Schools as Imagined Communities

The Creation of Identity, Meaning, and Conflict in U.S. History

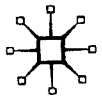
Edited by

Deirdre Cobb-Roberts

Sherman Dorn

Barbara J. Shircliffe

palgrave
macmillan



First published in 2006 by
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN™
175 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10010 and
Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, England RG21 6XS
Companies and representatives throughout the world.

PALGRAVE MACMILLAN is the global academic imprint of the Palgrave Macmillan division of St. Martin's Press, LLC and of Palgrave Macmillan Ltd. Macmillan® is a registered trademark in the United States, United Kingdom and other countries. Palgrave is a registered trademark in the European Union and other countries.

ISBN 1–4039–6471–8 (hard)
ISBN 1–4039–6472–6 (pbk.)

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Schools as imagined communities : the creation of identity, meaning, and conflict in U.S. history / edited by Sherman Dorn, Deirdre Cobb-Roberts, Barbara J. Shircliffe.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 1–4039–6471–8 (hard)—ISBN 1–4039–6472–6 (pbk.)
1. Community and school—United States—History. 2. Education—Social aspects—United States—History. I. Dorn, Sherman. II. Cobb-Roberts, Deirdre. III. Shircliffe, Barbara J.

LC221.S37 2006
371.19'0973—dc22 2005050211

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Design by Newgen Imaging Systems (P) Ltd., Chennai, India.

First edition: January 2006

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Printed in the United States of America.

To students of the history of education in the United States

Contents

Notes on Contributors

Jackie M. Blount is a professor in historical, philosophical, and comparative education at Iowa State University. Her research focuses on the history of sexuality and gender in school employment. She has written *Fit to Teach: Same-Sex Desire, Gender, and School Work in the Twentieth Century* (2005) and currently is writing a biography of Ella Flagg Young.

Vicki L. Eaklor is a professor of history at Alfred University, where she teaches courses in American history and culture. She is the author of numerous publications concerning American cultural and intellectual history, including *American Antislavery Songs: A Collection and Analysis* (1988); "Striking Chords and Touching Nerves: Myth and Gender in *Gone With the Wind*," *Images: A Journal of Film and Popular Culture* (www.imagesjournal.com); and "The Gendered Origins of the American Musician," *The Quarterly Journal of Music Teaching and Learning* (Winter 1993/Spring 1994). Her current research is in GLBT history and theory.

Deirdre Cobb-Roberts is an associate professor of social foundations at the University of South Florida. She is the author or co-author of many articles and book chapters on the history of higher education and multicultural education. She is currently working on a book documenting the academic and social experiences of African American students at two land grant universities in the post–World War II era.

Sherman Dorn is an associate professor of social foundations at the University of South Florida. He is the author of *Creating the Dropout: An Institutional and Social History of School Failure* (1996) as well as the author or coauthor of articles and book chapters on the history of special education, graduation, and high-stakes accountability policies.

Chapter 3

Student-Community Voices: Memories of Access versus Treatment at University of Illinois

Deirdre Cobb-Roberts

The main focus of this chapter is on the social and academic experiences and demographic characteristics of African American students at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (hereafter UIUC) from 1945–1955 and their notion of what a community represented to them. The post–World War II era witnessed many significant changes in American higher education, including sharp increases in the number and proportion of male students as a consequence of the GI Bill. Important changes in race relations occurred as institutions of higher education were forced to reconcile their own traditions with the national and international struggles against Nazism, anti-Semitism, and racism. Various policies and traditions at the University of Illinois, as in other predominately white northern universities, ranged against positive academic and social experiences for African American students.

African American students were constant victims of discrimination from the start of their enrollment at the University of Illinois. The determination of these students, with the assistance of Albert R. Lee, the unofficial dean of African American students, the encouragement of African American elected officials, community individuals, the Student Community Interracial Committee, Student Human Relations Council, and individuals in the nearby cities such as Chicago and St. Louis, enabled them to fight discrimination emanating from varying levels, thus providing a coping mechanism that was essential in the survival and matriculation of African American students. Understanding the history of the founding of the University of Illinois is crucial to understanding the prevailing climate for African American students, outside the mainstream university "community."

This chapter examines the experiences of African American students in the context of post–World War II higher education in America at the University of Illinois. Although each institution has it own traditions and distinctive character, UIUC's history demonstrates the common dynamics that appeared nationwide in majority-white institutions that developed in America by mid-century, particularly of the large public land grant universities. Secondary sources on the history of African American students at similar predominately white universities reveal similar experiences from one campus to another. Many of these campuses were attempting to desegregate their residence halls and eating facilities on and off campus and were dealing with the influx of new students as a result of the GI Bill. Thus UIUC's social context during the 1945–1955 period provides more or less a representative setting for studying the social and academic experiences of African American students in a large, public, predominately white university. The impact of the GI Bill on American higher education, changes in race and gender relations, and changes in student life and culture will form the context for analyzing the behavior and beliefs of African American students during this period as they formed a community within a community.

Currently, there is a paucity of scholarship on the history of black students at predominantly white universities during the postwar era. For example, very few historians have had access to student transcripts and this has precluded any analysis of academic characteristics along race and gender lines. Further, even among existing scholarship on higher education of African American students, researchers have not had access to the kinds of records that form the evidential base for this chapter. Ultimately, this chapter aims to build on and add to the historical scholarship in the areas of African American experiences in predominantly white universities, comparisons of the higher education of men and women, and the history of student life and culture.

This chapter describes the campus and city racial climate for African American students during the postwar era and to focus on issues of struggle, discrimination, commitment, community, and perseverance. The account of African American students presented here depicts how students learned to survive and advance on a racially hostile campus and describes how the university attempted to reconcile its principles of fairness, equality, and nondiscrimination with its practice of institutionalized segregation and racism. Indeed, there is very little that is written about any aspect of African American higher education during this era. Many important questions such as the impact of the GI Bill on African American higher education attainment have not been treated.

African Americans and Higher Education

Much of the material used for this chapter comes from a 1968 project sponsored by the UIUC Archives. The focus of the "Black Alumni and Ex-Student Project" was to identify all African American students who had attended the University of Illinois from 1887 to 1968. Although this project fell short of its target, it was successful in identifying thousands of African Americans who were students at the University of Illinois between 1887 and 1968. Building on this project by using reference files such as University applications for part-time employment (these forms asked students to report their religion, racial descent, and color), yearbooks, transcripts, student directories, card files (these often contained pictures), lists of Black students in fraternities, sororities, and independent houses, and the papers of university presidents, clerks, and deans, a list of approximately 1,400 African American students who attended the university from 1945 to 1955 was compiled.

The pursuit of higher education for African Americans in America has been a difficult one. Traditionally African American students have been denied equal access to predominately white universities and constantly portrayed as intellectually inferior. White women had experiences that were somewhat similar to African Americans because they too were considered to be inferior to White men. Even given these similarities, we have to acknowledge the differences between the experiences of these two groups. African Americans in the South were legally barred from education and often threatened with death if they attempted to pursue it.[1] On the other hand, White women did not have to fear their lives if they so chose the path of education.

Traditionally White men were in charge of educational decision making. They decided whether or not slaves should be educated and similarly if their wives and daughters should be educated. As a result of this white patriarchal system, African Americans were not educated and White women were only educated as it suited the purposes of the larger society. White men saw the education of African Americans as unnecessary because they believed it would undoubtedly lead to problems (i.e., slave uprisings, notions of superiority).

African Americans who were given an opportunity to become educated had different experiences than their white counterparts in the educational realm. For example, Linda Perkins in her article entitled "The Impact of the 'Cult of True Womanhood' on the Education of Black Women" describes how the experiences of Black women were different from their White counterparts experiences. Perkins stated,

> This "true womanhood" model was designed for the upper and middle class white woman, although poorer white women could aspire to this

> status. However since most blacks had been enslaved prior to the Civil War and the debate as to whether they were human beings was a popular topic, black women were not perceived as women in the same sense as women of the larger (i.e., white) society. The emphasis upon women's purity, submissiveness and natural fragility was the antithesis of the reality of most black women's lives during slavery and for many years thereafter.[2]

This passage shows how African American women's degraded womanhood is often compared with the elevation of White womanhood.[3] African American women were viewed as less than women because they did not fit the "womanhood" mold as defined by White society. This finding was consistent with the way in which African American women were treated, typically as second-class citizens. Black women had to constantly dispel the myths of their racial and social inferiority, and immorality and perceived lack of dignity, all of which affected their fight for education.[4] This struggle existed for African American men as well.

Education for African Americans had been difficult. Although the Emancipation Proclamation provided freedom, African Americans had to prove their worth as human beings. They had to overcome the fact that they were stolen, beaten, witnessed children sold away, disenfranchised, stripped of personhood and often denigrated to the lowest position. Their struggle to become educated is still one marred by racism. History cannot deny the contributions made by African Americans. History reveals that these forms of oppression have not stifled the desire to learn and become educated. In fact, their desire to pursue an education has been enhanced by it.

The Founding of University of Illinois and African American Students

The University of Illinois was incorporated on February 28, 1867, as the Illinois Industrial University and opened its doors to students on March 2, 1868. At the university's opening, it was clear the institution was intended for White men, despite its public land grant status. The wording of the U.S. Statutes at Large is as follows:

> the leading object shall be, without excluding other scientific and classical studies, and including military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts, in such manner as the legislatures of the states may respectively prescribe, in order to promote liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions in life.[5]

There was nothing in its charter to encourage discrimination against students because of race, sex or class. Indeed, the U of I was chartered for all the children of the "industrial classes" of Illinois. In the original draft of the bill, however, the school was to be for any white resident of the state of Illinois. Although this draft did not specifically exclude women, it was clear that the university was not established with women in mind. Nonetheless, the university opened with 50 White males and a faculty of three, establishing at the outset a critical distinction between democratic rhetoric and the practice of racism and sexism, a distinction that would plague the institution well into the twentieth century.

Changing Student Demographics

The university maintained an all White male population until 1870 when it admitted its first female student, a White woman, marking a significant shift in its student population. This decision to admit a female student was prompted by the fact that the UIUC was a state school and taxpayers demanded that their daughters as well as sons be educated. The Morrill Act of 1862, signed by President Lincoln established the land grant colleges especially for the sons and daughters of the common people. However, even after the university admitted its first female student in 1870, it would be quite some time before White women matriculated at Illinois in any significant numbers. In 1887, two years after the General Assembly changed the name to University of Illinois, the university admitted its first African American student, nearly two decades after the founding of the university.[6] The population of African American students at the university remained at a minimum during the first half of the twentieth century, but there were relatively significant increases during the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s. From 1945–1955 approximately 1,400 African American students matriculated at Illinois.

The first African American to be admitted to the university was Jonathan Rogan, from Decatur, Illinois. He attended the university from 1887–1888. After his short stay the next African American student was not admitted until 1894. George W. Riley, a student in Art & Design, from Champaign, attended the university until 1897. In 1900, William Walter Smith was the first African American student to graduate from UIUC. Walter T. Bailey was the second to graduate with a degree in architecture in 1904 and the only student at that time to finish with a professional degree of Master of Architecture.[7] The first African American woman, Maudelle Tanner Brown, graduated in 1906 with an A.B. in mathematics, which she completed in

three years. The first African American to graduate in Law was Amos Porter Scruggs, who completed his education in 1907.[8] There were few African American graduates during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Enrollment trends for African American students at UIUC were very low until a modest increase occurred during the post–World War II years. This pattern of scarce African American presence at Illinois would follow for years to come.

Albert R. Lee: The Unofficial Dean of Black Students

Albert R. Lee, born on a farm near Champaign on June 26, 1874, attended Champaign Central High School and graduated in 1893. Two years after graduation Lee went to work for the University of Illinois in 1895 as a messenger boy in the office of the President, Andrew Sloan Draper. He spent a period of 53 years working for the University of Illinois in the office of the president in a variety of positions, from messenger boy to the unofficial Dean of African American students. According to his papers, Lee was employed and utilized as messenger "boy," clerk, waiter, doorman at Presidents Draper's and James's houses and unofficial dean of African American students. In his paper, "University of Illinois Presidents I Have Known," Lee describes his duties from the beginning of his time spent working at Illinois. Despite the various positions held, he was never paid for his duties performed in the capacity of unofficial dean of African American students. This was a position that Lee adopted for himself and it became convenient for the university as they recognized him in this position.[9] Despite the lack of pay for his self-proclaimed title, it was obvious from his correspondence that he was dedicated to African American students. Lee worked very diligently for the university with the exception of one year, 1897–1898, when he was enrolled as a student.[10] His dedication and knowledge of the university and its community permitted him the opportunity to successfully assist African American students.

Albert R. Lee went to great lengths to help African American students in whatever capacity he could. He was considered to be the unofficial Dean of African American students.[11] In addition to his other responsibilities in the president's office he was responsible for compiling data on African American students. Lee was very involved in the affairs of African Americans on and off campus. He was a respected leader in the Champaign African American community. His official capacity was that of an office clerk in the office of the president who was responsible for keeping records, accounts, and performing

routine assignment. However, he did much more. He was often called upon to address issues related to African American students. Not only did students look to him for guidance and counsel; university officials counted on him as well. It was not always clear why the university relied on him; however, one may surmise that it was the confidence that university officials had in his administrative ability and his commitment to helping African American students. Furthermore, university officials probably assumed he could relate to and understand the students based on their shared ethnic background. The fact that he was the highest-ranking African American in the university illustrates the minor role that African Americans played in the university administration and faculty during this era. Yet, Lee played a major role in the lives of African American students. He served as their mediator, comforter and friend. According to one account,

> He was very well respected in the community and the University, which was a separate community, it still is but not as much as it used to be. He worked his way up from office boy but he was the one who, didn't complain, he wanted people to respect him so he respected other people and he got their respect or he wouldn't have gotten where he was without any education because he was not an educated man. The education he got was from, his experiences working, working with people on the campus and he was very good or he wouldn't have been there as long as he was.[12]

Lee committed the better part of his life to the UIUC and African American students. As evidenced in letters from the families of incoming students, Lee was responsible for almost all aspects of African American student life.[13] His files contain a vast amount of information on African American students and their experiences. When African American parents contacted the university, various deans and administrators on campus would forward those letters to Lee. For example, Lee would frequently receive letters from families requesting information about the university. He felt obliged to provide the requested information.[14] In a letter dated August 17, 1928, Mr. Edward Jacobs called on Lee to assist him in securing housing for an incoming female African American student. In that letter, Mr. Jacobs thanks Lee and reminds him of the assistance he has given him over the last ten years. Lee responded to this letter informing the student of the housing conditions at the University of Illinois.[15] He also took it upon himself to document the number of African American students at the university and regularly submitted the information to W.E.B. DuBois, editor of the *Crisis* the official journal of the NAACP. Lee was definitely a man committed to seeing African Americans obtain an education.

Lee responded to many letters during his tenure at the university. The majority of the letters written pertained to the condition of African American students on campus. Additionally he constantly wrote to African American elected officials for their support in helping to secure equal accommodations for African American students on campus. He was always concerned with how to improve the experiences of African American students. Moreover, Lee wrote to the president of the university when he felt a situation concerning African American students could be handled more effectively at that level or when he saw the need to compliment the president on a job well done. Publicly he never denounced the university and its practices, but often in his letters to the president he questioned the discrimination that he observed.

He monitored African American students on campus; kept records of their years of attendance as well as their campus affiliations. Apparently, Lee was passionate about and committed to keeping track of the number of African American students on campus. He listed their names, addresses, and campus affiliations (e.g., fraternity or sorority). His papers included several typewritten or handwritten lists of this sort of information.[16] He was very conscientious about recording methods, meticulous to the point of correcting the smallest error. For example, Lee annually took a census of UIUC African American graduates and submitted it to the *Crisis* as part of the magazine's yearly account of black graduates of predominately white universities.[17] Once he made a mistake and he quickly rectified the error in a letter to the editor of the *Crisis*, W.E.B. DuBois. On June 13, 1927 Lee writes to DuBois:

> Dear Doctor:
>
> In my recent letter to you giving the names of graduates from the University of Illinois, I made an omission. Kindly add to the list of graduates that of Ella Madalyne Towles, Piano, School of Music, degree of B. of Music, Harrisburg, Illinois.
>
> Cordially yours
> Albert R. Lee
> Chief Clerk
> Office of the President[18]

As the unofficial Dean of African American students, Lee took responsibility for the experiences of African American students on the UIUC campus. Furthermore, he believed it important to document their experiences on campus.

Enrollment Trends

It was difficult to ascertain the actual enrollment of African American students. Albert R. Lee seemed to be the only one concerned with the actual numbers. In 1936, Carl Stephens of the Alumni Association contacted Lee regarding the number of African American students in the university since the beginning of their enrollment in 1887. Lee was delighted to have the opportunity to conduct this study and did so very diligently. Although very excited about the project, Lee was concerned about the preciseness of his work. He explained in his report that:

> This compilation is in a way a creation. We have made something whereof nothing existed. It is humanly impossible to make a perfect list under the conditions that confronted the compiler. A period of fifty years presents problems in selecting material, methods of work. Yet out of it he by the help of the gods been able to get together over 900 names. As to how complete it is, it may be said that in the period up to 1920 it is fully 98% complete. For the period since that time when there has been such a marked increase of Negro students-their frequent coming in and dropping out, the percent of completeness may drop to 85%.[19]

Lee was very meticulous with his work. He began by consulting the Alumni directories and recorded the names of the students he remembered, after that he referred to city directories that kept names of individuals that he could recognize as African American by the addresses, and then consulted them to determine whether or not they housed students. Finally he checked university catalogues for verification of names, degrees, and courses. All of these sources were then checked against list he had made for 12 years of African American students. He then alphabetized the lists and rechecked his sources for any names that may have been omitted.[20]

To give an example of the scarcity of African American students at UIUC, table 3.1 lists the numbers of students during the first half of the twentieth century. The relevant data is missing for years 1905–1918 and 1920–1924 respectively. It is important to mention that Albert R. Lee compiled the majority of this information voluntarily for the purposes of reporting to W.E.B. DuBois, editor of the journal *Crisis*. DuBois would request this information from all institutions and report the results annually in the *Crisis*. Scholars often utilized this source in lieu of having access to university transcripts. It is unclear as to how DuBois was able to ascertain from whom he should request the information.

Table 3.1 Student enrollment, University of Illinois 1900–1940

Years	Black Enrollment	Total Enrollment
1900	2	2,505
1901	5	2,932
1902	4	3,288
1903	9	—[a]
1904	19	3,729
1919	48	7,157
1925	68	10,710
1926	55	13,731
1927	92	14,071
1929	138	14,594
1930	92	14,986
1931	129	14,569
1933	109	12,122
1934	104	13,067
1935	101	14,036
1936	94	15,831
1937	112	16,865
1938	108	17,500
1939	139	17,212
Total	1,428	208,905

[a] Missing data.

Source: "The University of Illinois Negro Students, Location, History and Administration," Arthur C. Willard Papers, General Correspondence 1934–1946, Series 2/9/1, Box 42 (Folder "Colored Students University of Illinois"), and *Register of the University of Illinois*, University of Illinois Archives, Urbana, Illinois.

Additional names were added to the list after Lee completed his study in 1936. In addition to student enrollment there was also a list of African American graduates from the early years found in University President Willard's files. Table 3.2 displays the approximate number of African American graduates and their degrees between the years of 1904–1934, with data missing for years, 1901–1903, 1905, and 1913 respectively.

Between the years of 1945–1955 the pattern of enrollment increased quite a bit. For the ten year period there was an estimated one thousand fourteen hundred African American students that attended the university. This information was gleaned from Eddie Russell's preliminary look at African American students, in addition to a survey of yearbooks, transcripts, card files and employment records, conducted by the author with the assistance of undergraduate

Table 3.2 Total number of African American graduates, University of Illinois, 1900–1936

	AB	BS	Masters	Ph.D.	Total
1900	1				1
1904		1			1
1906	1				1
1907		1			1
1908	2				2
1909	1				1
1910	2	1	1		4
1911		1			1
1912	1	1	1		3
1914	3	2	1		6
1915	1	1			2
1916	2	1		1	4
1917	1	1		1	3
1918	3	3			6
1919	3		1		4
1920	2	3			5
1921	2	2			4
1922	4	2			6
1923	2				2
1924	2	2			4
1925	8				8
1926	4	4			8
1927	3	5	1		5
1928	4	5			9
1929	11	7	3		21
1930	4	7	3		14
1931	8	8	3		19
1932	8	17	6		31
1933	15	9	5		29
1934	6	14	4		24
Total	104	98	29	2	240

Source: "Negro Students at the University of Illinois, an Outline of their Enrollment? Activities? History, Living Conditions," Arthur Cutts Willard Papers, General Correspondence, 1934–1946, Series 2/9/1, Box 2 (Folder "Colored Students University of Illinois"), University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois.

students. Table 3.3 displays overall campus enrollment between the years of 1941–1955, with data missing from years 1941–1944.

Black Alumni Ex-Student Project

Eddie Russell, a physical education student in the class of 1969; was very interested in bridging the gap between prospective college

Table 3.3 Urbana campus enrollment trends, University of Illinois, 1941–1955

Year	Men	Women	Black Enrollment	Total Enrollment
1940	9,115	3,243	8	12,358
1945	4,718	4,797	60	7,906
1946	13,938	4,440	96	18,378
1947	15,140	4,251	71	19,391
1948	15,137	3,957	72	19,094
1949	15,231	4,290	67	19,521
1950	13,098	4,064	71	17,162
1951	11,355	3,790	57	15,145
1952	11,452	3,987	69	15,439
1953	11,701	4.075	55	15,776
1954	12,648	4,218	45	16,866
1955	13,869	4,206	17	18,075

Source: Greybook of Enrollment Tables: First Semesters 1945–1955, Annual Report of the Director, Series 25/7/0/5, Box 1, and Student Transcripts Series 25/3/4, University of Illinois Archives, Urbana-Champaign.

students, current students, and former alumni. He desired the black alumni to become more actively involved in the recruitment, retention, and support of young African American college students. Russell conducted a study entitled "Project RECALL" to gather information about African American students at UIUC. In an *Illinois Alumni News* interview he stated:

> The purpose of the project [is] to solicit the support advice and guidance of Negro alumni in the matter of job information, help with recruiting qualified Negro high school graduates for entry into the University, contributions towards scholarship funds and scholarship loans for impoverished Black students, counseling in regard to retention of these students in the University, and community-University coordination.[21]

Although Russell's goals were very noble, they were met with opposition from some university officials.

In a meeting held on October 14, 1968 that involved Eddie Russell, university archivist Maynard Brichford, and Professor Dimitri Shimkin, the issue of opposition was discussed. In meeting notes the three gentlemen described the feeling of one T. Jones, assumed to be a university official, but the record is unclear. Jones adamantly opposed the study for fear that it might actually bring African American Alumni together. According to the meeting notes he was opposed to the study for three reasons: (1) he did not believe an organization was needed, (2) he believed there was no need for the university to interfere in the social affairs of the "Negro" student, and (3) the data collected for such a study would only work to organize African American Alumni and that should not be the goal, as it was unnecessary.[22] This, however, was not the sentiment of other university officials.

Maynard Brichford, university archivist wrote a letter to Dr. Jack W. Petalson, chancellor of the university explaining the importance of the black alumni project:

> For seventy-five years, the University of Illinois has been providing opportunities in higher education to black Americans. Thousands have attended the university and used their education to serve their communities and the nation. Due to the social and political impact of racism, the university has seldom attempted to identify, and has never sought to establish contacts with, black alumni and ex-students.
>
> The establishment of a communications network to compile a directory would establish a pattern of records essential for the study of the role of the Negro in American life and history. The project would provide administrative offices and departments with a reliable base of research data about a most significant group-black Americans who have sought and obtained higher education.[23]

Archival records seem to indicate that Petalson may have been agreeable to the project but was dissuaded by John William Briscoe, Assistant Chancellor for Administration and Professor of Civil Engineering. Briscoe felt that the project would cause more harm than good. He was most concerned with the final results would be used to assemble African American students. He also indicated that African American students preferred to utilize their own established networks. The general idea was that bringing this group together would represent potential harm to the university, although it is not clear what sort of harm would result.[24]

In a field note dated November 12, 1968, there were several reasons for the rejection of the proposal for funding in addition to other ways to go about conducting the project. Briscoe stated the he did not "see value in seeking other university means of support" and went on to say that (1) an individual faculty member may request a research grant from an outside foundation, but this would require university approval, (2) an outside group may request the university to supply this information, (3) a graduate student could undertake the project as a research project or thesis subject and (4) the university administration is afraid of the results of the project and will not support it in its present state.[25]

Brichford was not discouraged by the rejection from the University Research Board. Clearly Brichford and others saw the value in this

project and were determined to see it to fruition. In a letter to James Vermette, Brichford further assures Vermette, a member of the University Research Board, that the information will in no way be used to organize or further separate African American Alumni. He goes on the thank him for his support even though his financial proposal was turned down by the University Research Board, and asked if there were any other financial alternatives that existed.[26]

The project did receive some funding although it is unclear as to how much. Russell was the person primarily responsible for the data collection. Russell began by looking through the *Illio*, the university yearbook, and identified African American students by visual sight. He first went through all the traditional African American fraternities and sororities, then housing units, sport teams, groups and senior photos. The next step was to transfer the students' names to a data sheet, which Russell checked against Albert R. Lee's lists, and the alumni directory. He also used the Chicago Alumni Directory as a resource for additional names. As of October 21, 1971, Russell compiled a list of 2, 479 African American students who attended the university from its founding to 1971 and these data are now housed in the university archives.[27]

Social Characteristics of African American Students at Illinois

African American students at UIUC from 1945 to 1955 were not a monolithic group. They came from various social and religious backgrounds and there were significant differences in age. The postwar era, specifically the GI Bill, brought to the campus a much older and more mature black male population. In many categories these students differed as much from each other as they did from the larger student population. The unifying piece that held them together was their shared racial heritage, and the second-class treatment based on that shared characteristic. Beyond these characteristics they were dissimilar in vital respects. Between the years of 1945–1955 there were a reported 1,042 students that had transcripts and of that number 352 were female and 677 were male, and there were 13 students whose gender was not reported, because the information was not present. Both the distribution of birth state and parental home state indicate that the majority of these students were from Illinois or at least had parents living there when they enrolled in college with Missouri being the second largest state to provide UIUC with African American students.

It was not uncommon for the men to outnumber the women due to the increase in male enrollment under the GI Bill. Typically men

entered college at age 21 as opposed to the women who entered at age 19, although it typically took them longer to finish their college courses.

Despite the differences in age and time taken to complete the degree there was an overall graduation rate of 58.3 percent for African American students. Given that this rate of graduation occurred within about four years, this figure is most impressive considering the racial climate that was present on campus and in the community. Women may have finished at a faster pace but men outnumbered women in relation to their graduation rates. About 68 percent of the graduates were men as opposed to 32 percent of women.

Among graduates the grade point averages of men compared with women also indicates that men performed slightly better than women and that may be attributed to the fact that women were on the fast track to get in and get out. Also men were older and perhaps more mature. The most interesting aspect of the male–female background is high school percentile rank, which is normally associated with predicting academic success. On average, women did significantly better than men in their overall high school achievement, finishing a full nine percentile points ahead of men (females at the 73rd percentile, men at the 64th).

Another point of analysis was the association of parental occupation in relation to graduation rates of students. Student responses to parental occupational field displayed in table 3.4 were collapsed into seven main categories. The majority of the students' parents worked in the managerial field; however, when all other categories are combined those numbers change and it is discovered that most students'

Table 3.4 Student's parental occupational fields, University of Illinois, 1945–1955

	%	n
Managerial, Professional	22	108
Technical, Sales, Admin.	22	106
Service	18	89
Farming	5	23
Precision, Production, Repair	14	68
Operators, Laborers	18	89
Military	0.4	2
Total	100	485

Source: Student Employment Folders, Series 41/4/5, University of Illinois Archives. The number 485 represents the total number of students that reported parental occupation on their employment folder. The percentages have been rounded to whole numbers when possible.

Table 3.5 Student's religious preference, University of Illinois, 1945–1955

	%	n
Baptist	33.6	101
Catholic	11.3	34
Methodist	29.2	88
Protestant (unspecified)	25.9	78
Total	100.0	301

Source: Student Employment Folders, Series 41/4/5, University of Illinois Archives. The number 301 represents the total number of students, who reported religious preference on their employment application, collapsed into four categories.

parents are involved in administrative support, labor, repair, and production professions.

The farming occupation has the highest high school percentile rank, however, the total number of students (n = 6) with parents in this field is relatively small. The most significant finding here is that students (n = 42) with parents in managerial, professional fields had an average percentile rank of 73 over a ten-year period.

Male enrollment outweighed female enrollment and created a similar pattern in martial status. However, the proportion of men that were married, 22 percent, compared with women, 12 percent, suggests that men were more likely to be married at this time.

Table 3.5 presents the collapsed distribution of religious preferences of students, based on the responses that were available. More work needs to be done in the area of religion. The data here are all suggestive, as there are no clear patterns of association between religion and academic achievement. The highest concentration occurred for Baptists, followed by Methodists. The category Protestant (unspecified) refers to those students that did not list a specific denomination Protestant. For reasons of parsimony I was able to collapse the larger categories into smaller ones. Table 3.5 represents those four categories. Additionally the Baptists and Methodists were excluded from the Protestant unspecified category. On average Protestant (unspecified) did better in high school, and the women within this group appeared to far exceed the men. Women that designated Catholic as their preferred religion did significantly better than men.

Tables 3.6 and 3.7 address the issue of skin color and race. The employment files asked for a response to these questions and there were students that answered them. It is interesting to note that the majority of the reported their skin color as Brown, 46 percent and their race as

Table 3.6 Students self reported skin color, University of Illinois, 1945–1955

	Percent	Frequency
Black	10.8	38
Very Black	0.2	1
Brown	46.4	162
Brown Skin	0.8	3
Light Brown	4.0	14
Medium Brown	1.1	4
Dark Brown	3.1	11
Colored	6.8	24
Color	0.2	1
Fair	0.2	2
Light	2.0	7
Medium	0.2	1
Dark	2.0	7
Copper	0.2	1
Olive	0.5	2
Tan	0.5	2
Negro	12.0	42
Negroid	0.2	1
White	0.5	2
Not Listed	6.8	24
Total	100.0	349

Source: Student Employment Folders Series 41/4/5. The total represents the total number of students that reported color on the employment records.

"Negro." This time period was directly following a time when "colored" was the preferred term. Another interesting finding from the table is the number of people who considered "Negro" to be a color. It is plausible to assume that many African American students did consider it a color because of the Spanish origins of the word. Finally the third highest response for African American student skin color, is Black. The data here are very revealing about the changing tides of skin color and racial designation. The use of the word "Negro" follows the word "colored" and precedes the word "Black" by several years. Table 3.7 displays a small percentage of the African American student population utilizing the outdated "colored" or the word "Black."

Housing Issues for African American Students

At UIUC, housing would become a long battle for the students as well as for the African American community. The inequities related to housing coupled with the racial discrimination that occurred resulted

Table 3.7 Students self reported race, University of Illinois, 1945–1955

	Percent	Frequency
African	0.5	2
Afro-American	0.2	1
American	1.7	7
Am. of African Descent	0.2	1
Black	0.2	1
Colored	2.0	8
Indian-Negro	0.2	1
Indian Irish Negro	0.2	1
Indian White Negro	0.5	2
Irish-Dutch	0.2	1
Irish	0.2	1
Latin American	0.2	1
Mixed	0.2	1
Mulatto	0.2	1
Negro-American Indian	0.2	1
Negro-Brown	0.2	1
Negro-Indian-French	0.2	1
Negro	82.6	325
Negroid	3.3	13
Portuguese	0.2	1
Swedish	0.2	1
White	0.2	1
Not Listed	5.0	20
Total	100.0	393

Source: Student Employment Folders Series 41/4/5. The total represents the total number of students that reported color on the employment records.

in the development of a community network that included UIUC African American students and the African American community. Many members of the community opened their homes to students. According to the Champaign County Housing Authority survey, "110 out of 587 Negro dwelling units were occupied by more than one family group or had lodgers, although 67% had only 1 or 2 bedrooms."[28] During the academic school year 1929–1930, there were 138 African American students, 66 of who had room only and not board, and the remaining 72 received room and board from local African American residents.[29] On woman remembers that,

> we were all poor but the students were poor too. They weren't used to living any better than what they were when they came here. We fed them. I don't think anybody made any money off them but usually if they roomed with us they would eat whatever we would eat, they would come in, we were eating, and they would eat. We didn't make any money but they were nice and they were good company and they were like family, we took them in as part of the family.[30]

In addition to providing meals for students in their homes, one woman made sure that many African Americans ate through their job. Mrs. Gray was the house manager at the white greek house Alpha Chi, and remembers hiring all African American men to work there. Her rationale was to provide them with a place to eat. As a part of payment they were allowed to eat their meals there. They worked as service and bus boys. At the end of the evening instead of throwing away uneaten food, Mrs. Gray would tell the gentlemen to take the food with them, and feed those that did not have the opportunity to have a meal service job.[31] This was just one of many ways African Americans subverted the forms of discrimination faced in everyday life. This opportunity could have only existed due to the close relationship between the campus and community.

Along with the African American students, African American community members were expected to live in restricted residential areas. A study conducted by the League of Women Voters of Champaign County in 1946 indicated that housing for African Americans was a total disgrace.[32] Many families lived in shacks with no indoor plumbing and had to use outdoor privies. In most cases these privies were very unsanitary and caused many people to contract communicable diseases, such as tuberculosis. Furthermore the shacks' people were living in were previously coal bins.[33]

It is very important to note that many African Americans living in these conditions were able to afford better housing. For example, one woman was reported as saying that her husband made $40 a week and that they were able to live elsewhere, and still have enough money left over for livelihood. Despite having the means to afford better, racial discrimination by the city Realtors and landlords prevented them from finding better housing.[34] As a result, they were forced to live in a racially segregated and impoverished residential area, despite their economic capability to maintain a household in a more inhabitable environment. The housing condition for African Americans in the community affected the majority of Black students, because many of them had to live in the community. To a lesser extent there were Black students who lived in fraternity and sorority housing and others who lived in dormitories.

Many of the homes in the African American community were substandard and considered dangerous to live in, including a lack of indoor plumbing, no toilets, one bedroom to accommodate several

people, transformed coal bins and shacks in areas with no sidewalks. These conditions were due to a lack of concern on the part of the city as well as the racism present within the Champaign-Urbana areas. Many of these homes were considered to be health hazards to the residents and the rest of the area. All these factors contributed to the unsanitary conditions present within the African American community. Although the Public Health District "has the authority to condemn dwellings, but considers it impossible to exercise this authority when there is no other place for people to move."[35] Consequently, it was virtually impossibly for African Americans to live outside of this area. This was due in part, if not wholly, to the racially restrictive covenants. It was clearly stated that various properties were not available "to be occupied as owner or tenants by any person not of the Caucasian race."[36] Long time African American residents of this community understood this arrangement, despite their disapproval of it.

As the enrollment of African American students increased, after World War II, so did their housing needs. When a student was admitted to the university it was without the promise of housing. Despite small and cramped accommodations, the community and students made the best of the situation and it became mutually agreeable. The early generation of African American students at Illinois owed a lot to the African American community of Champaign and to Lee. Lee was responsible for making the initial contact between students and potential renters.[37] This informal arrangement lasted for several decades.[38]

Lee would identify members of the African American community that were willing to rent to students. After potential renters were contacted in person and by mail, concerning the possibility of taking in boarders, Lee would compile a list of available housing for new students. Once an African American student decided to attend the university, Lee would provide the student with the housing list and allow them to choose their place of residence. In many cases Lee corresponded with the parents and they requested that he make contact with the potential renter and secure housing for their children, sight unseen. Moreover, Lee would often check on students and send letters to their parents informing them of their children's situation. Many parents responded very positively toward this practice.[39]

Parents and the university were pleased with Lee's work. In fact both entities relied heavily on his assistance over the years. Several meetings and planning sessions with African American students and the community took place concerning the topic of housing. Lee was again at the forefront of addressing the housing situation of African American students. Students and community members met at Lee's

church, Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church (A.M.E.), to discuss strategies in combating the injustice that faced students in housing as well other issues concerning discrimination. The church would be the site for other debates as well. During these meetings minutes were taken and placed in the church file.[40]

> Bethel church was one of the two Negro churches in town and I must say the popular. Students came here all the time and not only to worship. Bethel was a second home. I mean, the students could not go anywhere else. There was a group called Lyceum and they held programs on Sundays, lectures, discussions, and all the students would come here and we would too.[41]

One individual remembers a room at the church called the "Black room." She reported the following:

> The Black room was up in the old deck of the church and they had all of these books for students to come and study, and so they set up study periods and study tines because the students at that time really couldn't go to much on campus to study, so they had study periods, they had Friday night classes for them, and you had to obtain a certain level before you were even allowed upstairs. You know that was for the students that were in high regard. They had a lady who graduated from Tennessee State, Mrs. Martin, who was a scholarly kind of person. You did the elocution kinds of things, we did all those things at that time and we—education was in high regard.[42]

The community commitment to excellence and achievement was exemplary. African Americans were dedicated to the success of the students, and they were willing to participate in spite of the racialized conditions of Champaign-Urbana. Although students were not allowed to eat, live, or interact on campus, the community rallied behind them to support them within the community to ensure academic success and stability.

Academic Achievement

The tables included in this section discuss the characteristics of African Americans who graduated from UIUC. In letters written to Albert Lee, parents asked for his assistance in helping their children to find a "place" in the local African American community. His assistance aided students in a variety of ways, and successful academic achievement was only one of them. For those students that did not complete their degree, their time spent and contributions made in and around the

university community were recognized as a sustaining force for all African American students.

Table 3.8 displays the graduation status of African American students by gender. Men out number women in their enrollment as well as graduation rates. There was a total of 774 students with graduation information on their transcripts and of those students 451 graduated and within that number 31.5 percent were women and 68.5 percent were men. During this ten-year time period men graduated at twice the rate of women. Of these graduates table 3.9 displays their marital status. Overwhelmingly most students were single; however, more men than women were married. This is a very critical point of comparison. Living in the Champaign-Urban area in the postwar years men were older and more likely than women to be married. This information sheds a new light on the issue of discrimination at this time. Aside from many men having served in the war and enrolling in college they may have had a family to support. Hence the discrimination that many of them faced was felt not only individually but by their families as well.

Table 3.8 Graduation status of students by gender, University of Illinois, 1945–1955

	Female		Male		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n
No	37.5	121	62.5	202	41.7	323
Yes	31.5	142	68.5	309	58.3	451
Total	34.0	263	66.0	511	100.0	774

Source: Student Transcripts, Series 25/3/4, University of Illinois Archives. The number 774 represents those students that had graduation information reported on their transcripts.

Table 3.9 Marital status of graduates, University of Illinois, 1945–1955

	Female		Male	
	%	n	%	n
Single	66	104	63	217
Married	40	5	73	55
Total		109		278

Source: Student Transcripts Series 25/3/4, Student Employment Folders, Series 41/4/5, University of Illinois Archives. The number 109 and 278 represents the total number of female and male students who reported marital status on their employment folder and had graduation information on their transcripts.

Additionally, these male students returning from the war were at a greater distance from the social and academic scene at the university. Many of the veterans were much older than the traditional college age students, therefore bringing a different level of maturity to campus. It was clear in many instances the veterans were at the forefront of racial equality advocacy. In terms of academics they lagged somewhat behind their peers, as the GI Bill offered many of them college access, even if they were not adequately prepared to enter college.

Table 3.10 presents the total distribution of graduates within academic fields. LAS General has a significant representation of African American students that graduated, followed by Education and then Engineering. The total number is small overall; however, it is highly suggestive of a pattern of academic stability. This data when examined within the context of a Jim Crow town and gown clearly demonstrates the stability of academic achievement in spite of discrimination.

Although men graduated at a disproportionately higher rate than women did, when the two groups are compared, the results are revealing. The data suggests that female graduates enrolled at the University of Illinois with a high school percentile rank of 84 compared with a male high school percentile rank of 69. This figure represents an average over a ten-year period. This data suggests that long before

Table 3.10 Total distribution of graduates within academic field, University of Illinois, 1945–1955

	%	n
Agriculture	2.4	9
Ag. /Home Econ.	2.6	10
Com./Business	1.3	5
Communications	1.3	5
Education	14.5	55
Engineering	11.6	44
FAA	7.7	29
LAS/General	37.5	142
Life Sciences	1.1	4
Physical Sciences	3.2	12
Social Sciences	2.4	9
Humanities	1.1	4
Medicine	8.2	31
LIR	0.8	3
Library Sciences	0.5	2
Law	4.0	15
Total	100.0	379

Source: Student Transcripts Series, 25/3/4. The total 379 represents the total number of students that had curriculum and graduation information on their transcript.

Affirmative Action there was a record of successful academic achievement for African American students. This point may be viewed as controversial; however, it is clear that African American students were entering the University of Illinois with high marks during the pre-civil rights movement era. This in fact is critical when addressing issues related to academic achievement, one may ponder whether or not the sustaining communities contributed to the success of African American students in this era.

African American students maintained a relatively consistent grade point average over the ten-year period. Table 3.11 presents the overall distribution of grade point averages in relation to parental occupational field. The grade point average is based on a 5.0 scale. With the exception of African American women, with at least one parent in farming, the grade point averages are in the "C" range. There were three women with a parent in farming and their grade point average was 4.0. The sample is too small to make an assumption based on the relationship between farming occupations and academic achievement.

In essence African American students at the University of Illinois experienced varying forms of discrimination. As their enrollment trends increased, so did the discriminatory acts they faced. These students attended school under very antagonistic conditions. Having to find a place to eat and live miles from campus, not being allowed to sit in adequate seats in theaters, or get haircuts without discrimination, to name only a few instances of discrimination, were the harsh conditions they had to live under. These various acts of discrimination had an impact on the educational and social environment of these

Table 3.11 Final GPA of students by parental occupational field, University of Illinois, 1945–1955

	Total		Female		Male	
	GPA	n	GPA	n	GPA	n
Managerial, Professional	3.36	64	3.41	23	3.36	39
Technical, Sales, Adm.	3.24	59	3.46	19	3.14	40
Service	3.34	52	3.45	14	3.03	38
Farming	3.41	14	4.02	3	3.23	10
Precision, Production, Repair	3.37	45	3.41	11	3.36	34
Operators, Laborers	3.27	54	3.11	17	3.35	37
Military	3.00	1	0	0	3.00	1
Total	3.32	289	3.39	87	3.29	199

Source: Student Transcripts, Series 25/3/4 and Student Employment Folders, Series 41/4/5, University of Illinois Archives. The number 289 represents the total number of students that reported parental occupation on their employment folder and had grade point average information on their transcript.

students. Although the social impact was negative, a great number of students accomplished their goals.

The data presented here suggests that African American students were highly motivated to achieve. Their exceptional graduation rates, representation in academic fields and ten-year academic stability indicates that African American students were exemplary in spite of racially hostile circumstances.

Conclusion

UIUC represented an institution of higher learning situated in the "liberal' North, a place that was perceived as some how different from the Jim Crow South. The whole notion of liberalism when applied to the University of Illinois seems a bit bizarre. The term is often loosely used, but it actually does have meaning in the context of higher education in the North generally and specifically at the University of Illinois. Liberalism is an ideal that supposedly positions itself in such a way that it promotes liberty and the pursuits of that liberty. Although those responsible for the notion of liberalism forgot to mention the key element, pursuit of liberty as long as your liberty does not infringe upon mine. The North was not the free place that many expected it to be, in fact it was very much similar to Jim Crow South, full of racism and hatred. The difference was that if anything the North was more genteel. However, what students encountered here was very much the same forms of segregation their Southern counterparts experienced. Despite time spent serving their country, and devoting time to studies so they could compete academically at the university, those things meant nothing. African American students would not be able to change the view of whites in and around the university. The liberal thing to do was to allow African Americans to attend schools in the North that were not segregated by law. Eating in a segregated section of a restaurant or sitting in a special section of a movie theater was considered very liberal. These were freedoms and privileges that Southern African Americans were not afforded. Liberals believed very much in the notion of education, because that brings about a better society, but how far is one to go in education and how that individual will be treated once admitted to an institution of higher learning is a very different question. It was never a question of access to higher education but more appropriately a question of treatment while in higher education. After all African Americans were admitted to the University of Illinois, that in and of itself was a very liberal ideal.

It is apparent from the information provided here, that African Americans were discriminated against in all aspects of their lives.

These students attended school under hostile and difficult living conditions. It was not until 1941, with the help of Albert R. Lee that African American students were allowed to dine on campus. Lee wrote to the president of the university and explained the hardship that African American students endured due to the lack of eating facilities available to African Americans. The year the Illini Union was built, and African American students were allowed to eat there.[43]

The cohorts of University of Illinois African American students changed every four to five years. However, patterns of contending with difficulties, stability and continuity were provided by the ongoing presence of Albert R. Lee, African American elected officials, Interracial Committee, some university officials, and by the Champaign African American community. These individuals were the backbone to the growth and development of the students during the days of segregation.

Liberalism was not about changing the views of a white dominated society. It was more about contending with a group of people that now coexisted with the larger society and considering what to do with them. Liberals believed in education, and the power of that education to transform society, one that was very separate and very unequal. When reflecting on the comments made concerning the importance of the Black Alumni and Ex-Student Project, those liberal ideals come to mind. The purpose of this project was to develop a network of African American students so that future, current and past students have a way to connect and provide financial assistance, encouragement, and information for people within their group. That is a very liberal ideal and one that does not infringe upon the larger society to play a role.

The complexity of African American student life at the University of Illinois was very difficult to comprehend, if it was examined in the context of education above the Mason-Dixon Line. These students lived in an area that was perceived liberal, but in actuality a place where racism was of the most dangerous form. Living in the South provided African Americans with a set of guidelines by which to live. Racism, Jim Crow laws and lynching made it plain. Indeed there was a set of rules that applied to African Americans, and policies that called for equal treatment and protection under the law. Unfortunately students at the university rarely had the privilege of being treated fairly or as first-class citizens. They lived by the Jim Crow laws of the North, a set of laws that boasted the inferiority of African Americans.

In spite of these less than comfortable surroundings veiled with discrimination, African American students were able to succeed. The 58.3 percent graduation rate tells a remarkable story. These students

were able to achieve success. African American students came with a determination to succeed and left well prepared to serve in their professions. Although many of the students came from working-class backgrounds, their career aspirations far exceeded the occupations of their parents. These students were involved in a variety of academic fields. Many students became doctors, lawyers, scientists, and educators. They did believe in giving back to their community, which is evidenced by their bonds with each other and the fact that many of them returned to the communities that produced them, in addition to maintaining contact with some of the families that cared for them while attending the UIUC.

It is very important to recognize the importance of the Black community in the lives of African American students. The kind of segregation that existed created a sense of community that was not all bad. In fact it was one where there was a strong sense of family, community and a place to fit in, in essence a nurturing environment. African American students lived with families, ate with them, attended church with them, they were family. It was that sense of family that sustained them during their academic years at the university. In a town steeped with racism and discrimination emerged a class of African American students that graduated from the university at remarkable rates in spite of the segregationist traditions. That is the contradictory side of Jim Crow.

Jim Crow and the crucible of excellence was the theme from African American students in the postwar years. Students did not have any other alternatives but to be an active part of the community, as it was all that was available to them. This phenomenon created community student relationships that were shaped and refined in spite of the insidious nature of racism. Race and racism operated as an organizing principle in the lives of African American students.

The strange career of Jim Crow may have impeded them but it did not stop them. The isolation that existed for these students was difficult to comprehend. African American students for several years represented less than 1 percent of the total student population. During the postwar years, specifically 1945–1955, in any given year there was an average of 140 students that encountered Jim Crow laws of the North. It is difficult to imagine having attended school without the negative influences around them, but without the racism, perhaps their graduation rates would have been even more impressive. Despite the less than pleasant or inviting instances, African American students were able to matriculate, persevere, and achieve, under extremely rigid segregation.

The most puzzling aspect of their experiences is the loyalty that exists between the students and the university. The people that were

interviewed were very candid in their discussions and vivid in their recollections, but despite the obvious denial of equality these students in addition to a group who refers to themselves as the FBI (Fifties Black Alumni), still hold strong loyalty to the university. This is not to say that there are those who have placed the university years behind them and care not to revisit the memories. There are still those that are inextricably linked to the University of Illinois. One has to wonder whether it is a blind loyalty or one that grew in the face of adversity. Adversity is often known to make the heart grow fonder and the idea of succeeding in an institution such as the University of Illinois is enough to foster a sense of pride and loyalty, not so much to the institution but to those coming after them. The final analysis of the university's history of African American students can be best summed up as a rewarding experience. Lessons in the fundamentals of surviving the intricacies of racism and discrimination and leaving with what most would consider an excellent education and perhaps an even better experience in the reality of a racialized society. Regardless of their high school rank, grade point average, intellect or character, they could not eat in local restaurants, see a movie without discrimination or live in campus residence halls. Academic excellence and social inequality were the pillars of their experience at UIUC.

Notes

1. James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860–1935* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 164.
2. Linda M. Perkins, "The Impact of the 'Cult of True Womanhood' on the Education of Black Women," *Journal of Social Issues* 39, 3 (1983): 18.
3. Jeanne L. Noble, "Negro Women Today and Their Education," *The Journal of Negro Education* 26, 1 (Winter 1957): 17.
4. Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, "Discrimination Against Afro-American Women In The Women's Movement, 1830–1920," Sharon Harley and Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, eds., *The Afro American Woman On Race And Sex In America* (Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1978), 21.
5. Winton U. Solberg, *The University of Illinois, 1867–1894: An Intellectual and Cultural History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1968), 57. See U. S. Statutes at Large, 37 Cong., 2 Sess. (1861–1862), chs. 130, 504 on that page.
6. "The University of Illinois Negro Students: Location, History and Administration," President Arthur Cutts Willard Papers, General Correspondence 1934–1946, Record Series 2/9/1, Box 42 (Folder "Colored Students of Illinois"), University of Illinois Archives, Urbana, Illinois.

7. "The University of Illinois Negro Students Location, History and Administration," President A.C. Willard Papers, Record Series 2/9/1 Box 42, University of Illinois Archives, Urbana, Illinois.
8. "The University of Illinois Negro Students Location, History and Administration," Willard Papers.
9. "Negro Students at the University of Illinois, An Outline of Their enrollment, Graduates, Activities, History, Living conditions," Willard papers, Box 2.
10. Brisbane Rouzan, unpublished chapter.
11. Lucy J. Gray, interview by author, tape recording, Champaign, Illinois, June 12, 1997, "He was the Dean of Negro students."
12. Lucy J. Gray, interview.
13. L.C. Hamilton to Albert R. Lee, September 20, 1922, Albert R. Lee Papers, Record Series 2/6/21, Box 1, University of Illinois Archives, Urbana, Illinois.
14. Lee to Mrs. Harrier Anderson, January 7, 1928, Lee Papers.
15. Lee to Ollie Brown, August 31, 1928, Albert R. Lee, 1912, 1917–1928, Series 2/6/21, Box 1 (Folder "Personal, Financial, University and Eastern Star"), University of Illinois Archives, Urbana, Illinois.
16. "Negro Matriculants List," 1919–1937, Lee Papers.
17. *Crisis.*
18. A.R. Lee to W.E.B. DuBois, June 13, 1927, Lee Papers.
19. "Memorandum in Re Compilation of Names of Negro Students Who Have Attended the University of Illinois During the Past Fifty Years," Arthur C. Willard Papers, Record Series 2/9/16, Box 1, University of Illinois Archives, Urbana, Illinois.
20. "Memorandum in Re Compilation of Names of Negro Students Who Have Attended the University of Illinois During The Past Fifty Years," Willard Papers, Box 1.
21. "*Illinois Alumni News*, 'Project Seeking Negro Alumni To Aid Students,' " Black Alumni and Ex-Student Project File, 1967–1973, Series 35/5/50, Box 1, University of Illinois Archives, Champaign, Illinois.
22 "Meeting Notes, 10/14/68," Black Alumni Ex-Student Project File, 1967–1973, Series 35/3/50, University of Illinois Archives, Urbana, Illinois.
23. Maynard Brichford to Jack W. Petalson, 30 October 1968, Black Alumni Ex-Student Project File, 1967–1973, Series 35/3/50, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois.
24. Field Note, November 12, 1968, Black Alumni and Ex-Student Project File, 1967–1973, Series 35/3/50, University of Illinois Archives, Urbana, Illinois.
25. Field Note, November 12, 1968, Black Alumni and Ex-Student Project File, 1967–1973, Series 35/3/50, University of Illinois Archives, Urbana, Illinois.

26. Maynard Brichford to James Vermette, Black Alumni and Ex-Student Project File, 1967–1973, Series 35/3/50, University of Illinois Archives, Urbana, Illinois.
27. "Untitled List of Procedures for Data Collection," Black Alumni and Ex-Student Project File, 1967–1973, Series 35/3/50, University of Illinois Archives, Urbana, Illinois.
28. "A Community Report" League of Women Voters, Champaign County, 1946–1948, YWCA Subject File, 1906—Anniversary Tea—Policy Statement, 1930–1971, Record Series 41/69/331, Box 34, University of Illinois Archives, Urbana, Illinois.
29. "Boarding and Housing Conditions of Colored Students of the University Of Illinois, 1929–1930," Dean of Students, Dean of women Subject File.
30. Lucy J. Gray, interview.
31. Lucy J. Gray, interview.
32. "A Community Report" League of Women Voters.
33. "A Community Report" League of Women Voters, Champaign County 1946–1948, YWCA Subject File.
34. "A Community Report" League of Women Voters.
35. "A Community Report" League of Women Voters.
36. "A Community Report" League of Women Voters.
37. Lee to Richards, July 22, 1920, Lee Papers.
38. "A. R. Lee general Correspondence," Lee Papers.
39. Edward Jacobs to Lee, August 17, 1928, Lee Papers.
40. "University of Illinois Presidents I Have Known," Lee Papers.
41. Lucy J. Gray, interview.
42. Hester Suggs, interview by author, tape recording, Champaign, Illinois, October 14, 1996.
43. "History of SCIC, 1945–1951," Tiebout Papers.

Chapter 4

From Isolation to Imagined Communities of LGBT School Workers: Activism in the 1970s

Jackie M. Blount

These days, one effective way to shatter the notion that schools are cohesive, friendly, trouble-free, and even family-like entities is to confront them with lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) issues, particularly those faced everyday by LGBT school workers and students. Once relegated to the margins or deemed as other schools' problems, today *all* schools must wrestle with a wide variety of issues concerning sexual identity and/or gender presentation. Should two young women be punished for kissing—purportedly because it causes a disruption—while male/female couples kiss with no administrative attention? What should teachers and school administrators do when they learn that students are harassing others on the basis of supposed sexual or gender identity? Will school officials support a teacher who includes LGBT-themed materials in the curriculum, especially when vocal parents complain? Will the school board seek dismissal of a school worker who undergoes sex-change surgery? Will parents and fellow teachers welcome the news when a colleague "comes out"? Will children of lesbian and gay couples be treated with respect by teachers and other students—or, as recently was the case, will a young student be punished for mentioning that his mothers are "gay"? Will teachers work as respectfully with parents who identify as LGBT as they do with those who appear heterosexual? Will high schools not only tolerate, but also celebrate students who attend school-sponsored functions with their same-sex dates? Will schools ever fully welcome females who pursue traditionally male activities, classes, or fashions? Or males who seek those usually reserved for females?

The contentiousness that usually surrounds such issues reveals deep schisms in social understandings of what it means to be women and