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RACE AND HIGHER EDUCATION AT THE UNIVERSITY OF
ILLINOIS, 1945 TO 1955

BY

DEIRDRE LYNN COBB

B. A., University of Illinois, 1990
A.M., University of Illinois, 1997

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, 1998

Urbana, Illinois

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RACE AND HIGHER EDUCATION AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS,
1945-1955

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The vast majority of literature on the history of education for African Americans focuses on the role of racism as the principle factor shaping their educational experiences. To understand what African American students experienced during the 1945-1955 era (end of World War II to Brown decision), it is necessary to investigate and interpret the traditions, rules and practices developed during the four and one-half decades leading up to 1945. Fusing written sources with oral histories enhances a document by providing a complete account of an historical event or encounter, thus enabling the development of a conceptual framework for the history of African American students at the University of Illinois, between the years of 1945-1955. This dissertation examines the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, centering on the special conditions confronting African American students. Furthermore it seeks to show how racism was a principle factor in shaping the educational experiences of Americans of African ancestry.

African American students that attended the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (UIUC, U of I, Illinois and University), from the early years of its founding had to bear much of the burden their ancestors had endured. They were allowed to attend the University, however enrollment was on a limited basis, and they were not accepted as full and equal participants. The experiences of African American students at UIUC from 1945 to 1955 (end of World War II to Brown decision), though unique in their own terms, were nonetheless part of a history of overt and institutionalized discrimination

dating back to the founding of the University. In order to fully appreciate and understand the experiences of 1945-1955 it is critical to comprehend the traditions and customs of coping with racism and alienation that were established in the preceding decades. This information is vital to the establishment of a conceptual framework for the history of African American students, at the University of Illinois, between the years of 1945-1955.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The main focus of this dissertation is on the social and academic experiences and demographic characteristics of African American students at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign from 1945-1955. 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.

This dissertation examines the experiences and characteristics of African American students who attended the University from 1945 to 1955. In 1968 the University Archives sponsored the "Black Alumni and Ex-Student Project File," a project 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, I compiled a list of approximately 1,400 African American students who attended the University from 1945 to 1955.

This dissertation will examine the experiences of African American students in the context of post World War II higher education in America by using the University of Illinois as a case study. Although each institution has its own traditions and distinctive character, the University is in vital respects representative of the major research universities 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 evidence experiences that were consistent from one campus to another. Thus its 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.

The research design for this study fuses traditional archival research, narrative history and quantitative analysis. The reference files used to identify the approximately 1,400 African American students contain detailed information that will be analyzed to portray the demographic characteristics of these students, particularly a comparison of African American men and women. The student applications for part-time employment contain information on home address, date of birth, religion, racial descent, color, place of birth, school last attended, vocational goal, names and occupations of parents or

guardians, names of brothers and sisters, number of who contributed to family income etc. The students' transcripts which were used only to develop aggregate profiles contain similar information as well as additional facts on high school courses, high school attended, class rank, college, curriculum, degree, a descriptive title of all courses taken at the University, as well as information on academic status such as probation, dropped, and graduation. Student housing records provide even greater details. They replicate many of the details contained in employment records and transcripts, but provide additional information on the marital status of students' parents, work experiences, student activities, membership in student organizations, a student rating scale (e.g., general appearance, health, manners, emotional control, dependability, leadership ability, attitude toward studies, self-support), a freshman advisor rating scale, and a personnel report. These records were used to develop a comprehensive and detailed analysis of the social characteristics of this sample of approximately 1,400 African American students who attended Illinois from 1945-1955. These records will also afford me the opportunity to compare African American men and women on a number of important questions. For example, the transcripts allowed me to compare a number of academic characteristics by gender, including courses taken, academic major, graduation rates, high school rank, and college grade point averages. The data was then entered into Questionnaire Programming Language (QPL) creating a raw data set, which was then read by the Statistical, Package for Social Sciences (SPSS).

The quantitative analysis of African American students' social characteristics will follow from and be interwoven into the social context of African American student life and culture during the post World War II decade. Sources in the University Archives

provide a solid portrayal of African American life at Illinois from 1945 to 1955. In particular the manuscript papers of Albert R. Lee (unofficial dean of Black students), Maria Leonard (Dean of Women), Miriam A. Sheldon (Dean of Women), the YMCA, Student Community Interracial Committee, Student-Community Human Relations Council, Harry M. Tiebout (a leading faculty in behalf of racial integration), Fred H. Turner (Dean of Students), and Presidents Arthur C. Willard, George D. Stoddard and David D. Henry, contain much about African American student life and culture during the immediate post World War II era. These and other manuscript collections yield information regarding housing conditions, social life, participation in academic life, campaigns to integrate various segments of campus and community life and the general racial climate on and off campus. Relying on records containing detailed demographic information, the manuscript collections on general social and academic life, and oral histories from selected former University students, this dissertation provides a portrayal of the social characteristics of the African American students who attended the University during the post World War II decade and of their living and working conditions as they negotiated their way through a predominately white university. Throughout the dissertation the particular focus shall be on the social and academic lives of African American students, using the larger university and gender as points of comparison.

In order to assess the social and academic lives of these students it has been necessary to examine several archival sources. I began with a list of students that was obtained from the "Black Alumni and Ex-Student Project File." I went through this list and recorded the students that were specific to my time period and formulated a separate list. Using this list I traced housing, employment, transcripts and student card file

information (the University has a card file for every student) on all of the students and formulated a data base specific to each student. In order to enhance my study I collected all the yearbooks from 1945-1955 and located African American students by picture identification. After which I examined the Student Staff Directory to locate any students that may not have been in the yearbook, but were enrolled here as students during that time period. From this list I selected a few individuals that attended the University during the 45-55 period and interviewed them about their experiences at Illinois.

The focus of this dissertation tends to be on the social and academic experiences of African American students. The secondary focus is on the demographic characteristics of the students. An important theme of the dissertation focuses on the particular experiences of African American women. African American higher educational experiences are often viewed in terms of race and class but seldom with regard to gender. This dissertation takes a special look at the education of African American women generally before addressing the issue of education at the University broadly, and the demographic analysis focuses particularly on different characteristics between African American women and men. The rationale is that women during this time period represented the more traditional college student. Most African American women were entering the University directly from high school and without the benefit of the GI Bill. Men on the other hand were typically older than women and were less representative of the traditional college age population. A healthy body of literature does not exist on the impact of the GI Bill on African American male students and their educational experiences.

This dissertation should contribute significantly to the historical scholarship on

the higher education of African American students. There is a paucity of scholarship on the history of Black students at predominantly white universities, and even less that focuses on gender comparisons. 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 study. 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. This dissertation will help to fill this void. Ultimately, it 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.

The purpose is to recreate 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. This story tells us much about how African American students learned to survive and advance on a racially hostile campus and also much about how the University attempted to reconcile its principles of fairness, equality, and non-discrimination with its practice of institutionalized segregation and racism. There is very little historical scholarship on African American experiences on majority white college campuses during the postwar era. 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. This dissertation seeks to fill this void and connect the experiences of African American students on white college campuses during the post World War II era to those of later generations. This dissertation is divided into

four main areas excluding the introduction and conclusion. Chapter two addresses enrollment trends and information about African American students, the Black Alumni Ex-Student Project generally and the help they received from Albert R. Lee. Chapter three discusses the student, community and faculty alliances that existed and protests that occurred in campus area restaurants, barbershops and theaters. Chapter four discusses the social characteristics of the students, specifically examining the information that was recorded in the transcript and student employment records.

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.

The University of Illinois (hereafter U of I, University or Illinois) was incorporated on February 28, 1867, as the Illinois Industrial University and opened its doors to students on March 2, 1868. At Illinois' opening, it was clear the institution was intended for white men, despite its public land grant status. The wording of the act 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.¹

There was nothing in its charter, which compelled 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. This draft did not specifically exclude women but 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 20th century. The University maintained an all white male population until 1870 when it admitted its first female student, a white woman.

It was clear that women would no longer be excluded from admission to Illinois. This decision was prompted by the fact that the University of Illinois 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. But 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

¹ 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. (1861-62), chs. 130, 504 on that page.

African American student, nearly two decades after the founding of the University.² 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 1930's, 40's and 50's. From 1945-1955 approximately one thousand four hundred African American students matriculated at Illinois.

African Americans and Higher Education

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. In addition to the burden placed upon African Americans, white women often had to bear the insult of not being intellectually equal to white men, thus rendering both groups similar. As similar as both groups appear to be, African Americans and white women, there are stark differences. African Americans in the South were legally barred from education and often threatened with death if they decided to pursue it.³ Whereas 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. Resulting from this white patriarchal system was African Americans would not be educated and white women would only be educated as it suited

²"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.

³James D. Anderson, The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 164.

the purposes of the larger society. White men saw the education of African Americans as unnecessary and would undoubtedly lead to problems (i.e. slave uprisings, notions of superiority).

African Americans would encounter something all together different than their white counterparts in the educational realm. African American women were not adorned with the notion of true womanhood and African American men were considered a threat to society. In fact there was quite a bit of question surrounding the issue of their even being human. Linda Perkins in her article entitled "The Impact of the 'Cult of True Womanhood' on the Education of Black Women" describes a situation that is very different from what white women experienced. 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.⁴

This was not inconsistent with the way in which African American women were treated, as second class citizens. These 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.⁵ This struggle existed for African American men as well.

African American women's degraded womanhood is often compared to the elevation of

⁴Linda M. Perkins, "The Impact of the 'Cult of True Womanhood' on the Education of Black Women," Journal of Social Issues, 39, no. 3, (1983): 18.

⁵Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, "Discrimination Against Afro-American Women In The Women's Movement, 1830-1920," in Sharon Harley and Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, The Afro American Woman On Race And Sex In America, Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1978,21.

white womanhood.⁶ African American women were viewed as less than women because they did not fit the 'womanhood' mold as defined by white society.

African Americans as group of people had to suffer the shame and humiliation accorded to second class citizenship, but African American women had to deal with the added notion of their perceived lack of femaleness. Typically it was difficult for white society to view African American women as pure, genteel, submissive, pious, and feminine, due to the legacy of slavery. These women had been raped, beaten, and treated as animals. These were not the types of women that should be placed upon a pedestal; instead they were the women that white men took as their concubines by force. African American women and men were not perceived in any way as relating to their white counterparts, so the discussion of education did not include them.

There were many white women who fought for white women and their right to higher education. This was not the case for the higher education of African Americans. Emma Willard in 1819 fought for the funding of Troy, Catherine Beecher in 1823 opposed education of women in men's college, because it would negatively impact the feminine touch of women, and Mary Lyon in 1837 established the first institution of higher learning for women, Mt. Holyoke.⁷ Many of these institutions as well as the majority of the Seven Sister colleges⁸ openly discriminated against African American women.⁹ This was ironic because many of these institutions were established in direct

⁶Jeanne L. Noble, "Negro Women Today and Their Education," The Journal of Negro Education, 26, no., 1, (Winter 1957): 17.

⁷Ina Alexander Bolton, The Problems of Negro College Women (The University of Southern California, 1949), 17-18.

⁸Seven Sister Colleges: Barnard, Bryn Mawr, Mt. Holyoke, Radcliffe, Smith, Vassar and Wellesley.

⁹Linda M. Perkins, "African American Women and Hunter College: 1873-1945," Hunter College

response to the needs of women in a changing society and the fact that many male institutions would not admit these white women. Nonetheless these institutions were not concerned with the education of African American women, and made no attempts to accommodate their needs. African Americans only had three all female colleges in 1933 and they were Bennett, Spelman and Tillotson.¹⁰ The African American community could not afford the luxury of separate educational facilities. African American women had attended coeducational schools since the beginning of their education.

Education for women, despite race meant a radical change in society. For white women education represented a need for informed male citizens, and for African American women it meant the notion of racial uplift for their community.¹¹ African Americans were educated together unlike their white counterparts. Since their purposes of education were different it was more important for African Americans to be educated as opposed to buying into the sexist notions associated with the education of women.

African Americans were more concerned with educating the entire race in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. This phenomenon would soon begin to change after African American men were granted the right to vote in 1870. Once African American men gained entry into the political arena, they began to adopt the values of their oppressors. Perkins stated that “as black men sought to obtain education and positions similar to that of white men in society, many adopted the prevailing notion of white society, of the natural subordination of women.”¹² This attitude would help to set

Echo. Special Issue, (Fall 1995): 19.

¹⁰Lucy D. Slowe, “Higher Education Among Negro Women,” Journal of Negro Education, 2, (July 1933): 352.

¹¹Perkins, “The Impact of the ‘Cult of True Womanhood,’” 19.

¹²Perkins, “The Impact of the ‘Cult of True Womanhood,” 24.

the stage and in many instances mold the pattern of African American women's educational history in the decades to come.

Marion Vera Cuthbert in her notable work entitled Education and Marginality: A Study of the Negro College Graduate, discusses the role of the African American female and higher education. She notes that Oberlin College was the first to graduate an African American woman in 1862.¹³ Mary Jane Patterson was the first African American woman to obtain a degree in the United States, and Oberlin afforded her that opportunity. She like many others had to move, in order to gain access to the educational opportunities that Oberlin had to offer. Along with Patterson came the graduation of other notable women such as Fanny Jackson Coppin (1864), Mary Church Terrell (1884), and Anna Julia Cooper (1884).¹⁴ Oberlin was the first white institution to make a commitment to enrolling African Americans and women on the same basis as white men.¹⁵ After this time the enrollment of African American women in institutions of higher learning increased significantly.

Cuthbert found that women were very interested in learning, she surveyed college educated and non-college-educated women. The college educated women felt that the greatest satisfaction from college was their training for a vocation and the help they received in learning how to understand people.¹⁶ These women applauded their education

¹³For further discussion see Linda M. Perkins, "Black Women and Racial Uplift Prior to Emancipation," in Filomina Steady, ed., The Black Woman Cross-Culturally (Cambridge: Schemen Publishing, 1981).

¹⁴Barbara Solomon, In The Company of Educated Women (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 76.

¹⁵Linda M. Perkins, "African American Women and Hunter College: 1873-1945," Hunter College Echo. Special Issue (Fall 1995): 17.

¹⁶Marion Vera Cuthbert, Education and Marginality: A Study of the Negro College Graduate (New York: American Book-Stratford Press, 1942), 106.

on the grounds that it prepared them to better deal with people, broadened their social contacts (i.e. white associates), in addition to providing the groundwork for the careers that were set aside for them.

The interesting thing about this group of educated women was their perceived notion of their distance from the community, which produced them. These women described an isolation from their families and community. When the non-college women were asked about the impression received for the college women, they noted that the distance and isolation was a self-imposed situation.¹⁷ The idea was that education had separated these women from their families. The college women discussed the notion of being able to understand people better, but in essence they had lost the connection to their community, by way of their education. Their education had taught them to notice the differences in people and to acknowledge themselves as the helpers, and uplifters of the downtrodden. What their education lacked was empathy.

African Americans and white women had similar barriers to cross when it came to education. There was substantial debate on whether or not women should be educated, and more importantly if African Americans should be educated. Often the issue of gender was not discussed within the context of education for African Americans. The conclusion of the Civil War brought about these questions of education and for whom? As it pertained to white women the questions were very clear. White women would become educated but only in order to establish a more stable home environment. Thomas Woody, based on his research in the area of higher education described the four purposes of female education: (1) preparation for home duties (2) cultivation of formal gentility

and grace for their social value through a variety of accomplishments, (3) discipline of mental powers--so that women might be ready for any emergency in life and (4) more specific preparation for a variety of professional opportunities. It was quite clear that the main focus of women's education should be centered on the home and conducting oneself as a lady, even in the areas of a chosen profession. These professions it should be noted were helping and nurturing ones, in the areas of teaching and secretarial work. After men were no longer interested in these fields, they moved to other professions and these otherwise male fields began to open up for women.¹⁸ African American women were still not a part of this womanhood equation. This disparity would characterize the pattern of education for decades to come.

There was an obvious connection between race and social problems that dealt with the issue of equality. There were four major trends that accounted for the similarities between the two groups: (1) changes in domestic and social habits and reshaping of conventions; (2) greater invasion into industry; (3) progress in women's organizations; and (4) the change in feeling, a new outlook upon life.¹⁹ These ideals were very significant to both groups of women, and helped to lay the foundation to obtaining a higher education.

After the First World War, African Americans were becoming increasingly college educated. When college should have meant moving into a skilled labor force, this disenfranchised group struggled to maintain unskilled labor positions. Furthermore African American women were used as labor pawns in the mainstream society. Typically

¹⁷Cuthbert, Education and Marginality: A Study of the Negro College Graduate, 51.

¹⁸Bolton, The Problems of Negro College Women, 29.

women were paid less, which increased the likelihood of them being hired over African American men in certain jobs like school teaching. This situation further reinforced the notion of women attending college. Since African American men were unable to find jobs, the African American community recognized the necessity of educating their daughters, and in the 1930's this meant preparing them to go south to teach.²⁰ This purpose was twofold: (1) there was a great need for teachers of African Americans in the south and (2) this was the easiest profession for them enter.²¹

Cuthbert conducted a study, which involved surveying African American women around the country, and asking them to determine what college meant. She surveyed 172 African American women from northern and southern institutions; in addition she contacted fifty-eight non-college women for the survey. The majority of the women surveyed were under forty years of age and worked outside of the home. Overall a small percentage of these women were the main financial supporters of the family. The women that were not the primary financial contributors made significantly less than their husbands did. Finally most of the women that participated in the survey were married and reported that their husbands had acquired some college training.²²

The results of the study revealed that most of the women attending college had a real personal desire to do so. These women saw college as the next logical step and also expressed an interest in being able to contribute financially to the family. They wanted to be viewed as supporting themselves and raising the family status. Overwhelmingly the

¹⁹Cuthbert, Education and Marginality: A Study of the Negro College Graduate, 13.

²⁰Linda M. Perkins, "National Association of College Women: Vanguard of Black Women's Leadership and Education, 1923-1954," Journal of Education, 172, no. 3, (1990): 66.

²¹Slowe, "Higher Education Among Negro Women," 353.

²²Cuthbert, Education and Marginality, .

women reported a need to attend college for economic reasons. Overall they expressed the need to attend college not just for themselves but for the group as a whole, thus noting the unselfish nature of these women.

African American women felt the need to assist in the financial support of the family; often they did not have a choice. That was the major force driving them into the labor force after completing college. Many women resented this need, because it forced them to work outside of the home. Some women in this era had adopted the values of their white counterparts, that notion of a woman's place being in the home.²³ Some of the women complained of not having enough time to spend with family and household matters. Working outside of the home became a major problem in the stability of the family.²⁴ This phenomenon was not true of all African American women. Most of these women expected to work and did not view marriage, family and career as incompatible.

During the time that women were working outside of the home, new positions became available to them. Traditionally work for African American females was in the home, either hers, or as domestics in white homes. However with the changing economy and the war they began entering into commercial and industrial pursuits.²⁵ After the First World War women were able to enter into the fields of labor and industry, business and administration, social work, health and recreation and other typically non-female fields.²⁶ Although women were allowed access, it was solely on a limited basis and very sharp gender distinctions still existed within the labor force. The induction of men, African

²³David D. Jones, "The War and the Higher Education of Negro Women," The Journal of Negro Education, 11, (July 1942): 329.

²⁴Cuthbert, Education and Marginality, .

²⁵Slowe, "Higher Education of Negro Women," 353.

²⁶Cuthbert, Education and Marginality, 44.

American and white, into the armed forces caused a significant shift in the number of women attending college. This occurrence caused a shift on college campuses.²⁷ After World War II jobs that were previously closed to women and especially African American women had become more open and accessible.²⁸ Many of the African American female college graduates entered into clerical positions, a field that was not previously open to them. As more of these women became secretaries, those going into teaching declined.²⁹

The labor force was only one area of concern for these women and the other important issue was the decline in marriage rates. Education played a major role in the lives of African American women. Women in both groups opted to have fewer children, due to the disenchantment involved in bringing children into a hostile world and not wanting to produce children out of wedlock.³⁰ This occurrence is contrasted to white women in the sense that they were marrying at younger ages and having more children than African American women.³¹

Ina Alexander Bolton discovered in her study of African American female graduates of Southern Land Grant Institutions, 1934-1945 that the women were very much concerned with the impact college had on marriage and rearing a family. The concern of women over the issue of marriage and eventually having a family was quite clear. African American women were concerned that they would be educated for a

²⁷“Editorial Comment,” Quarterly Review of Higher Education Among Negroes, vol. 12, no. 3, (July 1944): 200.

²⁸Janet Z. Giele and Mary Gilfus, “Race and College Differences in Life Patterns of Educational Women, 1934-1982,” in Joyce Antler and Sari Knopp Bikens, eds., Changing Education: Women as Radicals and Conservators (New York: State University of New York Press, 1990), 181.

²⁹Giele, “Race and College Differences in Life Patterns of Educated Women, 1934-1982,” 185.

³⁰Cuthbert, Education and Marginality, 47-48.

variety of positions that would essentially divert their attention away from the home.³² It was believed that women would choose a profession over marriage and childrearing, which was in direct contradiction of the ultimate goal of real womanhood. Many African American men wanted their women to emulate their white counterparts by possessing the essence of true womanhood, the legacy of the cult of true womanhood.³³ There were many women during this era that felt as though they should become true women. Bolton found that very few women opted for a career over marriage, and the curriculum supported the notion of being a good wife and mother for the most part.³⁴ These women were educated in the social graces, but not to the extent that they were taught how to keep a neat appearance. This was a major concern because these women indicated the importance of appearance in secretarial positions. Despite the traditional response of womanhood training being essential, these women also discussed their favorite course being English and courses in modern language, biological science, physical science and mathematics as being unimportant.³⁵

It was vital for the curriculum to mirror the experiences that women would encounter in their daily lives after college. Many African American women would encounter the role of wife and mother, and needed to be prepared. Studies that were conducted on vocational and professional occupations of women since 1925 revealed essentially two weak areas, (1) training for marriage and its effects on women's work and

³¹Giele, "Race and College Differences in Life Patterns of Educated Women, 1934-1982," 186.

³²Bolton, The Problems of Negro College Women, 31.

³³Jeanne L. Noble, "The Higher Education of Black Women in the Twentieth Century," in John Mack Faragher and Florence Howe, eds., Women and Higher Education in American History (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1988), 92.

³⁴Bolton, The Problems of Negro College Women, 40.

³⁵Bolton, The Problems of Negro College Women, 98.

(2) discrimination in employment. It was very clear that whatever women decided to do after college, marriage and the family were essentially the focal point.³⁶ The problems colleges encountered were how to develop a curriculum that would suit and fully prepare these women to live their lives as women. Even though African American women had proved themselves to be intellectually equal with men, the focus for the college was to assist them in becoming successful women in their prescribed roles. David D. Jones put it very simply in his article entitled “The War and Higher Education of Negro Women,” “education should help people to live the kind of lives they have to live in the places they have to live them.”³⁷

Willa Player, previous president of Bennett College wrote her dissertation on Bennett college and what role it should have in the place of women’s lives. Bennett, located in Greensboro North Carolina, was one of two female educational institutions for African American women. Player was very concerned with the pattern of female education and in 1948 she describes what the purpose of education should be for African American women. Education should be specialized to fit the individual needs of a person. In her opinion there were two schools of thought 1) what a student should know and 2) what their needs are as it relates to everyday living.³⁸ The institution, especially Bennett should focus on the type of education that will not only produce intelligent, aware and progressive individuals, but also prepare them for the role of the happy homemaker.³⁹ Player learned that women were most interested in making their homes

³⁶Bolton, The Problems of Negro College Women, 41.

³⁷Jones, “The War and Higher Education Among Negro Women,” 334.

³⁸Willa B. Player, Improving College Education for Women at Bennett College: A Report of a Type A Project (New York: Garland Publishing, 1987), 13-14.

³⁹Constance H. Martena. “A College For Girls,” Opportunity, 16, no. 10, (October 1938): 306.

attractive, pleasant, and livable. Besides the idea of homemaking the fundamental role of the college is to educate the women to become citizens, and to know more about their status in society.⁴⁰

These southern African American women were very interested in fulfilling the role of homemaker. They were aspiring to be genteel, as were their white counterparts. Popular media informed the women of the homemaker notion and wifely duties. This literature discussed the need for development in these areas. These were women were not very progressive by current day definitions; they were quite comfortable filling the role that had been placed upon them by African American men. They began to adopt these values, history had never portrayed them as feminine and this was their opportunity to be women.

African American women in the 1950's were faced with many challenges in their personal and professional lives. These women were faced with the fact that many men had not received a college education at the same rates they had. African American women were often faced the obstacle of marrying below them educationally, because they were receiving degrees at a higher rate than their male counterparts. For some women marrying below them was not an option they wanted to pursue. Many of these women were rendered not marriage material due to the restrictions that society placed on perceived male and female roles. There appeared to be a shift away from women going into the helping professions and women were now exploring the areas of merchandising, reading specialization and engineering.⁴¹

⁴⁰Player, "Improving College Education for Women at Bennett College," 112.

⁴¹Jeanne L. Noble, The Negro Woman's College Education (New York: Bureau of Publications,

As the professional roles of these 50's women were changing so was the notion of marrying and having a family. Many of this time felt that women were committing 'racial suicide', because the birth rate among college educated women was lower than it had been previously. These women had not given up on the idea of homemaking as a career, but they were definitely making decisions based on their needs and desires, something white women had not yet adopted. Many African American women had to work out of economic necessity but still found marriage and family life a very appropriate and welcomed choice after college.

African Americans entered the realm of higher education with the burdens of the past upon them. These were individuals with no perceived sense of morality. This notion was a direct effect of the legacy of slavery. The emphasis of moral training was at the forefront of their education. African American women and men were not allowed to attend college for the mere sake of learning, they had to be constantly reminded that needed to be watched. The women were faced with strict moral training and rules, and the men were faced with vocational education that had been established by a society that did not respect them.⁴²

For centuries African Americans had been denied their independence for various reasons. African American women of the 1950's and 1960's worked to change this. According to the study published in 1957 by Jeanne L. Noble, African American women looked at the economic structure of society and determined that they had to work in order for the family to survive as well as thrive in their communities. It was equally important

Teachers College, Columbia University, 1956), 41.

⁴²Noble, The Negro Woman's College Education, 33.

however, for men and women to build together. They advocated for men to take classes that would prepare them for family life and working women. African American men had been relegated to second class citizenship, which affected them economically. This experience enlisted the support of women to help make ends meet. These men probably would have preferred for their wives to be more like their white counterparts but society rendered this virtually impossible.⁴³

Education for African Americans has been no easy feat. Upon the Emancipation Proclamation they had to prove worth as a human beings. African Americans have always possessed a desire to learn and to help others learn. African Americans should not be judged by history, but should be judged on their commitment to their educational pursuits. Their struggle to become educated is still one of conflict impacted by racism. History can not deny the contributions made by African Americans. Having been stolen, beaten, witnessed children sold away, disenfranchised, stripped of personhood and often denigrated to the lowest position. These forms of oppression have not stifled the desire to learn and become educated, in fact their education has been enhanced by it.

The advances in education can be attributed the struggles of African Americans. It is through that vision and strength that American education has begun to recognize the value in the contributions of other groups. It is a success story, one of pain and triumph. The journey is far from over, African Americans should be recognized for those efforts, but also reminded that the work is not yet complete.

⁴³Noble, The Negro Woman's College Education, 98.

CHAPTER II

AFRICAN AMERICAN STUDENTS AND THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

The first African American to be admitted to the University was Jonathan Rogan. Jonathan Rogan was from Decatur, Illinois, and attended the University from 1887-1888. After his short stay the next African American student was not admitted until 1894, and that was George W. Riley, a student in Art & Design, from Champaign, who attended until 1897. The first African American to graduate was William Walter Smith who graduated in 1900. 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.⁴⁴ 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 finished in 1907.⁴⁵ 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 the modest increase during the post World War II years. This pattern of scarce African American presence at Illinois would follow for years to come.

⁴⁴"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.

⁴⁵"The University of Illinois Negro Students Location, History and Administration," Willard Papers.

Enrollment Trends

The actual enrollment for African Americans early on is sketchy at best. 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%.⁴⁶

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 twelve years of African American students. He then alphabetized the lists and rechecked

⁴⁶“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.

his sources for any names that may have been omitted.⁴⁷

To give an example of the scarcity of African American students at Illinois listed in Table 1 are 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 Crisis, the official journal of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

Table 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	
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	1428	208,905

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.

⁴⁷"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.

It is safe to assume that Lee compiled the majority of these names and additional names were added over time, after he completed the 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 papers. Displayed in Table 2 are the approximate number of African American graduates between the years of 1904-1934, with data missing for years, 1901-1903, 1905, and 1913 respectively.

Table 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

Table 2.---Continued

	AB	BS	Masters	Ph.D.	Total
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.

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 students. The pattern of enrollment of African American students from the years 1945-1955 will be discussed in further detail in Chapter V, Analysis of Demographic Data. Table 3 displays overall campus enrollment between the years of 1941-1955, with data missing from years 1941-1944.

Table 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

Black Alumni Ex-Student Project

Eddie Russell, a physical education student in the class of 1969 began research on African American students at the University of Illinois. His research stemmed from a desire to have Black Alumni become more actively involved in the recruitment, retention and support of young African American college students. He was very interested in bridging the gap between prospective college students, current students and former alumni. Russell who originally titled his project "Project RECALL" was interviewed by the Illinois Alumni News and 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.⁴⁸

Russell's goals were very noble, but were met with opposition from some University officials.

In a meeting held on October 14, 1968 between 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. In the

⁴⁸"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.

meeting notes he was quoted as saying his opposition stemmed from three points of concern; 1) no organization was needed, 2) avoid social affairs and 3) need is for useful data.⁴⁹ In Jones' opinion there was no need for the University to interfere in the social affairs of the "Negro" student, and 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. 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.⁵⁰

The 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 being 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

⁴⁹"Meeting Notes, 10/14/68," Black Alumni Ex-Student Project File, 1967-1973, Series 35/3/50, University of Illinois Archives, Urbana, Illinois.

⁵⁰Maynard Brichford to Jack W. Petalson, 30 October 1968, Black Alumni Ex-Student Project

would represent potential harm to the University, although it is not clear what sort of harm would result.⁵¹

In a field note dated 12 November 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; 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.⁵²

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.⁵³

The project did receive some funding although it is unclear as to how much.

File, 1967-73, Series 35/3/50, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois.

⁵¹Field Note, 12 November 1968, Black Alumni and Ex-Student Project File, 1967-1973, Series 35/3/50, University of Illinois Archive.

⁵²Field Note, 12 November 1968, Black Alumni and Ex-Student Project File, 1967-1973, Series 35/3/50, University of Illinois Archive.

⁵³Maynard Brichford to James Vermette, Black Alumni and Ex-Student Project File, 1967-1973, Series 35/3/50, University of Illinois Archives, Urbana, Illinois.

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 these data are housed in the University Archives.⁵⁴

Albert R. Lee: The Unofficial Dean of Black Students

Albert R. Lee was born on a farm near Champaign on June 26, 1874. He attended Champaign Central High School and graduated in 1893. Two years after graduation Lee went to work for the University of Illinois as a messenger boy in the office of the President, Andrew Sloan Draper. He spent a period of fifty-three years working for the University of Illinois in a variety of occupations, from messenger boy to the unofficial Dean of 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.⁵⁵ It was his dedication and knowledge of the university and community that afforded him the opportunity to successfully assist African American students.

During the very early years of enrollment for African Americans, Albert R. Lee

⁵⁴“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.

went to great lengths to help African American students in whatever capacity he could. Albert R. Lee was considered to be the unofficial dean of African American students.⁵⁶ He was responsible for compiling data on students as well as other duties performed in the president's office.

Lee was very involved in the affairs of African Americans on and off campus. He was considered a leader in the Champaign African American community, and was very well respected. On campus his was office clerk, and he was responsible for keeping records, accounts and performing routine assignments, but in essence he was much more than a clerk in the office of the president. When problems arose with African American students or concerning them he was called upon to provide assistance. Not only did students look to him for guidance and counsel; University officials counted on him as well. It was not always clear why he was called upon by the University, however it is safe to assume 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 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

⁵⁵Brisbane Rouzan, unpublished dissertation.

⁵⁶Lucy J. Gray, interview by author, tape recording, Champaign, Illinois, 12 June 1997, "He was the Dean of Negro students."

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.⁵⁷

Lee committed the better part of his life to the University of Illinois and African American students. As evidenced in letters from the families of in-coming students, Lee was responsible for almost all aspects of African American student life.⁵⁸ In his papers exists a vast amount of information on African American students and their experiences. In addition to parents contacting Lee, they also contacted the University and several of those letters were forwarded to him, by the various deans and administrators on campus. He was responsible for investigating various aspects of African American students' lives. Frequently Lee would receive a letter from a family requesting information about the University, and he felt obliged to provide the requested information.⁵⁹ In a letter dated 17 August 1928, Mr. Edward Jacobs calls on Lee once again to assist him in securing housing for an incoming female African American student. Mr. Jacobs thanks Lee and reminds him of the assistance he has given him over the last ten years. Lee responds to the student in question at the urging of Mr. Jacobs and informs her of the housing conditions at the University of Illinois.⁶⁰ He also took it upon himself to document the number of African American students at the University and regularly submitted the

⁵⁷Lucy J. Gray, interview.

⁵⁸L.C. Hamilton to Albert R. Lee, 20 Sept. 1922, Albert R. Lee Papers, Record Series 2/6/21, Box 1, University of Illinois Archives, Urbana, Illinois.

⁵⁹Lee to Mrs. Harrier Anderson, 7 Jan. 1928, Lee Papers.

⁶⁰Lee to Ollie Brown, 31 August 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.

information to W.E.B. DuBois, editor of the Crisis. Lee was definitely a man committed to seeing African Americans obtain an education.

Lee was employed at the University of Illinois from 1895 to 1947. In that time he held a variety of positions. According to his papers, Lee was employed and utilized as messenger “boy,” clerk, waiter, doorman at Presidents’ Draper and James 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 the University recognized him in this position.⁶¹ 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 wrote numerous letters throughout his career, and most of the letters pertained to the condition of African American students on campus. He was constantly writing to African American elected officials for their support in helping to secure equal accommodations for African American students on campus. Lee was always concerned with how to improve the experiences of African American students. Lee often wrote the presidents of the University when he felt a situation concerning African American students could be handled more effectively and also when Lee 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

⁶¹“Negro Students at the University of Illinois, An Outline of Their enrollment, Graduates, Activities, History, Living conditions,” Willard papers, Box 2.

discrimination.

One of Lee's passions was the commitment of keeping track of the number of African American students on campus. Lee compiled a list of students that attended the U of I. He listed the name of each student, their address, fraternal or sorority organization if appropriate and often their major. In his papers there are several typewritten lists of this sort in addition to a few handwritten notes that contained the same information.⁶² He was very conscientious about recording methods, meticulous to the point of correcting the smallest error. For example, Lee annually took a census of U of I African American graduates and submitted it to the Crisis as part of the magazine's yearly account of black graduates of predominately white universities.⁶³ 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 President⁶⁴

Lee kept lists of the students and graduates. He also monitored African American students on campus; kept records of their years of attendance as well as their campus

⁶²"Negro Matriculants List," 1919-1937, Lee Papers.

⁶³Crisis.

⁶⁴A.R. Lee to W.E.B. DuBois, 13 June 1927, Lee Papers.

affiliations. Lee knew which fraternity or sorority a student belonged to and where the student resided. Lee was very close to students, professionally, and was often, if not solely responsible for securing housing, which of course made him aware of their places of residence. It remains unclear as to Lee's personal relationship with African American students.

CHAPTER III

“NEGROES IN THEIR MIDST” HOUSING FOR AFRICAN AMERICANS

From the opening of the University there was a housing problem for all students. Housing problems that dated back to the founding of the University were exacerbated during the 1940's and 1950's for all students. The end of World War II witnessed an increase in the number of students, primarily male, attending the University due to the GI Bill. The University was in a state of panic over what to do for veterans that would be returning home and then to school. The general consensus was to build more housing but that would take time and money. In the interim the University decided to suspend its approved University housing regulations. Typically when students secured housing it had to be on an approved University housing list. On 11 January 1946, in the Daily Illini, Jean Hurt wrote:

The prospect for housing students in the future looks very dismal, with the University bureau of institutional research estimating an enrollment of 15,500 for the fall semester of 1946; housing authorities state that with all present facilities pressed into use, over 2,000 students still could not be accommodated.⁶⁵ S. Earl Thompson, acting director of housing, made it clear that the rules would be suspended for men seeking housing. They were to find housing wherever they could in light of the housing shortage.⁶⁶

The other alternative to finding housing on campus was to send students to the Galesburg division, in Galesburg, Illinois. The University of Illinois Galesburg Division was established by the state to address the needs of an overwhelming amount of students

⁶⁵Daily Illini, 11 January 1946, in Roger Ebert, ed., An Illini Century: One Hundred Years of Campus Life, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1967, 163.

⁶⁶Roger Ebert, ed., An Illini Century: One Hundred Years of Campus Life, Urbana: University of

that required higher education, as a result of the onslaught of veterans. This division would accommodate freshman and sophomore students, with the same quality of academics that was present at the Urbana campus.⁶⁷ Galesburg represented one answer to the problem of housing and instruction. This solution still managed to exclude a large percentage of African American students.

Black students who faced the additional problem of racial discrimination found themselves in a difficult struggle to cope with living conditions on a Jim Crow campus. Typically, students lived in private housing around campus or if from the area with their parents in town. The housing that African American students obtained was not considered University approved housing, their housing concerns were not addressed in the same manner as those of the larger campus. The first dormitory was erected in 1915. This dorm was for white women only, and was named Laura B. Evans Hall. This alleviated the problem of finding approved housing for many white women on campus, but the problem still existed for African American women. Over the next three decades the University continued to deny African American students the opportunity to live in campus dormitories. The year 1945 marked the first time African American women were allowed to live in the residence halls. The historical record is unclear as to when African American men were first allowed to reside in University dorms.⁶⁸ It seems reasonable to assume that African American men were first admitted to the University residence halls soon after the admission of African American women in 1945.

Illinois Press, 1967, 164.

⁶⁷“University of Illinois Galesburg Division,” Reference File Cabinet G-J, University of Illinois Archives, Urbana, Illinois.

⁶⁸“Boarding And Housing Conditions of Colored Students Of the University Of Illinois, 1929-30,” Dean of Students, Dean of women Subject File, 1909, 16, 20-60, Record Series 41/3/1, Box 4, University

In November of 1945 Verna Volz wrote a letter to Mary Dye, discussing the housing of two African American women in the dorms. The letter was in response to a survey that had been sent to Ms. Volz concerning housing for African American students in general. Ms. Volz indicated that African American women had not applied prior to this time and that upon a visit from the YWCA Interracial Department they found no discrimination inside the residence hall. Upon their being admitted to the residence hall the African American students were in constant contact with the chairman of the interracial committee for several weeks. The chairman, an African American sophomore advised them on residence hall protocol. The chairman suggested that they, “leave the door open so girls would feel welcome to visit, urging they pay visits back, and other simple things that make dormitory life smoother.”⁶⁹

Although this incident broke the “color line” in the women’s residence hall whenever an African American student applied to the University and was accepted, housing became a problem. Since African Americans were not allowed to live in the residence halls until 1945, they were expected to find other means of housing, outside of the university system. These students ended up residing in the African American community, situated in North Champaign, and commonly referred to as the “North End.” Had the African American community not been willing to accommodate Black students, most would have been denied the opportunity to attend the University of Illinois. Many African American families were more than willing to provide housing to African

of Illinois Archives, Urbana, Illinois.

⁶⁹Verna Volz to Mary Dye, 20 November 1945, YWCA Subject File 1906 Anniversary Tea Policy Statement 1930-71, Series 41/69/331, Box 4, (Folder “Interracial Policy of YWCA 1940’s”), University of Illinois Archives, Urbana, Illinois.

American students at a minimal cost. Mrs. Gray remembers,

They were welcome in anybody's home because the young ladies and young men that came to the University were what I considered quality Negroes. And most people in Champaign-Urbana accepted them because they were, we were proud of anybody, and Negro that came to the University, we were proud of them and were accepted in any home. I do not know of anyone that ever had any trouble with the Negroes of that time.⁷⁰

With few exceptions, white landlords refused to rent to African American students.

African American students were only permitted to live in fraternity and sorority houses and the African American community. The University housing authorities made virtually no effort to provide housing for Black students. Albert R. Lee provided the greatest source of assistance for these students. Once admitted to the University their application would be forwarded to him. He was then responsible for finding housing for incoming African American students. And he depended upon the community to assist him in accommodating their needs. Even as African American students were expected to live off campus they were restricted to certain areas. During this period there were racial covenants in effect. Realtors used these covenants to restrict various areas in and around town. African Americans were regulated to one corner of town based upon this particular situation. The covenants, although focused mainly on home ownership, also influenced renting to non-caucasian individuals. The covenants stated explicitly that "no part thereof will be sold or leased, either in whole or in part, to or to be occupied as owner, or tenant by any person or persons not of the caucasian race," and this restricted living environment set the state for the limited choices African American students had for their

⁷⁰Lucy J. Gray interview.

living arrangements.⁷¹ These covenants characterized the community into which the students were received.

African American students were forced to live in the “North End” of Champaign, which was a considerable distance from campus. Students had to live as well as eat in this area s they were not allowed to dine on campus. Even if students had chosen this area of the city on their own they still faced the hardship of having to walk a long distance to eat. However they were forced by the University and the wider community to live in the only area that would accept African American students as residents. Hence, in addition to the normal hardship, African American students endured the humiliation of being unwelcome in most areas of the campus and community because of the color of their skin. All other students had the opportunity to meet with friends for lunch on campus, and especially to have lunch with faculty and staff, or just dine with other students in their class for various student projects. African American students did not have any such opportunities available to them, they were not asking for luxuries, just what was normally associated with student academic life.

Dormitories and Exclusion

From the outset the problem with securing adequate housing and living on campus in the dorms for African Americans was denied by University officials, and as often as they could overlooked. In a letter to another official of a different university, the Vice President asserted that no housing problem existed for African American students,

⁷¹“Program For The Year,” Harry M. Tiebout Papers, Record Series 15/16/21, Box 4 (Folder S-CHRC Organizational Notes and Minutes), University of Illinois Archives, Urbana, Illinois.

they lived in the African American community, and living on campus was not an issue.⁷²

In fact, it was a very serious issue, but one that the University was not willing to recognize in the late teens and early twenties. It was not until state officials became involved that anyone, besides Lee took the issue of housing discrimination seriously.

Frequently, state officials would come to the campus to look around during budget talks. During the 1920's, the state legislature was comprised of a few African American members. Lee would arrange a social for them and there they would have the opportunity to sit and discuss a variety of issues with members of the African American community, in addition to African American students. During this time the state officials were informed about the horrid state of housing for these students on campus.⁷³ State officials later questioned the housing situation and the university's lack of appropriate response to the problem. Lee was instrumental in fighting for students and their rights when it came to housing and other issues.

The University of Illinois was not unique in its housing problems for African Americans. A study conducted at The University of Iowa revealed the same results. The study found that there were no African Americans living in the dorms in the mid 1930's, and that students either lived at home with their parents or rented from African Americans in town.⁷⁴ Jenkins noted that students felt as though living in town with families was the best situation. The homes, according to the report, were situated in a nice part of town, and more pleasant than the fraternity or Iowa Federation of Colored

⁷²J.G. Shurman to Edmund J. James, 5 April 1911, Edmund J. James, Personal Correspondence, 1904-1920, Record Series 2/5/3. Box 24, University of Illinois Archives, Urbana, Illinois.

⁷³A.R. Lee to George T. Kersey, 30 Jan. 1923, Lee Papers.

⁷⁴Herbert Crawford Jenkins, "The Negro Student At The University Of Iowa: A Sociological Study" (master's thesis, University of Iowa, 1933), 18.

Women's Club Home for Black women.⁷⁵

In 1932, Cornell University student Margaret Lawrence found herself in much the same predicament as student at U of I and the University of Iowa, no place in the dorms. When she arrived at Cornell University in Ithaca, New York she was directed to a private home. It was a well-known fact that African Americans did not live in the dorms. Margaret was directed to a home on the hill where many “Negro graduate students stayed.”⁷⁶ She was unable to stay there because there were no provisions for room and board, she then found a place where she could work, live and eat. This was the first time that she was denied housing due to her skin color, the next time occurred in 1941 when she applied for residency at Babies Hospital in New York. She was denied housing in the nurses quarters because she was African American, and as a result had to apply elsewhere for her medical residency.⁷⁷

Housing for African American college students was a problem everywhere. Linda Perkins’ work on the Seven Sister Colleges describes the nightmare that African American women faced early on from the inception of these institutions and well into the 1950’s and beyond. At Wellesley College, African American women were not allowed to reside in the dorms until the 1930’s. Whereas Radcliff’s African American female students resided with African American community members, as they were not allowed to live with the white female residents in the dormitories.⁷⁸ Smith College in Northampton, Massachusetts was another institution that openly discriminated against

⁷⁵Jenkins, 18-20.

⁷⁶Sara Lawrence Lightfoot, Balm in Gilead: Journey of a Healer, (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Inc.), 94-95.

⁷⁷Lawrence, 185.

⁷⁸ Linda Perkins, “The African American Female Elite: The Early history of African American

African American women. These students were not allowed in the dorms. Once when an African American female was inadvertently admitted, she was quickly told that she would have to find housing in the African American community. After this incident another African American woman was told that she could not live on campus and was directed to a Professor that had previously housed African American female students.⁷⁹ It is apparent that there were no provisions being made for this marginalized group. This overt discrimination persisted on these campuses, and the larger student population viewed it as a normal occurrence and not a problem. African Americans were to be accustomed to this sort of treatment without question, it was the nature of their second class citizenship and persistent across the country.

After World War II the influx of African American students was on the rise, due in significant part to the GI Bill. The impact of housing discrimination increased significantly; as more African Americans entered the university. African American students were being admitted to the University at increasing rates. However no provisions were made for their room and board, they were not allowed to eat, live or interact socially on campus. If they were to attend the University it was an unspoken agreement on the University's part that they were to reside in the African American community. They were not to live on campus except in the rare instance of Black Greek houses located near campus.

The University prohibited African American students from living on campus. Through an unwritten policy that contradicted its written rules regarding equality of

Women in the Seven Sister Colleges, 1880-1960," *Harvard Educational Review*, 67, no. 4, (Winter 1997).

⁷⁹Linda Perkins, *The African American Female Elite: The Early history of African American*

opportunity.⁸⁰ The unwritten policy was introduced in the form of a question on the housing application. All students were asked to designate “Race, and National Descent?”⁸¹ This question prompted many debates from students as well as state officials. Many individuals, primarily African American, concerned with the housing situation for African Americans wanted to know the justification for including this question. University officials tried as best they could to explain, but the explanations were unsatisfactory. African American Lawyer and State Representative Charles J. Jenkins, from Chicago, was very concerned about the structure of the housing questionnaire. He was so concerned that he contacted the President of the University to inquire as to why these questions appeared on the form and what purpose they served. Arthur Cutts Willard, then president of the University had S. Earl Thompson, Director of Housing, to conduct an investigation. In a letter to A. J. Janata, Assistant to the President, Thompson explained that these questions were of much importance in order to avoid any major errors in room assignments.⁸² However the most interesting part about his response is the meaning behind “major errors.” In this context major error meant unwittingly assigning students of different races and religions to the same double rooms. Willard forwarded the results of the investigation to Jenkins, (omitting the statement issued by Thompson to Janata) in a letter dated 6 August 1945. It read in part,

Almost 90% of our residence hall spaces are in double rooms. It seems essential to us that we have information, which we requested if we are to avoid major errors in the assignment of roommates. I know of no University or College, which does not request similar information for applications for assignment to residence

Women in the Seven Sister Colleges, 1880-1960.”

⁸⁰“A Community Report Twenty Years Later: The Status of the Negro in Champaign County,” League of Women Voters, 1968, Local History Room Collection, Urbana Free Library, Urbana, Illinois.

⁸¹Charles J. Jenkins to A. C. Willard, 31 July 1945, Willard Papers.

⁸²S. Earl Thompson to A. J. Janata, 6 August 1945, Willard Papers.

halls.⁸³

In the history of the University, no African American had lived in the dorms, so in 1945 when the letter was written, no presumable “errors” had been made. It was clear the President did not want any errors being made by way of even selecting African Americans to live in the dorms, hence the reason for the question about race. Why else would it be necessary for an official University application to list racial designation if not one person of African American descent had ever lived in University housing. This was an issue representative Jenkins noticed immediately.

Jenkins began a campaign to ensure that African American females would have the opportunity to live on campus in the dormitories. He submitted several names to the President for consideration and awaited a response. In his letters he was almost pleading with the president for consideration of his suggestions.⁸⁴ He provided letters of reference for various women, as well as giving his word that they would be qualified and respectable candidates.⁸⁵ It was evident that African American women had to be hand picked for living in the dorms. There was no where on the housing application that indicated categories for respectable and qualified. Furthermore, it could be implied that a candidate could have the grades and still not be considered respectable by the University. The President had previously replied to Jenkins by listing several reasons for the refusal of African American women being admitted to University housing, including that one woman was on academic probation and her grades were not satisfactory enough to live in

⁸³S. Earl Thompson to A J. Janata, 6 August 1945, Willard Papers.

⁸⁴Jenkins to Willard, 30 July 1945, Willard Papers.

⁸⁵Jenkins to Thompson, 11 August 1945, Willard Papers.

the dorms.⁸⁶ Of the housing documents surveyed never was it indicated that a particular grade point average had to be maintained for residents of the dorm. The question became a point of contention for those interested in housing of African American female students. Why were grades an issue when the document itself made no mention of them as a prerequisite for dormitory living? This was interesting in terms of the University being able to document grades as a reason for housing denial. The President indicated “scholastic standing and promise will be considered in the assignment of residence hall space....”⁸⁷ This however did not discourage Jenkins in the least, he continued to submit names until he found women that were “suitable” to the President.

A. C. Willard, realizing this campaign would not end until African American females were permitted to live in the dorms, offered a token measure. In a letter to Jenkins date 2 August 1945, Willard wrote him of his willingness to see African American women housed in the dorms. He went so far as to reserve one room for African American females.⁸⁸ This gesture was an assurance of the commitment to African American females. Jenkins took this and worked diligently in finding women that would pass the standard of the President and others in terms of grades of current and college transfer students. It was August 11, 1945 that two African American women were finally agreed upon, Quintella King and Ruthe Cash. These women were the first known African Americans to reside in the dorms at UIUC. They were permitted to live in Busey-Evans Hall.⁸⁹ It is clear that other African Americans lived in the dorms after

⁸⁶Willard to Jenkins, 2 August 1945, Willard Papers.

⁸⁷Willard to Jenkins, 2 August 1945, Willard Papers.

⁸⁸Willard to Jenkins, 2 August 1945, Willard Papers.

⁸⁹Thompson to Jenkins, 17 August 1945. Willard Papers.

this time, but currently no evidence has been found to substantiate a particular date.

Quintella King (now Calvert) vividly remembered her time living in Busey-Evans Hall, in fact she lived there for the four years that she was enrolled as an undergraduate. Mrs. Calvert recalls that she did not apply to live in the dorms, as she put it she knew that she was going to college and when it was time to go her mother told her that she would be living in the residence hall.⁹⁰ It was not until later that she found out the circumstance surrounding her moving into the dorms, and even then she was not told a great deal. She remembers that:

It's something I did not apply for; I had no idea it was in the works. It came through the Colored Women's Federated Club, and that group, they decided that one girl would come from the Southern district and the other would come from the Northern district, and from the Southern district I was selected and the other girl was Ruthe Cash from Chicago and we started.⁹¹

It was amazing to realize that she had no clue as to the debate that surrounded her living on campus. Mrs. Calvert and Ms. Cash remained roommates for three years, after which Ms. Cash graduated and Mrs. Calvert remained in the dorms for her last year in a single room. Mrs. Calvert and Ms. Cash were allowed to stay in the dorms for the next few years because things had gone so well with their first year of residence in the dormitory.

Mrs. Calvert was very candid in her descriptions of life in the dorms. She admitted that perhaps due to her youth she was oblivious to the discrimination. She attended college at the age of sixteen and was accustomed to being very sheltered. She viewed the residence halls as a place to live, and her socializing took place outside of her

⁹⁰Quintella King Calvert, interview by author, tape recording by phone, 4 March 1997, St. Louis, Illinois.

⁹¹Quintella King Calvert, interview by author, tape recording by phone, 4 March 1997, St. Louis, Illinois.

living quarters. She does recall a dance that was held in the residence hall and she noted how nice everyone had been in allowing them to invite their dates to attend.⁹²

The only time that Mrs. King felt out of sorts was on the return trip from campus to her dorm room. She recalls:

I was too young and dumb to really spot anything, it was just, I just felt accepted. The only thing I know was that if you are at school with some of the other Black kids, when they got ready to go home they went in one direction and I went another direction which was by myself or with Ruthe and I think my second year I joined the sorority which threw me with the Black students, so I got that camaraderie with them, otherwise I was just totally with the whites.⁹³

Mrs. Calvert possibly suffered more than she was aware of. Students were so connected to the families they lived with, that it was virtually impossible not to miss out on that sense of family and community that she and Ruthe Cash missed by living alone in the dorms.

In 1950, five years after the first African American females were admitted to the dorms, Vivian Adams experienced what may have been true for many African American female residents, racism. It began in 1950 with a report of missing money from Vivian's room, which she shared with her twin sister Lillian. She reported leaving the room with her sister for dinner and returning some time later to find the money missing. A report was filed and there was no clear indication of an investigation being conducted.⁹⁴ The next investigation that would take place concerning Vivian would be in January of 1951, which had nothing to do with the theft report she had previously filed.

Apparently there had been several thefts in Busey Hall, where Vivian resided,

⁹²Quintella King interview.

⁹³Quintella King interview.

⁹⁴"Incident of Theft Report," Vivian Delano Adams, 2 October 1950, Women's Card Files,

which were of great concern for the hall staff as well as the women that resided there. In January of 1951 the dorm director call for an investigation indicating she had some information pertaining to the recent thefts. It was brought to her attention by some of the women living in the dorms that they had observed Vivian Adams going from room to room suspiciously.⁹⁵ It was at this point Vivian and her sister were called in for questioning by the University investigator and other dorm officials of Busey Hall.

Upon the questioning of Lillian, Vivian's sister, she revealed some distrust of her sister in this situation. She indicated the two of them had never wanted for anything, because money was not an object, but that her sister had been known to steal in the past. When they were seven years old Vivian had taken a nickel from and Armenian girl.⁹⁶ In addition to providing this information, she also indicated that Vivian had a fascination with clothing. This did not help in Vivian's defense because the majority of the missing items were clothing.

When Vivian was questioned she adamantly denied having anything to do with the thefts in Busey Hall. Furthermore she could not understand why she was even being questioned on the matter. During questioning, her room was being searched by dorm officials. In a report dated 2 February 1951, Florence B. Ingraham, Assistant Dean of women wrote to security officer J. E. Ewers that the end of the search resulted in the finding of several reportedly missing items. Vivian still denied having anything to do with the thefts and refused to talk.⁹⁷

Record Series 41/3/6, University of Illinois Archives, Urbana, Illinois.

⁹⁵R. S. Laymon to J. E. Ewers, 30 January 1951, Women's Card Files.

⁹⁶R. S. Laymon to J. E. Ewers, 30 January 1951, Women's Card Files.

⁹⁷Florence B. Ingraham to Ewers, 2 February 1951, Women's Card Files.

The matter was going to go before the student disciplinary committee, and until a decision was made Vivian was placed on probation. In the interim Vivian was questioned again, and eventually she felt comfortable enough to tell what had happened in regards to the thefts at Busey Hall. Vivian admitted to stealing the items from various students in the hall in an effort to hurt them, as she had been hurt. She further stated she had not intended on keeping the articles or disposing of them, she merely wanted to cause pain to the women in the hall by taking things they valued highly, as this was her only recourse.⁹⁸

Prior to the thefts in Busey Hall, Vivian had engaged in conversation with some of the other female residents in the hall. These women were Jewish and they indicated how they had never cared for “colored” people. Vivian was very much offended by this and questioned them as to why. They went on to explain how stupid African Americans were and cited examples in the area of real estate.

In a letter to J. E. Ewers dated 7 March 1951 Miriam Shelden described the conversation that occurred between Vivian and the Jewish women, based on Vivian’s account. The Jewish women in the dorm described ways in which “Negroes are so gullible.” Real estate operators seek out African Americans to purchase property in an all white area. By purchasing property in these areas, African Americans are being set up to make white residents feel uncomfortable. Over time white residents fearing racial integration begin to move out of the neighborhood, at any cost even taking a monetary decrease in the value of their property. As more white residents move, real estate operators began to purchase the homes at a reduced rate, and eventually resell the

⁹⁸Miriam A. Shelden to Ewers, 7 March 1951, Women’s Card Files.

property in smaller units at a much higher price. African Americans were the target population for this real estate phenomenon. The Jewish women students characterized the African American buyers as ignorant, implying that they were unwilling dupes of real estate operators, and therefore very easy and willing prey.⁹⁹

To these statements Vivian replied that African Americans were not different than other people who could also be victims of economic exploitation. The conversation ended in a violent argument, with the Jewish girls finally stating that Vivian and her sister were somehow different from the average “colored” person. This statement alone enraged Vivian and she vowed to herself that she would repay them for their unkind words and thoughts about her race.¹⁰⁰ It was after this that she decided to take prized possessions from the women as they had ridiculed and insulted her individually and racially. Vivian stated, “I like to hurt them—I know I cannot hurt them by physical force.”¹⁰¹ Vivian was obviously very distraught over the conversation and looked to inflict pain on those who had personally wounded her. Vivian was very clear in her admission of guilt that she had not intended to keep or use the items. In fact she intended on returning the items.¹⁰² The taking of their possessions was a way to retaliate for the inappropriate comments made by her hall mates, for there were no other options available to her.

As a result of her confession and further investigation into the thefts, Vivian was brought before the University Committee on Student Discipline. On March 5, 1951, she

⁹⁹Shelden to Ewers, 7 March 1951, Women’s Card Files.

¹⁰⁰Shelden to Ewers, 7 March 1951, Women’s Card Files.

¹⁰¹Shelden to Ewers, 7 March 1951, Women’s Card Files.

¹⁰²Shelden to Ewers, 7 March 1951, Women’s Card Files.

was dismissed from the University for derogatory conduct. March 12, seven days later; she was readmitted provided that she attend the Student Counseling Bureau until they felt she should be released from their service. Dr. Leo A. Hellmer released his report to the committee stating:

If I assume that she is guilty of the thefts, and apparently you have good evidence for this assumption I should guess that the underlying cause for the motive, represents an unconscious attempt to pay back with hostility for what she initially feels is hostility and rejection of her...¹⁰³

There was no evidence found indicating that the other female students involved in the discussion were reprimanded for their behavior. Vivian made an error in judgment when deciding to take items that did not belong to her, however it is clear that she felt insulted, rejected and humiliated. Her actions, however inappropriate, constituted a vendetta against racism. Vivian's stealing was her response to one issue of racial discrimination that was present in the lives of African American students. There were many other instances that would require a response as well.

A former track athlete of the University of Illinois remembers the living conditions on campus in 1950. The athletes lived in special housing, and usually the roomed according to sport and ethnic background. They lived in the parade ground units, wooden facilities that were situated North of where the dorms now sit. When asked if all athletes lived there he responded by saying yes, but that you were assigned roommates, and if you were African American your roommate would be as well.¹⁰⁴ Interestingly however is the fact that this athlete remembered very little discrimination on campus. When queried further, his response was that athletes were in many ways sheltered from

¹⁰³“Subcommittee on Student Discipline,” 1 March 1951, Women's Card Files.

the outside campus, and the problems that existed for African American students. As an athlete he was intentionally protected from discrimination in a way that blinded him so much that in many ways he was oblivious to the experiences of other African American students. His statement provides further evidence of the intricate layers of racism that existed at the University.

Greek Houses

Early on, the role of fraternities and sororities became quite evident in combating the housing needs for African American students. Most of these organizations were founded on the principle of community service, and functioned as a vehicle for African American students to come together under a common bond of struggle. At UIUC one of the first organizations to fight for housing near the camps was the Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority Inc. (AKA).

The AKA's realized the desperate situation of housing and rose to the occasion. They began to question the dean of women as to why a house had not been secured for African American sorority women. This was one of the first efforts of a group to obtain housing on campus.¹⁰⁴ However, in a letter from Lee to the Dean of Women he conveys this housing was not meant to accommodate all women, just the members of the sorority. This fact was consistent with the nature of secret societies, fraternities and sororities. Despite the racial climate, all fraternal and sorority organizations limited their housing to the members of the specific group. The AKA's constructed a massive letter writing

¹⁰⁴Willie Williams, interview by author, tape recording, Champaign, Illinois, 12 June 1997.

¹⁰⁵“University of Illinois Presidents I Have Known,” Lee Papers.

campaign to several people detailing their experience with lack of housing.¹⁰⁶

The letter campaign proved to be successful. Many members of the organization outside of the University belonged to other influential clubs and organizations.¹⁰⁷ One letter from a campus student to Miss Althea Merchant, an African American woman from near St. Louis, Missouri, belonging to the sorority and a member of the Illinois Chapter of the National Association of Colored Women, played an important role in securing housing for women of AKA. Miss Merchant enlisted the support of her organization and wrote to the Dean of Women, concerning the housing situation.¹⁰⁸ As a result of this letter and others to state legislators, namely Adelbert H. Roberts, George T. Kersey and Charles A. Griffin, African American representatives from Chicago, the AKA's secured housing in 1928. They had the support of the sorority, members of the University, Albert R. Lee, state and local representatives, and community individuals that were concerned with their situation.

Upon the purchasing of this house it was established that each of the sixteen to eighteen members would share in the responsibilities and pay a monthly cost.¹⁰⁹ Although AKA had been able to secure housing for some of their members only, there was still an immediate need for more housing for African American women and men. The AKA house was filled to capacity with women in the sorority, but there were still others not able to secure housing. The women were excited about living on campus, at 1201 W. Stoughton, Champaign, Illinois.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶“University of Illinois Presidents I Have Known,” Lee Papers.

¹⁰⁷“University of Illinois Presidents I Have Known,” Lee Papers.

¹⁰⁸Merchant to Leonard, 19 May 1925, Lee papers.

¹⁰⁹Martha Ann Roberts to AKA Soror, 7 July 1928, (Folder 1919-1928), Lee Papers.

¹¹⁰“University of Illinois Presidents I Have Known,” Lee Papers.

Given the racial climate in Champaign in addition to the racial covenants that were in existence obtaining suitable housing was not an easy task. The undergraduate women were in constant contact with older members of the sorority, which they in turn kept in touch with University officials to monitor the housing problem. It was this network that enabled the sorority women to obtain housing near campus. After Lee and the undergraduate sorority women wrote explaining their dilemma to Mrs. Anna W. Ickes, wife of Harold W. Ickes a member of the Board of Trustees for the University, she took an interest in the housing problem for these women. Ickes decided to give monetarily and enlist the support of her associates. Aside from Ickes, President Kinley also proved to be a resource. He contacted Professor J. M. White to inspect the property and Lloyd Morey to draft a financial plan, draw up corporation papers to hold the title (which was succeeded by the sorority alumnae organization), and to finally make the down payment on the property. Through the assistance of these individuals and the persistence of the sorority women a house was purchased in an area that under normal circumstances would not have been rented or sold to African Americans.¹¹¹ According to Urbana Council meeting minutes, the residents of that area were not at all pleased with the purchase of a house by African Americans. The residents of Urbana protested but were unsuccessful in their attempts to have the women of Alpha Kappa Alpha removed from the house.

Miriam Shelden Dean of Women authored a report of the status of women that discussed the issue of housing. She described the role of sororities in housing women. There were thirty-four sororities that housed one third of the women on campus. Of this

¹¹¹“University of Illinois Presidents I Have Known,” Lee Papers.

thirty-four there was one African American sorority. Sheldon was seemingly pleased with the conditions of the house and received encouragement from Miss Sadler, who heads the National colored work of the YWCA. Miss Sadler “was pleased with the housing of the colored women students here as it compared favorably with the best she had seen anywhere in the country.”¹¹² This begs the question, what was favorable around the country in 1930 for African American women?

In the 1930’s African American women and men on predominately white campuses were in desperate need of housing. There were no sororities on the campus of The University of Iowa, so they lacked the benefit of living in a sorority house initially. A few of the women worked as domestics for white families in the city, and they provided with room and board in the homes. In one case a woman worked for a campus professor and lived with the family. The Iowa Federation of Colored Women Clubs decided to assist these women in securing more appropriate forms of housing. They purchased a home for these women. Although the conditions were cramped many women opted for this arrangement.¹¹³

The men at the University of Iowa had the benefit of greater choice. There were two African American fraternities on campus, Kappa Alpha Psi and Alpha Phi Alpha. Men were allowed to live in either fraternity house, in town with African American families and in one case with a white family. Typically individuals interested in becoming a member of a fraternity had to wait a period of a year before being granted the opportunity to be a member of a fraternity and live in a house. Furthermore they were to

¹¹²Women’s Housing Report,” President David Kinley Papers, Annual Reports 1929-1930, Series 2/6/4, Box 2, (Folder “Dean of Women 1929-1930”), University of Illinois Archives, Urbana, Illinois.

form a club prior to soliciting membership into a greek letter organization. However in the case of the Alpha's, formerly the Pedennis club, their waiting period was waived ten months early, due to the lack of housing. Housing was so scarce for African American men that the fraternities housed men that were not members of the organization.¹¹⁴

Community Residence

At UIUC housing would become a long battle for the students as well as for the African American community. In many instances the dwellings' people lived in were barely large enough for their families, not to mention 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."¹¹⁵ During the academic school year 1929-30, 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.¹¹⁶ 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.¹¹⁷

¹¹³Jenkins, 18-19.

¹¹⁴Jenkins, 6.

¹¹⁵"A Community Report" League of Women Voters, Champaign County, 1946-1948, YWCA Subject File, 1906 - Anniversary Tea - Policy Statement, 1930-71, Record Series 41/69/331, Box 34, University of Illinois Archives, Urbana, Illinois.

¹¹⁶"Boarding and Housing Conditions of Colored Students of the University Of Illinois, 1929-30," Dean of Students, Dean of women Subject File.

¹¹⁷Lucy J. Gray, interview.

Not only did residents take them in as family and provide them with a place to stay, but in many ways community members made a way for them to eat. 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 one 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 then 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.¹¹⁸ 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, and housing for African Americans in the Champaign-Urbana area in the 1940's was despicable. A study conducted by the League of Women Voter's of Champaign County in 1946 indicated that housing for African Americans was a total disgrace.¹¹⁹ 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

¹¹⁸Lucy J. Gray, interview.

¹¹⁹"A Community Report" League of Women Voters.

tuberculosis. Furthermore the shacks' people were living in were previously coal bins.¹²⁰ It was in these conditions that the Black residents of Champaign-Urbana had to live, as well as the African American university students that resided with them.

It is very important to note that many African Americans living in these conditions were able to afford better housing. One woman was reported as saying that her husband made \$40.00 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.¹²¹ It was clearly a situation where 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 condition of housing for African Americans in the community affected the majority of Black students, since most of them were compelled to live in the community. About the only exception were Black students who lived in fraternity and sorority housing and the few who resided in dormitories.

A more inhabitable environment simply meant one that was safe and fit for people to reside in. 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 and areas with no sidewalks. All these factors contributed to the unsanitary conditions present within the African American community. These conditions were due to a lack of concern

¹²⁰“A Community Report” League of Women Voters, Champaign County 1946-1948, YWCA Subject File.

on the part of the city as well as the racism present within the Champaign-Urbana areas. Many of these homes mentioned were considered to be health hazards to the residents and the rest of the area. 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.”¹²² During this time it was virtually impossible 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.”¹²³ 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 Lee. Albert R. Lee was responsible for making the initial contact between students and potential renters.¹²⁴ This informal arrangement lasted for several decades.¹²⁵

Lee would locate members of the African American community that were willing to rent to students. After potential renters were contacted in person and by mail,

¹²¹“A Community Report” League of Women Voters.

¹²²“A Community Report” League of Women Voters.

¹²³“A Community Report” League of Women Voters.

¹²⁴Lee to Richards, 22 July 1920, Lee Papers.

¹²⁵“A. R. Lee general Correspondence,” Lee Papers.

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 towards this practice.¹²⁶

In the 1920's housing was a major concern, especially in light of African Americans not being allowed to live on campus or even in close proximity. 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 combating 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.¹²⁷

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 would too.¹²⁸

One individual remembers a room at the church called the "Black room," in which

¹²⁶Edward Jacobs to Lee, 17 August 1928, Lee Papers.

¹²⁷"University of Illinois Presidents I Have Known," Lee Papers.

there were books for students to study and learn from in addition to a woman who functioned as a teacher for Friday night study sessions.

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 times 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.¹²⁹

The community commitment to excellence and achievement was exemplary. African Americans were dedicated to the success of the students, and were willing to participate in spite of the racialized conditions of Champaign-Urbana. While 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.

¹²⁸Lucy J. Gray, interview.

¹²⁹Hester Suggs, interview by author, tape recording, Champaign, Illinois, 14 October 1996.

CHAPTER IV

FACULTY, STUDENT AND COMMUNITY PARTNERSHIPS

One of the key elements to combating discrimination in the Champaign, Urbana area were partnerships formed between campus and community. The year is 1946 and there is much civil unrest in the country generally and specifically in Champaign, Urbana. Many veterans were now on campus due to the G I Bill and very concerned about the racial discrimination that existed on campus. These veterans had fought for Democracy in the war and to return home to the same practice of “Jim Crow,” was unacceptable. They organized themselves, some faculty members, and members of the community and formed an organization, the Student Community Interracial Committee.¹³⁰

The sole purpose of this organization was to combat the racial injustice that existed in the Champaign, Urbana area. They worked long and hard until a split in 1950. There was quite a bit of internal strife over politics and tactics. The strife became such a problem that the organization decided it was best to dissolve before the outside became aware of their problems and took them as sign of weakness.¹³¹

The internal struggle was due in part to a split between the “radicals” and “conservatives”. The organization was filled primarily with conservatives, but the few radicals that did exist demanded action at any cost. In 1950 they turned their attention to the ice skating rink. The conservative element felt that time would be much better spent

¹³⁰“A Movement Against Racial Discrimination,” Class Paper, Social Movements 340, Harry M. Tiebout Papers, Series 15/16/21, Box 4, (Folder “History of S-CHRC 1953”), University of Illinois Archives, Urbana, Illinois.

¹³¹“A Movement Against Racial Discrimination,” Class Paper, Social Movements 340, Harry M. Tiebout Papers, Series 15/16/21, Box 4, (Folder “History of S-CHRC 1953”), University of Illinois

focusing on places that did not promote teenage drinking, picking up dates or prostitution, which was becoming the theme for the ice rink. The radicals thus disagreed. Eventually it was inevitable that these two factions would venture in different directions. The conservatives rounded up old members and anyone that was interested, called for a vote of dissolution, and the Student Interracial Committee was disbanded.¹³²

Within one week after the vote, the conservative element formed a new organization, the Student Community Human Relations Council (SCHRC). There goals were very much the same as the Student Community Interracial Committee (SCIC), but now it was full of like-minded members. The SCIC continued to exist for awhile but eventually disappeared. The SCHRC picked up the role of ending racial discrimination on campus.

Student Community Interracial Committee

The Student Community Interracial Committee was formed in the spring of 1945. The purpose of this organization was to fight racial discrimination in all aspects of life in the Champaign-Urbana community. The Committee was responsible for the establishment of equal and fair treatment in restaurant, the Urbana swimming pool, and the local theaters. They utilized the law to its fullest extent and enlisted the support of campus students, faculty and the community.¹³³ The first place where they demonstrated

Archives, Urbana, Illinois.

¹³²“A Movement Against Racial Discrimination,” Class Paper, Social Movements 340, Harry M. Tiebout Papers, Series 15/16/21, Box 4, (Folder “History of S-CHRC 1953”), University of Illinois Archives, Urbana, Illinois.

¹³³“Statement Presented to SCIC by Professor Shattuck,” 22 March 1951, Harry M. Tiebout Papers, Series 15/16/21, Box 3, (Folder “SCIC Dissolution & Reorganization 1951”), University of Illinois Archives, Urbana, Illinois.

their unity and fight against discrimination was in the area of eating-places that would not serve African Americans.

African Americans were discriminated against in most eating establishment prior to the 1940's and for some time afterwards. The Committee devised a plan of action for the discriminating restaurants and followed it closely, as it was believed results would be yielded. The Committee followed a strict set of guidelines, as they felt organization was the crux to their success. In the case of restaurant discrimination they did the following:

1. Letters are sent to the offending restaurant, notifying it of our knowledge of their discriminatory policy. We request that the practice be stopped, as it is a violation of the rights of man and of the law.
2. A delegation is sent to the manager to present our arguments and listen to his.
3. Petitions and other forms of public opinion are gathered.
4. Affidavits for legal evidence are gathered.
5. Another delegation visits the manager with the legal evidence.
6. The evidence is taken to the States Attorney with a request for action.
7. Conferences with all concerned follow, explaining the consequences of continued violation of the Illinois Civil Rights Code.
8. A request for an injunction to close the restaurant because of violation of the law.
9. Use of considerable legal fund to prosecute civil cases.¹³⁴

In many instances the Committee did not have to go beyond point number seven.

However they were fully prepared to do so, as was the case of James Montgomery and the Deluxe Tavern on Green Street. The committee supported his claim of discrimination

¹³⁴“Untitled,” Harry M. Tiebout Papers, Series 15/16/21, Box 3, (Folder “History of SCIC 1945-1951”), University of Illinois Archives, Urbana, Illinois.

and paid all legal fees associated with the lawsuit.¹³⁵ The committee had developed a legal defense fund for the sole purpose paying legal fees for cases that were tried in court.

The Committee fought vigorously to end discrimination in eating establishments, and other areas of public accommodation. After gaining some success with dining facilities, the Committee began to look at movie theaters. In one interracial newsletter the committee urged African Americans to attempt to go to the theaters and be seated on the main floor. The newsletter further stated that the general policy of the theaters is to treat individual African Americans according to their attitude. In the case of the Rialto and Virginia theaters, if you intelligently insist upon being seated where you please then they are usually obliged to do so, and without any interference. The Committee felt that the theaters “segregates by conditioned responses.”¹³⁶ This may have been the reason stated to the Committee by management but there was at least one individual who disagreed with the segregation based upon response theory. Mrs. Hester Suggs who attended the University during the 1945-1955 era recalls a story told to her by her uncle, when he tried to take his date to the movies.

I can tell you about my Uncle Leonard. He went to the theater downtown and had taken his girlfriend. He stood in line and stood in line, when he got up there they told him they didn't have any more seats. There was a Jim Crow section in the theater and they only sold a certain amount of seats, and they told him they were sold out.¹³⁷

In this case he was not given the benefit of the doubt. Before he had an opportunity to speak he was relegated to the over sold Jim Crow section. After minimal success in the

¹³⁵Daily Illini, 10 March 1955, in Harry M. Tiebout's Papers, Series 15/16/21, Box 4, (Folder "S-CHRC Restaurants, DI Clippings on 1951-1955"), University of Illinois Archives, Urbana, Illinois.

¹³⁶"Interracial Newsletter," 7 April 1947, Harry M. Tiebout Papers, Series 15/16/21, Box 3, (Folder "SCIC Interracial Newsletter 1946"), University of Illinois Archives, Urbana, Illinois.

¹³⁷Hester Suggs interview.

theater campaign the Committee began to address internal needs, that may have contributed to their dissolution.

Perhaps part of the demise of the Committee stemmed from lack of community support. In one newsletter Gerald Moser, co-chairman, wrote an appeal to the community. He discussed the need for community support. It was apparent from this letter that he was concerned with the apathy of the community, and felt the letter would provide them with motivation. He acknowledged their lack of time and energy and those who were devoted to other areas of their lives. However he felt it was of the utmost importance to have a united front and then reminded community residents that the work of the Committee was primarily for them. Furthermore the majority of the work was being done by the students, who would come and go once finished with their academic training, but the community was there to stay and would need a strong and steady backbone, the community.¹³⁸

Despite its positive purpose, the Student Community Interracial Committee was disbanded in 1951 due to internal bickering and loss of a unified purpose. Most of the members were in favor of the dissolution, but of the 114 members only seventeen were opposed. It was decided that the Committee be dissolved and all money left in the treasury be given to five members that had proved to be the ones worthiest of holding the treasury and reorganizing the organization. It was the hope that the Committee would be reconstructed along similar lines, but with a new membership.¹³⁹ The Committee was

¹³⁸“Calling All Community Members,” Harry M. Tiebout Papers, Series 15/16/21, Box 3, (Folder “SCIC Interracial Newsletter 1946”), University of Illinois Archives, Urbana, Illinois.

¹³⁹“Statement Presented to SCIC by Professor Shattuck,” 22 March 1951, Harry M. Tiebout Papers, Series 15/16/21, Box 3, (Folder “SCIC Dissolution & Reorganization 1951”), University of Illinois Archives, Urbana, Illinois.

formed at the outset with very specific goals in mind, and those goals were clearly in their constitution, which read:

We, students and faculty remembers of the University of Illinois and citizens of Champaign and Urbana, realizing the inherent dangers of racial discrimination to our American Democracy, that it is a weapon of certain Fascist and race supremacist groups to aid them in their fight against the democratic forces in the United States, do hereby establish the Constitution of the Student Community Interracial Committee to fight, by means of education and all legal forms of action, all vestiges of racial discrimination in Champaign, Urbana, and on the campus of the University of Illinois.¹⁴⁰

Before the Committee was dissolved they had moved from a plan of action to one of education. Their goals were the same but they felt as though education would also remedy many discriminatory acts. They had gained some success in the areas of restaurants, movie theaters and the swimming pool. They believed their purposes would be better served in the area of education for the continuation of the barriers they were successful in breaking down. They implemented “workshops in public relations, human relations techniques, and Negro history.”¹⁴¹

Student Community Human Relations Council

The Student Human Relations Council was a direct outgrowth of the Student Community Interracial Committee. The reorganization was successful and the new members decided to include a clause in the constitution stating that any person interested in membership, University of Illinois students or community members will be admitted

¹⁴⁰“Untitled,” Harry M. Tiebout Papers, Series 15/16/21, Box 3, (Folder “History of SCIC 1945-1951”), University of Illinois Archives, Urbana, Illinois.

¹⁴¹Daily Illini, in Harry M. Tiebout Papers, Series 15/16/21, Box 3, (Folder “SCIC Dissolution & Reorganization 1951”), University of Illinois Archives, Urbana, Illinois.

provided they “wholeheartedly agree to the principles of the preamble.”¹⁴² The preamble stated:

We, students and faculty members of the University of Illinois, and residents of Champaign County, recognize the danger to our community of discrimination among racial, religious, ethnic, or other culturally defined groups, and of the human tensions arising out of such differences. We further recognize the danger to our community from groups and persons motivated by totalitarian philosophies--such as Fascist, race-supremacist, and Communist--who foster discrimination and tension or to use them to advance totalitarian ends.

We hereby Establish the Constitution of the Student Community Human Relations Council, and pledge ourselves to the work of helping to eliminate such discrimination and tension in the Champaign County and at the University of Illinois, We pledge ourselves (1) to study carefully every reported case of discrimination, and (having determined it to be a valid case, prejudicial to the community, and having weighed thoroughly the predictable effectiveness of the possible methods of action) to bring to bear upon it every appropriate moral, legal, and intellectual force within our power; (2) to combat all totalitarian influence in the area of intergroup relationships; and (3) to provide a strong and constant program of education for promoting better understanding and more enriching human relations among the diverse groups in our community.¹⁴³

This preamble marked the beginning of a new and more defined committee.

The organization was successful in opening up places in several areas that had been traditionally closed to African Americans. One of the first battles for the group were the campus area barbershops. In 1953, the campus area barbershops were all white and the owners refused to cut the hair of African American men. The YMCA took this on as a battle, but soon realized that not much had changed, and the SCHRC stepped in. The organization felt it was most appropriate for them to be involved in light of their previous success in ending discrimination the campus area restaurants.

¹⁴²“A Movement Against Racial Discrimination,” Class Paper, Social Movements 340, Harry M. Tiebout Papers, Series 15/16/21, Box 4, (Folder “History of S-CHRC 1953”), University of Illinois Archives, Urbana, Illinois.

¹⁴³“Untitled,” Harry M. Tiebout Papers, Series 15/16/21, Box 3, (Folder “SCIC Dissolution & Reorganization 1951”), University of Illinois Archives, Urbana, Illinois.

SCHRC was most successful in their efforts to end discrimination in the Champaign, Urbana area. They fought to end racial discrimination in Champaign-Urbana restaurants, theaters and barbershops. The work of SCHRC was a key instrument in changing the face of race relations on campus and in the twin cities. The organization was part a legacy that enabled African Americans the opportunities to begin to shed their ascribed second class citizenship in Champaign County.

Restaurant Protests

The problem of housing still existed but it was further compounded by a lack of eating places available to African American students. African Americans were discriminated against in dining facilities on campus well until the 1960's. African American students were not allowed to eat on campus or at any of the campus restaurants. Students were forced to carry meals or return to the North End for meals during school days. The trip back to where they resided could consist of an hour or so, allowing thirty minutes to walk to their place of residence and thirty minutes to walk back to campus. This did not include the time it would take for them to actually eat lunch. The discrimination in dining places created a particular hardship on African American students and further symbolized to other students and the larger public that they were not fully accepted as a normal and integral part of the University.

African American students were allowed to purchase lunch meals at the women's residence hall at noontime, however, they were not allowed to sit in the dorm and eat.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁴“Board and Housing Conditions of Colored Students of the University of Illinois, 1929-30,” Dean of Students, Dean of Men Subject File.

It was not until 1930 that a restaurant appeared that would serve African American students. This was an interracial cooperative established to correct the problem but lasted for only a short time. Many white community members in addition to University faculty disagreed with this venture and were not in support of this restaurant. During the time the restaurant was open it was a successful venture in interracial relations. However, the restaurant was eventually closed due to financial hardship. In addition, there was a restaurant that did serve African Americans and was termed a “Negro” place, which closed after a while due to the owner moving.¹⁴⁵

Still, African American students suffered shame and humiliation from being denied the right to eat in public restaurants. Only African American students were refused service, making it known to all that they were uniquely despised and unwelcome in campus town. It was clear that restaurant owners did not want African Americans in their establishment, however they attempted to mask the racially motivated reasons in terms of potential business loss.

Restaurant owners claimed that they did not serve African Americans because of the harm it would do to business. Most restaurant owners claimed if they served “Negroes” their white customers would boycott them, and no longer patronize the establishment.¹⁴⁶ It was more important to save their business as opposed to fighting for and participating in non-discriminatory practices. However, no evidence exists that supports the claim of the restaurant owners. Key restaurants in campus town and near campus cited potential loss of business as the main reason for not serving African

¹⁴⁵Daily Illini, 23 February 1936.

¹⁴⁶“Boarding and Housing Conditions of Colored Students of the University of Illinois, 1929-

American students. They included Bidwells Confectionery, Butschs Steakhouse, Chris's Candystore, Deluxe, Hagens Steak House 2, Katsina's, Perry's Grill, Quality, Skelton's Drugstore, Steak & Shake, Todd's Café, and Twenty T Hangar¹⁴⁷ All refused service to African American students on the grounds that it would offend their white customers, while maintaining that they harbored no personal prejudice against African Americans. Restaurant owners decided on their own initiative to disregard the laws surrounding racial discrimination. They were willing to break the law just to bar African Americans from their eating establishments.

African American students of the 1930's 40's, and 50's were dedicated to the cause of equality in general and in Champaign-Urbana specifically. These students with the support of a few "liberal" white members of the University faculty and the African American community of Champaign-Urbana protested the daily practices of discrimination in food and dining places. In the words of Lucy Gray, "We were worried about the students, we thought they would get into a lot of trouble because they had never---the way they were treated."¹⁴⁸ Students were willing to risk being victims of violence for the sake of securing equality.

African American students at Illinois decided to take a legal approach to gain access to campus area restaurants. The Student-Community Interracial Committee formed in 1946, including African American and white students, embarked on a letter campaign to the State's Attorney and a method of testing campus area restaurants. In a

1930," Dean of Students, Dean of Men Subject File.

¹⁴⁷"Affidavit Testing Report," 1941-1950, Harry M. Tiebout Papers, Record Series 15/16/21, Box 4, university of Illinois Archives, Urbana, Illinois.

¹⁴⁸Lucy J. Gray, interview.

letter to State's Attorney John J. Bresee, dated 14 May 1946, Paul Burt, a student provided a list of restaurants that had openly discriminated against African American students. He also included the date of the discriminatory act, address of restaurant, people that were victims of discrimination, along with any witnesses that were present. It was his hope that Bresee would write these restaurants and call their attention to the violations of Illinois laws that protected citizens against discrimination based on race.¹⁴⁹

In any place where students felt discriminated against, they conducted a test of the establishment. After a report was submitted to the committee, several students would frequent the establishment in order to observe the behavior of the owners towards them as patrons. In most instances the students were African American, since it was they who were being discriminated against. However, there were white students that were a part of the committee and were sympathetic to the cause and participated in the tests as well. These white students acted as a control group; whereby they would replicate the behavior of African American students and observe whether they were treated the same, by restaurant staff. In addition to the white students replicating the process in which African American students were refused service or treated rudely they were also utilized as observers. They were responsible for taking notes of how African American students were treated in these instances and formally documenting what they had observed. This took valuable time away from their studies, but was necessary for African American students to challenge racial insults and degradation hurled at them on a daily basis.

African American students along with the assistance of white students and faculty decided to personally take on the white restaurant owners in the community and campus

¹⁴⁹Paul Burt to John J. Bresee, 15 May 1946, Tiebout Papers.

town. It was obvious to them that nothing would change if they were not willing to commit themselves to making that change. Beginning in 1946 there were several affidavits filed with the States' Attorney's office. Those affidavits tell a very interesting and informative story.

Between 1946 and 1950, the States Attorney's office was contacted, and State's Attorney John J. Bresee responded to the request of investigation into restaurant discrimination. In an unsigned letter a student wrote:

The Student Community Interracial Committee presented to you evidence of discrimination against Negro citizens in certain restaurants of this county. On the basis of the evidence, you wrote letters to four restaurants calling their attention to the provision of the Illinois Civil Rights Law.

Notwithstanding, those restaurants and two others continue to discriminate against Negro citizens. Particularly, the following companies practice such discrimination:

Hagens Steakhouse
Steak-N-Shake Drive Inn
Skelton's Drug Store
Bidwell's Confectionery
Todd's Cafe¹⁵⁰

Though a clear indication that this was not the first letter of its kind to reach the States Attorney's office, it is evidence that the States Attorney found these claims to be valid. In another letter (dated 20 April 1947) written to the Acting Secretary of the American Civil Liberties Union, Gerald M. Moser, Co-Chairman of the Interracial Committee wrote:

So far the intervention of the State Attorney J. Bresee has been sufficient to make a few uncooperative restaurant owners in the University abandon their policy of segregation. But our fight has not ended with that. Two restaurants, or taverns,

¹⁵⁰ "Letter," 1941-1963, Harry M. Tiebout Papers, Record Series 15/16/21, Box 3 (Folder Restaurant Campus Correspondence 1946-1950), University of Illinois Archives.

the “Deluxe Tavern” on Green Street and the “608 Club” on Sixth Street, have been found to segregate again. A subtler kind of segregation continues to be practiced in several theaters in downtown Champaign. We may therefore need your help in the near future.¹⁵¹

It would appear from these testimonies that discrimination had not ended but rather spread to other areas of public accommodation. This letter clearly indicates that despite the efforts of the States Attorney’s office, segregation in restaurants had not ceased.

Besides writing to the States Attorney for assistance, students, as mentioned earlier, both African American and white embarked upon a testing campaign, in which they documented discrimination found in various campus restaurants. It appears as if they went to campus town restaurants and documented what they either experienced or witnessed. In 1946 Eloise Ellison and Helen F. Welsey, both African American, went to Steak-N-Shake Drive Inn for a meal. Both women state that they experienced discrimination due to the color of their skin. In their affidavits they wrote:

On May 5, 1946 at about 4:10 p.m., I appeared at Steak-N-Shake Drive Inn and was humiliated and told not to return again to eat in the Steak-N-Shake Drive Inn because I am a Negro while at the very same time and place other persons of the Caucasian or white race were served without being humiliated and were not told not to return.

I seated myself in the Steak-N-Shake Drive Inn with a friend, also a Negro of dark skin. A waitress took our order and brought our food to us in a bag for us to take the food out. She replied that “Negroes can’t eat here on the inside of the restaurant. They can take it out or be served in a car.” We asked to see the manager. The waitress stated, “Well the manager is my husband.” The manager repeated to us, “We serve Negroes when they are in cars but not in the restaurant.” We explained to him that we did not come in a car. Then he said, “Well, since you aren’t in a car you can eat here now, but don’t ask me to do it again.”¹⁵²

¹⁵¹“Letter,” 1941-1963, Harry M. Tiebout Papers, Record Series 15/16/21, Box 3, University of Illinois Archives, Urbana, Illinois.

¹⁵²“Affidavit,” 1941-1963, Harry M. Tiebout Papers, Record Series 15/16/21, Box 3 (Folder “SCIC Restaurants (Campus) Affidavits 1946-17”), university of Illinois Archives, Urbana, Illinois.

Also dining at the restaurant were white students Minnie Coon Wisegarver, Smith Wisegarver, Verna Volz and Charles Shattuck. These students were witnesses to the incident. They noted:

While seated in the Steak-N-Shake Drive Inn, I saw two Negro girls enter and sit down. I saw the waitress take their order and later bring it to them in a paper bag. I heard the Negro girls tell the waitress they did not want to take the food out but wanted to eat it there. The waitress said they would not serve colored people inside the restaurant. The Negroes asked to speak to the manager. I heard him say he would serve colored people in cars but not inside the restaurant. After some discussion, I heard the manager say that he would serve them that time but that the Negroes should not ask him to do it again.¹⁵³

Steak-N-Shake was one of many restaurants to discriminate against African American students.

Also in 1946 there were acts of discrimination in other restaurants; Bidwells, Todd's Café, Perry's, Vriner's, Hagen's Steakhouse, Skelton's, Twenty T Hangar, and Deluxe's. While Melvin Humphrey was trying to get a beer at Bidwell's the bartender indicated that he did not look old enough to purchase alcohol. Humphrey told him, "I spent 15 months overseas."¹⁵⁴ After receiving no clear response from the bartender Humphrey went home to retrieve his identification to prove that he was old enough to purchase alcohol. Upon return to Bidwell's he encountered this response:

I gave it to the bartender, manager, or owner, whatever his position was and asked him if he could read. After looking at the card, he then told me that he would sell me a bottle of beer but I would have to drink it in the kitchen. I immediately asked him why. He replied, "That's my policy." I then asked him if he had anything against me. He replied no. Then I asked him again why he was refusing me equal accommodation. He point [ed] to a sign that read "We reserve the right to seat our customers. [" I asked him didn't he [know] that it was against the law to discriminate. He said he knew that or so what.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵³"Affidavit," 1941-1963, Tiebout Papers.

¹⁵⁴"Affidavit," 1941-1963, Tiebout Papers.

¹⁵⁵"Affidavit," 1941-1963, Tiebout Papers.

Unfortunately, Mr. Humphrey was not accorded the same privileges as his white counterparts. The University had openly practiced very loose policies when it came to the male students. This relaxation of rules was tied to the fact that many of the students were older and had served time in the military. The thought of having them to adhere to the same guidelines as those that were under twenty-one and less mature was utterly ridiculous.¹⁵⁶ Mr. Humphrey, although somewhat older and more mature was still treated as a second class citizen and one that would receive no special privileges for the role he played in helping to establish and maintain democracy across the sea. Virginia E. Murray, a white patron was a witness to the incident. And noted:

I was standing at the bar with my husband, and noticed that at the other end of the bar the bartender was refusing to serve a Negro Melvin Humphrey a drink (beer). I saw him point to the sign "We Reserve the Right to Serve Our Customers" as though to justify his refusal of service. I went down to that end of the bar to join my husband, who had gone there to get cigarettes, and I heard the Negro point out that discrimination was against the law. The bartender answered that it probably was, but still refused to serve him.¹⁵⁷

Todd's Café was another place that refused to serve African Americans in the way they served white patrons. On May 5, 1946 Helen F. Wesley went to Todd's Café and:

was refused equal service because I am a Negro while at the very same time and place that I was denied equal service other persons of the Caucasian or white race were being served without discrimination. Mr. Todd stated that it was not his policy to serve Negroes and if I wanted to be served I would have to eat in the back.¹⁵⁸

Onlooker Smith Wisegarver was curious as to what was happening to the African American patrons and inquired of the manager. The manager replied:

¹⁵⁶Ebert, *An Illini Century*, 170.

¹⁵⁷"Affidavit," 1941-1963, Tiebout Papers.

¹⁵⁸"Affidavit," 1941-1963, Tiebout Papers.

that he did not serve colored people because it would ruin his business. He said he would lose \$50 a day if he served colored people and that no one would repay him the amount lost. Then I said to Mr. Todd that the Negroes there were obviously nice persons and as nice as anyone else in the restaurant. Mr. Todd expressed agreement with my statement but said that if he served them he would have to serve all kinds of undesirable people.¹⁵⁹

That Mr. Todd would couple “Negroes” with “all kinds of desirable people” betrays his perceptions of the character of African American students. Although owners often stated that they refused to serve African American students because they would lose profits, their statements also revealed a deeper prejudice against African Americans. This restaurant owner expressed the implied sentiments of other owners. It was obvious that serving African American was equivalent to serving other less desirable individuals, thus rendering African Americans undesirable.

Marion McMEn was not told directly that she and her party were undesirables but they were clearly made to feel that way. McMEn describes her experience at Hagen’s Steakhouse No. 2.

On May 7, 1945 at about 5:15 p.m., I appeared at Hagen’s Steakhouse No. 2 and was refused equal service because I am a Negro while at the very same time and place other persons of the Caucasian race or white race were being served without discrimination. I entered Hagen’s Steak House No. 2 with three friends of dark skin. Although customers who entered the restaurant after us were being served, we received no attention from the waiter. We asked for a menu after waiting from some time. The waiter said “just a minute.” When he returned he said, “we do not serve Negroes here.” We asked to see the manager. Mr. Hagen came to our table. He said “we have never served Negroes here and we never will.” Then he added that we could eat in the “back.” We asked whether he meant the kitchen. He replied, “Yes.”¹⁶⁰

These women must have felt humiliated; first to be ignored and then told that they would never be served unless they accepted their meals in the kitchen away from the customers.

¹⁵⁹“Affidavit,” 1941-1963, Tiebout Papers.

Rev. Doran, Mrs. Bougin, and Paul Burt witnessed the incident and noted the following:

Four Negro women entered and sat at a table near the one where the Rev. Herbert Doran and Mrs. Bougin and I were seated and had been served. The waiter served some white patrons who came in after the Negro girls before approaching the latter. He finally came to their table without bringing water glasses, as to other patrons, and said something to them, which I could not hear. But he pointed to the back of the room. Then Mr. Hagen came over and I heard him say to the Negro girls that they would have to be seated in the "back," as they "reserved the right to seat their customers," pointing to a sign to that effect behind the counter. The Negro girls left the restaurant. In paying my check I expressed regret that the Negro girls had not been served. Mr. Hagen said "I never have and I never will."¹⁶¹

Rudeness was not uncommon when it came to serving African Americans and many restaurant staff and owners openly discriminated without remorse. Charles Gaines a victim of such brashness recalls a particular incident on May 8th, 1946 at Skelton's Drug Store:

I ordered a cherry coke, and the fellow behind the counter said, "Just a minute." After waiting a while a man in a pharmacy jacket came over and said, "I have a seat for you back here," indicating a back booth. When I inquired why I couldn't sit at the counter he state, 'you just can't that's all.'" Then an elderly man came up and said, "Don't argue with him." ... "If he doesn't take the seat you offered him he can sit here until the store closes." ... Finally I left without being served.¹⁶²

This was not the first time that an incident of this nature occurred. At the same restaurant two white women were seated and told by the waitress:

"There's going to be trouble." We asked, "Why?" There's a Negro at the counter: the third one this week." We asked her if Negroes were not served, and she said, "We don't like it."¹⁶³

Many businesses preferred the more direct and humiliating approach to discrimination, however some places were subtler in their approach. The following incident at Perry's

¹⁶⁰"Affidavits," Tiebout Papers.

¹⁶¹"Affidavits," Tiebout Papers.

¹⁶²"Affidavits," Tiebout Papers.

exemplified the “nice” approach to segregation.

At approximately 2:20 p.m., a young, clean cut, neatly dressed Negro entered Perry’s. he went to the counter and asked for a cup of coffee. The waitress said that he would have go around in back. The Negro said that he want to drink his coffee in front. He asked if he was being discriminated against because he was a Negro. Another employee of Perry’s joined the conversation. She (the third person) said there was no segregation, but that he would have to go in the rear. The Negro said, Thank you, and left.

After the Negro had departed, the waitress sat down at the table next to ours and engaged in conversation with an elderly man who had been in Perry’s throughout the entire incident. The waitress said, “We get a few like that every week.” Then a short time later she said, “we’ll be get a lot more in a few weeks when school starts.”¹⁶⁴

Overt racism would have been to place a sign in plain view that indicated no service allowed for African Americans, and a few places did just that. However, many other restaurants discriminated against African Americans on a more institutional level. They would serve African Americans if they were willing to eat around back or near the kitchen, or order their food and then take it out to be eaten elsewhere.

In the cases investigated whites were not treated the same as African Americans. Students would then follow the guidelines set forth by CORE (Congress on Racial Equality). Based on CORE workshop students were supposed to address the issue of discrimination in an organized and non-violent manner. Students were instructed to:

- a. Plan campaign of testing—CORE tactics.
- b. Formal contact by letter, explain who we are, what we do, call attention to the incidents of discrimination in which we know about, recalling dates etc...
Suggest we help them change policy without injury to their business—Ask for a personal conference with them.
- c. Have S-CHRC committee go down without invitation if they don’t offer one.
[D]on’t wait for more than 10 days to do this.
- d. Leafletting in front of café—printed materials geared to action.

¹⁶³“Affidavits,” Tiebout Papers.

¹⁶⁴“Affidavits,” Tiebout Papers.

- e. Picketing.
- f. Be able to call off a campaign with dignity.¹⁶⁵

These students were committed to addressing the issue of discrimination in an organized and non-violent manner. So after each subsequent act of discrimination, African American students would file formal affidavits documenting their experiences. They provided a detailed explanation of the incident, with dates, times, places and names of individuals involved and would have all that information notarized to become a part of public record. These students were placing themselves at risk by this action, but equality was more important than the repercussions that often occur from combating injustice. There was an overwhelming amount of signed and notarized affidavits from the students involved in the organized testing of restaurants.¹⁶⁶ Their commitment to equality was proven through their persistence and organized campaign of letter writing and documenting their experiences. White participants in the organization, also registered signed affidavits, as witnesses, as a show of support to ending discrimination.

Another interesting aspect to the tests, was the behavior of restaurant owners, waiters and waitresses towards groups of African American and white students sitting together. In this case service was refused and at times the waiter would inform the white student that if he/she wished to receive service he/she could. In any case it was quite

¹⁶⁵“Notes on CORE Workshop—Wally Nelson,” (Folder S-CHRC Organizational Notes and Minutes), Tiebout Papers.

¹⁶⁶“Signed Affidavits,” 1946, 1947, 1950, 1953, Tiebout Papers. (Note: Edna Daly, James Nigel Murray, Melvin Humphrey, Virginia Murray, John M. Wells, James Seaberry, Kurt Schelesinger, Philip Schug, Verna Volz, Minnie Coon Wisegarver, Smith Wisegarver, Helen F. Welsey, Eloise Ellison, Charles Shattuck, Frances Gulick, Ellen Frazer, Alice H. Lee, Vivian P. Cotton, Lorraine Page, Paul Daniels, Bruce H. Coultas, James L. Snell, Frances Snell, Harold Barefield, Morris Rubin, Richard A. Overby, Sydney Samuel Rappapart, Norman Levine, Martha H. Simer, Carol Weinbauer, Harry M. Tiebout Jr., Marion McMEn, Paul Burt, Hildred Lucas, Juliet Regensberg, Natalie Newman, Rose Bourgin, Irene Dawson, Marie Hochmuth, Herbert J. Doran, Lila Wenig Letchinger, Charles Gaines, Ruby Wispe, Gerald M. Moser, Edith Usry, Mason Wilkes Jr., Sidney Freedman, Hermon Woods, Stephanie Stiefel).

clear that the campus restaurants were not going to serve African Americans, and if they did it would be in the back of the restaurant, or for carry out service.¹⁶⁷

The result from these tests of discrimination proved what most African Americans already knew, their second class citizenship. Although students were encouraged to exhaust all alternatives prior to legal action, often times the law was their only recourse.

Deluxe was one of the restaurants that became a part of a civil suit. The March 8, 1955

Daily Illini reported:

Jeanette Lasswell and Ora Lasswell, owners of the tavern, have a suit pending against them because they refused to serve James Montgomery, Negro law student on Feb. 9.¹⁶⁸

This is very important to note because this demonstrates the persistence in discrimination on the part of this particular restaurant. Deluxe continued to discriminate against African Americans in spite of approximately ten years of work by the Illinois Attorney General, States Attorney of Champaign County, the Student Community Interracial Committee, and particular African American students. Several civil suits were filed during this time. However, there is evidence of only two cases appearing in court and both times the court ruled in favor of the restaurant owner.¹⁶⁹

Theaters

Owners of local theaters refused admission to African Americans, and when these students or community members were admitted they were escorted to a segregated

¹⁶⁷“Signed Affidavits,” Tiebout Papers.

¹⁶⁸“Article,” 1941-1963, Tiebout Papers, (Folder “Restaurants 1953).

¹⁶⁹“Affidavit Testing Report,” Tiebout Papers.

section of the theater, reserved for “Negroes.”¹⁷⁰ This type of discrimination was a long-standing practice in Champaign County. Many African American residents refused to attend movies altogether. Mrs. Gray remembers that African Americans could not go to the theaters, and if they did go they were segregated.¹⁷¹ She reminds us of an important fact to remember. African American students in general, as well as community residents, were acutely aware of the various forms of racial discrimination on and off campus. Hence, untold numbers of them must have responded by avoiding situations that would humiliate them or place them at risk. The Student Community Interracial Committee, however saw the local theaters as another area that needed to be addressed and began their anti-racist campaign which included documenting acts of discrimination. On January 22nd, 1948, Paul Daniels entered the Rialto Theater and purchased a ticket from the ticket booth. He described what followed as he attempted to acquire a seat in the theater:

Upon presentation of the ticket I was refused admittance to the Theater. I refused to be seated upstairs in a segregated section and told the ticket taker that I wanted a seat on the main floor. Three persons had preceded me and were seated on the main floor. When I did not go upstairs the ticket taker called the ushers, and five of the usher force blocked my path. A city policeman, Patrolmen Decker, badge no. 57 of the Champaign force, was called into the theater. He was told to arrest me and three of the ushers were swearing to the fact that 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 Theater and handed the ticket back to me. I refused to take the ticket back and he the policeman refused to let me enter the Theater. All other persons were being seated on the main floor meanwhile and they still refused to let me take a seat.

Upon questioning the policeman, it was found out that he was off duty as far as the city was concerned. His shift is from 7 a.m. to 3 p.m. He works for the Theater (Rialto) to pick up extra money every evening and his duties seem to be

¹⁷⁰“SCIC Theaters,” 1946-1948, Tiebout Papers.

¹⁷¹Lucy Gray interview.

those of an intimidator.¹⁷²

Mr. Daniels was one of many African American students who suffered humiliation at the hands of Jim Crow practices in the theaters. The SCIC developed a file of signed affidavits, all attesting to the discriminatory acts of the Rialto and Orpheum Theaters.¹⁷³

Discrimination was not only towards African Americans but white patrons as well. There were flyers, regarding discrimination in movie theaters, disseminated around town and campus with guidelines to follow when attending the movie theaters. Many people that were involved in the interracial committee were white and took part in the testing campaigns. It is not clear whether or not all individuals that signed the affidavits were a part of the Student Community Interracial Committee. On Saturday, January 18th, 1947, there was an unusual occurrence. Most people in the area were accustomed to the Jim Crow practices within the movie theaters, but none were so prepared for the ushers to refuse seating to white patrons, who wished to be seated in the “Negro” section, at the Orpheum. Harold Asher wrote in his signed affidavit:

The usher told us that there were single seats available to our left. At the Left rear section, we found a large group of vacant seats.

We tried to seat ourselves, but the usher who informed us that the vacant seats were reserved intercepted us. One of our party (Harold Asher) asked the usher for whom were the seats reserved. The reply was that the seats were reserved for Negroes.

The above member of our party stated that the party did not mind sitting with the Negroes, but the usher still would not seat us. The usher stated perhaps that negroes would not like whites sitting in the section. The same member of our

¹⁷²“Affidavits”, Paul Daniels, Tiebout Papers (Folder “SCIC Theater Affidavits).

¹⁷³“Signed Affidavits,” Tiebout Papers, (Folder “SCIC Theater Affidavits). (Note: Paul W. Daniels, James Snell, Peggy Stewart, Edward L. Bolden, Jr., Ester Landin, Linzie Jones, Harold Asher, Lotte F. Glicker, Harvey Kagan, Ingeborg Moser, Charles E. Chambers, Bert V. Watkins, Emmett W. Bashful, Irene A. Puckett, Frances Snell, Paul Lasakow, R.C. Bourgin, Gerald Moser, Orville A. Mix Jr., Phyllis Kagan, George Ehrlich, James A. Schmit, Melvin P. Strauss, Seymour Covenson, Albert Shanker).

party spoke again, asking if we could be seated if we secured the permission of the Negroes sitting in the adjacent seats. The usher again told us that we could not sit in the section. When we became persistent we were referred to the manager.

When we approached the manager we explained the situation to him. He told us that we could not sit in the Negro section. We asked why. The manager explained that certain white people do not like to sit with Negroes, and that the Negroes had consented to having a section of the theater reserved for them. He explained further that if Negroes saw whites sitting in the reserved section, the former would cause a great deal of moving around by whites. He ended by saying that if we wished, we could get our money back.

One of us (Harold Asher) asked if there was a city ordinance segregating whites from Negroes. The manager replied that it was a custom. Another member of our party (Albert Shanker) reminded the manager that the policy of segregation was in violation of a state civil liberties law. The manager replied, "What are you trying to be, Boy Scout?" The other member of our party (Seymour Coverson) retorted that we were only trying to be manly.

At this point we got our money and left.¹⁷⁴

The practice of seating any patrons in specific sections, African American or white was practiced regularly. In fact it was the custom, according to theater workers.

Some theater workers addressed the issue of white patrons sitting in the section for African Americans as a temporary situation. They felt as though it was a test, a way to unweave the social fabric of Jim Crow practices. One white couple tried again to be seated in the African American section and was encountered by an usher that clearly resented the notion of testing. On Sunday, January 26, 1947 Mr. and Mrs. Glicker found themselves in an awkward situation, and upon the insistence of the usher, at the Orpheum, acquiesced to the demands.

Upon entering the lobby of the theater we proceeded to find seats. Seats were available on the left-hand side aisle. We started to seat ourselves about the 3rd row from the rear in the left-hand aisle. The usher stopped us and said the seats

¹⁷⁴"Signed Affidavit," Tiebout Papers, (Folder "SCIC Theater Affidavits 1946-48").

were reserved. I asked if reserved tickets were sold. He said no. I then asked to be seated. He said we could not and that we should see the manager. Mr. Glicker and I went into the lobby seeking the manager, but since we did not find him we went back to the left-hand aisle and told the usher to bring the manager. We seated ourselves in the rear left section. A moment later the manager appeared. We rose, and spoke to him in the aisle. He told us not to sit where we had been as the section was reserved for colored people. He said it was not fair of us to take seats that belong to the colored people; that if we did they would have no other place to sit as the people object to sitting next to them. We said we did not object sitting next to colored people. He said we were only here temporarily and did not realize the conditions nor have to put up with them as he did and that it was a necessary policy to keep the colored people separated from the white. He said that if we did not want to sit someplace else we could get our money refunded. He turned and left. We proceeded to the 3rd and 4th row from the front of the left-hand aisle and seated ourselves there to see the film.¹⁷⁵

The manager admitted that this was a policy, and that their assumed temporary status of student meant nothing to the customs of the town. Despite his rude disposition one thing the white patrons were given was an honest answer. Most African American patrons were not accorded the same treatment, but again that was the custom in the Land of Lincoln.

The Orpheum boasted its use of segregation and often referred to it as the policy or custom, where the Rialto was often quoted as saying that no such policy existed, despite the segregated sections in the theater. Joseph A. Harris was told by the manager and usher that no policy existed concerning the seating of African American patrons. The usher clearly stated:

“Seats to the left.” This meant upstairs & I had no intent of going upstairs today or any other time I didn’t desire. I then asked him “What’s wrong with the main floor?” To this he said nothing but just stood still with a blank look on his face. I then said, “suppose I don’t care to sit upstairs?” To this he said nothing but nervously handed me my ticket. My purchase had been refunded was the conclusion that I drew from this reaction. I then asked, “What is the seating

¹⁷⁵“Signed Affidavit,” Tiebout Papers, (Folder “SCIC Theater Affidavit 1946-48”).

policy of this theater?" To this he said, "We have no policy."¹⁷⁶

It was obvious there was a policy and one that would not be compromised, in any situation. This attitude characterized the treatment of African Americans when they attempted to attend the movies.

Besides the formal testing of theaters by members of the interracial committee, some of them embarked on a formal letter campaign. This letter writing effort was a part of their guidelines concerning actions to be taken against discrimination. In a letter to the Rialto Theater Manager dated 20 April 1948 George Ehrlich wrote:

Dear Sir:

We have noticed that there has been an effort to reintroduce the Jim Crow section in your theater by the practice of directing Negroes to the balcony when there is ample room for seating on the main floor. We should like to remind you that such practice is against the law. For your convince the pertinent parts are as follows:

Illinois Revised Statues, 1947 Criminal code, Paragraph # 125 "All persons within the jurisdiction of said State of Illinois shall be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of the accommodation, advantages, facilities and privileges of...theaters...subject only to the conditions and limitations established by laws and applicable alike to all citizens..." Paragraph 126 cites the penalty for the violation of the above statue.

If the practice of directing Negroes to the balcony, while adequate seating exists on the main floor, is continued then the matter will be referred to the State's Attorney, who is empowered to enforce the law cited.

For the Student-Community Interracial Committee

Sincerely yours,

George Ehrlich.¹⁷⁷

The letter was very clear in its intent and even indicated that the practice of segregation

¹⁷⁶"Signed Affidavit," Tiebout Papers, (Folder "SCIC Theater Affidavits 1946-48").

¹⁷⁷George Ehrlich to Manager, Rialto Theater, 20 April 1948, Tiebout Papers, (Folder "SCIC

had reappeared. The reappearance suggests that there was some time when Jim Crow seating was not utilized. However it was clear that the Rialto Theater still practiced segregation and that it was not going to be tolerated by members of the committee. Edward L. Bolden Jr. wrote the State's Attorney requesting that something be done regarding the segregation that still existed within the Rialto Theater.

Segregation in movie theaters was common practice. The Champaign, Urbana area was full of segregationist practices, and the general attitude of white business owners was one of contempt for African Americans and any whites involved in the struggle for racial equality. One usher summed the attitude up quite "nicely." He said, "I have enough trouble with the colored without you white students starting trouble."¹⁷⁸

Barbershops

Discrimination not only surfaced in the areas of housing, dining, and movie theaters but other aspects of life as well. Local white barbers were unwilling to cut the hair of African American men.¹⁷⁹ As a result of this unwillingness, faculty member and long time supporter and member of the SCIC and SCHRC, Professor Harry M. Tiebout drafted the Barbershop Story between the years of 1952-1954. It is a story of commitment, little triumph, betrayal and ignorance. This period in the University's history is discouraging. There had been previous protests in theaters and restaurants, all with quite a bit of success. However, as late as 1950, despite the fact that sustained protests against such racism had occurred in the 1940's, there was still open

Theater Affidavits 1946-48").

¹⁷⁸"Signed Affidavit," Tiebout Papers, (Folder "SCIC Theater Affidavits 1946-48").

discrimination. The threat of legal action, and common decency had no appeal to the white barbers of the 1950's. Even those shops that openly supported J.C. Caroline, the University's All American football player, by posting his picture in their window would not accept him as a customer. It was clear that there was a particular line of demarcation that could not be crossed without even greater resistance from white businessmen. By the mid 1950's African Americans for the most part could eat in campus town, attend movies, but could not have direct contact with white barbers in their shops. One barber put it quite frankly, "there was a case in Ohio that showed barbering was a personal service, that they had rights, and that the law did not apply to them."¹⁸⁰ The law that, according to some barbers, did not apply to them was very clear in its language. The law clearly stated:

Smith-Hurd, Chapter 38, Criminal Code

An act to protect all citizens in their civil and legal rights, and fixing a penalty for violation to the same. (Approved June 10, 1885)

125. All persons entitled to equal enjoyment of accommodations-Discrimination in price account of race or color prohibited. Section 1. All persons within the jurisdiction of said State of Illinois shall be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of the accommodation, advantages, facilities, and privileges of inns, restaurants, eating houses, hotels, soda fountains, soft drink parlors, concerts, cafes, bicycle rinks, elevators, ice cream parlors or rooms, railroads, omnibuses, bus stages, aeroplanes, street cars, boats, funeral hearses and public conveyances on land, water or air, and all other places of public accommodations and amusement, subject only to the conditions and limitations established by laws and applicable alike to all citizens; nor shall there be any discrimination on account of race or color in the price to be charged and paid for lots or graves in any cemetery or place for burying the dead. (As amended by act approved July 8, 1937, p. 485)

126 PENALTY. Section 2. That any person who shall violate any of the provisions of the foregoing section by denying to any citizen, except for reasons

¹⁷⁹"SCHRC Barbershop Propaganda," 1953-1955, Tiebout Papers.

¹⁸⁰"Preliminary Draft of the Barbershop Story: 1952-1954," Harry M. Tiebout Papers, Series 15/16/21, Box 3, (Folder "Barbershop Project, Minutes, Photos, 1954"), University of Illinois Archives, Urbana, Illinois.

applicable alike to all citizens of every race and color, and regardless of color or race, the full enjoyment of any of the accommodations, advantages, facilities or privileges in said section enumerated, or by aiding or inciting such denial, shall for every offense, forfeit and pay a sum of not less than twenty-five dollars (\$25) nor more than five hundred dollars (\$500) to the person aggrieved by thereby, to be recovered in any court of competent jurisdiction, in the county where said offense was committed; and shall also, for every such offense be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof, shall be fined not to exceed five hundred dollars (\$500), or shall be imprisoned not more than one year or both. (As amended by act approved July 8, 1935, p. 708)¹⁸¹

The local white barbers may have tried desperately to usurp the letter of the law, but it was clear, they were in violation, and as a consequence a civil suit was brought against one of them.

The unifying theme to the barbershop problem was one of solidarity, either voluntary or involuntary. The barbers were united in the fight to keep African Americans out of their shops. Even at the suggestion of the committee to subsidize their pay for cooperation, the white barbers flatly refused to cooperate. There were one or two barbers that were at least willing to entertain the notion of serving African Americans but the opposition was so great they feared retaliation from the opposing barbers.¹⁸² The leader of the barbershop pack was Lee Ingwersen.

Mr. Ingwersen was the most vocal of all barbers. Whenever meetings were called he was the first to be there or the one to encourage the others not to attend. The SCHRC and the Racial Equality Committee of the YMCA often contacted him for his support in their campaign to end barbershop discrimination. He was viewed as the solution to the problem. Mr. Ingwersen was a difficult individual to dissuade from his discriminatory

¹⁸¹“Civil Rights Law,” Tiebout Papers, Box 3, (Folder “SCIC Urbana Swimming Pool Su 1947).

¹⁸²“Preliminary Draft of the Barbershop Story: 1952-1954,” Harry M. Tiebout Papers, Series 15/16/21, Box 3, (Folder “ Barbershop Project, Minutes, Photos, 1954”), University of Illinois Archives,

practices. In fact it is not clear that during this period he attempted to change, until there was a pending lawsuit. When asked what he would do if a “Negro” entered his shop and asked for a haircut he responded confidently, “try to embarrass him so much that he’ll never come back.”¹⁸³ He was not the exception to the rule.

Other barbers were also addressed and the majority of them replied in the same fashion. Their unified response was that; (1) it is a personal service and they have the right to refuse, (2) It’s against Union rules to serve Negroes. (3) We don’t have the equipment. (4) It takes longer to cut a Negro’s hair; therefore, we lose money on Negroes. (5) We don’t want to take business away from the Negro barbers on the North End. (6) Negroes don’t want white barbers to cut their hair. (7) We’ll lose white customers if we serve Negroes: “You can’t have mixed trade.”¹⁸⁴ These responses made it clear that white barbers were vehemently opposed to serving African Americans.

These kinds of responses received mixed reactions from people in the community and students. One former student athlete commented, when reminded about the incident that occurred with former football star J.C. Caroline not being able to receive a haircut in one of the local white shops, “why would he do that, because he should have known.”¹⁸⁵ Upon further probing the athlete remembered that he,

was not a part of that and the reason was, well there were barbershops down on First Street...that’s the one I used to always go to, I don’t know what made him do that, but the barbershop out there on the north end of town was just the place to

Urbana, Illinois.

¹⁸³“Preliminary Draft of the Barbershop Story: 1952-1954,” Harry M. Tiebout Papers, Series 15/16/21, Box 3, (Folder “ Barbershop Project, Minutes, Photos, 1954”), University of Illinois Archives, Urbana, Illinois.

¹⁸⁴“Preliminary Draft of the Barbershop Story: 1952-1954,” Harry M. Tiebout Papers, Series 15/16/21, Box 3, (Folder “ Barbershop Project, Minutes, Photos, 1954”), University of Illinois Archives, Urbana, Illinois.

¹⁸⁵Willie Williams interview.

go, you know. The Black athletes they got a bargain on their haircuts too and sometimes if you had a good meet or something they would cut your hair for free. Once you have established a relationship with a place like that why do the other thing unless you are with a group that's trying to make a statement and I think at that particular time evidently JC was trying to make a statement. He was from the South, so, that might have been part of his motivation, I don't know.¹⁸⁶

Perhaps it was Mr. Caroline's southern attitude, being in the North he may have felt more comfortable challenging the system, or perhaps he never really was trying to prove a point but simply receive a haircut. The historical record clearly shows that his first attempt was part of testing campaign, and he even tried a second time to no avail, but soon afterwards he contacted the committee and requested that they not disseminate any more flyers with his name and "begged" them to leave him out of the project. Doug Mills, Director of Intercollegiate Athletics and Professor of P.E. for Men, and another unknown person had told Mr. Caroline "to stay out of barbershop business."¹⁸⁷ As evidenced by the history of the barbershop project, Mr. Caroline pulled his support from the testing campaign. After Mr. Caroline met with these gentlemen he seemed quite confused and in a state of dilemma.¹⁸⁸ Finally the end result was his pulling support and an effort was made by the Faculty Senate to suppress any flyers or information until after football season.¹⁸⁹ This did not constitute the first instance of persuasion, or better yet, coercion.

¹⁸⁶Willie Williams interview.

¹⁸⁷"Preliminary Draft of the Barbershop Story: 1952-1954," Harry M. Tiebout Papers, Series 15/16/21, Box 3, (Folder "Barbershop Project, Minutes, Photos, 1954"), University of Illinois Archives, Urbana, Illinois.

¹⁸⁸Harry M. Tiebout to Raymond Eliot, 9 November 1953, Harry M. Tiebout Papers, Series 15/16/21, Box 3, (Folder "SCHRC Barbershop Correspondence 1954"), University of Illinois Archives, Urbana, Illinois.

¹⁸⁹"Preliminary Draft of the Barbershop Story: 1952-1954," Harry M. Tiebout Papers, Series 15/16/21, Box 3, (Folder "Barbershop Project, Minutes, Photos, 1954"), University of Illinois Archives, Urbana, Illinois.

Early on in the barbershop history, the barbers resented being told to end discrimination. It was their belief that they were free to do as they chose. In one meeting between the barbers and concerned citizens, one barber said to Harry Tiebout, “If he did not lay off they would break the windows of his house, beat up his wife and children, and run him out of town on a rail.”¹⁹⁰ Another barber when referring to cutting the hair of African Americans replied, “and 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.”¹⁹¹

Threats and the potential to harm various individuals involved in the barbershop campaign did not interfere with the protests. The SCHRC and occasionally the YWCA forged on to break new ground. They were met with all sorts of opposition, but they continued to fight and enlisted the support of the Congress on Racial Equality’s (CORE) National Field Representative, Wallace F. Nelson. Mr. Nelson was consulted on numerous occasions concerning the barbershop project and he offered his support and practical knowledge about protests. Mr. Nelson instructed the SCHRC to continue to picket peacefully, hand out leaflets, and to test the campus area barbers.¹⁹²

In spite of the hardships faced by African American students, they persevered. These students found ways to cope with the discrimination they experienced and advance academically. Their graduation rates and academic achievement are more remarkable given the problems they encountered. These students were exemplary.

¹⁹⁰“Preliminary Draft of the Barbershop Story: 1952-1954,” Harry M. Tiebout Papers, Series 15/16/21, Box 3, (Folder “ Barbershop Project, Minutes, Photos, 1954”), University of Illinois Archives, Urbana, Illinois.

¹⁹¹“Preliminary Draft of the Barbershop Story: 1952-1954,” Harry M. Tiebout Papers, Series 15/16/21, Box 3, (Folder “ Barbershop Project, Minutes, Photos, 1954”), University of Illinois Archives, Urbana, Illinois.

¹⁹²Harry M. Tiebout to Wallace Nelson, Tiebout Papers.

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF AFRICAN AMERICAN STUDENTS

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 second class treatment based on that shared characteristic. Beyond these characteristics they were dissimilar in vital respects.

Data and Sources

Transcripts were collected for a total of one thousand, four hundred, twenty-nine students (1,429), that attended the University of Illinois between the years 1945-1955. This included all African American students who were still enrolled in 1945 irrespective of when they first matriculated and all those who began in 1955 regardless of when they completed their degrees. The initial search began by utilizing Eddie Russell's list of students compiled for the Black Alumni Ex-Student Project. After that list had been exhausted, yearbooks were used to identify African American students by sight, and their names were recorded. The initial survey of the yearbook involved looking immediately for the pictures of the African American sororities and fraternities, then organizations, then senior class photos and finally by talking to various people that attended the

University and asking if there were names of people they remembered but did not appear on the list.

The number of students identified as African American is fairly accurate. The exception may be the cases when African Americans were not photographed, or were missed in the visual survey of the yearbook, or due to basic human error. However all searches were double-checked and in some cases triple checked. Once the list of names was completed, then the next task was to locate the transcripts and xerox them for the database.

The transcripts contained the following information: name, vault number, date entered, matriculated, place and date of birth, college, curriculum, name of parent or guardian, degree, degree date, address of parent or guardian, school last attended, resident status, high school accepted from, if not a transfer from another college, high school courses, high school rank, college courses, semester grade point averages (in some cases), and some contained various notes concerning academic status, probation, and qualifying examinations. This information with the exception of actual high school and college courses and academic notes was entered into the database. In some cases there were name and no transcripts. The reason for no transcripts could be; (1) the name was incorrect thus rendering it impossible to locate a transcript, or (2) the transcript had been misplaced by the University. In either case the name was kept in a separate file and not used in the database, unless there was another document that would indicate the student did in fact exist, for example an employment file. The number of students that were missing a transcript was three hundred eighty-seven (387), leaving a final total of one thousand forty-two (1,042) actual transcripts collected. There were 352 women, 677 men

and 13 unknown. The unknown were unable to be identified by either name or records that contained information about gender. The names became the way to contact and connect people to events and were used for the next step of collecting employment records.

Initially employment records were collected using the names from the transcript list. The employment records were alphabetized as was the original name list and used to locate those students who filled out employment applications. During the survey of the employment records it was discovered that the years prior to 1945 contained information about race and color. This demanded that a second search be done on the basis of identifying African American students by those two categories. The survey of employment records yielded a total of six hundred fifty-three students.

The information contained in the employment records is as follows: gender, marital status, high school scholastic average, college average, name, date, home address, county, race, color, religious preference, date of birth, place of birth, citizenship status, physical defects, school last attended, when last attended, vocational goal, name of parent or guardian, address of parent or guardian, occupation of parent or guardian, employer, number of brother or sisters, number in family who are independent, number who contribute to family income, references, experience, details of work experience and training, editorial comments on appearance, and in some cases habits. The information utilized from the employment files was that on marital status, parental occupation, religious preference, and any duplicate information that may have been missing in the transcripts but present in the employment records. This information was added to the database for each student.

Table 4. Number of students who filled out an employment application, University of Illinois, 1945-1955

	Female	Male	Total
No	152 (43%)	233 (34%)	385 (37%)
Yes	200 (57%)	444 (66%)	644 (63%)
Total	352 (100%)	677 (100%)	1029 (100%)

Source: Student Employment Folders, Series 41/4/5, University of Illinois Archives.

The number 644 represent those students that had employment folders.

There was a small group of detailed card files that existed for African American women only. It is not clear why these files were not developed for the rest of the student body. These files contained pictures of the women, and the same information found in the transcripts and employment files. Additionally there were substantive remarks about the women, and student rating scales. The number (n) was small and there was an inconsistency in the amount of information recorded for each woman in comparison to the actual student population in this study. These files were only used for reference and in the historical text. They were not entered as a part of the database.

Analysis Strategy

The next step involved making sense out of this data. The data were entered into Questionnaire Programming Language (QPL), where parameters are set for incorrect answers that reduces human error significantly. Each student was assigned an identification number that would link the student to other pieces of information in the merging process. The program was then merged with the list of names in Microsoft Excel, using the identification numbers. Finally a database emerged with full demographic characteristics by name and identification number. This enabled all

information to be converted into an SPSS file. In order to examine the role of parents' occupations, religion and curriculum in relation to students' academic success, it was necessary to construct these variables and assign numeric values to each category of those variables. This process is described below.

Using the 1990 Census Occupational Classification Codes (COCC), I coded students written responses of their parent's occupation into numerical ones. These numeric codes each represented a specific occupational category with a three-digit code. There were a total of 317 written responses for parental occupation and 506 actual codes that existed in the COCC. These were then grouped into seven major categories. The categories for these data are as follows: (1) managerial and professional specialty occupations, (2) technical sales and administrative support occupations, (3) service occupations, (4) farming, forestry and fishing occupations, (5) precision production, craft and repair occupations, (6) operators, fabricators and laborers, and (7) military occupations.

The University of Illinois Program of Study Book was used to collapse academic majors into the appropriate colleges or discipline. For example, there is one college of Agriculture but it was important to make the distinction between agriculture generally and home economics, which is housed in the college of Agriculture, but at that time was a primarily female discipline. There were a total of 847 responses to the curriculum question. Many were repeated but typed differently. It was necessary to recode the same responses first and then assign them to the various colleges. There are seventeen major field categories, and they are as follows: (1) agriculture, (2) agriculture-home economics, (3) applied life studies, (4) commerce and business administration, (5) communications,

(6) education, (7) engineering, (8) fine and applied arts, (9) liberal arts and sciences, (10) life sciences, (11) physical sciences, (12) social sciences, (13) humanities, (14) medicine, (15) labor and industrial relations, (16) library science, and (17) law.

The final constructed was religion. There were a total of six hundred fifty-five (655) responses to the religion question and they were distributed over thirty-eight categories (38). These thirty-eight categories were then collapsed into four categories initially, Baptist, Catholic, Methodist and Protestant (unspecified).

The analyses were based primarily on examining the association of parental occupation, religion and gender with academic outcomes: graduation rates, college grade point average, high school percentile rank and academic field. The results are discussed below and presented in tabular form. The tables will be used to further depict the reality of the lives of African American students.

The key for each table includes the source of the information presented. It provides the source of information and the number of students that are represented in the table. In many cases there were students who did not have complete information in their records, due to their lack of responding, or the lack of recording by the University person in charge of record keeping. In any event, each table is unique in terms of its sources of information and the number of students with available information, and should be read in that way. The next section primarily discusses issues that were taken strictly from the data analysis. Where data may be missing it will be noted in the table or source of information. Overall, students reported quite a bit of information about themselves and that information was recorded.

The data represented here cover a ten-year period. Each table has an independent

data source. These characteristics are presented for descriptive purposes, providing a closer look at African American students during this postwar period at the University of Illinois.

Social Background

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 that whose sex was not reported, because the information was not present (Table 5). 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 I with African American students (Appendix D).

Table 5. Distribution of students by sex, University of Illinois, 1945-1955

	%	n
Female	33.8	352
Male	65.0	677
Unknown ^a	1.2	13
Total	100.0	1,042

Source: Student Transcripts, Series 25/3/4, and Student Employment Folders, 41/4/5, University of Illinois Archives.

It was not uncommon for the men to outnumber the women due to the increase in male enrollment under the GI Bill. Table 6 presents the averages for age of entry, age at receipt of degree and for years to degree for male and female in this sample of students. Typically men entered college at age 21 as opposed to the women who entered at age 19,

^a Missing corresponds to those transcripts that did not have information on graduation status.

although it typically took them longer to finish their college courses.

Table 6. Average student age at entry, age at degree date and years to degree, University of Illinois, 1945-1955

	Ave. Entry Age	Ave. Degree Age	Ave. Yrs. to Degree
Female	19	23	3.81
Male	21	25	4.21

Source: Student Transcripts, Series 25/3/4, and Student Employment Folders, 41/4/5, University of Illinois Archives. These averages are based on those students that had a combination of birth year, matriculation date and graduation information on their transcripts.

Table 7 presents the data on graduation rates for African American students by sex. Despite the differences in age and time taken to complete the degree there was an overall graduation rate of 58.3% for African American students. Given the fact 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. Sixty-eight percent of graduates were men as opposed to about thirty-two percent for women.

Table 7. Graduation status of students, 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.

Among graduates the grade point averages of men compared to 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. Table 8 presents the data on the overall average high school percentile rank of African American students, by sex over a ten-year period.

Table 8. High school percentile rank of students by sex, University of Illinois, 1945-1955

	%tile	n
Female	73	184
Male	64	317
Unknown	67	5
Total	67	505

Source: Student Transcripts, Series 25/3/4, University of Illinois Archives. The number 505 represents those students that had high school percentile information reported on their transcripts.

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

Table 9. 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	.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 10 presents the distribution of high school percentile rank by parental occupational field. The farming occupation has the highest percentile rank, however the total number of students with parents in this field is relatively small. The most significant finding here is that students with parents in managerial, professional fields had an average percentile rank of 73 over a ten-year period.

Table 10. High school percentile rank of students by parental occupational field, University of Illinois, 1945-1955

	Total		Female		Male	
	%tile	n	%tile	n	%tile	n
Managerial, Professional	73	42	86	15	66	26
Technical, Sales, Adm.	65	45	82	14	58	31
Service	65	34	76	11	61	23
Farming	77	6	99	99	66	4
Precision, Production, Repair	65	37	63	8	65	29
Operators, Laborers	65	37	66	11	65	26
Military	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	67	201	77	60	63	139

Source: Student Transcripts, Series 25/3/4 and Student Employment Folders, Series 41/4/5, University of Illinois Archives. The number 201 represents the total number of students that reported parental occupation on their employment folder and had high

school percentile rank information on their transcript.

Table 11 presents the marital status of African American students over a ten-year period. Male enrollment outweighed female enrollment and created a similar pattern in marital status. However the proportion of men that were married, 22%, compared with women, 12%, suggests that men were more likely to be married at this time.

Table 11. Marital status of students, University of Illinois, 1945-1955

	Total		Female		Male	
	%	n	%	n	%	n
Single	81	517	88	173	78	336
Married	19	121	12	23	22	97
Total	100	638	100	196	100	433

Source: Student Employment Folders, Series 41/4/5, University of Illinois Archives. The number 638 represents the total number of students who reported marital status on their employment folder.

Table 12 and 13 presents the full and 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 of Protestant. For reasons of parsimony I was able to collapse the larger categories into smaller ones. Table 13 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

tended to far exceed the men. Additionally Table 14 presents data on high school percentile rank by religion. Women that designated Catholic as their preferred religion did significantly better than men.

Table 12. Student's broad religious preference, University of Illinois, 1945-1955

	%	n
Anglican/Episcopal	7.1	26
Bahai	.3	1
Baptist	27.4	101
Catholic	9.2	34
Christian	1.4	5
Christian Science	2.2	8
Church of Christ	.3	1
Congregationalist	1.1	4
Holiness	.5	2
Jehovah Witness	.3	1
Lutheran	1.4	5
Methodist	23.9	88
Non-Denominational	.5	2
Protestant (unspecified)	21.2	78
Presbyterian	2.7	10
None Listed	.5	2
Total	100.0	368

Source: Student Employment Folders, Series 41/4/5, University of Illinois Archives. The number 368 represents the total number of students who reported religious preference on their employment application.

Table 13. 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.

Table 14. High school percentile rank by religion, University of Illinois, 1945-1955

	Total		Female		Male	
	%tile	n	%tile	n	%tile	n
Baptist	60	26	67	9	56	17
Catholic	55	8	75	3	44	5
Methodist	61	26	59	9	61	17
Protestant (unspecified)	65	17	73	3	61	14
Total	60	77	68	68	56	53

Source: Student Transcript Files, Series 25/3/4, Student Employment Folders, Series 41/4/5, University of Illinois Archives. The number 78 represents the total number of students who reported religious preference on their employment application and had high school percentile rank information on their transcript.

Tables 15 and 16 address the issue of race and skin color. 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% and their race as “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 16 displays a small percentage of the African American student population utilizing the outdated “colored” or the word Black.

Table 15. Students self reported skin color, University of Illinois, 1945-1955

	Percent	Frequency
Black	10.8	38
Very Black	.2	1
Brown	46.4	162
Brown Skin	.8	3
Light Brown	4.0	14
Medium Brown	1.1	4
Dark Brown	3.1	11
Colored	6.8	24
Color	.2	1
Fair	.2	2
Light	2.0	7
Medium	.2	1
Dark	2.0	7
Copper	.2	1
Olive	.5	2
Tan	.5	2
Negro	12.0	42
Negroid	.2	1
White	.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.

Table 16. Students self reported race, University of Illinois, 1945-1955

	Percent	Frequency
African	.5	2
Afro-American	.2	1
American	1.7	7
Am. of African Descent	.2	1
Black	.2	1
Colored	2.0	8
Indian-Negro	.2	1
Indian Irish Negro	.2	1
Indian White Negro	.5	2
Irish-Dutch	.2	1
Irish	.2	1
Latin American	.2	1
Mixed	.2	1
Mulatto	.2	1
Negro-American Indian	.2	1
Negro-Brown	.2	1
Negro-Indian-French	.2	1
Negro	82.6	325
Negroid	3.3	13
Portuguese	.2	1
Swedish	.2	1
White	.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.

Curriculum

Table 17 displays the distribution of African American student academic fields over a ten-year period. There are several responses in Table 17 that indicate colleges as opposed to academic fields. For example LAS General refers to a college and that could include math, chemistry, biology etc. as an academic field. LAS General is by far the field with the greatest representation of African American students with a total of 38%,

followed by Engineering, Education, Medicine and Fine and Applied Arts. These are all very impressive fields and with the exception of Medicine, there was an overall graduation rate of at least 50% for each of the major fields. African American students that were enrolled in LAS General had a 57% graduation rate, Engineering 56%, Education 80% and Fine and Applied Arts 66%. This displays a real stability, as these were the averages over a ten-year period. When academic curriculum are investigated further, very few women are enrolled in the fields of Engineering, Fine and Applied Arts, Physical Sciences, Labor and Industrial Relations, and Agriculture, non Home Economics. Table 18 presents graduation rates of African American students within their respective fields of study and Table 19 displays the curriculum choices of African American students by parental occupation.

Table 17. Distribution of student academic fields, University of Illinois, 1945-1955

	Total		Female		Male	
	%	n	%	n	%	n
Agriculture	1.7	11	0		11	
Agriculture/Home Ec.	2.7	17	16		1	
Commerce/Business	1.7	11	6		5	
Communications	1.4	9	5		4	
Education	10.8	69	34		35	
Engineering	12.3	78	0		77	
Fine and Applied Arts	6.9	44	12		32	
LAS/General	38.8	247	127		118	
Life Sciences	1.1	7	0		6	
Physical Sciences	3.0	19	3		16	
Social Sciences	1.4	9	2		7	
Humanities	.8	5	2		3	
Medicine	10.7	68	28		39	
Labor and Industrial Rel.	.8	5	0		5	
Library Science	.5	3	2		1	
Law			3		31	
Total	100.0	636	240		391	

Source: Student Transcript Files, Series 25/3/4, University of Illinois Archives. The

number 636 represents those students who had academic field information on their transcripts.

Table 18. Distribution of academic fields by graduation percentages, University of Illinois, 1945-1955

	Female		Male		Total	
	%	n	%	n	%	n
Agriculture			82	11	82	11
Ag. /Home Econ.	56	16	100	1	59	17
Com./Business	33	6	60	5	45	11
Communications	60	5	50	4	56	9
Education	79	34	80	35	80	69
Engineering			56	77	56	77
FAA	50	12	72	32	66	44
LAS/General	55	127	61	118	57	57
Life Sciences			50	6	50	6
Physical Sciences	67	3	63	16	63	19
Social Sciences	100	2	100	7	100	9
Humanities	50	2	100	3	80	5
Medicine	32	28	54	39	46	67
LIR			60	5	60	5
Library Sciences	100	2	0	1	67	3
Law	0	3	48	31	44	34
Total	55	240	62	391	60	631

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

Table 19. Students curriculum by parental occupation, University of Illinois, 1945-1955

	Manager	Tech/Sale	Service	Farming	Repair	Laborer	Total
Ag			1	1		2	4
Ag/Home		5		1	1	2	9
Com/Bus	1	1	1	1			4
Commun	1		1		2		4
Educ	3	6	2	1	3	4	19
Engineer	5	6	6	2	5	4	28
FAA	3	6	1	1	3	5	19
LAS/Gen.	26	15	16	3	14	17	91
Life Sci	1	1	1				3
Phys Sci	1		3			2	6
Soc Sci	3		1			1	5
Human			2				2
Med	10	4	3	1	4	5	27
LIR	1						1
Lib Sci		1					1
Law	2	4	2		3	4	15
Total	57	49	40	11	35	46	238

Source: Student Transcripts Series, 25/3/4 and Student Employment Folders Series 41/4/5. The totals represent the total number of students that reported parental occupation on the employment records and had curriculum information on their transcript.

Academic Achievement

Table 20 displays the graduation status of African American students by gender. Men outnumber 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% were women and 68.5% were men. During this ten-year time period men were graduated at twice the rate of women over a ten-year period. Of these graduates Table 21 displays their marital status. Overwhelming 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 also.

Table 20. 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 21. 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.

Table 22 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.

Table 22. 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	.8	3
Library Sciences	.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.

Although men graduated disproportionately at a higher rate than women did, when the two groups are compared, the results are fascinating. The data present in Table 23 suggests that female graduates enrolled at the U of I 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 Affirmative Action

there was a record of successful academic achievement for African American students.

These students were able to negotiate a Jim Crow town.

Table 23. Final grade point average and high school percentile rank by gender, University of Illinois, 1945-1955

	Graduate				Non-Graduate			
	%Rnk		Final GPA		%Rnk		Final GPA	
	Ave.	n	Ave.	n	Ave.	n	Ave.	n
Female	84.03	90	3.63	136	61.81	94	2.89	108
Male	68.99	181	3.58	295	57.57	136	2.98	183

Source: Student Transcripts Series 25/3/4, University of Illinois Archives. These numbers represent those students who had high school percentile rank and final grade point average information on their transcripts.

African American students maintained a relatively consistent grade point average over the ten-year period. Table 24 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 (n) is too small to make an assumption based on the relationship between farming occupations and academic achievement.

Table 24. 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.

The data in Tables 25 and 26 present the distribution of graduation and final grade point average in relation to religious preference. The information in these two tables is highly suggestive of Catholics being more likely than Baptists, Protestant (unspecified) and Methodists to graduate from the University of Illinois, based on a small (n). This does raise many questions that warrant further investigation. One possible explanation for the high proportion of graduates that listed Catholic as their religion of choice could be a sense of a bifurcated experience with the integration of church and school.

Table 25. Graduates by religious preference, University of Illinois, 1945-1955

	Total		Female		Male	
	%	n	%	n	%	n
Baptist	60	53	60	15	61	38
Catholic	80	15	80	5	80	10
Methodist	60	52	47	19	66	32
Protestant (unspecified)	60	35	67	6	57	28
Total	62	155	58	45	63	108

Source: Student Transcript Files, Series 25/3/4, Student Employment Folders, Series

41/4/5, University of Illinois Archives. The number 155 represents the total number of students who reported religious preference on their employment application and had graduation information on their transcript.

Table 26. Final GPA by religion, University of Illinois, 1945-1955

	Total		Female		Male	
	GPA	n	GPA	n	GPA	n
Baptist	3.32	46	3.25	14	3.36	32
Catholic	3.26	13	3.23	5	3.29	8
Methodist	3.42	54	3.37	20	3.45	33
Protestant (unspecified)	3.37	32	3.70	6	3.29	25
Total	3.36	145	3.37	45	3.37	98

Source: Student Transcript Files, Series 25/3/4, Student Employment Folders, Series 41/4/5, University of Illinois Archives. The number 145 represents the total number of students who reported religious preference on their employment application and had grade point average information on their transcript.

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.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

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 the same as the Jim Crow South, full of racism and hatred. The difference was that if anything the North was more genteel.

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 accorded. 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 will that individual 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. 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 this information 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 lack of eating facilities that allowed African American patrons to dine. This was the year the Illini Union was built, and African American students were allowed to eat there.¹⁹³

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.

U of I 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. 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.

Liberalism was not about changing the views of a white dominated society. It was more about contending with a group a people that now coexisted with the larger

¹⁹³“History of SCIC, 1945-1951,” Tiebout Papers.

society and 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 is 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. Educate African Americans so that they are able to assist one another and develop their own individual networks, so as not to interfere with the mainstream ones that have been in place for hundreds of years.

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 Crown laws of the North, a set of laws that boasted the inferiority of African Americans.

African American students made vital errors in judgment, they assumed that their access meant a newfound equality. After all they were allowed to attend school without the assistance of the National Guard, there was no one to block the doorway of the

entrance, and, they did not have the threat of physical violence to interfere with their education. They were in the North and those sorts of things just did not occur. What then did these African American students have to bear in the absence of the old Jim Crow of the South? They had to bear the shame and humiliation of attending an institution that promoted education and equality, but they were overlooked daily, and often told 'we finally allowed you to eat and live on campus, what more could you possibly want, a haircut, to swim in the city pool.' Clearly Champaign, Urbana was not ready for full and equal access to all public accommodations. It was too soon.

Despite these less than comfortable surroundings, African American students were able to succeed in spite of the discrimination. The 58.3% 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 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 University.

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 at 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 under the insidious nature of racism. Race and racism operated as an organizing principle in the lives of African American students.

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

The strange career of Jim Crow may have impacted 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% 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. Irrespective of their high school rank, grade point average, intellect or character, they could not eat in

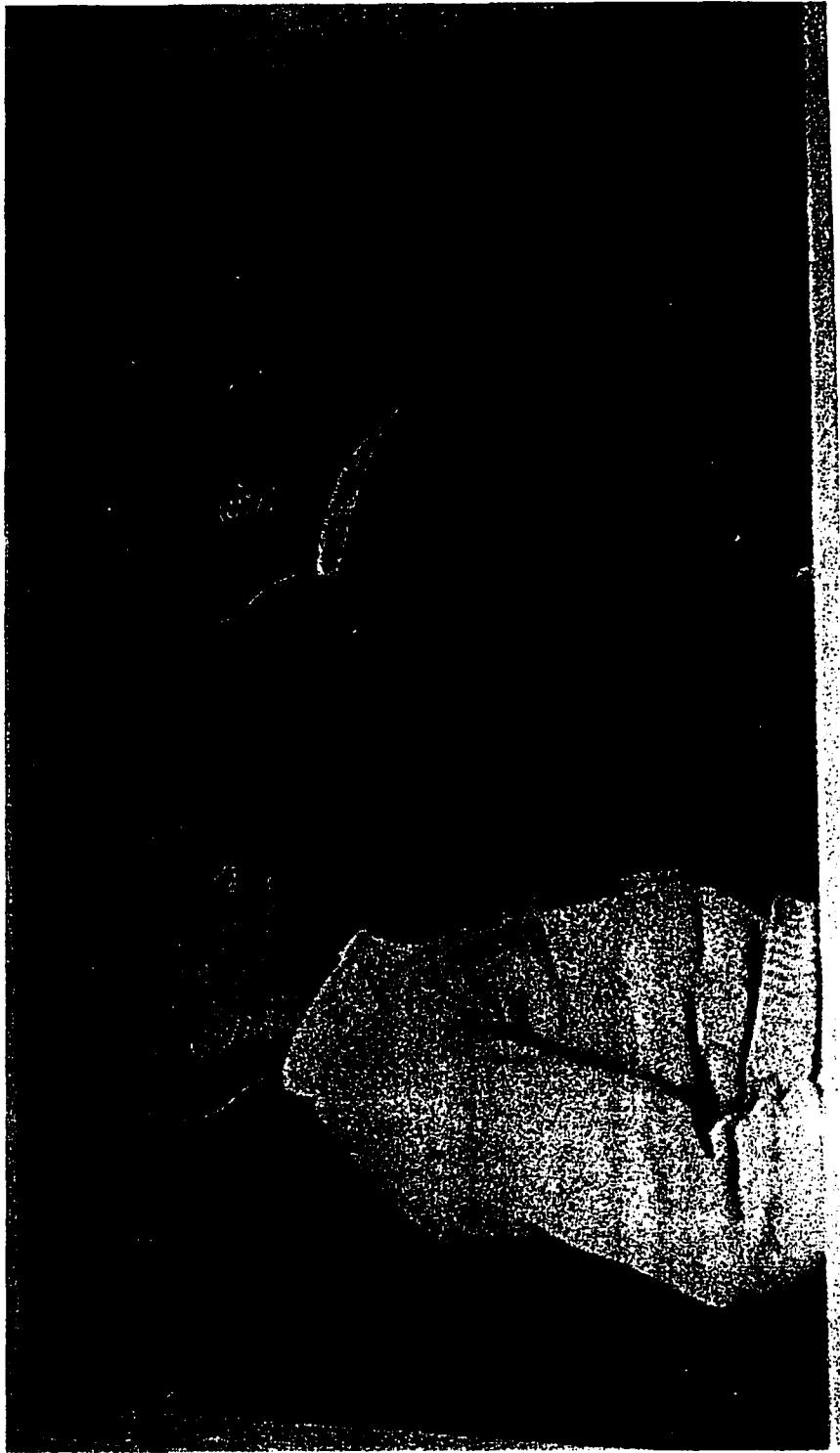
local restaurants, see a movie without discrimination or live in campus residence halls.

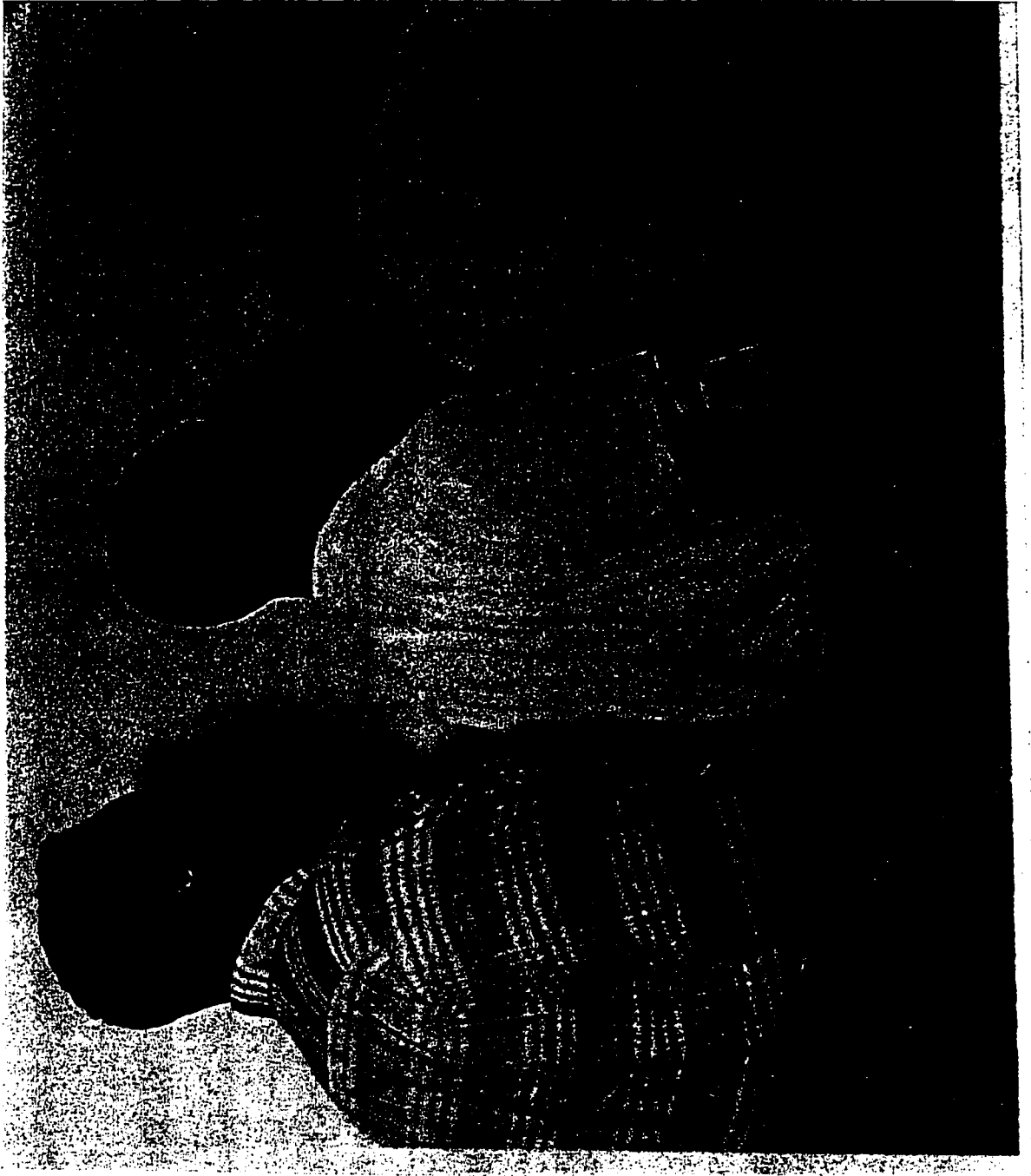
Academic excellence and social inequality were the pillars of their experience at UIUC.

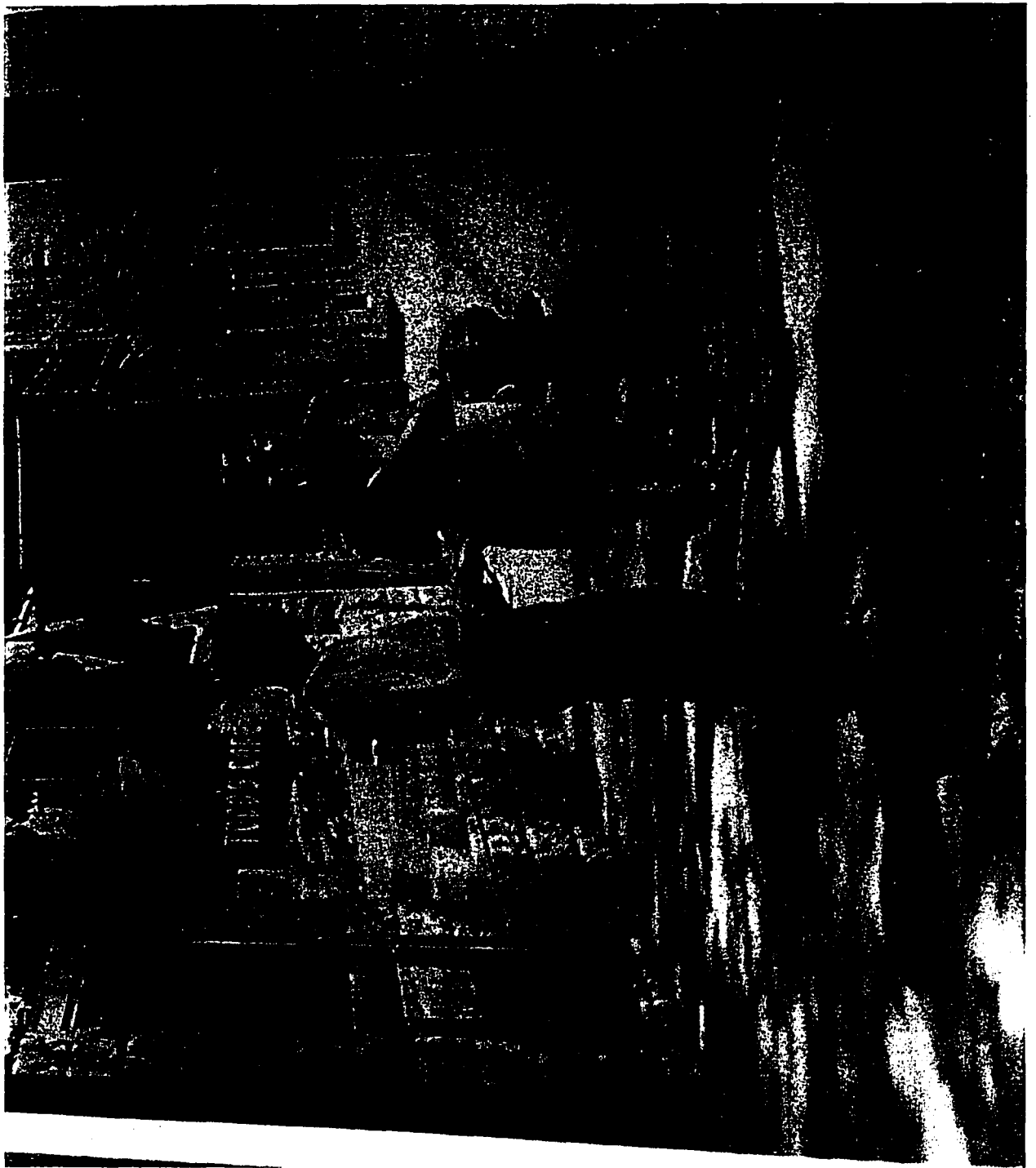
APPENDIX A

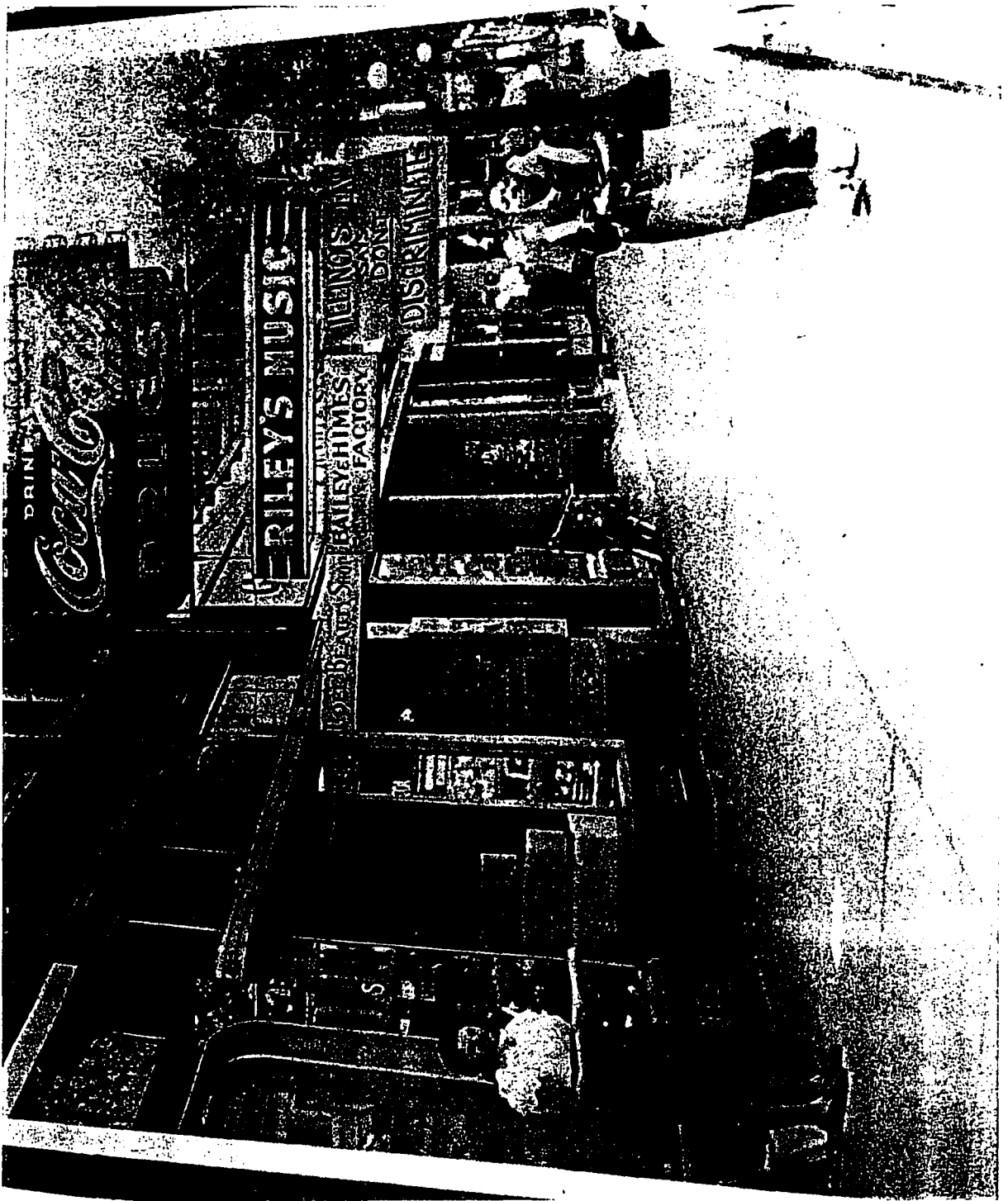
BARBERSHOP AND RESTAURANT PROTEST PHOTOGRAPHS











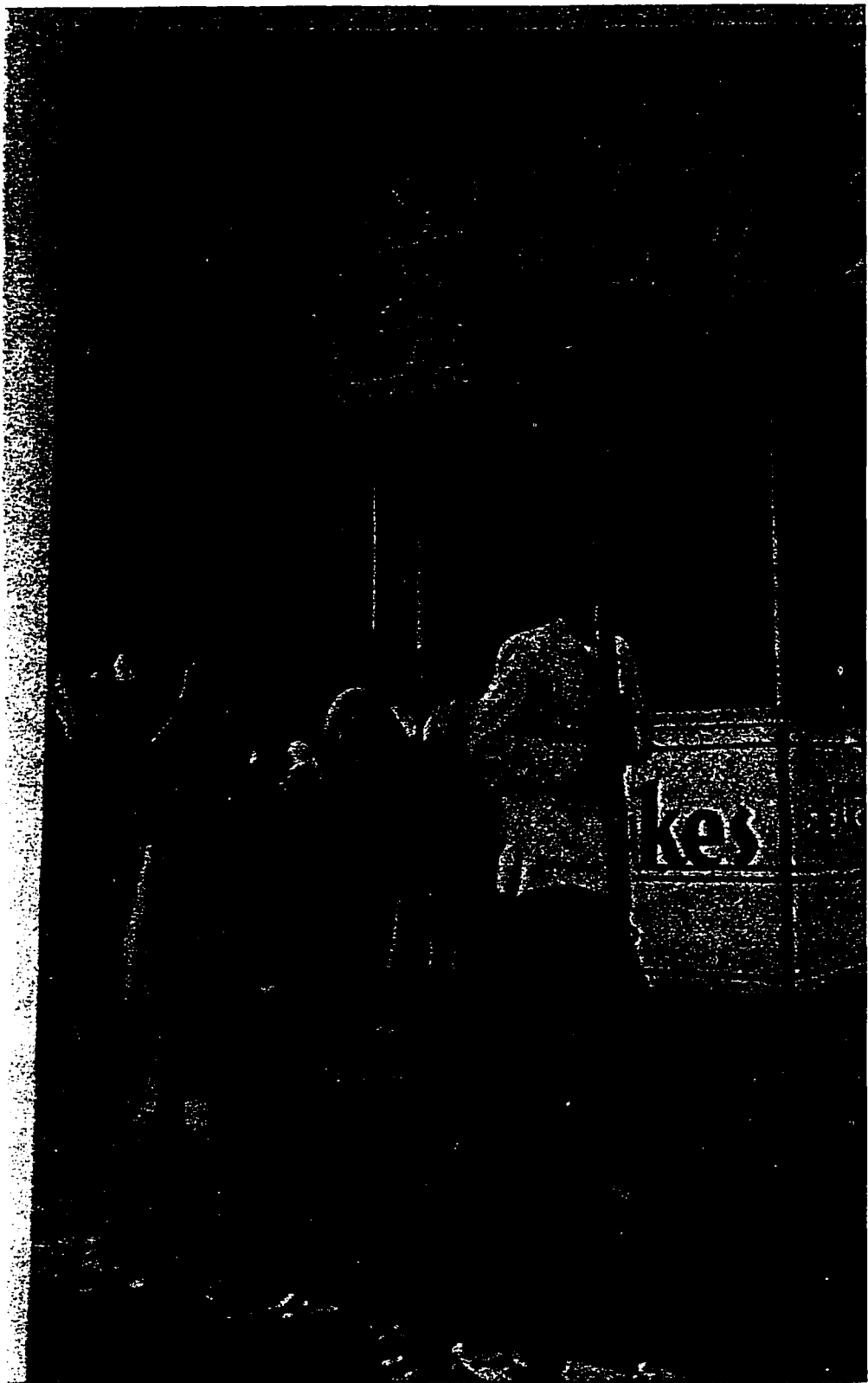
DRINK
COCA-COLA

RILEY'S MUSIC

BAIL'S HIMS FACTORY
DISCRIMINATE







APPENDIX B

EXAMPLE OF EMPLOYMENT RECORDS

Male
 Female
 Single
 Married

24771

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

Office of Dean of Men - Division of Student Employment

High School Scholastic Average 87
 College Average 87

APPLICATION FOR PART-TIME STUDENT EMPLOYMENT

NAME _____ Date Sept 15, 1953

Home address 711 East 50th Pl. #2 County Cook

Date of birth Oct. 21, 1953 Place of birth Chicago, Ill.

Are you a citizen of the U. S.? Yes If not, have you applied for citizenship? _____

Any physical defects? No Specify _____

What school did you last attend? U of I - New Trier When? 1950-2 Vocational goal Teaching

Name of parent or guardian Mrs. George M. Anderson Address 711 E. 50th Pl. #2

Occupation of parent or guardian Father - Chef on U.S. Gov. Job Employer Ill. Cent. Railroad

No. Brothers None No. Sisters None No. in family who are independent _____ No. who contribute to family income 1

REFERENCES: List below three persons, not relatives or students, who can testify as to your character, ability, and need:

Name	Address	Occupation
<u>Mrs. E. Greeny</u>	<u>433 E. 47th St.</u>	<u>Clk. Ill. Cent. RR</u>
<u>Mrs. A. P. Chapman</u>	<u>308 E. 47th St.</u>	<u>Clk. Ill. Cent. RR</u>
<u>Mr. H. Humphreys</u>	<u>Music School</u>	<u>Music Professor</u>

EXPERIENCE: List below, chronologically, the last two positions in which you have worked for pay:

Name of Employer Effie Greeny
 Immediate Supervisor _____
 Street Address 433 E. 47th St.
 City Chicago, Ill.
 Kind of Work Sales girl
 Dates Employed (Mos. & Yrs.) Sept. 1949 - 1953
 Salary 98 hr.

DETAILS OF WORK EXPERIENCE AND TRAINING: Check in 1st column to indicate training; in 2nd column to indicate experience. Fill out an aptitude card for the type of work preferred.

100. CLERKS (Store)

- 101. Bookstore
- 102. Clothing
- 103. Dept. Store
- 104. Drug
- 105. Gas station att.
- 106. Grocery
- 107. Shoe

200. DINING ROOM AND KITCHEN HELP

- 201. Bus boy
- 202. Commissary
- 203. Cook
- 204. Cook's helper
- 205. Counterman
- 206. Dishwasher
- 207. Host
- 208. Hostess
- 209. Server
- 210. Soda dispenser
- 211. Waiter
- 212. Waitress

300. HOUSEWORK

- 301. Care of children
- 302. Cleaning
- 303. Maid
- 304. Porter
- 305. Seamstress

400. LABOR

- 401. Agricultural Kind
- 402. Caretaker
- 403. Flot/water
- 404. Furnace man Kind
- 405. Gardener
- 406. Janitor
- 407. Window washer

500. LANGUAGES

- (Check in first column to indicate reading knowledge. In 2nd column for speaking knowledge.)
- 501. French
 - 502. German
 - 503. Greek
 - 505. Italian
 - 507. Scandinavian
 - 508. Spanish

600. LIBRARY

- 601. Book binding
- 602. Book mending
- 603. Cataloguer
- 604. Desk clerk
- 605. Library page
- 606. Supervisor

700. OFFICE

- CLERICAL
- 701. Accountant
 - 702. Bank
 - 703. Bookkeeper
 - 704. Cashier Kind
 - 705. Hotel
 - 706. Mailing
 - 707. Proofreader
 - 708. Receptionist
 - 709. Statistician
 - 710. Stenographer Speed
 - 711. Stenogram
 - 710. Pile clerk

MACHINE OPERATORS

- 712. Adding
- 713. Bookkeeping
- 714. Calculating Kind
- 715. Ediphone
- 716. Mimeograph
- 717. Multigraph
- 718. Staring
- 719. Stenotype
- 720. Switchboard
- 721. Tabulation
- 722. Typist Speed
- 723. Stencil cutting

800. RECREATION

- 801. Checkroom
- 802. Counselor
- 803. Gateman
- 804. Ice rink guard
- 805. Life guard
- 806. Liner
- 807. Playground supt.
- 808. Ticket taker, seller
- 809. Usher Kind

900. SALESMAN (Outside) ARTICLE SOLD

- _____
- _____
- _____
- _____

1000. SEMI-PROFESSIONAL-TECH.

- 1001. Advertising
- 1002. Architecture
- 1003. Beauty parlor op.
- 1004. Draftsman
- 1005. Drawing
- 1006. Editorial work
- 1007. Engineer Kind
- 1008. Entertainer Kind
- 1009. Interior decorator
- 1010. Lab. asst. Kind
- 1011. Modeling
- 1012. Newspaper work Kind
- 1013. Photographer
- 1014. Radio Announcer
- 1015. Radio operator
- 1016. Radio service
- 1017. Research Kind
- 1018. Technician Kind
- 1019. Tutor Kind
- 1020. Window trimmer

1100. TRADES

- 1101. Baker
- 1102. Barber
- 1103. Bartender
- 1104. Carpenter
- 1105. Chauffeur
- 1106. Dry cleaner
- 1107. Electrician
- 1108. Machinist
- 1109. Mechanic
- 1110. Mortician
- 1111. Painter
- 1112. Plumber
- 1114. Meat cutter

1200. MISCELLANEOUS

- _____
- _____

Checked by _____

(45312)

53
43558

Boyer

Male
 Female
 Single
 Married

22336

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
 Office of Dean of Men - Division of Student Employment

High School Scholastic Average _____
 College Average _____

APPLICATION FOR PART-TIME STUDENT EMPLOYMENT

NAME _____ Date July 2, 1951
 (Last) (First) (Middle)
 Home address 305 S. Armer Champaign County Champaign
 Date of birth Oct 2, 1929 Place of birth Anna, Ill.
 Are you a citizen of the U. S.? yes If not, have you applied for citizenship?
 Any physical defects? yes Specify near sighted
 What school did you last attend? Springtime UAT When? Spring Vocational goal _____
 Name of parent or guardian Mr. Wallace Rherath Address 305 S. Armer Champaign
 Occupation of parent or guardian High school teacher Employer Champaign School Board
 No. Brothers 1 No. Sisters 0 No. in family who are independent _____ No. who contributes to family income _____

REFERENCES: List below three persons, not relatives or students, who can testify as to your character, ability, and need:

Name	Address	Occupation
<u>Mr. Paul C. Crist</u>	<u>R.R. 2, Urbana</u>	<u>Archery Tackle maker</u>
<u>Mr. J. J. Tivers</u>	<u>207 S. State - Champaign</u>	<u>H.S. Teacher</u>
<u>Herbert Zim</u>	<u>Jarvis Drive Champaign</u>	<u>UIC Faculty</u>

EXPERIENCE: List below, chronologically, the last two positions in which you have worked for pay:

Name of Employer	Address	Occupation
<u>Mr. Paul C. Crist</u>	<u>same</u>	<u>same</u>
<u>J.R. Tivers</u>	<u>207 S. State - Champaign</u>	<u>General Carpenter</u>

DETAILS OF WORK EXPERIENCE AND TRAINING: Check in 1st column to indicate training; in 2nd column to indicate experience. Fill out an aptitude card for the type of work preferred.

100. CLERKS (Store)	300. HOUSEWORK	400. LABOR	500. LANGUAGES	600. LIBRARY	700. OFFICE CLERICAL	800. RECREATION	900. SALESMAN (Outside) ARTICLE SOLD	1000. SEMI-PROFESSIONAL-TECH.	1100. TRADES	1200. MISCELLANEOUS
<input type="checkbox"/> 101. Bookstore	<input type="checkbox"/> 301. Care of children	<input type="checkbox"/> 401. Agricultural	<input type="checkbox"/> 501. French	<input type="checkbox"/> 701. Accountant	<input type="checkbox"/> 801. Checkroom	<input type="checkbox"/> 901. Checkroom	<input type="checkbox"/> 1001. Advertising	<input type="checkbox"/> 1101. Baker	<input type="checkbox"/> 1201. Miscellaneous	
<input type="checkbox"/> 102. Clothing	<input type="checkbox"/> 302. Cleaning	<input type="checkbox"/> 402. Cannibal	<input type="checkbox"/> 502. German	<input type="checkbox"/> 702. Host	<input type="checkbox"/> 802. Counselor	<input type="checkbox"/> 902. Counselor	<input type="checkbox"/> 1002. Architecture	<input type="checkbox"/> 1102. Barber		
<input type="checkbox"/> 103. Dept. Store Kind	<input type="checkbox"/> 303. Maid	<input type="checkbox"/> 403. Carpenter	<input type="checkbox"/> 503. Greek	<input type="checkbox"/> 703. Bookkeeper	<input type="checkbox"/> 803. Gateman	<input type="checkbox"/> 903. Gateman	<input type="checkbox"/> 1003. Beauty parlor op.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1103. Bartender		
<input type="checkbox"/> 104. Drug	<input type="checkbox"/> 304. Porter	<input type="checkbox"/> 404. Floorwalker	<input type="checkbox"/> 504. Italian	<input type="checkbox"/> 704. Cashier Kind	<input type="checkbox"/> 804. Ice rink guard	<input type="checkbox"/> 904. Ice rink guard	<input type="checkbox"/> 1004. Draftsman	<input type="checkbox"/> 1104. Carpenter		
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 105. Gas station att.	<input type="checkbox"/> 305. Sewer	<input type="checkbox"/> 405. Furrier	<input type="checkbox"/> 505. Scandinavian	<input type="checkbox"/> 705. Hotel	<input type="checkbox"/> 805. Life guard	<input type="checkbox"/> 905. Life guard	<input type="checkbox"/> 1005. Drawing	<input type="checkbox"/> 1105. Chauffeur		
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 106. Grocery	<input type="checkbox"/> 306. Sewer	<input type="checkbox"/> 406. Gardener	<input type="checkbox"/> 506. Spanish	<input type="checkbox"/> 706. Mailing	<input type="checkbox"/> 806. Pin setter	<input type="checkbox"/> 906. Pin setter	<input type="checkbox"/> 1006. Editorial work	<input type="checkbox"/> 1106. Dry cleaner		
<input type="checkbox"/> 107. Shoes	<input type="checkbox"/> 307. Waiter	<input type="checkbox"/> 407. Window washer		<input type="checkbox"/> 707. Proofreader	<input type="checkbox"/> 807. Playground supt.	<input type="checkbox"/> 907. Playground supt.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1007. Engineer Kind	<input type="checkbox"/> 1107. Electrician		
				<input type="checkbox"/> 708. Receptionist	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 808. Ticket taker, seller	<input type="checkbox"/> 908. Ticket taker, seller	<input type="checkbox"/> 1008. Entertainer Kind	<input type="checkbox"/> 1108. Technician Kind		
				<input type="checkbox"/> 709. Statistician	<input type="checkbox"/> 809. Usher Kind	<input type="checkbox"/> 909. Usher Kind	<input type="checkbox"/> 1009. Interior decorator	<input type="checkbox"/> 1109. Tutor Kind		
				<input type="checkbox"/> 710. Stenographer Speed			<input type="checkbox"/> 1010. Lab. asst. Kind	<input type="checkbox"/> 1110. Mortician		
				<input type="checkbox"/> 711. Stenogram			<input type="checkbox"/> 1011. Modelling	<input type="checkbox"/> 1111. Painter		
				<input type="checkbox"/> 712. Pile clerk			<input type="checkbox"/> 1012. Newspaper work Kind	<input type="checkbox"/> 1112. Plumber		
							<input type="checkbox"/> 1013. Photographer	<input type="checkbox"/> 1113. Meat cutter		
							<input type="checkbox"/> 1014. Radio Announcer			
							<input type="checkbox"/> 1015. Radio operator			
							<input type="checkbox"/> 1016. Radio service			
							<input type="checkbox"/> 1017. Research Kind			
							<input type="checkbox"/> 1018. Interior decorator			
							<input type="checkbox"/> 1019. Lab. asst. Kind			
							<input type="checkbox"/> 1020. Window trimmer			

Checked by Daw

AGR. 52 51-39003

Male
Female _____
Single
Married _____

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
Office of Dean of Men - Division of Student Employment
APPLICATION FOR PART-TIME STUDENT EMPLOYMENT

High School
Scholastic Average upper 1/2
College Average _____

Name _____ Date 9-15-49
Home address 1916 Gay Ave., E. St. Louis, Ill. County St. Clair
Date of birth 1-29-31 Religion Presbyterian Racial descent Negro Color Black
Place of birth East St. Louis, Ill. Are you a citizen of the U. S.? Yes
Any physical defects? No Specify _____
What school did you last attend? Lincoln High When? 1949 Vocational goal Chemistry
Name of parent or guardian Joseph Anthony Address 1916 Gay Ave., E. St. Louis
Occupation of parent or guardian Common Laborer Employer Swift + Co
No. Brothers 3 No. Sisters 1 No. in family who are independent 1 No. who contribute to family income father.

REFERENCES: List below three persons, not relatives or students, who can testify as to your character, ability, and need:
Name Address Occupation
Mr. C. Kurvus, Jr. 26th State St., East St. Louis, Ill. Funeral Director
Mrs. B. M. ... 2206 Gay, East St. Louis, Ill. teacher
Mr. F. ... 609 Gay, St. Louis, Mo. Manufacture

EXPERIENCE: List below, chronologically, the last two positions in which you have worked for pay:
Name of Employer C. Kurvus Mr. E. O. Chase
Immediate Supervisor Mr. Kurvus, Jr. Mr. E. O. Chase
Street Address 26th State St. 609 Gay
City East St. Louis, Ill. St. Louis, Mo.
Kind of Work Janitor Producer
Dates Employed (Mos. & Yrs.) 1945-1949 (Summer) Feb 1, 1949-June 26-1949
Salary 60¢ per hr. 75¢ per hr.

DETAILS OF WORK EXPERIENCE AND TRAINING: Check in 1st column to indicate training; in 2nd column to indicate experience. Fill out an aptitude card for the type of work preferred.

- 100. CLERKS (Store)
101. Bookstore
102. Clothing
103. Dept. store
104. Drug
105. Gas station att.
106. Grocery
107. Shoe
200. DINING ROOM AND KITCHEN HELP
201. Bus boy
202. Commisary
203. Cook
204. Cook's helper
205. Counterman
206. Dishwasher
207. Host
208. Hostess
209. Server
210. Soda dispenser
211. Waiter
212. Waitress
300. HOUSEWORK
301. Care of children
302. Cleaning
303. Maid
304. Porter
305. Seamstress
400. LABOR
401. Agricultural
402. Caretaker
403. Flourman
404. Furnace man
405. Gardener
406. Janitor
407. Window washer
Wax producer

- 500. LANGUAGES
501. French
502. German
503. Greek
504. Italian
505. Scandinavian
506. Spanish
600. LIBRARY
601. Book binding
602. Book reading
603. Cataloguer
604. Desk clerk
605. Library page
606. Supervisor
700. OFFICE CLERICAL
701. Accountant
702. Bank
703. Bookkeeper
704. Cashier
705. Hotel
706. Mailing
707. Proof reader
708. Receptionist
709. Statistician
710. Stenographer
711. Storeroom
712. File clerk

- MACHINE OPERATORS
712. Adding
713. Bookkeeping
714. Calculating
715. Ediphone
716. Mimeograph
717. Multigraph
718. Sorting
719. Stenotype
720. Switchboard
721. Tabulation
722. Typist
723. Stencil cutting
800. RECREATION
801. Checkroom
802. Counselor
803. Gateman
804. Ice rink guard
805. Life guard
806. Pin setter
807. Playground supt.
808. Ticket taker, seller
809. Usher
900. SALESMAN (Outside)
ARTICLE SOLD

- 1000. SEMI-PROFESSIONAL TECH.
1001. Advertising
1002. Architecture
1003. Beauty parlor op.
1004. Draftsman
1005. Drawing
1006. Editorial work
1007. Engineer
1008. Entertainer
1009. Interior decorator
1010. Lab. asst.
1011. Modeling
1012. Newspaper work
1013. Photographer
1014. Radio announcer
1015. Radio operator
1016. Radio service
1017. Research
1018. Technician
1019. Tutor
1020. Window trimmer
1100. TRADES
1101. Baker
1102. Barber
1103. Barrender
1104. Carpenter
1105. Chauffeur
1106. Dry cleaner
1107. Electrician
1108. Machinist
1109. Mechanic
1110. Mortician
1111. Painter
1112. Plumber
1114. Meat cutter
1200. MISCELLANEOUS

Checked by [Signature] (40064)

LAST GEN 59 49 31500

35760

Male
Female
Single
Married

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

Office of Dean of Men - Division of Student Employment

High School Scholastic Average B
College Average D+

APPLICATION FOR PART-TIME STUDENT EMPLOYMENT

NAME _____ Date 8/19/55
Home address 1440 (Last) James (First) one (Middle) Chicago Heights County Cook
Date of birth February 23 1932 Place of birth Chicago Heights, Ill.
Are you a citizen of the U. S.? Yes If not, have you applied for citizenship? _____
Any physical defects? None Specify _____
What school did you last attend? Bloom High School When? 1952-53 Vocational goal _____
Name of parent or guardian W. B. James Address 1441 James Ave Chicago Heights
Occupation of parent or guardian Insurance Salesman Employer State Mutual Life Ins
No. Brothers 1 No. Sisters 4 No. in family who are independent _____ No. who contribute to family income _____

REFERENCES: List below three persons, not relatives or students, who can testify as to your character, ability, and need:

Name Address Occupation
Mrs Margaret Perry 1512 Union Ave Chicago Heights Ill Business
Mrs Helen Kirk Bloom High School Teacher
Mr Arthur Smith 2124 S. Springfield - Chicago, Ill Teacher

EXPERIENCE: List below, chronologically, the last two positions in which you have worked for pay:

Name of Employer: County Supervisor's Office Same
Immediate Supervisor: Mrs J. J. ...
Street Address: Woodland + Wood
City: Chicago, Illinois
Kind of Work: Check July - December
Dates Employed (Mos. & Yrs.): Summer of 52 - 53 - 54
Salary: \$117 - weekly two weeks

DETAILS OF WORK EXPERIENCE AND TRAINING: Check in 1st column to indicate training; in 2nd column to indicate experience. Fill out an aptitude card for the type of work preferred.

- 100. CLERKS (Store)
101. Bookstore
102. Clothing
103. Dept. store
104. Drug
105. Gas station etc.
106. Grocery
107. Shoe
200. DINING ROOM AND KITCHEN HELP
201. Bus boy
202. Commissary
203. Cook
204. Cook's helper
205. Countermaid
206. Dishwasher
207. Host
208. Hostess
209. Server
210. Soda dispenser
211. Waiter
212. Waitress
300. HOUSEWORK
301. Care of children
302. Cleaning
303. Maid
304. Porter
305. Seamstress
400. LABOR
401. Agricultural
402. Caretaker
403. Floorwalker
404. Furnace man
405. Gardener
406. Janitor
407. Window washer

- 500. LANGUAGES
501. French
502. German
503. Greek
504. Italian
505. Scandinavian
506. Spanish
600. LIBRARY
601. Book binding
602. Book mending
603. Cataloguer
604. Desk clerk
605. Library page
606. Supervisor
700. OFFICE CLERICAL
701. Accountant
702. Bank
703. Bookkeeper
704. Cashier
705. Hotel
706. Mailing
707. Proofreader
708. Receptionist
709. Stenographer
710. Stenographer Speed
711. Storeroom
712. File clerk

- MACHINE OPERATORS
713. Adding
714. Bookkeeping
715. Calculating
716. Mimeograph
717. Multigraph
718. Printing
719. Stenotype
720. Switchboard
721. Tabulation
722. Typist
723. Stencil cutting
800. RECREATION
801. Checkroom
802. Counselor
803. Gateman
804. Ice rink guard
805. Life guard
806. Pin setter
807. Playground supt.
808. Ticket taker, seller
809. Usher
900. SALESMAN (Outside) ARTICLES SOLD

- 1000. SEMI-PROFESSIONAL-TECH.
1001. Advertising
1002. Architecture
1003. Beauty parlor op.
1004. Draftsman
1005. Drawing
1006. Editorial work
1007. Engineer
1008. Entertainer
1009. Interior decorator
1010. Lab. asst.
1011. Modeling
1012. Newspaper work
1013. Photographer
1014. Radio announcer
1015. Radio operator
1016. Radio service
1017. Research
1018. Technician
1019. Tutor
1020. Window trimmer
1100. TRADES
1101. Baker
1102. Barber
1103. Brewer
1104. Carpenter
1105. Chauffeur
1106. Dry cleaner
1107. Electrician
1108. Machinist
1109. Mechanic
1110. Musician
1111. Painter
1112. Plumber
1114. Meat cutter
1200. MISCELLANEOUS

Checked by [Signature]

(95421)

35760 11-25-55 156 55 52184

APPENDIX C

SCIC AND SCHRC LEAFLETS



Persecuted Peoples

The rest of us

Shucks, he's not a burden - he's my brother.

WHY THE GIRLS?

A LOT OF OUR FRIENDS HAVE ASKED US: HOW COME GIRLS ARE PICKETING A BARBER SHOP? ISN'T THIS MEN'S BUSINESS?

FIRST OF ALL: THIS ISN'T "MEN'S BUSINESS". THAT'S THE WHOLE POINT! WHAT IS AT STAKE HERE IS NOT JUST A MATTER OF HAIRCUTS. IT'S A MATTER OF JUSTICE -- AND DEMOCRACY.

THE GIRLS DIDN'T WANT TO STAND BY AND WATCH NEGROES BEING TREATED LIKE SECOND-CLASS CITIZENS. AND SINCE THEY COULDN'T "TEST" OR SERVE AS WITNESSES, THEY ASKED TO TAKE OVER THE JOB OF PICKETING -- TO SHOW THAT THIS BARBER SHOP RUCKUS IS EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS.

THEN AGAIN: WE HAD IT ON GOOD AUTHORITY THAT CERTAIN YOU-KNOW-WHOS PLANNED TO HAVE GOONS BREAK UP THE PICKET LINE, TO HAVE YOUNG PUNKS PICK FIGHTS WITH OUR PICKETS. THE GIRLS ASSURED US THEY COULD PUT UP WITH THE INSULTS AND TAUNTS WITHOUT LOSING THEIR TEMPERS. SO -- TO PREVENT THINGS FROM GETTING COMPLICATED, WE DECIDED TO USE GIRLS FOR AWHILE.

FIGHT DISCRIMINATION! PATRONIZE BARBER SHOPS THAT
SERVE ALL ILLINI, REGARDLESS OF THEIR RACE.

(Keep our city clean; please don't throw away.)
Distributed by: Student-Community Human Relations Council

JIM CROW

AND THE BARBERS

On the afternoon of October 30, "J. C." Caroline went to get a haircut at a campus area barbershop. You can't blame him for trying -- the shop had his picture in the window and a "Welcome" sign on the door. And in Illinois it's a criminal offense to refuse a person a haircut because of his race.

"J. C." was refused service.

What happened to Caroline happens every day. Every day students at the U. of I. are humiliated and insulted by being treated like second class citizens. IN SPITE OF THE LAW, JIM CROW EXISTS! Negro students can't get haircuts.

Here's what you can do to stop this kind of raw deal:

1. Talk to your barber. Ask him to serve all students.
2. Write: The Daily Illini
Governor William G. Stratton

Protest this vicious discrimination that strikes at every Negro student on the campus. DO IT NOW!

Student-Community Human Relations Council

Here is **THE LAW**

THE BARBERSHOP STORY - AN ALL STUDENT MEETING

THURSDAY, MARCH 4, 1954 - 8:00 P.M.

LATZER HALL - UNIVERSITY YMCA

Here is the law - excerpts from the Criminal Code of the State of Illinois:

AN ACT TO PROTECT ALL CITIZENS IN THEIR CIVIL RIGHTS AND FIXING A PENALTY FOR VIOLATION OF THE SAME.

- 1) "All persons within the jurisdiction of said State of Illinois shall be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of the accommodation, advantages, facilities and privileges of inns, restaurants, ... barbershops... and all other places of public accommodations and amusement, subject only to the conditions and limitations established by laws and applicable to all citizens....
- 2) "That any person who shall violate any of the provisions of the foregoing section by denying to any citizen, except for reasons applicable alike to all citizens of every race and color, and regardless of color or race, the full enjoyment of any of the accommodations, advantages, facilities or privileges in said section enumerated... shall for every such offense, forfeit and pay a sum of not less than twenty-five (\$25) dollars nor more than five-hundred (\$500) dollars to the person aggrieved thereby... and shall also, for every such offense, be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof, shall be fined not to exceed five-hundred (\$500) dollars, or shall be imprisoned not more than one year, or both.
- 5) "Any inn, restaurant... barbershop... wherein any of the provisions... of this Act are violated, is hereby declared to be a public nuisance.... The owners, agents and occupants of any such place shall be deemed guilty of maintaining a public nuisance, and may be enjoined as hereinafter provided.
- 9) "It shall be the duty of the State's Attorney of every county diligently to prosecute any and all persons violating any of the provisions of this act in his county and he shall be responsible for the proper enforcement of this act, and whenever he shall have any information or knowledge, or have any reason to believe that any of the provisions of this act are being violated in his county, he shall use every legitimate means at his command to secure the necessary and proper evidence... and immediately upon securing evidence he shall file a complaint or petition for abatement of nuisance, or both... and he shall have said person arrested and shall vigorously prosecute said complaint or petitions on said charges to a speedy dissolution."

University of Illinois YMCA
Racial Equality Committee
March 2, 1954

C
IL661 Rst
124-

DISCRIMINATION POLICY

for those who believe that

"ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL..."

The Rialto, Virginia and Orpheum Theaters practice a conditioned response type of segregation. Negro people, out of habit, follow the suggestion to go "to the balcony", or "to the left rear section".

However, it has been determined that these policies are not enforced by force. If people will not follow the suggestion, but politely proceed to be seated where they wish, nothing more is said.

The answer to the question of how to put a stop to this form of bigotry, is education.

NEGROES ARE NOT THE ONLY PEOPLE DISCRIMINATED AGAINST !

WHITE PATRONS ARE NOT ALLOWED TO BE SEATED IN THE SECTIONS RESERVED FOR NEGROES.

We put these facts before you, the public, to inform you of how you can help put an end to segregation in local theaters.

WHITE PATRONS - take seats in the Negro sections.

NEGRO PATRONS - Be seated wherever you find a vacant seat. Nothing can happen to you! You are on the right side of the law - "jim-crowers" are not!

Help break down this "conditioned response segregation"! Inform S-CIC of any difficulties you encounter in your efforts to help, so that action may be taken.

Thank you,

THE STUDENT-COMMUNITY
INTERRACIAL COMMITTEE

Please dispose of this in a waste container...
Help keep our campus area clean ...

1946

FASCIST BULLETS WERE COLOR BLIND THEY STRUCK BLACK AND WHITE Alike

Dorie Miller was a Negro messman aboard the U. S. Arizona. Under air attack, his ship went down. Jimcrowned by the Navy, Miller never had an opportunity to learn to operate anti-aircraft. But when the gunner was killed, Miller took his place, shot down attacking planes. After the ship sank, Dorie Miller swam thru burning oil to save several of his shipmates. It cost him his life.

This American hero could not have eaten in certain campus restaurants. They refuse to practice the democracy he died defending.

FIVE PUBLIC RESTAURANTS ON THE CAMPUS STILL PRACTICE RACIAL DISCRIMINATION. DEFYING STATE LAW AND THE WILL OF THE COMMUNITY, THEY REFUSE TO SERVE NEGRO STUDENTS. The Student-Community Interracial Committee is organized to clean up this situation---to rid the U. of I. campus of this kind of fascist behavior.

1) Delegations and individuals have appealed to the discriminating restaurateurs on the basis of logic, reason, and morality.

Result: None.

2) We have sent speakers to 50 student houses and obtained resolutions from them condemning discriminatory practices. We have sent committees of students, faculty, ministers, and townspeople to explain these resolutions to the restaurant owners, in question.

We reminded them of similar resolutions passed by the Student Senate, University Senate, MPA, WGS, Pan-Hellenic, and Inter-Fraternity.

Result: These restaurants continue discriminating.

THERE IS WORK TO BE DONE

Let's wipe out the super-race philosophy in Champaign-Urbana. SUPPORT THE FIGHT!

Your house or organization can obtain a speaker from our committee, by phoning Linzey Jones: 2516.

Student-Community Interracial Committee meets tonight, Monday, May 13, 7:30 PM., Unitarian Church, Mathews and Oregon. ALL interested persons are WELCOME to attend.

Issued by the Student-Community Interracial Committee

PICKETING PRINCIPLES

On Tuesday, March 23, University of Illinois students, under the auspices of the Student-Community Human Relations Council, will picket campus-area barbershops. A survey is being made of campus-area shops. Those shops that refuse to go on record as being willing to serve Negroes will be picketed.

HERE ARE SOME FACTS ABOUT PICKETING YOU SHOULD KNOW:

1) Picketing is legal.

Tuesday's picketing has been cleared with the State's Attorney, the City Attorney of Champaign, the Chief of Police of Champaign, and the Security Officer of the University of Illinois.

Police Chief Davis has assured us that we will have the full cooperation of his office, so long as we picket peaceably.

The Director of the State of Illinois Commission on Human Relations—an official state agency—will be here to be sure that our rights are not violated.

2) Picketing is in the American tradition.

Picketing is a time-honored, non-violent way of expressing one's concern and of publicizing a situation that needs correcting. S-CHRC picketed campus-area restaurants in 1946. Only a couple of weeks ago, a representative of the painter's union picketed the City Building of Champaign.

3) Picketing is orderly and peaceable.

In the S-CHRC picketing of 1946, there were no troublesome incidents. We have the guarantee of police protection. Adult observers will be on hand. If the pickets follow some simple instructions, there will be no violence.

HERE IS HOW THE TUESDAY PICKETING WILL WORK:

1) Picket headquarters is the Congregational Church, Sixth and Daniel. Picketing will be from 11 a. m. to 5 p. m. Anyone interested in picketing, should report to the Congregational Church.

2) When you report, you will be given your assignment. No one will be expected to picket for more than one hour. Dignified signs will be provided.

3) Adult observers will keep track of the situation. Anyone interested in being an adult observer, please report to headquarters.

ALL STUDENT-COMMUNITY HUMAN RELATIONS COUNCIL MEMBERS SHOULD PARTICIPATE IN THE TUESDAY OPERATIONS. STUDENT MEMBERS SHOULD VOLUNTEER TO PICKET. COMMUNITY MEMBERS SHOULD VOLUNTEER TO BE ADULT OBSERVERS. REPORT TO THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH: SIXTH AND DANIEL, BETWEEN 11 AM AND 5 PM.

Student-Community Human Relations Council

1. Advise against law suits:
 - a. Better human relations to get the person who is discriminating to see the light without force of law.
 - b. More people will be forced into the project if other methods are used.
 - c. Other methods promote better human relations between groups.
 - d. Law suits tie the group down in terms of further action—long litigation.
 - e. Members need more to do than to raise money for law suits.
 - f. Law suits are expensive intime and money. Must wait until the suit is settled before doing anything else.
2. Explanation of Non-violence.
 - a. Non-violence is not merely overt non-physical action.
 - b. Attitude is important (compassion for the person who doesn't know how to behave). Must not hate—need to feel that the person has done something wrong and needs to be helped. Need to understand why he discriminates and a dislike for the act but not for the person who discriminates. We are all guilty of some discriminatory action. A non-violent person is not a frightened person—need to be relaxed. Endurance contest—need to stick to it.
3. Barbershop Recommendations:
 - a. Unfortunate that there were only girls on the picket line. If you don't hit back the guy won't fight. Men with the non-violent attitude on the line would have worked.
 - b. Reestablish contact with the discriminatory barbers (Ingwerson).
 - c. Contact groups to help.
 1. Outside pressure important.
 2. Send mixed teams to contact groups.
 3. Don't expect direct support in many cases—many groups will do something, but in their own way.
 4. Get campus and city groups—Church Federation—Have them express their concern in letters to Ingwerson.—Get individuals and groups from outside Champaign to write letters.
 5. Get support in sponsoring meetings.
 - ~~6. Get testimony from other barbers who are serving to show to Lee.~~
 - d. Leafletting— plan it in advance—have something definite in mind to tell the leaflet audience—have each following logically after the last.
 - e. Stabilize as many barbers as possible by getting regular customers for them.
 - f. Get information to the Negro students about which barbers are serving (i.e. are safe)—also get information to the student body to stop patronizing the barbers who discriminate.—Clear through the barbers before publishing the list of the ones who are serving.
 - g. Contact the barbers who are not serving and ask them to meet with a committee from S-CHRC.
 - h. Campaign to visit Negro fraternities to get testers—maybe get outside people to do this.

ORGANIZE CAMPAIGN**PLAN IT STEP BY STEP**CONTINUING ACTIVITY OVER LONG PERIOD
4. Restaurants:
 - a. Plan ~~campaign~~ campaign of testing— CORE tactics.
 - b. Formal contact by letter, explain who we are, what we do, call attention to the incidents of discrimination in which we know about, recalling dates, etc. Suggest we could help them change policy without injury to their business— Ask for a personal conference with them.
 - c. Have S-CHRC committee go down without invitation if they don't offer one. don't wait more than 10 days to do this.
 - d. Leafletting in front of cafe.—printed material geared to action.
 - e. Picketing.
 - f. Be able to call off a campaign with dignity.

NON-VIOLENT APPROACH LENDS ITSELF TO UNIQUE IDEAS**NEW TACTICS**MORE CREATIVE

APPENDIX D

TABLES

Table D1. Distribution of parental home state, University of Illinois, 1945-1955

	%	n
AK	.2	2
AL	1.3	14
AR	2.1	22
CA	.1	1
CD	.1	1
CO	.1	1
CT	.4	4
DC	.6	6
DE	.1	1
FL	.7	7
GA	.7	7
IA	.6	6
IL	42.6	444
IN	2.3	24
JM	.2	2
KS	.3	3
KY	1.1	11
LA	1.6	17
MA	.1	1
MD	.4	4
MI	.6	6
MN	.1	1
MO	4.5	47
MS	4.3	45
NC	1.2	13
NJ	.6	6
NM	.1	1
NY	.7	7
OH	.8	8
OK	1.1	11
OT	.4	4
PA	.4	4
PN	.2	2
PR	.1	1
SC	.7	7
TN	1.3	14
TX	.7	7
UT	.1	1
VA	.7	7
WI	.3	3
WV	.3	3
Total	100.0	1042

Source: Student Employment Records, Series 41/4/5, Univeristy of Illinois Archives.

Table D2. Age at matriculation, University of Illinois, 1945-1955

	%	n
15	.1	1
16	3	20
17	19	148
18	28	217
19	11	87
20	9	72
21	5	37
22	5	37
23	5	40
24	3	24
25	3	20
26	2	17
27	1	5
28	2	13
29	.4	3
30	1	5
31	.4	3
32	.4	3
33	.4	3
34	.5	4
35	.3	2
36	.4	3
38	.1	1
39	.1	1
41	.3	2
Total	100	768

Source: Student Transcripts, Series 25/3/4, University of Illinois. The number 768 represents the total number of student that had birth year and matriculation date reported on their transcript. The number were rounded to whole numbers when possible.

Table D3. Age of student at degree date, University of Illinois, 1945-1955

	%	n
17	.2	1
19	.4	2
20	2	9
21	16	71
22	24	105
23	14	64
24	9	38
25	9	39
26	9	39
27	5	21
28	3	15
29	1	6
30	2	10
31	1	4
32	1	5
34	1	3
35	1	5
36	1	3
37	1	3
38	.2	1
39	.2	1
46	.2	1
47	.2	1
Total	100	447

Source: Student Transcripts, Series 25/3/4, University of Illinois. The number 447 represents the total number of student that had birth year and graduation date reported on their transcript. The number were rounded to whole numbers when possible.

APPENDIX E

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

- Please state your first, last and maiden name if appropriate
- Place of birth
- High school attended
- State your years of college attendance
- State your college and major
- What is your current job, what are your job responsibilities (previous)
- Tell me a little about yourself

ACADEMIC LIFE

- How did you come to choose the U of I (as opposed to a HBCU, state school or another school in the area)
- Did you come with any previous knowledge of what the racial climate was like
- Did certain disciplines/departments appear to be more hospitable to African Americans, explain
- What were the common disciplines for women, men
- When was your first experience being in a classroom with majority white students, what was it like, any particular memories
- Describe what it was like to have all white professors
- Did you feel as though you were graded fairly, do you remember any examples
- Were your assignments returned in a timely fashion, please explain
- Do you recall any experiences of sexism, please explain
- Did you feel as though you enjoyed equal and fair access to your professors, please explain

- How well did you feel you knew your professors (i.e. could you go to them for a letter of reference)
- How would you characterize academic interactions between African American and white students

SOCIAL LIFE

- Were there sororities/fraternities on campus, how many, can you name them
- Did you belong to a fraternity, which one, why did you join this one
- What were your reasons for joining a fraternity
- Please describe fraternity life (i.e. service, social, academic)
- Why do you feel other women joined sororities and men fraternities
- Describe your friendships on and off campus (i.e. male-female, female-female, African American-African American, African American-White)
- Did you have white friends in high school, please explain
- If you had white friends in high school did they attend the U of I, did your friendship continue at U of I, explain
- Describe social interactions between African American and white students
- Describe what dating was like (i.e. was it allowed, chaperones, curfew)
- Describe parties and where they were held
- Were there hairdressers in town, on campus
- What were they like, how would your female friends describe them
- Were local barbers receptive to all students, explain

- Did you know of any barbershop incidences, what happened during these incidences

(JC Caroline)

- What was it like to attend movies
- What movies were popular
- What sorts of movie themes were prevalent during this time, why
- Where did students eat on campus, was this all students, please explain
- Can you name the local restaurants during that time
- How would you describe an average restaurant visit (try to get a specific recollection)
- Was it like this for all students, people from the community, please explain
- Were there any protests on or off campus, what provoked them (specific examples)
- If there were protests describe who initiated them as well the participants (get specifics)

ATHLETICS

- Were you involved in sports, which one (s)
- Was this an integrated sport
- What were the interaction like between team members, African American and White
- How did the coaches treat African American team members
- What were the other sporting teams on campus, were they integrated
- Were all athletes treated the same, explain
- Describe being on the road to other schools for competition, was there segregation in seating, travel, accommodations once you arrived
- How did other teams respond to African Americans, were their teams integrated

- How would you describe your overall experience in sports at the University of Illinois

HOUSING

- Did you live on or off campus, please explain
- Did you ever live in a sorority house, please explain
- Did you ever live in the dorms, please explain
- Did you know of any African American students that lived in the dorm, if yes what was their experience like
- Where did the majority of African American students live, explain
- Did you know students that lived off campus, if yes how many
- What were they experiences in terms of living off campus
- Describe the housing options available to African American students, the African American community (i.e. did African Americans have the option to live either on campus or in non African American neighborhoods)
- Describe the housing conditions in the African American community
- What was the approximate distance between campus and the African American community
- Did you feel as though it was a hardship for students to live off campus, please explain
- Do you feel any differently now
- Did you know of any people that boarded students, what do you know of those experiences
- Of the families that boarded the students, describe their home in terms of size

- What was the attitude of students toward the families that boarded them
- What was the attitude of the families that boarded students
- How would summarize your experience at the University of Illinois in a sentence or two
- Is there anything else that you would like to add that I may not have covered

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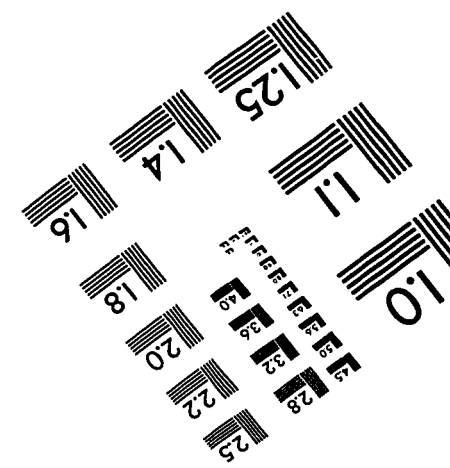
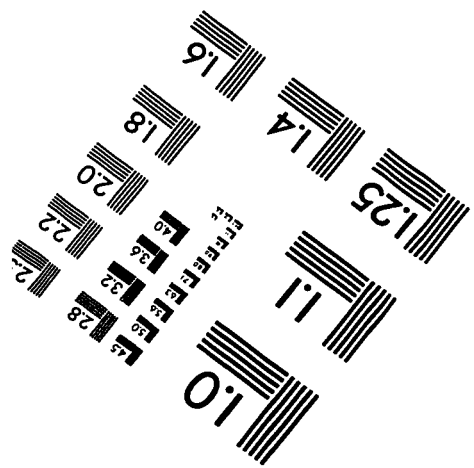
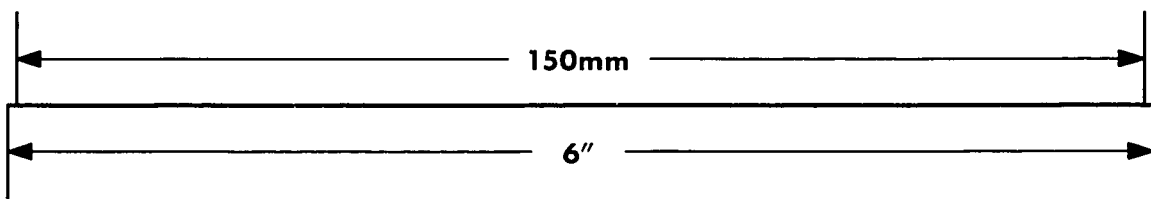
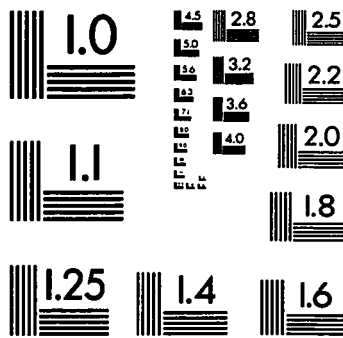
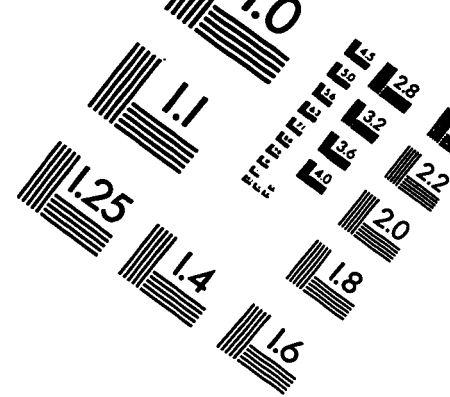
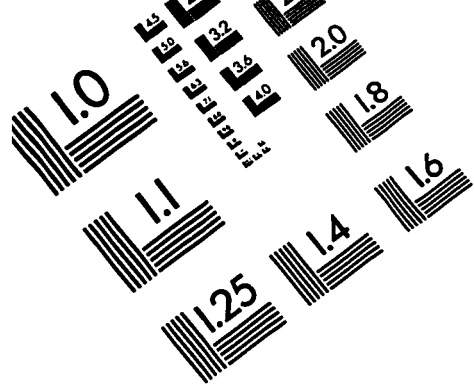
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