful educational opportunities. After college, Jamerson returned to his kin in his hometown of Champaign, where from 1943 to 1975, this college educated man "checked baggage at the Illinois Central Railroad Station."³⁵ Providing a black male perspective of the times, Jamerson remarked that "the only chance that a black had here was labor or construction work, or that roundhouse--which they had a roundhouse there. That was the only job here, and the University--cooking on campus. It wasn't the buildings, there was not jobs in the buildings, if you worked for people, you servants, or there was just about three or four chauffeurs here in town at the time. Why that was the only occupation."³⁶ Like so many Twin Cities black men before and after him, Jamerson worked the Illinois Central.³⁷ Menial labor for the college-educated was the reality in Champaign-Urbana for African-Americans.

Also born and raised in Champaign, Erma Bridgewater attended the University of Illinois, and graduated in 1937 with a degree in Sociology.³⁸ Bridgewater said, "But when I finished my first job was maid at the university, at Newman Hall. . . . I had looked around trying to find a job and couldn't, at least I wasn't able to right away. But I worked there until I decided it was time to leave and try something else. I've never wanted to leave Champaign. I've always

34. Leslie Jamerson in Raymond Bial, In All My Years: Portraits of Older Blacks in Champaign-Urbana (Champaign County Historical Society, 1985), n.p.

35. Jamerson in Bial, In All My Years, n.p.

36. Leslie Jamerson interview transcript, 4, Black Oral History Project, Box 332, Urbana Free Library Archives.

37. The Illinois Central Railroad and black laborers will be discussed later in this chapter.

38. Erma Bridgewater interview transcript, 5-6, Black Oral History Project, Box 332, Urbana Free Library Archives.

felt that I could find something here someday somehow."³⁹ Bridgewater was finally hired as the recreation director of the newly-built neighborhood house which later became the Douglass Center. Better than maid-work, Bridgewater's position was at a center that was built in the black neighborhood by a white-dominated city that held fast to separate facilities for the races. Bridgewater's new position was in effect made possible due to Twin Cities segregation.

Born in Urbana, Paul Hursey--whose father was the first black janitor at the University of Illinois--attended the University of Illinois, and by 1952, after being drafted and attending officer's training school, was promoted to second lieutenant.⁴⁰ (It is likely that Paul was related to Mr. and Mrs. Charles Hursey whose story of housing discrimination was told in the previous chapter.) Upon leaving the service, Hursey returned to the University, and married. Yet, with all his education, skills and training, says Hursey, "I went back to work at Newman Hall and worked there for about sixteen years."⁴¹ While engaged in janitorial work at Newman, Hursey was able to procure a second income by working at the Douglass Center as Assistant Director. With two jobs required to support his family, Hursey presumably used more of his expertise and skills in his capacity at the Center than as janitor of the Catholic Men's Dormitory.

Underemployment and segregated conditions were the rewards designated for Champaign-Urbana blacks who achieved a higher education. With the job ceiling firmly in place along racial lines, blacks faced the reality that no matter what their skills and no matter what their level of education, the lowest paying and the segregated jobs were the occupations open to them.

Like Hursey, other black veterans, including but not limited to those trained as barbers, office workers, experts in aviation, diesel engines, and electronics, were not hired in the Twin Cities because of their race.⁴² In addition to these men, the League of Women Voters of

39. Erma Bridgewater interview transcript, 5-6.

40. Paul Hursey interview transcript, 3, Black Oral History Project, Box 332, Urbana Free Library Archives.

41. Ibid., 4.

42. League of Women Voters, "League Report," 55.

Champaign County kept "a list of other local Negroes who have not been able to find work in keeping with their skills."⁴³ Some of these people, according to the League Report of 1948, "are, as a result, doing nothing; some are washing dishes; some are practicing their skills in Washington, Chicago, Dayton."⁴⁴ Skilled blacks either had to take low status jobs, accept emergency relief work, leave town for one with a large black population, or join the ranks of the unemployed.

Conditions remained much the same into the mid-1960s. Secondary source materials support the experiences expressed by local black residents. By 1965, according to an in-depth study of Twin Cities employment by graduate student Joel Beak, blacks were still grossly underemployed in relation to their educational background. Based on extensive interviews of local blacks, Beak's study also concluded that "Negro employees are more likely to have had more education and more prior experience than white employees in the same jobs."⁴⁵ Also in 1965, Richard A. Schwarzlose released his study "Poverty in Champaign County: A Case Study of a Minority Group" where he found, in accordance with census data, that Beak had reached the right conclusion regarding black workers' occupations and educational commensurability. Schwarzlose summarized, "local Negroes, on the whole, are found in much less desirable jobs than their white neighbors. And worse, it is shown that even better or more extensive education of Negroes is no guarantee of improvement in occupational conditions."⁴⁶

The Professions

Exclusion

In such a dismal employment climate, it is little wonder blacks with professional degrees

43. League of Women Voters, "League Report," 55.

44. Ibid.

45. Joel R. Beak in "League Report," 17, League of Women Voters.

46. Richard A. Schwarzlose, "Poverty in Champaign County: A Case Study of a Minority Group," (23 June 1965), Library Services Papers, Series 35/3/18, Box 8, File "Papers, Reports, and Theses on the Disadvantaged," University of Illinois Archives.

were scarce in this Twin Cities community. Blacks were either excluded from various professions, or, like Bridgewater, employed only in segregated situations. In the health care professions, for example, there were no black doctors practicing in Champaign and Urbana in 1948, nor were there black dentists or nurses.⁴⁷ Whites controlled access to the local clinics and hospitals of both the black health care professionals and their patients. In the 1940s, for example, a black physician practiced locally and was "permitted" to attend his patients at Mercy and Burnham Hospitals.⁴⁸ Yet while this lone black physician received "permission" to enter Burnham and Mercy Hospitals, there were no black doctors on staff at either institution. These same hospitals did not have black nurses and would not accept black candidates in their nursing training schools. It was reported that hospital administrators would routinely "suggest out-of-town training schools to Negro applicants."⁴⁹

When an institution holds policies and practices which either altogether keep black professionals out or which make it difficult and uncomfortable for them if "permitted" in, it comes as no surprise that the institution would also keep out potential clients, or in this case, patients. For example, Carle Clinic, regardless of the race of the doctor, did not "make a practice of accepting Negroes for maternity service although it has done so on one or two occasions."⁵⁰ Similarly, if dental care were needed, there were only five dentists in the community who would accept black patients "and some of these only outside regular office hours."⁵¹

As late as 1968, there were still no black doctors or black dentists practicing in Champaign County.⁵² Exclusion due to race in the health care professions had an impact on

47. League of Women Voters, "League Report," 50, 52.

48. Ibid., 50.

49. Ibid., 49.

50. Ibid.

51. Ibid., 50.

52. Ibid., 32.

human welfare beyond discrimination in employment; it had the potential to be life-endangering. With no black doctors, dentists, or nurses in the community to serve them, black people were compelled to adapt to the racially discriminatory practices of the white-controlled and white-dominated health care system.

Turning from health care to legal concerns, in 1948 there were no black lawyers, although there had been in the past, and it was reported in that same year that there was only one black police officer.⁵³ That a black man was allowed to function as a bona fide police officer is questionable. According to President of the local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Taylor Thomas, the issue of blacks on the force was a controversial topic of debate. When Champaign was ready to hire ten police officers in 1945, Thomas expressed to the City Council that at least two blacks should be hired, "if for no other reason than considering the black percentage of population at that time."⁵⁴ The council said they would consider Thomas' request, whereupon they hired eight white men to the force. When, to his surprise, Thomas read in the local newspaper that two blacks were hired as police officers--a fact Thomas knew not to be true--he conducted an investigation and "found out the city had hired two men to paint the street curbs yellow, which comes under the police department."⁵⁵

Two decades later in 1968, the number of black law enforcement officials was still low: Urbana had hired one police officer, while Champaign employed three.⁵⁶ There were no black firefighters in either city.⁵⁷ There were no black attorneys.⁵⁸ As in the health fields, a Jim

53. League of Women Voters, "League Report," 52.

54. Taylor Thomas in Rose Mame Owens, "Effects of School Desegregation on the Black Community in Urbana," Master's thesis, University of Illinois, 1976.

55. Thomas in Owens, "School Desegregation," 65.

56. The League of Women Voters, "League Report," 35.

57. Ibid.

58. Ibid., 36.

Crow police force coupled with the absence of blacks in the law-related fields meant more than institutional racism in employment. In the Twin Cities, for example, "both white and black citizens have said that police have searched the homes and persons of certain Negroes without search warrants."⁵⁹ Again, not only were blacks disproportionately represented, but citizens were also subjected to the whims of law enforcement officials and fire fighting personnel (and a segregationist judge like Charles Webber) who were part of a larger community which treated blacks in a discriminatory manner.

In addition to underrepresentation in the professions of health and law, no blacks in the post-war academic community were elected, appointed or were hired for a position at the University of Illinois as trustee, administrative officer, college dean, or school director. White authority was further established, as from its founding in 1868 through the entire first half of the Twentieth Century, there were no black professors, associate professors, assistant professors, lecturers, or instructors on the Illinois faculty. When considering employment of blacks as academic staff at the University, freshman Jean Knapp concluded in her 1946 honors rhetoric theme, selected for publication in the Green Cauldron, that "there are . . . no Negro members on the staff, and there probably will never be."⁶⁰ This was a realistic perspective in the mid-1940s. It was not until 1964, that R. A. Eubanks, Professor of Civil Engineering and Joseph Smith, Associate Professor of English became the first two black professors on the Champaign-Urbana campus of the University of Illinois.⁶¹

Of the remaining academic personnel, there were "on the local campus four Negro academic appointees, research assistants."⁶² As graduate students hired for research purposes, these appointees would carry out their responsibilities in the laboratory or library rather than as

59. League of Women Voters, "League Report," 52.

60. Jean Knapp, "The University of Illinois and its Negroes," Green Cauldron 15 (April 1946): 13.

61. "Black Professors Remember Status as 'The Only One,'" Daily Illini, 2 May 1984, 5.

62. League of Women Voters, "League Report," 54.

instructors in the classroom. With no black teachers whatsoever, University of Illinois students--black and white--were denied valuable role models, as well as given the powerful message that in practice and appearance, the University would not allow blacks to supervise whites in the overlapping institutional spheres of employment and education.

It is an amazing circumstance that there were no black instructors during this post-war time when universities across the country were scrambling for virtually every able-bodied person to teach. As discussed in the previous chapter, the University of Illinois enrollment sky-rocketed into the 20,000s with returning veterans of war seeking their education through the GI bill descending upon the university en masse.

This was the era in which the program of teaching assistants was instituted. Graduate students with only Bachelor's degrees and little or no teaching experience were employed to hold class, thus sharing the teaching load with the professors who were originally the sole instructors of undergraduates. Advanced degrees were not a necessary pre-requisite to instruct at the University of Illinois. Yet, only whites taught. This was the case even though during this time, blacks were hired for such positions at historically black institutions throughout the South, as well as at other predominately white institutions of higher learning in the North. In 1946 and 1947, for example, the Northern white institutions of Vassar and the University of Wisconsin intentionally sought out black scholars and were able to appoint them to their teaching staffs.⁶³ Other Northern Universities such as The Ohio State University, the University of Michigan, and New York University appointed black faculty for summer school positions.⁶⁴ Yet at the University of Illinois, no affirmative steps were taken towards procuring black faculty. Indeed, an extreme teacher shortage coupled with high enrollment was not enough of a crisis to hire the existing nation-wide corps of qualified blacks who, when allowed the opportunity to pursue higher

63. Ivan E. Taylor, "Negro Teachers in White Colleges," School and Society 64 (24 May 1947): 371.

64. Taylor, "Negro Teachers," 371.

education, were traditionally steered into the educationally-related fields.⁶⁵ There were qualified blacks to fill these positions. Indeed, the University did not need to look far, for at least two candidates--Taylor Thomas and Bernice Brightwell--lived right next door.

Segregation

Where the University of Illinois hired no black teachers whatsoever, other Twin Cities institutions of learning were beginning to hire blacks as teachers, but on a segregated basis only. Previously excluded from employment in Champaign and Urbana, there were in 1948 eight black public school teachers hired by Champaign, with all of them working either at Lawhead (which housed first and second grades) or Willard (which housed third through sixth grade).⁶⁶ Both of these schools enrolled an all black student-body.⁶⁷ With teachers employed as such, one of the messages transmitted by the Champaign district was that black teachers for black children could be tolerated, but black teachers for white children could not. This is consistent with the widely-held belief that blacks were innately inferior, as it was assumed that although black teachers were "good enough" to teach black kids, they did not qualify, even with advanced degrees, to teach whites. Two of the eight aforementioned teachers also served as principals for each school, and several of the teachers held Master's degrees.⁶⁸ In addition to these public school teachers, there were two trained black kindergarten teachers at the Douglass Center, who, like their public school counterparts, taught all black pupils in a segregated setting.⁶⁹ Just as there were no blacks

65. James D. Anderson, "Toward a History and Bibliography of the Afro-American Doctorate and Professorate in Education, 1896 to 1980," SPE Monograph Series, "The Black Education Professoriate" (Society of Professors in Education (August 1984): 23-36.

66. See the map of Champaign-Urbana in Appendix C for the location of these schools; see also League of Women Voters, "League Report," 43.

67. League of Women Voters, "League Report," 43.

68. Ibid.

69. Ibid., 44.

serving on the Board of Trustees at the University, there were no blacks on the Board of Education in either Champaign, or Urbana, during this post-war era.⁷⁰

By 1968, there still were no blacks on either school board. By June of the same year, 7 percent of Champaign's teaching staff was black, as compared to 13 percent of the student population.⁷¹ Only 3 percent of Urbana school staff were black.⁷² Whereas black teachers were first excluded from practicing their profession, then hired on a segregated basis only, there was another occupation during the late 1940s that also provided employment opportunities for blacks in segregated settings only and that was as pastors of black churches. In a profession segregated also by gender, these men preached to all black congregations of such institutions as the Pilgrim Baptist Church, the Church of God of Christ, the Will Baptist Church, the Salem Baptist Church, the Bethel AME Baptist Church, and, the Church of God and Saints of Christ Church.⁷³

Jim Crow and the Entrepreneur

Like the black teachers, ministers, and employees of the Douglass Center who all worked in segregated conditions, a few black entrepreneurs were able to start their own businesses, and these establishments catered primarily to the black community. For example, in 1931, Samuel McHaney worked at the first black funeral home in Champaign, Joshua Parker's. By 1933, McHaney was able to start his own funeral home business, which he operated for 40 years.⁷⁴ Similarly, Eddie Glover (see Photo 3.3) opened a barbershop out of his home in 1936, where he remained even through the mid-1980s.⁷⁵

70. League of Women Voters, "League Report," 44.

71. *Ibid.*, 2.

72. *Ibid.*, 9.

73. Champaign and Urbana City Directory (1936).

74. Samuel McHaney in Bial, In All My Years, n.pag.

75. Eddie Glover in Bial, In All My Years, n.pag.



Photo. 3.3. Portrait of Eddie Glover (taken by Raymond Bial, 1985).

It appears that Glover fared well with his business. In addition to operating his own barbershop, between 1941 to 1946 Glover owned and coached the black, semi-professional Champaign Colts baseball team.⁷⁶ One explanation for his success may have been related to the fact that until nearly 1950, blacks were not allowed to service white barber shops. Like Parker, McHaney, and Glover, Frank Hendricks was another black business owner who in 1941 opened a body shop in Champaign where he worked for forty-two years.⁷⁷ During this time, Hendricks recalled, "They said a Black man couldn't do this type of work. There was no other Black body shop between here and Chicago. This was the first one in this town, I know."⁷⁸

Opportunities such as those in which Parker, McHaney, Glover, and Hendricks were engaged were restricted. They were dependent on a black population which was large enough to perhaps support one or two barbers, beauticians, undertakers, or fender shops, but no more. Some enterprising blacks had business ventures that failed due to the combined effects of the relatively small black community which they served and the fact that whites patronized white-owned businesses. Maurice and Albert Lee tried to start up a television repair shop for example "but," according to friend and community resident Mildred Allen, "it fell. They couldn't get people to back them up."⁷⁹

In addition to the small service-related businesses which a handful of Champaign-Urbana blacks sufficiently patronized in order to be sustained another form of income was to be made in conjunction with the University of Illinois, and that was in the housing industry. Many black residents opened a room or two in their homes to black students from out of town. As previously stated, until 1945 the University did not permit black students to room in the

76. Eddie Glover in Bial, In All My Years, n.pag.

77. Frank Hendricks in Bial, In All My Years, n.pag.

78. Ibid.

79. Mildred Allen interview transcript, 6, Black Oral History Project, Box 332, Urbana Free Library Archives.

dormitories.⁸⁰ Black students roomed off-campus in the homes of Kathryn B. Jones, Ruth Hines, Mildred Allen, Mr. and Mrs. Albert Lee, and other black residents.⁸¹ Much has been said about the kindnesses extended to the students by those who took them into their homes. In particular, Kathryn B. "Mother Dear" Jones (see Photo 3.4 for handwritten prayer) provided more than a roof over their heads; "she gave them a home, and they became her children."⁸²

Opening their homes to the students the University shunned, those individuals and families were able to earn a slight income as a by-product of a discriminatory system. Ironically, in this Jim Crow community, black teachers, ministers, small business owners, Douglass Center workers, and room-letters received their livelihood through the tragedy of segregation.

Skilled and Semi-Skilled Jobs

Tokenism

Moving down the East-Central Illinois community's hierarchy of occupations, by 1948 a small number of blacks were hired at the University of Illinois as mail carriers (four) and for the clerical positions of stenographer and clerk.⁸³ The university employed more than 6,000 people locally, but of those, only a token number of blacks were given the opportunity to work in an

80. Cathie Huntoon, "The University of Illinois and the Drive for Negro Equality, 1945-1951," 30, Series 35/3/18, Box 8, File "The University of Illinois and the Drive for Negro Equality, 1945-1951, Cathie Huntoon, History Grad," Library Public Services Papers, University of Illinois Archives.

81. Kathryn Edward Jones interview transcript, 1, Black Oral History Project, Box 332, Urbana Free Library Archives; Mildred Allen interview transcript, 7-8; Bernice Brightwell interview transcript, 6.

82. Kathryn Edward Jones interview transcript, 1.

83. League of Women Voters, "League Report," 53. Though the Report does not indicate the actual number of stenographers and clerks, it is fairly certain that there were only a few black individuals employed in such a capacity. If there were a substantial number, this relatively conservative organization would most likely have given credit to the university by publishing the number.

I pray my work will
speak for me when
I am gone

Photo 3.4. Photocopy of Katherine B. Joneses' prayer.

occupation other than as laborer or servant.⁸⁴ As was true for professorial staff and other university academics, discrimination against blacks in hiring existed at the nonacademic staff level as well. After interviewing the personnel of the office in charge of nonacademic staff, the League of Women Voters reported that "the nonacademic and student employment office accept applications regardless of color although they note it. Then when any division of the University-office-bureau, etc.- needs a worker, it applies to the employment office. The ultimate employer may reject applicants on the basis of color though the nonacademic office makes an effort to place as many Negroes as it can."⁸⁵ In the days before affirmative action programs, even the image of self-proclaimed non-discriminatory policy and practice is discredited when job applications call for the disclosure of the candidate's race. Although it was a violation of the 1937 Illinois Criminal Code, blacks, no matter what skills, knowledge, or qualifications a person may have had, could be rejected as employees solely because of the color of their skin.

Discrimination in Hiring

Indeed, black applicants for employment to the university were rejected on basis of race. On May 13, 1948, the employment office sent Clementyne Guy to Richard D. Meyer of the Office of Veterans Procurement to be interviewed for a clerical position. After Meyer conducted the interview with Guy and told her that her qualifications were "good," he asked her if she was "colored."⁸⁶ (Evidently Meyer could not tell.) Guy stated that she was, whereupon Meyer launched into a speech in an effort to justify why, in spite of her excellent qualifications he felt he should not hire her. Meyer explained to Guy that the bottom line was that he already had "two and two-thirds colored girls in the office, and with you, three and two-thirds or you might

84. League of Women Voters, "League Report," 53.

85. *Ibid.*, 54.

86. Clementyne Guy, signed statement of complaint, 1, Harry M. Tiebout Papers, Series 15/16/21, Box 3, File "S-CIC University of Illinois Employment Discrimination 1948," University of Illinois Archives.

consider it four."⁸⁷ Though these "girls," according to Meyer, "turned out beautifully," and though he himself had to verify the fact by asking Guy if she was indeed black, he was unwilling to take a risk by hiring another African-American.⁸⁸ When Guy asked him why he considered blacks different from "everyone else," Meyer replied:

Colored people are considered ignorant. They are the minority group and of the lower class, and whites have contact with the lower class more frequently than the better class. Consequently they have formed the opinion that all colored people are ignorant, uncouth and lazy. I Have no racial prejudice; but when you have a position like mine, you have to be very careful in bringing too many colored in the office or you might have resentment within the group, thus causing tension in the office.⁸⁹

Trying to hide behind the safety of a bureaucratic screen, Meyer attempted to place himself on the moral high ground, portraying himself as unprejudiced while putting the blame of prejudicial attitudes on others, and this was not unlike the ploys used by his compatriots in the housing industry.

Undaunted, Guy engaged Meyer in more dialogue by asking him to clarify his position. Meyer, determined to portray himself as fair and just, simultaneously tried to convince Guy that blacks should accept a subordinate position in society, stating:

You colored people have to fight for what you want. You have a long way to go, and you can't get anywhere unless you are patient and willing to fight. You can't think you can step into some jobs as easy as whites do and feel that you have equal rights. As I've said, you have to have patience and fight. You are too conscious of the racial problem."⁹⁰

Betraying his own prejudices and projecting his problem onto Guy in a most confusing and contradictory manner, Meyer accused Guy of impatience, yet spoke of the fight for which he felt blacks must engage. Yet Guy was at that very moment fighting for her rights for employment. Meyer then insisted that he needed time to think about the situation and that he would call her with his decision. Dignity intact, Guy told him she would not take the job even if he offered,

87. Guy complaint, 1.

88. Ibid.

89. Emphasis given by Guy in her report on Meyer. Guy complaint, 1.

90. Guy complaint, 2.

stating, "I would be very unhappy in the office knowing I wasn't wanted."⁹¹ Fully-qualified for the job she was seeking yet denied employment because of race, Guy's case illustrates the possible reality faced by all Champaign and Urbana blacks in the employment arena.

Over ten years later, attitudes remained much the same. In their 1959 study on merit employment in Champaign, Karsh and Downy found that attitudes like Meyer's were common. When they surveyed area employers inquiring about the reasons why blacks were not employed in a particular company, they found that employers would "explain their own deviations. . . by shifting responsibility to either the Negro himself or to 'other employees.'"⁹² The story begins to sound like a broken record.

Jim Crow Segregation

During the mid-to-late 1940s and extending into the early 1960s, for the most part when the University did employ more than a token number of blacks, the institution advanced from a policy of exclusion or near exclusion, to one of segregation. Bearing the brunt of this "advancement" were the few clerical workers, such as the "two and two-thirds" black "girls" in the Veterans Procurement Office, and the food handlers of the Illini Union Building kitchens. The black and white Union kitchen workers, unlike University leaf rakers or mail carriers, and indeed, unlike administration or faculty, were required to work in close proximity for the duration of each shift. University officials, previously only attempting to handle an exclusionary policy in terms of race, were now in the midst of trying to cope with one of segregation in an enclosed kitchen. One of the ways in which officials sought to cope with black and white workers together was to segregate according to job and segregate the rest room facilities in the kitchen area of the Illini Union building. Fig. 3.1 shows the 1941 ground floor plan of the Illini Union Building basement, where the kitchens are located.

91. Guy complaint, 2.

92. Karsh and Downy, "Merit Employment in Champaign," 36.

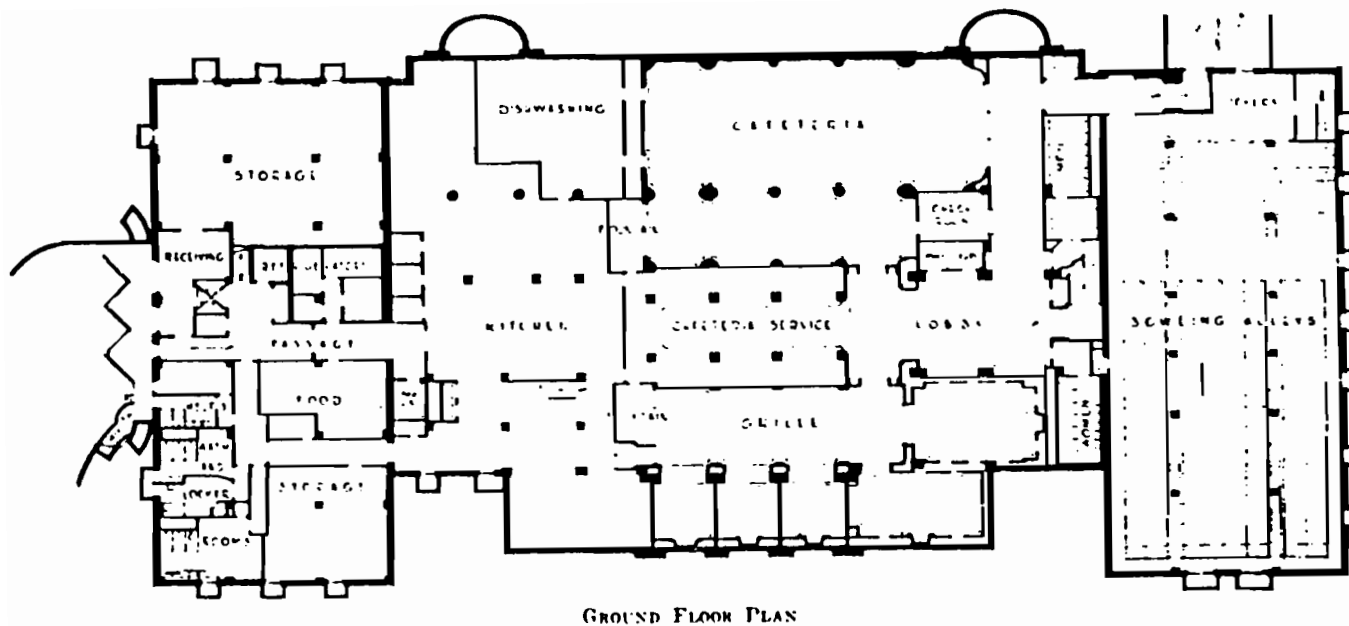


Fig. 3.1. Illini Union basement blueprint before Jim Crow washrooms were constructed in the storage area (upper left-hand corner of blueprint). (See enlarged blueprint, revised in 1948, for the addition of segregated washrooms in Appendix C.) (Source: Ralph Eckerstrom. Ten Years. Published booklet. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1951.)

Prior to 1947, black food handlers changed their clothes in upstairs guest rooms, separate from whites'. Later these rooms were needed on a permanent basis to house visitors, at which point the segregated locker rooms/rest rooms were constructed in the southeast corner of the basement.⁹³ The story of the decisions behind the construction of these Jim Crow facilities (as well as the angry protests) will be explored in the following chapter on discrimination in public accommodations.

White Attitude on Jim Crow

Officials were apparently desperate to find a rationale to maintain the Jim Crow locker rooms even as rumblings of protest by students and other groups were underway. Not wishing to jeopardize their own integrity, officials sought an opportunity to solicit the views of the white workers themselves. Thus, it was brought to the attention of a graduate student of Psychology, Albert K. Doaks, that the study of white employee attitudes in the Illini Union kitchens would prove to be an interesting topic of research. This survey-research was conducted in 1947 with Doaks disguising himself as a food worker. Incognito, Doaks interviewed twenty-four white females and ten white males of the Illini Union kitchens, all of whom assumed Doaks was a true co-worker.⁹⁴ The majority of those interviewed expressed beliefs about blacks that were consistent with the prevailing stereotypical attitudes towards blacks which were quite similar to the Minstrel show images of blacks as well. The content of their responses also revealed that this workplace was segregated by race hierarchically according to type of jobs. Blacks held

93. See the blueprint in Appendix C for the 1947 revised edition with the newly constructed Jim Crow washrooms. Nonacademic Personnel Director's Papers, 1940-1968, Series 36/6/1, Box 5; George D. Stoddard Papers, Series 2/10/1, Box 27; Harry M. Tiebout Papers, Series 15/16/21, Box 3; Journalism and Communications Papers, Series 13/5/1, Box 2; George W. Goble Papers, Series 14/2/20, Box 7; all in University of Illinois Archives.

94. Havens to Stoddard, 29 December 1947, George D. Stoddard Papers, Series 1/10/1, Box 2, File "Illini Union Building"; Survey, untitled, n.d., n.pag., Non-Academic Personnel Director's Office Papers 1940-1968, Series 36/1/1, Box 5, File "Racial Discrimination 1948-1961"; Albert K. Doaks, "Attitudes of White Food Employees Toward Negro Employees," Master's Thesis, University of Illinois, 1947.

subordinate positions only and in this capacity were segregated in the work space as well.⁹⁵

Though these black and white employees of the Illini Union kitchens were working in a more racially progressive employment environment than any other in the entire community the Jim Crow social philosophy of the community permeated this workplace and daily reminders of unequal status in this "progressive" but segregated workplace were endured by blacks. For example, it was established during an interview with Mrs. Phil Doalen⁹⁶ that blacks to date had never been hired as cashiers. Doalen asserted, "there never has been and I don't believe there ever will be," whereupon she added her personal rationale for this seemingly permanent situation, that "people don't like to pay Negroes or receive food from them."⁹⁷ As blacks were not hired as cashiers, neither were they hired to work the main range or cook in the main kitchen, nor were they hired as assistant cooks or counter workers.⁹⁸ Anna Scott offered a personal explanation regarding the absence of black counterline workers, stating, "I do not believe it 'looks right,'" clarifying this vague statement with, "I guess I don't like to think of eating food they have handled. They always seem dirty to me."⁹⁹ In a forthright manner, Doalen and Scott articulated their interpretation of the Jim Crow arrangement; it was, however, white management and not white workers who instituted racism by restricting blacks to certain occupational positions.

Blacks were hired to work in the Illini Union kitchen in subordinate positions only and, according to the employees surveyed, never as supervisors. Four of the 34 employees in the survey were questioned about their anticipated reaction if blacks were to be hired in supervisory

95. Survey, n.pag.

96. Mrs. Phil Doalen interview, Survey, n.pag. Most likely in an effort to protect them, Doaks changed the names of those interviewed.

97. Mrs. Harry Farland, Survey, n.pag.; Mrs. Eva Forte, Survey, n.pag.; Mrs. Ernst Zeller, Survey, n.pag.; Miss Dosta O'Neil; and Miss Anna Scott, Survey, n.pag.

98. Miss Anna Scott, Survey, n.pag.

99. Ibid.

roles. Two (Harriet Clark and Mary Adams) said they would quit.¹⁰⁰ Betraying a strange sense of ambivalence, Adams had prefaced her remarks by exclaiming that blacks were treated badly in the South. Then she revealed that she would quit if she were personally required to work under the supervision of a black person, saying, "I think Negroes should work only for whites or supervise other Negroes. Of course, if I couldn't find another job I'd think it over, but a person has to keep some respect."¹⁰¹ From Adams's perspective, to work for a black would mean loss of self respect.

John Conde was asked the same question as Clark and Adams and his response was quite similar to views expressed by Adams. Conde commented that he would not mind working "side by side" with blacks, but added that "they're kind of dumb and I wouldn't care to be classified with them."¹⁰² Andrew Berton was also asked the supervisory question, but he thought he was unsure of what his reaction might be. Berton replied, "I don't know. Guess I'd do what the rest do. You must stick together on a problem like that. Did you know that the Negroes were going to 'take things over' in the United States?"¹⁰³ Not hesitating to call the possibility of black supervisors "a problem," Berton obviously felt threatened by the idea as revealed by his verbal display of paranoia.

Indeed, in some cases Doaks did not need to pose the "what if" supervisory question as white workers offered their sentiments without provocation. For example, Weston Prude (himself a laborer) offered the wisdom, "I think Negroes should be allowed to work and earn a living but I don't think they should hold some of the jobs they have. Let them furnish the labor. That is my idea."¹⁰⁴ Unaware that management had urged the psychology department to send a student to

100. Miss Mary Adams, Survey, n.pag.; Miss Harriet Clark, Survey, n.pag.

101. Miss Mary Adams, Survey, n.pag.

102. John Conde, Survey, n.pag.

103. Andrew Berton, Survey, n.pag.

104. Weston Prude, Survey, n.p.

conduct research on racial attitudes, these workers assumed Doaks as one of their own and so honest, candid remarks were delivered freely. These views, however, could have been viewed by workers as consistent with the more closely guarded sentiments of the University administration as well as other members of the community. The all white administration, the all white academic staff, and the nearly all white non-academic staff transmitted a non-verbalized yet highly symbolic message which indicated that only those who work with whites could command respect. In this context, these kitchen helpers held the realistic view that their status would be degraded if they were to work under the supervision of blacks.

As dictated by management, the subordinate jobs blacks held designated the physical area in which they worked. Not only were blacks grouped together apart from whites in various parts of the kitchen for work, they were also required to eat and dress in separate areas. As evidenced by the content of responses from the survey, it is clear that some of the white employees agreed with these practices. Some however, felt the practices were too lenient. For example, Mrs. Nada Hoe expressed her views concerning eating arrangements, stating, "I think it's terrible for whites to have to work and eat in the same building with Negroes. They always shove their way into places they don't belong. . . . When I first came here (in 1944) there were'nt [sic] so many Negroes and they were required to sit in the kitchen to eat. Now they eat in the same room with the white employes [sic] just as if it were their right. I think they should be segregated."¹⁰⁵ This blunt disclosure is revealing in two respects. First, Hoe perceived that the mere existence of blacks in the workplace was a result of "shoving"; blacks did not have the "right" to dine with whites. Yet, Hoe also disclosed that though incremental, conditions for black Illini Union food handlers had improved for blacks over a three year period. Since Hoe began employment with the Union in 1944, not only were more blacks hired, but by 1948, they did not have to eat their meals in the kitchen.

105. Mrs. Nada Hoe, Survey, n.pag.

In agreement with Hoe's brand of eating etiquette, Eva Urva felt that blacks should keep to themselves, adding, "they should know enough to stay away from whites when they are talking or eating."¹⁰⁶ Urva's statement reveal not only her strong belief in mandatory racial segregation of the workplace, but also imply that she believed that blacks were either stupid or ignorant for not holding her same convictions. In sum, the disclosures of Hoe and Urva uncover deeply-held beliefs that the presence of blacks in the workplace was as a result of force and that this forceful presence violated the rights of whites.

With distaste exhibited by some whites regarding the desegregated consumption of meals, there were four individuals who were questioned specifically on the existing racially segregated locker rooms. These four workers displayed ambivalence when posed with the hypothetical possibility that the locker rooms and rest rooms would be desegregated.¹⁰⁷ For example, the following issue-laden exchange occurred between Doaks and Mrs. Ottman Xyone:

Question: "Would you object to the Negro women using the same washroom as the white women?"

Answer: "No. (pause) They would have to watch them or they would steal everything!"

Reply: "Then you would not mind the Negroes using the same washroom if they did not steal."

Answer: "That is right. Everyone knows that Negroes steal."

Question: "Have you ever known of any Negroes, that work here, to steal?"

Answer: "Well (pause) no, but like I said, 'all Negroes steal.'"

Reply: "You feel that all Negroes steal and you object to this."

Answer: "Yes. You see, where I come from, Negroes are not very welcome. Everyone claims they steal and often people have told me of instances when Negroes have stolen from them. I suppose the management will do whatever it wishes, regardless of my feelings."¹⁰⁸

106. Eva Urva, Survey, n.pag.

107. Dickason to Link, 11 March 1948, Non-Academic Personnel Director's Papers, Series 36/6/1, Box 5, File "Racial Discrimination, 1948-1961."

108. Mrs. Ottman Xyone, Survey, n.pag.

Xyone's fears that blacks steal and would steal from her was a common stereotype attributed to blacks by whites. This belief was so firm that she did not feel safe to trust her own experience that her black co-workers did not steal from her or from anyone else in the workplace. Yet, even with the inherent contradiction, Xyone realized her place in the occupational hierarchy and would be in the position to abide by management rules.

When Mrs. Robert Youngman was asked to comment on the locker room situation, she seemingly took it in stride, saying, "I suppose Negroes will be included in our washrooms."¹⁰⁹ Perhaps Youngman, like Xyone, was aware of the power structure in the University workplace and knew her relation to it. Yet, ambivalence, coupled with stereotypes surfaced when Youngman added that "it seems to me that Negroes should be allowed to decide that; usually they prefer to be alone, with their own race. Can't say that I blame them. Makes it better for all . . . their conditions, as to the washrooms, are as good as ours; besides, they never seem to complain. They take it as a matter of course that they will be separated from whites."¹¹⁰ Confusing defacto segregation and the ever-present threat of antagonistic attitudes of whites towards blacks with the stereotypical belief that blacks "prefer to be by themselves," Youngman thought that it would be unwise to mix the races. Indeed, she reasoned, blacks thought that way too.

The final comments made by white employees concerning the segregated locker rooms were expressed in a joint interview with Eva Urva and Louise Williams. Urva, contradicting an earlier statement by Youngman, claimed that the black women's washroom was not as nice as the whites'; therefore, she would not want to utilize the one designated for blacks. Yet she added, "I suppose it would be all right. . . . I would just hate to see it happen."¹¹¹ Williams concurred with her co-worker Urva, relaying that the whole thing was a bad situation, yet if the locker

109. Mrs. Robert Youngman, Survey, n.pag.

110. Ibid.

111. Eva Urva and Louise Williams, Survey, n.pag.

rooms had to be desegregated, it would be all right with her.¹¹² In other words, though these employees held racist beliefs, it was the opinion of the four food handlers who spoke specifically of the locker room situation that, if management were to integrate the locker rooms, it would not surprise them and further they themselves would adjust and comply with management policy. The management, however, was most likely blinded by their own prejudices and did not interpret the evidence before them as such. Instead, University officials focused their attention on the hostile attitudes and used the expressed sentiments as part of their rationale to keep the status quo, even if it meant violating Illinois statutes.¹¹³

In addition to the views thus far expressed, there were still other white workers who held additional and equally stereotypical beliefs of blacks. In fact, there were only eight of 34 individuals who did not express disparaging remarks of their black co-workers.¹¹⁴ The litany of admitted beliefs of the white workers surveyed were quite consistent with minstrel show depictions of blacks and included the notions that blacks were uppity, pushy, untrustworthy or prone to steal, slow or lazy, enjoyed too much freedom, were dangerous to white women, "might be up to some 'orneriness," "too free with their tongues," given to drink, dirty, prefer their own kind, are trying to take over the country, "dope fiends," and, "dumb."¹¹⁵ Yet these cafeteria views of staff members were quite consistent with the racial practices demonstrated by other non-academic and academic staff, including for example, Richard D. Meyer of the Veterans

112. Eva Urva and Louise Williams, Survey, n.pag.

113. Dickason to Link, 11 March, 1948.

114. Though the majority of white workers surveyed expressed beliefs consistent with minstrel show depictions of blacks, there were at least eight workers who expressed positive views of blacks.

115. The following workers stated that they believed blacks possess the following traits: "uppity," Clark, Hoe, Scott; "pushy," Clark, Hoe, Urva, Williams; Untrustworthy or prone to steal, Doalen, Mann, Xyone, Narda, Quitty; slow or lazy, Evland, Ida Zeller, Quitty, Narda, Farland; "enjoy too much freedom," Hoe, Urva, Xyone; dangerous to white women, Hoe; "might be up to some 'orneriness," Hoe; "too free with their tongues," Ida; given to drink, Rae, Hite; dirty, Scott, Doalen; prefer their own kind, Youngman; trying to take over the country, Berton, Prude; dope fiends, Koda; and, dumb, Conde. All in Survey, n.pag.

Procurement office and the corps of those administrators who fought to maintain segregated conditions in this workplace (see chapter IV). Indeed, the majority of those white workers interviewed (21 of 34) not only candidly expressed views consistent with those of Minstrel Show media but also with local owners and operators of the Twin Cities housing and public accommodations as well.¹¹⁶ The survey clearly reveals strictly enforced racially discriminatory employment practices at the University of Illinois as prescribed by management and as expressed in the beliefs of personnel. Though fair beliefs were held by some (38%), the majority of the white workers interviewed (62%) did not adhere to philosophies or practices that reflect equality. Blacks employed in the Illini Union Building Food Services Division had to contend with segregation, subordination and potential antagonism. It should be emphasized that this was the most racially progressive work environment on campus and in the Twin Cities in the immediate post-World War II era.

As in the case of housing, and as will be disclosed in the following chapter on public accommodations, the University of Illinois and the community of Champaign-Urbana largely mirrored each other in terms of race relations in the workplace. For both town and gown, the occupational structures by race were almost identical hierarchies. Even when skilled and educated, Champaign-Urbana blacks were largely relegated to the very bottom-most rungs of both occupational hierarchies.

For the majority of blacks of the community, the dream of a promised land in the North became what most would consider an employment nightmare. Tragically, the dream of economic freedom was one of the most compelling forces which brought the majority of original Twin Cities blacks to the area. From the time of the first great wave of the Black migrants from the South, until well into the mid 1960s and beyond, the overwhelming majority of blacks labored for their lives in the jobs that were reserved for them by whites.

116. Survey, n.pag.

Backbreaking Work

Migration to Champaign-Urbana for Work

Cutting through the heart of Louisiana and Mississippi and reaching Northward to Chicago, the Illinois Central railroad line was thought by many blacks to be a route to better times. Seeking relief from racial oppression in housing, employment, everyday living, employment, and schooling, African-Americans believed that the North promised improved quality of human interaction, more equitable jobs and higher standards of education.¹¹⁷ Illinois Central was the fastest, cheapest, and most convenient route for escape from the deep South and border states, and by 1885, the "Main Line of Mid-America" transported passengers from the Gulf of Mexico to the shores of Lake Michigan.¹¹⁸ As word caught on of the labor shortages north of the Ohio, Southern blacks began migrating northward, and by 1914, the Great Migration had begun in full force.¹¹⁹ Louisiana blacks were joined by those from Mississippi, then Tennessee and Kentucky, and the northbound rails brought them to Illinois through Cairo, Carbondale, Champaign-Urbana, Kankakee, and on up to Chicago.¹²⁰

Trains transported more than people during the time of this first great migration, and the Champaign-Urbana community became an agricultural trade center dealing with the grain, livestock, and produce brought in by rail and then sent northward to Chicago. Thus:

[with] almost total dependence upon rail travel and shipping, "division points" on the railroad were key centers of employment for the semi-skilled laborer. Not only were train crews changed and trains serviced at these points, but workgangs, freight handling crews, and yard crews originated there. Champaign-Urbana, at a distance of 127 miles

117. James D. Anderson, The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 202, 260.

118. John F. Stover, History of the Illinois Central Railroad (New York: Macmillan Co., 1975), 171.

119. Anderson, The Education of Blacks in the South, 152.

120. Richard A. Schwarzlose, "Poverty in Champaign County: A Case Study of a Minority Group," 8, Office of Community Development, University of Illinois, June 1965, Library Public Services Papers, Series 35/3/18, Box 8, File "Papers, Reports, and Theses on the Disadvantaged," University of Illinois Archives.

by rail from Chicago, was the first such division point south of the Windy City, and thus attracted the job-hunting migrating Southern Negro.¹²¹

Through friends and relatives, blacks heard of the opportunities for labor in the East Central Illinois community and some began to choose Champaign-Urbana as their final destination rather than Chicago. Harboring hopes of a better life while putting up with what they may have thought were temporary jobs in railroad work gangs, freight handling crews, yard crews, along with other similar heavy labor or domestic positions, blacks were instead relegated to these jobs for decades to come by Champaign-Urbana whites.

At present, there are still large numbers of blacks in the Twin Cities who came from the South to settle near the railroad division point during the Great Migration. For instance, originally from Paducah, Kentucky, Ohrin Houston Clark (Photo 3.5) came to Champaign in 1916 because his father, Clark stated, "got a job at the Illinois Central Roundhouse, then sent for my mother and me."¹²²

Similarly, the siblings and parents of Bernice Chambers, from Liberty, Mississippi, visited relatives in Champaign in 1920, and when on that visit her father found work on the Central Line, the family remained in Champaign.¹²³ This railroad, thus, provided both the transportation and the economic means of survival for blacks who made the Twin Cities their final destination North to what they had hoped was the land of opportunity.

This East Central Illinois black community grew. Between 1900 and 1910, the black population increased in size by 84.4 percent, making the black growth rate nearly the highest in Illinois, growing faster than the black population in Chicago and second only to that of East St. Louis. Between 1910 and 1920, the community's black population was growing still, increasing in size by 79.1 percent, ranking third in the state in percentage of black urban growth rate behind only Rockford and Chicago. The second greatest influx of blacks to Champaign and Urbana was

121. Schwarzlose, "Poverty in Champaign County," 13.

122. Ohrin Houston Clark in Bial, In All My Years, n.pag.

123. Bernice Chambers in Bial, In All My Years, n.pag.

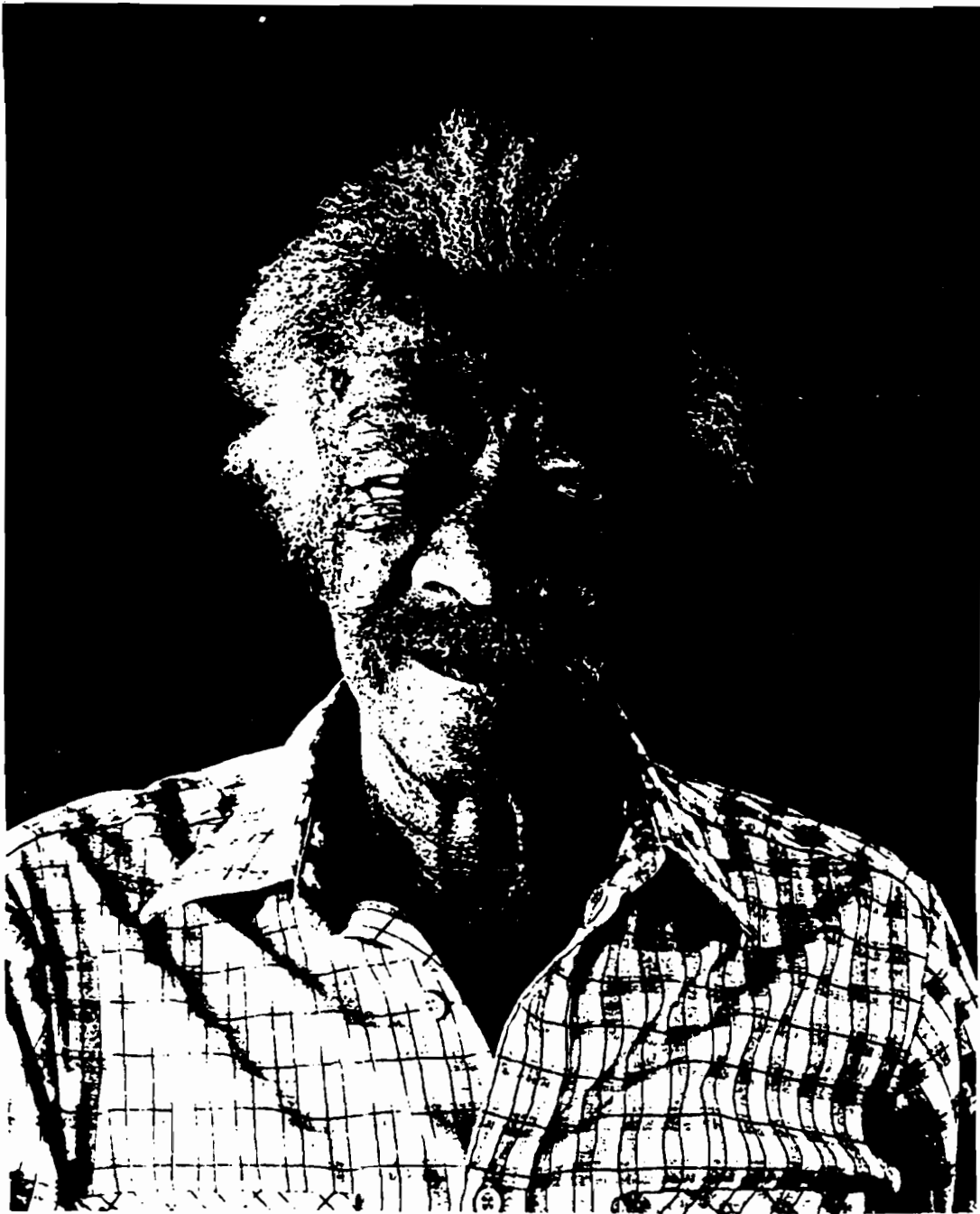


Photo 3.5. Portrait of of Ohren Houston Clark (taken by Raymond Bial, 1985).

between 1940 and 1950, ahead of Chicago, and behind only Rockford and Peoria in terms of percentage black growth rate. By 1940 then, blacks made up 5.6 percent of the Twin Cities population, growing to 6.1 percent of the total Champaign–Urbana population by 1950.¹²⁴

Jim Crow Journey

The road for the migrating black Southerners to this east-central Illinois "Promised Land" was not easy. Most Southern states mandated by law that whites and blacks be separated "on railways" within their state.¹²⁵ This meant that not only were train cars and dining cars segregated, but ticket offices, station waiting rooms, and station washrooms were Jim Crow as well. Though these laws required that facilities be equal if they were separate, those conditions connected with the railroads were not, and blacks were given "unfair service for equal charge."¹²⁶ Upon leaving their southern homes, blacks were compelled to obey the law of each local terminal. This affected the entire rest of the journey as conductors of trains in the Southern states were "invested with all the powers, duties and responsibilities of police officers while on duty on their trains."¹²⁷ At state border stops, the conductors supervised the burdensome shifting of seats to maintain segregation. At times, some trains were not equipped with Jim Crow cars and thus blacks were not allowed to change cars, but had to wait at the station for a train so equipped; "white persons could board a "through coach" and ride with it to its destination without changing . . . it was uneconomical to run Negro 'through cars,' and Negroes often had to wait or change at transfer points."¹²⁸ Yet, upon reaching a Northern state, blacks were to remain in

124. Schwarzlose, "Poverty in Champaign County," 5–6.

125. "Oklahoma and all the former slave states, with the exception of Delaware, Missouri, and West Virginia," required racial segregation in railway cars, stations, ticket lines, rest rooms, etc., Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma (New York: Harper and Bros., 1944), 635.

126. Myrdal, An American Dilemma, 635.

127. Jack Greenberg, Race Relations and American Law (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), 116.

128. Greenberg, Race Relations and American Law, 121.

separate coaches as required--not by the law--but by custom. This practice was followed through the 1940s and into the 1950s, even beyond the Brown decision of 1954.

Black rail passengers in Illinois were as strictly segregated as they were in the South. Reaching the Supreme Court level in 1941 was a case initiated by black Congressman Arthur Mitchell. Mitchell was refused First Class Pullman accommodations on the Illinois Central, and was instead assigned not a berth, but a seat, in what was commonly referred to as the 'lower 13' (a place on the pullman car where passengers could not be seen).¹²⁹ That race was a more important issue over class is clear, as Mitchell not only had the funds to pay for his accommodations, but held high occupational status as a member of congress as well. Illinois Central fought, taking for granted the basic premise that blacks and whites should be separated, and "defended on the ground that it would be financially ruinous to carry separate Negro Pullmans."¹³⁰

Enduring the humiliation of Illinois Central interstate travel, blacks whose final destination was Champaign-Urbana were greeted with more degradation. Champaign resident Mildred Allen recalls:

They had gotten to the place where so many colored people were coming in that they tried to keep them from coming. When the trains would stop here for white people to get off they watched the trains because the black people were in the back train coaches and they were locked. And alot [sic] of times they'd tell them that some of the colored people who had relatives here would have to throw their bags out along the--up the highway there, then the trains slowed down--they'd jump off. The police did watch the trains very good because they had so many Negroes coming up here.¹³¹

Reportedly not even allowed to disembark at the station, blacks risked more than suffering resentment of Jim Crow, or encountering hostile police and racist white citizens; in some cases, men and women and their little children literally risked their lives to make Champaign-Urbana their home.

129. Greenberg, Race Relations and American Law, 120.

130. Ibid., 120-21.

131. Mildred Allen interview transcript, 1.

Railroad Work

The jobs that awaited fathers and husbands were usually in conjunction with the railroad roundhouse or with a railroad section gang. Ehmer Bracy (Photo 3.6) migrated from Wilmot, Arkansas in 1923 when he heard from a friend that "things were booming."¹³² Yet, as Bracy discovered, work for blacks was not plentiful and only the dirtiest and most backbreaking work was reserved for them, if they could get it. Stated Bracy, "I couldn't get a job except on a section gang."¹³³ Working one of the hardest and least desirable jobs, Bracy and other blacks were responsible to repair and maintain the railroad tracks. A section gang Camp--where workers like Bracy who labored on the rails would sleep--was located in Champaign.

Also employed to work sections was Taylor Thomas. During his high school summers, Thomas found that getting hired to work railroad gangs was similar to the hiring practices of street gang work (ditch digging). "I would go each morning to see whether they're going to hire anyone," recalls Thomas, "And so, you go one morning you don't get hired, you go back the next morning, you don't get hired, you go back the next morning, until finally you get hired."¹³⁴

Thomas continued:

And then the same thing, I worked a section on the railroad. You weren't going to be a member of the regular if you're just working in the summer. You're only going to be a part of extra help they put on, so you would go each morning to see if you could be hired. So I did the same thing on a section hand. I'm in High School now, and so I'd go and wait--I expected to be a water carrier, is what I expected--I think until my junior year in High School, and I got hired, and I was using the pick and shovel. I thought I was going to be a water boy, but I wasn't a water boy. I was working.¹³⁵

Thomas's story illustrates how tenacious blacks needed to be, even as young boys, to secure work of the hardest and heaviest kind.

132. Ehmer Bracy in Bial, In All My Years, n.pag.

133. Ibid.

134. Thomas interview transcript, 62.

135. Ibid.



Photo 3.6. Portrait of Ehmer Bracy (taken by Raymond Bial, 1985).

When not employed by a section gang to repair and maintain rails, blacks were allowed to get jobs in the roundhouse. Theotto "Major" Bowles (Photo 3.7), who migrated to Champaign from Madisonville, Kentucky, summarized the experience of many Champaign-Urbana blacks, stating that "the IC Railroad which runs through this town, which is Amtrack now, from New Orleans to Chicago, that was the highway for a lot of people to leave from that area and get to Chicago. And quite elderly people they tell me dropped off here because at one time they had a railroad roundhouse repair shop for the engines and so forth--it was a big deal, a lot of people worked there."¹³⁶ The big deal was that though many blacks were employed there, roundhouse work was even harder and filthier than section gang work.

In his autobiography focusing on his life with the railroads, Joseph A. Noble recounts, "I have been in some rather cheerless places from time to time during my railroad career but if I were required to name one to head the list of disagreeable places, it would be a roundhouse."¹³⁷

Noble continued with his description, stating that:

The murky atmosphere, filled with smoke and steam, with water and scale spilled on the floor, the faint light filtering through grimy windows supplemented by dim incandescent lamps on the posts and the walls, the constant racket--riveting hammers going, engines popping off, bells ringing, occasionally a blast from a whistle--and the shadowy figures of men working at the front end of the locomotive with kerosene torches--all created an unreal sensation that I do not recall having experienced anywhere else.¹³⁸

Hard, loud, dirty, and dangerous work was theirs in the roundhouse.

No Benefits for Arduous Toil

If Champaign-Urbana black men and boys did not gain employment with a railroad section gang, or as a laborer in a roundhouse, they were employed in other low paying, heavy, dirty, and high risk jobs. The 1948 League Report classification of Twin Cities occupations

136. Theotto "Major" Bowles interview transcript, 3, Black Oral History Project, Box 332, Urbana Free Library Archives.

137. Joseph Noble quoted in Richard Reinhardt, Working on the Railroad (Palo Alto: American West Pub. Co., 1970), 140.

138. Noble in Reinhardt, Working on the Railroad, 140.

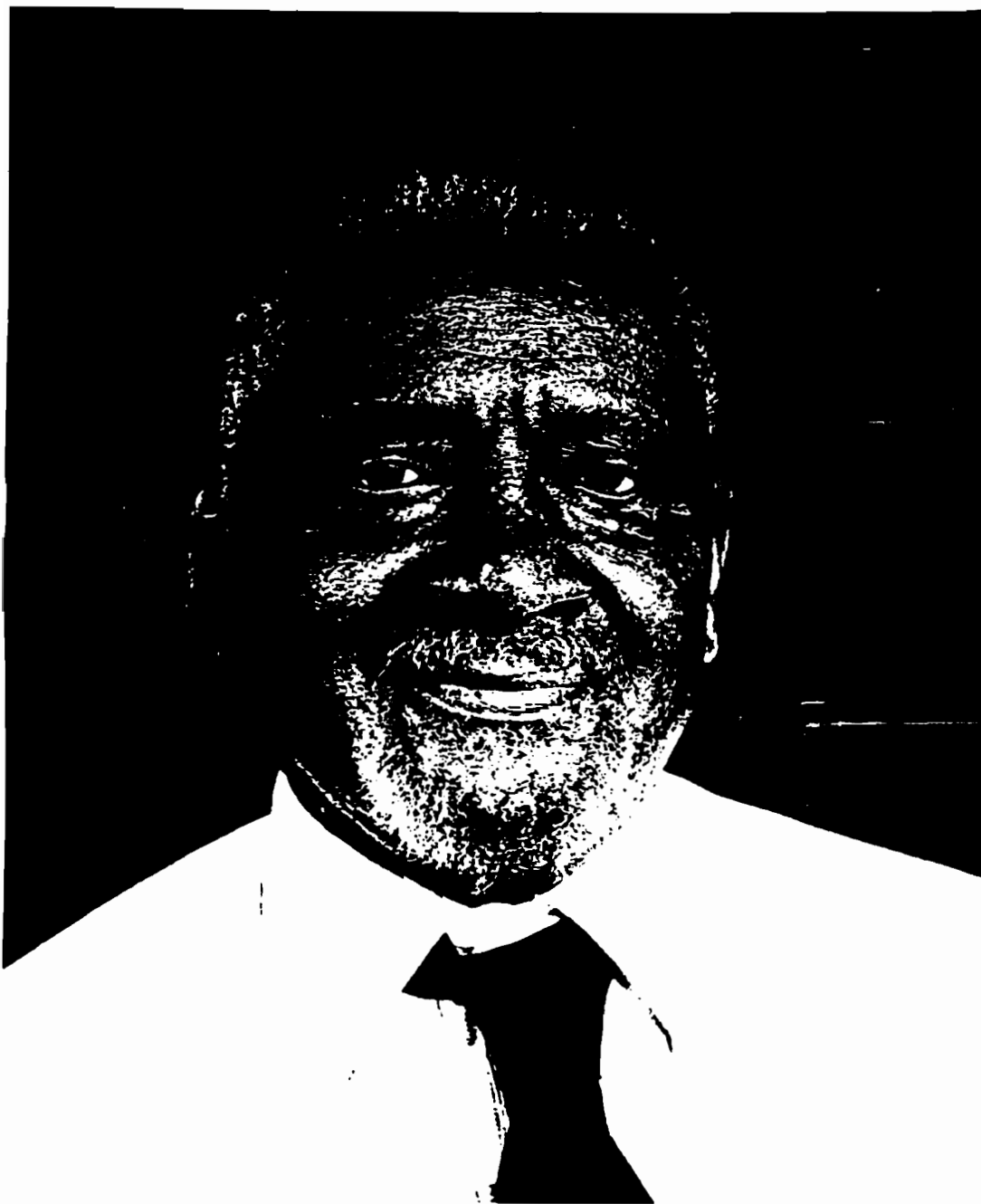


Photo 3.7. Portrait of Theotto Bowles (taken by Raymond Bial, 1985).

revealed that the community had only one occupational category "open on equal basis" to blacks. That category included only the four backbreaking jobs of railroad laborers, street laborers, building laborers, and grain processors.¹³⁹ This situation was similar to the occupational patterns investigated by Robert C. Weaver, in 1946. Though Weaver wrote of black employment in the South, he later recognized that these same patterns existed in many places in the North, which also supports Gunnar Myrdal's findings on black employment in the North.¹⁴⁰ As if he were describing Champaign-Urbana up through 1948 and beyond, Weaver found that, "the occupational patterns which evolved were in accord with this basic principle: clean, light, well-paid jobs for whites and heavy, dirty, lower paid jobs for Negroes. The prime requirement for most Negro workers was that they have strong backs and, it was assumed, weak minds."¹⁴¹

Taylor Thomas was acutely aware of the color-caste occupational scheme in the Twin Cities, because, he stated, he was "rebuffed so many times because of the color of my skin."¹⁴² Previously working a railroad section, he also had procured employment with a road gang. For "two summers," said Thomas, "I worked for the city digging ditches. I'd clean this ditch, you know, that runs around through Champaign-Urbana, that boneyard? I'd clean that whole thing out one summer, just shoveling all this stuff out and making it deeper--a whole crew of us did that, that was our job."¹⁴³ "Stuff" is a euphemism for the vile filth that was contained (and still is) in that boneyard and sledging it out during the hot, humid and swamp-like East Central Illinois summers must have been a most loathsome and disagreeable task.

In addition to pounding with sledge hammer and pick ax, or digging and delving with shovel and spade, black males were hired to tote heavy supply loads of bricks, stone, plaster, and

139. League of Women Voters, "League Report," 53-56.

140. Myrdal, An American Dilemma, 291-296.

141. Robert C. Weaver, Negro Labor: A National Problem (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1946), 6.

142. Ibid.

143. Thomas interview transcript, 63.

the like on building construction sites. Champaign resident since her birth in 1913, Erma Bridgewater noted that there were no local job opportunities for blacks with skills, "not even masons."¹⁴⁴ Bridgewater expressed, "my grandpa was a hod carrier. You see, they did the labor part of it, the heavier part, but I don't--there wasn't too much of an opportunity to learn skill other than that."¹⁴⁵ Bridgewater continued, and explained that blacks were not unionized, nor were there many who received pensions, "because," she said, "they didn't work on jobs where they could get a pension."¹⁴⁶ When asked what men did when they retired, Bridgewater replied, "You just kept on working till you fell out or go live with some relatives or somebody to take care of you. They did hard work until they got sick enough and that was it."¹⁴⁷ Jobs on the bottom--most rungs of the labor hierarchy did not provide pensions or retirement programs. The hard work that blacks endured during their youth, had to be continued on well into old age as there was no other source of income for them, save that from living kin.

In 1930, 98,000 blacks were employed nation-wide in the railroad capacities of section gangs and roundhouse laborers, and with the worst jobs the railroads could offer, blacks were further treated with inferior status as, according to Myrdal, even by 1944, "most of the railroad brotherhoods are among the leaders in Negro exclusionism."¹⁴⁸ Yet, railroad unions were not the only trade organization that discriminated against blacks. Again, as concluded by Myrdal, "the fact that the American Federation of Labor as such is officially against racial discrimination does not mean much. The Federation has never done anything to check racial discrimination exercised by its member organizations."¹⁴⁹ Unprotected by even employee Unions, black workers on the job

144. Bridgewater interview transcript, 15.

145. Ibid.

146. Ibid.

147. Ibid.

148. Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*, 1105.

149. Ibid., 402.

job were subject to ever possible harassment and whims of the white Union members who kept them out of their organization. In addition, employee unions which barred blacks from membership served not only to simply inhibit employers from hiring blacks, but gave employers the handy rationale for prohibiting the hiring of blacks all together. The League Report provided an example of this occurrence with the case of a black Champaign carpenter who could not obtain work due to racially discriminatory unions which forbade black membership.¹⁵⁰

Blacks could have benefitted from equitable trade unions in another way. Blacks earned less than whites not only in Champaign-Urbana, and not only in the 1930s, '40s, and '50s, but nationwide and at the present. According to a study by Vivian W. Henderson, "In 1939, the average annual wage and salary income of Negro males [14 years and older] in the United States was \$460, or 40 percent of that of white males, \$1,112."¹⁵¹ Henderson's data were based on only those who had wage and salary income. This means that in 1939, in the unlikely event that a wife's income was identical to that of her husband, the combined black income would not come close to matching a single white male income. Yet, by 1949, in a decade's time, black males (25 years or older) still received a median income 24 percent to 40 percent less than whites with the same total years of schooling.¹⁵² Further, the more years of education a black male completed, the larger the discrepancy the median pay ratio relative to white males became. This means that not only did black males earn significantly less than white males, black males were also not rewarded as whites were for their education. "The more you learn the more you earn" was not the reality African-Americans experienced. Whether educated or not, low salaries were thus yet another form of institutionalized racism endured by blacks.

150. Myrdal, An American Dilemma, 55.

151. Vivian Henderson in Arthur M. Ross and Herbert Hill, eds., Employment, Race, and Poverty (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1967), 87.

152. Robert P. Althausser and Sydney S. Spivak, The Unequal Elites (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1975), 12.

Salaries were so low that two incomes were all but required to sustain family living. While in many cases black males would labor, lift and dig outside, black females like Erma D. Clark (Photo 3.8) were cooking, cleaning, and washing--not inside her own home--but the homes and establishments of whites.

Migrating from Mackley-Morrisville, Tennessee in 1925, Clark came to Champaign "when her husband got a job at the round-house coal chute."¹⁵³ She did domestic day work for one family "for over twenty years."¹⁵⁴ Mary McKinley (Photo 3.9) and her husband had much the same experience as they migrated to the area in 1923 when her husband found a job with the Illinois Central Railroad. Mary worked as a maid.¹⁵⁵

Women's Work

The situation for blacks where married women worked outside the home was quite different from white families as concluded by historian Lynn W. Weiner. Stated Weiner, "From 1900 to 1940, middle income white wives typically did not work outside the home. The female labor force was comprised mainly of single, widowed and divorced women, and the wives who did work were poor and black . . . most wives worked only because of severe economic need. The work of wives was considered a 'final defense against destitution' rather than an expected activity."¹⁵⁶ Weiner went on to describe the strong social stigma attached to the working married women. "For the married women," stated Weiner, "paid employment outside the home was considered to be respectable only for single women and widows who took over the management of their family businesses. For the married women, paid employment could bring social anathema; the working wife was often considered to be beyond the pale of middle-class

153. Erma Clark in Bial, In All My Years, n.pag.

154. Clark in Bial, In All My Years, n.pag.

155. Mary McKinley in Bial, In All My Years, n.pag.

156. Wiener, From Working Girl to Working Mother, 83-84.



Photo 3.8. Portrait of of Erma D. Clark (taken by Raymond Bial, 1985).



Photo 3.9. Portrait of Mary McKinley (taken by Raymond Bial, 1985).

respectability."¹⁵⁷ Black women in Champaign-Urbana (and nation-wide) were stigmatized at least twice: once because they were black, and again because of the necessity of their employment. Their income was needed to supplement their husband's inequitable take home pay to survive.

Often, when they could get it, husbands and wives both worked service-related jobs. Minnie Bracy originally came North in 1915 with her mother to reunite with her father who had managed to procure employment.¹⁵⁸ Minnie married, and after her husband Ehmer worked "on a section gang," he was by the mid-1940s able to procure employment in Libby's Press Shop "cleaning and pressing." Minnie worked as a cook and housekeeper.¹⁵⁹

Some of the black men and women who did not gain domestic service jobs in private homes found such work at the University of Illinois/Champaign-Urbana housing system. Cooks, maids, housekeepers, porters, janitors, furnace stokers, and the like, were positions in which blacks were hired for fraternities, sororities, and a small handful of dormitories. The 1936 Directory data revealed that at least 55 black men and women were affiliated with the university in this manner.¹⁶⁰ If they could, husbands and wives teamed up in both private homes and university housing units. Theotto Bowles recalls that "Our people had always been cooks and porters of fraternity houses. If a man and a wife got a job at a fraternity house on campus they had it made. They had it made because the wife was doing the cooking and he was doing the cleaning, and they had a regular good salary in those days between the two of those people may have been a \$80 dollars a week, and that's a whole lot of money back in those days."¹⁶¹ Luvata Bowles (Photo 3.10) (Theotto and Luvata were married) reported that when they arrived, the job

157. Weiner, From Working Girl to Working Mother, 85.

158. Minnie Bracy in Bial, In All My Years, n.pag.

159. Ehmer Bracy in Bial, In All My Years, n.pag.

160. City Directory (1936), 9-303.

161. Bowles interview transcript, 4.

opportunities were "terrible, and blacks could not get very many jobs at all worthwhile."¹⁶²

Luvata added that "if I hadn't known how to cook and was a good cook, I wouldn't have gotten a job. But learning and trying to do my best, I was made a very good cook, and I practiced what my mother taught me. And I went into it, you might say, 'blindfolded' because nobody taught me anything outside what my mother taught me."¹⁶³ With Luvata working on the University of Illinois campus for 25 years and Theotto first working as a porter in a shoe shine shop, then later as a custodian, this hard-working couple raised eight children, and sent five of them to the University of Illinois, where two of the five children received degrees.¹⁶⁴

One Income Not Enough

Not all black families were able to afford to keep their children in high school, let alone afford to send them to the university. Because blacks were hired in only the lowest-paying jobs, the child's income was needed in order to meet basic living expenses. Sandy Jordan left high school his freshman year in order to help support his widowed mother.¹⁶⁵ At first he did "yard work for anyone," until he got a job as a custodian at Chanute Air Force Base in nearby Rantoul.¹⁶⁶ Later Jordan worked as a janitor for a fraternity on the University of Illinois campus, and later still he became head waiter at Champaign Country Club. Finally, he ended up as the custodian at Wiley School in Urbana, from which he eventually retired.¹⁶⁷ Income at the lowest end of the occupational hierarchy did not come close to that earned by whites in the jobs

162. Bowles interview transcript, 3.

163. Ibid.

164. Ibid., 1.

165. Sandy Jordan interview transcript, 2; Black Oral History Project, Box 332, Urbana Free Library Archives; City Directory (1936), 146.

166. Jordan interview transcript, 2.

167. Ibid., 6.



Photo 3.10. Portrait of Luvata Bowles (taken by Raymond Bial, 1985).

they reserved for themselves. Blacks had to make many sacrifices—including forfeiting an education—in effort to survive.

To make ends meet, in addition to requiring the income of both husband and wife, and indeed of the children, many of the community's blacks held more than one job. Throughout High School, Paul Hursey worked two jobs. In 1940 at age 10, Hursey said he set pins "at what was called Duck Pin Bowling Alley here on campus."¹⁶⁸ Hursey continued:

I also worked for McBride's Drugstore as a stockboy. During those periods of time if you made 25 cents an hour that was good money. When I first started working for Mr. McBride I made 25 cents an hour, and then he moved me to 35 cents an hour. Setting pins you earned 3 cents a line, that's ten frames. I doubled up. I would set pins on the weekends and after school I would work at McBride's Drugstore.¹⁶⁹

Even Mr. Scott, who worked for the University as a mail carrier, found it necessary to moonlight. In addition to his day job, Mr. Scott worked as a waiter at the Champaign Country Club and later set up a catering business with the part-time help of his daughter Erma (Scott) Bridgewater.¹⁷⁰ Bridgewater knew what she was saying when she recalled that, "they of course worked two or three jobs:" with such low salaries, it took more than one income for blacks to sustain a family.¹⁷¹

Discrimination in Domestic Work

With all their convictions to work hard and earn a wage, blacks were still kept out of even the domestic and service-related jobs. The following four classified advertisements taken from the Champaign News Gazette in 1948, show the overt nature of discrimination in employment hiring practices:

168. Paul Stanley Hursey interview transcript, 4; Black Oral History Project, Box 332, Urbana Free Library Archives.

169. Hursey interview transcript, 4.

170. Bridgewater interview transcript, 8, 15.

171. Ibid. 15.

SEVERAL white high school girls
wanted for addressing envelopes.
JANE HOWELL DRESS SHOP

WHITE dishwasher, hours 7 a.m.–
3 p.m.; no Sunday work. Apply in
person. PERRY'S CAFE, 400 North
Broadway, Urbana.

COOK wanted for fraternity house.
White lady preferred. Start im-
mediately. Call 6-3325. Ask for
MRS. HUMPHREYS. After 6 p.m.
call 8338.

WHITE woman for general house-
work and ironing, 3 days a week.
Furnish reference. Phone 8084.¹⁷²

This practice also demonstrates how the racial climate of the community and the times were such that for those who listed employment advertisements in the local paper, there was little if any stigma (or shame) associated with prejudicial attitudes. Not only did businesses and private individuals publicize their employment needs, they also advertised their racial philosophies. Furthermore, the editors of the News Gazette were responsible for cooperating with those who discriminated by permitting the publication of such classifieds. Other of the nation's newspapers at the time, including the University of Illinois paper the Daily Illini, forbade such a practice, and would not tolerate such blatantly racist messages to be printed in their publications.¹⁷³

From their arrival on the rails of the Illinois Central, or from an early age in their Illinois home town, Twin Cities African-Americans encountered an institution of employment that practiced widespread exclusion and segregation. For decades, on into the 1960s and beyond, blacks were overrepresented in the most menial, low paying, least secure, highest risk, and dirtiest jobs, and underrepresented in the semi-skilled, skilled and professional occupations. Education,

172. Champaign News Gazette newspaper clippings (6, 7, 19, 20 January 1948, 9 February 1948) found in Harry M. Tiebout Papers, Series 15/16/21, Box 3, File "S-CIC Discriminatory Classified Ads 1947-48."

173. Schact to the Editor, Champaign News Gazette, n.d. in Harry M. Tiebout Papers, Series, 15/16/21, Box 3, File "S-CIC Discriminatory Classified Ads 1947-48."

military experience or skills did not for the large part "qualify" them for employment because race, and not merit, was the determining factor for hiring. As a result, many Twin Cities blacks labored in positions where they were grossly underemployed, and indeed, many qualified workers were left on emergency relief work or unemployed. Because blacks were hired primarily in the lowest paying jobs, more than one job per family was usually required to survive. Families had to sacrifice their children's education in order to bring in additional income. Others sacrificed their own leisure time to work additional jobs, while also working well into the retirement years because the jobs they were given had no pension or retirement plans. As with housing, the University of Illinois largely mirrored the community in which it was located, though it could be argued was slightly more advanced in race relations in that token numbers of blacks were hired for clerical positions and blacks and whites worked side by side in the Illini Union kitchens. This "advancement," nonetheless, remained discriminatory. Attitudes towards blacks by fellow white workers were often derogatory, based on mythology, and were consistent with mass media Minstrel Show depictions of blacks. Finally, although government census data and other quantitative data may be relied upon to lend an overall picture of race and labor, the numbers alone cannot begin to tell the whole story. The people are the best measure, and this is reflected in the eloquent words of those who lived Jim Crow.¹⁷⁴ Champaign-Urbana African-Americans survived a Jim Crow housing system, a Jim Crow employment system, and, as will be discussed next, Jim Crow permeated even more of their everyday living with his hideous song and dance.

174. This chapter is dedicated to Taylor Thomas who passed away while I wrote about him, on 13 November 1988.

CHAPTER IV

JIM CROW AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AND CHAMPAIGN-URBANA

Throughout the first half of the twentieth century and longer, race relations at the University of Illinois and Champaign-Urbana were to a very large degree practiced as separate and unequal towards African-Americans. In spite of the 1885, 1933, and 1937 Illinois Criminal Codes which forbade racial discrimination, African-Americans were treated as pariahs in matters of housing, and bottom-rung laborers in matters of work.¹ Ironically, these highly significant overarching hardships borne by blacks were the most hidden to most work-a-day whites. Seldom would whites need to travel through the North End, and most did not work with employees who were black. If the majority of whites did consider or witness the status of Twin Cities race relations, it was most likely within the sphere of public accommodations. Though lack of proper income due to discriminatory underemployment and lack of proper housing due to discriminatory race covenants and restrictions were potentially threatening to life itself, publicly-inflicted injustices to African-American integrity was the reality when attempting to utilize public accommodations that were not housed within the North End. The University was housed outside the North End.

Jim Crow Subordination at the State's University

Enrollment

Many sociological and historical studies have documented the various racially discriminatory mechanisms which inhibit or prevent blacks from attending college. In addition to race, factors such as quality and availability of elementary and high school services, curriculum,

1. See Appendix B for excerpts of these statutes.

resources and equipment, coupled with the consequences of tracking and IQ testing, with the additional factors of class, neighborhood location and the education and income of parents can all have a determining influence as to whether or not minorities (and others as well) may attend institutions of higher education.² That some or many of these factors kept blacks from enrolling at the Champaign-Urbana campus of the University of Illinois during the World War II years and late 1940s is evidenced by the enrollment disparities between white and black students. For example, of the 7,344 students at the university during the 1944-45 school year, only an estimated 148, or 2 percent of the entire student body, were black.³

This estimated black student enrollment for the 1944-45 academic year, indeed for all the years between 1937 to 1967, is a rare find as during these years enrollment data by race were not officially kept. Fortunately, Albert R. Lee, a University employee between the mid-1890s and early 1940s, concerned himself with the welfare of black students.⁴

"They named him Chief Clerk," explained his daughter, Bernice Brightwell, "but he was really Administrative Secretary was what he was, because he was a ghost writer for the president."⁵ In addition to his presidential duties, Brightwell continued, saying "he did so much for the black students. When the students would come here to register they knew automatically to go to Mr. Lee, because some others had told them about him. He was always looking out for negro students."⁶

Affectionately called the Dean of Black Students, Lee was asked by the Alumni Association in 1936 to compile a complete list of all black students who had ever attended the

2. See, for example, Newman et al., Protest, Politics and Prosperity.

3. Albert Lee quoted in Huntoon, "The University of Illinois and the Drive for Negro Equality," 4.

4. From newspaper clipping photocopy, 27 June 1943--name of newspaper not given. Black Oral History Project, Box 332, File "Albert R. Lee Personal and Financial Papers," Urbana Free Library Archives.

5. Brightwell interview transcript, n.pag.

6. Ibid., 5.

university. This was no easy task for, according to Lee, his final lists were "in a way a creation. We have made something where nothing existed. It is humanly impossible to make a perfect list under the conditions that confronted the compiler. Yet out of it he by the help of the gods been able to get together over 900 names."⁷ This dedicated and caring employee compiled the most

7. Lee, "Memorandum in Re: Compilation of Names of Negro Students Who Have Attended the University of Illinois During the Past Fifty Years," Black Oral History Project, Box 332, File "Lee, Albert R.--Personal and Financial Papers," Urbana Free Library Archives. Below is a chart made by Albert E. Lee enumerating black graduates from the opening of the University of Illinois until 1940. (Found in Albert E. Lee, "The University of Illinois Negro Students," 8; Arthur C. Willard Papers, General Correspondence, 1934-1946, Series 2/9/1, Box 42, File "Colored Students," University of Illinois Archives.)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Black Graduates, University of Illinois</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>Bacc.</u>	<u>Masters</u>	<u>Doctors</u>	
1900	1			1
1904	1			1
1906	1			1
1907	2			2
1908	2			2
1909	1			1
1910	3	1		4
1911	1			1
1912	2	1		3
1914	5	1		6
1915	2			2
1916	3			4
1917	2			3
1918	6			6
1919	3	1		4
1920	5			5
1921	4			4
1922	6			6
1923	2			2
1924	4			4
1925	8			8
1926	10	1		11
1927	10	1		11
1928	9	9		18
1929	19	3		22
1930	12	3		15
1931	19	3		22
1932	16	6		32
1933	27	5		32
1934	22	4		26
1935	14	6		20
1936	10	5	2	17
1937	10	5	2	17
1938	15	6		21
1939	11	2	1	14

accurate information available, and his was the 1944–45 estimate of 148 black students as given above.

Another source yielded black matriculants at the University of Illinois. It was Albert R. Lee who began the practice of corresponding with W. E. B. DuBois, providing him with the estimated black enrollment figures for use in publication in The Crisis.⁸ This practice occurred prior to 1940; however, upon consulting The Crisis, one additional enrollment figure for the 1940s was obtained. For the 1946–47 school term, there were 271 black students who attended the university.⁹ It was in this post-World War II year in which the total student enrollment had reached 20,043.¹⁰ Assuming that the figure as reported by The Crisis represents black enrollment at the Champaign–Urbana campus only (the University of Illinois at this time had campuses in Chicago and Galesburg as well) only 1 percent of the student body at this time were black. Even though total enrollment for the 1944–45 and 1946–47 school terms increased by 37 percent, black student enrollment decreased 1 percent. A final source for black enrollment was given by the student newspaper The Daily Illini (DI). In June, 1950, the newspaper reported that there were approximately 500 black students enrolled at the University (and that they all lived in the North End of town.)¹¹ Table 4.1 displays the approximate black enrollment compared to the total number of students enrolled at the Urbana campus of the University of Illinois. With these

<u>Year</u>	<u>Bacc.</u>	<u>Masters</u>	<u>Doctors</u>	<u>Total</u>
1940	<u>11</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>14</u>
Total	239	58	5	352

8. The correspondence between Dubois and Lee are in Negro Matriculants List, 1887–1937, Arthur C. Willard Papers, Series 2/9/16, Box 1, File "Lists Negro Students 1930–1937," University of Illinois Archives.

9. "The American Negro in College," The Crisis 54 (August 1947): 246.

10. University of Illinois Admissions and Records Statistics, Enrollment Tables, 1936– , Series 25/3/0/10, Boxes 1 and 2, University of Illinois Archives.

11. Huntoon, "The University of Illinois and the Drive for Negro Equality," 30.

Table 4.1

Total and Black Enrollment: University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana, 1944-1951

Year	Total Enrollment	Approximate Black Enrollment	Percentage of Black
1944-45	7,344	148 ^a	2
1945-46	8,799	N/A	N/A
1946-47	20,043	271 ^b	1
1947-48	18,293	N/A	N/A
1948-49	19,094	N/A	N/A
1949-50	19,521	N/A	N/A
1950-51	17,162	300 ^c	1

Source: Admissions and Record Statistics, "Enrollment Tables, 1936-," Series 25/3/0/10, Boxes 1 and 2, University of Illinois Archives.

^aAlbert Lee, "Approximate Number of Negro Students 1944-45"; Arthur Cutts Willard Papers, Series 2/9/1, Box 2, File "Housing for Colored Students," University of Illinois Archives.

^b"The American Negro in College," The Crisis 54 (August 1947), 246.

^cCathie Huntoon, "The University of Illinois and the Drive for Negro Equality, 1945-1951," 30; Library Public Services Papers, Series 35/3/18, Box 8, File "The University of Illinois and the Drive for Negro Equality, Cathie Huntoon, History Grad," University of Illinois Archives.

enrollment figures then, in practice, "equal and fair treatment" was not extended to Illinois blacks; there simply were so few who were enrolled.

Athletics

When black students were permitted to enroll at the university, they were largely excluded from participating in extra-curricular activities including but not limited to athletics, clubs, honoraries, academic societies, and ROTC military programs. Between 1945 and 1951, exclusion arising from real or perceived conceptions that organizations such as male athletics were

not open to them, blacks showed scant representation on football and track teams, and there was only one black athlete on the male swim team.¹² For all the rest, there were no black men playing basketball, baseball, tennis, golf, or participating in wrestling, cross country, fencing, gymnastics, or the cheerleading squad.¹³ For black women, as for all women during this era, the opportunity to take part in university sports or games was limited to the dance club Orchesis (which men joined in 1949), the synchronized swimming club Terrapin, and, in 1949, the cheerleading squad.¹⁴ In 1948, one black woman swam for Terrapin and in 1949, one black woman danced for Orchesis¹⁵ (see Table 4.2).

It is important to note that the enumeration for black athletes does not always represent separate individuals in each sports category for each year. For example, according to the yearbook photos in the University of Illinois Illio, Paul Patterson played football in the years 1945, 1947, 1948, and 1949, and he was shown on the track team in 1945.¹⁶ Patterson then,

12. University of Illinois yearbook Illio, 1945–1951. Though yearbook photographs cannot be 100 percent reliable, they do offer an indication of the status of the racial makeup of organizations. Inaccuracies could occur in that in some cases the racial identity of an individual is uncertain, heads may be blocked by others, and some may not have been present for the photo session.

13. Illio, 1945–1950.

14. *Ibid.*

15. *Ibid.*

16. Note: no blacks appeared in the 1946 photo of the football team, though it is likely that they were involved in the sport. The following are the black athletes as photographed in the Illio, 1945–1951: 1945: Paul Patterson, football, track; Donald Johnson, football; Buddy Young, football, track; Robert Keeley, track. 1946: George Walker, track; Charles Burghardt, track; Robert Keeley, track; William Mathis, track. 1947 (year of the Rose Bowl, Illinois 45 UCLA 14): Buddy Young, football; Ike Ownes, football; Paul Patterson, football; Bert Piggott, football; Bill Mathis, football; George Walker, track; Herb McKinley, track, Athlete of the Year; LeRoy Brown, track. 1948: Louistine Ford, Terrapin; Paul Patterson, football; Edward A. Starks, football; Emory F. Luch, football; Herb McKenley, track; Bill Mathis, tack; George Walker, track; Bill Cook, track; Lou Irons, track; Jim McCray, track; Ralph Hines, track, swimming. 1949: Bill Willis, football; Paul Patterson, football; Bill Cook, track; George Walker, track; Lou Irons, track; (there was a black women in Orchesis but no names were listed). 1950: Don Stevens, football; Ted Moody, football; Bill Willis, football; John Walker, football, track; Lou Irons, football, track; (there was a black women in Orchesis, but no names were listed). 1951: Don Stevens, football; Eric Kuykendarl, football; Ted Moody, football; Amos Jones, football; Lou Irons, track; John Walker, track; Dick Coleman, track.

Table 4.2

Athletics by Race as Photographed in the Illio, University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana, 1945-1951

Organization	1945		1946		1947		1948		1949		1950		1951	
	W	B	W	B	W	B	W	B	W	B	W	B	W	B
Men's varsity football	22	3	21	0	30	4	45	2	52	2	39	4	41	4
Men's basketball	14	0	11	0	15	0	13	0	12	0	19	0	14	0
Men's track	11	3	10	4	22	4	30	6	12	3	17	2	21	3
Men's baseball	11	0	14	0	13	0	17	0	16	0	14	0	12	0
Men's tennis	6	0	5	0	6	0	7	0	9	0	7	0	6	0
Men's golf	2	0	4	0	6	0	7	0	7	0	9	0	6	0
Men's swimming	25	0	15	0	-	-	14	1	7	0	6	0	11	0
Men's wrestling	25	0	10	0	-	-	9	0	8	0	10	0	10	0
Men's cross country	9	0	2	0	8	0	12	0	6	0	7	0	?	?
Women's Orchesis ^a	6	0	13	0	11	0	27	0	17	1	20	0	?	?
Women's Terrapin	23	0	30	0	42	0	43	1	26	0	37	0	48	0
Cheerleaders ^b	-	-	-	-	10	9	0	9	0	7	0	1	0	0
Men's fencing	-	-	-	-	25	0	12	0	8	0	8	0	8	0
Men's gym-nastics	-	-	-	-	20	0	11	0	10	0	7	0	10	0

Source: University of Illinois, Illio, vols. 52-58, 1945-1951.

W = White.

B = Black.

- = No photo in the Illio.

? = Race cannot be determined by photograph.

^aMen joined in 1949.

^bCheerleaders for 1947 and 1948 are all male.

represents a relatively substantial percentage of all blacks who participated on sports teams between 1945 and 1951.

Exclusion from participation in various collegiate athletic organizations did not start in the mid-1940s nor did the practice end there. According to a 1937 article "State-Wide Battle on Illinois Jim Crow," in The Crisis, "there is an unwritten law in the Big Ten . . . that no Negroes shall be allowed on the basketball team."¹⁷ Champaign resident Taylor Thomas was aware of this situation in athletics and in support of the article in The Crisis stated that "in the Big Ten there were a few blacks, but very few. You could count them on one hand practically. And basketball was an unwritten law that no blacks played basketball."¹⁸ Thomas continued by explaining his understanding of discrimination along racial lines against potential ball players:

As I say, there wasn't a written law, but it was an unwritten law--it was an understanding. I recall there were two boys that came here from Chicago who were very good basketball players and it was about the time I was a senior in high school. They went to Illinois, and that time there was a freshman rule. You's go go [sic] out as a freshman, and you would play, and then they could cut you back--cutback until they maintained about ten players, and they would be carried on to the next year to play with the varsity. These boys were head and shoulders above so many of the players, but they held them till the last minute, and then they would cut them.¹⁹

Thomas continued:

And one reason I know is because I played against a boy from Champaign in high school who went to the University of Illinois, and made the University of Illinois freshman team and played as an upperclassman. I played against them, and then I played independent basketball [sic] that had come down here from Chicago, and they were head and shoulders over this other boy. And yet, they didn't make it. So I have a direct comparison as far as that was concerned.²⁰

In Thomas' experience, basketball players were intentionally chosen according to race and the coaches and other institutional actors employed methods in efforts to mask their racially discriminatory practices. Continually "cutting back" was one way coaches used to whittle the team

17. "State-Wide Battle on Illinois Jim Crow," The Crisis 44 (February, 1937): 61.

18. Thomas interview transcript, 7.

19. *Ibid.*, 7-8.

20. *Ibid.*, 8.

down to white players only. After long periods of time it wears a student down. When this fair-in-form technique is employed year after year, those who are cut back after their hopes have been allowed to rise become discouraged, and as a consequence, go elsewhere to attend college and play ball.²¹ Thomas did. He played ball for Tennessee State.²² So did Les Jamerson and others.²³

Chief Clerk Albert R. Lee, "fought valiantly for athletics--that was one of his main fights," according to Bernice Brightwell.²⁴ Brightwell explained that her father's dream was to see young black athletes play on Illinois teams. She remembered that her father wrote letters to coaches, "interceding for black students. And finally, gradually, they put them on the track team, on the football team, and basketball eventually. It took time, but my father before he passed, he saw the realization of his dreams."²⁵ In Albert R. Lee's evaluation, conditions for black athletes at the university were such that the possibility blacks would play on a team neared fantasy.

In keeping with the understanding of pre-1950s athletics, University of Illinois freshman Jean Knapp wrote in her 1944 published essay that, "Negroes are not allowed on baseball, basketball, tennis, and swimming teams. They are, however, allowed to try out for track and football."²⁶ Knapp continued, "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 a baseball game."²⁷ Though this reasoning is slightly askew Knapp was rightly puzzled as to why blacks were on some teams and not on others. If blacks were seen by coaches to have the skill, talent, and knowledge of rules and strategies for football and track participation, then why not for basketball, baseball, or wrestling? Mechanisms

21. Spivey and Jones, "Intercollegiate Athletic Servitude: A Case Study of the Black Illini Student-Athletes, 1931-1967," Social Science Quarterly 55 (March 1975): 939-47.

22. Thomas interview transcript.

23. Jamerson interview transcript.

24. Brightwell interview transcript, 6.

25. Ibid.

26. Knapp, "The University of Illinois and Its Negroes," The Green Cauldron 15 (April, 1946): 13.

27. Ibid., 8.

other than athletic qualifications were at work here.

In 1966, another University of Illinois student, Cathie Huntoon, investigated the same phenomenon. Having read Knapp's theme, Huntoon interviewed the 1966 director of the Athletic Association, Doug Mills, asking him about Knapp's perceptions of black participation in 1940s athletics. Mills replied, "that Negroes are primarily jumpers and sprinters, thus accounting for their participation in football and track."²⁸ When Huntoon reasoned that running was a skill useful in baseball, Mills stated "that until about the last ten years, most high schools only had track, football, and basketball in their athletic programs."²⁹ Huntoon then wondered why there were no blacks on Illini basketball teams, to which Mills evasively and defensively answered that "in general' there had been no discrimination by individual coaches and that there had been no official policy of discriminating against Negroes in any sport."³⁰

Director Mills held some of the same stereotypical notions in 1966 which were prevalent earlier in the century. Indeed, further investigation reveals that Doug Mills was, in 1944, a faculty representative of the University of Illinois Athletic Association, and, in 1945 he was the Director of Athletics, dubbed as not only a "trailblazer of Illini athletics," but also as University of Illinois' "renowned basketball coach."³¹ This renowned coach must have known that good jumping and sprinting are essential skills in the game of basketball. It is understandable, in light of Mills' roles in 1940s athletics, why he became confused during the Huntoon interview. It is difficult to disguise truth; it is embarrassing to be caught in faulty reasoning.

Reserved Officer Training Corps

Just as black students were excluded or discouraged from participating in athletics, so too were they barred from participating in the University's Reserved Officer Training Corps (ROTC).

28. Huntoon, "The University of Illinois and the Drive for Negro Equality, 1945-1951," 39.

29. *Ibid.*, 40.

30. *Ibid.*

31. *Illio*, vol. 52, 1945, 120.

From the opening of its doors in 1868, University of Illinois officials required that all able-bodied males (which would include blacks) take two years of basic military training. This policy was based on Illinois' interpretation of a provision in the Morrill Act of 1862; for the land grant university to receive federal funds, a course in military tactics was mandatory.³² Interestingly, other states interpreted this provision differently. In California, the supreme court ruled that military courses needed only be offered; mandatory participation by all men was not necessary.³³ For Illinois, however, university males were, in their freshman and sophomore years, enrolled in military science courses. After that, students could choose to end their involvement in the military, or apply to extend their coursework whereby they would receive officer training. Upon graduation they would serve in their chosen branch of the military for a determined contracted period of time.³⁴

Yet in 1946, freshman student Jean Knapp observed that "the Negro student is . . . uncertain of his status in the military life on campus."³⁵ Knapp, acknowledging that black males dedicated a portion of two years of college coursework to military service training, wrote further, stating, "a Negro student, however, is not allowed to take . . . advanced work."³⁶ Asked Knapp, "Why make a student take ROTC for two years and then make a complete turnabout and make it impossible for him to become an advanced cadet?"³⁷ This was a logical and rational question, yet the answer to the query is based on illogical and irrational beliefs. The military, by its very

32. University of Illinois Army ROTC Visitor Information Handbook, "History of Military Science at the University of Illinois," n.p., n.d.

33. ROTC Handbook, "History of Military Science at the University of Illinois, n.p. Note: The University of Illinois changed its policy in 1964 by reinterpreting the Morrill Act to mean that military coursework must be offered but not required. ROTC became voluntary by the 1964-65 school year. This policy drastically reduced ROTC enrollment; in Spring, 1964 (before the policy change) 3,100 cadets were enrolled, by fall, enrollment dropped to 550. ROTC Handbook.

34. Interview with Army Major William Dunlop, 12 September 1988.

35. Knapp, "The University of Illinois and Its Negroes," 13.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid.

nature, stresses teamwork and cooperation with enlisted men's very lives depending on fellow company members. In the racially troubled climate of the '40s, trust between blacks and whites would prove difficult to establish and maintain. Yet, in spite of this climate, Knapp observed that during the first two years of military training, "Negro students sleep, eat, study, and play with white fellows, and the cooperation and friendliness between the two races prove that it is very possible for an equality to exist not only here at the University of Illinois but also throughout the country."³⁸ Though cooperation may be possible in spite of difficult circumstances in beginning military work, officer training work is a different matter. It is the officer's duty to make critical decisions, to command soldiers, and to ensure that commands are carried out. Great deference is given to persons in these positions of responsibility and respect; the 1940s, however, were years in which blacks received little deference and less respect. Thus, the perception that blacks were inferior, coupled with racial hatred towards them promoted Jim Crow practices in the military.

This ROTC situation was no new observation or disputation. According to a 1937 article in The Crisis, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) sent a letter "to each member of the state legislature calling his attention to jim crow practices" at the University of Illinois.³⁹ The authors of the article explained that the NAACP "letter asserts that Negro students are barred from some courses of the ROTC at Illinois; that there are no places for Negro students to eat; and that basketball teams exclude Negro players."⁴⁰ Legislators and university officials failed to respond to the letter with any type of firm practical action particularly regarding basketball and ROTC. University of Illinois yearbook Illio photos of Officer Training Units reveal that during the years 1945-1947, no blacks participated in Naval ROTC.⁴¹ In 1945, for example--the first year the Naval program was installed at the

38. Knapp, "The University of Illinois and Its Negroes," 13.

39. "State-Wide Battle on Illinois Jim Crow," 61.

40. Ibid.

41. Illio, 1945-1949.

university--of the 197 photographed men, all were white.⁴² Similarly, the same held true for 1946 and 1947, with 338 whites and 121 white Naval participants respectively.⁴³ Ironically, blacks beheld a double burden for as they defended the nation abroad in the world wars this very nation had universities that had not yet assured African-Americans the right to participate in military science courses in their junior and senior years of college. Black freshman and sophomore males had to endure the frustrating and futile two years of mandatory military coursework, enduring also the unspoken and unwritten rule that mandatorily denied them entrance to advanced coursework.

The University of Illinois ROTC program was, of course, not the only military institution that was segregated. Public outrage over segregated armed forces was prominent during the war and post-war years. Yet only after President Harry Truman signed Executive Order 9981 in July, 1948, which called for an end to segregation in the armed forces, did ROTC at the University of Illinois integrate their ranks. It was a token gesture, however, and not true integration. In the 1948 Illio, photos show that of the approximately 278 officers in training in the Army, Navy, Air Force and related military organizations, only two blacks had joined the ranks.⁴⁴ Likewise, 1949 photos show that of the approximately 488 officer trainees, only three blacks were shown to be involved.⁴⁵ Even with an order from the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces black students at the University of Illinois were only minimally represented in advance coursework in the ROTC.

Clubs, Honoraries and Professional Societies

The quality of collegiate experience is enhanced with membership in student clubs, professional organizations and honorary societies. Participation in such organizations is one

42. Illio, 1945.

43. Illio, 1946-1947.

44. Illio, 1948.

45. Illio, 1949.

important measure society uses to determine the success of a college career. Yet, as was true for athletics and ROTC, black students at the University of Illinois were largely excluded from participating in these kinds of extra-curricular student activities (see Table 4.3). For the five years between 1945 to 1949, only thirty-six blacks were shown to be affiliated in all the clubs, professional organizations, honorary societies, and the student senate combined, as photographed in the Illio.⁴⁶ This total of thirty-six black participants is a high figure, however, as a few of the individual students were involved in two separate organizations for a given academic year, while also belonging to the same organization for more than one year. Thus the total of individual participants dwindles to only twenty-eight students.⁴⁷ For example, Mr. Leslie Henrique was a member of both the Accountancy Club and Phi Eta Sigma in the 1944-45 academic year, and of Phi Eta Sigma only in the following 1945-46 school year. Henrique's presence, then, represents three blacks of the thirty-six count total. Further, of the forty-eight organizations analyzed, most had no black membership at all during this five-year period. Only seventeen student groups had token representation with either one or two black constituents in any given school term. Finally, gender played an important role as of the twenty-eight African-Americans in this survey, only five were women.

Though each student group held various kinds of criteria of eligibility for membership, the end result was that blacks encountered real or perceived barriers which prevented them from joining. If, for example, membership was based on high school grades and other previous

46. Illio, 1945-1949.

47. Black individuals who were photographed in Student Clubs, Professional Societies, Honoraries and the Student Senate as shown in the Illio, 1945-1949: 1945: Leslie Henriques, Accountancy Club, Phi Eta Sigma; Isaac Little, Accountancy Club; Eleanor Nelson, Phi Upsilon Omicron; George Robinson, Agricultural Club. 1946: C. Allen, Alpha Lambda Delta; Leslie Henriques, Phi Eta Sigma; Isaac Little, Accountancy Club. 1947: Edward Bolden, ASCE; Harry Davis, A.I.E.E.; Alfred Griffin, Phi Mu Alpha-Sinfonia; Herb McKenley, Sachem; George Walker, Sachem. 1948: William Alexander, ASME, Lester Barry, AIEE; Robert Elliott, Phi Eta Sigman; Frederick Ford, Student Senate; James Goodrich, Sigma Delta Chi; George Hall, Phi Mu Alpha-Sinfonia; Lizzie Johnson, Kappa Delta Pi; Robert Nolen, ASME; Lorraine Savage, WAA Awards and Managers; Lucius Williams, Accountancy Club. 1949: Edward Bolden, ASCE; Erlene Collins, Shi-Ai; David Ford, AIEE; Robert Friedman, AICE; George Guy, Kappa Delta Pi; Wilmelda Mathis, Shi-Ai; Henry Nalepa, AICE; Judson Terrell, AIEE; Arnold Williams, Phi Mu Alpha-Sinfonia.

Table 4.3

Student Organizations by Race as Photographed in the Illiq, University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana, 1945-1949

Organization ^a	1945		1946		1947		1948		1949	
	W	B	W	B	W	B	W	B	W	B
1. Accountancy Club (C)	61	2	32	1	91	0	71	1	60	0
2. Agriculture Club (C)	41	1	68	0	61	0	115	0	110	0
3. Alpha Delta Sigma (P)	-	-	-	-	25	0	29	0	25	0
4. Alpha Kappa Psi (P)	32	0	30	0	44	0	39	0	34	0
5. Alpha Lambda Delta (H)	69	0	68	1	X	X	X	X	41	0
6. Alpha Phi Omega (C)	-	-	-	-	35	0	56	0	66	0
7. Alpha Pi Delta (C)	36	0	21	0	23	0	22	0	20	0
8. Alpha Zeta (H)	-	-	-	-	18	0	19	0	23	0
9. ACS (P)	-	-	-	-	50	0	32	0	5	10
10. AICE (P)	-	-	13	0	26	0	86	0	91	2
11. AIEE (P)	-	-	23	0	15	1	87	1	183	2
12. ASAE (P)	-	-	-	-	21	0	38	0	48	0
13. ASCE (P)	17	0	51	0	72	1	55	0	103	0
14. ASME (P)	33	0	41	0	60	0	48	2	139	0
15. Chi Epsilon (H)	19	0	24	0	28	0	46	0	49	0
16. Eta Kappa Nu (H)	12	0	-	-	-	-	16	0	30	0
17. Floriculture Club (C)	-	-	-	-	32	0	30	0	27	0
18. Gargoyle (H)	X	X	11	0	21	0	22	0	51	0
19. Hoof and Horn (C)	-	-	-	-	40	0	64	0	77	0
20. Illustrators (P)	22	0	24	0	33	0	23	0	19	0
21. IAS (P)	-	-	-	-	34	0	64	2	89	0

Table 4.3 (continued)

Organization ^a	1945		1946		1947		1948		1949	
	W	B	W	B	W	B	W	B	W	B
22. Isabel Bevier Home Economics (C)	89	0	98?	0?	102	0	86	0	120	0
23. Kappa Delta Pi (H)	5	0	17	0	X	X	19	1	23	2
24. Marketing Club (C)	-	-	-	-	12	0	95	0	62	0
25. Mortor Board (H)	14	0	12	0	19	0	X	X	X	X
26. Omega Beta Pi (P)	13	0	17	0	14	0	27	0	16	0
27. Phi Chi Theta (P)	14	0	24	0	22	0	19	0	18	0
28. Pi Eta Sigma (H)	57	1	40	1	80	0	33	1	47	0
29. Phi Mu Alpha-Sinfonia (H)	-	-	-	-	27	1	39	2	27	1
30. Phi Upsilon Omicron (P)	24	1	19	0	17	0	-	-	21	0
31. Pi Tau Sigma (H)	13	0	28	0	22	0	-	-	42	0
32. Psi Chi (H)	23	0	23	0	21	0	14	0	28	0
33. Sachem (H)	13	0	5	0	13	2	X	X	X	X
34. Sigma Tau (P)	10	0	22	0	14	0	16	0	22	0
35. Shi Ai (H)	32	0	68	0	67	0	51	0	56	2
36. Sigma Alpha Iota (P)	29	0	44	0	29	0	18	0	22	0
37. Sigma Delta Chi (P)	-	-	-	-	12	0	24	1	24	0
38. Sigma Delta Pi (P)	19	0	10	0	13	0	11	0	13	0
39. Skull and Crescent (H)	-	-	20	0	39	0	36	0	44	0
40. Spanish Club (C)	79	0	?	?	32	0	62	0	X	X
41. Student Senate	23	0	23	0	27	0	23	1	26	0
42. Tau Beta Pi (H)	15	0	14	0	14	0	23	0	61	0
43. Theta Sigma Phi (P)	15	0	14	0	13	0	12	0	13	0
44. Torch (H)	35	0	39	0	33	0	X	X	X	X

Table 4.3 (continued)

Organization ^a	1945		1946		1947		1948		1949	
	W	B	W	B	W	B	W	B	W	B
45. WAA (C)	9	0	10	0	11	0	10	0	9	0
46. WAA Awards (H)	12	0	17	0	29	0	27	1	26	0
47. WAA Managers (P)	14	0	9	0	19	0	15	1	11	0
48. Zeta Phi Eta (P)	22	0	19	0	16	0	22	0	16	0

Source: University of Illinois, Illio, vols. 52-56, 1945-1949.

W = White.

B = Black.

C = Club.

H = Honorary.

P = Professional Society.

- = Not represented in Illio.

? = Cannot determine race from photo quality.

X = No photo of organization; represented only by name.

^aThis table represents organizations in existence and photographed a minimum of three years during 1945-1949 period.

organizational experiences, an institutionalized discriminatory mechanism is in place as opportunities for such achievements in poorly-funded inner city school districts are fewer than those in more wealthy, white suburban districts. When membership is based on invitation, whether intentional or not, blacks are at a disadvantage as the white students and faculty advisors of the institution associate with other members of the majority race, especially in a segregated society. If, in isolated instances, a black student does join, he (and occasionally she) finds that the organization is tailored to meet the needs of whites; it is the black student who feels the added pressure to try to fit in. This social pressure to fit discourages minority members from participating in groups and organizations which for their white peers are most likely beneficial, rewarding, and enhancing to both college and professional careers. With severely limited opportunities to participate in student organizations, blacks were denied more than merely a

credential on their resumes. Potential friendships with those having kindred interests were lost, and the feelings of isolation and alienation were more apt to thrive. When minorities are excluded, by policy or by practice, it becomes easy for whites to become accustomed to the status quo exclusionary practices.⁴⁸ This in turn develops and strengthens the stereotypical notion that whites are the superior race and that blacks truly are not qualified for membership. Opportunities to serve, hold office and participate or gain experience in career-related endeavors are forsaken. In addition to missed opportunities for positive and beneficial social interactions, black students lost out on valuable career-oriented information, contacts and networks. In a segregated system, tips regarding job hunting and interviewing inadvertently or otherwise become information distributed to whites only. Employers and firms distribute information on career options with visits and mailings to many of the clubs, professional societies and honoraries. "Traditionally, word-of-mouth recruiting has served a positive function for employers, providing inexpensive advertising; indeed, it is probably the most widely used method of recruitment in most areas of employment."⁴⁹ Institutionalized racism in educational endeavors contributes to and reinforces discriminatory institutionalized practices in employment. It was therefore the exceptional individual, like Henriques, who was able to break through the barriers of racially discriminatory attitudes and practices in the sphere of student organizations at the University of Illinois during the last half of the 1940s.

Faculty Views

Adding to the injustices suffered by blacks in University of Illinois life were attitudes and expressions of racially intolerant faculty. Instructors affiliated with ROTC chose to hide their personal biases behind the bureaucratic screen of institutionalized military regulations and requirements. Until Truman mandated the desegregation of the armed forces in 1948, no blacks

48. See Feagin and Feagin, Discrimination American Style, discussion on the theory of Imperial Colonialism, 9-12.

49. Ibid., 47.

were qualified to participate in the final two years of the University of Illinois Officer training program. Until Truman's executive order, ROTC instructors shirked responsibility to ensure equal and fair treatment of all ROTC cadets thus upholding the status quo of white domination.

Also evading responsible behavior toward requiring and enforcing equitable treatment of all students were those faculty who served as directors of university musical organizations. In the 1944-45 school year, the information passed on to freshman Jean Knapp was that "although the orchestra, band, chorus, etc., are open to any student, a Negro who tries to become a member is treated as an intruder and consequently does not get very far."⁵⁰ Knapp understood how practice did not mirror policy. It takes only the negative experiences of a few for the knowledge of negative treatment to be transmitted to the peer groups of future students of the university. Knapp, a first year student was aware of the unwelcome atmosphere in the university music community; it is very likely that upper class students and high school students preparing to enter the university were too. The faculty directors of university musical ensembles were not responsible in creating and maintaining an atmosphere in which both black and white musicians could thrive.

The irresponsible attitudes and behavior of faculty regarding the fostering of positive race relations becomes more pernicious when those in authority believe misinformation and then spread the misinformation as documented truth in their lectures and talks. In 1949, the Student-Community Interracial Committee (S-CIC) and the Young Progressives of America co-sponsored a program in celebration of black contributions to American culture.⁵¹ Featured was a talk delivered by University of Illinois History teaching assistant Marion Causey.⁵² According to audience member Bernard Century (Century himself was an instructor in the department of Theoretical and Applied Mechanics) 'one of the themes of Miss Causey's talk was

50. Knapp, "The University of Illinois and Its Negroes," 13.

51. Huntoon, "The University of Illinois and the Drive for Negro Equality," 33.

52. Ibid.

that if the Negro were to accept a role of submissiveness, it would be a great step toward the alleviation of their suffering."⁵³ Causey at least acknowledged that blacks in this segregated and racially strained environment did indeed suffer; her remedy to "accept submissiveness," however, was out of line. Century showed that Causey added insult to injury when she pointed out that "the problems of Jim Crowism started at the time of the emancipation, and that present day militancy, as in the form of legislation will not solve anything."⁵⁴ This was another half-truth presented by Causey: segregation of the races and Jim Crowism existed and was enforced during slavery and was then indeed legalized and enforced after slavery. Further, in the minds of bigoted whites, civil rights legislation did not "solve" things in favor of white dominance but instead laid the groundwork for more equitable treatment of the races. Ironically, historian Causey had presented this ahistorical misinformation to an audience assembled for the celebration of black achievements.

Unfortunately, Causey's view of racial differences was not a new one among instructors and assistants at the University of Illinois. Erma Bridgewater told of her experiences at the university in the mid-1930s:

I was in a class in English Literature and the instructor in seating the class did it alphabetically, and there was two of us in there. The other girls [*sic*] name was Barbee, and mine was Scott, so when she got to the 'B's' she didn't call Barbee. So, she got to the 'S's' she didn't call Scott. . . . You, know, you were standing up around the wall and then as you were called to sit down, and there's the two of us left standing there, and then she put us together.⁵⁵

Outnumbered and singled out by race, Scott and Barbee were forced to endure a semester of in a Jim Crow prescribed and tolerated classroom.

Bridgewater continued her account of that particular classroom experience stating, "I worked hard enough to get a C out of the course. The other girl I think got a D. But it's that thing of having to forgive people for things like that and still sit in class and get a decent grade

53. Letters to the Editor, Daily Illini, 22 April 1949.

54. *Ibid.*

55. Bridgewater interview transcript, 5.

from them. That's rough."⁵⁶ As if segregated seating were not enough, black students were also reminded of racial ostracism with the practiced grading patterns of university instructors. No matter how hard the student strived, stated Bridgewater, "you were given what they call colored 'C's'. . . I probably got some better grades--deserved some better grades than I got."⁵⁷

Bridgewater explained that colored C's were the equivalent to "a white 'B' or 'A.'"⁵⁸

By the late 1940s, attitudes of many faculty members remained as they were in Bidgewater's collegiate experiences and perhaps nothing illustrates this more clearly than a situation which occurred in a teacher training class in the department of physical education in July 1947. In a letter of complaint (with copies sent to the Daily Illini, Chicago Sun, Chicago Defender, and University of Illinois President Stoddard, Assistant to the President Janata, and to the Director of the School of Physical Education), student Leo Jones related his experience in a class taught by Mr. J. G. Wolf:

The instructor called all members of the class to the center of the floor in Huff Gymnasium. He introduced the next game which he called "nigger baby." Wolf explained the rules and method of playing the game. A ball was placed in a circle and all twenty-three members stood around the circle. Each member was given a number from 1 to 23. As Wolf's daughter, who appeared to be between 8 and 9 years of age, called the numbers, the individual bearing that number would take the ball and throw it at the other contestants. If he failed to hit a player within three tries, he became one "nigger baby." The player who became two "nigger babies" had to face the wall in a stooped position and each player took a throw at him.⁵⁹

It is difficult to assign an educational value to this game. Perhaps it was meant to develop aim and ball-handling skills. If the skill-value is nebulous, the social value of it is not: the social object was to find the weakest, least physically skilled player, assign a racially derogatory name to the individual and then to punish such inferiority, with every group member taking part in the hit. Physical and psychological harm are the objects of this intensely racial exercise. Instructor

56. Bridgewater interview transcript, 5.

57. Ibid., 11-12.

58. Ibid., 12.

59. Jones to Janata, 19 July 1947, George D. Stoddard Papers, Series 2/10/1, Box 9, File "Racial Minorities," University of Illinois Archives.

Wolf had intended that this game be played not only on this college campus, but in classrooms around the state and country where these future teachers would soon hold positions. Indeed, Wolf's own daughter was there to witness and learn her father's racial values first hand.

Jones, feeling the game was ill-suited for any kind of classroom instruction, went directly to the Director of the School of Physical Education Seward Staley to report the incident. Staley defended the game. According to Jones, Staley retorted, "You are up-set about something that is of no importance. I have played 'nigger baby' myself and find nothing wrong with the game."⁶⁰ Rebuffed by the Director, Jones took his complaint to the Assistant President of the University, A. J. Janata. In his written reply to Jones, Janata stated, "I have discussed your complaint with Director S. C. Staley of the School of Physical Education, and he will take steps to eliminate the objectionable terminology in the future."⁶¹ Yet, Janata did not condemn the incident or apologize for it or even agree with Jones' perceptions of the inherent dangers in such teaching methods. Taking the path of least resistance, Janata took only minimal steps to alleviate the problem, reducing the incident to one of objectionable terminology. Though objectionable terminology may have been eliminated, only the image that things were better would exist; it is unlikely that the deeply entrenched attitudes which were the source of the derogatory game concept would disappear as well. Director Staley was affiliated with the University's Physical Education program from 1922 to 1961.⁶² For thirty-nine years as faculty member, director, and Dean, Staley was in the position to transmit his racial values and to hire and supervise his instructors within his value system. Staley presided over what was a most dangerous and infectious exponential pyramid in which disparaging views of blacks were transmitted: he hired and supervised his faculty members who in turn trained future teachers, who subsequently would instruct an even larger number of young people. This is yet another incident where a student and

60. Jones to Janata, 19 July 1947.

61. Janata to Jones, 22 July 1947, George D. Stoddard Papers, Series 2/10/1, Box 9, File "Racial Minorities," University of Illinois Archives.

62. Illio, 1948, 124; University of Illinois Staff Directory, 1960-61, 263.

not administrator of faculty took the initiative to press for change; it was Jones, a future teacher who stood firm that "nigger baby" was a concept "that a public supported institution of higher learning should not be perpetuating."⁶³

When student and other groups tried to change the existing Jim Crow practices at the University, they were met with opposition both from the administration and other student organizations. There was on this campus, a particularly difficult conflict concerning Jim Crow himself, and that was the controversy surrounding the 1949 University-sanctioned Minstrel Show production.

The Minstrel Show Controversy

The racism undergirding minstrelsy was brought to light by blacks and interracial groups who objected to the proposed 1949 Minstrel Show component of the Spring Carnival "Mississippi Mischief." A small group of student and community organizations including Alpha Phi Alpha (a black fraternity), the Student-Community Inter Racial Committee (S-CIC), and area church groups were outraged not only by the show's proposal, but also by the decision of Dean of Women Miriam Sheldon to permit it. Protesters took complaints and petitions to the Student Senate and requested that it pass a resolution prohibiting minstrel shows on campus. A heated debate ensued, centering on the issue "as to whether or not minstrel shows are in themselves discriminatory."⁶⁴ As reported in the student newspaper Daily Illini (DI), the Senate by their vote and verdict determined that the shows were not discriminatory and the proposed resolution was voted down. The minstrel component of "Mississippi Mischief" was allowed to go on as planned.⁶⁵

The following day, in response to the unified decision of both the Dean and the Senate, a letter to the editor appeared in the DI. University of Illinois student Frank M. Smith urged the newspaper to oppose official sanctioning of minstrel shows, explaining that "this type of show is

63. Jones to Janata, 19 July 1947.

64. Wachendorf, "Student Minstrels Meet Opposition From Senators," Daily Illini, 7 April 1949.

65. Ibid.

one which depicts the American Negro as a stereotyped comedian and is extremely humiliating and embarrassing to the modern Negro students on the campus of the University of Illinois."⁶⁶ The DI editors considered Smith's indignation unjustifiable. Beneath Smith's closing signature was a note from the editors which read "minstrel shows have been an American institution since the last century. This is the first instance in our knowledge that the shows have been termed discriminatory. Negroes of long acquaintance said it was an honor to the Negro race that white people wanted to imitate them."⁶⁷ Essentially, the student editors argued that because minstrel shows were an "American Institution," the existence of such productions should not be challenged but accepted as part of American culture. That blacks were honored that Caucasians would imitate them may have some truth in that, in their undistorted form, the ballads, spirituals, movements, use of instruments, and so forth of African-American Art enlighten the soul. Racist caricatures, however, are never honorable. But the student editor's, like the Student Senate's, failure to comprehend minstrelsy as racist reveals that the stereotypes presented were seen as fun, not damaging, and truth, not myth. These caricatures, believed to be accurate portrayals of an entire race, demonstrated the deeply entrenched nature of the racism held by this portion of the academic community.

In the same issue of the DI as Smith's letter, an article appeared describing how "despite pleas from over a dozen representatives of religious, social, and inter-racial groups," the Committee on Student Affairs (CSA) voted 7 to 5 against the "request that the show be modified so that 'black faces' do not appear."⁶⁸ The protesters were willing to compromise but the CSA was not: the social intent of the minstrel show was uncompromisable. This unyielding vote prompted Sheldon, perhaps the most sensitive and enlightened person of authority in the minstrel matter, to encourage the CSA to publicize an apology (of sorts). The CSA agreed, and the Sheldon

66. Smith to Editors. Daily Illini, 8 April 1949.

67. Ibid.

68. Connelly, "CSA Voting Oks Minstrel Show at Carnival," Daily Illini, 8 April 1949.

composed statement read in total, "We (the CSA) express to the Negro students our sympathy for their problem even though we did not take favorable action on their requests."⁶⁹ With this sorry, but-not-sorry-enough-to-quit-the-behavior statement, the onus of "the problem" was conveniently shifted to the oppressed group. It became the "Negro Problem" rather than the problem of racist whites.

Sheldon's stance deserves attention, for as Dean of Women she could endorse or disapprove student activities and ensure that her decisions were reinforced. Up through the 1940s and beyond, Deans served in loco parentis, and thus could dictate the moral standards and behaviors of students. For example, the 1948 rules for women included weekend and evening curfews, permits to ride in a car, permission to leave town, and chaperones to attend fraternity houses.⁷⁰ Typically, male students had only to follow the guidelines set up for female visitation to their fraternities.⁷¹ In addition, the prohibition of gambling, drinking, and even the establishment of study hours were prescribed and enforced for both sexes.⁷² Though morals were closely regulated in nearly every realm of a student's life, no standards were expected or required of students concerning fair race relations. In fact, the opposite message was transmitted. Perhaps Dean Sheldon was beginning to realize the contradictory messages students received from administrators. Her statement of apology for the minstrel decision could well have been an attempt to rectify this. Regardless of intentions, however, in effect, the Dean, the Senate, the Committee on Student Affairs, and the student newspaper sanctioned minstrel show productions at the University of Illinois.

Five days after the Sheldon and CSA statement, the Daily Illini printed a column of

69. Connelly, "CSA Voting Oks Minstrel Show at Carnival," Daily Illini, 8 April 1949; Connelly, "CSA Voting Oks Minstrel Show at Carnival," Daily Illini, 8 April 1949.

70. "Housing Regulations for Undergraduates," Chapter x, 2-4, Student Organizations--Government Papers, Series 41/62/12, Box 6, File "Committee on Student Affairs, Minutes, 1948-1967," University of Illinois Archives.

71. *Ibid.*, 4.

72. *Ibid.*, 2.

students' responses to the question: "Do you think minstrel shows are detrimental to the Negro race?"⁷³ Three out of four printed student responses claimed that there was nothing discriminatory about such shows, thus affirming the newspaper's position. Indeed, the first student polled was on the mark for most when he stated that the "furor that was raised on campus during the Spring Carnival was entirely unjustified and was unsupported by the majority of students."⁷⁴

Finally on 13 January 1950, after much deliberation, and debate, the policy issue was resolved by the CSA in favor of a total ban of all minstrel shows on campus.⁷⁵ Yet, though policy was settled, the controversy was not. The editors of the DI were outraged at the CSA action and printed an editorial reiterating the stance that, "as a part of our culture . . . the blackface minstrel show is harmless."⁷⁶ This white ethnocentric attitude was reinforced by the familiar ploy of switching the dispute from one of human rights and dignity to one of censorship: "We believe in prevention: we believe in fairness and open-mindedness. But 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 hate, legislation, and censorship."⁷⁷ Either the editors lacked any understanding of the issue, most likely because they had internalized caricatures of blacks as accurate, or, that the Dean of Students, Fred Turner who supervised the newspaper told the students what to print.⁷⁸ Regardless, the conflict was not resolved quickly

73. "It's My Opinion," Daily Illini, 13 April 1949.

74. Ibid.

75. "Blackface Shows Banned," Daily Illini, 14 January 1950.

76. "Censorship the Answer?" Daily Illini, 18 January 1950.

77. Ibid.

78. There is ample evidence that Dean of Students Fred Turner used his influence to sway (force) student opinion to be in keeping with his or the University's best interest. For example, he silenced the Daily Illini during the racially segregated locker room incident. Where once the editors and reporters had threatened to publicize the controversy if the locker rooms were not integrated with all due speed, suddenly, all evidence on that stance disappears after Turner had met with the student staff members.

but instead dragged on for months. The DI writers and editors, not concerned about bettering human relations, instead were advocating to keep the status quo.

As stated in the introduction of this dissertation, the minstrel show as a form of racial prejudice began in the North where its infestation spread before reaching the South. The powerful imagery of Jim Crow was born out of the farce and symbolized race relations found in Champaign-Urbana and the University of Illinois. Minstrel events sanctioned by tradition and perpetuated by whites' laughter were not episodic but instead pervasive transmitters and reflectors of hatred and ridicule over the generations. Minstrel shows were not only prevalent across the North, but also a part of University of Illinois social life. In 1928, the authors of perhaps the most famous book on Minstrelsy ("Gentlemen, Be Seated!"), wrote as their last sentence "this book is presented not as an obituary to minstrelsy, but as an advance notice of its permanent life."⁷⁹ This volume, laden with white supremacist doctrine, projected an accurate warning for those affiliated with the University of Illinois. As recently as the fall of 1988 it was publicized that parents of a campus fraternity performed such a skit at the fraternity's Dad's Day Banquet. The play was a spoof on elections, with a candidate named "Rabbi Jackman" (Reverend Jesse Jackson) running for "House Master" (President of the United States). The character carried a watermelon and spoke with the same kind of stereotypical language as minstrel actors forty years prior. According to an anonymous letter to the editors of the DI, "When confronted after the 'performance,' the parent who played Jackman insisted this was acceptable considering the humorous context and only became problematic when taken too seriously. He claimed he hadn't intended to offend anyone and had made sure there were no blacks in the area during the skit."⁸⁰ Thus, the use of black-face in a minstrel-show-like production to reflect the prevailing racial attitudes of those closely associated with the academic community was still employed.

Though the heyday of the black-face minstrel was in the nineteenth century, the beliefs,

79. Paskman and Spaeth, "Gentlemen, Be Seated!", 240.

80. Daily Illini, 21 November 1988.

stereotypes and disregard for human beings which minstrelsy transmitted were stubbornly perpetuated in town-and-gown on into the twentieth century not only in this particular genre of entertainment, but in everyday dealings between whites and blacks. Obstinate to change were various factions of this Northern University who, rather than enlightened leaders, were the obstructors of those who struggled for racial justice.

Private for Whites

Minstrelsy was symbolic of the racial attitudes in this Northern town-and-gown community; the controversy surrounding the University-sanctioned minstrel show is illustrative of other community battles fought between those who desired to change the Jim Crow system and those who wanted to keep the status quo in tact. More and more groups and individuals began to publicly object to the unequal treatment of African-Americans in various Twin Cities institutions. These groups began to chip away at the Jim Crow practices in community public accommodations. It was, however, a long and constant battle as Jim Crow prescription pervaded virtually every public accommodation in Champaign-Urbana throughout the post-World War II era and beyond.

African-Americans were not allowed in the community's public and privately owned recreation facilities. For example, blacks were not allowed in Champaign's roller rink, nor were they permitted to bowl in local bowling alleys.⁸¹ Blacks were also prohibited from the swimming pools at both the public one in Urbana's Crystal Lake Park, and the "private" one located in the McKinley Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) facility in Champaign.⁸² Due to efforts of S-CIC and affiliates the exclusionary treatment at Urbana's pool was protested, and the whites only custom was officially abolished.⁸³ Blacks were excluded from membership at the

81. League of Women Voters, "League Report," 51.

82. Ibid., 47-48.

83. Mrs. Frances Snell to Friend, 4 August 1947, Harry M. Tiebout Papers, 15/16/21, Box 7, File "S-CIC Urbana Swimming Pool Summer 1947," University of Illinois Archives.

at the Champaign YMCA as they were also barred from membership at the Champaign Country Club.⁸⁴ When asked if he could enjoy the Country Club facilities after working his shift, black wait person Sandy Jordan explained, "I'm telling you, colored couldn't go there, because that was private for whites . . . they had coloreds just working there."⁸⁵ Jordan's statement was illustrative of the work verses leisure-time customs prescribed for blacks in these cities; blacks could serve whites, but could not recreate at the same facilities with them.

The Barbershop Situation

Also reserved for whites were service-oriented establishments. For example, Campustown barbershops refused to serve black customers until protestors wore them down in 1954.⁸⁶ Although the effects of Jim Crow pools and clubs were degrading and unfair, the barbershop situation was threatening and dangerous. Area groups concerned with promoting racially equitable treatment began to protest this unfair situation. A mass meeting was scheduled for protestors and barbers to express their views on barbershop discrimination. During the course of the assembly, barbers made outrageous statements in defense of their Jim Crow exclusionary practices. For example, area barber representative George Attebery proclaimed that, "as far as the law was concerned, we'd better remember that a man with a razor in his hand shouldn't be monkeyed with."⁸⁷

Indeed, it was reported that if blacks entered these campus establishments, they were refused service or subject to dangerous harassment, insults, and humiliation. Some barbers would

84. League of Women Voters, "League Report," 47.

85. Sandy Jordan interview transcript, 9. Black Oral History Project, Box 332, Urbana Free Library Archives.

86. Harry M. Tiebout, "History of the Barbershop Problem," 1, Harry M. Tiebout Papers, Series 15/16/21, Box 3, File "S-CHRC Barber Shop Project (Minutes, Photographs) 1954," University of Illinois Archives.

87. Harry M. Tiebout, "Preliminary Draft of the Barber Shop Story: 1952-54," 8, Harry M. Tiebout Papers, Series 15/16/21, Box 3, File "S-CHRC Barber Shop Project (Minutes, Photographs) 1954," University of Illinois Archives.

close down their shops if an African-American attempted to enter.⁸⁸ If a black were to enter and ask for a cut, barber Lee Ingwerson spoke for his colleagues when he said that, "we try to embarrass him so much he'll never come back."⁸⁹ In the half a dozen cases where white barbers served black patrons, the haircuts given were for the styles of the time disconcertingly unsatisfactory. This tactic, along with threats and door slams, served as yet another method used to keep blacks out.⁹⁰ It was Ingwerson who defensively proclaimed that he would "shave the next one bald that came in."⁹¹

The barber's forthright aversion and discriminatory behavior towards prospective black clientele was rationalized with a myriad of justifications. For example, when pressed as to why he would not cut the hair of an African-American, it was reported that barber Clarence King "went into a long story about how it was like cutting steel wool, that Negroes' hair would ruin the clippers, and how he was an old man and was too tired to do extra work."⁹² There were more excuses. These ranged from rationales like "if Negroes were Christians, they wouldn't try to get haircuts," to the reported excuse given by Les Smith, if people knew "that he would serve Negroes . . . the other barbers would think he needed Negroes, because he didn't have enough business."⁹³ One barber claimed he'd have to go back to barber school and learn new skills, and further he asked, "Who would support his wife and children while he was learning how to cut Negroes' hair?"⁹⁴ Without giving themselves the opportunity to work with black patrons, these barbers and their colleagues acted in a manner that suggested they actually believed that the

88. Tiebout, "Preliminary Draft," 19.

89. *Ibid.*, 5.

90. Tiebout, "History of the Barbershop Problem," 1-2.

91. Tiebout, "Preliminary Draft," 10.

92. Tiebout, "History of the Barbershop Problem," 4.

93. Tiebout, "Preliminary Draft," 6, 4.

94. *Ibid.*, 6.

African-American hair was liked the stuff portrayed by Minstrel Show kitsch.

Prejudicial treatment was directed by Campustown barbers towards black University students and townspeople alike. Paul Hursey, Sr., recalled with irony that "you couldn't get haircuts out here. You're here at school, this allegedly is one of the greater universities in the United States or in the world and just being a student here be denied those kinds of opportunities."⁹⁵ In sum, Jim Crow was dangerously alive and well in area barbershops.

In the face of hostile opposition, S-CIC (later changing their name to Student-Community Human Relations Committee [S-CHRC]), the campus YMCA, University faculty members, clergy persons and others organized a more extensive campaign to fight barbershop discrimination.⁹⁶ In addition to meetings with campustown barbers, activists of the organizations interviewed State's Attorney John Bresee twice (in October and November 1953), urging him to take legal action against these illegal customs. Bresee would not, replying that only as a last resort, "would he file suit."⁹⁷ A result of constant pressure, by late December, two barbers did serve black patrons, yet most held out. This was in spite of the plea to serve blacks issued by a representative of the international barber's union.⁹⁸ Negotiations continued, and Bresee was asked again in February and again in March of 1954 to "enforce the law."⁹⁹ But, according to a report compiled by Professor and Civil Rights activist Harry M. Tiebout, "Mr. Bresee did not take any steps to enforce the law."¹⁰⁰ Tiebout's report continued:

95. Paul Stanley Hursey, Sr., interview transcript, 13, Black Oral History Project, Box 332, Urbana Free Library Archives.

96. Harry M. Tiebout, "The History of the Student-Community Human Relations Council (S-CHRC) Also the Student-Community Interracial Committee (S-CIC)," 1, Black Local History, Box 333, File "Tiebout Papers," Urbana Free Library Archives.

97. Harry M. Tiebout, "History of the Barbershop Problem," 1, Harry M. Tiebout Papers, Series 15/16/21, Box 3, File "S-CHRC Barber Shop Project," University of Illinois Archives.

98. Tiebout, "Barbershop Problem," 1.

99. Ibid.

100. Ibid.

On March 17, 1954, S-CHRC voted to picket all barbershops that refused to serve Negroes. George Meany, president of AFofL was notified. On March 21, 1954, President Morey received telegram from the international union urging him to prevent picketing. On March 22, Messrs. Bresee, Ewers, and two SCHRC members conferred. SCHRC agreed to call off the picketing and to cease any further action against any barber shop discriminating after that date.¹⁰¹

Test cases and negotiations continued until Rev. Theodore Funk was, on 26 April 1954, "allegedly assaulted and battered by a barber."¹⁰² The area newspapers ran the story on April 30 and on the next day, barber's attorney C. E. Tate "announced that all campus area barbers would cut Negroes' hair."¹⁰³ The shops were tested by black activists. All served except for Ingwerson.¹⁰⁴ According to Tiebout's report, "He refused two Negroes, gave two unsatisfactory haircuts--accompanied by verbal abuse. One of his barbers gave two extremely unsatisfactory haircuts, and also allegedly assaulted and battered a white student."¹⁰⁵ With a lawsuit on his hands, one of Ingwerson's barbers gave a black patron a good cut, whereupon S-CHRC urged the barbers that the issue could now be settled out of court. Yet, by fall 1954, "John's, Rudy's, Studio and Campus barber shops were discriminating" again.¹⁰⁶ Bresee was approached again, and again he refused to file suit.¹⁰⁷ Picketing resumed and finally, by November 5, 1954, all shops served blacks except for Ingwerson.¹⁰⁸

Using a variety of methods over an extended period of time, civil rights activists risked much to rectify this dangerous racial situation. Battling not only barbers, activists battled also State's Attorney Bresee who in effect sided with the barbers with his stubborn and racist inaction.

101. Tiebout, "Barbershop Problem," 1.

102. Ibid., 2.

103. Ibid.

104. Ibid.

105. Ibid.

106. Ibid.

107. Ibid.

108. Ibid.

Theatre Jim Crow Row

If blacks were not altogether banned from public accommodations, they were allowed use on a segregated basis only. Up through the late 1940s, all theatres except the Co-Ed in Campustown maintained Jim Crow sections in which blacks were required to sit either in the rear or balcony areas.¹⁰⁹ "Oh yes," said Bernice Brightwell, "it was segregated yes, in the Rialto Theatre, and the Orpheum, and the Virginia were the three best theatres here at the time. And remember you had to sit up in--we called it Jim Crow Row upstairs in the Rialto Theatre. And in the Orpheum you had to sit back in one little section, and the Virginia you had to sit up in the balcony."¹¹⁰ If patrons were unaware of the particular segregationist custom at each theatre, or, if they did not sit in Jim Crow row, they were subject to harassment. Stated Brightwell, "they had youngsters--they had a fight one night about that. Three black boys, they forced their way in and sat where they wanted to. Yes, segregation was real bad here. I mean for a Northern town."¹¹¹ In addition to being segregated, the view from Jim Crow row was often less than satisfactory. "If you went to the movies," said Sandy Jordan, "they'd put you down on the lower floor, next right up there--right up where you couldn't see no picture."¹¹²

When Jim Crow practices were defied by a would-be patron, black or white, the challenger was harassed, forced out of the theatre or subject to arrest. When they focused their efforts to test the extent of racial discrimination in the establishments members of S-CIC experienced a variety of tactics used by the owners and operators of Twin Cities

109. League of Women Voters, "League Report," 48.

110. Bernice Brightwell interview transcript, 20; Black Oral History Project, Box 332, Urbana Free Library Archives.

111. Ibid.

112. Sandy Jordan interview transcript, 9; Black Oral History Project, Box 332, Urbana Free Library Archives.

theatres.¹¹³ S-CIC members James and Frances Snell (both white) described their experience at the Orpheum Theatre in May, 1947. After entering the establishment, the couple sat in the middle of the theatre, found the picture screen to be too close for comfortable viewing, then moved to seats in the rear. According to the Snells, "The manager said we would 'Have to move.' He said that it was 'reserved for the colored people.' He said, 'I have enough trouble without you starting trouble.' He was extremely persistent, he spent some time repeating this sentiment to us. Finally he became so indignant that we moved rather than cause a scene."¹¹⁴ So firm was the practice of segregation that whites as well as blacks had to comply, else suffer embarrassing consequences.

Throughout the year, S-CIC was tenacious in maintaining test tries and pressuring local theatre owners and operators. Many test tries later, Paul W. Daniels testified about his treatment in an affidavit dated 26 June 1948. Daniels disclosed how he refused to sit in the section of the theatre designated for blacks.

113. The following people submitted notarized affidavits which signified that they had been discriminated against according to race in a Twin Cities' movie house: Emmett W. Bashful, 6 May 1947, Rialto Theatre; Paul W. Daniels, 26 June 1948, Rialto Theatre; Peggy Stewart, 7 December 1946, Rialto Theatre; Joseph A. Hobbs, 19 November 1946, Rialto Theatre; Charles E. Chambers, 21 May 1947, Orpheum Theatre; Lotte Fertel Glicker, 26 January 1947, RKO Theatre; James Snell, 9 December 1946, Rialto Theatre; Frances Snell, 9 December 1946, Rialto Theatre; Edward L. Bolden, Jr., 9 December 1946, Rialto Theatre; Gerald Mose, 7 December 1946, RKO Orpheum; Bert V. Watkins, 28 June 1948, Rialto Theatre; Orville A. Mix, Jr., 5 December 1946, Orpheum Theatre; George Ehrlich, 6 December 1946, Rialto Theatre; James A. Schmitt, 3 December 1946, Rialto Theatre; Melvin P. Straus, 3 December 1946, Rialto Theatre; Mrs. R.C. Bourgin, 7 December 1946, RKO Orpheum; Paul Lasakow, 5 December 1946, RKO Orpheum; Esther Landin, 7 December 1947, RKO Orpheum; Harold Asher, 18 January 1947, RKO Orpheum Theatre; Seymour Covenson, 18 January 1947, RKO Orpheum Theatre; Albert Shanker, 18 January 1947, RKO Orpheum Theatre; Mrs. Ingleborg Moser, 5 May 1947, RKO Orpheum Theatre; Irene Pickett, 10 May 1947, RKO Orpheum Theatre. All from Harry M. Tiebout Papers, Series 15/16/21, Box 3, File "S-CIC Theatre Affidavits 1946-48," University of Illinois Archives. Note: some of these names are rather catchy; examples include the likes of Emmett W. Bashful, Seymour Covenson, and Orville A. Mix. It might be highly probable that some of the students used an alias when filing their affidavits to protect themselves against endangering their academic careers from people like Dean of Students Fred H. Turner. Other names including the Snells and George Ehrlich, are adults and/or professors.

114. Frances Snell and James Snell sworn affidavit, 26 June, 1948, Harry M. Tiebout Papers, Series 15/16/21, Box 3, File "S-CIC Theatre Affidavits 1946-48," University of Illinois Archives.

When I did not go upstairs the ticket taker called the ushers, and five of the usher force blocked my path. A city policeman, Patrolman Decker, badge No. 57 of the Champaign force was called into the theatre. He was told to arrest me and three of the ushers were swearing to the fact that I had pushed one of them. When there was no definite proof of my being disorderly, the agent, one Clark, absolutely refused to let me go into the Theatre and handed the ticket back and he and the policeman refused to let me in the Theatre.¹¹⁵

Lies, force, and the police were used to enforce movie house segregation, even if it meant that the law enforcement officer violated the very law he was, in theory, sworn to enforce.

The owners could not claim that they were unaware of the Illinois Criminal Code which forbade segregation in movie theatres as in April, 1948, S-CIC member George Ehrlich wrote a letter to owners, advising them of the Code.¹¹⁶ Ehrlich's letter warned that if the civil rights violations continue, the matter will be referred to State's Attorney Bresee "who is empowered to enforce the law cited."¹¹⁷ Surprisingly, in light of Bresee's Civil Rights track record, it is recorded that Bresee did confer with owners in March.¹¹⁸ Theatre owners and their supporters, however, still did not take Ehrlich's letter or the State's Attorney's conference seriously. Perhaps they were aware of Bresee's previous refusals to prosecute Civil Rights violators. The League of Women Voters knew. In their 1948 report, it was stated that "no instances could be found, in the last 27 years, of the state's attorney or police taking the initiative in investigating violations of the law, indicating that such action is not expected of them by the community."¹¹⁹ With persistence, and with no help from law enforcement agencies, S-CIC eventually wore down theatre operators to the point where they were at least not so strict in their enforcement of Jim Crow policies. The League Report on theatre segregationist practices concluded with, "until

115. Daniels sworn affidavit, 26 June 1948.

116. George Ehrlich to Rialto Theatre Manager, 20 April 1948, Harry M. Tiebout Papers, Series 15/16/21, File "Theatre Affidavits 1946-48," University of Illinois Archives.

117. Ehrlich to Rialto Theatre Manager, 20 April 1948.

118. Cathie Huntoon, "The University of Illinois and the Drive for Negro Equality, 1945-1951," 17, Library, Public Services Papers, Series 35/3/18, File "The University of Illinois and the Drive for Negro Equality, 1945-1951, Cathie Huntoon, History Grad," University of Illinois Archives.

119. League of Women Voters, "League Report," 51.

recently all movie theatres except the Co-Ed required Negroes to sit in certain sections at the side or in the rear of the balcony, . . . [yet] there are still some attempts to carry out this practice."¹²⁰

Rooms for Whites Only

Black performers who played for these Twin Cities audiences were also forced to accept Jim Crow practices. Black guest artists were not allowed to change their clothes for performances in Twin Cities auditorium dressing rooms; instead, they changed at the Douglass Community Center.¹²¹ Taylor Thomas described this practice, stating:

We used it . . . as a dressing room for entertainers when they would come. . . . We had Cootie Williams, and Dinah Washington, and we had a number of--oh, Duke Ellington, Mercer Ellington and his band. Of course he's the one that directs Duke Ellington's band now. He's Duke Ellington's son, and he was there with his band. We had a number of different entertainers like that, and some of the ladies who were singing or something, and so they might have wanted to change, so we'd open the library, [located in the same facility] shut the door and let them dress in the library.¹²²

This kind of treatment was hardly different than that which black entertainers experienced in the South. Although it was appropriate for blacks to entertain whites, it was not appropriate for them to use the dressing rooms in the same theatres.

It is hardly surprising that if black performers were not allowed to change clothes in local auditorium dressing rooms, they, as were all other blacks, prohibited from renting hotel rooms. When the University contracted black artists to perform, the University of Illinois Star Course Committee would often call members of S-CIC to find last-minute housing for the invited artists.¹²³ The activist group would then make arrangements for the performers to stay in private homes. This meant that in addition to the perpetual "No Vacancy" sign they experienced in Champaign and Urbana hotels and motels, blacks, even distinguished invited guests of the

120. League of Women Voters, "League Report," 48.

121. Ibid.

122. Thomas interview transcript, 39.

123. Huntoon, "The Drive for Negro Equality," 27.

University were not permitted to lodge at the Illini Union. Evidently, by 1948, one hotel--The Ford--did allow the Pearl Primus Dance Group to stay, only with S-CIC later "protesting the treatment" that the hotel paid the black patrons.¹²⁴

Jim Crow Dining

Just as blacks were forbidden to lodge in nearly all public accommodations in Champaign, Urbana and campustown through the post-World War II era, so too were they forbidden to eat in nearly all restaurants, cafes, drug stores, taverns, and other eating establishments. These racial practices were much like local barbershops and movie theatres in that blacks frequently did not know what to expect in each individual establishment. For example, Mildred Allen recalled a disturbingly embarrassing situation which occurred in a rare Champaign establishment that had originally allowed black patronage:

We girls used to on Sunday afternoon, after Sunday School closed about 4:00--a little after 4:00 p.m.--we'd go to Vriner's Confectionery and Mr. Vriner, that was the man himself, he would let us in and we'd sit there for maybe an hour or an hour and a half. . . . So one Saturday, it was in the summer, the door was open and you could hear some people talking and swearing and we [sic], "we" should be "they"] was coming underneath the viaduct there. Of course, I didn't pay any attention, but they must have glanced in and saw us sitting there because the next Sunday when we went back Mr. Vriner had the door locked and the shade down. Well we couldn't understand it. So finally before we got ready to leave he said, "Hurry in girls, hurry up quick!" So we went in and so finally he came at the door and he said "listen girls I'm sorry," he said, "but you girls can't come in here anymore." He said, "Now you girls have been acting like ladies, but these other Negroes that's coming in up from the south," he said the same thing, "They're dirty, they're loud, and their language is."¹²⁵

Vriner seemed to fear that whites would associate Allen and her friends with an alleged group of dirty, loud, rowdy blacks. As a consequence, he felt his white customers would not patronize his confectionery. Though Vriner himself may not have been prejudiced against blacks, discrimination was nevertheless the end result. The fear of losing white customers was placed above Illinois law. In this situation, Allen did not have the luxury of learning of Vriner's change

124. Huntoon, "The Drive for Negro Equality," 27.

125. Mildred Allen interview transcript, 7, Black Oral History Project, Box 332, Urbana Free Library Archives.

in policy before entering which would have spared her some of the outrage and confusion she may have experienced after church on that particular Sunday. Instead, she became a direct participant in the discriminatory events, turned away because her skin was the same color as "those Negroes that's coming up from the South."

Vriner turned away his once faithful patrons at the door. Considering the times, he was rather considerate. More frequently blacks would enter an establishment, seat themselves, and then be told to leave. Paul Hursey experienced this, and in explaining the differences between Northern and Southern racism, declared that "in the South you clearly knew what to do. In the North, they'll let you off into a restaurant . . . only for the purpose of telling you after you get ready to sit down that 'We don't serve black people in this restaurant.' Well, in the South you knew that."¹²⁶ To Hursey, honest Southern consistency, even in Jim Crow, was better than Northern dishonest uncertainty.

Other Champaign-Urbana eateries had still different practices. For example, Skelton's Drugs had a "policy of serving Negroes in the booths but not at the fountain."¹²⁷ Recalling his experience in Skelton's Drugs, Sidney Freedman described the May 1946 events:

I sat down at the counter, one seat away from Mason Wilkes, a Negro. The rest of the seats at the fountain were occupied by white people. After sitting for a few minutes, William Skelton walked over and said some thing to Mason. At the same time, Maurice Skelton came up to me and said, "See that sign? (it was a sign which read 'We reserve the rgg [sic, right] to seat our customers'). We are within our legal rights. We are not going to serve him at this counter, and we never will. I spoke to the States' Attorney about it and he says we're O.K." He repeated the last sentence as Wilkes and I left. Everyone else at the counter was being taken care of satisfactorily.¹²⁸

"The Right to Seat Customers," was not a courtesy statement as might be supposed. Instead, it announced that owners and personnel assumed the right to discriminate along racial (and other) lines. This practice, of course, violated the Illinois civil rights law whether Skelton received

126. Paul Stanley Hursey, Sr., interview transcript, 12-13.

127. Freedman sworn affidavit, 28 May 1946, Harry M. Tiebout Papers, Series 15/16/21, Box 3, File "S-CIC Restaurants (Campus) Affidavits 1946-47," University of Illinois Archives.

128. Freedman sworn affidavit, 28 May 1946.

permission from the State's Attorney or not. Friedman's was not only yet another example of the helter-skelter brand of racism endured in Champaign-Urbana, but a further apparent instance where the State's Attorney office was aware of and allowed blatant violation of Illinois law.

Because of the community's unequal practices in the food service industry, it was true for at least one individual that to experience the modest pleasure of being served a milkshake, he had to order one in a southern state. The account provided by Taylor Thomas shows how racial prejudice adversely affected all African-Americans, regardless of age. Stated Thomas:

The trip to Louisville was also the first time I ever had had a chocolate milkshake. In Champaign there wasn't any place we could get a milkshake. In Champaign we could not go in any place to eat, and there were no black businesses because of the smallness of the black community. So, I was actually a senior in high school, and in Louisville, Kentucky, before I ever got a milkshake, which I dearly love!¹²⁹

Thomas was denied the simple delight of being served a milkshake in the Land of Lincoln and instead tasted his first in the land of Dixie. Though Thomas this particular event occurred in the late 1920s, the post-World War II era brought little or no change to Champaign, Urbana, or the campus, emphasizing again the continuation of deeply-entrenched Jim Crow practices.

University Jim Crow Dining

Again, that which was true for local and visiting blacks held true for black University students. According to Chief Clerk Lee, President Alfred C. Willard asked "the Trustees for an appropriation of \$2,025 on 29 January 1937 for the purpose of establishing an [sic] low cost eating service for 'certain groups of students,' who are at present unable to patronize public restaurants and private boarding houses because of financial and other circumstances, secure wholesome and adequate meals at low cost."¹³⁰ For at least a semester, an eating cooperative was established

129. Thomas in Rose Mame Owens, "The Effects of School Desegregation on the Black Community in Urbana," Masters Thesis, University of Illinois, 1976.

130. Emphasis in text. Albert R. Lee, "Presidents I Have Known," 20, Albert Lee Papers, Series 2/6/21, Box 1, File "University Presidents I Have Known at Illinois August 1942," University of Illinois Archives.

for the "certain group of students" on Wright Street.¹³¹ For a brief time this eating cooperative was run by students for all students regardless of race.

Dean of Students Fred H. Turner objected to the integrated eating venture and in a letter dated 24 June 1936, advised Willard to put an end to it by opening "a small section of the Women's Building cafeteria for three meals a day for the specific purpose of taking care of the negroes."¹³² Turner further explained to the President that "there was a great deal of unfavorable criticism passed around among townspeople who simply could not understand the apparent social relationships which were being built up in the Wright Street place between individuals of different races, particularly inter negro and white, and inter negro and Jewish associations."¹³³ Willard discussed the Turner recommendations with Dean H. W. Mumford (under whose auspices the Women's Building fell) and as a result Mumford had convinced the President that the meal service in the Women's Building should not be expanded.¹³⁴

It is not altogether clear whether the co-op remained open as no references of its existence by students or townspeople has been found. What is clear is that Willard wrote to Turner asking the Dean of Students to "give . . . such suggestions as you feel desirable" to the co-op operators regarding the operation of the co-op venture.¹³⁵ Willard made this request with the knowledge that Turner was sympathetic to the segregationist views of the community. In effect, Willard sanctioned a practice that supported the racially unfair practices desired by white townspeople.

During the immediate years following the University officials' integrated dining

131. Turner to Willard, 24 June 1936, Arthur C. Willard Papers, Series 2/9/1, Box 15, File "Turner, Fred H.," University of Illinois Archives.

132. Ibid.

133. Ibid.

134. President to Turner, 16 July 1936, Arthur C. Willard Papers, Series 2/9/1, Box 15, File "Turner, Fred H.," University of Illinois Archives.

135. Ibid.

controversy, the newly-constructed Illini Union Building began to serve the University-community with the Willard-mandated "establishment therein of an eating service where all students regardless of race or color or nationality could eat a well prepared, wholesome meal at a reasonable cost."¹³⁶ By custom, not allowed to eat in any campustown location, through the late 1940s the Union Building became the only place on campus where black students could buy a meal.¹³⁷

With campus restaurants closed to them, black students had to either eat in the Union, or leave campus to consume meals. Bernice Brightwell recalled that during this time her mother would tend to these students' needs. According to Brightwell,

My mother used to feed alot [sic] of students, they were hungry. This young man. . . he used to call my mother mom. He said, "Us from the Kappa House always knew where to go on Sunday afternoon, we'd go over to moms and she'd have those big fat rolls of hers, and she'd always know we were hungry--and said sit down and eat boys, I know you're hungry."¹³⁸

Black students, forbidden to live in official University dormitories or campus fraternity and sorority houses which served staff-prepared meals, had to fend for themselves for sustenance and were fortunate indeed if they knew "Mom."

Campus Community: Obstinate to Change

In 1946, S-CIC initiated a series of actions in an effort to end the injustices served by local restauranteurs. Demonstrating a certain level of commitment towards equal treatment towards blacks, a segment of both town-and-gown cooperated with the interracial committee by signing S-CIC petitions that demanded anti-discriminatory practices. Letters of resolution condemning discriminatory practices, signed by over 50 houses and organizations, were then sent

136. Lee, "Presidents I Have Known," 20.

137. Hursey interview transcript, 13.

138. Brightwell interview transcript, 21.

to campus restaurant owners along with the petitions.¹³⁹ The campus owners were then asked by S-CIC representatives to sign statements in which they would pledge nondiscrimination. Though some of the restaurant owners signed the statement, six refused. Those who refused were the owners and operators of Todd's Cafe, Hagen's Steak House, Bidwell's Confectionery, Skelton's Drugs, Campus Steak-N-Shake, and Steak-N-Shake Drive-In.¹⁴⁰ S-CIC then collected the affidavits filed by individuals who experienced discrimination in test cases in the six campus restaurants.¹⁴¹ This data was then presented to State's Attorney Bresee whereupon Bresee promised he would send letters of warning to the alleged violators.¹⁴² The discrimination did not stop.¹⁴³ In June, 1946, S-CIC picketed the offending establishments. The pickets included 90 students and faculty who carried signs of protest and distributed handbills that urged students and townspeople to patronize only restaurants whose operators did not discriminate.¹⁴⁴

In July 1946, Bresee stalled by announcing that he would agree to seek injunctions against those campus restaurants accused of racial discrimination when the courts opened in

139. Huntoon, "The Drive for Negro Equality," 11.

140. *Ibid.*

141. The following is a list of individuals who filed sworn affidavits regarding racial discrimination in restaurants: Sidney Freedman, Skelton Drugstore; Melvin Humphrey, Bidwell's; James Nigel Murray, Jr., Bidwell's; Virginia E. Murray, Bidwell's; John M. Wells, Bidwell's; James J. Seaberry, Bidwell's; Kurt Schelinger, Bidwell's; Philip Schug, Bidwell's; Irene Dauson, Hagen's; Helen F. Wesley, Hagen's; Mrs. Rose Bourgin, Hagen's; Marion McMEn, Hagen's; Natalie Newman, Hagen's; Eloise Ellison, Hagen's; Juliet Regensberg, Hagen's; Paul Bert, Hagen's; Hildren Lucus, Hagen's; Marie Hochmuth, Hagen's; Hubert J. Doran, Hagen's; Lila Wenig Litchinger, Hagen's; Charles Gaines, Skelton's Drugs; Gerald M. Moser, Skelton's Drugs; Ruby Wispe, Skelton's Drugs; Edith Usry, Skelton's Drugs; Ellen A. Frazer, DeLuxe; Harold Barefield, DeLuxe; Morris Rubin, DeLuxe; Richard A. Overly, DeLuxe; Sydney Bild, DeLuxe; Gerald M. Moses, DeLuxe; Helen F. Wesley, Todd's Cafe; Eloise Ellison, Todd's Cafe; Verna C. Volz, Steak-N-Shake; Minnie Coon Wisegarner, Steak-N-Shake; Smith Wisegarner, Steak-N-Shake; Eloise Ellison, Steak-N-Shake; Helen F. Wesley, Steak-N-Shake; Charles Shattuck, Steak-N-Shake; Frances Gulich, Steak-N-Shake. All in Harry M. Tiebout Papers, Series 15/16/21, Box 3, File "S-CIC Restaurants (Campus) Affidavits 1946-47," University of Illinois Archives.

142. Huntoon, "The Drive For Negro Equality," 11-12.

143. *Ibid.*, 12.

144. *Ibid.*



Photo 4.1. Students picketing Steak-N-Shake, Summer 1946. (Source: S-CIC Restaurants (Campus) Clippings and Photographs Scrapbook, 1946, Series 15/16/21, Box 3, Harry Tiebout Papers).

September.¹⁴⁵ S-CIC apparently gave little credence to Bresee's statement. On July 26 they resumed picketing and also began to raise money for S-CIC-initiated lawsuits.¹⁴⁶ During this same week in July, a cross was set on fire on the lawn of Champaign's segregated, nearly 100 percent black Lawhead Elementary School.¹⁴⁷

The violent display of hostility through the cross-burning on the lawn of a children's building was a warning to those who tried to combat racially discriminatory practices. As demonstrated by Dean of Students Fred H. Turner, however, hostility of a more egregious kind was also felt by the S-CIC activists. S-CIC member Mrs. Schacht reported on the nature of Turner's opposition to the committee's efforts:

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 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 sure they filled every minute detail of making sure they only walked a certain distance back and forth in front of the place they 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.¹⁴⁸

Note in the Photo 4.2 how the student who has the handbills was standing on the "certain spot." Apparently designed to wear down and defeat the university students who were involved in the quest for justice this form of antagonism was only one way used by University officials.

Turner's antagonism towards individuals and groups who sought to promote positive race relations began even before S-CIC came into being. The birth of the Student-Community Interracial Committee resulted when Fred Turner rejected a petition submitted by university student Charles Ellis Gaines (dated 3 April 1945) who represented a group of students who

145. Huntoon, "The Drive for Negro Equality," 13.

146. Ibid., 12.

147. Ibid., 14.

148. Ibid., 21-22.



Photo 4.2. Students picketing Skelton's Drugs, Summer 1946. (Source: S-CIC Restaurants (Campus) Clippings and Photographs Scrapbook, 1946, Series 15/16/21, Box 3, Harry Tiebout Papers.)

desired permission to organize a campus chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).¹⁴⁹ Gaines's request was denied. No evidence can be found delineating Turner's reasons except that Gaines was aware that Turner did not submit the petition to the Student Affairs Committee which ordinarily discussed such requests.¹⁵⁰ This denial comes as little surprise, however, as this University had previously sanctioned the student chapter of the KKK. A determined and ingenious Gaines worked around the university system and became one of the founders of S-CIC, which, as a community group did not require the Dean of Student's approval.¹⁵¹ Nevertheless, Turner monitored the affairs of the committee.

After the Student-Community Interracial Committee was officially created, Turner's office kept files of newspaper clippings of stories regarding S-CIC acts of protest. In each article the names of the University students (and others) who participated in protesting racial discrimination were underlined.¹⁵² As has already been documented, it was well-known to protesters that Turner watched closely the behavior of those he felt were subversive. They may not have known, however, that the information gained by Turner's scrutiny was not just for University use. Directly after S-CIC first picketed campus restaurants, Turner wrote the officer in charge of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in Springfield, Illinois, D. W. Traynor. In his June 1946 report to the FBI, Turner wrote:

It has all been very quiet and without any trouble. In general the business houses have not suffered any losses in trade and apparently the campus looks at the whole thing with a certain amount of tolerant amusement. The pickets themselves seem to be rather typical of the sort of people you would expect to do this sort of thing. There are a few

149. Charles Ellis Gaines, Student Petition, 3 April 1945, Fred H. Turner Papers, Series 41/1/1, Box 7, File "Interracial Relations," University of Illinois Archives.

150. Gaines to Gobie, 19 February 1948, Nonacademic Personnel Director's Papers, Series 36/6/1, Box 5, File "Racial Discrimination 1948-1961," University of Illinois Archives.

151. Ibid.

152. See, for example, file contents in Fred H. Turner Papers, Series 41/1/1, Box 7, File "Interracial Relations," University of Illinois Archives.

colored boys and girls, a sprinkling of veterans, and a large number of Jewish girls.¹⁵³

In flippant style—as if he were writing a recipe—Turner stereotyped those who picketed. Most damaging, however, was that this information was submitted to the FBI. As the Dean of Students of the University of Illinois, Turner had virtually unlimited access to all types of records, materials, and private information on students. In a flagrant breach of trust, Turner used his position to spy on students (and also townspeople) in ways that violated their rights of privacy, free speech, and academic freedom.

Turner included more in his letter to FBI officer Traynor. In addition to S-CIC, there was another group on campus who stood for democratic freedom called the American Youth for Democracy (AYD). Turner wrote, "Following our discussion of last week I was able to secure the latest list of the members of the local group of American Youth for Democracy. We are having an analysis made and I will send you a copy of this in the near future. The membership has increased materially within the year and nearly 80 members are reported at this time."¹⁵⁴ Turner had no moral qualms in securing and analyzing information regarding student lifestyles for the FBI. Apparently, he did not see his affiliation with the FBI as conflicting with the interests of his role as Dean of Students. At the very least, as an agent representing the university, Turner's actions (both covert and overt) did not support or promote racial justice.

Instead, Turner's actions and attitudes most likely gave comfort to the local merchants who felt they were justified in discriminating along racial lines. Indicative of the ferocity with which these certain restauranteurs held to their discriminatory ways, it was reported that Merle Todd, owner of Todd's Cafe, stated, "if there was suit brought against him, he would fight it through all the courts if it took 15 years."¹⁵⁵ For Todd, as for his counterparts, exclusionary and

153. Turner to Traynor, 5 June 1946, Fred H. Turner Papers, Series 41/1/1, Box 7, File "Interracial Relations," University of Illinois Archives.

154. Ibid.

155. Merle Todd in University of Illinois Daily *Illini*, "Inter-Racial Committee Pickets 6 Restaurants; Dickerson Pledges Aid," 5 June 1946.

segregative treatment took precedence over the law.

The problem of racial discrimination in Champaign–Urbana restaurants was so widely known that the situation was featured in an editorial in the Chicago North Side Star on 14 August 1946. The editorial stated that "on the crowded campus the effort to keep Negro students out of the public restaurants is equivalent to trying to starve them, because food facilities are very limited in the Twin Cities."¹⁵⁶ It was also pointed out that many of those who were discriminated against fought in World War II. Said the Star, "The students and the townspeople are getting a real lesson in practical democracy in having to live through and fight out the hard fact that the war for democracy didn't bring it in steaming on a silver platter."¹⁵⁷ Through the tenacious and fighting efforts of S-CIC, the restaurant situation did finally improve. By September 1946, Campus establishments served blacks and whites together. Downtown eateries in both Champaign and Urbana were more reluctant, but eventually they too improved as fewer reports of discrimination were reported and filed.

Illini Union Jim Crow Locker Rooms

Though blacks were served meals at the Illini Union, there was still a Jim Crow practice lurking behind the food service counter. As stated in the previous chapter, black and white kitchen workers were segregated by race by the type of work they performed as well as in consuming meals and in dressing. Ironically, when the Illini Union Building was built in 1942, University of Illinois President Arthur Cutts Willard proclaimed on its opening day that this building "symbolizes the democratic spirit of a great university . . . which it is hoped will furnish not only service but real inspiration for better living and a finer University to all who enter its

156. "No Silver Platter," North Side Sunday Star, 14 August 1946, Harry M. Tiebout Papers, Series 15/16/21, Box 3, File "S-CIC Restaurant (Campus) Clippings and Photographs Scrapbook 1946," University of Illinois Archives.

157. Ibid.

doors."¹⁵⁸ The Illini Union would provide a social center for students and faculty, and, would be "one of the most distinguished buildings of its kind in America."¹⁵⁹ Through an elaborate system of rationalizations and justifications which based the racially discriminatory actions on grounds other than race, University of Illinois officials maintained separate accommodations for the races in spite of their own 1946 Board of Trustee statement which called for the fair and equitable treatment of all and in spite of the 1937 Illinois Criminal Code which forbade segregation in public accommodations. By continually adapting and changing these rationalizations, they could perfect their methods of maintaining unfair practices while maintaining a belief, however unwarranted, in the integrity of laws and policies.

For University administrators, the problem was not segregation itself, for separation and subordination of the races was in keeping with deeply held values; rather, the problem was how to provide a "legitimate" rationalization of the discrepancy between seemingly non-racist policies and racially discriminatory practices. To justifiably maintain the segregated locker rooms, at least three separate tactics were adopted by officials in their efforts to create the illusion, for themselves and others, that their policy of equality was intact, even with the resultant unequal practice.

The case of the segregated locker rooms caught University administrators and officials in a hypocritical and thus uncomfortable situation. One method they used to put an end to dialogue between themselves and protest groups was to develop a none-of-your-business stance. This tactic was especially effective in silencing student organizations. For example, when the editors of the student newspaper Daily Illini became aware of the Jim Crow locker rooms, they were eager to run the story.¹⁶⁰ At the same time, the Student Senate was in the process of

158. Ralph Eckerstrom, "Ten Years," (Urbana, 1951), Illini Union 1926-1941 File, University of Illinois Archives.

159. Ibid.

160. Student Senate's Special Committee on Discrimination, James T. Mohan, Lois Link, Fred Ford, Herb Mendel, Guy Petty to V. L. Kretschmer, 12 July 1947; V. L. Kretschmer to George D. Stoddard, 26 July 1947; both in George D. Stoddard Papers, Series 2/10/1, Box 2, File "Illini Union

negotiating with officials towards the abolition of the discriminatory practice, and advised Daily Illini staff to reserve publicity as the last recourse.¹⁶¹ Yet, after five frustrating months of meetings, telephone conversations, and correspondence, both previously tenacious groups abruptly surrendered their cause. Suddenly, both groups relinquished their struggle for justice, and for both, the decision was announced directly on the heels of separate interchanges with Dean of Students Fred H. Turner. In an angry letter to President George D. Stoddard signifying the end of their efforts, the Student Senate reported, "In the conference with Dean Turner, which you recommended, we were told that the University administration's policy on the matter of segregation of Negro full-time employees of the Illini Union building seemed to be satisfactory to all parties 'vitaly' concerned. Students have only a passive interest."¹⁶² Contrary to the posture prescribed to them by Turner, the students were indeed "vitaly" concerned and did not have "only a passive interest." In this meeting, Turner succeeded in silencing a voice while committing a flagrant violation of official University policy with his convoluted reasoning regarding "the matter of segregation of Negro full-time employees."

With the Student Senate silenced, the Dean of Students turned next to the Student Press. In his report to President Stoddard on the status of the locker room controversy, Turner stated, "The last threat which the Student Senate made in regard to this was that unless the University did something about it, they would make it a matter of publicity in the Daily Illini. The editor of the Illini has already indicated to me that he has no intention of any further publicity in regard to this particular issue."¹⁶³ This carefully constructed statement was Turner's euphemistic way to assure the president that the press had been hushed. From this juncture on, dialogue with

Building," University of Illinois Archives.

161. Student Senate's Special Committee on Discrimination to Kretschmer, 12 July 1947.

162. Student Senate to President George D. Stoddard, 9 December 1947, George D. Stoddard Papers, Series 2/10/1, Box 27, File "Illini Union Building," University of Illinois Archives.

163. Fred H. Turner to President George D. Stoddard, 23 December 1947, George D. Stoddard Papers, Series 2/10/1, Box 27, File "Illini Union Building," University of Illinois Archives.

student-run organizations concerning the segregation within the building which supposedly symbolized "the democratic spirit of a great university" completely ceased.

Officials' tactics diversified as organizations with more power entered in protest. In a time when Truman popularized "The Buck Stops Here" as a model of operation to emulate, the University of Illinois defied the principle and took full advantage of the institutional bureaucracy, conveniently passing the buck both up and down the institutional hierarchy. The Student-Community Interracial Committee (S-CIC) closely monitored protest developments. When the Student Senate and Student Press were suppressed, S-CIC committed themselves to the matter, taking their complaints to Illini Union Building Manager V. L. Kretschmer.¹⁶⁴ Whereas in the past, Kretschmer was not in the habit of dodging responsibility concerning matters within his purview, he chose to do so this time.¹⁶⁵ In a letter to Stoddard which outlined the history of the students' efforts in the issue, S-CIC concluded, "We have talked with Mr. Kretschmer, but he disclaims authority in the matter and says he can only refer it to his superiors. No one seems willing to assume responsibility for this act of discrimination, or make any gesture to remove it."¹⁶⁶ Well-aware of the time-consuming and frustrating pass-the-buck strategy ploy, S-CIC sent the Stoddard letter to Illini Union Building Manager V. L. Kretschmer, Dean of Students Fred H. Turner, Assistant Dean of Students Peck, Physical Plant Manager C. S. Havens and the Board of Trustees so that all would receive the same message at the same time. A flurry of in-house correspondence ensued amongst these men and additional officials, and a new tactic was developed and formalized.¹⁶⁷ This time, instead of passing the buck amongst themselves, the

164. Taylor, Ehrlich, E. H. Shattuck to President George D. Stoddard, 17 December 1947, Harry M. Tiebout Papers, Series 15/16/21, Box 3, File "Illini Union Locker Rooms 1947-49, S-CIC File," University of Illinois Archives.

165. See, for example, Vernon L. Kretschmer to Mr. Mohan, 18 July 1947, George D. Stoddard Papers, Series 2/10/1, Box 27, File "Illini Union Building," University of Illinois Archives.

166. Taylor, Ehrlich, Shattuck to Stoddard, 17 December 1947.

167. Fred H. Turner to A. J. Janata, 18 December 1947; Fred H. Turner to President George D. Stoddard, 23 December 1947; C. S. Havens to President George D. Stoddard 29 December 1947; all in George D. Stoddard Papers, Series 2/10/1, Box 27, File "Illini Union Building," University of

administration placed the responsibility for the perpetuation of the Jim Crow locker rooms on the lowest rung of the institutional hierarchy, that is, on the Illini Union food handlers themselves.

One of the ways administrators ensured the effectiveness of this ploy was through the commissioning of a clandestine survey of the racial attitudes of the white food handlers. It was suggested to psychology graduate student Albert K. Doaks by his advisor Professor T. W. Harrell to undertake the study of the racial attitudes of the white kitchen workers.¹⁶⁸ With full cooperation of V. L. Kretschmer and D. E. Dickason, Doaks was able to survey the white employees by disguising himself as a kitchen worker as well.¹⁶⁹ Meanwhile, University of Illinois Plant Director C. S. Havens wrote to Stoddard informing him of the survey. Reported Havens, "The Psychology Department is conducting a research study on employee attitudes (in the Illini Union Building) without the knowledge of the employees."¹⁷⁰ It is reasonable to assume that University officials made the locker room controversy known to the Department of Psychology, whereupon Doaks became informed and thus the survey was underway. The candidly racist remarks (see previous chapter) offered by the unsuspecting kitchen help were then used as some kind of proof that the locker rooms should remain segregated because the white workers preferred it. This way the administration could conceal their own fundamentally racist beliefs which undergirded their deeply held conviction to maintain segregation and could themselves

Illinois Archives. V. L. Kretschmer to C.S. Havens, 26 December 1947; Norval D. Hodges to Donald E. Dickason, 11 June 1948; all in Harry M. Tiebout Papers, Series 15/16/21, Box 3, File "Illini Union Locker Rooms 1947-49 S-CIC File," University of Illinois Archives. Donald E. Dickason to Wilber Schramm, 20 February 1948; WS to President, 2 March 1948; A.J. Janata to Director Dickason; Confidential WS to The President, 12 March 1948; all in Journalism and Communications, Institute of Communications Research Papers, 13/5/1, Box 2 File "Nonacademic Personnel," University of Illinois Archives.

168. Albert K. Doaks, "Attitudes of White Food Employees Toward Negro Employees," Master's Thesis, University of Illinois, Department of Psychology, 1948, 2 and Acknowledgments.

169. In Doaks' Acknowledgments of his thesis, he stated, "The author is grateful to V.L. Kretschmer and D. E. Dickason for their advice and cooperation without which this study could not have been completed." Doaks, "Attitudes," page of acknowledgments.

170. C. S. Havens to George D. Stoddard, 29 December 1947, George D. Stoddard Papers, Series 2/10/1, Box 27, File "Illini Union Building," University of Illinois Archives.

appear morally just and even prudent in fighting for a discriminatory practice.

A second way in which administrators placed the burden of power on the blue collar workers was to fabricate a labor shortage. In a letter to Assistant to the President A.J. Janata by Illini Union Building Manager V. L. Kretschmer, Kretschmer stated that the management was willing to combine the locker rooms but, "our only concern is that we assign rooms in a manner which will be most acceptable to the greatest majority of employees as we cannot afford to have any friction and unrest at a time when we are so short of help."¹⁷¹ There was, however, in 1950, a labor surplus. Champaign had a total of 369 unemployed males and females, with an additional 6,355 males and females over 14 years of age not in the labor force.¹⁷² Urbana had a total of 172 unemployed men and women, with an additional 3,550 males and females over 14 years of age not in the labor force.¹⁷³ Thus, there was a combined total of 10,447 Twin Cities residents of working age who were not working. According to this Census data there were workers available for the semi-skilled work required in the Illini Union kitchens. Yet Kretschmer reasoned that if the locker rooms were combined, the white workers would become disgruntled and walk off the job, leaving the University with no replacements. In all probably, what Kretschmer really meant was that if whites walked off, there would be no white replacements. Kretschmer reiterated his fears in a letter to Stoddard, stating, "we cannot risk the loss of labor when the supply is relatively short."¹⁷⁴ With this, Kretschmer tried to convince himself and his colleagues, as well as those who protested Jim Crowism at their own state university, that a stalemate was inevitable and would continue to exist until the workers themselves expressed their wishes for change. In addition to Kretschmer's first fabrication, he was caught in a second. By

171. V. L. Kretschmer to A. J. Janata, 12 June 1947, George D. Stoddard Papers, Series 2/10/1, Box 27, File "Illini Union Building," University of Illinois Archives.

172. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Seventeenth Census of the United States: 1950, Census of the Population, Part 13, 102.

173. *Ibid.*, Part 13, 110.

174. V. L. Kretschmer to President Stoddard, 29 December 1947, George D. Stoddard Papers, Series 2/10/1, Box 27, File "Illini Union Building," University of Illinois Archives.

insinuating that the only recourse was to keep the status quo, he failed to heed or make himself aware of the studies on management and integration. It had been documented that, if management takes a strong stand and sets a positive example with race issues, labor will follow management standards.¹⁷⁶ This University was unwilling. In addition, it was rather unique in the history of University operations for administrators to extend such generosity in following the wishes of the workers. No matter how convincing, this rationalization for maintaining the racist status quo, like the others, was in violation of University policy and Illinois law.

For the rest of the prolonged battle with pressure groups, the University placed the burden of the stalemate on the workers. In a series of letters S-CIC continued to press, as did recent graduate Charles Ellis Gaines.¹⁷⁶ Unwilling to tolerate scapegoat tactics, "the issue," stated S-CIC "is larger than the people involved. The State of Illinois has a strong civil rights code; ideally the University should lead and not compromise in applying it."¹⁷⁷ S-CIC then presented Dickason with a copy of the Illinois criminal code. No more was the issue simply one of morality; it was now made into a matter of law.

University legal counsels William E. Britton and Norval Hodges began research in earnest to find precedents in their favor set by other states with similar laws. Meanwhile, on 26 July 1948, President Stoddard was delivered a letter of reprimand on the discriminatory practices from

175. See especially Robert C. Weaver, Negro Labor: A National Problem (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co.) 1946, chap. XI.

176. Moser to Stoddard, 11 January 1948, Harry M. Tiebout Papers, Series 15/16/21, Box 3, File "Illini Union Locker Rooms 1947-1949 S-CIC"; Gaines to Stoddard, 19 February 1948, George D. Stoddard Papers, Series 2/10/1, Box 2, File "Illini Union Building"; Gaines to Peerson, 19 February 1948, George W. Goble Papers, Series 36/6/1, Box 5, File "Racial Discrimination"; Dickason to Gaines, 11 March 1948, George D. Stoddard Papers, Series 2/10/1, Box 2, File "Illini Union Building"; Dickason to S-CIC, 13 March 1948, Harry M. Tiebout Papers, Series 15/16/21, Box 3, File "Illini Union Locker Room 1947-1949 S-CIC"; Gaines to Goble, 19 February 1948, George W. Goble Papers, Series 36/6/1, Box 5, File "Racial Discrimination"; Shattuck to Dickason, 16 March 1948, Nonacademic Personnel Director's Papers 1940-1968, Series 36/1/1, Box 5, File "Racial Discrimination 1948-1961"; Dickason to Shattuck, 15 April 1948, Nonacademic Personnel Director's Papers 1940-1968, Series 36/1/1, Box 5, File "Racial Discrimination 1948-1961"; all in the University of Illinois Archives.

177. Shattuck, Taylor, and Ehrlich to Dickason, 11 April 1948, George D. Stoddard Papers, Series 2/10/1, Box 2, File "Illini Union Building," University of Illinois Archives.

author of the 1937 Criminal Code State Representative Charles J. Jenkins.¹⁷⁸ Acting for Stoddard, Provost Coleman R. Griffith quickly wrote Jenkins, offering to send assistant legal counsel Hodges to Chicago to meet with the State Representative to discuss the issues.¹⁷⁹ Unsatisfied, Jenkins wrote again, to Stoddard, making clear that a response from the President himself was required.¹⁸⁰ In the meantime, Jenkins and Hodges did meet, and, according to a verbal report to officials by Hodges, "little progress was made in changing the attitude of Mr. Jenkins."¹⁸¹ With brazen boldness, university officials were outright tenacious in their fight to maintain racist practices.

Finishing his report, Head Counsel Britton cited similar cases in other states involving Greyhound in West Virginia, higher education in Missouri and the Ohio State University in Ohio, concluding "that the University is carrying out its legal duty to provide 'full and equal enjoyment' of facilities but is not required to furnish identical facilities to its employees."¹⁸² The entire report then was sent to Jenkins by Stoddard. With the report was a description of the "actions" taken to "solve" the locker room dispute.¹⁸³ Kretschmer had composed a statement which listed five points concerning locker room assignment policy. In sum, Kretschmer's "solution" was that officially, lockers are to be assigned without regard to race. The new policy provided, however,

178. Jenkins to Stoddard, 26 July 1948, George D. Stoddard Papers, Series 2/10/1, Box 2, File "Illini Union Building," University of Illinois Archives.

179. Griffith to Jenkins, 30 July 1948, George D. Stoddard Papers, Series 2/10/1, Box 2, File "Illini Union Building," University of Illinois Archives.

180. Jenkins to Stoddard, 2 August 1948, George D. Stoddard Papers, Series 2/10/1, Box 2, File "Illini Union Building," University of Illinois Archives.

181. Emphasis added. Summary of Material in files--Office of Nonacademic personnel Relating to Racial Problems--Illini Union Building," no author, 9 September 1948, Nonacademic Personnel Director's Papers 1940-1968, Series 36/1/1, Box 5, File "Racial Discrimination 1948-1961," University of Illinois Archives.

182. Britton to Dickason, 8 September 1948, George D. Stoddard Papers, Series 2/10/1, Box 2, File "Illini Union Building," University of Illinois Archives.

183. Stoddard to Jenkins, 14 September 1948, Nonacademic Personnel Director's Papers 1940-1968, Series 36/1/1, Box 5, File "Racial Discrimination 1948-1961," University of Illinois Archives.

that present employees could retain their lockers and that new employees could request to change locker rooms if they did not want the one to which they were assigned, and if there was an available locker in the desired room. If lockers were not available in the desired room, however, workers could double-up with someone else in that room.¹⁸⁴ This "new" policy was not new at all. Kretschmer had designed a great plan to maintain Jim Crow.

When the Illini Union Building was first opened, black employees followed the unwritten rules of segregation, changing clothes in fourth floor guest rooms. Later, however, in 1947 when additional locker rooms were constructed in the food service area of the ground floor, the unwritten practice became formalized and valiantly defended. Whatever the scale of the organizational context, bureaucratic institutions are made of individuals; though these actors are guided by bureaucratic norms, ultimately, individuals are the actual decision makers, no matter what the rules may dictate. Someone had to sanction the original 4th floor dressing room set up, someone had to authorize that the locker rooms to be constructed would be segregated by race, someone had to draw the blueprint, someone had to approve the blueprint, someone had to build according to the specified plan, someone had to oversee that the new rooms were used as intended, and of all these individuals, no one had said no--not the University of Illinois Board of Trustees, nor the Physical Plant Manager, nor the Illini Union Manager, nor the Illini Union Food Service Manager, nor the architect, nor the contractor. It appears that Jim Crow received unanimous support. Fraught with institutional racism from start to finish University of Illinois administrators fought to maintain racial segregation. Violating Illinois State law and University of Illinois policy, the officers of the University did not create "a community atmosphere in which race prejudice cannot thrive," but rather added fuel to the flames of racial oppression and hatred. The Illini Union Building in this post-World War II era did not "promote the best in Illini traditions" as the president promised.

184. Kretschmer to Stoddard, 13 September 1948, George D. Stoddard Papers, Series 2/10/1, Box 2, File "Illini Union Building," University of Illinois Archives.

The Struggle Continues

There were successful triumphs in the struggle to combat racism in public accommodations in Champaign, Urbana, and the Campus of the University of Illinois. The theme song for this post-war era, however, was the dissonant tune of Jim Crow, whether it was played out in the imagery of the minstrel show or fiery cross, or in the policies and practices of merchants, police, or Twin Cities of University officials. Northern racism as displayed in this University community was reprehensible. The variations on the Jim Crow theme by the different community and university actors in the form of rationalizations and justifications were consistent with minstrel depictions of African-Americans. Though the heyday of the black-face minstrel was in the nineteenth century, the racist beliefs and stereotypes which minstrelsy transmitted were stubbornly perpetuated in town-and-gown on into the twentieth century not only in this particular genre of entertainment, but in everyday dealings between white and black people. Significantly, it was not only locals who violated laws and were obstinate to change; unyielding also were community and University officials who were not enlightened leaders but rather obstructors of racial justice.

CHAPTER V

EPILOGUE: INJUSTICE SHELTERED

Through the first half of the twentieth century, Northern blacks who had migrated from the South had left one strange system of justice for another. Whereas Southern white supremacy was upheld by laws and lynchings, Northern whites held a supremacist position by operating outside their own laws. The Land of Lincoln State of Illinois was no exception, nor was its most prestigious public university. Both Illinois and the University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana had governing policies which called for the fair and equal treatment of all its citizens, requiring an atmosphere in which race prejudice could not thrive. But racial prejudice did thrive as laws and policies that could have indeed promised a better way of life for all of Illinois' people were broken and violated.

Both the white North and South based their racial beliefs and practices on the idea of black inferiority. Leon Litwack suggests in his book North of Slavery that Northern whites felt their beliefs and practices were in keeping with Natural Law; Anglo-Saxon superiority was God-ordained.¹ This is very much akin to Gunnar Myrdal's understanding of the foundational underpinnings of Southern racism. Myrdal finds that for white Southerners, "race prejudice is presented as a 'deep-rooted God-implanted instinct'; indeed, blacks were seen as so inferior that they were felt to be "happy in their humble status and would not like to be treated as equals."² Regardless of region, whites by and large felt they were inherently better in all ways than blacks. These perceived differences were then exaggerated and made into stereotypes. These distorted views aided in justifying Jim Crow segregation and exclusion. Adding to the strangeness of Jim

1. Leon Litwack, North of Slavery (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 99.

2. Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma, vol. II (New York: Pantheon Books, 1944, 1962, 1972), 584.

Crow was, as C. Vann Woodward documents in The Strange Career of Jim Crow, that "the system was born in the North and reached an advanced age before moving South in force."³ It was fitting then that minstrel-man--king of Jim Crow--also originated in the North.⁴ His song and dance publicly and persistently perpetuated black physical, cultural, and mental inferiority.

Justified with Jim Crow stereotypes, racism at the University of Illinois and in Champaign-Urbana manifested itself in both blatant and increasingly covert and institutional ways. Regardless of form, however, these violations were manifest both in publicly recorded documents and in everyday practice. Board of Trustee-approved illegally segregated Illini Union sanitary facilities and City Council-approved racially restrictive covenants exemplify such violations. Southern whites, on the other hand, did not live with this hypocrisy. Honest with themselves and the world, they did not need to defy the laws of their states as their statutes were consistent with their racial ideology.⁵ Moreover, white Southerners boasted moral superiority over white Northerners because unlawful mockery of justice did not exist south of the Ohio, as it did to the north:

How, Southerners asked, could the North so glibly condemn slavery when it worked free Negroes severely in menial employments, excluded them from the polls, the juries, the churches, and the learned professions, snubbed them in social circles, and finally even

3. C. Vann Woodward, The Strange Career of Jim Crow (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), 17. Part of Woodward's explanation for the existence and spread of Northern Jim Crow before Southern is that "the very nature of the institution [slavery] made separation of the races for the most part impracticable. . . . In so far as the Negro's status was fixed by enslavement there was little occasion or need for segregation" (12-13).

4. Reynolds, Minstrel Memories, 50-51; Toll, Blackening Up, 26; Ploski and Williams, eds., The Negro Almanac, 1078-79.

5. Racially discriminatory laws of the South have been written about extensively. Discriminatory laws were enacted and enforced in southern states that restricted black franchise, that segregated schools and residential areas, and that segregated or excluded blacks from all kinds of public accommodations, including but not limited to telephone booths, billiard halls, hospitals and entrances of circus tents. For starters, see Richard Bardolph, The Civil Rights Record: Black Americans and the Law, 1849-1970 (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1970), 193-99. See also Jack Greenberg, Race Relations and American Law (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959); Neal McMillan, Dark Journey (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), especially chap. 1 "Jim Crow and the Limits of Freedom, 1890-1940," 3-32.

barred them from entering some states? Did not northerners place the Negro in a much higher scale by their rhetoric than by their practice?⁶

The schism between the laws and policies of the North written upon the pretext of equality was demonstrated repeatedly throughout the history of the University of Illinois and its home community. It was indeed demonstrated in this institution of higher learning even though this world-class academic setting ought to be autonomous and ought not take on the values and mores of a community in east-central Illinois. The deeply engrained and forcefully strong racial convictions of Champaign-Urbana's whites were revealed in their zealously to maintain segregated locker rooms and segregated neighborhoods and their desperate attempts to extol the virtues of the game "nigger baby" and minstrel shows. The accounts of these incidents, and others, illustrate the inter-relatedness of town and gown institutional rules and actions. Indeed, this University was a mirror of community Jim Crow race relations. That an institution's norms and behaviors reflect those of its location has been found elsewhere in the North and South. The University of Alabama and its state's white citizens were consistent in racial philosophy when Alabama Governor George Wallace stood at the University's door in attempts to prevent a black scholar from attending.⁷ Though perhaps different in degree, these instances give weight to the idea that institutions of higher learning do not necessarily create or promote climates of higher virtue.

Racially restrictive covenants attached to property deeds were at the heart of twin city segregationist policies and practices. "Among the types of control which make up this wall [of segregation]" concluded Herman H. Long and Charles S. Johnson, "the race restrictive covenant is really the most pernicious, because the assumption that it has legal and constitutional support provides a rationalization for all other types of restrictive practices, and forms the basis for efforts to extend them."⁸ With realtors, contractors, lenders, city councils, and at least one judge

6. Litwack, North of Slavery, 39.

7. John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom (New York: Vintage Books, 1969), 629.

8. Long and Johnson, People vs. Property (Nashville: Fisk University Press, 1947), 8-9.

creating and enforcing these quasi-legal instruments of oppression, the leaders and principal property owners of this mid-sized urban area used the segregationist techniques of highly urban centers of the North, including Chicago, Detroit, St. Louis, Cleveland, and Buffalo.⁹ Of the kinds of race covenant restrictions, Champaign-Urbana could boast the most severe as theirs were designed to confine blacks and segregate all other races from whites in perpetuity.

Whereas covenant-enforced housing segregation was central to Northern race segregation and black subordination, central to Southern white superiority were similar, even more far-reaching laws accompanied and enforced by violence. Brutal, sadistic, and deadly physical and sexual violence upheld the apartheid laws of the South.¹⁰ Lynchings and other sordid human cruelties were pervasive against African-Americans both for violating the written law as well as for breeching the largely unwritten caste-canon of Southern etiquette.¹¹ Owning property, riding a bicycle on the sidewalk, wearing a military uniform in public, or being married to a soldier were just a few examples of black transgressions of Southern Jim Crow etiquette--these were punishable by tar-and-feathers, or by death by mob.¹² Leaving this deadly system of waste, black families by the thousands "protested with their feet," and migrated North.¹³

Though the University of Illinois and the Twin Cities were north of the Ohio, and though these leaders officially did not sanction physical violence, violence upon the spirit was nonetheless a reality. With determined effort, white officials clung to their cherished beliefs and

9. Long and Johnson, People vs. Property, 34-35.

10. Zangrando, Crusade Against Lynching, 9; McMillen, Dark Journey, chap. I, Sec. "The Instrument of Reserve," 28-32 and chap. VII, "Judge Lynch's Court," 224-53.

11. Many of the South's rules of racial etiquette were indeed written into law. Such was the prohibition of mixed marriage and other kinds of physical contact or sharing of physical spaces. Any etiquette that upheld equality was forbidden. Myrdal, An American Dilemma, 609-11, 613-14.

12. McMillen, Dark Journey, 125; Franklin From Slavery to Freedom, 440; McMillen, Dark Journey, 306, 304-05. In one county in Mississippi, blacks could know of at least thirteen lynchings in their own lifetimes in that single county alone. See McMillen, Dark Journey, 232.

13. See McMillen, Dark Journey, chap. VIII "'Northboun': Mississippi Blacks Diaspora," 257-81.

practices, resisted change, and resisted the protests which called for them to enforce the same racially just policies they themselves (and those who went before them) had written. As might be hoped, it was not because of benevolent or even law-abiding officials that racially discriminatory customs were changed. Instead, change was instituted due to the creative tactics of the determined groups and individuals who protested collegiate and east-central Illinois Jim Crow. Due to protest efforts, Champaign-Urbana blacks were allowed to swim in the public swimming pool, eat in campus restaurants, attend movies in Twin Cities theatres, and patronize campustown barbershops. Though there were many Civil Rights organizations in this community, the Student-Community Inter-racial Committee (S-CIC) was most instrumental in the fight for racial freedom.¹⁴ S-CIC's successful undertakings were achieved prior to the era of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., yet this and other local groups lived by the creative and peaceful tactics of non-violence. Correspondence, telephone, and face-to-face negotiations, sit-ins, test-tries, picketing, handbill distribution, petitions, and law suits represented a range of techniques pressure groups used in this community. S-CIC's work also came prior to 1955 when Rosa Parks demonstrated her anger on a Birmingham, Alabama bus, inadvertently setting off the modern Civil Rights Movement.¹⁵ As an organization of the North, it was "safe enough" for S-CIC to be inter-racial; in the South such racial mixing was potentially deadly.¹⁶ Still, this Northern group met with resistance from the white power structure not only in civil rights negotiations, but in simply existing. Whereas the Ku Klux Klan and other vigilante groups monitored and controlled the

14. The voice of protest manifested in Champaign-Urbana in the form of direct action as well as through the publication of manuscripts and studies. The list of groups and individuals who valued and fought for civil rights in this community in the 1940s, 1950s, and early 1960s is long. It included, but was not limited to the black Greek societies of Alpha Phi Alpha, Alpha Kappa Alpha, and Kappa Alpha Psi, the YWCA and the YMCA, the Religious Workers Association, the Urbana Chapters of the NAACP and the American Association of University Professors, the Indee Party, the American Youth for Democracy, the Council for Community Integration, the Housing Review Committee, and the League of Women Voters of Champaign County.

15. See Aldon Morris, The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement.

16. McMillen, Dark Journey, 313-16. For example, disfranchisement, sexual abuse and fear of lynchings were the types of punishments deemed appropriate for those--white or black--suspected of NAACP affiliation in Mississippi.

public behavior of "niggers" and "nigger lovers" in the South, the Northern-based local organization S-CIC was monitored by the Federal Bureau of Investigation with the Dean of Students of the University of Illinois Fred H. Turner as a major informant. Indeed, as the NAACP was outlawed in Mississippi by the law and intimidated by the Klan, so, too, was it forbidden by Dean Fred Turner to exist in the 1940s at the University of Illinois. Foreshadowing methods of the Modern Civil Rights Movement of organizations like CORE, SNCC, and SCLC, S-CIC--like those group that followed--stood for courage as much as advocates for change.¹⁷

Whereas change was affected in the realm of public accommodations during the late 1940s and early 1950s, racial progress was more difficult to achieve in the institutionalized realms of employment and housing. Yet positive race relations were affected in places that ultimately counted the least and that were not a major threat to the existing social order: subordinate institutions could be altered; dominant institutions remained largely the same. With housing and employment, the techniques of whites became increasingly more sophisticated as well as entangled within bureaucratic hierarchies. Champaign-Urbana was not, however, the Mississippi Delta where blacks' jobs were paid with less than poverty wages and black housing was unfit for habitation.¹⁸

In sum, the North was in both fact and myth more equal than the South. Low-paying jobs were nearly all that were available, but pay was slightly higher and there was no whip; housing was run-down and poor, but slightly improved over Southern dwellings; violence existed but was less pervasive, racial rules were enforced yet fair racial laws existed; and, change came slow, but if it did come, it came earlier. With bitter irony, the community of the University of Illinois and Champaign-Urbana held the color line. This place offered no safe haven from racial oppression.

17. See Aldon Morris, The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement.

18. See especially McMillen, Dark Journey, chap. IV "Farmers Without Land," 111-53, and chap. V "Black Labor/Black Capital," 154-94 for excellent descriptions of black Mississippi's living and working conditions.

It is hoped that this dissertation serves as a starting point with which to answer further questions on Northern race relations and institutions of higher education. Research on the inter-relationships of Twin Cities race relations and the institution of public schooling is still left undone. Further, the study of the inter-relationship between the community's segregated schools and segregated housing is especially significant since these schools have become once again places of racial strife and segregation. Other questions need to be answered. In what ways were Champaign County Charles Webber's decisions consistent with his publicly recorded segregationist policies? Have the racial views of other community actors changed or remained the same throughout the years. A quick check with the 1990 Telephone Directory reveals that many still reside in the Twin Cities and are involved in the same powerful occupations.

Other accounts of discrimination at the University of Illinois and community need to be told. This case study only touched the surface of the extent of prejudicial treatment against women and Jews by the University of Illinois. It only touched briefly on the existence of the KKK and white officials' involvement with the organization. It told only a fraction of the story of the racism of fraternities and sororities at both local and national levels. Finally, more work is needed on race relations in other Northern university communities. Comparisons of information yielded by this study with that of other universities were limited because secondary source histories of Northern white institutions of higher learning either omit race information altogether or treat it in a non-critical and superficial manner.¹⁹ To what extent did Jim Crow pervade the

19. See, for example, Merle Curti and Vernon Carstensen, The University of Wisconsin: A History, 1948-1925 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1949); Roger Ebert, ed., An Illini Century: One Hundred Years of Campus Life (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1967); William Murray Hepburn and Louis Martin Sears, Purdue University: Fifty Years of Progress (Indianapolis: The Hollenbeck Press, 1925); Burton Dorr Myers, History of Indiana University, vol. II, 1902-1937, The Bryan Administration (Indiana University Publishers, 1952); Allan Nevins, Illinois (New York: Oxford University Press, 1917); James E. Pollard, History of The Ohio State University: The Story of the First Seventy-Five Years, 1873-1948 (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 1952); Winton Solberg, The University of Illinois, 1867-1894 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1968); and James Albert Woodburn, History of Indiana University, 1820-1902, vol. I (Indiana University: R. R. Donnelly and Sons, Co., 1940).

lives of black and white students at other Northern universities prior to the modern movement for civil rights?

For the most part, try as they might, officials at the University of Illinois and Champaign-Urbana could not conceal their racism. Throughout the first half of the twentieth century and beyond, in spite of what they claimed in their official documents, true racial equality did not exist--harmony simply cannot be found in a Jim Crow minstrel song. Injustice rather than equality was sheltered in this Northern institution and in this Northern place.

APPENDIX A
MINSTREL SHOW IMAGERY

MINSTREL SHOW IMAGERY

Racially detrimental stereotypes are perpetuated in a variety of ways, and one extremely popular way to demean and perpetuate the image of black inferiority was through the mass media genre of the black face minstrel show. These shows thrived well into the twentieth century and through our own present.

Rearing its ugly head in the late eighteenth century, the tradition of minstrelsy originated in the North, caught hold in Northern white culture, and reached its heyday throughout the North and South between 1840 and 1870, at which time it was the most widely seen mass-media genre.¹ Every class of white society in virtually every location of the country had access to performances of either travelling professional troupes or amateur productions, generally for only a few cents admission.² The popularity of the minstrel show and its equally condescending derivatives continued even as vaudeville, motion pictures, and radio competed for audiences.³ Even films such as "Dixie" (1943), starring black-faced Bing Crosby, and radio programs like "Amos and Andy" (1928-1943) reinforced and contributed to the success of minstrelsy at lampooning blacks'.⁴ Throughout the course of decades, masses of American whites delighted in

1. Gary D. Engle, This Grotesque Essence: Plays From the American Minstrel Stage (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978), xv, xix-xxvii; Daily Paskman and Sigmund Spaeth, "Gentlemen, Be Seated!" A Parade of Old-Time Minstrels (Garden City: Doubleday, Doran and Co., Inc., 1928), 11; Harry Reynolds, Minstrel Memories: The Story of Burnt-Cork Minstrelsy in Great Britain from 1836-1927 (London: Alston Press Ltd., 1928), 50-51; Robert C. Toll, Blackening Up: The Minstrel Show in Nineteenth Century America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), 26; Harry A. Ploski and James Williams, eds. The Negro Almanac: A Reference Work on the Afro-American, 4th ed., (New York: Wiley-Interscience Pub., 1983), 1078-79.

2. Engle, This Grotesque Essence, xix-xxvii.

3. Engle, This Grotesque Essence, xx-xxi.

4. Joseph Boskin, Sambo: The Rise and Demise of an American Jester (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 90, 67.

the minstrel show depiction of blacks, and not surprisingly nearly every aspect of the minstrel show portrayed blacks as unequivocally inferior to whites.

The chief symbol of black inferiority was the clown named Jim Crow. According to legend, the "father of minstrelsy," Thomas Dartmouth Rice (1808–1860) based his most popularly received character on an old, physically-disabled stable slave, who Rice claims was named Jim Crow.⁵ Due to his disabilities and age, Crow's actions were awkward and exaggerated. Yet, in spite of the challenges he faced, Crow made the best of a difficult situation by composing and singing songs, moving to them as he worked. Legend further has it that from his dressing room window Rice watched the old slave and in that evening's minstrel show, performed a caricature of Crow's behavior and song in the pitiful rags of an owned and mistreated human being.⁶ This exploitation of an elderly, handicapped, and enslaved African-American for humor and profit was a fantastic success with white audiences. The distorted caricature of Jim Crow was to become for racist whites the representative of an entire race. Indeed, the false images popularized by white men with faces smudged with black ash grew beyond the physical limits of the theatre stage to the publicly humiliating arena of the "Jim Crow" public washroom and the "Jim Crow" car of the train.

Minstrel actors created other personalities based on the popular Jim Crow clown. Characters with pet-like names of Jumbo, Sambo, Bones, and so forth dehumanized blacks.⁷ In the safety of the disguise, minstrel actors popularized other degrading and symbolic labels making the misnomers socially acceptable to white culture. These references included tar baby, coon,

5. Paskman and Spaeth, "Gentlemen, Be Seated!", 12; Engle, This Grotesque Essence, xvi-xvii; Ploski and Williams, eds., Negro Almanac, 1079; William Torbert Leonard, Masquerade in Black (Metuchen: Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1986), 221–25; Reynolds, Minstrel Memories, 51–52. All of these versions of the Jim Crow legend tell the same story with only extraneous embellishments added to each.

6. Paskman and Spaeth, "Gentlemen, Be Seated!", 12; other versions of the Jim Crow legend can be found in Engle, This Grotesque Essence, xvi-xvii; Ploski and Williams, eds., The Negro Almanac, 1079; William Torbert Leonard, Masquerade in Black (Metuchen: Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1986), 221–25; and Reynolds, Minstrel Memories, 51–52.

7. Engle, This Grotesque Essence, xvi.

pickaninny, and others.⁸ Further, fictional labels for blacks' neighborhoods were known as places such as Darktown, Koontucky, Darkey's Paradise, and Bucktown.⁹

Names and labels are powerful tools in perpetuating stereotypes. Visual imagery is another, and the minstrel industry was laden with visual caricatures of blacks. Pictorial overlays of minstrel sheet music extended the theme of degradation. From possums to watermelons, from devilish fiends to lascivious insects, blacks were often portrayed as supernatural or sub-human.¹⁰ The frontpiece of the song "Ragtime Insanity" illustrates the common physical stereotypes of blacks and includes moral caricatures as well. Here, blacks are portrayed with horn-like hair, shifty, untrusting, bulging or leering eyeballs, dangling lips, fang-like teeth, inhumanly shaped mouths, and noses shaped like animals' or plant roots. As with many frontpieces, the vices and mental traits racist whites claim peculiar to blacks are represented.¹¹ The title word "insanity" literally means mentally deranged, disordered, and deficient; violence is portrayed in the form of razorstraps; gambling is shown by die, numbers, and the spade-diamond-heart-club fabric design; and, illicit sex as depicted by the leering eye and grin toward the figure of a woman, who has not one but two smiles, suggesting that black males are lustful and that black women are readily receptive to lewd advances.

A final representative visual image is seen on the cover of "Plantation Echoes."¹² Slaves are either depicted as lazy, or as carefree--a laughing, dancing and singing people amidst a

8. Misnomers were taken from sheet music front pieces, found in the University of Illinois Music Library stacks. This particular collection was recently donated and has yet to be sorted and catalogued.

9. University of Illinois Music Library sheet music front pieces.

10. See the photocopies of representative samples of minstrel industry sheet music front pieces that are placed at the end of Appendix A. These "illustrations" were typical representations of other stereotypical kitsch (such as salt shakers and nick-knacks and the like) that were spin-offs of the imagery depicted in minstrelsy.

11. Praetorius, "Ragtime Insanity," 1899. See also Metz, "A Hot Possum," 1897; and, Wilson, "Watermelon Dance," 1893. All in University of Illinois Sheet Music Stacks.

12. Heinzman, "Plantation Echoes," 1899, University of Illinois Sheet Music Library Stacks.

veritable paradise. This picture reinforces the minstrel plays' notion of slavery as a benevolent institution. The figures here are wearing relatively nice clothing and have the spare time and energy to enjoy music. The childish emotions seen on the distorted faces of the figures evoke the sense that whites were the patriarchal caretakers of these "children," for as the stereotypical theme goes, blacks could not care for themselves.¹³ In sum, of crucial importance is that the visual images accompanying these musical scores mimicked those seen on the minstrel stage, and it was these impressions of blacks that were reinforced in the minds of racist American whites.

The white actors also strengthened the image of black inferiority through the use of distorted dialect. Southern black speech was made humorous by exaggerating the perceived differences between white and black dialects and by having the actors speak neologisms. For example, curtsied became "squatsied," inspired became "ginspired," abolition became "bobolition," and so forth.¹⁴ This "dialect" was found in song lyrics, as well as in the jokes, monologues, dialogues, and skits.

Jokes both visual and verbal were the mainstay of the minstrel show. Public placards advertised the events with captions reading "A Dark Night Before Us."¹⁵ Jokes in the dialogue between the interlocutor (the master of ceremonies) and clowns promoted and reinforced damaging stereotypes and the following is an example of such an exchange:

Interlocutor: Tambo, you were at a wedding. Did the bride get many presents?

Tambo: Sure she did. Why she received a hundred silver spoons.

Interlocutor: You don't say, a hundred silver spoons!

Tambo: Sure, three were marked Sterling and ninety-seven were marked Pullman.¹⁶

13. For an example of mythological plantation life, see the play "Uncle Eph's Dream," in Engle, This Grotesque Essence, 56-61.

14. Neologisms were found in the lyrics and play scripts in Engle, This Grotesque Essence, and Paskman and Spaeth, "Gentlemen, Be Seated!"

15. Reynolds, Minstrel Memories, facing page 40.

16. Paskman and Spaeth, "Gentlemen, Be Seated!", 100.

The false image portrayed here is that not only do blacks steal for events as sacred as a wedding, but they feel no remorse or guilt in doing so.

Minstrelsy so completely rejected the notion of racial equality that performers feared audiences would mistakenly believe that they were really black. Additional jokes and visual imagery were employed to emphasize the contrived contrasts between the black-faced portrayal and the actor.¹⁷ Jokes like "Why am I like a young widow?" with the reply, "Because I do not stay long in black," stressed the white man's charade.¹⁸ The critical need to accentuate the dissimilarities between themselves and their inferior characters prompted at least one troupe, The Virginia Serenaders, to place juxtaposed prints of themselves as black clowns and as the respectable, formal, white gentlemen they believed themselves to be, on the covers of their sheet music.¹⁹

These ingredients of minstrelsy were crafted into a set formula, which contributed even more to minstrel popularity.²⁰ Each show began with a grand march, followed by jokes, dialogue, dancing and popular songs and then ended with the grand finale play. Stage settings and characters were also prescribed and how-to manuals were available to aid the amateur. Indeed, so familiar was the genre that it prompted one observer to state that "from its opening march to the final curtain, the minstrel show was only slightly less predictable than church ritual."²¹ In sum, the values of the traditional black-faced minstrel show were deeply ingrained in white American culture. The mass media served as a vehicle that had the dangerous potential of inculcating and reinforcing blatantly misguided notions of the looks, morals, and the very souls of black people.

17. Toll, Blackening Up, 38-40.

18. Toll, Blackening Up, 40.

19. Toll, Blackening Up, facing page 38.

20. Engle, This Grotesque Essence, xxi-xxii.

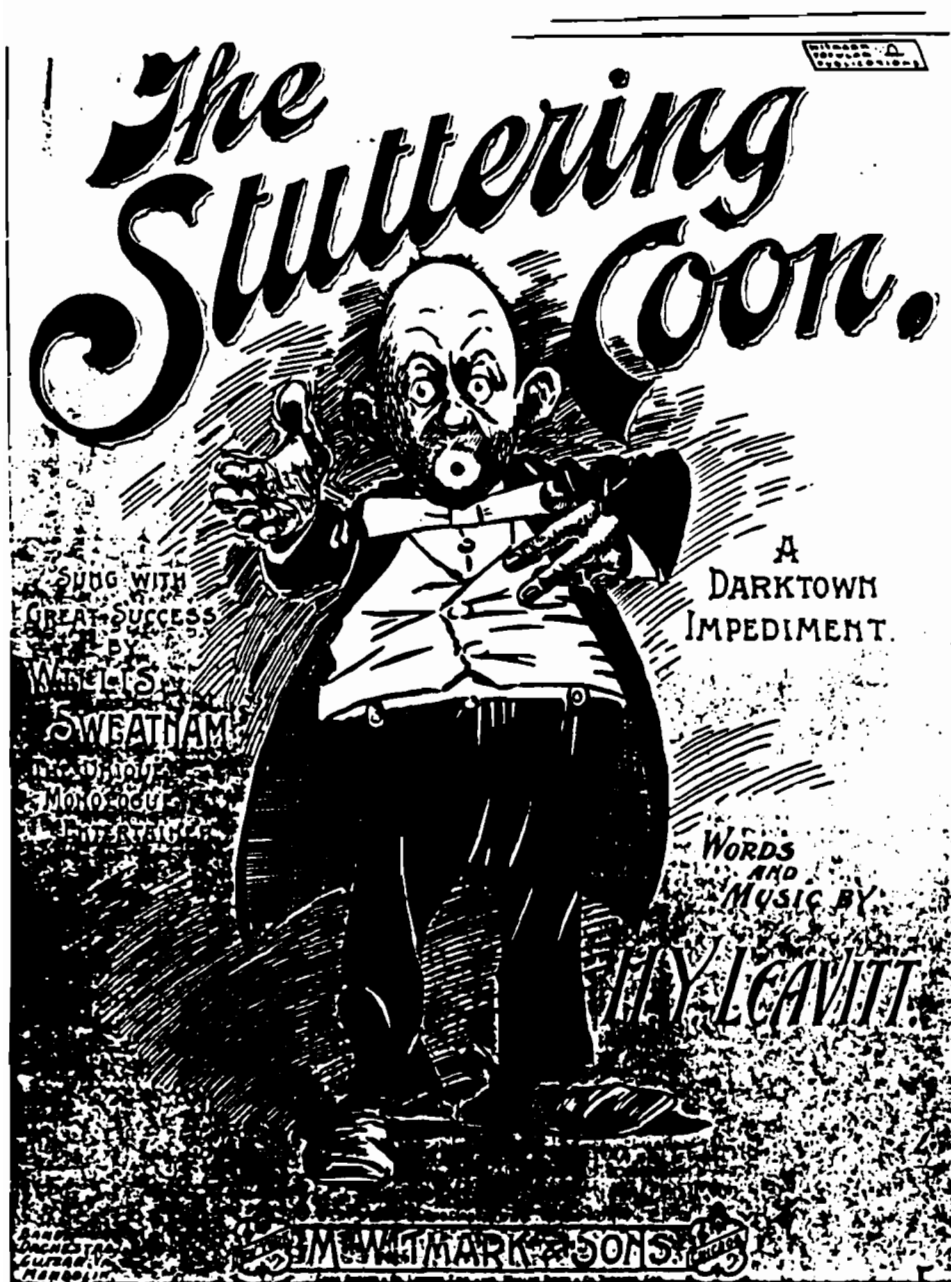
21. Engle, This Grotesque Essence, xxii.

MINSTREL SHEET MUSIC FRONT PIECES



"Jim Crow"

Source: Ploski and Williams, eds., The Negro Almanac, 1080.



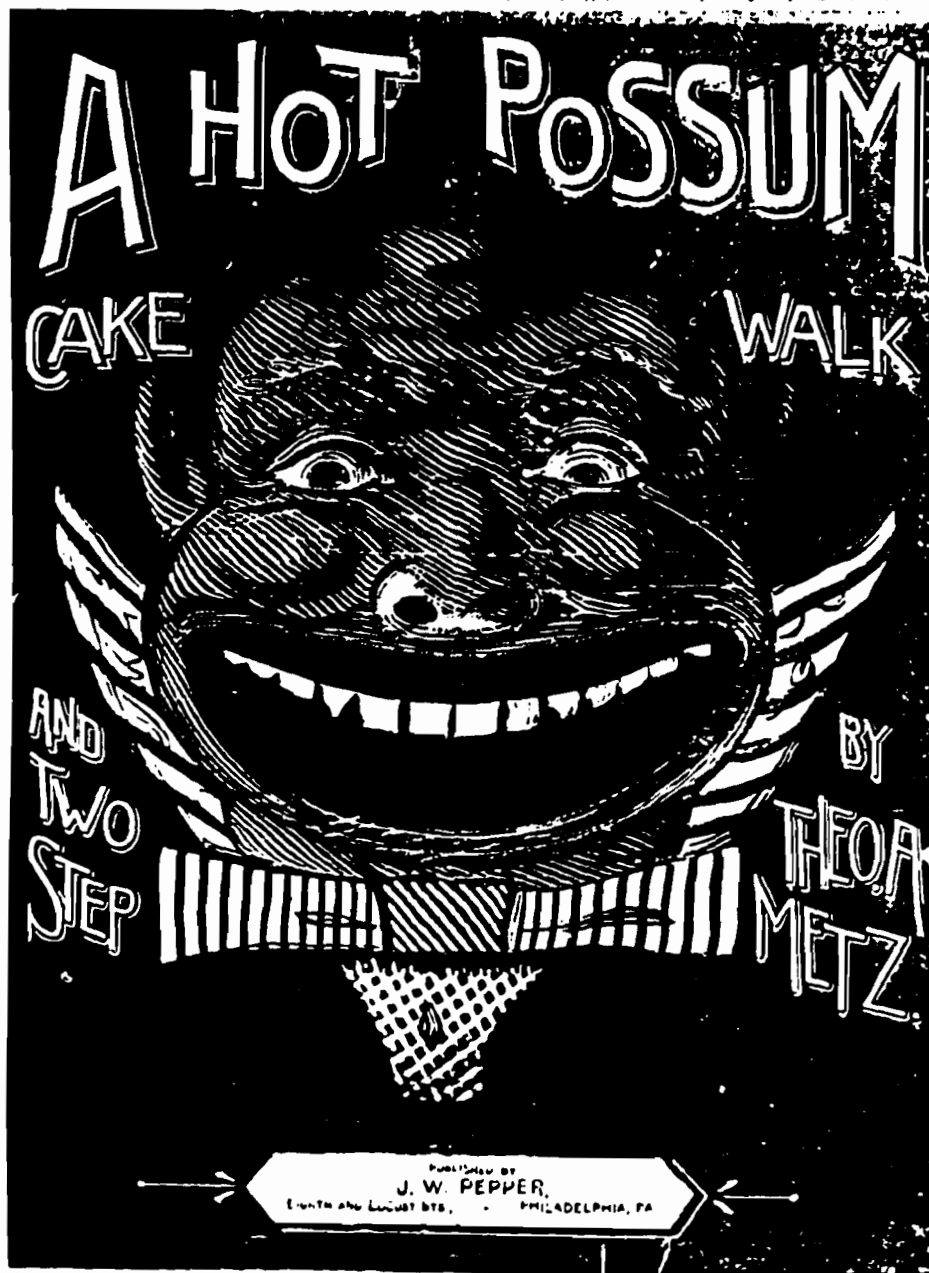
Sheet Music Cover

"The Stuttering Coon."

Source: University of Illinois Music Library, uncatalogued.

Compliments of J. W. PEPPER.

The Regular Edition of this piece is printed on heavy 65 lb. music paper. As to
is a Complimentary Copy, please favor us by showing it to your Musical Friends.



Sheet Music Cover

"A Hot Possum"

Source: University of Illinois Music Library Stacks, uncatalogued.

WATERMELON DANCE.



(DANCE CHARACTERISTIQUE.)

Written for and played with immense success by ROGERS' FAMOUS 7th REG'T BAND.

BY

CHARLES J. WILSON.

AUTHOR OF THE FAMOUS "SANDPAPER DANCE."

Violin and Piano, 25

Violin, Corset and Piano, 35

4

Orchestration, 10 parts and Piano, 60

Orchestration, 16 parts and Piano, 75

NOTICE—THE WORDS EMBODYING THIS TITLE ARE PROTECTED BY TRADE-MARK

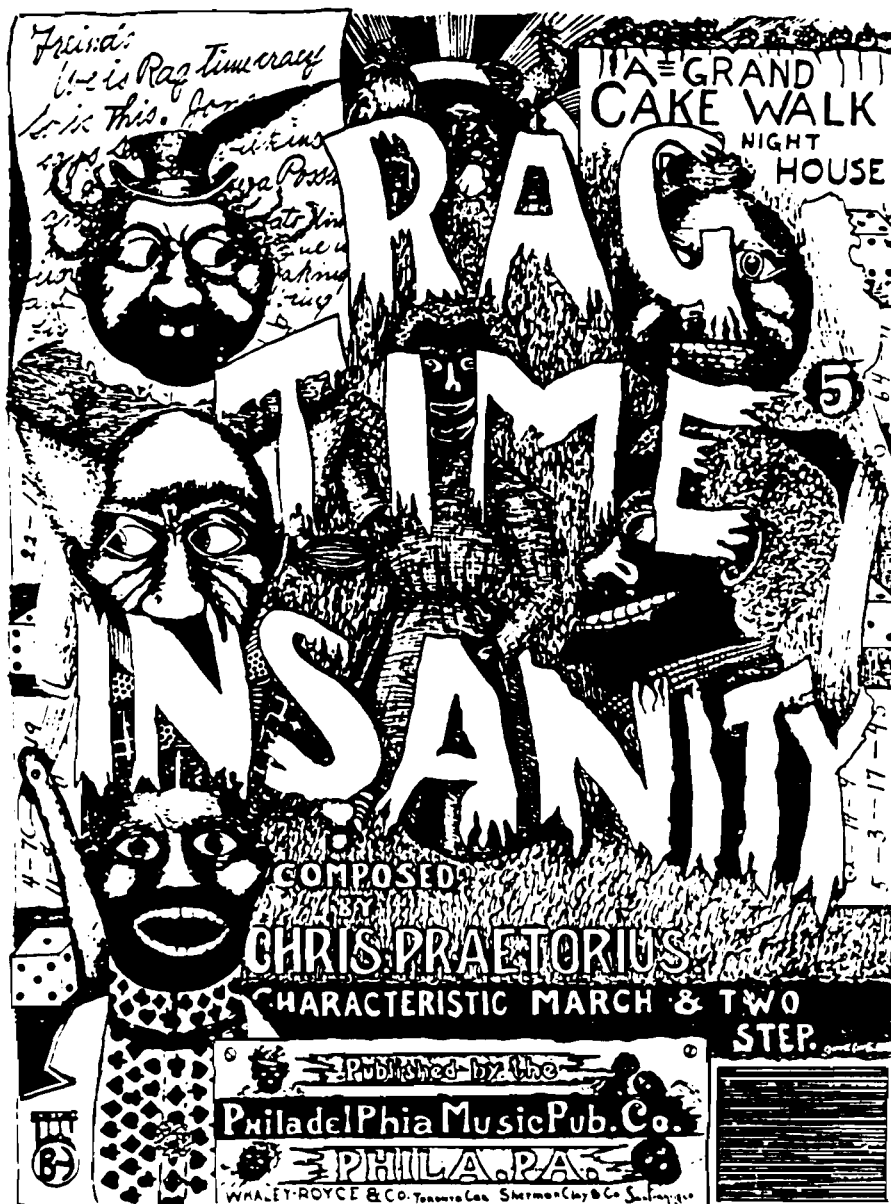
NEW YORK:

Published by HOWLEY, HAVILAND & CO., 4 East 20th Street

Sheet Music Cover

"Watermelon Dance"

Source: University of Illinois Music Library, uncatalogued.



Sheet Music Cover

"Rag Time Insanity"

Source: University of Illinois Music Library, uncatalogued.

DEDICATED TO THE MISSES DRISLANE

Plantation Echoes.



Cake-Walk March
and TWO-STEP.

By OTTO M. HEINZMAN.

PUBLISHED BY E.T. PAULL MUSIC CO. 44 WEST 29TH ST.

NEW YORK

5

MILWAUKEE WIS
ROHLFING SONS MUSIC CO.
SPRINGFIELD MASS
A.H. GOETTING

CHICAGO ILL
NATIONAL MUSIC CO.

LONDON ENG
HOWARD & CO.

TORONTO CAN
WHALEY, ROYCE & CO.

Copyright for all Countries
Copyright 1900 By E.T. PAULL.

CHICAGO ILL
LYON & HEALY

Sheet Music Cover

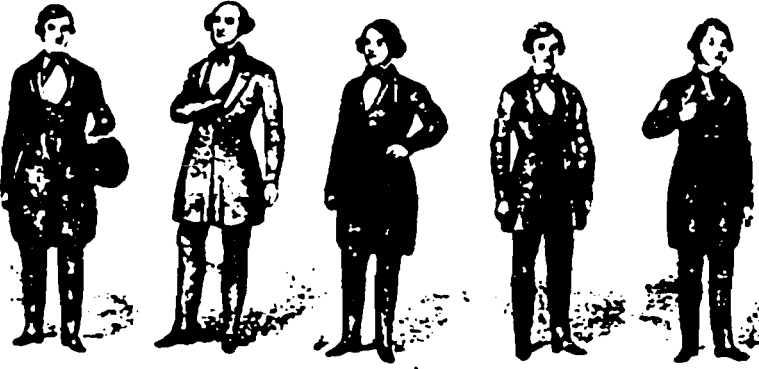
"Plantation Echoes"

Source: University of Illinois Music Library, uncatalogued.

SONGS OF THE VIRGINIA SERENADERS.



A. B. C. D. E.



As sung by them with distinguished success in the principal Cities of the Union.

<p><i>Wade ye from London.</i> <i>What did you come from.</i> <i>And bigger is on look out there.</i> <i>Ye'll be kind.</i> <i>What's going on.</i></p>	<p><i>Walk Joe Bone.</i> <i>Lobby Pine.</i> <i>Did they come.</i> <i>I'm better than.</i> <i>With along John.</i> <i>Did I dare.</i></p>	<p><i>Yellow Laid.</i> <i>Bigge put down dat Jug.</i> <i>Swade Wace.</i> <i>Cynthia Bar.</i> <i>Was't dat bigger than yours.</i></p>
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PIANO FORTÉ.
J. W. TURNER.

PUBLISHED BY J. W. TURNER, 15 NASSAU ST. N. Y.

By B. M. F. ...

Sheet Music Cover

"Songs of the Virginia Serenaders," Boston, 1844.

Source: Toll, Blackening Up, front page to page 38.

APPENDIX B
MAJOR ILLINOIS STATUTES GOVERNING RACE RELATIONS,
1865-1963

MAJOR ILLINOIS STATUTES GOVERNING RACE RELATIONS,
1865-1963

Below are quoted the major sections of the major Illinois statutes governing race relations between 1865 and 1963:

- 1865: ARTICLE XIII, Section 1: "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction."¹
- 1885: Chapter 38, Section 42a., Section 1: Be it enacted by the People of the State of Illinois, represented in the General Assembly: That all persons within the jurisdiction of said State shall be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of the accommodations, advantages, facilities and privileges of inns, restaurants, eating houses, barber shops, public conveyances on land or water, theatres and all other places of public accommodations and amusement, subject only to the conditions and limitations established by law, and applicable alike to all citizens."²
- 1919: Chapter 38, Section 42, "AN ACT to prohibit the publication and distribution of discriminating matter against any religious sect, creed, class, denomination, or nationality, and to punish the same."³
- 1933: Chapter 29, Section 16: "AN ACT to prohibit discrimination and intimidation on account of race or color in employment under contracts for public buildings or public works."Chapter 29, Section 17. "Race or color discrimination prohibited in contracts for public work.] 1. No person shall be refused or denied employment in any capacity on the ground of race or color, nor be discriminated against in any manner by reason thereof, in connection with the contracting for or the performance of any work or service of any kind,by, for, on behalf of, or for the benefit of this State, or of any department, bureau, commission, board, or other political subdivision or agency thereof."⁴
- 1933: Chapter 32, Section 510, Number 9: "No housing corporation or contractor employed thereby shall deny employment to any person on account of race, creed or color."⁵
- 1937: Criminal Code: "AN ACT in relation to civil rights." Section 1: "No officer or employee

1. E. B. Myers Authorized Edition, The Statutes of Illinois, 1859-1865, vol. III. (Chicago: E. B. Myers and Chandler, Law Booksellers and Publishers, 1866), 1865-135.

2. Harvey B. Hurd, Illinois Revised Statutes 1885 (Chicago: Chicago Legal News Co., 1885), 388.

3. Harvey B. Hurd, Revised Statutes of the State of Illinois 1919 (Chicago: Chicago Legal News Co., 1920), 989.

4. Smith-Hurd, Revised Statutes of the State of Illinois 1933 (Chicago: Burdette Smith Co., 1933), 682-83.

5. Smith-Hurd, Revised Statutes of the State of Illinois 1933 (Chicago: Burdette Smith Co., 1933), 827.

of the State of Illinois, or of any political subdivision thereof, or of any county, or of any Park District, or of any Forest Preserve District, or of any State University or subdivision thereof, or of any State Normal School or of any subdivision thereof, or of any municipal corporation in the State of Illinois, shall deny or refuse to any person, on account of race, color or religion, the full and equal enjoyment of the accommodations, advantages, facilities or privileges of his office or services or of any property under his care."⁶

- 1937: Criminal Code: EQUAL ENJOYMENT OF PUBLIC PLACES. Section 1: "Amends sections 1 and 5 of Act of 1885. 1. Right to equality extended."⁷
- 1949: PUBLIC ASSISTANCE CODE OF 1949, Article I, Section 111, Section 1-11. "No discrimination on account of race, religion, etc.) There shall be no discrimination and no denial of assistance or general assistance provided for in this Code 1 on account of the race, religion, color, national origin, or political affiliation of any applicant or recipient."⁸
- 1951: Chapter 24 1/2-Civil Service, Section 38b15, Section 36p. "Nondiscrimination.) In the administration of the University System, no applicant shall be denied employment by the Merit Board or by any employer because of race, color, religious or political affiliations, except that any applicant for employment may be required as a condition of employment, to sign a valid oath attesting his loyalty to the state and the United States."⁹
- 1953: Chapter 122-Schools, 6-37. ". . . no pupil shall be excluded from or segregated in any such school on account of his color, race or nationality."¹⁰
- 1957: Chapter 129-State Militia, Military and Naval Code, Article 1, Section 220.07: "Composition-Racial Segregation.] 7. The Organized Militia shall consist of the Illinois National Guard and the Illinois Naval Militia. There shall be no racial segregation nor shall there be any discrimination in the service of any detachment, company, regiment, division, department or any other subdivision of the Illinois National Guard or Illinois Naval Militia because of race, creed or color."¹¹

6. Laws of Illinois, Sixtieth General Assembly, 1937, printed by the authority of the state of Illinois, 1937, 480.

7. Laws of Illinois, Sixtieth General Assembly, 1937, printed by the authority of the state of Illinois, 1937, 485.

8. State Bar Association, Smith-Hurd Classification, Illinois Revised Statutes 1963 (Chicago: Burdette Smith Co., 1963), 510-11.

9. State Bar Association, Smith-Hurd Classification, Illinois Revised Statutes, 1963 (Chicago: Burdette Smith Co., 1963), 991.

10. Smith-Hurd, Illinois Revised Statutes 1953, vol. 2, chaps. 80-END (Chicago: Burdette Smith Co., 1953), 1109.

11. State Bar Association, Hurd Classification, Illinois Revised Statutes 1963, vol. 3, chaps. 121-END (Chicago: Burdette Smith Co., 1963), 506.

1963: Chapter 67 1/2- Housing and Redevelopment, Section 8.15. "No lease or deed of conveyance either by the Authority or any subsequent owner shall contain a covenant running with the land or other provision prohibiting occupancy of the premises by any person because of race, creed, or color."¹²

12. State Bar Association, Smith-Hurd Classification, Illinois Revised Statutes 1963, vol 2., chaps. 48-120 (Chicago: Burdette Smith Co., 1963), 362.

APPENDIX C
MAP OF CHAMPAIGN-URBANA AND
BLUEPRINT OF ILLINI UNION BUILDING

PLEASE NOTE:

Oversize maps and charts are filmed in sections in the following manner:

LEFT TO RIGHT, TOP TO BOTTOM, WITH SMALL OVERLAPS

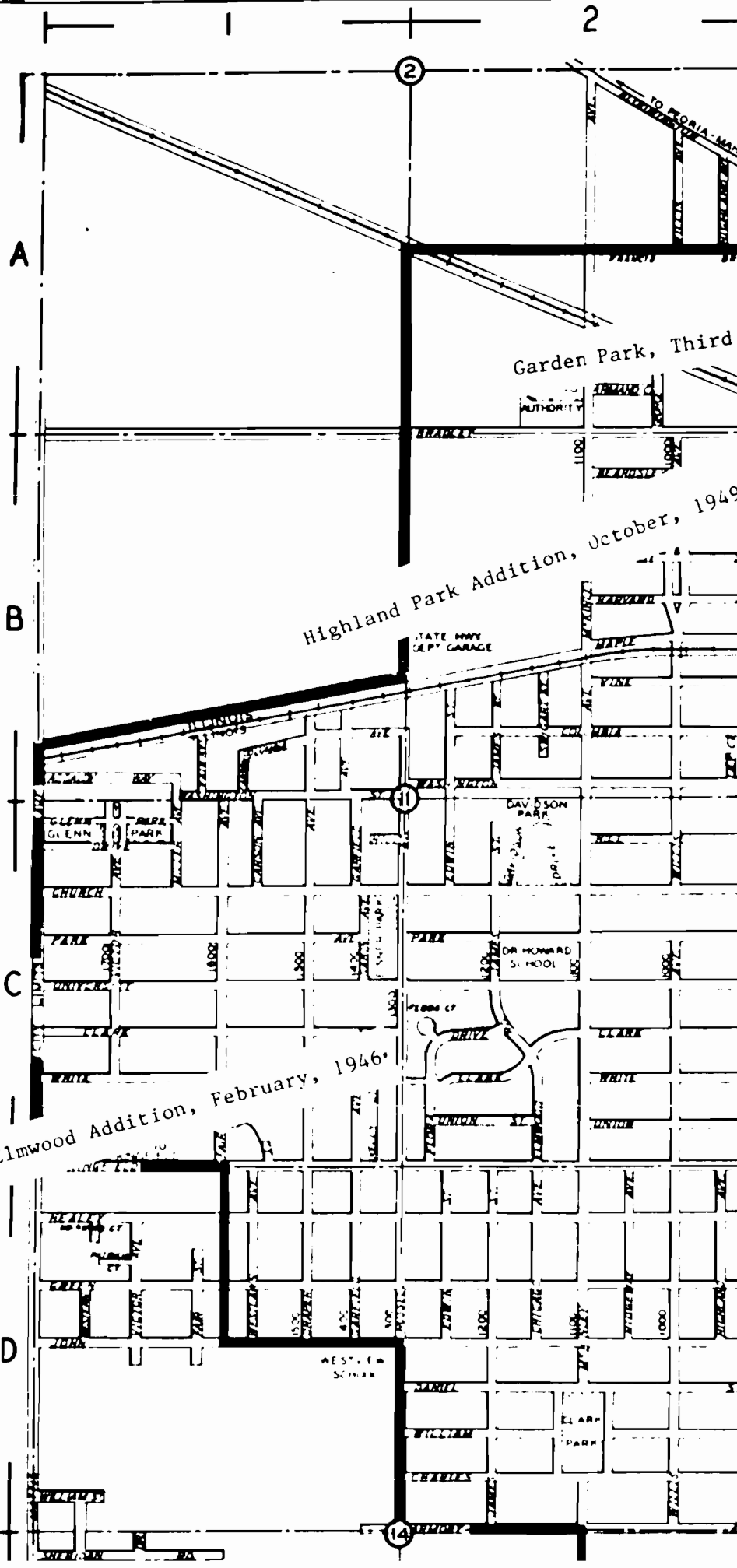
The following map or chart has been refilmed in its entirety at the end of this dissertation (not available on microfiche). A xerographic reproduction has been provided for paper copies and is inserted into the inside of the back cover.

Black and white photographic prints (17" x 23") are available for an additional charge.

University Microfilms International

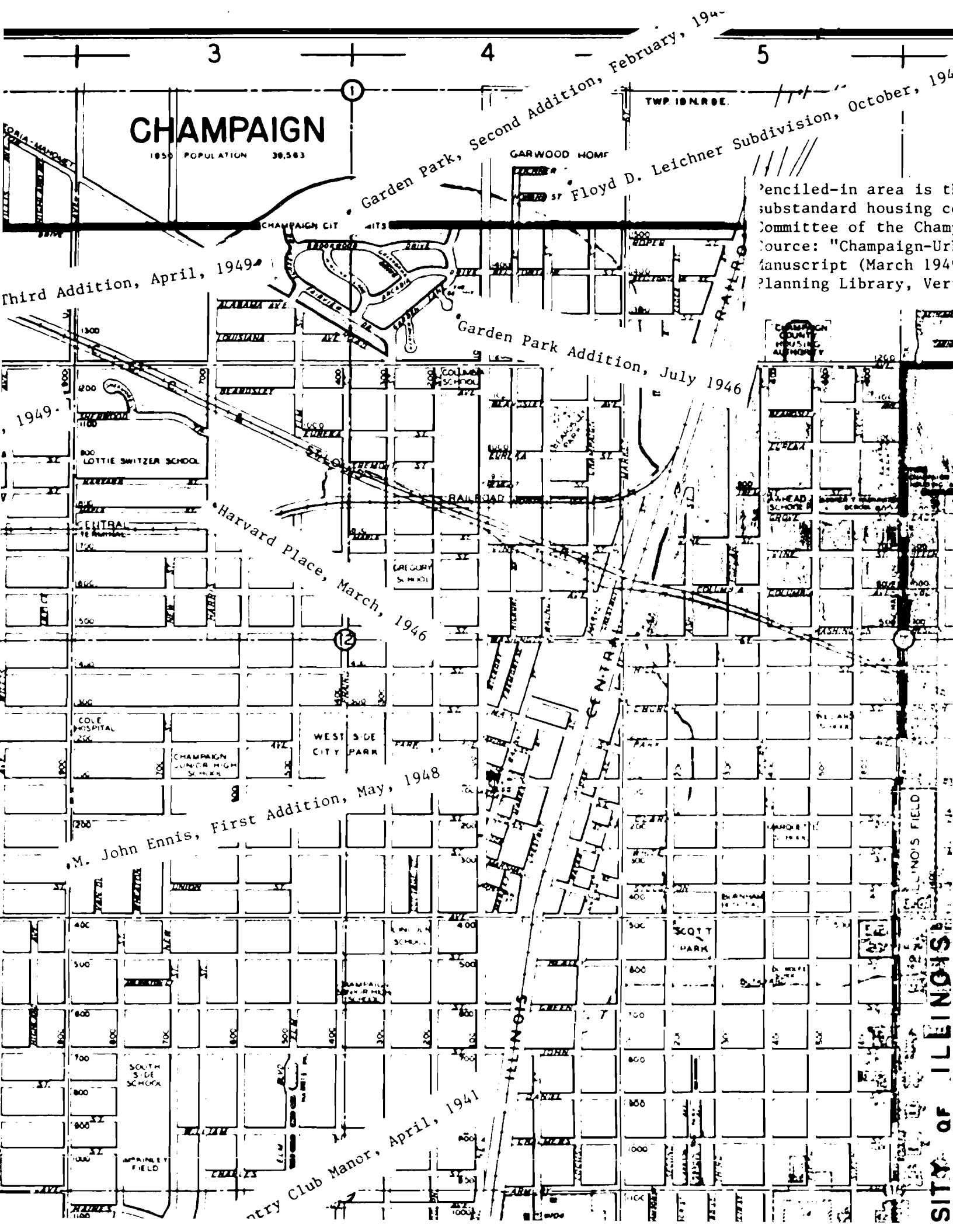
INDEX TO STREETS

A	Accley Way S-1	Illini Circle F-8
	Adams St. E-10	Illini Village E-6
	Alabama Ave. A-3	Illinois St. D-6
	Alma Rd. E-3	Indiana Ave. E-7
	Alms Ave. E-4	Iowa St. E-7
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Fairlawn Dr. E-B-10		
Fairview Ave. B-6		
Fairview Dr. A-3		
Fairway Dr. E-3		



CHAMPAIGN

1850 POPULATION 30,583



Third Addition, April, 1949

Garden Park, Second Addition, February, 1944

Garden Park Addition, July 1946

Harvard Place, March, 1946

M. John Ennis, First Addition, May, 1948

Country Club Manor, April, 1941

Circled-in area is the substandard housing of the Committee of the Champaign-Urbana Planning Commission. Source: "Champaign-Urbana Planning Commission Manuscript (March 1944) Champaign-Urbana Planning Library, Urbana, Illinois."

SITY OF ILLINOIS

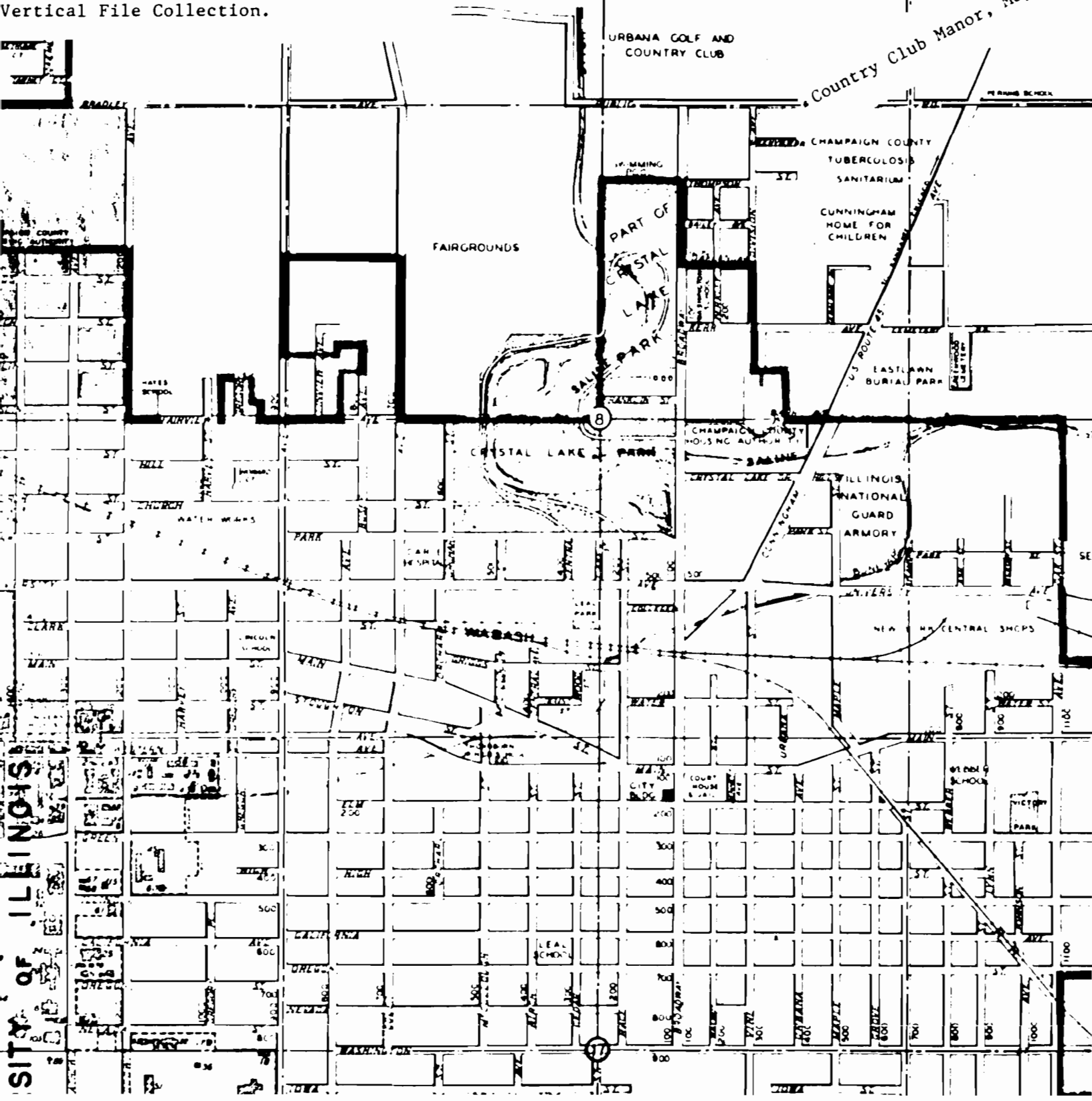
1948

URBANA

1930 POPULATION 22,834

s the location for the study of Twin City
 g conducted by the Social Welfare
 hampaign County League of Women Voters.
 -Urbana Shack Study." Typewritten
 (1949) University of Illinois City
 Vertical File Collection.

Country Club Manor, May, 1946



8

9

10

5

4



Country Club Manor, May, 1946

URBANA GOLF AND COUNTRY CLUB

FRANK SCHOOL

CHAMPAIGN COUNTY TUBERCULOSIS SANITARIUM

CUNNINGHAM HOME FOR CHILDREN

EASTLAWN BURIAL PARK

PART OF CRYSTAL LAKE PARK

CHAMPAIGN COUNTY HOUSING AUTHORITY

HILLWILLING'S NATIONAL GUARD ARMORY

URBANA-CHAMPAIGN SANITARY DISTRICT SEWAGE TREATMENT PLANT & PARK

NEW URBAN CENTRAL SHOPS

US RT 10 US RT 150

STATE POLICE DISTRICT 18

CHAMPAIGN COUNTY

A

B

C

D

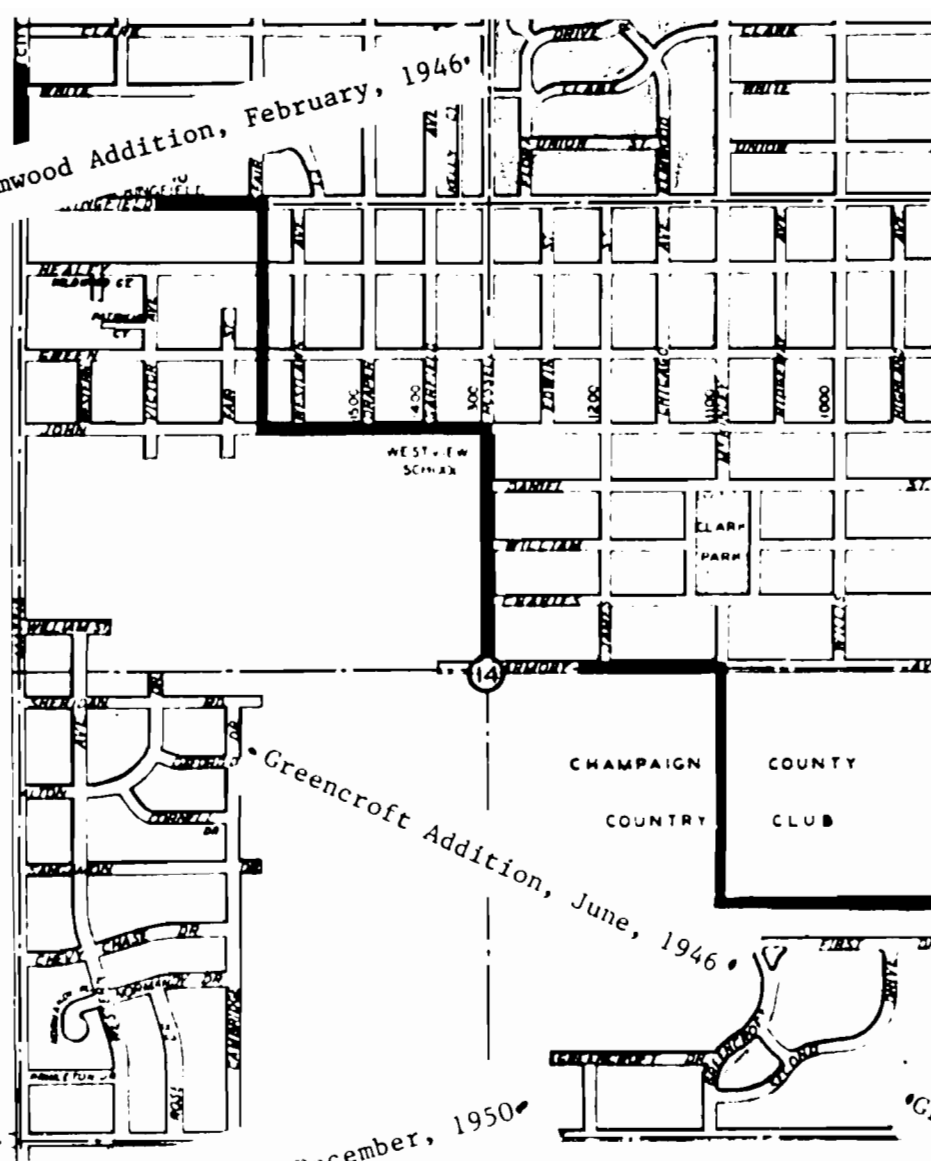
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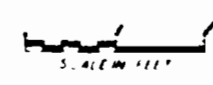
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Cornell Dr.	E-3		
Coronado Dr.	F-3		
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Dublin St.	B-6		
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Eads St.	B-6		
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Elly Ave.	E-3		
Elm Blvd.	D-E-3		
Elm St. C.	B-E-3		
Elm St. U.	D-7		
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Euclid St.	E-5		
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Florida Dr.	F-8		
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Fourth St.	C-F-5		
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Franklin St.	B-8		
Fredrick St.	E-4		
Fremont St.	C-4		
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Garden Lane	A-4		
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Columbia Ave.	B-1-2-5		
Cornell Dr.	E-3		
Coronado Dr.	F-3		
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Crystal Lake Dr.	C-8		
Cunningham Ave.	C-8		
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Park Ave. (C)	C-1-2-4-5		
Park St. (U)	C-6-9		
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Patton Pl.	E-9		
Peabody Dr.	E-5		
Pennsylvania Ave.	E-3-9		
Penn Ct.	E-9		
Philo Rd.	E-3		
Pine St.	E-3		
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Prairie St.	C-D-3		
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Prospect Ave.	F-2		
R			
Race St.	D-B-F-7		
Randolph St.	E-4		
Ridgeway Ave.	D-2		
Romina St.	C-6		
Roper St.	A-5		
Rose Dr.	E-1		
Royal Ct.	C-1		
Russell St.	D-1		
S			
Sabin Ave.	C-1		
Sangamon Dr.	E-1		
Second St.	D-5		
Sheridan Rd.	E-1		
Sherwood Ct.	B-3		
Sixth St.	D-5		
Southwest Dr.	F-3		
Springfield Ave. (C)	C-1		
Springfield Ave. (U)	C-6		
Stadium Dr.	E-4		
Stadium Terrace	E-4		
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Thompson St.	B-8		
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Washington St. (U)	D-7		
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Williamson St.	E-5		
Willis Ave.	A-C-D-2		
Willow St.	C-4		
Winding Lane	A-3		
Wood St.	C-7		
Wright St.	C-6-D-5		



CHAMPAIGN-URBANA

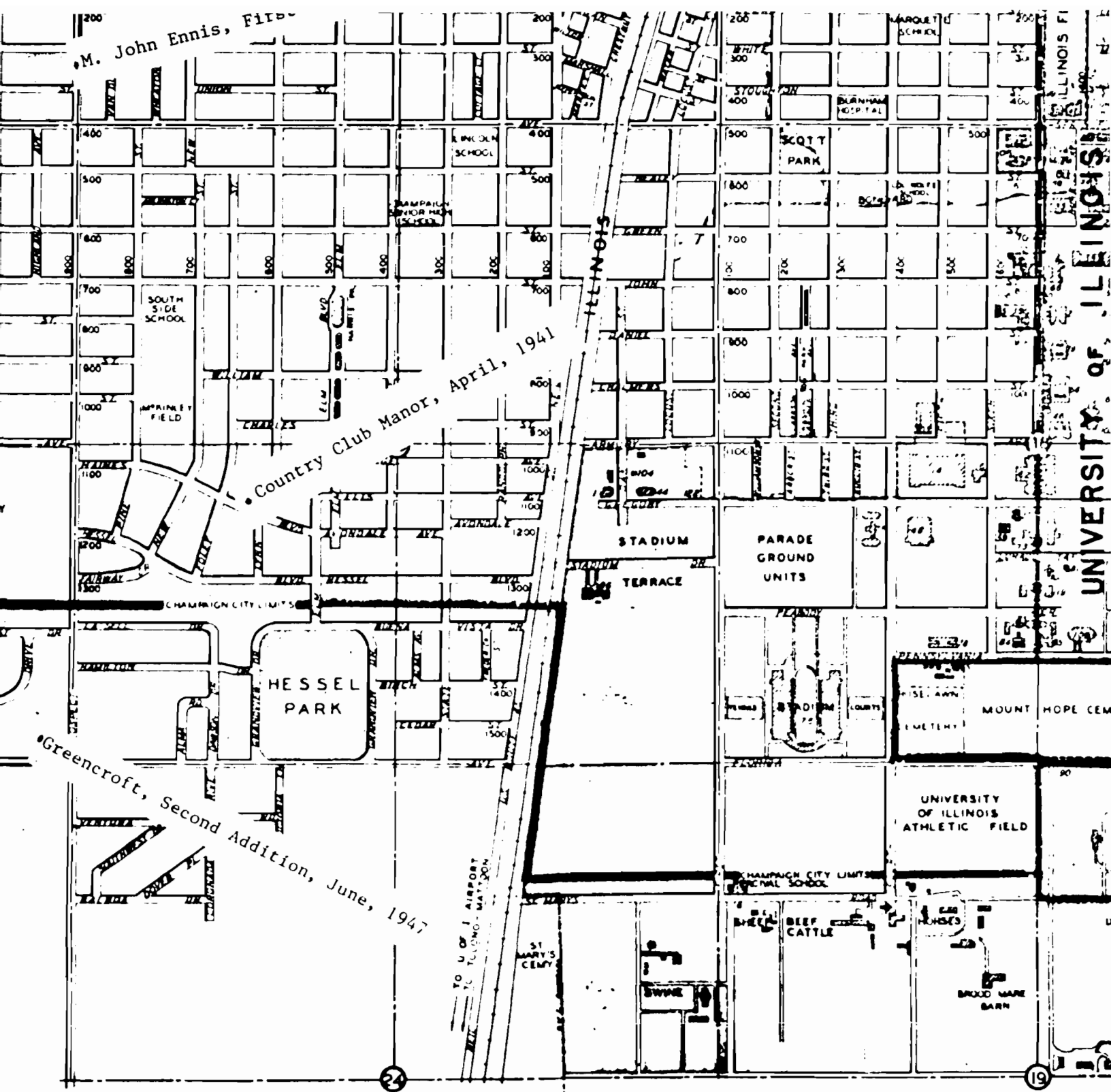
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HUBERT E. GOODELL

ILLINOIS
CHAMPAIGN COUNTY
CHAMPAIGN, ILLINOIS



Areas shaded in red represent those land parcels with racially restrictive covenants attached. Source: Plat Books F-I. Champaign County, Illinois Courthouse Recorder's Office, Urbana, Illinois.

- 1—Abbott Power Plant
- 2—Administration Building
- 3—Aeronautical Lab "A"
- 4—Aeronautical Lab "B"
- 5—Agriculture Engineering
- 6—Agronomy Annex & (
- 7—Agronomy Storehouse
- 8—Alpha House
- 9—Altgeld Hall
- 10—Animal Genetics Bui
- 11—Animal Science Bui
- 12—Arcade Building
- 13—Architecture Building
- 14—Armory
- 15—Auditorium
- 16—Band Building
- 17—Barto House



r Plant
 in Building
 Lab "A"
 Lab "B"
 Engineering Lab.
 Annex & Greenhouse
 greenhouse

 ics Building
 ca Building
 ing
 Building

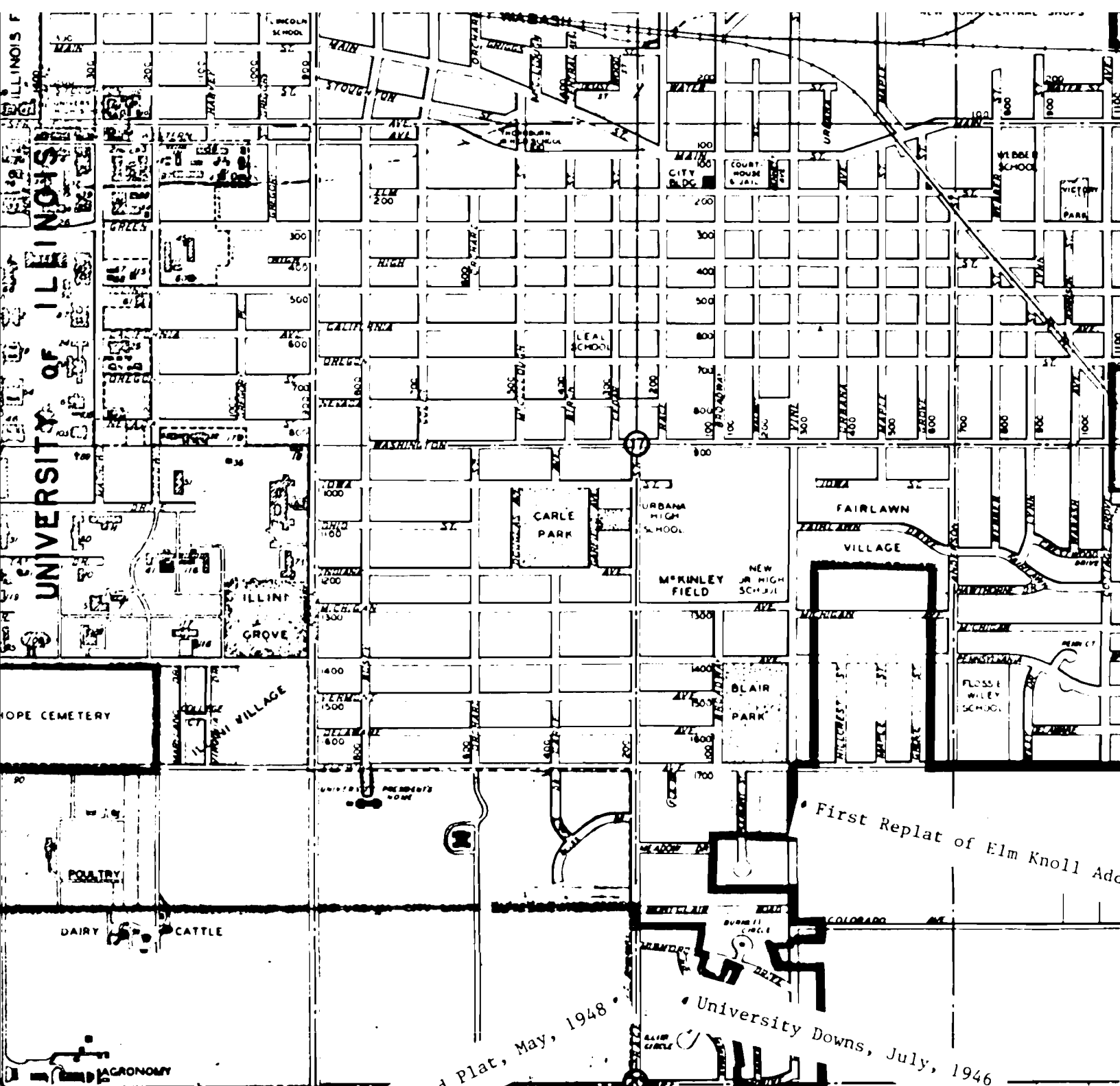
- 18—Beto House
- 19—Bevier Hall
- 20—Botany Annex & Greenhouse
- 21—Brake Shoe Lab.
- 22—Busby Hall
- 23—Ceramics Building
- 24—Chemistry Annex
- 25—Chemistry, East
- 26—Civil Engineering Hall
- 27—Civil Engineering Surveying Bldg
- 28—Dairy Manufacture Bldg.
- 29—Davenport Hall
- 30—Davenport House (Health Center)
- 31—David Kinley Hall
- 32—Elec Eng. Annex
- 33—Elec Eng Bldg
- 34—Elec Eng Research Lab

- 35—Evans Hall
- 36—Field House (Women's)
- 37—Filtration Plant
- 38—Fire Station
- 39—Fire Station Garage
- 40—Firemen's Training Tower
- 41—Floriculture Bldg
- 42—Comma House
- 43—Garage & Shops, North
- 44—Geological Survey Lab
- 45—Green St Apartments
- 46—Gregory Hall
- 47—Gymnasium Annex
- 48—Gymnasium, Gee Nutt
- 49—Gymnasium, High School
- 50—Gymnasium, Men's Old
- 51—Gymnasium, Women's

- 52—Marker Hall
- 53—High Pressure Lab
- 54—Home Management House
- 55—Horse Barn (Ground's Dept.)
- 56—Hydraulic Laboratory
- 57—Illini Hall
- 58—Illini Union Bldg
- 59—Illini Union Coffee Shop
- 60—Illinois St 1110
- 61—Illinois St 1203
- 62—Library

- 63—Lincoln Ave Residence (Women's)
- 64—Lincoln Hall
- 65—Mailing Center
- 66—Mathematics Building
- 67—Mathews St 402
- 68—Mathews St 404
- 69—Mathews St 606 Music Annex
- 70—Mathews St 606
- 71—Mathews St 608
- 72—Mathews St 701

**UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
BUILDING LEGEND**



6

7

8

9

University Downs, Second Plat, May, 1948

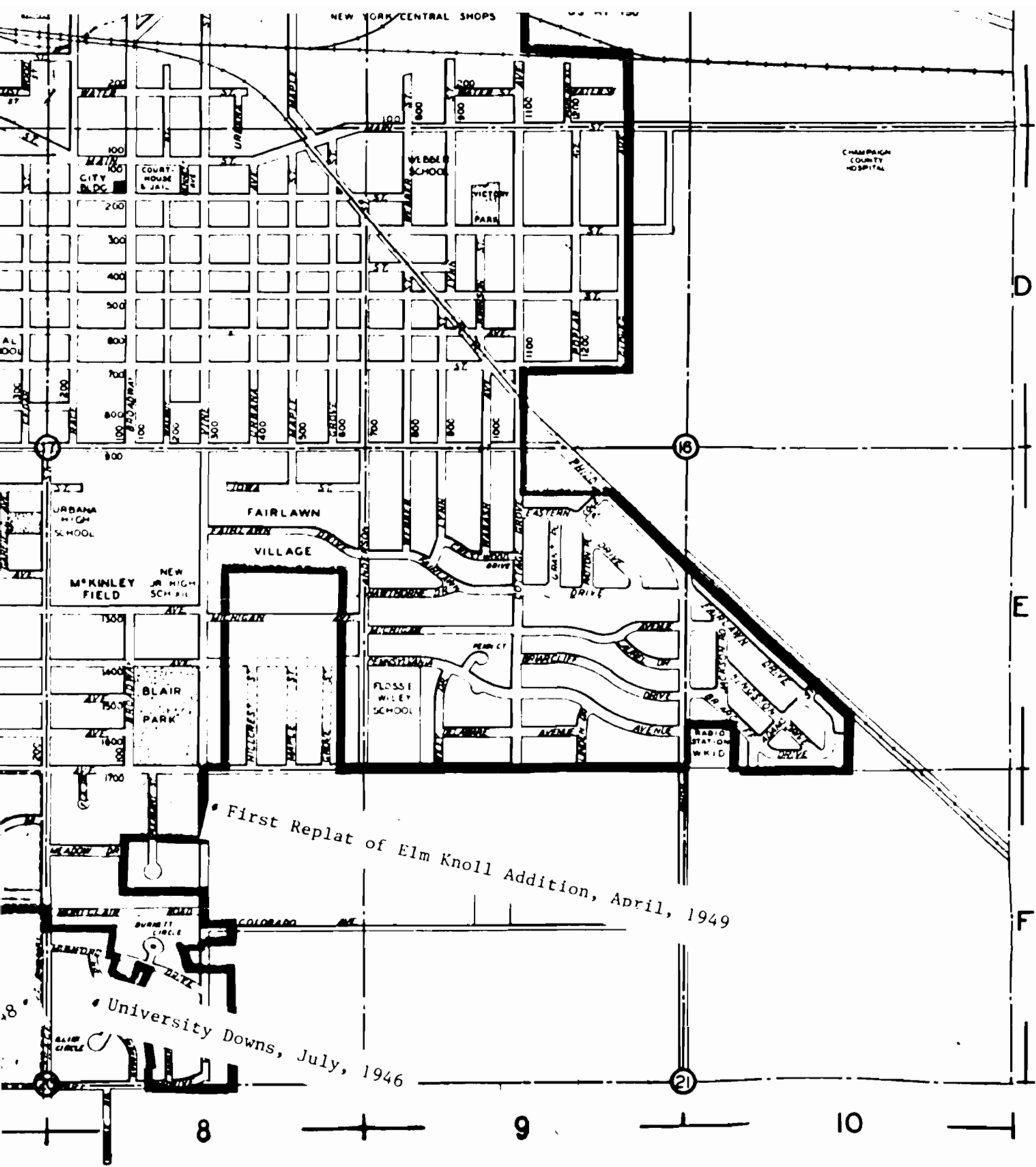
University Downs, July, 1946

First Replat of Elm Knoll Addition

- 73—McKinley Hospital
- 74—Mechanical Engine Lab
- 75—Mechanical Engines Lab
- 76—Memorial Stadium
- 77—Men's Residence Halls
- 78—Military Stables
- 79—Mining & Metallurgical Lab
- 80—Mumford Hall
- 81—Mumford House
- 82—Natural History Bldg
- 83—Natural Resources Bldg
- 84—Natural Resources Garage
- 85—Natural Resources Greenhouse
- 86—North Greenhouse
- 87—Noyes Laboratory of Chemistry
- 88—Nuclear Radiations Lab
- 89—Observatory
- 90—Observatory South
- 91—Oregon, 1204
- 92—Paint, Key & Shade Shop
- 93—Physical Plant Service Bldg
- 94—Physical Plant Service Bldg Annex
- 95—Physics Bldg
- 96—Physics Research Lab
- 97—Psychological Clinic
- 98—Purebred Merdsman's House
- 99—Radio Transmission Lab
- 100—Receiving Warehouse
- 101—Recreation Bldg, Veterans
- 102—Sanitary Engineering Lab
- 103—Skating Rink, Ice
- 104—Small Home's Council
- 105—Smith Music Hall
- 106—Speech Clinic
- 107—Springfield Avenue, 1204-6
- 108—State Natural History Survey Lab
- 109—Stock Judging Pavilion
- 110—Stoughton, 1207
- 111—Student and Staff Apartments
- 112—Tailor Lab
- 113—Transportation Bldg
- 114—University High School
- 115—University Men's Club
- 116—Vegetable Crops Bldg
- 117—Veterinary Medicine
- 118—Veterinary Medicine Annex
- 119—Veterinary Pathology Lab
- 120—Vivarium
- 121—Warehouses
- 122—Warm Air Research
- 123—Water Resources Bldg & Garage
- 124—Woodshop and Foundry

Map Source:
Champaign-Ur
G4101.C51953
University of

TITLE II-C



- Springfield Avenue, 1204-6
- State Natural History Survey Lab
- Stack Judging Pavilion
- Staughton, 1207
- Student and Staff Apartments
- Talbot Lab
- Transportation Bldg
- University High School
- University Men's Club
- Vegetable Crops Bldg
- Veterinary Medicine
- Veterinary Medicine Annex
- Veterinary Pathology Lab
- Vivarium
- Warehouses
- Warm Air Research
- Water Resources Bldg & Garage
- Woodshop and Foundry

Map Source: Goodell, Herbert E., Civil Engineer.
 Champaign-Urbana Map, 1953. Title II-C Cat
 G4101.C51953C6, Map and Geography Library,
 University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois.

TITLE II-C CAT. G4104 C5 1953. C6

MAP & GEOGRAPHY
 UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

PLEASE NOTE:

Oversize maps and charts are filmed in sections in the following manner:

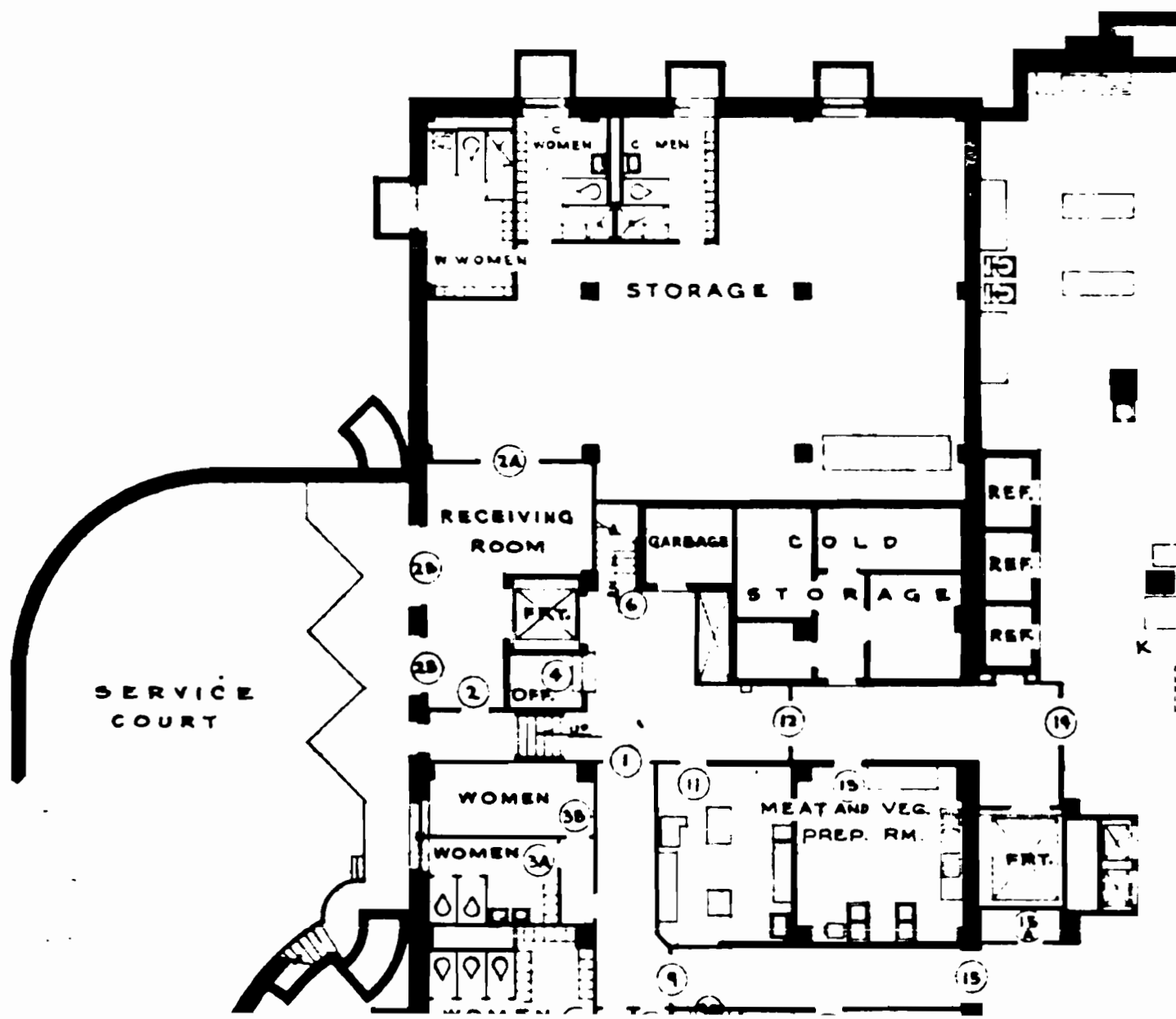
LEFT TO RIGHT, TOP TO BOTTOM, WITH SMALL OVERLAPS

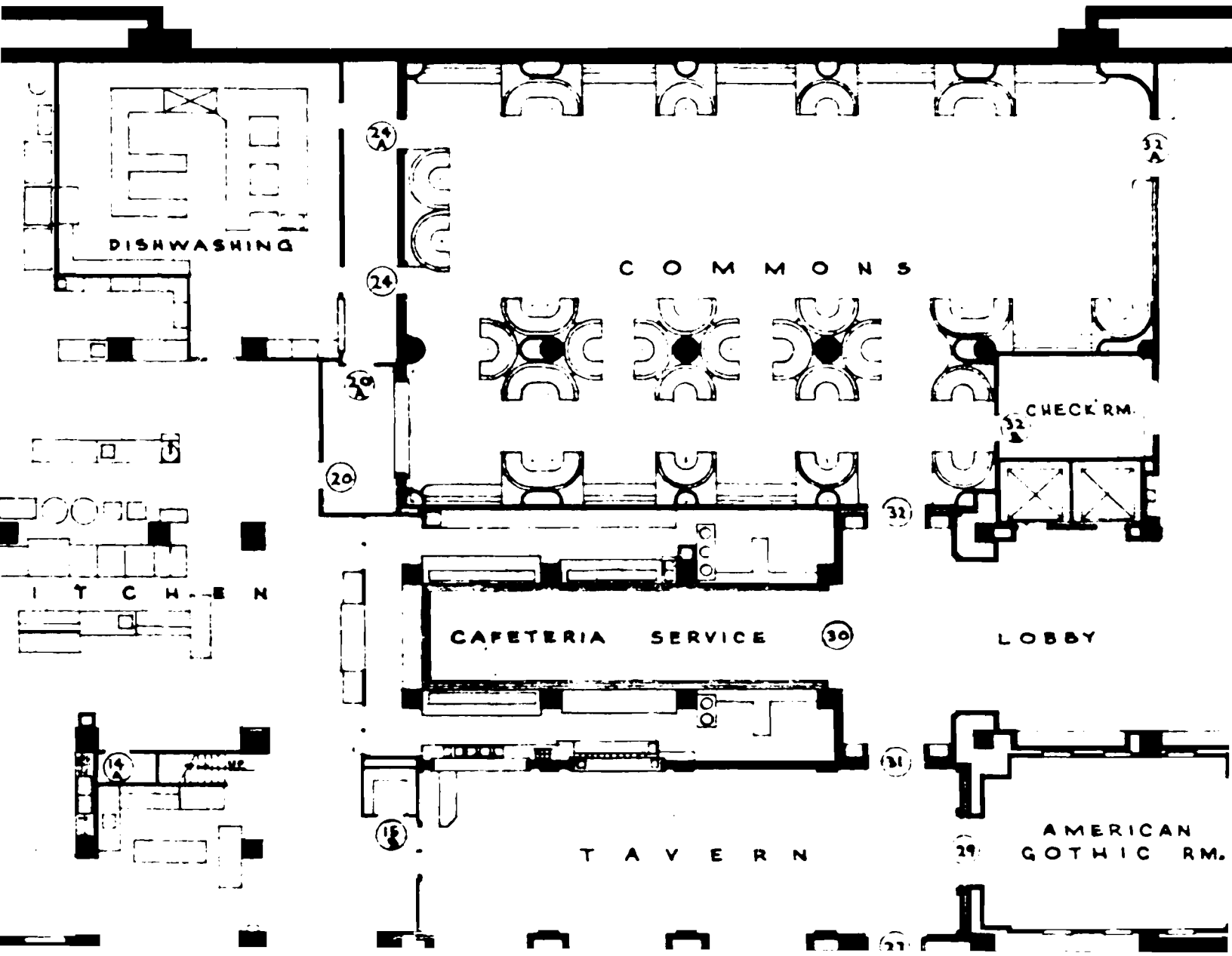
The following map or chart has been refilmed in its entirety at the end of this dissertation (not available on microfiche). A xerographic reproduction has been provided for paper copies and is inserted into the inside of the back cover.

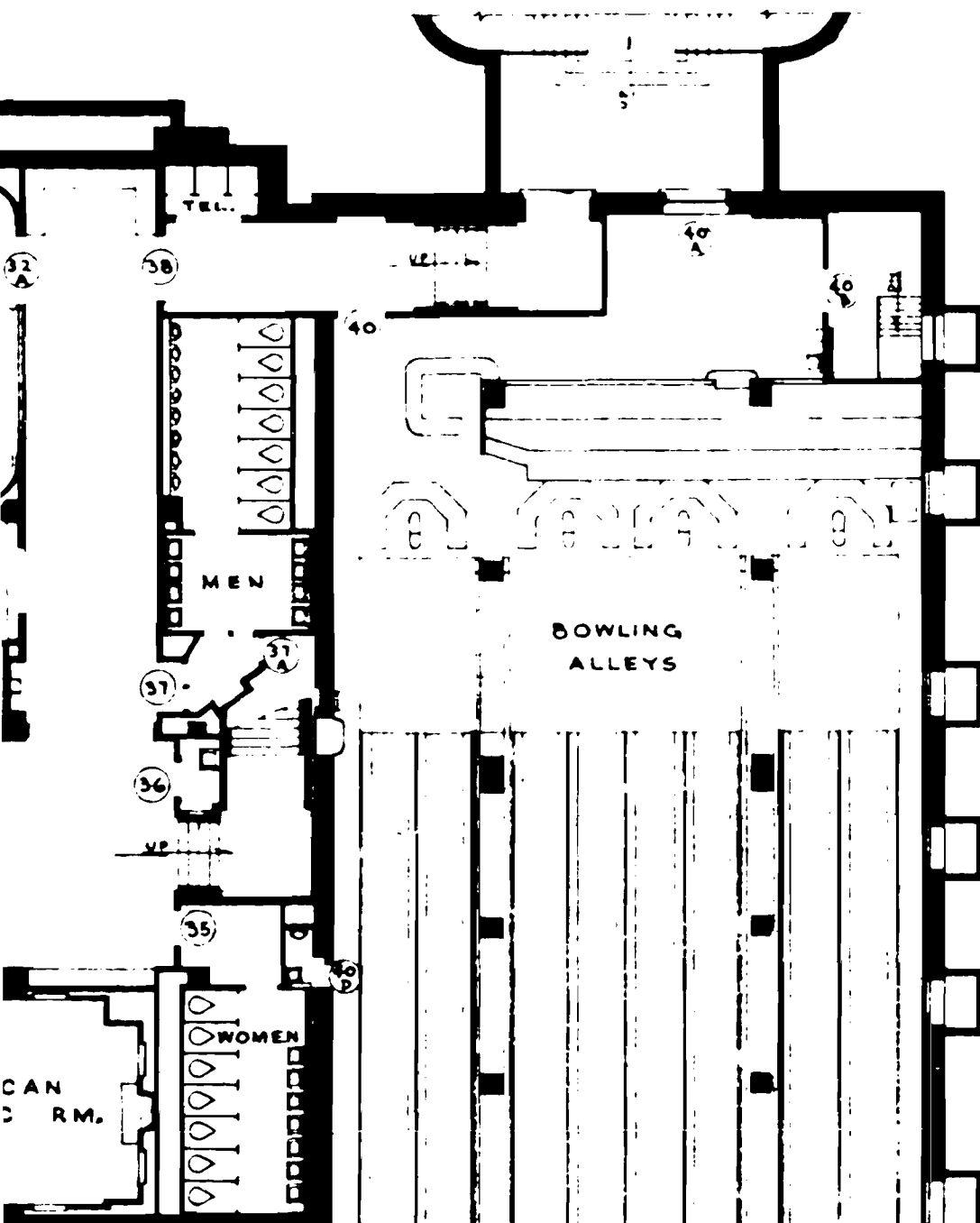
Black and white photographic prints (17" x 23") are available for an additional charge.

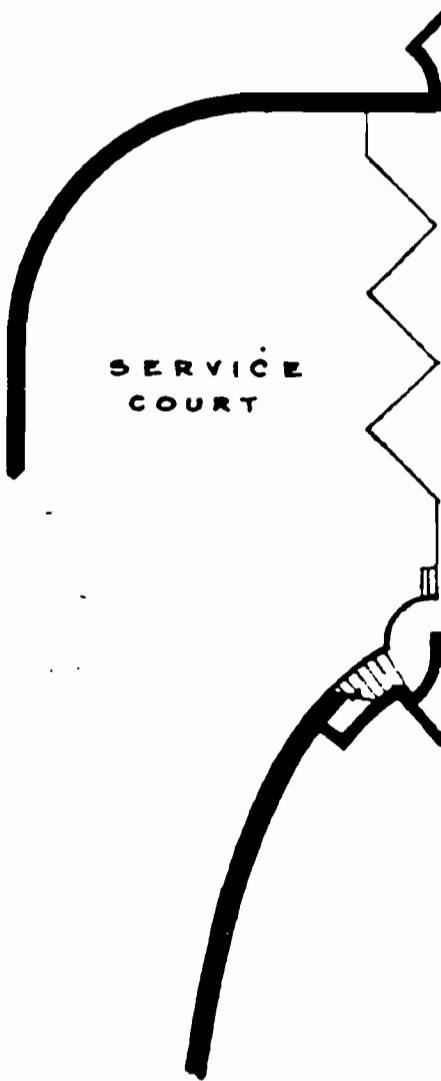
University Microfilms International

20-10-11









2A
RECEIVING ROOM

2B
2C
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4
OFF.

GARBAGE

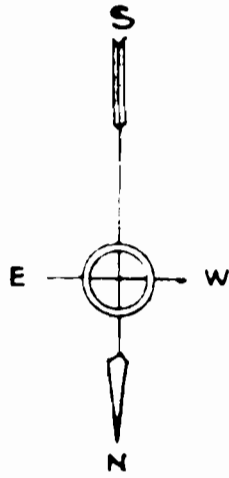
COLD STORAGE

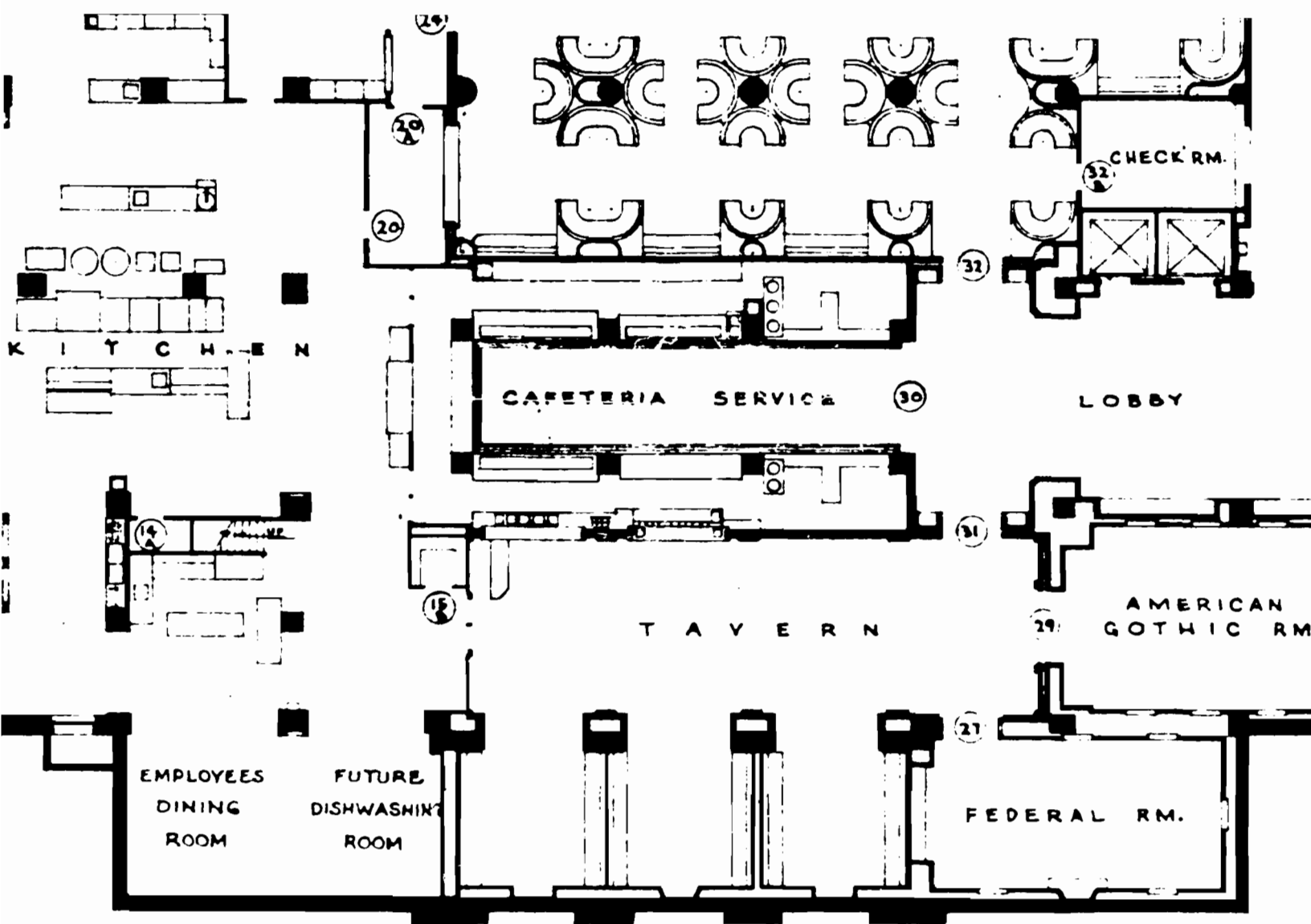
REF.
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WOMEN 5B
WOMEN 5A
WOMEN 5B
WOMEN 5A
MEN

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MEAT AND VEG. PREP. RM.
15 A

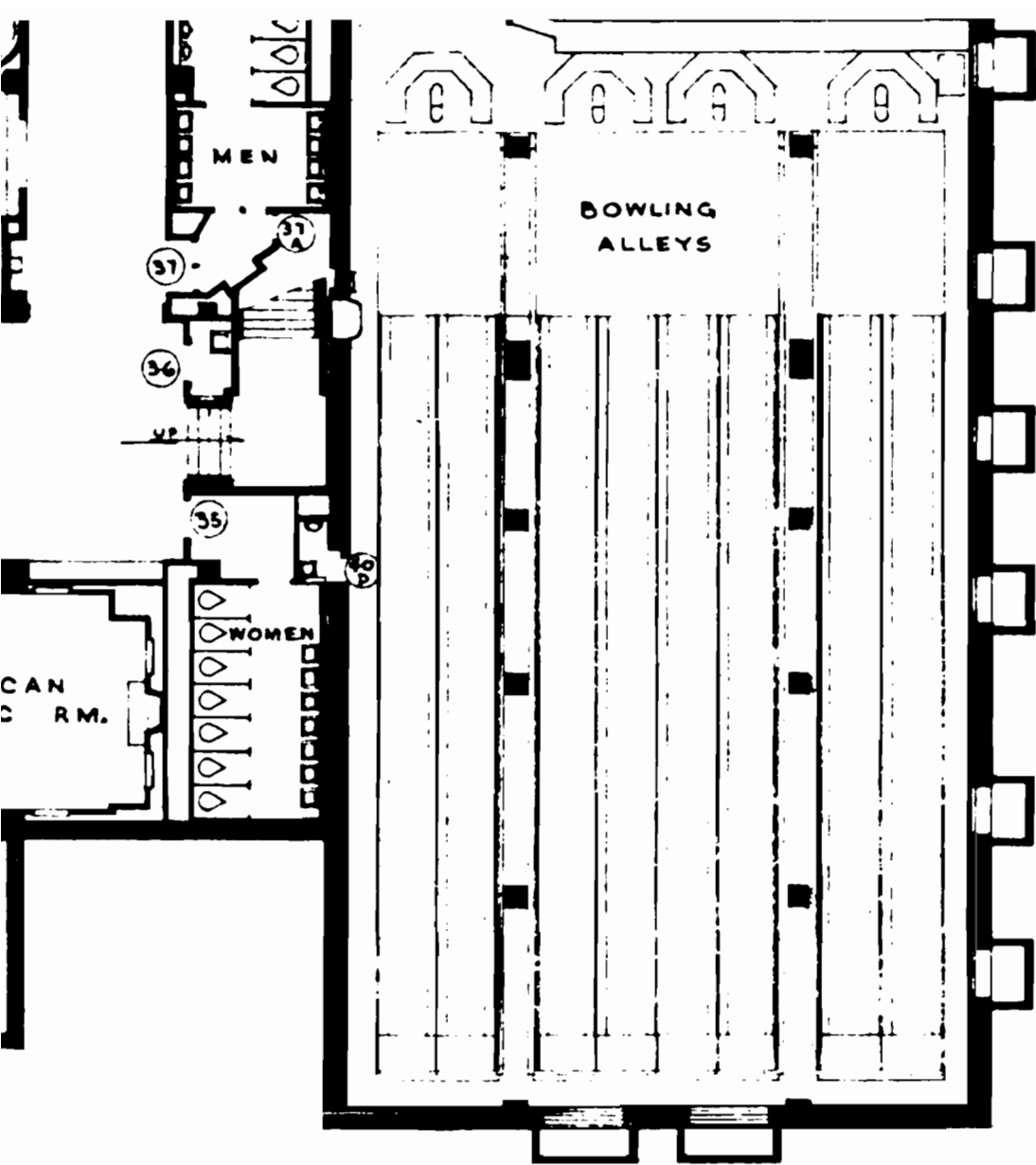
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FOOD STORAGE
15





GROUND FLOOR PLAN

SCALE 1/16" = 1'-0"



ILLINI UNION BUILDING
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
URBANA ILLINOIS

PHYSICAL PLANT DEPARTMENT
256 ADMINISTRATION BUILDING

CORRECTED 3-5-48

APPENDIX D
RACIALLY RESTRICTIVE COVENANT DATA AND
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS KU KLUX KLAN
PHOTOCOPIES

APPENDIX D.1

Table D.1.1

Original Owners, Plat, and Date of Racially Restrictive Property, Champaign County

Owners	Plat	City	Date Owners Signed	Source
1. Edward F. G. Hessel O. Clark Hessel Bertha Euphrasia Reynolds	Country Club Manor	C	4/41	<u>F</u> 205-06
2. Robert O. Shoemaker Charlotte Shoemaker	Country Club Manor	U	5/46	<u>F</u> 304-09
3. Cornelia M. Chester Gordon F. Kamerer Alberta D. Kamerer Charles M. Webber Lucille R. Webber	Greencroft Addition	C	6/46	<u>F</u> 310-12
4. Clara M. Leach W. M. Leach	Harvard Place	C	3/46	<u>F</u> 295-300
5. George R. McComb Flora McComb	Elmwood Addition	C	2/46	<u>G</u> 14
6. Howard O. Watson Jessie E. Watson John L. Franklin Margaret O. Franklin	Garden Park Addition	C	7/46	<u>G</u> 14-18
7. Howard O. Watson Jessie E. Watson David E. Hubbard Frances L. Hubbard William T. Burnett Ethel E. Burnett	University Downs	U	7/46	<u>G</u> 24-30

Table D.1.1 (continued)

Owners	Plat	City ^a	Date Owners Signed	Source
8. Howard O. Watson Jessie E. Watson John L. Franklin Margaret O. Franklin	Garden Park, Second	C	2/48	<u>Q</u> 192-94
9. Elmer A. Nelson	Flesner Addition	R	3/48	<u>Q</u> 197-200
10. William B. Corray Flo S. Corray	University Downs, Second Plat	U	5/48	<u>Q</u> 219-22
11. M. John Ennis	M. John Ennis Subdivision	C	5/48	<u>H</u> 5-7
12. Cornelia M. Chester Gordon F. Kameron Alberta D. Kameron Charles M. Webber Lucille R. Webber	Greencroft, Second Addition	C	6/47	<u>H</u> 16-19
13. Floyd D. Leichner Vera Leichner Howard J. Leichner Virginia E. Leichner	Floyd D. Leichner Subdivision	C	8/48	<u>H</u> 40-42
14. Howard O. Watson Jessie E. Watson John L. Franklin Margaret O. Franklin	Garden Park, Third Addition	C	4/49	<u>H</u> 68-71
15. H. A. Ritcher L. M. Rovelstad Myra Rovelstad	First Replat of Elm Knoll Addition	U	4/49	<u>H</u> 72-75

Table D.1.1 (continued)

Owners	Plat	City	Date Owners Signed	Source
16. Cecil R. Ozier Gleena Ozier Scott E. Weller Catherine M. Weller	Highland Park Addition	C	10/49	<u>H</u> 114-17
17. Hugo E. Lange Ellen B. Lange	Lange's Second Subdivision S of Part of Sec. 1, Twnshp. 18, North Champaign County		6/50	<u>I</u> 38-40
18. Charles M. Webber Lucille R. Webber Gordon F. Kameron Alberta D. Kameron	Greencroft, Third Addition	C	12/50	<u>I</u> 113-15

Source: Plat Books E-I, Champaign County, Illinois Courthouse Recorder's Office, Urbana, Illinois.

Note: Photocopies of portions of these deeds as well as photocopies of each restrictive Plat are now in a collection housed in the Archibald Anderson Library, University of Illinois, College of Education Department of Educational Policy Studies, Room 360. (Courtesy of James D. Anderson.)

^aC = Champaign; U = Urbana; R = Rantoul; and S = near Savoy.

APPENDIX D.2

DEEDS WITH RACIALLY RESTRICTIVE COVENENT AND MAP

Provided herein are photocopies of the documents of a Champaign County, Illinois, parcel which holds a racially restrictive covenant (Source: Plat Books G24–30, Champaign County, Illinois Courthouse Recorder's Office, Urbana, Illinois). This particular parcel is called University Downs and is located in Urbana.¹ Though it may have been helpful to the reader to have included photocopies of all the restrictive deeds with maps of their properties, the copy quality of these documents was legible enough with which to work, but were not of sufficient readability to include in a dissertation-quality volume. As previously stated, the collection of these photocopies (the courthouse charged \$3.00 per microfilm card; each set of documents contained approximately 3 cards) is now housed in the Archibald Anderson Library, University of Illinois, College of Education, Department of Educational Policy Studies, Room 360.

1. Plat Book G, 24–30, Champaign County, Illinois, Courthouse, Recorder of Deeds Office, Urbana, Illinois.

State of Illinois }
Champaign County }

I Harry A. Little, County Clerk of the County of Champaign of Illinois, hereby certify that I find no delinquent general taxes, unpaid current delinquent special assessments or unpaid current special assessments as described as 'University Downs', and a plat of which is hereto attached.
Dated this 3rd day of September, A D 1946. 1946

County Court, Champaign)
County, Ill.)

Harry A. Little
County Clerk, Champaign

Approval By Urbana Plan Commission

I, the undersigned Secretary of Urbana Plan Commission, and lawful custodian thereof, do hereby certify that the following is a true and correct copy of a resolution adopted by the Urbana Plan Commission at a meeting held by said commission in the City Building on the 5th day of August, A D 1946, at the hour of 5:00 o'clock P.M., as will appear from the records in my said office remaining, viz:

Be It Resolved, by the Urbana Plan Commission, after due consideration of the survey and plat of 'University Downs' presented at said meeting, that said survey and plat is hereby in all respects approved, and that George F. Hurd, Chairman of said commission, is hereby authorized to endorse said approval as evidence of the approval thereof by said commission, and that upon the filing of such approval endorsed thereon, in the Recorder's Office of Champaign County, Illinois, with a copy of this resolution duly certified by the Secretary of said commission, the same shall be proof of the authority of the said George F. Hurd, as Chairman, and of the approval of said plat by said Urbana Plan Commission.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereto affixed my signature and seal as Secretary of Urbana Plan Commission on this the 5th day of August, A D 1946.



E. Rose
Secretary of Urbana Plan Commission

Approval By The City Council of The City of Urbana

I, the undersigned Clerk of the City of Urbana, and lawful custodian of the records thereof, do hereby certify that the following is a true and correct copy of a resolution adopted by said city council of the City of Urbana, Illinois, at a meeting held by said city council in the City Building in Urbana, Illinois, on the 6th day of August, A D 1946, at the hour of 5:00 o'clock P.M., as will appear from the records in my said office remaining, viz:

Be It Resolved, by the City Council of the City of Urbana, after due consideration of the survey and plat of 'University Downs' presented at said meeting, that said survey and plat is hereby in all respects approved, and that George F. Hurd, Mayor of said City of Urbana, is hereby authorized to endorse said approval as evidence of the approval thereof by said city council, and that upon the filing of such approval endorsed thereon, in the Recorder's Office of Champaign County, Illinois, with a copy of this resolution duly certified by the City Clerk of the City of Urbana, Illinois, the same shall be proof of the authority of the said George F. Hurd, as Mayor, and of the approval of said plat by the City Council of Urbana, Illinois.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereto affixed my signature as said City Clerk of Urbana, Illinois on this the 6th day of August, A D 1946.

Plat Book G 25 28 2

State of Illinois }
Champaign County }

I, Harry A. Little, County Clerk of the County of Champaign and State of Illinois, hereby certify that I find no delinquent general taxes, unpaid current general taxes, delinquent special assessments or unpaid current special assessments against the tract of land described as 'University Downs', and a plat of which is hereto attached.
Dated this 3rd day of September, A D 1946. 1946

Harry A. Little
County Clerk, Champaign County, Illinois

County Seat, Champaign,
County, Ills.

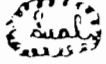
Approval By Urbana Plan Commission

I, the undersigned Secretary of Urbana Plan Commission, and lawful custodian of the records thereof, do hereby certify that the following is a true and correct copy of a resolution adopted by said Urbana Plan Commission at a meeting held by said commission in the City Building, in Urbana, Illinois, on the 5th day of August, A D 1946, at the hour of 5:00 o'clock P.M., as will appear from the records in my said office remaining, viz:

"Be It Resolved, by the Urbana Plan Commission, after due consideration of the survey and plat of 'University Downs' presented at said meeting, that said survey and plat be, and the same is hereby, in all respects approved, and that George F. Hurd, Chairman of said Commission, for and on behalf of said Commission, is hereby authorized to endorse said approval upon said plat to evidence the approval thereof by said Commission, and that upon the filing of the plat with such approval endorsed thereon, in the Recorder's Office of Champaign County, Illinois, together with a copy of this resolution duly certified by the Secretary of said Urbana Plan Commission, the same shall be proof of the authority of the said George F. Hurd, as such Chairman, in the premises, and of the approval of said plat by said Urbana Plan Commission."

In Witness Whereof, I have hereto affixed my signature and seal as Secretary of said Urbana Plan Commission on this the 5th day of August, A D 1946.

E. Rose Mills,
Secretary of Urbana Plan Commission



Approval By The City Council of The City of Urbana, Illinois

I, the undersigned Clerk of the City of Urbana, and lawful custodian of the records of the City Council thereof, do hereby certify that the following is a true and correct copy of a resolution adopted by said City Council of the City of Urbana, Illinois, at a meeting held by said City Council, in the City Building in Urbana, Illinois, on the 5th day of August, A D 1946, at the hour of 7:20 o'clock P.M., as will appear from the records in my said office remaining, viz:

"Be It Resolved, by the City Council of the City of Urbana, after due consideration of the Survey and Plat of 'University Downs' presented at said meeting, that said plat be, and the same is hereby in all respects approved, and that George F. Hurd, Mayor of said City of Urbana, for and on behalf of said City Council, is hereby authorized to endorse said approval upon said plat to evidence the approval thereof by said City Council, and that upon the filing of the plat with such approval endorsed thereon, in the Recorder's Office of Champaign County, Illinois, together with a copy of this resolution duly certified by the City Clerk of the City of Urbana, Illinois, the same shall be proof of the authority of the said George F. Hurd, as such Mayor, in the premises, and of the approval of said plat by the City Council of the City of Urbana, Illinois."

In Witness Whereof, I have hereto affixed my signature and the seal of said City of Urbana, Illinois on this the 6th day of August, A D 1946.

Thos. M. Holmes, City Clerk

Urbana, Illinois

... that at the request of the owners, David F. Howard, Howard C. ...
... have surveyed and made a plat of

Plat
Book
2

The West 195 feet of the Southwest Quarter of the Northeast Quarter, and the West 115 feet of
the North Half of the Northwest Quarter of the Southeast Quarter of Section Twenty (20) Township
Twelve (12) North, Range Nine (9) East of the Third Principal Meridian, in the County of
Franklin and State of Illinois.

for said owners, who desire to facilitate the sale of said land by subdividing it into lots
to which this plat is attached, particularly desired, and also for all of the lots and acreage
to which said lands have been or hereafter shall be numbered, and have numbered all such lots by
progressive numbers, which numbers are not necessary in connection with said plat, and to show
the precise dimensions of said lots and the names, width and extent of all public streets and
said plat, that reference be made upon said plat to known and future streets and highways,
on which future surveys may be made, and to a fixed iron pipe monument at each corner
and at twelve of the lot corners, which monuments were placed in concrete, all as shown on said plat,
and that all distances shown on said plat are stated in feet and hundredths of a foot, and that all
said plat and said survey are in all respects true, and correct.

The said subdivision is to be known as "University Towne".

Signed and sealed this 26th day of July, A.D. 1946.

(Hubert Ellis Goodell,
Illinois Land Surveyor,
No. 129, Champaign,
Illinois.)

Hubert Ellis Goodell,
Registered Surveyor.

We, the undersigned, Hubert E. Goodell and Hubert E. Goodell, Jr., the wife; David F. Howard and Howard C.
Howard, his wife, and Howard C. Watson and June C. Watson, his wife; who are all the owners of the
aforesaid lands described together with their respective wives, have caused the said plat, showing
the West 195 feet of the Southwest Quarter of the Northeast Quarter and the West 115 feet of the North
Half of the Northwest Quarter of the Southeast Quarter of Section Twenty (20) Township Twelve (12) North,
Range Nine (9) East of the Third Principal Meridian, in the County of Franklin and State of Illinois, to be
surveyed, plotted and subdivided into lots and streets, and subdivisions to be known as
"University Towne", all as shown by the attached plat; and we do hereby dedicate, to the public, the
streets and highways shown on said plat, and we do hereby dedicate, to the public, the
lots, remaining and wanting after said subdivision of the aforesaid land and of the State of Illinois.

It is hereby provided that all the uses and purposes to which the aforesaid lands are hereafter put, and
any of the aforesaid described lands, shall, by adopting the dedication of said plat, be subject to the
aforesaid restrictions, to be taken and understood as incorporating in all such cases, without
repeal of the same, the following restrictions as being applicable to each of the lots and subdivisions
plotted and described on the said "University Towne" plat:

1. The stone or masonry walls of any building erected on any of the aforesaid lots, and any
of said lot shall be completed exclusively by January, 1947, or within a longer time as may be
stated on a plat.
2. All buildings erected on any lot shall be constructed of materials of good quality,
suitably adapted for use in construction of residences, and no dwelling, including garages,
or other accessories to such dwelling, costing less than \$15,000.00, shall be erected on any lot.
The standard cost shall be the cost prices as of June 30, 1946.
3. No old building or buildings shall be placed on said premises, nor shall it be allowed
to occur thereon, either permanently or temporarily, any structure as a nuisance,
unless such structure complies with the foregoing restrictions.

525

- 4 All buildings shall be placed back of the building lines as shown on the plat. The 5' easement as shown on the plat are permanent easements for the installation and maintenance of gas, telephone and power lines, water and sewers, and any other utilities which may be needed. In the event the telephone and electric lines are used underground, the property owner is to continue such line underground to the dwelling and other buildings.
- 5 No part thereof will be sold or leased, either in whole or in part, to, or be permitted to be occupied as owner, or as tenant by any person or persons not of the Caucasian race.
- 6 No apartment building or other multiple dwelling designed to accommodate more than two families shall be constructed on any of said lots.
- 7 Sanitary outlets shall not be connected with the storm drainage system.
- 8. No horses, cattle, swine or poultry shall be kept on said lots.

In Witness Whereof, we have hereto set our hands and seals this 26th day of July A D 1946.

Howard O Watson (deak)
 Jessie C. Watson (deak)
 David F. Hubbard (deak)
 Frances L. Hubbard (deak)
 William T. Burnett (deak)
 Ethel E. Burnett (deak)

State of Illinois }
 Champaign County } ss.

I, the undersigned, Notary Public, do hereby certify that David F. Hubbard and Frances L. Hubbard, his wife, and Howard O. Watson and Jessie C. Watson, his wife, who are personally known to me to be the same persons whose names are subscribed to the above and foregoing instrument, each appeared before me this day in person and respectively acknowledged that they signed, sealed and delivered the above and foregoing instrument as their free and voluntary act and deed, including the release and waiver of the right of homestead.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereto affixed my signature and notarial seal on this the 26th day of July, A D 1946

Helen E. Schum
 Notary Public

(Helen E. Schum, Notary Public)
 Champaign County, Ill. }
 State of Illinois }
 Sangamon County } ss.

I, the undersigned, Notary Public, do hereby certify, William T. Burnett and Ethel E. Burnett, his wife, who are personally known to me to be the same persons whose names are subscribed to the above and foregoing instrument, each appeared before me this day, in person and respectively acknowledged that they signed, sealed and delivered the above and foregoing instrument as their free and voluntary act and deed, including the release and waiver of the right of homestead.

In witness whereof, I have hereto affixed my signature and notarial seal on this the 27th day of July, A D 1946.

(Glenn Farr, Notary Public)
 Sangamon County, Ill.)

Glenn Farr
 Notary Public
 120 So. State —

Comm. exp. Mar. 4th, 1948.

State of Illinois }
 Champaign County } ss

I, Harry A. Little, County Clerk, and Clerk of the Board of Supervisors, in and for said Court, and State aforesaid, and Keeper of the records and files of said office do hereby certify the following to be a true and complete copy of a portion of the minutes of the Meeting of the Board of Supervisors (pertaining to the appointment of a "Plat Committee"), which said meeting was held on the 10th day of June, A D 1946, in the Supervisors' rooms, in the Court House, Urbana, Illinois:

"The motion duly made and seconded, it was unanimously ordered that the Chairman appoint a committee of three to serve as a "Plat Committee" with power to act with reference to any plat submitted to the County Board.

Mr. Arthur Kinger, Chairman appointed Supervisor Atkinson as Chairman of said Plat Committee and Supervisors George Steffer and Roy Douglas, as the other two members of said committee.

Whereupon, the Board of Supervisors unanimously approved said appointment. All of which appear from the records and files in my said office remaining.

Witness my hand and the seal of the County Court, at Urbana, in said County this 19th day of July, A D 1946.

Harry A. Little
 County Clerk & Clerk of the Board of Supervisors

(County Court, Champaign)
 County, Ills.

Certificate of Approval of Plat By The Plat Committee
 of the Board of Supervisors of Champaign County, Illinois.

We, the undersigned Chairman and members of the Plat Committee of the Board of Supervisors, of the County of Champaign, in the State of Illinois, who are the officers designated by said Board of Supervisors to act with reference to any plat submitted for approval to said County Board by virtue of the powers aforesaid, hereby approve the attached plat of "University & Co. Inc." Dated this the 12th day of August, A D 1946.

J. E. Atkinson
 Chairman
 Roy Douglas
 Plat Committee of the Board of Supervisors
 of Champaign County, Illinois

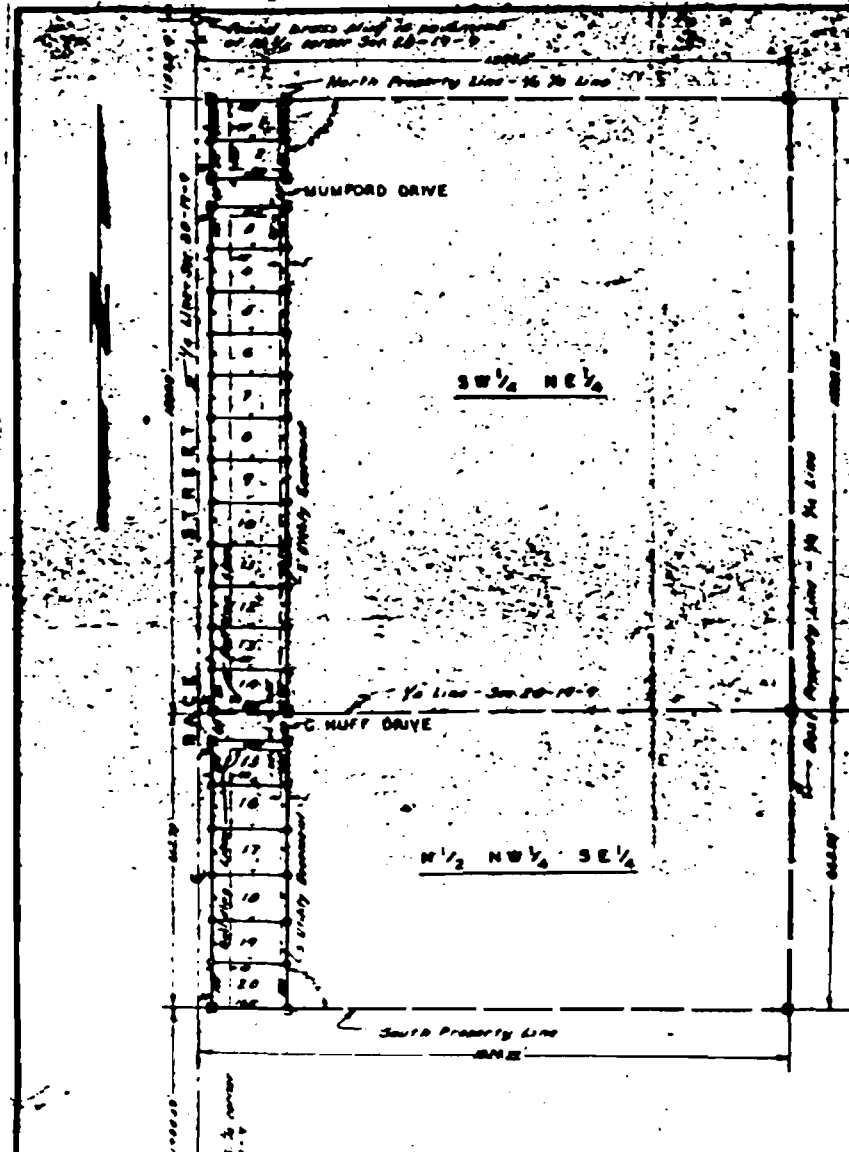
Filed for record on the 9th day of September, A D 1946, at 10:15 A M Doc 415721

Charles M. Dent, Recorder of the

See Page 30 for Plat accompanying these certificates.

Plat Book 29 & 30

See Page of street



APPROVED
 THE PLAT COMMITTEE OF THE
 CHAMPAIGN COUNTY
[Signature]
[Signature]

URBANA PLAN COM
 APPROVED *[Signature]*

CITY COUNCIL CITY OF U
 APPROVED *[Signature]*
[Signature]

PLAT OF:-
 ~UNIVERSITY DOWNS~

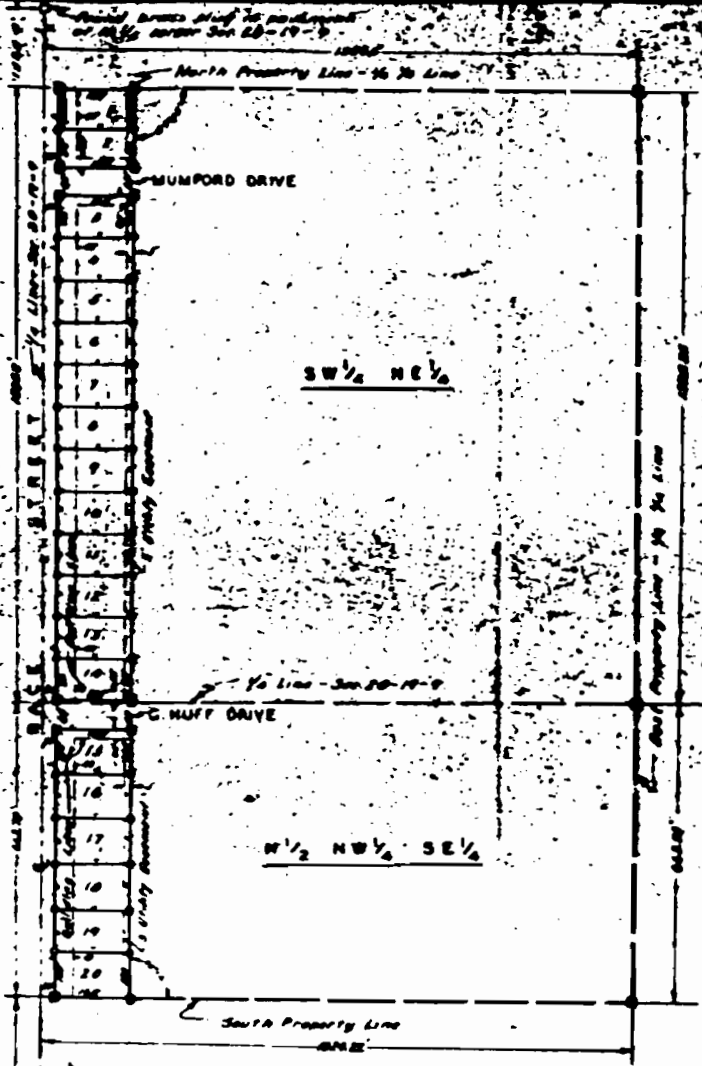
● DENOTES IRON PIPE MONUMENT
 ○ DENOTES IRON PIPE MONUMENT
 SET IN CONCRETE

BY - HUBERT E
 CHAMPAIGN, I

Plat No. 29 & 30

See Page 150 for dedication of streets

50



APPROVED BY THE PLAT COMMITTEE OF THE BOARD OF SUPERVISORS CHAMPAIGN COUNTY, ILLINOIS

J. Robinson
Geo. H. Steffen
Boyer

URBANA PLAN COMMISSION

APPROVED *George F. Hand* CHAIRMAN

CITY COUNCIL CITY OF URBANA, ILLINOIS

APPROVED *George F. Hand*
Sam A. Johnson

See Page 150 of the book for full details of plat

PLAT OF:-

~UNIVERSITY DOWNS~

NOTES FROM PIPE MONUMENT
NOTES FROM PIPE MONUMENT
T IN CONCRETE

BY HUBERT ELLIS GOODELL
ILLINOIS LAND SURVEYOR NO. 189
CHAMPAIGN, ILLINOIS

APPENDIX D.3
 OCCUPATIONS OF ORIGINAL OWNERS WHO INITIATED DEEDS
 HOLDING RACIALLY RESTRICTIVE COVENANTS,
 CHAMPAIGN COUNTY, ILLINOIS, 1946 AND 1950

Table D.3.1

Occupations of Original Owners Who Initiated Deeds Holding Racially Restrictive Covenants,
 Champaign County, Illinois, 1946 and 1950

Owner	1946 Occupation	1950 Occupation
Burnett, Ethel E.	Unlisted	(same)
Burnett, William T.	Unlisted	(same)
Chester, Cornelia M.	Unlisted	(same)
Corray, Flo S.	Wife–Occupation Unlisted ^a	(same)
Corray, William B.	Vice Pres. Leavitt Corp.	(same)
Ennis, Gertrude E.	Wife–Occupation Unlisted	(same)
Ennis, M. John	General Contractor	(same)
Franklin, John L.	Unlisted	(same)
Franklin, Margaret O.	Unlisted	(same)
Hessel, Edward F. G.	Unlisted	(same)
Hessel, O. Clark	Unlisted	(same)
Hubbard, David F.	Equitable Life Insurance	(same)
Hubbard, Frances L.	Wife–Occupation Unlisted	(same)
Kamerer, Alberta D.	Wife–Occupation Unlisted	(same)
Kamerer, Gordon F.	Manager, Urbana Lincoln Hotel	(same)

Table D.3.1 (continued)

Owner	1946 Occupation	1950 Occupation
Lange, Ellen B.	Unlisted	(same)
Lange, Hugo E.	Unlisted	(same)
Leach, Clara M.	Central Loan Company	(same)
Leach, W. M.	Central Loan Company	(same)
Leichner, Floyd D.	Leichner Bros. Jewelry	(same)
Leichner, Howard J.	Leichner Bros. Jewelry	(same)
Leichner, Vera	Wife—Occupation Unlisted ^a	(same)
Leichner, Virginia	Wife—Occupation Unlisted ^a	(same)
McComb, Flora	Wife—Occupation Unlisted	(same)
McComb, George R.	Real Estate	(same)
Nelson, Elmer A.	Unlisted	(same)
Ozier, Cecil R.	General Contractor	(same) and President of Ozier—Weller
Ozier, Gleena	Wife—Occupation Unlisted	(same)
Reynolds, Bertha Euphrasia	Unlisted	(same)
Ritcher, H. A.	Real Estate and Insurance	(same)
Rovelstad, L. M.	Burt—Rovelstad Real Estate	(same) and Sec./Treas. Commercial Savings & Loan
Rovelstad, Myra	Real Estate and Insurance	(same)
Shoemaker, Charlotte	Wife—Occupation Unlisted	(same)
Shoemaker, Robert O.	Occupation Unlisted	Concrete Contractor
Watson, Howard O.	Field Supervisor, Equitable Ins.	(same)
Watson, Jessie E.	Wife—Occupation Unlisted	(same)

Table D.3.1 (continued)

Owner	1946 Occupation	1950 Occupation
Webber, Charles M.	Champaign County Judge	Attorney, Webber & Balbach
Webber, Lucille R.	Wife—Occupation Unlisted	(same)
Weller, Catherine	Unlisted	Sec./Treas., Ozier-Weller General Contractors
Weller, Scott E.	Unlisted	Vice Pres., Ozier-Weller General Contractors

Source: Plat Books E-I, Champaign County, Illinois Courthouse Recorder's Office, Urbana, Illinois; Champaign-Urbana City Directory, 1946 and 1950. Champaign: Flanigan-Pearson Co., 1946, 1950.

^aThese women were not listed with their husband's names in the City Directory. Their names were taken from the property deeds from the Plat Books.

APPENDIX D.4
 PRINCIPAL APARTMENT OWNERS WHO DID NOT SIGN
 NON-DISCRIMINATION PLEDGE AND WERE BEYOND
 TEN BLOCKS OF THE CAMPUS, 1963

Table D.4.1

Principal Apartment Owners Who Did Not Sign Non-Discrimination Pledge and Were Beyond Ten Blocks of the Campus, 1963

Name	Location	Number of Apartments
1. John Barr	800 W. Church, C ^a	8
2. Mary Blind	300 E. Main Street, U ^a	10
3. Gerald Carter	412 W. Green Street, C	2
4. Paul Dauten	Kent Apartments	12
5. John Douglas	406-18 E. Main, U	12
6. Laurence Dunk	Grandview Drive, C	12
7. D. Ozier	Fairlawn Village, 505 Fairlawn, U	70
8. J. M. Hull	912 W. Church C	8
	504 W. Washington, C	3
9. William Hunsicker	309-11 S. State, C	24
10. Hyland Apartments	508 S. Mattis, C	11
11. Kermit Nogle	307, 311, 312 W. Clark, C	35
	605 N. Randolph, C	4
12. Robert Ullom	Grandview Drive, C	<u>12</u>
Total		223

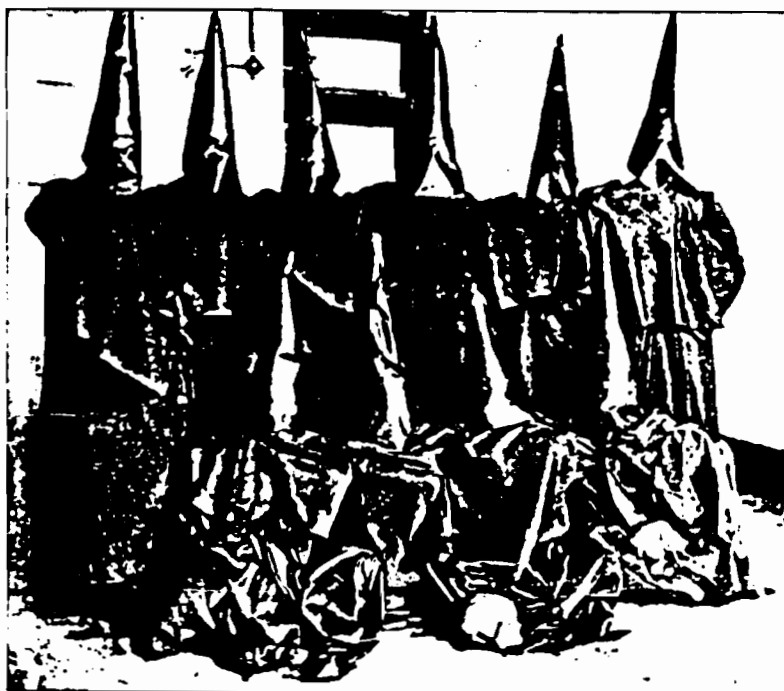
Source: A. L. Wilson to Mr. S. W. Rahn, 5 July 1963, Housing Review Committee Files, 1962-71, Series 4/6/17, Box 2, File "Non-Discrimination Statistics-Pledge Lists," University of Illinois Archives.

^aC = Champaign, U = Urbana.

APPENDIX D.5**ILLIQ (1898, 1920–24)**

Photocopies are provided of the University of Illinois chapter of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) as taken from the yearbook IlliQ, years 1898, 1920–1924. Note that the organization includes members from other campus fraternities. More research of this university-affiliated organization is necessary; however, it would seem that information would be difficult to find.

Fraternities



THETA NU EPSILON

Alpha Phi

??M2Aq?	A	*3? ? a::b?	I
?yoaWhb?	B	M? :!IW5	K
v? ? aihF ? I8	Γ	?M = Ntr?	Δ
3-b5?eW.E4?	Δ	KEo ? 5.Eq	M
GHC? :? ? t	E	S? & : : GR # n	N
1? 2a * m F	Z	Cati8?Z?I	Ξ
E!S? \$ M x W	H	?t5pGDA \$ I ?	Ο
1?J ? w ? : : ? F	Θ	H2fS? Vb-b	Π

Honorary Members

- | | |
|----------------|--------------|
| J. H. MARSHUTZ | A. J. STONE |
| W. J. FULTON | F. H. WILSON |
| A. N. HAZLITT | E. C. COOPER |
| | A. H. PIXLEY |

Source: University of Illinois Yearbook Illio, 1898, p. 68.

Ku Klux Klan

THE INTER-FRATERNITY JUNIOR SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Founded at the University of Illinois 1908

One Chapter



CULLIN LORENTZ BILDERBACK ARMSTRONG LOVEJOY
TUTWILER SPANGLER BAUM TAYLOR POEHLMAN
MUELLER BENNETT CREBS INGWERSEN WILSON SNYDER

MEMBERS

Sigma Chi
R. M. POEHLMAN
Kappa Sigma
W. S. MUELLER
Phi Kappa Sigma
R. LORENTZ
Phi Delta Theta
G. BILDERBACK
Alpha Tau Omega
H. V. SNYDER
Phi Gamma Delta
C. E. LOVEJOY
Sigma Alpha Epsilon
W. P. ARMSTRONG
Beta Theta Pi
JOHN M. CREBS
Sigma Nu
R. E. SPANGLER
Phi Kappa Psi
W. F. LOCKWOOD

Delta Kappa Epsilon
JOHN INGWERSEN
Delta Upsilon
K. L. WILSON
Theta Delta Chi
F. TOURTELLOT
Alpha Sigma Phi
J. A. FRIEDLUND
Zeta Psi
C. C. TAYLOR
Phi Sigma Kappa
G. BAUM
Psi Upsilon
A. M. PIKE
Alpha Delta Phi
R. E. TUTWILER
Chi Phi
V. CULLIN
Chi Psi
W. R. BENNETT

Four Hundred Twenty-seven

Klu Klux Klan

INTER-FRATERNITY JUNIOR SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

*Founded at University
of Illinois 1906,
Two Active Capters*

ILLINI CHAPTER



Top Row—LOCKWOOD, RUSSELL, BEAUMONT, RAPP, KAISER, DIEHL
Second Row—HOUGH, VAN PELT, TOURTELOT, BENTLEY, LARIMER, BUEHLER, VON BINZER,
Third Row—REIS, CHILDS, KLEDER, NOELLE, RONALDS, SMITH, WRIGHT, SIEMENS

ACTIVE MEMBERS

Delta Tau Delta
G. M. SIEMENS
Sigma Chi
W. R. HOUGH
Kappa Sigma
H. L. BUEHLER
Phi Kappa Sigma
T. M. BEAUMONT
Phi Delta Theta
W. F. VON BINZER
Alpha Tau Omega
W. L. NOELLE
Phi Gamma Delta
F. C. LARIMER
Sigma Alpha Epsilon
H. H. BENTLEY
Beta Theta Pi
G. M. KLEDER
Sigma Nu
W. B. RUSSELL

Phi Kappa Psi
F. S. RONALDS
Delta Kappa Epsilon
E. L. CHILDS
Delta Upsilon
H. A. DIEHL
Theta Delta Chi
F. TOURTELOT
Alpha Sigma Phi
L. RAPP
Zeta Psi
S. G. SMITH
Phi Sigma Kappa
L. J. REIS
Psi Upsilon
W. VAN PELT
Alpha Delta Phi
R. H. DAVIS
Chi Phi
C. S. WRIGHT

Chi Psi
P. W. KAISER

Five Hundred Twenty-one

KU KLUX KLAN

Founded at University of Illinois 1908,
Two Active Chapters

ILLINI CHAPTER



Top Row—WILCOX, ERB, HOLLER, THOMPSON, BOWERS, COOLEY.
Second Row—EVANS, FREDERICKSON, BASS, PYKE, RUHL, MCGINNIS, HAMMERSTEIN, SMITHERS.
Bottom Row—BELNAP, SUTHERLAND, HAHNE, GREEN, MACDONALD, WETTERGREN, MALLERS.

MEMBERS IN UNIVERSITY

<i>Delta Tau Delta</i> WILSON C. SMITHERS	<i>Phi Kappa Psi</i> PERKINS B. BASS, JR.
<i>Sigma Chi</i> JOHN B. FREDRICKSON	<i>Delta Kappa Epsilon</i> HERBERT A. RUHL
<i>Kappa Sigma</i> ALBERT E. HAMMERSTEIN	<i>Delta Upsilon</i> DONALD O. PYKE
<i>Phi Kappa Sigma</i> ROY M. BELNAP	<i>Theta Delta Chi</i> HERBERT T. SOWERS
<i>Phi Delta Theta</i> JAMES W. MACDONALD	<i>Alpha Sigma Phi</i> DONALD C. MCGINNIS
<i>Alpha Tau Omega</i> WESLEY K. WETTERGREN	<i>Zeta Psi</i> HENRY M. WILCOX
<i>Phi Gamma Delta</i> DONALD M. ERB	<i>Phi Sigma Kappa</i> W. BURR SUTHERLAND
<i>Sigma Alpha Epsilon</i> MARION F. COOLEY	<i>Psi Upsilon</i> HENRY H. EVANS
<i>Beta Theta Pi</i> JOHN R. GREEN	<i>Alpha Delta Phi</i> LU S. HOLLER
<i>Sigma Nu</i> EDWARD B. MALLERS	<i>Chi Phi</i> WILLIAM F. HAHNE
<i>Chi Psi</i> JOHN R. THOMPSON	

Five Hundred Twenty-seven



Top Row—GILMORE, TUKEY, COYLE, CASLER, CUTLER, STUBBLEFIELD
 Second Row—PEDEN, PENTECOST, HENRY, MERSBACH, HODGES, SHAW, MURPHY.
 Third Row—MUELLER, HAWKES, KINDSTROM, STEWART, SCOTT, VIOLETTE.

Ku Klux Klan

INTER-FRATERNITY JUNIOR SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Founded at University of Illinois, 1906

Two Active Chapters

ILLINI CHAPTER

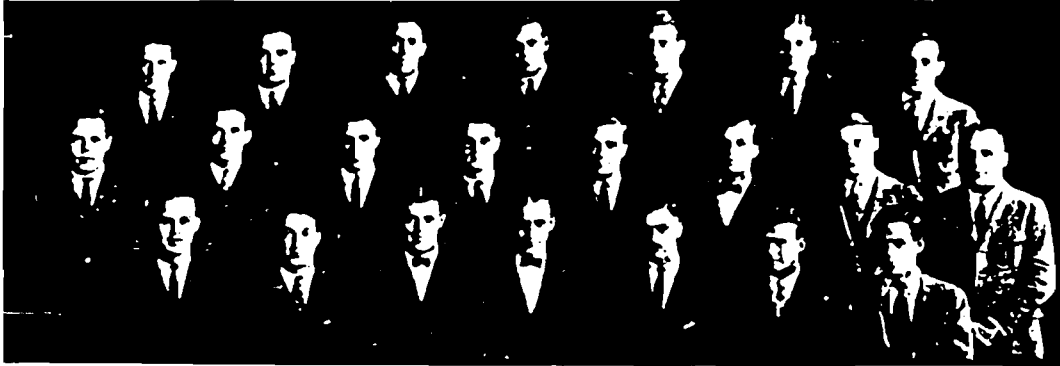
Established at Illinois, 1906

MEMBERS IN UNIVERSITY

<i>Delta Tau Delta</i> A. F. GILMORE	<i>Phi Kappa Psi</i> RICHARD PENTECOST
<i>Sigma Chi</i> C. J. MURPHY	<i>Delta Kappa Epsilon</i> R. F. SHAW
<i>Kappa Sigma</i> W. J. CASLER	<i>Delta Upsilon</i> J. H. HODGES
<i>Phi Kappa Sigma</i> GEORGE CUTLER	<i>Theta Delta Chi</i> M. G. KINDSTROM
<i>Phi Delta Theta</i> E. J. COYLE	<i>Alpha Sigma Phi</i> PAUL J. STEWART
<i>Alpha Tau Omega</i> D. H. RHU	<i>Zeta Psi</i> J. U. HAWKES
<i>Phi Gamma Delta</i> V. W. HENRY	<i>Phi Sigma Kappa</i> WILLIAM MUELLER
<i>Sigma Alpha Epsilon</i> R. B. VIOLETTE	<i>Psi Upsilon</i> RUSSELL SCOTT
<i>Beta Theta Pi</i> EDWIN TUKEY	<i>Chi Phi</i> R. H. MERSBACH
<i>Sigma Nu</i> D. C. PEDEN	<i>Chi Psi</i> R. E. STUBBLEFIELD

Page 588

Source: University of Illinois Yearbook *Illio*, 1923, p. 588.



KU KLUX KLAN

INTER-FRATERNITY JUNIOR SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Two Active Chapters

Illini Chapter, Founded at Illinois, 1906

Alpha Delta Phi
J. M. WILSON

Alpha Sigma Phi
B. F. OAKES

Alpha Tau Omega
J. KNOX JONES

Beta Theta Pi
A. V. AQUART

Chi Phi
G. C. HENNINGER

Chi Psi
R. E. ROOS

Delta Kappa Epsilon
ROBERT B. AYRES

Delta Tau Delta
HAROLD C. WOODWARD

Delta Upsilon
K. G. ANDERSON

Kappa Sigma
B. C. HURD

Phi Delta Theta
L. D. COLSON

Phi Gamma Delta
R. L. SWEET

Phi Kappa Psi
D. L. BOWLY

Phi Kappa Sigma
I. M. KAPPLE

Psi Upsilon
R. L. WHEELER

Sigma Alpha Epsilon
W. M. LISCOM

Sigma Chi
C. B. PALMER

Sigma Nu
R. J. GULMYER

Theta Delta Chi
OTTO K. HANDKE

Zeta Psi
J. W. GREGG

Phi Sigma Kappa
H. O. BAILEY

Source: University of Illinois Yearbook Illio, 1924, p. 472.

APPENDIX E

CHAMPAIGN-URBANA 1936 CITY DIRECTORY DATA

OCCUPATIONS OF BLACK CHAMPAIGN-URBANA WORKERS

Below is a summary of the occupations of black Champaign-Urbana workers in 1936, as derived from the 1936 Champaign-Urbana City Directory. Beginning with A and working through Z, each resident's name was read, and those individuals who were listed as black ("col" for "colored") were recorded, along with their occupations and city of residence. These occupations were then easily categorized and counted so that what follows is a summary of the Directory study, as well as the occupation of each adult black resident in the Twin Cities for 1936.

1936 Champaign-Urbana City Directory

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Total</u>
Laborers and Hod Carrier	70
Janitors	27
Maids	71
Porters	90
Cooks/Chefs	58
Railroad	31
Shoe Shiners	9
Barbers	17
Cleaners and Pressers	11
Car Washers	9
Beauty Operator	1
Chaperone for Sorority	1
Waiters	4
Yard Man	1
House Men	10
Dishwashers	8
Musicians	4
Chauffeurs	6
Drivers	7
Shoe Repair	1
Mechanic	3
Elevator Operator	1
Community House/Emergency/ Resettlement	3
Ice	1
Patrolman	1
Mail Carrier	1
Helpers/Workers	14

1936 CHAMPAIGN-URBANA CITY DIRECTORY

BLACK RESIDENTS BY CITY, GENDER, AND OCCUPATION

C = Champaign M = Male
 U = Urbana F = Female

Column 1

C M Car Washer, Firestone Auto Supply
 C M Laborer
 C M Porter, Kappa Alpha Theta
 C M Chauffeur
 C M Porter, Pi Beta Phi
 C M Laborer
 C M Porter, Avenue Barber Shop
 C F Maid, 613 West Springfield
 C M Helper, Kamerer Brothers
 C M Car Washer, J. W. Reis
 C M Porter, Theta Upsilon Omega
 C M Laborer
 C M Laborer
 C M Laborer
 C F Cook, Women's Town Club
 C M Illinois Central Railroad
 C M Driver, Bash and Sons
 C M Porter, J. F. Melahn
 C F Maid, 919 West University
 C M Laborer, Clifford-Jacobs
 C M Porter, Psi Upsilon
 C M Laborer

Column 2

C M Trucking
 C M Porter
 C F Maid, 1107 West University
 C M Porter, Perry Motor
 C M Laborer
 C M Laborer
 C M Janitor
 C M Cook, Kamerer Brothers
 C F Maid
 C M Laborer, Illinois Power
 C M Laborer
 C M Laborer
 C M Laborer, Illinois Power
 C M Chef, Court House Cafe
 C M Porter
 C F Maid
 C M Porter, Cox and Everett
 C M Barber, A. C. Merrifield
 C M Barber, Stark's
 C F Dishwasher, Kappa Alpha Theta
 C M Porter
 C M Restaurant, 701 North Fourth

Column 1

U F Maid, 900 West Park Avenue
 U M Houseman, 900 West Park Avenue
 U M Boilermaker, Big Four Railroad
 C M Laborer
 C M Boyd's Confectionery (owner?--Name is Boyd)
 C M Presser, Paris Cleaners
 C F Cook
 C M Laborer
 C M Porter
 C M Helper, Nogle and Black
 C M Elevator Operator Courthouse
 U M Driver, Mooney Coal
 C M Janitor, Commercial Bank of Champaign
 C M Chauffeur
 C M Porter
 U M Works Robeson's
 C M Laborer, Illinois Central Railroad
 C M Porter, Zeta Psi
 C F Cook, Zeta Psi
 C M Laborer
 C M Works Illinois Central Railroad
 C F Cook, Prehn and Babcock
 C M Porter, Delta Tau Delta
 C M Laborer
 C M Dishwasher, Champaign Country Club

Column 2

C M Laborer
 C M Laborer
 C F Teacher (p. 46)
 C F Maid
 U M Porter, Phi Kappa Tau
 U F Maid, 510 Union
 U M Porter, Phi Gamma Delta
 U F Maid, Southern Tea Room
 C M Campbell Funeral Home (Name is Campbell--owner?)
 C M Laborer
 C M Shoe Shiner
 C M Dishwasher
 C F Maid
 C F Maid, Newman Hall
 C M Car Washer, Kirby Motor
 C M Laborer
 C M Works Illinois Central Railroad
 C M Pastor, Pilgrim Baptist Church (p. 53)
 C M Shoe Shiner, Nine Cent Shoe Repair
 C F Maid
 C M Shoe Shiner
 C M Royal Cleaners (owner, Homer Chavis, p. 53)
 C F Maid, Kappa Alpha Theta
 C M Porter, Zeta Beta Tau
 C M Laborer

Column 1

C F Maid
 C M Pastor, Church of God of Christ (p. 54)
 C F Maid, 1110 Arbor (lives there, too)
 C M Porter, Urbana-Lincoln Hotel
 C M Car Washer, Illini Motors
 C M Laborer
 C F Cook, Alpha Kappa Pi
 C M Laborer
 C M Liberty Cleaning Shop
 C M Laborer, Big Four Railroad
 U M Works Big Four Railroad
 U M Porter, Phi Sigma Kappa
 C M House Man, Mrs. R. J. Phillippe
 C M Hostler, Illinois Central Railroad
 C M Janitor, Reliable Furniture
 C M Shoe Shiner, 210 North Walnut
 C M Presser
 C M Barber, 212 North Walnut
 C M Porter, Inman Hotel Barbershop
 C F Cook, Women's Town Club
 C M Laborer
 C M Laborer
 C M Laborer
 C M Cook
 C M Porter, Parkhill Motors

Column 2

C M House Man, 917 West Park
 U M Porter, Newman Hall
 U F Teacher, Lawhead School (p. 72)
 U M Laborer
 C M Porter, Theta Chi
 C M Barber, 514 Poplar
 U M Porter, Newman Hall
 C M Cook, University of Illinois
 C M Cook, Newman Hall
 C M Janitor
 C F Cook, Lambda Chi Alpha
 C M Chiropodist (p. 76)
 C M Porter, Vaky's
 C M Chauffeur, Mrs. H. F. Kaufman
 C F Cook, 704 West University Avenue
 C M Janitor, White Line Laundry
 C M Musician (p. 79)
 C F Maid
 C F Maid, Elks Club
 C F Maid
 C M Porter
 C M Porter, Sholem's
 C M Laborer
 C M Porter
 U M Janitor, Delta Upsilon
 C F Maid, 1110 Arbor (live-in)

Column 1

C M Porter, Delta Kappa Epsilon
 C M Car Washer, Gallian Service Station
 C M Porter, Stark's Barbershop
 C M Cleaner
 C M Works Robeson's
 C M Kitchen Helper, Inman Hotel
 C M Laborer
 C M Manager, Stark's Barbershop (p. 91)
 C M Hostler, Illinois Central Railroad
 C F Cook, 101 North Elm
 C M Porter, Kandy's
 C F Maid, 902 West Church
 U F Cook
 C M Works Illinois Central Railroad
 C F Cook, University of Illinois Women's Club
 C M Laborer
 C M Janitor, Trevett-Mattis Bank
 C F Cook
 C M Janitor, Elks Club
 C M Barber, Stark's
 C F Maid
 C M Laborer
 U M Works Illinois Central Railroad
 C M Barber, Theo Smith
 C M Porter, Alpha Sigma Phi

Column 2

C M Porter
 C M Mess. Resettlement Office (not sure what Mess. stands for)
 C M Works Casper's Auto Storage
 C M Janitor, Urbana Post Office
 C M Porter, Long's Garage
 C M Laborer, Big Four Railroad
 C M Cook
 C M Laborer
 C F Maid
 C F Cook, Hanley's
 C F Maid
 U M Reverend, Will Baptist Church
 C M Dish Washer, University Lunch
 C M Laborer
 U M Car Washer, Perry Motor
 C M Car Washer, Sullivan Chevrolet
 U F Chaperone, Alpha Kappa Alpha
 C M Laborer
 C F Cook, Elks Club
 C M Porter, Alpha Chi Sigma
 C M Musician (p. 118)
 C M Barber
 C F Maid, 803 West University
 U M Car Washer
 C M Cook, Columbia Hotel

Column 1

U F Maid, D. W. Stevick
 C F Pastry Cook, Park Avenue Tea
 C M Laborer
 C M Head Waiter, University Mens Club
 C F Maid
 C M Porter
 C M Porter
 U F House Keeper, 1103 W. Green (live-in)
 C M Works Champaign Cleaners
 C M Janitor, Temple Apartments
 C M Laborer
 C M Cook
 C M Porter, Alpha Delta Phi
 C M Porter
 C M Laborer
 C M Porter
 C M Laborer
 C F Maid
 C F Maid, 618 West Church
 C M Chauffeur
 C F Cook, Alpha Xi Delta
 U M Grocery, 1302 Dublin, Urbana
 (residence, p. 132)
 C M Laborer
 C M Porter, Theta Xi
 C F Cook, Kappa Alpha Theta

Column 2

C F Cook, University of Illinois Women's
 Club
 C M Laborer, Illinois Central Railroad
 U M Laborer
 C M Porter, University Men's Club
 C F Porter, Hanley's
 U M Porter, Delta Chi
 C M Laborer Big Four Railroad
 C F Maid
 U M Janitor, Champaign Post Office
 C M Chef, Park Avenue Tea
 U F Maid
 C M Porter, Palace Barbershop
 C F Maid, 1101 West University
 C M Porter, Inman Hotel
 C M Yard Man, 1101 West University
 C M Chauffeur
 C M Porter, Ill. Pub.(Not sure what
 abbreviation stands for)
 C M Car Washer, White Motor
 C M Laborer, Twin City Ice
 C F Maid
 C F Cook, Newman Hall
 C M Laborer
 C M Porter, W. D. Kelley
 C M Laborer, Illinois Central Railroad
 C M Laborer, Big Four Railroad

Column 1

C M Laborer
 C F Maid
 C M Works Prehn Confectioner
 C F Visitor Emergency Relief
 C M Chef, Champaign Country Club
 U M Driver, F. A. Somers
 C M Porter, Thorton and Perry
 C F Maid, Newman Hall
 C M Reverend
 C M Porter, Sigma Alpha Epsilon
 C M Laborer
 C M Cook, Columbia Hotel (lived there,
 too)
 C M Porter, Grove's Barbershop
 C M Barber
 C F Cook, Pi Beta Phi
 C M Porter
 C M Works Big Four Railroad
 C M Waiter, Champaign Country Club
 C M Porter, Kaufman's
 C F Maid
 C M Barber, Garfield Cook
 C M Laborer
 C M House Man, Inman Hotel
 C M Waiter, Elks Club
 C M Chauffeur & University of Illinois
 President's Office Clerk

Column 2

C F Teacher
 C F Cook, 505 West University
 C F Maid
 C M Porter
 C M House Man, 505 West University
 C F Maid, Alpha Xi Delta
 C M Laborer, Illinois Central Railroad
 C M Janitor, University of Illinois Supply
 Store
 C M Lather
 C F Maid
 C M Laborer
 C F Cook, Beta Theta Psi
 C M Janitor, Gould's
 C M Porter, Beck Brothers
 C M Porter, Sullivan Chevrolet
 U M Janitor, Twin City Loan
 C M Laborer
 C M Dishwasher, Beardsley Cafe
 C M Janitor, Robeson's
 C M Dishwasher, Beardsley Cafe
 C M Porter, Perry Motor
 U M Laborer
 C M Laborer
 C F Maid
 C F Cook

Column 1

C M Barber
 C M Worker Illinois Central Railroad
 C M Porter, Hanley's
 C M Worker Illinois Central Railroad
 C M Porter
 C M Driver, Nogle and Black
 C M Assistant Cook, Park Avenue Tea
 C M Wiper, Big Four Railroad
 U M Barber, 108 1/2 East University
 C M Porter, Lewis and Company
 C M Porter, Gamma Alpha
 C F Maid
 C F Maid, Lewis and Company
 U F Maid, Alpha Epsilon Phi
 U M Porter, Alpha Epsilon Phi
 U F Maid, Alpha Epsilon Phi
 U M Janitor, Urbana Post Office
 C F Maid, 310 West Hill
 C M Porter, Champaign Buick
 C F Cook, Delta Delta Delta
 U M Laborer
 U M Janitor, Busey State Bank
 C F Maid
 C M Works Champaign Cleaners
 C F Maid, 509 South Willis
 U M Janitor, Illinois Power

Column 2

C M Musician
 C M Janitor, Lawhead School
 C F Maid
 C M Porter, College Recreation
 C M Kitchen Helper, Inman Hotel
 C M Porter, Vaky's
 C M Cook, Newman Hall
 C M Mechanic, Triangle Motors
 C M Laborer, Clifford-Jacobs
 C M Houseman, 902 West Church
 C F Maid, 614 West Park
 C M Pastor, Salem Baptist
 C M Porter
 C M Laborer
 C M Shoe Shiner, Paul Schafer
 C M Laborer
 C M Presser, Gordon's Cleaners
 C M Janitor
 C M Porter, Kamerer Brothers
 C M Shoe Shiner, Brownie's
 C M Laborer
 C M Maid, 804 West University
 C M Barber
 U M Laborer
 C M Laborer
 C M Porter

Column 1

U M Presser, Star Cleaners
 C M Barber, Stark's
 C M Laborer, Illinois Central
 C F Cook, Kappa Sigma
 C M Assistant Cook, Kappa Sigma
 C M Porter, Harvey's Pastry
 C M Laborer
 C M Janitor, Robeson Building
 C M Porter, Kaufman's
 C M Porter, Carver's Clothes (& Justice of the Peace, p. 217)
 C M Janitor, Swannell and Sons
 C M Janitor, Kirby Motor
 C M Patrolman, Champaign (p. 228)
 C M Porter, Sigma Phi Sigma
 C M Works Big Four Railroad
 C M Porter, W. T. Barker
 C M Porter, W. Lewis and Company
 C M Works Twin City Ice
 C F Maid, 403 West Hill
 C M Waiter, Urbana-Lincoln Hotel
 C M Mail Carrier, University of Illinois (p. 241)
 C M Shoe Shiner, E.E. Cook
 C M Pastor, Bethel A.M.E. Church
 U F Maid, Kappa Delta
 C M Shoe Repair, Brownie's

Column 2

C M Laborer
 C M Laborer, Illinois Central Railroad
 C F Maid, Southern Tea Room
 C M Laborer
 C F Beauty Operator
 C M Janitor
 C F Maid, Newman Hall
 C F Maid
 C M Mechanic
 C M Garage, 700-710 North Market
 C M Barber, 505 North Fifth (residence, too, p. 253)
 C F Maid, 411 West Hill
 C M Presser, Alex Cleaners
 C M Porter
 C F Maid
 C M Laborer
 C M Laborer
 C M Porter, C. L. Hoover
 C M Porter
 C F Cook, Kappa Delta
 C F Maid, Three Sisters
 C M Porter
 C M Porter, Kappa Sigma
 C F Restaurant, 505 North Fourth
 C M Worker, Champaign Cleaners

Column 1

C M Hostler, Big Four Railroad
 C M Houseman, 615 West University
 U F Confectioner, 1004 North Wright
 C M Laborer, Illinois Central Railroad
 C M Porter
 C F Maid
 C M Laborer, H. Loeb and Company
 C M Dish Washer, The Tavern
 C M Porter, Beardsley Cafe
 C M Janitor, News Gazette
 C M Dish Washer
 C M Cook, Zeta Beta Tau
 C F Cook, 606 West Washington
 C M Presser, Paris Cleaners
 C M Barber, Stark's
 C M Laborer, Illinois Centra' Railroad
 C M Presser, Band Box Cleaners
 C M Laborer
 C F Maid, 1015 West Hill
 C M Laborer
 C M Worker, Illinois Central Railroad
 C F Maid, McKinley Hall
 C M Barber
 C F Maid, Newman Hall
 C F Maid
 U F Cook

Column 2

C F Maid, 917 West White
 C M Laborer, Illinois Central Railroad
 C M Porter, Southern Tea Room
 C M Porter, Pi Kappa Alpha
 U F Cook
 C M Worker, City
 C M Worker, Columbia Hotel
 C M Musician
 U M Worker, Illinois Central Railroad
 C F Maid
 C M Cook, The Tavern
 U M Laborer
 C M Porter, Tau Epsilon Phi
 C M Barber (works at residence)
 C M Barber (for Barber listed above)
 C M Janitor
 C F Maid, 501 Chalmers
 C F Cook, Smith's Coffee Shop
 C M Laborer
 C M Hod Carrier
 C F Maid, Silhoutte Shop
 C F Maid, 505 West Washington
 C F Maid, 1104 West University
 C M Laborer
 C M Houseman, Champaign Country Club
 C M Porter

Column 1

U M Shiner, Liberty Cleaners
C M Porter
U F Worker, Community House
C M Porter
C M Porter, Phi Delta Theta
C M Driver, Beach and Company
C M Porter
C F Cook
C F Maid
U M Worker, Clifford-Jacobs
C M Pastor, Church of God and Saints of
Christ

Column 2

C M Houseman, 703 West University
Avenue
C F Grocery (resides there too, p. 296)
C M Columbia Hotel (owns it? p. 296)
C M Worker, Court Billiards
C M Houseman, Champaign Country Club
C F Maid
C M Truck Driver
C M Laborer, Illinois Central Railroad
C M Janitor, Roland Apartments
C M Laborer
C M Worker, University of Illinois (p. 302)
C M Shoe Shiner, Brownie's

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