'The Forgotten Years' of America's Civil Rights Movement: The University of Kansas, 1939-1961

by

Kristine M. McCusker
B.A., University of Massachusetts, 1987

Submitted to the Department of History and the Faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Kansas in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of Arts.

ABSTRACT

Kristine M. McCusker, M.A.
Department of History, 1994
University of Kansas

"The `Forgotten Years' of America's Civil Rights Movement: The University of Kansas, 1939-1961."

On April 15, 1948, an interracial group of University of Kansas students "sat-in" at Brick's Cafe, a student cafe near campus. The sit-in was the end of a civil rights reform movement in Lawrence. At times a liberal movement, at others, a radical one, students and faculty used World War II's democratic rhetoric coupled with Lawrence's long tradition of protest on behalf of blacks to integrate parts of campus and to attack segregation in town.

The movement had two parts. The first movement was during the war itself. As University Daily Kansan journalists and other KU students saw their peers march off to war, they began to question the existence of segregation on campus. American citizens of all colors, they said in editorials and various petitions, deserved all of the rights accorded to them by the United States Constitution.

After the war, a second movement appeared. Radical students, many of whom were veterans, and faculty counterparts pushed their peers to examine racial attitudes on campus and in town while they directly attacked racial barriers, using direct, non-violent and peaceful actions like Mahatma Ghandi's. The movement quickly died after 1948, not only because a conservative turn in national politics, but also because the vital student leadership needed graduated. As well, students had limited views of radical protests and never followed their protests through.

This thesis is based on extensive archival research not only at various campus and regional archives, but also in the University Daily Kansan which either participated in or reported extensively the activities of civil rights reformers. Also crucial to my research were the approximately thirty interviews that I conducted with faculty, students and administrators.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

On April 15, 1948, thirty black and white University of Kansas students from the Christian-pacifist group, the Committee on Racial Equality (CORE), staged a "sit-down"[1] at Brick's Cafe. The student hangout excluded African Americans and protesters refused to move until the owner served CORE's black members. CORE included founder, Frank Stannard, a conscientious objector who had served with the ambulance corps during World War II; CORE president, Robert Stewart, another veteran who lived in Jayhawk Cooperative House and Stewart's roommate, Wesley Elliott, secretary of the Negro Student Association.[2]

Outside of the cafe, Joyce Harkleroad, a resident of a Lawrence interracial women's cooperative called Henley House, handed out "Information Please" leaflets. The leaflets touted CORE's belief that racial segregation in restaurants was a "flagrant denial of the Christian precept of brotherly love, the true meaning of democracy and the principle that all men are created equal." Irma

---

[1]The first sit-ins were called sit-downs.

[2]University Daily Kansan (hereafter known as Kansan), April 15, 1948, p. 1; August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, CORE: A Study in the Civil Rights Movement, 1942-1968 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 3-39; Greg K. Olmsted, interview with author, September 6, 1991; Robert Stewart, telephone interview with author, October 18, 1991; I.W. Elliott, correspondence with author, August, 1992.

Smith, the Henley housemother and a civil rights activist, stood with Harkleroad "to cool [her]...down." Don Maxstead, a Quaker, Jayhawk Co-op member, and a former member of the Communist Party, also stood with Harkleroad and Smith, holding bail money.[3]

The sit-in lasted for four hours. When Lawrence police eventually arrived, CORE expected them to enforce the Kansas statute forbidding service businesses to segregate or exclude anyone on the basis of race. The police, however, had a history of enforcing de facto segregation and the officers stepped aside to allow KU football players, unofficial bouncers for the town's restaurant owners, to pick up the male CORE members and toss them on the sidewalk outside.[4]

This study begins with a simple question: why was there a sit-in in Lawrence in 1948? Sit-ins typically invoke images of civil rights movements in the South during the 1960s. But, years earlier, World War II

---

[3]Joyce Harkleroad is quoted in Bridget Cain, "Henley House Cooperative," unpublished paper, Spring, 1992; "CORE Witness Report, April 15, 1948," in the Elmer Rusco Papers, University Archives, Spencer Research Libraries, University of Kansas.

[4]Robert Stewart, et. al., "Report on Direct Action Against Racial Discrimination at a Cafe Near the Campus of the University of Kansas, April 15, 1948, Prepared and Distributed by the Committee on Racial Equality," sent to author by Wesley Elliott. Copy also in the KU-CORE Papers, University Archives.

fostered its own nationwide civil rights movement, a movement that was particularly fervent on college campuses where the war's democratic ideology and its dramatic presence deeply influenced progressive students. College campuses had always been, in the University Daily Kansan's opinion, "centers for discussion, for liberal thinking, for leadership." Thus, according to the paper, KU's mission - education - as an institution of higher learning fostered an awareness of social issues that sometimes produced protests.[5]

The war's practical challenges to the University of Kansas and its pervasive presence, even after the war ended, ensured that its message of equality and fairness for all would be heard at least by the most broad-minded college students. The demographics of the traditional classroom, for example, changed as college-age men joined or were drafted into the armed forces. The Army and Navy established training schools at the University of Kansas

---

[5]"Today's Students Must Strive for International Viewpoint," Kansan, February 4, 1943, p. 6. Others at KU also expressed this sentiment. See Chapter Two of this thesis as well as Kaethe Schick, "The Don Henry Case: Red Scare at KU," (Spring, 1972, unpublished paper) for comments on Chancellor Ernest H. Lindley's defense of the university's right to liberal thinking. See also Chancellor Deane W. Malott to Otha Hatfield, September 10, 1947, in the Chancellor Deane W. Malott Papers, University Archives, for Malott's defense of the university's open, liberal atmosphere.

and men in uniform became a normal sight. Finally, after the war, the G.I. Bill sent millions of veterans to college and traditional students learned alongside older, more mature war veterans.

While the war's effect was new at the University of Kansas, the protests it eventually generated were part of a long tradition. Indeed, Lawrence abolitionists founded the university in 1867 as a "monument to perpetuate the memory of those martyrs of Liberty who fell during...struggles" between abolitionists and pro-slave advocates before and during the Civil War. Abolitionists thought they further commemorated their fallen comrades by offering blacks an equal opportunity to education and black students, most of them Kansas residents, matriculated at the University of Kansas from 1870 onward. The University of Kansas quickly earned a reputation in the Midwest for forward thinking racial policies.[6]

In the early twentieth century, however, the early degree of acceptance diminished and as it declined further in the 1920s, it exposed the limits within KU's supposedly liberal racial policy. KU still accepted black

---

[6]Clifford S. Griffin, The University of Kansas: A History, (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1974), p. 1-33.

students and, beginning in the 1920s, the university began to accept black residents from "Jim Crow" states like Oklahoma, Missouri, and Arkansas, whose universities excluded blacks. But, under the leadership of Chancellors Frank Strong and E.H. Lindley and Athletic Director, Forrest C. "Phog" Allen, the student cafeteria and varsity and intramural sports, previously open and available to all students, became segregated or began excluding black students altogether. Despite the racial conservativism rampant on campus in the 1920's, YMCA and YWCA students and interested bystanders such as Pittsburgh, Kansas, Socialists Marcet and Emmanuel Haldeman-Julius followed KU's earlier abolitionist tradition and conducted sporadic and futile protests against the establishment of those new, more rigid, racial boundaries.[7]

In 1941, the tenor of dissent became more frequent and coordinated as, nationally, Franklin Delano Roosevelt urged his fellow Americans to extend America's Four Freedoms to people dominated by Fascism. Inspired by the

---

[7]For references to increased segregation on campus in the 1910s and 1920s, see Ed Harvey to Frank Strong, January 15, 1914, in the Frank Strong Papers, University Archives; Loren Miller, "The Unrest Among Negro Students," The Crisis, 34:6(August, 1927), p. 187-188; E.H. Lindley to W.E.B. Du Bois, December 11, 1930, in the Chancellor Ernest H. Lindley Papers, University Archives.

war's international democratic crusade, KU students and faculty began to identify segregation with democracy's antithesis, Fascism. While they at first castigated segregated national institutions, such as the military, Kansan journalists used editorials in 1943 to educate their peers about University of Kansas' segregation. Indeed, they said, KU practiced what Hitler preached.

At other times, the editorialists led the attack against African-American segregation on campus - for example, they attacked prohibitions against blacks attending school dances - while protesting Japanese-American exclusion from campus during the war. At the same time, the Lawrence NAACP's Youth Council complained that campus segregation limited black students' rights -- rights, they argued, which all American citizens, both black and white, deserved.

During the war, racially segregated groups of students united under the war's ideology of democracy and fairness for all. This reform movement, though, was just that: a crusade whose substance was almost solely based on that common rhetoric. The earlier parts of the movement included editorials and letters to the Kansan editors, while petitions routinely circulated around campus. Each advocated political and, to a lesser extent, social equality, for black students.

After the war, however, civil rights reformers began to use what KU students and Lawrence citizens considered more radical techniques. Even Kansan editorialists who had been so vital during the war distanced themselves from this new group of civil rights workers. The interracial groups not only shared ideals of democracy, but living quarters, workspace, and lifestyles. They flaunted themselves as symbols of interracial cooperation, symbols that became fundamental parts of their civil rights work.

As with Kansan editorialists, education was a prominent part of their agenda, especially for the Lawrence League for the Practice of Democracy, a group made up primarily of KU faculty and Lawrence ministers. However, students organized and joined radical civil rights organizations such as the Congress on Racial Equality. Their focus was no longer the end of segregation at the University of Kansas and their tactics were no longer simply education. CORE students led the charge against exclusionary Lawrence service businesses such as restaurants, theaters and barbershops that catered to white KU students. Their resistance consciously followed Mahatma Ghandi's doctrine of non-violent direct action and students put these precepts into practice with sit-downs at the Varsity Theater in

July 1947 and at Brick's Cafe in April 1948.

The moral reform community continued to use the war's rhetoric, but, for the first time since the 1920s when the YMCA and YWCA protested segregation, religion became a crucial basis. The new reformers swept campus and Lawrence demanding integration of service businesses as both democratic and moral rights. Significantly, they focused solely on black segregation and exclusion. With the exception of LLPD member G.E.E. Lindquist who ministered to missionaries on Native-American Reservations, no one ever protested Native-American segregation. Nor did they protest racism against Lawrence's small Hispanic population.

Lawrence's business community rallied together to protect their segregated businesses from radical students. Petitions to Chancellor Malott, the Lawrence Police Department, KU's football team and nicknames like "King of the Communists" became tools against what service business owners considered a threat against economic stability. Protests dwindled in the late 1940s and early 1950s after the Brick's sit-down failed. Remaining CORE members tried numerous times to restart the movement, but were never successful.

Two individuals, however, delivered in the 1950s the progress promised by CORE and the LLPD in the 1940s:

Chancellor Franklin D. Murphy and Wilt Chamberlain. Thanks to these two, the barriers that CORE protested finally fell. By the time the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and Martin Luther King began organizing sit-ins nationally, many public accommodations in Lawrence had already been desegregated.

I seek to answer two other questions with this thesis. First, how have other civil rights historians portrayed these important years? Most acknowledge World War II's importance as a catalyst for civil rights movements both in the 1940s and later. However, few have studied these movements either at a national or local level. Although there are a few significant exceptions, the central concern of many civil rights historians is Martin Luther King, Jr., and the 1950s and 1960s civil rights movements with which he commonly is associated. No historian denies the importance of movements he led. However, civil rights successes exploded on the national scene in the mid 1950s only after decades of hard work by both black and white Americans. The war years (as well as earlier eras) need to be studied in depth in order to provide an historical context for the more commonly known

civil rights generations.[8]

Richard Dalfiume is the first historian to acknowledge national 1940s civil rights protests in his book, The Desegregation of the United States Armed Forces: Fighting on Two Fronts and his article, "The Forgotten Years of the Negro Revolution." Both chronicled the constitutional and political challenges against segregation, especially in the Armed Forces. "The Forgotten Years" pointed to the especially poignant ironies facing blacks during the war. Cynicism and hope existed side by side in the black community, according to Dalfiume, as they fought for democracy on two fronts - against Hitler in Europe and segregation in the United States.[9]

Historian Neil Wynn followed Dalfiume with a survey of World War II African-American culture and the challenges to segregation that arose out of that culture. Peter J. Kellogg reviewed African-American newspapers and

---

[8]The two most recent, important, and popular examples of this neglect are the 1986 documentary, "Eyes on the Prize," and Taylor Branch's Parting the Waters: America in the King Years (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988). Both won the Pulitzer Prize.

[9]Richard Dalfiume, Desegregation of the United States Armed Forces: Fighting on Two Fronts, 1939-1953 (Columbia, MO.: University of Missouri Press, 1969); Dalfiume, "The 'Forgotten Years' of the Negro Revolution," Journal of American History, 55:1(June, 1968), p. 90-106. The title of this thesis comes from this important article.

reported the rhetoric used to challenge black's second-class American citizenship. Harvard Sitkoff, in the first volume in a series on the history of civil rights protest, described the tremendous economic and social change for African Americans in the 1930s and deemed those changes important for future civil rights protests. Sitkoff, who worked in Mississippi during Freedom Summer in 1964, further cited those significant economic changes in "The Preconditions for Racial Change," an article that considered longterm structural economic developments and their impact on thirty years' of civil rights.[10]

While Dalfiume, Wynn, Kellogg, and Sitkoff have focused on national civil rights movements, Nelson Lichenstein and Robert Korstad's "Opportunities Found and Lost: Labor, Radicals, and the Early Civil Rights Movement" is a rare local civil rights study which compared radical black protests affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) in Detroit, Michigan, and Winston-Salem, North Carolina. To date, no

---

[10]Neil A. Wynn, The Afro-American and the Second World War (London: Paul Elek, 1976); Peter J. Kellogg, "Civil Rights Consciousness in the 1940's," Historian, 42(November, 1972), p. 18-41; Harvard Sitkoff, A New Deal for Blacks: The Emergence of Civil Rights as a National Issue, Volume I: The Depression Decade (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978); Harvard Sitkoff, "The Preconditions for Racial Change," in Sitkoff and Chafe, eds., A History of Our Time. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 157-166.

published work has looked at the many local movements on college campuses across the nation. August Meier and Elliott Rudwick's CORE: A Study in the Civil Rights Movement, 1942-1968 fleetingly examined some local chapters founded by college students, but local movements were peripheral to Meier and Rudwick's discussion of CORE's national organization, especially in the 1940s. Meier and Rudwick also focused on the Congress on Racial Equality, a focus that excluded important local grass roots organizations. In Lawrence, for example, the Lawrence League for the Practice of Democracy and the cooperative housing movement provided both a structure and outlet for a critical mass of faculty and students concerned with civil rights reform. Indeed, the KU chapter of CORE grew out of both of these important Lawrence institutions.[11]

---

[11]Robert Korstad and Nelson Lichenstein, "Opportunities Found and Lost: Labor, Radicals, and the Early Civil Rights Movement," Journal of American History, 75:3(December, 1988), p. 786-811; Meier and Rudwick, CORE. No one has yet written an extensive study of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and it remains a weakness in the field of civil rights history. Dissertations and theses also neglect this important era. A 1990 dissertation from the University of Illinois/Champaign-Urbana discusses segregation in the community during the 1940s, but does not discuss any attempts at reform. See Carrie Franke, "Injustice Sheltered: Race Relations at the University of Illinois and Champaign-Urbana," Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana, 1990.

My second question concerns Clifford Geertz' theories of symbolic anthropology. Geertz interpreted important cultural assumptions by deconstructing symbols in isolated, localized cultural "islands". He then attributed, "in local frames of awareness," the webs of meaning or significance that humans ascribed to those symbols, objects, or words to larger social values. Is it possible to apply this technique, called "thick description," to historical events such as these 1940s reform movements?[12]

Eighteenth and nineteenth-century historians have effectively applied Geertz' theories to those time periods. Mary Ryan, for example, studied how gender, class and race were structured in nineteenth century America by examining parades. Lynn Hunt used words, medallions and hats during the French Revolution to show how revolutionaries attempted to "build a sense of community and at the same time ... establish new fields

---

[12]James Caughey, "Ethnography of Everyday Life," American Quarterly, 34:3(1982), p. 222-243; Clifford Geertz, The Interpretation of Cultures (New York: Basic Books, 1927), Part I, p. 5.Aletta Biersack, "Local Knowledge, Local History: Geertz and Beyond," in Lynn Hunt, ed. The New Cultural History (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), p. 131-153.

of social, political and cultural struggle."[13]

Geertz' theory is also an appropriate basis for twentieth century history, especially when used ethnographically. James Caughey described how ethnographers utilize symbolic anthropology:

> In symbolic anthropology ... an attempt is ... made to discover codes of meaning; however, in Geertz's phrasing, these meanings are not "in people's heads" but are shared and public. Attention is placed on the "thick description" of social discourses, the symbols and rituals through which meanings are sustained.[14]

Ethnographers, who are primarily interested in the present, use oral interviews and participant observation to discover what meanings are shared and public. I used their methods, especially oral interviewing, and was able to reconstruct Lawrence civil rights communities and analyze what shared and public meanings were the basis for students' and faculty members' civil rights work. Thus, their words, their songs, even the magazines they subscribed to were as important as the factual evidence which I also used extensively. Admittedly, the campus' civil rights community during the war was much more difficult to reconstruct. However, the relative ease

---

[13]Mary P. Ryan, "The American Parade: Representations of the Nineteenth-Century Social Order," p. 131-153 and Lynn Hunt, "Introduction," p. 17 in Hunt, ed., The New Cultural History.

[14]Caughey, "The Ethnography of Everyday Life," p. 227.

reconstructing postwar Lawrence was also historically significant.

Though less useful, participant observation yielded some interesting results. In December, 1992, I interviewed Wendell Walker and John Eberhardt in Denver, Colorado. The two men who had been friends since their years as residents of Jayhawk Men's Cooperative used each other's memories to help me reconstruct the cooperative lifestyle. At one point, I asked Walker, an African American, if he had felt alienated from campus life. When Walker replied affirmatively, Eberhardt, a white man, seemed surprised. I felt I had just seen an important component of cooperative life. White students, it seemed, had a defined vision in their own minds of what African Americans endured on campus, a vision that was at odds with African-American students' actual experience.[15]

There are, admittedly, problems with participant observation and oral interviewing because of historical problems and because of my topic. First, some of the most important civil rights workers, for example, Beth Bell and Frank Stannard, are dead. Second, I found many cooperative members, but could not find anyone from the opposing groups. I wrote letters to the football players

---

[15]Walker and Eberhardt to author, December 17, 1992.

who tossed the sit-downers out of Brick's, but did not receive one reply. A University of Kansas football player from the 1950s who is now a state legislator from Iola could have shed some light on the Brick's bouncers since he performed the same service at a restaurant sit-in in 1951. He called me very early one morning and denied that he had ever been involved in any kind of anti-desegregation actions. Behavior appropriate in 1948 or 1951 is now considered inappropriate and few people are willing to speak about it.

Third, a significant amount of time has passed since many of my interviewees were in school and memories have, to an extent, faded. I have also had to deal with Lawrence civil rights workers' perception that the 1950s and 1960s civil rights movements were very successful. Wesley Elliott, for example, thought that the 1940s Lawrence civil rights movement failed. I had to take for granted that he had been involved in what he (and I) considered a very successful movement in the 1960s.[16]

Even though applying symbolic anthropology with ethnographic techniques is problematic, it also solves some practical problems for twentieth century historians. For example, because documents like census records are

---

[16]I.W. Elliott, correspondence with author, August, 1992.

closed for seventy five years to protect the privacy of individuals, potentially useful evidence is unavailable. In my case, I went to the Kansas Bureau of Investigation (KBI) in Topeka to check Beth Bell's assertions that theater manager, Stan Schwahn, had asked the KBI to investigate his suspicions that CORE was a Communist organization.[17] Those files are closed unfortunately until 2022. Knowing, however, that civil rights workers faced possible accusations like Schwahn's allowed me to ask my interviewees if Bell was correct. No one remembered those specific charges, but Rachel VanderWerf and George Caldwell remembered similar problems.

And, finally, one last word about definitions in this thesis: an important component is how civil rights workers and the groups working against them defined "liberal" and "Communist." Kansan editorialists during the war defined liberal similarly to the 1945 edition of Webster's Dictionary: liberals were those who favored greater freedom in political or religious matters, especially in a democracy. Faculty members and Lawrence ministers who worked with the LLPD also defined liberal this way. Significantly, both attempted little more than the education of students and Lawrence residents.

---

[17]See page 122, footnote 161.

Cooperative housing students, however, defined liberal three ways: socially, economically and politically. Each definition rested in a Socialist view of the world where each individual, no matter their race, had worth as long as they worked for the good of the community.[18]

People who opposed civil rights workers frequently called them Communists. However, organizations like the Lawrence Citizens for the Entertainment of the Citizens of Lawrence (LCECL) did not define Communism in a Leninist or Stalinist terms. A Communist to them was someone who pushed against traditional, accepted principles such as racial barriers.

This thesis, then, while describing World War II as a catalyst for a modernization of civil rights protests at the University of Kansas, underscores the weaknesses of civil rights history. At the same time, I employed interdisciplinary techniques like oral interviewing to establish the broad outlines of those protests. KU and its long tradition of protest is, admittedly, a special case. However, World War II prompted many blacks and whites nationwide to participate in a reconstruction of

---

[18]William Allen Nielson, Editor in Chief, Webster's New International Dictionary, Second Edition, Unabridged, Springfield, MA: G. & C. Merriam Co. Pubs, 1946.

American thought wherein Americans began to redefine who was an American citizen and what rights that citizen deserved. Those redefinitions based on the rhetoric generated by the war necessarily began on college campuses where, ideologically and practically, the war's presence was felt so dramatically.

CHAPTER TWO

PATERNALISTIC RACISM AT KU
1866 - 1939

Eager to hear "The Panassie Stomp," "Basie Blues," and "Shorty George," the University of Kansas' Junior Prom committee managed to book one of the nation's most popular musical groups, the Count Basie Band, for the March 3, 1939, dance. African-American students, excluded from KU dances, asked the dance committee and Chancellor Ernest H. Lindley to "be broad-minded and unbiased about the matter" and allow the black students to see one of their own. As a special favor, the committee and the administration agreed to this one exception to custom. But on that special night the black students were "crowded...into rooms above the main ballroom so that they might stew some more in their own humiliation," according to one student's letter to the Kansan. "Wasn't it a most benevolent concession by the masters," wrote Saul J. Grosberg, "when they allowed the Negroes to listen in while one of their race was playing?"[19]

Protests such as Grosberg's had been a tradition at

---

[19]"Band Leader to Play Here Famous for Rapid Rise," Kansan, February 28, 1939, p. 1; E. Jackson to Editor, "Turn About is Fair Play," Kansan, February 28, 1939, p. 2; Saul J. Grosberg to Editor, "Benevolent Concession," Kansan, March 8, 1939, p. 2.

the University of Kansas from the university's inception. Established in 1866 with the help of Lawrence's antislave benefactor, Amos Lawrence, KU administrators tried to follow the town's abolitionist tradition and in 1870, the first black student, a woman, matriculated. Surrounded by "Jim Crow" states Missouri, Oklahoma, and Arkansas, the University of Kansas soon became known in the region as a racially liberal university.[20]

A conviction that blacks deserved an equal opportunity to education kept at least some campus activities integrated during the university's early years. All students, for example, had use of the swimming pool. Sherman and Grant Harvey, probably the first black intercollegiate athletes at KU, played varsity baseball in the 1880s, while their brother, Ed, competed in varsity track, baseball, and football in the 1890s. During these years, too, the integrated student restaurant served black patrons who were excluded from all white-owned Lawrence restaurants. There was no separate black seating in those early years.[21]

---

[20]Griffin, The University of Kansas, p. 1-33; Larry M. Peace, The Graduate Magazine, 7:8(May, 1909), p. 293-303; E.H. Lindley to W.E.B. Du Bois, December 11, 1930, Lindley Papers.

[21]Brady Prauser, "A Haircut and a History Lesson," Kansan, February 25, 1993, p. 1; Ed Harvey to Chancellor Frank Strong, January 15, 1914, Reverend Arthur L. Goudy to

The white administration and students, however, proved that racism existed even in the abolitionist cause: they saw no contradiction between their antislave activism and their belief in segregation. That contradiction became especially clear in the twentieth century. Some professors, for example, segregated black students, placing them in the back of their classrooms. Students excluded African Americans from social activities - such as dances, the Band and the Glee Club, and pep clubs - because of the possibility of "physical contact" between the races. Close marching formations in the band, for example, were one place where the races might touch and few white students would stand for that possibility. For the same reason, the university excluded black students from dormitories. They were then forced to room with black Lawrence citizens, mostly in East and North Lawrence, some distance from the university.[22]

Circumstances in the 1910s and 1920s signaled a further deterioration of black students' access to

---

Chancellor Frank Strong, October 16, 1913, Dr. Lloyd E. Bailer to Chancellor Frank Strong, October 10, 1913, Strong Papers; Lindley to Du Bois, December 11, 1930.

[22]Loren Miller, "The Unrest Among Negro Students," p. 187-188; Henry Werner, Men's Student Advisor, to E.H. Lindley, December 3, 1930, Lindley Papers; "Fine Arts Faculty Denies Barring of Negroes From Participation in Campus Musical Organizations," Kansan, Nov. 26, 1943, p. 1.

campus. A more racist national atmosphere after World War I, wherein the Ku Klux Klan gained increasing power in Kansas and elsewhere in the United States, contributed to that change. Two additions to KU's faculty in the 1910s further contributed to the decline of campus access for black students. First, in 1915, the university hired a new basketball coach, Dr. Forrest C. Allen, a native Missourian nicknamed "Phog" for his infamous bellowing. Allen was head of the Athletic Department from 1919 to 1937 and basketball coach until his retirement in 1955. Soon after his arrival, the athletic department systematically began to exclude black students from its teams and facilities.[23]

The Kansas Board of Regents in 1919 brought the second addition, Ernest H. Lindley, to KU from the University of Idaho to replace outgoing chancellor, Frank

---

[23]Graduate Magazine, 40:6(Feb. 1942), p. 7; Ryan L. Petty, "Debunking Black and White: The Race Question as Subject in the Writings and Publications of Emanual Haldeman-Julius," Emporia State Research Studies, 23:3(Winter, 1975), p. 95, Haldeman-Julius Papers, Leonard Axe Library, Pittsburgh State University, Pittsburgh, KS; Karen Anderson, "The Ku Klux Klan in Kansas," unpublished Masters Thesis, University of Kansas, 1972; Leonard J. Moore, Citizen Klansman: the Ku Klux Klan in Indiana, 1921-1928 (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1991); Kathleen Blee, Women of the Klan: Racism and Gender in the 1920's (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); Donald McCoy and Richard T. Ruetten, Quest and Response, (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1973), p. 1.

Strong. An aloof, testy, generally conservative man who was proud of his abolitionist Quaker stock, Lindley "bowed to student opinion which was itself indecisive and racist by default," according to Socialist Marcet Haldeman-Julius. Indeed, he was a "liberal man," Haldeman-Julius stated, who lacked the courage to deal forthrightly with the racial prejudice of white students and faculty or to acknowledge his own paternalistic racism.[24]

Rising black student enrollment also contributed to increasing segregation on campus. The African-American student population shot up during the early 1920s as the university began accepting students from Missouri, Oklahoma and Arkansas. Each state excluded blacks from their public universities. It is difficult to assess how much the black population actually did increase because the university did not tabulate the demographics of its student population. However, in 1911, a black graduate, Larry Peace, estimated that, in the university's first forty years, sixty blacks had graduated from KU. In 1927 alone, 123 black students attended KU. In addition, administrators perceived and complained about a sharp

---

[24]Clifford Griffin, interview with author, February 23, 1993; Griffin, The University of Kansas, p. 406; Marcet Haldeman-Julius to F.W. Brinkerhoff, c/o The Pittsburgh Headlight, October 28, 1927, Haldeman-Julius Papers.

rise in the black student population.[25]

As their numbers increased, black students began to establish their own campus community on the margins of the dominant white one. They established, for example, four black Greek houses: Alpha Kappa Alpha sorority, 1915; Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity, 1917; Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity in 1920; and Delta Sigma Theta sorority, in 1923. KU's Pan-Hellenic or Inter-Fraternity Councils did not recognize any of them. Financial difficulties troubled the black Greeks from the first and they frequently did not have houses. When houses were available, these organizations provided housing for black students close to campus as well as a place for social activities since few others existed for black students. The black Greeks - indeed, the entire black community - also provided another vital necessity: they protected their peers from blatant racism, telling them which campus activities accepted blacks and which did not.[26]

---

[25]Peace, "Colored Students and Graduate of the University of Kansas," p. 293-302; Henry Werner, Men's Student Advisor, to Chancellor E.H. Lindley, December 3, 1930; E.H. Lindley to "My Dear Mr. Morgan", October 5, 1927, E.H. Lindley to "My Dear Mr. Herman", May 11, 1928, Lindley Papers; Raymond Nichols, interview with author, October 30, 1991.

[26]"First Negro Sorority has KU Chapter," Kansan, Jan. 23, 1946, p. 3; "The University of Kansas Black Panhellenic Council," Pamphlet published by Kansas Black Panhellenic Council, 1993; "Delta Sigma Theta Founded in 1913," Kansan,

While the black population rose, more white students from the South began attending KU, according to Lindley and his Dean of Men, Henry Werner. Lindley and Werner blamed these students for the increase in campus racism since their racist "attitudes and inbred convictions" were to blame. Lindley and Werner decided that the campus had become "so saturated with the prejudices of students coming in from Missouri and Oklahoma that there [were] times one doubt[ed] one [was] in Kansas." Many of these new students "showed no reticence in expressing their dislike for the Negro race." Supporting Lindley's assumptions, Loren Miller, an African American and a former KU student, wrote an indictment of KU's racial policies for the NAACP's The Crisis. He cited the southern students as the reason why, for example, no African-American women were admitted to a new campus dormitory.[27] It seemed to Miller that university administrators thought "that the citizens of Kansas

---

Feb. 14, 1946, p. 3; "'Karnival' Big Affair for Kappa Alpha Psi," Kansan, April 3, 1946, p. 3; Jesse Milan, interview with author, September 30, 1991; Octavia Walker Burton, interview with author, July 31, 1993; C. Kermit Phelps, interview with Mary Kate Tews, June, 1988, transcript in the University Archives.

[27]The new dormitory was probably Corbin Hall, which opened in 1923.

owe[d] the South something."[28]

While administrators tried to assess and assign blame, "Phog" Allen perpetrated a blatant move toward restricting black students in 1924. After seeing several black students swim in the university swimming pool, Allen rescinded the university requirement for black students that they pass a swimming test, formerly a graduation requirement for all students. The Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Association (YMCA and YWCA) secured a number of affidavits from both black and white students that stated "Negro and White students had simultaneously used the pool quite frequently prior to the passing of this rule by the Department of Physical Education." The students took the affidavits to Lindley who ignored their complaints. Instead, he explicitly avowed his support of Allen and, implicitly, Allen's new exclusionary policy.[29]

---

[28]Werner to Lindley, December 3, 1930; Lindley to Du Bois, December 11, 1930; Haldeman-Julius to Brinkerhoff, October 28, 1927, Haldeman-Julius Papers; Editorial, "The Disadvantage of Segregation," Kansan, Nov. 4, 1927, article found in the Haldeman-Julius Papers; Miller, "The Unrest Among Negro Students," p. 187; E. Haldeman-Julius, "How Kansas Kicks the Negro," Haldeman-Julius Weekly, 1658(Sept. 10, 1927), p. 2, Haldeman-Julius Papers.

[29]Miller, "The Unrest Among Negro Students," p. 187-188; A Negro Student, "Negro Students Given Bad Break By Administration," The Dove, 9:1(October 24, 1934), p. 1; Affidavits in Dorothy Luxton, et al. to E.H. Lindley, May 20, 1927, Haldeman-Julius Papers.

As black students began to endure a greater physical segregation on campus, their personal embarrassment from the subtle racist slights became even more prevalent. In 1925, an anonymous black student portrayed the typical problems he experienced at KU in an article in The Dove, a liberal student publication often attacked as "subversively un-American" by Kansas newspapers. He wondered about "the young lady who borrowed my pen in class this morning" and later, when approaching him on campus, pretended to admire the view as soon as she recognized him. Did the "professor ignore me or merely overlook my raised hand in class today?" Was the "library attendant really unaware of the fact that I had been waiting longest?" Black students, he wrote, endured subtle affronts from all but about ten percent of the student population. Even those who spoke "vehemently in ... discussion group[s] against the unjust attitude that most white people have toward Negroes" ignored their black peers when they saw them on campus. Black students existed in a constant state of anxiety and embarrassment, bothered by the "teasing uncertainty" of the conflicting statements and actions of white students. The contradictory attitude of administrators who, on the one hand, touted KU's abolitionist history and its open educational policy and, on the other, segregated black

students further aided black students' feelings of alienation, exclusion and humiliation.[30]

As black students endured the harsher climate at KU, Lindley then segregated the student cafeteria. In 1927, the university built a new student union and moved the cafeteria to the new building. Black students, probably during peak hours when there were no other seats available, "insisted on sitting uninvited" (according to Chancellor Lindley) where white students sat. White students, whose dominant numbers made their patronage crucial to the cafeteria's economic survival, began to abandon the restaurant. Lindley decided, as he reported to W.E.B. Du Bois, editor of The Crisis, in December 1930, that "we [couldn't] support a cafeteria at the expense of the state." He then set up a conference with black students. Lindley told them that "they were welcomed at the cafeteria where they could buy well-cooked food at a nominal cost," a necessary concession to black students since all white-owned food establishments excluded them. But, Lindley said to them, "in view of the necessity of white patronage it would be desirable, in the light of our earlier experience, that some voluntary

---

[30]Leavenworth Times, May 21, 1925, quoted in Griffin, The University of Kansas, p. 448, 742, n. 27; "Wonder What a Negro Thinks About," The Dove, 1:2(April 29, 1925), p. 6.

segregation for the time being would be a solution." He notified the black students that they would "have more to lose...by the failure of the cafeteria than do the Whites [sic], as the former cannot go elsewhere conveniently." Lindley designated "one third of the cafeteria" for black students, he explained to Du Bois, and the "line between this area and the rest of the cafeteria [was] practically an imaginary line, marked only by an aisle between tables." Wishing to prove his own lack of prejudice, Lindley told Du Bois that "I myself sit in that segregated area from time to time, partly because I wish to do so and partly because it might serve as an example."[31]

YMCA and YWCA students complained that racial segregation was a contradiction to the union's purpose since it had been built as a memorial to World War I soldiers. African Americans came into a new sense of citizenship during and immediately following the war that had been fought to make the world safe for democracy, the Christian organizations' students argued. "With such a background for our Union Building," an unnamed YWCA or YMCA correspondent asked U.G. Mitchell, the chair of the Memorial Union's Rules and Regulations Committee, "would

---

[31]Lindley to Du Bois, December 11, 1930; E.H. Lindley to "My Dear Mr. Herman", May 11, 1928.

it not be fitting that it should serve unostentatiously as an experiment in better understanding between American students of the two races, and that no restrictions be placed upon the use of the building by Negro students?" Black students would not cause trouble in the new building. Indeed, in many conferences with them, the correspondent found black students "quite anxious to do their part in avoiding friction between the races when they are met half way...they would recognize the danger of jeopardizing their welcome at the University if they continuously made the Union building a rendezvous for their entire number."[32]

Cementing the exclusion of African-American students from campus was the formation of the Big Six Athletic Conference in 1927 and 1928.[33] African American exclusion from varsity and intramural sports by the "common consent" of KU's athletic officials had begun under Frank Strong's administration, probably in the early twentieth century. But the six schools in the new Big Six sealed black athletes' fate in 1927 with a verbal

---

[32]EBS to U.G. Mitchell, October 17, 1927, Haldeman-Julius Papers.

[33]Big Six schools included the University of Oklahoma, the University of Missouri, Kansas State University, Iowa State University, the University of Nebraska and University of Kansas.

"gentlemen's agreement" that barred blacks from play out of deference to the Universities of Missouri and Oklahoma. Allen then justified the exclusion of black students from varsity athletics based on this rule. In his mind, Allen could not feasibly construct two playing strategies - one for schools that accepted black athletes and one for those who did not. Lindley backed Allen's pragmatic exclusion of black students, although he justified the policy as "not from the standpoint of any moral right, but because of [physical] danger to the Negro himself."[34]

As the Big Six privately implemented its exclusionary policy, white KU students publicly excluded black students from intramural sports. Intramural managers decided, The Dove reported, to reject "the petition of a group of Negro men to be permitted to compete for various trophies offered and to fulfill their physical education requirements." Thus, the "Negroes who have their corner in the cafeteria...have been told to stay in their own corner lots in sports activities." The Dove writers ridiculed the "100% Nordics" (as the writers

---

[34]Griffin, The University of Kansas, p. 661; Harvey to Strong, January 15, 1914, Strong Papers; "Resolution for Repeal of Reactionary Ruling Never Passed," Kansan, Feb. 26, 1943, p. 6; "Wonder What a Negro Thinks About," The Dove, 1:2(April 29, 1925), p. 6; Lindley to "My Dear Mr. Herman", May 11, 1928.

called them) who used racial prejudice to avoid the embarrassment if the black teams should carry off intramural honors.[35]

That same year, Loren Miller bitterly indicted KU administrators for restrictions placed on black students, in the NAACP's Crisis magazine. He offered little hope for Chancellor Lindley who, he said, would "continue to insult and degrade every colored student at Kansas University in the name of Christianity and social equality." But black students also prompted charges from Miller, who condemned "Kansas Negroes" for not attempting to "enforce the provisions of their constitution which makes this discrimination a crime. The spirit of Uncle Tom is strong in Kansas. Kansans are cowards."[36]

Miller's article prompted two investigations of racial policies and practices at the University of Kansas. In October 1927, Emanuel and Marcet Haldeman-Julius explored black student life at all Kansas public universities. The Haldeman-Juliuses found racism and segregation rampant at KU. In a statement issued to the

---

[35]John Shively, "Home of the Free," The Dove, 7:3(December 14, 1931), p. 3.

[36]Miller, "The Unrest Among Negro Students," p. 188; Bartram, "Our Jim Crow Laws," p. 2; Marcet Haldeman-Julius, "What the Negro Students Endure in Kansas," Haldeman-Julius Monthly, 7:2(January 1928), p. 5-16, 147-159, Haldeman-Julius Papers.

Kansan, Marcet Haldeman-Julius concluded that only Fort Hayes State University, which excluded African Americans altogether, was worse than KU. Haldeman-Julius considered Chancellor Lindley "undoubtedly...democratic...and humanist" and felt the administration was "working for an improved status." She decided that white students perpetuated second-class citizenship for blacks on campus. Thus, their views engendered, in her opinion, a time of crisis. Only students, then, not administrators, could end campus segregation.[37]

Haldeman-Julius' investigation seemed to Lindley as well as to students writing to the Kansan biased. Indeed, "in the opinion of many thoughtful observers [it] did much more harm than good," Lindley told Emanuel Haldeman-Julius. "Most of our colored students understand," Lindley further added, "and are cooperating to bring about a gradual improvement. They regard a few extreme non-conformists of their number as slowing the progress of the movement." Letters to the Kansan also asserted that Haldeman-Julius started a "bombardment that promises ill feeling and hatred that can scarcely be overcome by

---

[37]Marcet Haldeman-Julius to James Weldon Johnson, NAACP, October 12, 1927, Haldeman-Julius Papers; "Wife of Publisher Issues Statement on Race Question," Kansan, October 23, 1927, "The Disadvantage of Segregation, Kansan, November 4, 1927, both articles found in the Haldeman-Julius Papers.

the good of it."[38]

Loren Miller's article also prompted an investigation by W.E.B. Du Bois. Du Bois had spent two years studying campus segregation across the country and he wrote Chancellor Lindley in 1930 requesting information on racial segregation at the University of Kansas. Lindley assured him that the "colored student was given full rights in the classroom and library." He further claimed that "in general, colored students [were] assisted just as whole-heartedly as any of the white students on our campus." Lindley and Dean Werner, who conducted a private investigation of campus segregation for Lindley's report to Du Bois, conceded "the social conditions surrounding negro students [had] not improved, and if anything, [had] grown worse over a period of years." According to Werner, there had been a "widening breach between the negro student and the white student on the campus," especially when it came to "social contacts." On the other hand, he failed to "find any evidence of increasing racial distinction in the classroom." On the contrary, he wrote, "evidence from some instructors [was] that there [was] a decrease in

---

[38]Lindley to "My Dear Mr. Herman", May 11, 1928; E.H. Lindley to Emanuel Haldeman-Julius, September 30, 1927, J.M.B. to the Editor, Kansan, Nov. 4, 1927, both found in the Haldeman-Julius Papers.

segregation in the classroom." "In some classes," Werner said, "it [was] not existent," and he concluded that "the educational facilities [were] as widely open to negroes as to white students."[39]

Difficulties arose, Lindley informed Du Bois, when "a small minority ... insist[ed] on the rapid and complete obliteration of any race destruction [sic]." "Every time the University of Kansas [sought] to open a new door of opportunity for colored students," Lindley complained, "they [were] met with the objection of the minority who insist that that particular door be not opened but that some other door be opened." For example, when black students protested the yearly dance administrators allowed them because having "the dance might indicate that the Union Building had discharged its obligation to those students who had paid the one dollar Union fee," administrators canceled the dance. "No further steps [will] be taken toward holding a dance for negro students until the students display...a unanimity of opinion," Dean Werner decided. Obviously, until black students also displayed some gratitude for Lindley and

---

[39]Lindley to Du Bois, December 11, 1930; James Weldon Johnson to Marcet Haldeman-Julius, October 19, 1927, Haldeman-Julius Papers; Werner to Lindley, December 3, 1930; "Dr. Woodruff to Succeed Dean Werner," Kansan, April 22, 1947, p. 1.

Werner's paternalistic benevolence in certain limited spheres, the administration intended to continue the university's exclusionary policies.[40]

Because a student generation is short (four to six years), by December 1930, the segregated cafeteria and athletics were campus traditions. Students, administrators and outsiders blamed each other for the newly imposed tradition of racism. All groups failed to acknowledge their own part in perpetuating and entrenching racial separation.

After 1930, economic pressures from the Depression seemed more the focus of students, both black and white, than any concerted protests against segregation. Black students continued to use the black Greek houses and local community as a buffer against segregation. C. Kermit Phelps, a Kappa brother in the 1930s, remembered his brothers "plainly and rather directly conveyed" to him which activities he could and could not join, thus sparing him "from getting into a situation like that," namely, one where he would be told he was excluded because of his race.[41]

---

[40]Henry Werner, Men's Student Advisor, to Chancellor E.H. Lindley, December 4, 1930, Lindley Papers.

[41]Griffin to author, February 23, 1993; Phelps, interview with Tews, June, 1988.

There was a harbinger of liberal change in 1937, although at the time it seemed peripheral to any civil rights activism. Although Kansas residents had always thought the University of Kansas a haven for radicals, few KU students before 1937 advocated Socialism or Communism. In 1937, however, radicalism pervaded Mount Oread. The Young Communist League established a chapter on campus and recruited, along with KU's American Student Union (ASU), a student Communist organization, students to fight on the Loyalist side in the Spanish Civil War. One student, Don Henry, a sophomore from Dodge City who was the ASU's president, went to Spain in August 1937, and became a medic with the Abraham Lincoln Battalion. Henry was killed on September 3, 1937, a few days after he arrived in Aragon.[42]

While Lindley conducted a private campus investigation, Henry's parents immediately petitioned the Kansas State Legislature to investigate Edward Henry's suspicions that KU faculty and Lawrence residents had at least influenced, if not financed, his son's decision to fight for the Spanish Communist forces. Among those suspected or probed by Lindley's personal investigation

---

[42]Griffin, The University of Kansas, p. 448-451; Kaethe Schick, "The Don Henry Case: Red Scare at K.U.," Spring, 1972, unpublished paper; "Don Henry Slain in Loyalist Drive on Aragon Front," Kansan, October 3, 1937, p. 1.

or the State Legislature were John Hunt, YMCA secretary; John Ise, professor of economics and a friend of former Kansas Governor Alf Landon; Sociology professor Seba Eldridge; Spanish professor Jose Maria Osma; and Lawrence Unitarian Church minister, H. Lee Jones. Both Lindley and the Legislature looked for evidence linking them to Henry's decision to go to Spain. Had any surfaced, that person would have been fired or faced possible criminal prosecution. As it turned out, however, none was ever indicted, although Hunt resigned in 1938, probably because of these insinuations. The state investigations also harshly criticized the University Daily Kansan for publishing numerous editorials supporting the Loyalist cause in Spain and for arguing that the "Loyalists were fighting the 'crusade for democracy in Europe.'"[43]

The state's investigation into Henry's death then raged again in 1938 when a legislator, C.P. Oakes, a KU alumnus, called for an state investigation in order to root out all un-American activity at the university. Immediately, he and Lindley clashed over educational policies and principles of academic freedom at KU. Should

---

[43]Schick, "The Don Henry Case"; Wendell Walker and John Eberhardt, interview with author, December 17, 1992; Kansan quote from Griffin, The University of Kansas, p. 453. See also page 452 for those targeted by Oakes and the Kansas Legislature for investigation.

the university maintain its role as a social critic and a motivator of change and reform, as Lindley stated, or should it defend the democratic system, as Oakes wanted? Lindley was able to protect the university's tradition of social dissent and protest, but it cost him his credibility with a state Legislature that had never had patience for KU's supposed radicals. Finally, it cost Lindley his job.[44]

The Don Henry case was important for several reasons. First, Chancellor Lindley resigned. He cited age and health reasons for his resignation on this decision (he died one year later). The Henry case had hurt Lindley politically with the state Legislature and little could be accomplished at KU without the Legislature which controlled the University of Kansas' funding.

Secondly, Henry's involvement with the American Student Union (ASU) reflected the emergence of a nationwide, progressive student movement. While the more radical parts died out before and during World War II, one group, the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR) remained active nationally. FOR would be important at the University of Kansas in 1942 when students organized a local affiliate and, from that basis, protested

---

[44]Schick, "The Don Henry Case."

segregation at KU. Nationally, FOR also helped found the Congress on Racial Equality. Students founded a CORE affiliate in 1947 at KU and used the organization's principles of non-violent, direct action to attack segregation on campus and in town. Postwar students embraced Socialism and celebrated 1930s radicals by naming a cooperative house after Don Henry in 1947. Charges of Communism would dog those students as well.[45]

Finally, the university withstood a direct challenge to its open atmosphere and its right to protect students and professor who explored liberal and radical ideologies. Those ideologies could still be acted on within the relative safety of the university.[46]

The University of Kansas awaited only the catalyst of World War II to reintroduce black segregation as a prominent national and local issue. KU's long tradition of protests would emerge again, this time against its shorter tradition of rigid segregation. Complaints would no longer be sporadic; a concerted, coordinated movement

---

[45]Meier and Rudwick discuss CORE's roots in the Fellowship of Reconciliation in the first chapter of CORE: A Study in the Civil Rights Movement, 1942-1968 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 4.

[46]"Tribute to Chancellor Emeritus, E.H. Lindley, Final Journey," Kansan, Sept. 13, 1940, p. 6; Schick, "The Don Henry Case."

would appear. The stage was set for the catastrophic war and its democratic rhetoric to push leftist students toward civil rights reform as a prominent issue on their agendas.

CHAPTER THREE

WAR TIME PROTESTS
1941 - 1945

A weary Chancellor Lindley retired in 1939 after twenty years as head of the University of Kansas. The university had suffered economically during the Depression and the Don Henry scandal further tarnished its reputation in the eyes of the legislature. As Lindley's successor, the Kansas Board of Regents appointed Deane W. Malott. The Regents hoped that Malott's business background as an executive for Dole Pineapple and an assistant dean of Harvard University's Business School would help put the university back on its feet. His youth, vigor and excitement at the challenge of running his alma mater would eventually help the university as it later geared up to aid the United States' war effort.[47]

Malott soon became notorious, however, to students who wanted to end segregation at KU. They described him as a "remote" "fuddy-duddy" who was "conservative" when it came to racial issues. In reality, Malott was a

---

[47]Clifford S. Griffin, The University of Kansas (Lawrence, KS.: University of Kansas Press), p. 435-457; The University of Kansas Jayhawker, 1942, p. 203; Clifford Griffin, interview with author, February 23, 1993.

complex character who believed that it was his job to protect his students, even those who protested racial segregation. Eventually, Malott would side with civil rights workers especially when the public was not involved. At times, however, he had to appease students and alumnae who thought segregation appropriate and Malott dismissed civil rights workers' concerns when they publicly attacked the majority's beliefs.[48]

In February 1941, Malott's administration still followed the patterns set by Lindley's paternalistic tradition and granted African-American students $200 for their annual dance. Two black students, Eva Mae Brewer and Ralph J. Rodgers, wrote the Kansan to go "on record as not favoring [that year's] Negro Student Varsity Dance." The protesting students deemed the allocation inadequate compensation for their exclusion from other activities, namely "the right to participate in intramural athletics, the right to the use of the gymnasium and its privileges at convenient times, [and] the right to freedom of movement in the Union fountain." Since their parents paid taxes to support the university, Brewer and Rodgers asked not only "for what is ours by

---

[48]George Caldwell, telephone interview with author, May 17, 1992; James E. Gunn, interview with author, May 26, 1992.

right," but also that the "shibboleths" of "democracy" be "convert[ed] into a living vital force" to end discrimination on campus.[49]

Although they were not the first to protest racial segregation at KU, Brewer and Rodger's declaration of democracy for black students reflected a change in American thought just before World War II, one that emanated from the highest levels of government. They also were the first locally to recognize its potential application to African-American students on campus.

President Franklin Delano Roosevelt used democratic ideology to prepare Americans for the approaching world war. He presented his "arsenal of democracy" speech to "summon...the full moral strength," of the citizens of the United States, before the Congress on January 6, 1941. In that speech, Roosevelt introduced his Four Freedoms:

> The first is the freedom of speech and expression - everywhere in the world.
>
> The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way - everywhere in the world.
>
> The third is freedom from want - which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its

---

[49]Eva Mae Brewer and Ralph J. Rodgers to the Editor, Kansan, February 21, 1941, p. 6.

> inhabitants - everywhere in the world.
>
> The fourth is freedom from fear - which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor - anywhere in the world.

By the time the United States entered the war, FDR had convinced many Americans that World War II was a war to make the world safe for democracy.[50]

White liberals and African Americans alike questioned why the Four Freedoms did not extend to all citizens, black and white. Indeed, they recognized the classic "American Dilemma" that Swedish sociologist, Gunnar Myrdal, would refer to in his 1944 study of American race relations: the coexistence of democracy and segregation. This discrepancy was potentially harmful to the war effort since the United States' enemies could equate American racism and its tenets of white supremacy with German Fascism. Liberals therefore sought, as historian Peter Kellogg said, "to justify the integrity of America as a democratic organization" to both the

---

[50]Richard D. Heffner, A Documentary History of the United States, (New York: New American Library, 1985), p. 286-297. See pages 289 and 296 for quotes.

Allied community and to American citizens.[51]

Changing demographic patterns in the 1930s and civil unrest early in the war also directed liberals' attention to these enduring American contradictions. Black migration from the South to the North during World War I created large blocs of voters in northern cities. Many of those voters deserted the Republican party during the 1930s because the New Deal, although segregated, did address some of black America's economic problems. Blacks' symbolic appointment to several administrative positions -- for example, Mary McLeod Bethune's appointment as head of the Division of Negro Affairs of the National Youth Administration -- also encouraged blacks to vote Democratic.[52]

African Americans wanted America's dilemma resolved, too. Their power as voters as well as their service in the military and in defense industries raised their hopes

---

[51]Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy (New York: Harper Brothers Publishing, 1944); Peter J. Kellogg, "Civil Rights Consciousness in the 1940's," Historian, 42(November, 1972), p. 18; Richard Dalfiume, Desegregation of the United States Armed Forces: Fighting on Two Fronts, 1939 - 1953, (Columbia, MO.: University of Missouri Press, 1969), p. 115-123; Neil A. Wynn, The Afro-American and the Second World War (London: Paul Elek, 1976).

[52]Kellogg, "Civil Rights Consciousness in the 1940's," p. 18-41; Dalfiume, Desegregation of the United States Armed Forces, p. 115-123.

and expectations. Long denied the practical benefits of full citizenship and eager to build on the progressive gains of the New Deal, the African-American community became more militant in the early years of the war. In 1941, A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, threatened Roosevelt with a March on Washington unless the President issued a strong statement against segregation, especially in defense industry jobs. To forestall any action that might convince the world America "did a good job of practicing what Hitler preached," Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802 in June 1941. The order established the Fair Employment Practices Committee, which would try to ensure African Americans' fair share of good defense industry jobs. The Committee also would investigate African-American complaints of discrimination by defense industry employers.[53]

The national atmosphere that defined democracy as antithetical to Fascism was becoming conducive to civil rights protests against racial segregation. Reflecting that atmosphere, Freeman W. Meyer, a black student who

---

[53]Wynn, The Afro-American in the Second World War, p. 2; Kellogg, "Civil Rights Consciousness in the 1940's," p. 23; Editorial, Kansan, March 27, 1944, p. 2-3; Dalfiume, "The 'Forgotten Years' of the Negro Revolution," Journal of American History, 55:1 (June 1968), p. 90-106, see especially page 97.

was the son of a Methodist minister, organized the KU branch of the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR) in February 1942. FOR was a Christian pacifist group whose foundation in religion prompted their protests against racial barriers. An interracial group of African-American and white students from KU's FOR targeted a specific problem: segregation at the Memorial Union's restaurant. After testing the restaurant's racial policy, the group found that African Americans still were restricted to two corner booths. Segregation at the restaurant, a continuation of the policy that Chancellor Lindley had instituted in 1927, offended FOR's Interracial Committee since it placed "dollars over democracy" and it decided that complacency was not acceptable "when racial discrimination, a building stone of Fascism, is widely prevalent in our nation."[54]

To Malott, who ordered the restaurant open during vacations because he knew that white establishments around the campus excluded black students, the economic justification made sense. Though he recognized his

---

[54]Freeman W. Meyer for the Inter-Racial [sic] Committee of the Fellowship of Reconciliation to Governor Ratner, February 4, 1942, copy in the Deane W. Malott Papers, University Archives; August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, CORE: A Study in the Civil Rights Movement, 1942 - 1968, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 4; Chancellor Ernest H. Lindley to W.E.B. Du Bois, December 11, 1930, in the Lindley Papers.

responsibility for feeding his black students, Malott, too, considered racial segregation paramount to the restaurant's financial success and thus, dismissed the FOR's concerns. He communicated those sentiments in a letter to the Kansas Board of Regents in March 1942. Describing FOR as a group of "well-meaning, but misguided, students" who were "zealous" and "ineffective in the community," Malott thought that the white majority expected racial segregation on campus. To the white majority, it was "normal." Therefore, he chose to ignore FOR's demands.[55]

Raymond Nichols, the chancellor's executive secretary, identified Nazi propaganda, not campus segregation, as the reason for FOR's protests against segregation. Since most black students, according to Nichols, accepted segregation, the attacks on the "so-called 'race problem'" resembled "propaganda patterns of the Axis agencies" that "may [have] originated from Axis sources." Only Nazis, he wrote, could be so bold as to infiltrate KU and undermine the university's stabile racial boundaries and, consequently, its commitment to

---

[55]Wendell Walker and John Eberhardt, interview with author, December 17, 1992; Deane W. Malott to Hugo Brighton, Secretary, Board of Regents, March 2, 1942, Malott Papers; Malott to Brighton, March 10, 1942, Malott Papers.

the war effort.[56]

Not only did students protest segregation on campus in 1942, but outsiders demanded changes as well. C.A. Franklin, editor of the Kansas City Call, an African-American newspaper, wrote Kansas Governor Payne Ratner on March 19, 1942, to protest a KU faculty member's treatment of an African-American student. English instructor Cora Dolbee assigned her students to write an essay on campus problems, and Margaret Alice Parks chose campus discrimination as her topic. Miss Dolbee, "instead of judging the work on its merits...wrote a pontifical on the back of the composition." Negro students at KU, asserted Dolbee, should not complain of the limitations imposed on them because their very admission to the university was "a 'privilege.'" Ratner's vague and non-committal answer to Franklin stated that his "position...has always been that both the spirit as well as the letter of the law should be lived up to." Further than that, Ratner refused to recommend that the university reprimand Dolbee in any way.[57]

---

[56]Raymond Nichols, interview with author, October 30, 1991; Executive Secretary to F.M. Harris, March 31, 1942, Malott Papers.

[57]C.A. Franklin to Gov. Payne Ratner, March 19, 1942, Governor Payne Ratner to C.A. Franklin, March 23, 1942, both letters in the Governor Ratner Papers, Correspondence Rec./Subt. Regents ... KU, Box 19, Folder 6, Kansas State

Although Malott, Nichols and Ratner acting on behalf of the University and from their own racial beliefs, ignored FOR's and Franklin's demands, new challenges arose as the campus gained a more military atmosphere in the Spring and Fall 1943. As the war accelerated in early 1943, it became a part of daily life at KU. Proud of its war contribution, the university housed military training programs on campus. 1150 men out of a total student population of 4,351 were enrolled in these programs.[58]

But conscription began to affect the university's demographics as well as its social organizations. In February 1943, Chancellor Malott estimated that the university had lost seven percent of its enrollment, which reduced participation in men's student organizations. The Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), for example, suspended its activities in 1943. KU's athletic conference, the Big Six, tried "to go ahead with football," according to the Kansan, but many football team players were seventeen years old,

---

Historical Society, Topeka, KS.; C.A. Franklin to Chancellor Deane W. Malott, March (?), 1942, Malott Papers.

[58]"Students Return to Campus to Find Military Atmosphere," Kansan, September 24, 1943, p. 1; Malott to Brighton, February 2, 1943, Malott Papers; "Malott Announces 4351 Students Are Enrolled," Lawrence Daily Journal-World (hereafter known as the Journal-World), February 2, 1943, p. 1.

classified as 4-F, or naval trainees. Basketball coach Forrest C. "Phog" Allen lost six players, two of them starters, in one army call in February 1943. One of those starters, standout Charley Black, had to obtain special permission from the army to play in the final championship game.[59]

The war's presence and its powerful democratic ideology motivated some student groups and local organizations to adopt broad-minded stances against segregation. Students used one of the University of Kansas' most prominent institutions to end campus segregation: The University Daily Kansan. Editorials in the Kansan in Spring 1943 portrayed this new, progressive view of segregation. These were not, however, the first editorials that complained about America's treatment of blacks. In 1940 and 1941, the Kansan ran editorials that blasted the segregation of blacks in the military and in defense industries. It also protested Marian Anderson's treatment by the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR). As well, Kansan editorialists warned against

---

[59]"Big Six Tries to Go Ahead with Football," Kansan, June 29, 1943, p. 3; "Army Call Includes Six of KU Cagers," Kansan, February 23, 1943, p. 4; "KU is Named as Army College," Journal-World, February 6, 1943, p. 1; "Charley Black Ace Jayhawk Basketball Player Receives Orders From Army," "Student Soldiers Drop Out of Athletics," Journal-World, February 13, 1943, p. 2, 6.

repeating the prejudicial treatment of German-Americans as had happened during World War I.[60]

For the first time, however, in 1943, the Kansan, which lost at least two editors to the draft that spring, recognized that fighting a war to make the world safe for democracy called into question KU's selective brand of democracy. Journalists used their most potent weapon - words - to fight against KU's segregation by educating the general student population not only in 1943, but also in 1944 and 1945. Not only was segregation analogous to Fascism, Kansan editorialists reported, but campus administrators "did a good job of practicing what Hitler preached." James E. Gunn, a soldier and former editor of the Kansan, wondered, "Who Fights for Freedom?" All races fought against Fascism in European fronts, but only some of these crusaders for democracy enjoyed full democratic citizenship in America. "Speak up for the humanity of the Negro, the Mexican, the Jew, of their rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," Gunn exhorted. Another cadet asked in a Kansan editorial, "What am I fighting for? What are you fighting for? Freedom! We

---

[60]"Jim Crow Army," Kansan, November 5, 1940, p. 6; "Black and White," Kansan, April 1, 1941, p. 6; "The Negro in Defense," Kansan, May 23, 1941, p. 6; "Pride or Prejudice?" Kansan, November 19, 1941, p. 6.

fight for the freedom to live one's life as one chooses."[61]

Other Kansan editors echoed the soldiers' concern that segregation was a grave issue facing the University of Kansas and the United States. America needed a "new order," they wrote, where "racial tolerance" was the resolve for a new year. College campuses like KU were the places to establish this new order because "universities [had] always been centers for discussion, for liberal thinking, for leadership." In their tiny community which was, to students, a microcosm of the United States, the role of the student became critical because the student "of today will be the leader of tomorrow. He must be prepared for that responsibility, for upon him will rest the weight of the future of the world," declared the Kansan. Students must end racism on campus because as future world leaders, how could they "ever expect to get along with the other people of the world, much less guide them while [we] ... are so extremely intolerant of each

---

[61]Gunn to author, May 26, 1992; "Kansan Sports Editor, Chuck Elliott Receives Orders to Report," "Hill" Column, Journal-World, February 11, 1943, p. 5; Editorial, Kansan, March 27, 1944, p. 2-3; Editorial, "Racial Tolerance is Resolve for 1944," Kansan, January 5, 1944, p. 2; "Who Fights for Freedom?" Kansan, December 14, 1943, p. 2; "Cadet Says Soldiers Fight for Purpose," Kansan, November 9, 1943, p. 2.

other."[62]

Recognizing that racism and segregation affected many people in America, students protested Japanese-American exclusion from campus in January 1943, an exclusion based racism and presumed loyalty issues.[63] After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Governor Ratner banned Japanese Americans from Kansas and threatened to have the Kansas Highway Patrol remove any who dared enter. Following Ratner's lead, the Board of Regents excluded Japanese-American students from all state universities. Editors of the Kansan and The Gadfly, a self-described "student paper of liberal opinion on social problems," denounced the exclusion of Japanese Americans from campus by the Kansas Board of Regents. In 1943, the state government relented somewhat after the F.B.I. approved Japanese-American attendance at Kansas Wesleyan University in Salina. In the same year, the University of Nebraska announced that fifty nine

---

[62]Editorial, Kansan, March 27, 1944, p. 2-3; "Today's Students Must Strive for International Viewpoint," Kansan, February 4, 1943, p. 6; "Racial Tolerance is Resolve for 1944," Kansan, January 5, 1944, p. 2. A search through of the February and March 1943 issues of the Journal-World revealed no editorials or letters to the editor like those in the Kansan although both papers duplicated many stories, such as the March 1943 Varsity track meet.

[63]Significantly, no editorials or letters to the editor protested racism against Native Americans and Hispanic Americans.

Japanese-American students were attending its campus. The new Kansas governor, Andrew Schoeppel, agreed to allow Japanese Americans to attend Kansas universities. Kansas residents still feared Japanese attacks, however, and it was probably because of these fears that Schoeppel was unable to convince the Board of Regents to end its exclusionary policies.[64]

The Kansan and The Gadfly both found Japanese Americans to be "loyal Americans" who were "as interested in democracy as white students." Some KU students reported to the Kansan that they acknowledged that "the absence of Japanese-American students on the Hill has not heretofore been of much concern to us; but presented with a picture of the situation we are cognizant of its importance." Students from across the country, including those at the Universities of Nebraska, Washington, and California, wrote Chancellor Malott asking him to allow Japanese Americans to matriculate. In December 1943, The

---

[64]"In Explanation," The Gadfly, 1:2(December 8, 1943), p. 1; Editorial, "Not all American Citizens are Free to Enter State Schools of KS.," Kansan, January 3, 1943, p. 6; Editorial, "Japanese-American Students are Welcome at Nebraska University," Kansan, February 14, 1943, p. 6; "100% Americanism?" The Gadfly, 1:1(November 11, 1943), p. 1. In response to a farm labor shortage, Governor Schoeppel was willing to import Japanese Americans from internment camps in Colorado to work as farm laborers. A sharp outcry from Kansas residents precluded Schoeppel from implementing this plan. See Governor Andrew Schoeppel Papers, Box 4, "Japs" Folder, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, KS.

Gadfly organized a letter-writing campaign to the Board of Regents to protest its policies. Finally, in September 1944, the Board relented somewhat, but would accept as students only those Japanese Americans who were honorably discharged veterans. No Japanese-American civilians would be admitted. The Kansan responded bitterly that "democracy and equality" obviously applied to only select Americans.[65]

Protests to end Japanese-American exclusion encouraged other civil rights activists to combat racial segregation on campus. To challenge white racism during the war, African Americans joined national civil rights organizations, such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and many such organizations experienced dramatic membership increases. For example, in 1940, the national NAACP had 50,556 members; in 1946, it had 450,000. At the same time, the

---

[65]Editorial, "Japanese-American Students are Welcome at Nebraska University," Kansan, February 14, 1943, p. 6; "100% Americanism?" The Gadfly, p. 1; Jean Brownlee, et. al. to the Editor, Kansan, January 7, 1943, p. 6; Malott to Brighton, March 17, 1942, Malott Papers; Editorial, "Not All American Citizens are Free to Enter State Schools of Kansas," Kansan, January 3, 1943, p. 6; "Racial Discrimination is Unjust to Large Numbers of Nisei," Kansan, September 27, 1944, p. 2; "Regents Alter Ban Prohibiting Japanese Students," Kansan, September 26, 1944, p. 1.

number of branches swelled from 355 to 1,073.[66]

Rosa Sims and her husband, Reverend W.S. Sims, organized one of those new branches, the Lawrence Branch of the NAACP, in December 1942. Their son, Paul, a KU student, established a Youth Council which led NAACP protests against segregation at the University of Kansas in March 1943. That month, in a petition to Kansas Governor Andrew Schoeppel, the Simses suggested that "democracy and equality" were mere words when applied to the treatment of KU's black students. Their complaints were specific:

1. That Negro Students are restricted to designated booths in the rear of the Memorial Union.

2. That Negro girls are prohibited from living in the Home Economic Practice House.

3. That qualified Negro girls and boys are not allowed to live in the University residence halls.

4. That Negroes are not allowed to compete in either Varsity or Intramural athletics.

5. That Negro Students are not allowed to do the required teaching at the Oread High School.

6. That other discriminatory and segregational practices are endorsed and maintained by the administration of the University against Negro students.

---

[66]Dalfiume, Desegregation of the United States Armed Forces, p. 123.

The Simses demanded that the governor and Kansas Legislature "initiate an investigation of the entire system of Jim Crow and discriminatory practices against Negro students." If not corrected, the Simses warned, they would use legal and political action to eliminate "these unfair and un-American practices at the states leading education institution."[67]

Malott addressed the NAACP's concerns in a letter to Governor Schoeppel. Segregation in the union, for example, was "a custom...of many years' standing," wrote Malott, and made possible "the two races living side by side without undue hardship." In response to the NAACP's second complaint, Malott wrote that white women lived in the Home Economics Practice House for several weeks at a time practicing their homemaking skills. Since the white women "live in close quarters, share two bedrooms and one bathroom together," it would be "impossible to inject a negro [sic] into that situation." Similarly, black students could not live in the residence halls because the "parents and students of Kansas are not ready to live in intimate contact with the Negro." For the same reasons, African Americans were excluded from both

---

[67]Petition to Honorable William Towers, Kansas House of Representatives, March 1, 1943. Copy of original presented to Chancellor Malott by Curtis Burton and Paul Sims, Malott Papers.

intramural athletics and teaching at the University high school. In addition, Big Six Conference regulations demanded that varsity teams be segregated. Malott confided to Schoeppel that he feared, "we are in for considerable trouble because they [black students and Lawrence residents] have become more aggressive of late." Not wanting to "rile the waters," he acquiesced in the white majority's prejudices as well as to his own.[68]

While black students in the NAACP challenged all facets of campus segregation, KU athletes denounced racially exclusive intramural and varsity track teams. In March 1943, members of the intramural team "The Blanks" and their captain, Frank Stannard, a champion hurdler on the varsity track team and a Lawrence High School alumnus, circulated petitions to allow Roger Whitworth, a black student, to run in the intramural track and field championship. Kansan editorialists aided the athletes by denouncing Whitworth's exclusion from the team. Finally, intramural officials relented. Whitworth not only participated, but also helped "The Blanks" win the

---

[68]Petition to Honorable William Towers, Malott Papers; Deane W. Malott to Governor Schoeppel, March 19, 1943, Malott Papers; Rachel VanderWerf, telephone interview with author, May 13, 1992.

championship by nearly forty points.[69]

Stannard and several varsity teammates also wanted Whitworth to run in the 1943 Big Six Indoor Track and Field meet in Kansas City. The track coach endorsed the move, but the Big Six' "gentlemen's agreement" was still in effect and precluded Whitworth's participation. Big Six athletic department heads seemed never to question the policy. Both "Phog" Allen, now the basketball team's coach, and E.C. Quigley, the new athletic director, considered segregation a necessity. Allen and Quigley feared that the next sport targeted for desegregation would be basketball or football, where physical contact, according to Allen, was greater than in track. That thought alone precluded Allen or Quigley from supporting varsity track desegregation.[70]

Athletes joined Kansan editorialists who complained that Whitworth, an "American citizen" soon to be fighting for his country, should be able to compete in the Kansas City meet. When those protests failed, other students

---

[69]Glen Kappelman, interview with author, March 17, 1992; Frank Stannard to Professor William M. Tuttle, Jr., October (?), 1990, transcript in author's possession; Don Keown, "Jayhawk Jabberwock," Kansan, March 11, 1943, p. 4; "Three Men Produce Margin of Victory," Kansan, April 11, 1943, p. 4.

[70]"Resolution for Repeal of Reactionary Ruling Never Passed," Kansan, February 26, 1943, p. 6; Griffin, The University of Kansas, p. 661.

petitioned KU Big Six Representative, W.W. Davis, a history professor, to act. "Negro men are good enough to pay taxes and to serve in our armed forces," the petition argued; thus, it was "only fair...that they should be allowed to compete in intercollegiate sports." Davis met with other Big Six representatives and made a motion "against barring colored athletes from conference sports," but it was shelved when no one seconded the motion.[71]

The war's presence on the campus also prompted students to attack the Red Cross' segregation of donated blood. Protests began on campus in April 1943 and continued for a year, when Kansan editors wired the Red Cross' national headquarters to question its policy of segregating blood. The Red Cross replied that military policy deemed it inadvisable "to collect and mix caucasian and negro blood indiscriminately for later administration to members of the armed forces." The Secretaries of War and of the Navy said they favored this policy because "white men in the army and the navy prefer

---

[71]"Resolution Necessary for Repeal of Reactionary Ruling Never Passed," Kansan, February 26, 1943, p. 6; "Whitworth May Be Entered in Meet," Kansan, February 23, 1943, p. 4-5; Don Keown, "Jayhawk Jabberwock," Kansan, March 11, 1943, p. 4; Professor and Mrs. J. Eldon Fields, interview with author, December 19, 1992; "Students Favor Negro Participation in Big Six," Kansan, March 12, 1943, p. 4.

white blood." Appalled, some students reacted with angry letters to the Kansan, comparing Red Cross policies to the "Nazi theory of Aryan Superman." One incredulous writer wondered if a seriously wounded soldier "would waste his few conscious moments in demanding the case history of the blood about to be transfused into his veins to save his life." Others wrote to the Kansan to announce their refusal to donate blood to a racist organization.[72]

At the same time that students denounced the Red Cross's policies, some white student groups questioned the validity of segregation everywhere on campus. Women's political organizations led the charge - in word, if not always in deed. The limited number of men on campus forced the creation of a new government; in April 1943, the Men's Student Council (MSC) and the Women's Student Government Association (WSGA) combined to form the All-Student Council (ASC). The ASC's new constitution contained a critical clause: "no regularly enrolled student shall in a discriminatory manner be denied the

---

[72]Dalfiume, Desegregation of the U.S. Armed Forces, p. 107; Dalfiume, "The 'Forgotten Years' of the Negro Revolution, p. 92; "Negro Blood Designated - Red Cross," Kansan, April 15, 1943, p. 1; Private LK to the Editor, Kansan, January 27, 1944, p. 2; Alex Roth and Colleen Poorman to the Editor, Kansan, April 8, 1943, p. 2.

privileges of membership."[73]

The ASC and student political parties realized that African-American integration was humane and democratic and issued statements calling for racial reform on campus. Campaign platforms for the W.I.G.S. (Women's Independent Greek Society) and the P.W.C.L. (Progressive Women's Cooperative League), circulated just after the ASC's creation, pledged both parties to "work for equality." Not only should the new student council "represent and include every student interest group" and "work for the inclusion of colored students in all campus activities," but, the planks read, "Negro students as members of the SGA [Student Government Association] and the Memorial Union should have equal rights and privileges in all campus activities and organizations." Yet neither coalition included any members of KU's three black sororities, but one African-American woman, June Mack, a member of Delta Sigma Theta sorority, did run with the P.W.C.L. and won a seat in the student senate.[74]

---

[73]"Students Support New Constitution," Kansan, April 2, 1943, p. 1; Article III, Membership, Rules Governing Student Life, 1945, All-Student Council Papers, University Archives.

[74]"Women Political Parties Announce Platforms," Kansan, April 8, 1943, p. 1; Picture with caption, Kansan, April 23, 1943, p. 1; Octavia Walker Burton, interview with

A chemistry student Paul W. Gilles challenged the ASC and the women's political parties to desegregate all campus activities, using the new non-discriminatory clause. Suggesting that "the obvious place to start is at the Junior Prom," Gilles urged "additional action on the other problems," namely the desegregation of the Home Economics Practice House. His comments to the Kansan, augmented by petitions resolving that "all students, regardless of race, color, or creed, [must] be included in all university activities, and that this policy [must] take effect immediately in connection with the Junior Prom," prompted the ASC to desegregate school dances in time for the April 12, 1943, Junior Prom.[75]

Editors at the Kansan soon complained, however, that the "well-aimed" petitions, started "in all good faith to help bring about democratic ideals" had quickly deteriorated into a distasteful grab for "political advantage" by campus politicians. Unnamed politicians used the petitions for their selfish purposes instead of the intended democratic aim of desegregating campus. "Liberalism and democratic ideals," the editors said, were swept away in favor of "more votes for our side."

---

author, July 30, 1993.

[75]Paul W. Gilles to the Editor, Kansan, April 8, 1943, p. 2.

Although the only evidence of this controversy appeared obliquely in the Kansan, it seems that politicians recognized that pro-desegregation statements and actions were potent political tools to aid election campaigns. This, according to Kansan editorialists, left black students in "an embarrassing position," caught precariously between actual reform movements and self-indulgent motives.[76]

African-American students did not mind that perilous position so long as KU race relations progressed. Curtis Burton, a black student who died in World War II, wrote to the Kansan that the deterioration of the petitions from a humanitarian endeavor to a crassly political one was unfortunate. However, he added the petition and constitution not only gave students, black and white alike, more faith in student government, "but prove[d] to colored students that real and practical democracy can be attained if responsible agencies and authorities will uphold the power and faith placed in them."[77]

The ASC rechanneled its energies after the

---

[76]"Councils Back Negro Rights to Go to Prom," Kansan, April 9, 1943, p. 1; "Well-Aimed Petition Loses Significance When Used for Any Political Advantage," Kansan, April 11, 1943, p. 6.

[77]Curtis Burton to the Editor, Kansan, April 16, 1943, p. 7; Burton to author, July 30, 1993.

desegregation of the dance. This time, it targeted the Fine Arts Department. In November 1943, Peggy Davis, P.W.C.L. member and ASC president, appointed a committee to investigate allegations that the KU Band and Glee Club excluded black students. Fine Arts professors vehemently denied that they barred African Americans, pointing to the presence of a black violinist in the orchestra. But, when asked why there were no black students in the band, the director replied that "none were good enough to make it." He admitted that the band had been segregated in the past because of possible "close body contact" between the races. The director claimed it was no longer segregated. His proof was the previous year's two black members.[78]

The Glee Club director, Irene Peabody, also answered the charges. She claimed that "their [black students'] voices weren't good enough to make it and didn't fit in." No one thought to ask her why Etta Moten, an African-American KU graduate (1931) and star of the Broadway play "Porgy and Bess," never sang with the Club. Ironically, just one year later the Fine Arts Department, eager to prove its open atmosphere and probably to forestall any

---

[78]"ASC Investigates Negro Omission from KU Musical Organizations, Kansan, November 24, 1943, p. 1; "Fine Arts Faculty Denies Barring of Negroes From Participation in Campus Musical Organizations, Kansan, November 26, 1943, p. 1.

more protests against black student exclusion, feted Miss Moten with a reception in her honor.[79]

University of Kansas students combined the school's tradition of protest with World War II's rhetoric to challenge segregation on campus. In comparison to other United States' universities that segregated black students more harshly or excluded them altogether, KU's racial barriers were fairly mild. Still, World War II forced some students at KU to oppose some forms of campus segregation. Kansan journalists led the charge. As they watched their friends leave campus to fight another war for democracy, they wrote polemics using the war's rhetoric to educate their peers that segregation was akin to Fascism. They also published letters that attacked racial barriers on campus. Black students as well as athletes and student politicians of both races followed with protests of their own. Although it is difficult to assess how many students were actually involved in these protests or who were sympathizers, a majority of the students elected ASC representatives who advocated an end

---

[79]"ASC Investigates Negro Omission from KU Musical Organizations," Kansan, November 24, 1943, p. 1; "Fine Arts Faculty Denies Barring of Negroes from Participation in Campus Musical Organizations," Kansan, November 26, 1943, p. 1; VanderWerf to author, May 13, 1992; "Etta Moten to Be Guest of Honor at Reception," Kansan, November 20, 1944, p. 1; University of Kansas Jayhawker, 1931, p. 186; Burton to author, July 31, 1993.

to segregation on campus. Clearly, for many University of Kansas students, World War II was the catalyst to attack KU's version of the "American Dilemma."

CHAPTER FOUR

PROGRESS AS PROMISED
1945 - 1948

With the end of World War II in 1945, thousands of G.I.s returned home with a glorious sense of victory. According to General Dwight D. Eisenhower, a "mixture of races, of creeds" had brought American democracy to the international community. Among those returning to Lawrence with this sense of victory was an African-American corporal, Wesley Sims, a son of the NAACP's Reverend W.S. Sims and his wife, Rosa. In October 1945, Corporal Sims, a decorated veteran still in uniform, and his wife unknowingly sat in the white section of the Varsity Theater. When ushers asked the Simses to move to the black section, Corporal Sims refused. The Varsity management then called Lawrence police officers who escorted the Simses from the theater.[80]

The Simses' expulsion galvanized the Lawrence League for the Practice of Democracy (LLPD). The civil rights

---

[80]Dwight D. Eisenhower, "Speaking for America," Ad, Kansan, April 12, 1946, p. 5; Judy Garland and Bob Hope, "Speaking for American," Ad, Kansan, April 15, 1946, p. 2-3; Cpl. Wesley S. Sims, Jr. to the Editor, Lawrence Daily Journal-World, Nov. 1, 1945, clipping found in the Lawrence League for the Practice of Democracy Papers, Kansas Collection, Spencer Research Libraries, University of Kansas.

organization had been formed in Summer, 1945 by KU professors and Lawrence ministers in Chemistry professor, Calvin VanderWerf's, living room. It sent a committee to the November 26, 1945, Lawrence City Commission meeting. Reverend G.E.E. Lindquist, the committee's head, gently reminded the commission of Kansas Statute 21-2424, the state law that made segregation illegal in theaters and other service businesses required by a municipality to be licensed. It also made police enforcement of de facto segregation illegal. City Commissioners agreed that the statute had been violated, promised to inform the police chief that enforcement of segregation was illegal, and then, revealed their hypocrisy by rescinding the Lawrence statute that required theaters to be licensed.[81]

After the commission successfully protected the Lawrence theater owners' right to segregate their black patrons, the fledgling LLPD formulated plans to advance interracial relationships in Lawrence and in Kansas. From the first, it was interested not just in the campus community; the town and state were its civil rights arena. The organization stated that its purpose was to foster "the actual practice of the declared American

---

[81]Meeting Minutes, November 30, 1945, LLPD Papers; General Statutes of Kansas, 21-2424, 1923 and Kansas Law 49:1-4, Feb. 27, 1874, copies in the LLPD Papers; Elmer Rusco, correspondence with author, October 20, 1992.

principles of democracy, justice, and complete equality of opportunity, with particular emphasis upon better inter-racial understanding." Although it tended to focus, former members said, "on talk rather than action," the LLPD was probably among the first groups to create an arena "where blacks and whites could associate together in asserting a moral presence in the community."[82]

Cal VanderWerf "the light people followed" according to some members, was the organization's "idealist" and instigator. He recruited fellow chemistry professor, Jacob Kleinberg and his wife, Jane, as well as the chemistry department chairman, Arthur W. Davidson, and his wife. Other members included another chemistry professor, William Argersinger and Davidson's next door neighbor, Reverend Lindquist, a minister to missionaries

---

[82]Rachel VanderWerf, telephone interview with author, May 13, 1992; "Purpose," General Meeting Minutes, Oct. 12, 1945, LLPD Papers; "Pledge of the Lawrence League for Democracy [sic]," LLPD Papers. The original name of the LLPD was the Lawrence League for Democracy, but after they heard of a similar group in Kansas City, MO. that had the word "Practice" in their name, the LLPD incorporated it into their own name. See Meeting minutes, November 30, 1945, LLPD papers. Also see the Papers of the Congress on Racial Equality, Executive Secretary's File, Reel 13, Series 3, for information on The Committee on the Practice of Democracy, Kansas City, MO; "What is the LLPD?" Informational Pamphlet in the Elmer Rusco Papers, University Archives; John Eberhardt, memo to author, December 15, 1992.

on Native-American reservations in the Midwest.[83]

As LLPD's purpose was interracial cooperation, so too was its membership and leadership. The VanderWerf's neighbor, Oscar White, an African-American contractor nicknamed "Chief" because he was part Native American, was one of the originators. Another was Reverend J. David Kelly, minister of St. Luke's African Methodist Episcopal church, who served as LLPD vice-president in 1946. Mayzelma Wallace, an African-American woman, was LLPD president in 1947. Both Wallace and Kelly were respected members of the black community in Lawrence who signed the group's original pledge. The LLPD also seems to have absorbed the remnants of the local NAACP branch. Fred Taylor, the last president of the NAACP, regularly sat in on LLPD meetings and many meetings were held at NAACP meeting places, for example, the Ninth Street Baptist Church.[84]

Although there were some significant exceptions,

---

[83]Helen Lindquist Bonny, interview with author, April 14, 1992; VanderWerf to author, May 13, 1992; "Pledge of the Lawrence League for Democracy [sic]," LLPD Papers.

[84]"Pledge of the Lawrence League for the Practice of Democracy," Charter Membership List, LLPD Papers; List of LLPD Officers, LLPD Bulletin, 1(March, 1946), p. 2; List of LLPD Officers, LLPD Bulletin, 2:1(October, 1947), p. 1; VanderWerf to author, May 13, 1992; Professor J. Eldon and Cornelia Fields, interview with author, December 19, 1992; Eberhardt, memo to author, December 15, 1992; The Lawrence NAACP Papers, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, KS.

most of the white and black members, especially those in leadership positions, were parishioners at local Protestant churches. The VanderWerfs and the Lindquists, for example, were members of Plymouth Congregational Church, a church they considered "much younger...[and]...much more liberal," Rachel VanderWerf said, than other Lawrence churches. Plymouth had been the leading church in the abolitionist struggles during the days of "Bleeding Kansas." In 1945, the irony of Lawrence's abolitionist history and the extent of segregation in town moved many Plymouth members to enlist in another struggle for freedom.[85]

Plymouth members believed that God spoke through each person and, therefore, made each individual a worthwhile person. "Social concerns" and "social action" for African Americans were thus necessary parts of the church's agenda. C. Fosburg Hughes, Plymouth's minister and an LLPD member, understood that "the task of the church [was]...to be a reconciling agency in order to help people to live peacefully together." Ironically, two active Plymouth members were Chancellor Deane W. Malott and Malott's Executive Secretary, Raymond Nichols, two KU administrators who at least publicly had to uphold the

---

[85]VanderWerf to author, May 13, 1992; Bonny to author, April 14, 1992.

university's racial segregation.[86]

Most of the black members belonged to the Ninth Street Baptist Church or to St. Luke's AME. Ninth Street Baptist, for example, had a democratic organization, and did not constructed the hierarchical structures that other religions, such as Catholicism, erected within their internal organization. No pope, no cardinal, no archbishop had ultimate authority in the church. Power rested with the congregation, the "last bastion ... of democracy," giving each person status and authority as a church member. That strength translated into participation in the NAACP in the early 1940s and into participation in the LLPD in the late 1940s and 1950s when black members pressed for an end to segregation in Lawrence.[87]

While most of the LLPD belonged to organized Protestant religions, some of its members were Jews. For

---

[86]Reverend Jonathan Knight, pastor, Plymouth Congregational Church, telephone interview with author, March 26, 1992; C. Fosburg Hughes to Justin Hill, Sept. 20, 1946, LLPD Papers; "Women's Calendar of Plymouth Congregational Church, 1945-1946," Papers of Plymouth Congregational Church, Kansas Collection.

[87]Reverend Charles Kennybrew, Pastor, Ninth St. Baptist Church, interview with author, May 1992; Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, et.al. Like A Family: The Making of a Southern Cotton Mill World (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), p. 285. For information on Lawrence's NAACP, see Chapter Three of this thesis.

the Kleinbergs and the Davidsons, community activism was a crucial part of their religion. Significantly, however, few Catholics participated in the organization, and none held offices. The sole exception seemed to be Father Towles, the pastor at the local Catholic church. While the actual religions may have differed, most, if not all, of the LLPD's membership were churchgoers. No member described his or herself as an agnostic or atheist.[88]

Opposition to the "radical" moral reform organization appeared from the first. Town residents, for example, referred to Cal VanderWerf as the "king of the Communists." The editor of a conservative Lawrence paper, The Outlook[89] also was critical of the "radical" group. One night, he heard that the LLPD would be meeting at E. Russell Carter's house. He sent a reporter to write down the license plate numbers of those who attended in order to identify the radicals. "It turned out that they had the license numbers for all of the ministers [in town],"

---

[88]See Jane Kleinberg, interview with author, November 25, 1992. See also LLPD Membership cards in the Kansas Archives for a complete listing of membership and their religious affiliations.

[89]The editor's name was probably Ed Abels. Mrs. VanderWerf did not remember his name and the only subsequent information about The Outlook comes from 1954. See VanderWerf to author, May 13, 1992. Also see Exhibit D, Recipients of Comp Tickets, from the private papers of Professor J. Eldon and Cornelia Fields, in author's possession.

Rachel VanderWerf remembered.[90]

At times, the LLPD bowed to that opposition. Reverend Hughes canceled an interracial conference when opposition arose from Plymouth Congregation's church members and town residents. Although Hughes' letter to the primary organizer of the conference, Justin Hill, was vague, it seemed that some Plymouth members thought the LLPD's racial policies were too progressive.[91]

The LLPD also had a limited view of interracial cooperation. They brought the Congress on Racial Equality's James Farmer to Lawrence to meet with KU students. Farmer was an attractive black man, according to VanderWerf, and the students, especially the women, gathered around him and listened intently to his ideas. One board member said to VanderWerf afterwards, "You know, it worries me so. What if one of those girls would fall in love with him?"[92]

The LLPD constructed a predominantly educational plan that was ripe with symbols of interracial cooperation to tout the organization as a true example of democracy at work. The organization, for example, invited

---

[90]VanderWerf to author, May 13, 1992.

[91]VanderWerf to author, May 13, 1992; C. Fosburg Hughes to J. Oscar Lee, April 24, 1947, LLPD Papers.

[92]VanderWerf to author, May 13, 1992.

speakers of both races to talk with members. One of those speakers was African-American attorney and Kansas City, Kansas, state Legislator, William H. Towers, who told LLPD members in January, 1946, that "democracy could be attained through" grass roots organizations like the LLPD. The organization also became involved in local politics. Cal VanderWerf ran in 1946 for a city council seat, which he lost to KU's popular basketball coach, "Phog" Allen. Allen's popularity, not race, was probably the decisive element in the election's outcome, though VanderWerf's reputation as "King of the Communists" probably did not help him any.[93]

The annual Brotherhood Banquet that included a formal sit-down dinner and entertainment by KU students from cooperative houses was another medium of interracial cooperation as well as a "community symbol of concern." The Lawrence Ministerial Alliance helped sponsor these banquets, rare events in a town that excluded blacks from its white-owned eating establishments. Thus, the LLPD lauded the dinners as the only public dinner where "any citizen [felt] completely at home regardless of his race,

---

[93]VanderWerf to author, May 13, 1992.

creed, or community standing[.]"[94]

Although the banquets started in 1946 as small dinners cooked by LLPD members in the basements of local churches (usually Plymouth or Ninth St. Baptist), by 1954, the LLPD had to hire help to both cook and serve the meals. As well, the churches became too small to seat the 500 people who bought tickets, thus forcing the LLPD to hire a banquet hall. Members sold 549 tickets at one dollar per ticket in 1954 each. Although participants described the dinners as "pleasant" formal occasions, in truth the participants had little in common and conversation at times was stilted and uncomfortable.[95]

The LLPD also ran an interracial cooperative nursery school. Mothers whose children attended the school had to work there one morning a week. The members intended that black and white children should learn interracial cooperation before they learned any prejudice. But the plan backfired. Some black women had to work, economic

---

[94]Bridget Cain, "Henley House Cooperative, 1945-1955," unpublished paper; LLPD Bulletin, March 1946, 1:1; Information sheet announcing 1954's Brotherhood Banquet that described past dinners, Unsigned, Undated sheet from the private Fields papers. Professor Fields was in charge of the 1954 banquet.

[95]Information sheet from Fields; "Report of Treasurer and Ticket Chairmen, 1954 Community Brotherhood Banquet," April 30, 1954, from the Fields Papers; Fields to author, December 19, 1992; Notes from Fields Papers concerning banquet preparations, undated, untitled.

constraints kept black involvement to a minimum. As well, white members seemed unwilling to allow black children in the school without their mothers' help. Blacks had to participate equally in the nursery school and, indeed, in the organization since white members seemed unwilling to work on the behalf of blacks without blacks' help.[96]

****

While the LLPD provided an institutional outlet for KU faculty and Lawrence ministers interested in promoting civil rights, cooperative housing provided a structure for white and black students. In order to understand that structure, reconstructing that community, as I have done with World War II civil rights workers and the LLPD, is important in understanding what elements within the co-ops constituted the basis for civil rights work.

Cooperative organizations had long been a tradition in the cash-poor Midwest and many KU students grew up with cooperatives in their home towns. One of those students, Elmer Rusco, a Mullinville, Kansas, resident, remembered that Mullinville had a co-op elevator, co-op

---

[96]Fields to author, December 19, 1992; VanderWerf to author, May 13, 1992; Meeting Minutes, Jan. 18, 1946, LLPD Papers; Kleinberg to author, November 25, 1992.

gasoline station/garage, and co-op grocery store.[97]

Cooperative housing for students began again at KU in 1941 when the Consumers Cooperative Association (CCA) helped found and finance the University of Kansas Student Housing Association (UKSHA).[98] The CCA designed the Association to work with the university and the new co-ops the UKSHA would administer. The UKSHA organized a board of directors for the co-op composed of prominent members from the University and the community. The board included George Docking, a local banker and future Kansas governor who was instrumental in getting the co-ops started. Another member was Paul Gilles, a student civil rights protester at KU during the war. Gilles had recently returned to KU as a professor of Chemistry after earning his doctorate from the University of California, Berkeley.[99]

---

[97]Veda Gibson, interview with Deborah Altus, March 5, 1990, transcript in author's possession; Rusco to author, October 20, 1992; Luther Buchele, interview with Deborah Altus, November 7, 1992, transcript in author's possession.

[98]This was not the first time that the University of Kansas had cooperative housing. Women at KU in 1919 organized a house at 1137 Ohio. However, the cooperative houses described here reappeared in 1939 after a lengthy hiatus. See Deborah Altus, "A History of Oread Housing Cooperatives," The Oread Neighborhood Association Newsletter 9:1(Fall, 1990), p. 6-8.

[99]Rusco to author, October 20, 1992; Deborah Altus, "Incorporators (1941) of the University of Kansas Student Housing Association," unpublished biographical compilation

The two most important board members were Hilden Gibson, professor of political science and sociology; and John Ise, professor of economics. Gibson, a native Kansan and KU alumnus, was an idealist and humanitarian committed to Socialism. He began KU's Western Civilization Department in 1945 and mentored many Summerfield scholars.[100] In counseling these bright students, Gibson urged them to consider cooperative living.[101]

Cooperative students did not consider John Ise to be as radical as Gibson. However, they still admired his stance for "freedom of thought, the courage to question anything, and a solid grounding for all thought in actual human life." Ise, who donated a house to the co-op students, saw himself as a "defender of all among KU's

---

of original UKSHA founders.

[100]Summerfield scholarships, set up by Solon Summerfield, a KU alumnus who had made a fortune in nylon stockings, were based on economic need and many of the Summerfield scholars could not have gone to KU without the scholarship. See "Summerfield and Watkins-Berger Scholars," Pamphlet from the University of Kansas Scholarship Services. See also George Caldwell, interview with author, November 13, 1992; Rusco to author, October 20, 1992. See also Walker and Eberhardt to author, December 17, 1992. Both gentlemen think Hilden Gibson was one of the first Summerfield scholars at KU.

[101]Rusco to author, October 20, 1992; Elmer Rusco, "The Great Books, Multiculturalism, Political Correctness, and Related Matters," July 13, 1992, unpublished paper; Walker and Eberhardt to author, December 17, 1992.

student body or faculty who wished to dissent in any way from prevailing orthodoxies." Thus, he defended co-op students' rights to live in cooperative housing where they explored different liberal and radical political ideologies.[102]

Cooperative living was an inexpensive substitute to the dormitories or boarding with Lawrence families. Monthly costs ranged from $25 and $40 per person for room and food. Cooperative rates were cheaper because residents divided household chores amongst themselves, purchased and prepared food together, and did their own repairs. But the cooperative houses were more than simply a place to eat or sleep. According to their pamphlets, cooperatives were a "self-help" "free society" that led the struggle for "Democracy on Campus" by instituting their own utopian vision of society in their houses.[103]

The two original houses were Jayhawk Co-op and Harmon House. Luther Buchele, (Frank Stannard's cousin) was a leader of the Jayhawk Men's Co-op (1614 Kentucky), founded in 1939. Members of Jayhawk Co-op from 1944-1948

---

[102]Walker and Eberhardt to author, December 17, 1992; Caldwell to author, November 13, 1992.

[103]Walker and Eberhardt to author, December 19, 1992; Pamphlet, "Living Cooperatively at KU," 1950's, from the private papers of Deborah Altus; Cain, "Henley House Cooperative"; Rusco to author, October 20, 1992.

included Summerfield scholars, George Caldwell and Stan Kelly, a veteran, as well as Robert and William Stewart, brothers from Manhattan who were also veterans. There were also a substantial number of Hispanics in the house.[104]

In 1945, the new YMCA director, D. Ned Linegar, a Quaker and a conscientious objector who had been jailed during the war, encouraged students to accept a black housemate, Wesley Elliott. Thereafter, Jayhawk Co-op chose its members without consideration of race, color or creed. Elliott was a sophomore organic chemistry student who worked with both Cal VanderWerf (his "role model") and Jake Kleinberg. During his freshman year, Elliott lived with two other black men, Jimmy Walker and Ray Williams in the basement of the Chi Omega white sorority house where they worked as kitchen help. After he moved to Jayhawk Co-op in 1945, Elliott roomed with Bob Stewart, a white student. Later African-American residents included Wendell J. Walker, Jimmy Walker's brother who was an economics major who studied with both

---

[104]Altus, "A History of Oread Housing Co-ops," p. 6; Altus, "Incorporators (1941) of the University of Kansas Student Housing Association;" Rusco to author, October 20, 1992; Buchele to Altus, November 7, 1992; George Caldwell, telephone interview with author, May 17, 1992; Robert Stewart, telephone interview with author, October 18, 1991; Walker and Eberhardt to author, December 17, 1992.

John Ise and Hilden Gibson. His sister, Octavia Walker, suggested he live at the Jayhawk Coop where he roomed with George Caldwell. [105]

A third[106] cooperative house, Henley House, was organized in Fall, 1945. A benefactor, Mrs. Henley, had given house to the YWCA in 1923 for homeless white YWCA members, but the house's mission changed when the YWCA's students and advisor, Rachel VanderWerf, prodded other members to live interracially. The YWCA then petitioned the University, which funded both YWCA and the YMCA, to set up the women's cooperative. VanderWerf sent an interracial group of girls to see Chancellor Malott so "there wouldn't be any misunderstanding." According to VanderWerf, Malott said, "I don't care. You go to school together. You eat together. You might as well live together."[107]

---

[105]Shirley Elliott, correspondence with author, January 27, 1993; "Living Cooperatively at KU," p. 2; I. W. Elliott, correspondence with author, August, 1992; Caldwell to author, November 13, 1992; Stewart to author, October 18, 1991; Walker and Eberhardt to author, December 17, 1992.

[106]The second house, Harmon House (1537 1/2 Tennessee St.), was founded in 1943. It acted more as an exclusive sorority for women and rarely, if ever, did any of the residents show interest in civil rights. See "Harmon Coop Girls Manage Own House," Kansan, Feb. 14, 1946, p. 3.

[107]Cain, "Henley House Coop"; Henley House Information found in the Papers of the YWCA, University Archives; Octavia Walker Burton, interview with author, July 31,

The University of Kansas Student Housing Association operated Henley House. It hired as housemother Mary McCracken, a Quaker. McCracken's sister, Anna, was a KU philosophy professor who chaired the LLPD's Library committee and she was a Lawrence NAACP member. Black women living in Henley House feared that the house would be overwhelmed with black women desperate for housing close to campus. In order to maintain integrated housing, then, those women insisted that only four black women live in Henley House at one time, according to Joyce Harkleroad and Norma Bishop, two former white residents. White women would fill the other eight spaces. Octavia Walker remembers otherwise.[108]

Most of the black women were middle class who insisted on following strict rules of moral behavior. An example was Octavia Walker (nicknamed "Toby") who graduated second in her high school class and was a University of Kansas Mortar Board member. The white

---

1993; VanderWerf to author, May 13, 1992; Eberhardt, memo to author, December 15, 1992; Anna McCracken Folder, Faculty Files, University Archives, Spencer Research Libraries, University of Kansas; Pamphlet quoted in Altus, "Incorporators (1941) of the University of Kansas Student Housing Association."

[108]Cain, "Henley House Co-op"; Membership Cards for Lawrence NAACP, Lawrence NAACP Papers; Norma Bishop, interview with author, May 16, 1992; Burton to author, July 31, 1993.

women, on the other hand, were "odd balls" according to Bishop, who remembered a fondness for drinking on weekends with Jayhawk members.[109]

The white women remembered the YWCA staff strictly segregating the rooms. However, Toby Walker and her sophomore year roommate, Fronzina Jackson, moved to Henley House before Walker's Junior year and again roomed together. The two other black women in Henley were also roommates the previous year. Still, black women did not room with white women until Joyce Harkleroad, who resigned her membership in Harmon House after it refused to accept a black woman, and Shirley Elliott (Wesley Elliott's sister) decided to be roommates in Spring, 1948.[110]

As with Jayhawk Co-op, Henley women shared cleaning duties and cooking chores. Toby Walker remembered that each woman was in charge of cooking dinner once a week. Walker always cooked spaghetti and meatballs on her night. The weekly chores also included shutting the house's cat, Dammit to Hell, Get off the Table (nicknamed

---

[109]Burton to author, July 31, 1993; Bishop to author, May 16, 1992.

[110]I. W. Elliott to author, August, 1992; Shirley Elliott to author, January 27, 1993; Burton to author, July 31, 1993; Cain, "Henley House Cooperative;" Bishop to author, May 16, 1992.

"Dammit" for short), in the basement during the day because Walker was afraid of it.[111]

Opposition to the interracial cooperatives was inevitable at a time, as former members remembered, when "to share a meal with others of a different race was revolutionary." Students tried to blunt the inevitable opposition. Henley residents, for example, selected their housemates carefully, choosing only those who excelled in school. Still, George Docking regularly received complaints about Jayhawk Co-op. Henley House's next-door neighbor, J. Clifton Ramsey, a Lawrence lawyer "notorious [to cooperative students] for his belief in white supremacy," complained to Chancellor Malott during the summer of 1945 about the "distasteful situation" [interracial living] at Henley House. When it seemed that the white and black students "intend[ed] to put on the same show," Ramsey contacted Malott again a year later. Angered that this was "the ideal way to start a racial disturbance which the citizens of Lawrence, the local Police Department, and the State Militia [were] ... guarding against," Ramsey threatened to withhold leases from white women renting apartments next-door to Henley until Malott forced Henley House to end its interracial

---

[111]Burton to author, July 31, 1993.

policy.[112]

Chi Omega sorority, situated across the street from Henley House, also opposed the interracial house. Chi Omega mothers complained to Chancellor Malott who told them there were other universities their daughters could attend if Henley bothered them. Another sorority, the Pi Phi house, was also located across the street from Henley House. However, its members were supportive of the interracial cooperative. These women shared test banks with Henley House members and regularly drove them to the grocery store.[113]

There were problems within the co-ops as well. One member, John Eberhardt, remembered that co-op "intellectuals" were a "pretty snobbish group." At one point, for example, there was a move to restrict magazine subscriptions to what was considered "intellectually and politically correct." Integration also remained an unresolved issue in the co-ops. Although it is difficult

---

[112]I.W. Elliott to author, August, 1992; Burton to author, July 31, 1993; J. Clifton Ramsey to Chancellor Malott, July 5, 1946, Malott Papers; Beth Bell, "Recent Activities of KU CORE," July, 1947, Report, Executive Secretary's File, CORE Papers, Reel 13, Series 3; Eberhardt and Walker to author, December 17, 1992.

[113]Octavia Burton specifically related these instances to the author (July 31, 1993), but the general opinion of all of the correspondence agreed that the Pi Phi house supported all of the interracial coops. See, for example, Eberhardt and Walker to author, December 17, 1992.

to assess actual numbers, there were co-op members who were indifferent, even hostile, to both black co-op members and to the Committee on Racial Equality after it was founded in 1947.[114]

In addition, many white students were unaware that black co-op students felt alienated from campus life and that white students had special privileges beyond the co-ops. To Toby Walker, for example, blacks could only serve in secondary positions in integrated organizations. She was YWCA's Vice-President, but she never ran for president because she thought that office was reserved for whites. She was, however, president of her black sorority, Delta Sigma Theta.[115]

Even with the problems, Jayhawk Co-op and Henley House became a "way of life," co-op students remembered, that reinforced their "life view[s]" and helped release a considerable idealism and political, social and economic liberalism that they associated with the end of the Second World War. Many students were "anti-Fascist, strongly liberal, [and] leftist." Some students were

---

[114]Eberhardt, memo to author, December 15, 1992; Burton to author, July 31, 1993; Walker and Eberhardt to author, Dec. 17, 1992; Stewart to author, October 9, 1991; I.W. Elliott to author, August, 1992.

[115]Burton to author, July 31, 1993; Walker and Eberhardt to author, December 17, 1992.

admittedly apolitical, but because "all of the expressed opinion was far left ... no orthodox Republican dare[d] stick his neck out among the informed and opinionated young men" and women, Wesley Elliott said. Indeed, many members considered a conservative person "brain dead."[116]

Co-ops were a "meeting place of minds," especially for the intellectual Summerfield scholars who lived in the men's co-ops and the Mortar Board scholars living in Henley House. During late hour "bull sessions," students of "many rich and different backgrounds swap[ped] ideas and theories" about current political issues. Many of them embraced Socialism and considered it intellectually as well as economically sound. Wesley Elliott remembered that most Socialists were "anti-Stalinist" in their views and tended to be followers of Henry Wallace's Progressive Party or the American Socialist Party's Norman Thomas. A small number were Communist party members or sympathizers, but they were "not in the co-op leadership group at any time." Some of their compatriots "regarded Communists as people participating in the political debate of that time, not as somehow un-American." Others, however, particularly Robert Stewart, were adamantly

---

[116]I. W. Elliott to author, August, 1992; Walker and Eberhardt to author, December 17, 1992.

anti-Communist.[117]

Co-op social activities revolved around their liberal politics. Students composed songs, for example, centered on current political themes. One of those themes was the bombing of Hiroshima. Although they had not questioned the atomic bomb since it had ended the war, the United States' awesome, technological power, while necessary, seemed nothing to gloat about. Stan Kelly's composition, "Atomic Showers" (to the tune of "April Showers") expressed these concerns:

> Atomic Showers May Come Your Way
> You're here in April, but not in May
> Although it's raining, have no regrets
> For it will blow away your dirty [lousy]
> shack and liquidate your debts.
>
> Just keep looking for the A-bomb
> And though you may be worried
> not for long
> when you see the mushroom cloud
> upon the hill,
> no need to buy a shroud
> just find a still
> And keep looking for the A-bomb

Humor was thus one way of dealing with disturbing social

---

[117]I. W. Elliott to author, August, 1992; Rusco to author, October 20, 1992; Caldwell to author, November 13, 1992; Walker and Eberhardt to author, December 17, 1992; Cain, "Henley House Cooperative"; Stewart to author, October 18, 1991; Pamphlet from 1950's, "Living Cooperatively at K.U."; Burton to author, July 31, 1993.

and political issues.[118]

Many co-op members were religious. Robert Stewart, for example, was active in the Wesleyans, the campus Methodist group. The YMCA and YWCA were also important outlets for co-op members and membership in the YWCA was a prerequisite for living in Henley House. Stewart, Elliott and Buchele were all YMCA officers and Rachel VanderWerf and Ned Linegar, advisors to both organizations, were also co-op advisors.[119]

Many co-op students, however, were atheists, agnostics or "socially conscious ex-Christians." Elmer Rusco's grandfather was a Methodist minister, but Rusco considered himself an agnostic. Wendell Walker also described himself as an atheist.[120]

The liberalism that infected the co-ops led to the organization of the American Veterans Committee (AVC), and some co-op residents (for example, Bob and Bill Stewart) were members. Chapters like KU's, founded in early 1946, soon proliferated throughout the country.

---

[118]Cain, "Henley House Coop"; Walker and Eberhardt to author, December 17, 1992; I.W. Elliott to author, August, 1992.

[119]Stewart to author, October 18, 1991; Buchele to Altus, November 7, 1992; I.W. Elliott to author, August, 1992.

[120]Rusco to author, October 20, 1992; Walker and Eberhardt to author, December 17, 1992.

With the motto, "Citizens first, Veterans Second," the veterans argued in a Kansan editorial that wars were "unnecessary," and they were "concerned with presenting ideas and means which may prevent another conflagration." They intended to "work for the kind of country and the kind of world we were told we were fighting for."[121]

The AVC started with a three-way program centered around academic, social and housing issues. That focus changed, however, when postwar inflation made significant inroads into veterans' allowances. The national AVC started campaigns to create an Office of Price Administration (OPA) to protect the veteran's buying power. It also lobbied Congress for greater veterans' benefits and better housing. The local AVC followed the national organization's lead by attacking the profits of the Memorial Union cafeteria and appointed committees to investigate the prices charged by the allegedly non-profit cafeteria. AVC members distributed the voting records of state and federal candidates, a move Kansan editorialists applauded. Students "may not agree with what they term the progressive" actions of the AVC, they said, but the organization was performing a "vital function of democracy." Another vital part of the

---

[121]"AVC Comes to KU," Kansan, April 16, 1946, p. 2; "The Pidgeon Coup," Kansan, February 25, 1946, p. 2.

organization's agenda was protesting for full democratic citizenship for its black members.[122]

As with the co-ops, opposition against the AVC soon appeared. Writing to the Kansan, one student asked why "a vet would want to join a club which brings him back into association with the men with whom he lived during the war?" Another student declared the "group should have chosen the "Gimme-Gimme" bird as their mascot. Their symbol should have the outstretched palm."[123]

****

The AVC and co-ops members joined together in Spring 1946 to protest against stubborn remnants of KU's racial boundaries. Each provided a forum for liberal students to tell other students that it was appropriate to eliminate campus segregation. Indeed, many students were "not interested in race relations until the co-op experience." It was up to them "to try to do something" about campus

---

[122]Marko Haggard, Chairman, KU AVC, to the Editor, "The AVC Answers," Kansan, April 29, 1947, p. 6; Letter to the Editor from a College Sophomore (name withheld by the Kansan by request), Kansan, May 12, 1947, p. 6; Kenneth Runyon to the editor, "Excess Profits," Kansan, January 13, 1947, p. 6; Editorial, "Voting Record," Kansan, October 7, 1946, p. 6.

[123]"The Pidgeon Coup," Kansan, February 25, 1946, p. 2; Letter to the Editor, "An AVC Critic," Kansan, April 21, 1947, p. 6.

segregation.[124]

As a first step, in March 1946, the co-op students and the Lawrence League for the Practice of Democracy brought George Houser, Executive Secretary of the Congress on Racial Equality, a Methodist minister, and Fellowship of Reconciliation staff member, to Lawrence. Meeting with the LLPD Executive Board, Houser proposed various integrationist tactics for the LLPD. They should divide into action units which would target segregated housing and hospitals. Other committees would organize social and educational activities. However, the LLPD, worried about outside pressure, decided that "local problems were ours and could not be settled [connected with] outsiders".[125]

Houser also met with co-op students at a YMCA-YWCA meeting. He considered segregation an intellectual problem that might only be solved "by bringing races

---

[124]"'Inter-Racial Living' Brings Understanding Among Races - Houser," Kansan, March 14, 1946, p. 4; Walker to author, December 17, 1992; Buchele to Altus, November 7, 1992; I.W. Elliott to author, August, 1992.

[125]Several LLPD Bulletins (the organizations newsletter) were sent to Houser. See Executive Secretary's Papers, CORE Papers, Reel 13, Series 3; General Meeting Minutes, February 26, 1946; Executive Board Meeting Minutes, March 13, 1946; VanderWerf to author, May 13, 1992; George Houser, telephone interview with author, September 26, 1993; George Houser, "About George M. Houser," Biographical Sheet sent to author by Houser, September 17, 1993.

together through friendly cooperative relationships," like those at Jayhawk and Henley Co-ops. "Inter-racial living [thus] was a vital part" of solving the "race problem," he told them. His portrayal of racism as an intellectual problem appealed to co-op students and reinforced their convictions that it was up to them as intellectuals who recognized segregation as a contradiction to democratic and religious ideals to end segregation.[126]

While cooperative students explored the intellectual dynamics of interracial living, Kansan editorialists and ads echoed the postwar atmosphere that influenced co-op students. Editorials stated that campus segregation conflicted with the recent war's democratic rhetoric and aims. They touted 1946 as the "Year of Change". In an "era of world peace," students had to guard against attitudes expressed in sentiments like "it's always been this way," since those kinds of attitudes perpetuated segregation. Students were "going to have to make some changes in [their] ... thinking, [their] plans and [their] ideals. "Are we afraid," the editors asked, to use the power "bestowed on us by high policy and

---

[126]"'Inter-Racial Living' Brings Understanding Among Races - Houser," Kansan, March 14, 1948, p. 4; Walker to author, December 17, 1992; Buchele to Altus, November 7, 1992 I.W. Elliott to author, August, 1992.

technology to make the world a rational, civilized place?" Significantly, these were the last polemics that Kansan editorialists published on their own volition. Thereafter, they reported the activities of CORE, but did little to aid the organization. Indeed, some journalists at the Kansan began referring to co-op and progressive students' activities as the "red beat."[127]

"Speaking for America" ads that appeared in newspapers like the Kansan were consistent with the editorialists' democratic aims. In these ads, published in April 1946, Bob Hope, Judy Garland, and General Dwight D. Eisenhower told students that "one thing the guys over here caught on to in a hurry was that a buddy's race, religion or ancestry just didn't matter." Eisenhower stated that "no man can tell [us] that America with its glorious mixture of races, of creeds - its Jews, its Catholics, its Protestants - can lose the peace."[128]

The Kansan and the University yearbook, The Jayhawker, in the postwar democratic spirit of integrating African-American students into daily campus

---

[127]Editorial, "Year of Change," Kansan, April 10, 1946, p. 2; Editorial, "Are We Afraid?" Kansan, January 29, 1946, p. 2; Rusco to author, October 20, 1992.

[128]Eisenhower, "Speaking for America," Kansan, April 12, 1946, p. 5; Garland and Hope, "Speaking for America," Kansan, April 15, 1946, p. 2-3.

life, highlighted Greek organizations and black student leaders. On the Kansan's social pages, the editors ran a series of articles featuring every black sorority and fraternity on campus. Each article included a history of the organization, listed the different events sponsored by the society, and inserted pictures of the organization's president.[129]

The yearbook, The Jayhawker, had always featured white student leaders with write-ups and pictures. The 1946-1947 yearbook featured, for the first time, African-American student leaders. In the spring of 1946, it spotlighted Everett Bell, the president and All-Student Council (ASC) representative of the Negro Student Association. Bell was also active in the YMCA and the AVC. The Jayhawker also featured Octavia Walker, the Henley House resident who was vice-president of the YWCA and president of her sorority, Delta Sigma Theta. Frank Stannard, a white activist, also made 1946's Jayhawker: he was voted "Best Sport Date" for 1946.[130]

In Spring 1946, after varsity officials refused to

---

[129]"Socially Speaking," Zeta Phi Beta, Kansan, January 21, 1946, p. 3; "Socially Speaking," Alpha Kappa Alpha, Kansan, January 23, 1946, p. 3; "Socially Speaking," Delta Sigma Theta, Kansan, February 14, 1946, p. 3; "Socially Speaking," Kappa Alpha Psi, Kansan, April 3, 1946, p. 3.

[130]The Jayhawker, 1946-1947, p. 56, 135, 212.

let Wesley Elliott in the Kansas Relays, the AVC, the YMCA, the YWCA and the co-op students (aided by LLPD faculty members) began protests against segregation in athletics. The YMCA president, Luther Buchele, directed the campaign. The YMCA got 1,000 student signatures on petitions endorsing the statement: "Let Negroes in the Relays."[131]

Black exclusion from varsity track teams led to an investigation of African-American athletic participation in the Big Six universities in April 1946 by the All-Student Council (ASC). George Caldwell, the head of the ASC's investigative committee, directed its appeal to other Big Six schools. The University of Nebraska and Iowa State University said "no to racial discrimination in the Big Six." Editorials in Iowa State's student newspaper further supported KU's athletics protest by stating the Big Six's "'gentlemen's agreement' is not keeping with our principles of liberal, democratic education."[132]

---

[131]Editorial, Kansan, Feb. 13, 1946, p. 2; Buchele to Altus, November 7, 1992; "Let the Negroes in Relays, 1,000 Students Ask," Kansan, April 16, 1946, p. 1.

[132]"ASC Favors Negro Athletic Participation," Kansan, April 10, 1946, p. 1; "ASC To Take Matter of Negro Participation to Big Six Schools," Kansan, April 15, 1946, p. 1; Editorial, "Side Stepping the Issue," Kansan, May 15, 1946, p. 2.

Some students also attacked Big Six segregation during student elections in April 1946. The Progressives, led by George Caldwell, made African-American exclusion from the Big Six and other intercollegiate activities a prominent part of their platform. Campaign platforms of the Pachacamac, a conservative fraternity party, which did not question African-American exclusion, probably reflected the majority of students' opinion since that party garnered most students' votes. However, the newly elected president, a Pachacamac party member, and other council members responded favorably to an anti-Big Six segregation resolution. Introduced by George Caldwell, the ASC went "on record favoring Negro participation in varsity athletic squads."[133]

In response to the burgeoning civil rights movements on campus, the black greek system founded the Negro Student Association (NSA) in Fall 1946 "to provide the Negro Student body a unified voice." The group originated with Kappa Alpha Psi, a black fraternity, and the NSA's first president was Bill Johnson, a Kappa brother. Wesley Elliott was the secretary in 1947, and other members of the NSA included the AVC's Everett Bell and Frank

---

[133]Platforms, Kansan, May 8, 1946, p. 1; Caldwell to author, May 18, 1992; "Pachacamac Wins Presidency," Kansan, May 10, 1946, p. 1; "ASC Approves Negro Players on Varsity Teams," Kansan, October 30, 1946, p. 1.

Stannard. The NSA sent an elected member to the ASC as the voice of black students on campus and it also provided black participants for interracial protests in 1947 and 1948. Beyond that, the NSA was ineffective. Little written evidence of the organization remains, and Wesley Elliott did not even remember the NSA, let alone his tenure as its secretary.[134]

Many of the Big Six protesters like Wesley Elliott, George Caldwell, and Wendell Walker, as well as other idealists such as Beth Bell and Frank Stannard, expressed their liberal and Socialist views in The Dove which resumed publication in October 1946 after ten years. Offering liberal opinions on current political topics in 1946 and 1947, it remained true to its aim to be a "thoughtful, liberal publication for student expression." The paper quickly regained its reputation as a radical and subversive document. The Dove's editors catered to that reputation. For example, students had wanted to publish the newspaper on red paper, but since the type would not show up, it was suggestively printed on pink

---

[134]I.W. Elliott to author, August, 1992; C. Kermit Phelps, interview with Mary Kate Tews, June, 1988, transcript on file with the University Archives; Jesse Milan, interview with author, September 30, 1991; Minutes of Kappa Alpha Psi in the Jesse Milan Collection, unprocessed papers in the Kansas Collection; Kansan, April 25, 1947, p. 8; Elliott to author, August, 1992.

paper.[135]

The Dove campaigned for Henry Wallace's presidential candidacy (Frank Stannard was the president of KU's Wallace for President Committee), was pro-veteran, and although the editors were not pro-Communist, they did not adamantly denounce the Russians.[136] Articles on Socialism were also prominent, but students were most vocal about racism. Wendell Walker, who was a light-skinned black, and his roommate, George Caldwell, wrote about humiliations Walker suffered when mistaken for a white man. A lab partner mistakenly assumed Walker was white and yelled at him for "talking to a colored girl." A theater usher, while telling him to leave the black section, asked "you are white, aren't you?" Writers for The Dove castigated the "spirit of the South" that pervaded the campus in response to civil rights protests and in so doing, prepared students for future protests.[137]

---

[135]Editorial Board and Statement of Goals, The Dove, December 17, 1947, p. 2.

[136]The Dove differed from the Kansan who had begun to print anti-Communist articles on the editorial page and on the front page.

[137]Dean Postlethwaite to Editor, "Dove Finds Peaceful End to Dispute, Editor Writes," Kansan, October 24, 1946, p. 6; Picture with Caption, The Dove, 15:3(May 21, 1947), p. 1; Rhoten Smith, "Been Paid Yet, Vet? Something's All Wet," The Dove, 15:1 (December 18, 1946), p. 1; Charles

The Dove angered conservative students who published The Eagle. The Eagle accused The Dove of using "rabble-rousing technique[s]" that were quite similar to "that used by Hitler before he made all the people of Germany 'free and equal.'" They, too, wanted "tolerance and understanding between race conscious groups," but argued that that goal could not be reached by "noisy, adolescent drum beating." Nor could the "narrow-minded" Socialism advocated by The Dove's writers exist in a democratic society since "newspapers like The Dove [were] exactly the thing that force the KKK to live again." And, pointing to the pink paper, The Eagle editors noted, "the color of this issue could not have been more fitting."[138]

The Dove and its allies, acknowledging that it had made mistakes, "one of which was that pink paper," thought that the paper's progressive opinions were "necessary for campus change - for change is fundamental

---

Sherrer, "Who Says It's Un-American?" The Dove, 15: (October 22, 1947), p. 4; Wendell Walker, "What Is the Cause?", The Dove, (October 22, 1947), p. 5; George Caldwell, "You Are White, Aren't You?" The Dove, (October 22, 1947), p. 4; Frank Stannard,"With Malice Toward Some," The Dove, (December 17, 1947), p. 1.

[138]Bill Barger, "Reds Enjoy Racism," The Eagle, 1(May 28, 1947); "No Love For Dove," Kansan, April 8, 1947, p. 6; Bill Barger to the Editor, "An Eagle Writer Replies to Critic," Kansan, May 14, 1947, p. 6.

and even reaction must eventually tag along." Calling its aims "altruistic" and "sincere," The Dove denied that it was narrow-minded or acted like "imitation Hitlerites." Indeed, those who criticized The Dove's views were more narrow-minded. How could anyone compare The Dove's writers to Hitler when its "editorials exude[d] pacifism and racial tolerance?" It was good, The Dove editors wrote in a letter to the Kansan, to see the reactionary "hate Russia" crowd misrepresenting theories it considered an "antithesis to Hitleristic doctrines."[139]

****

While the "hate Russia" crowd and The Dove's "drum-beating" liberals bickered back and forth, students organized another co-op. Named for the student killed in the Spanish Civil War, Don Henry Co-op began in 1947. Jayhawk Co-op members recruited Elmer Rusco and John Eberhardt, who had been sympathetic to previous integration activities, to balance the "reactionary" students who were opposed to racial integration. Rusco, a Summerfield Scholar who became president of CORE, moved into Don Henry when he came to campus in 1947. John

---

[139]G. Mendenhall to the Editor, Kansan, April 23, 1947, p. 6; Beth H. Bell to the Editor, "The Dove Replies," Kansan, April 15, 1947, p. 6; College Senior to the Editor, Kansan, April 29, 1947, p. 6.

Eberhardt, another Summerfield scholar, had entered KU in 1946 and lived with Frank Stannard at Stannard's mother's boardinghouse. The first black student in Don Henry was Curtis Glover.[140]

As students organized Don Henry Co-op, Oklahoma A&M applied for entrance to the Big Six Athletic League. Frank Stannard and George Caldwell, as representatives of sixteen campus groups, circulated a petition to bar the university from the Big Six because it excluded blacks. They later presented it to Kansas' Governor, Frank Carlson. After stating his belief that Kansas was "relatively free from intolerance," the governor told the students and later Chancellor Malott that he opposed the Aggies' application. Carlson, however, refused to use his influence either with the State Legislature or with the Board of Regents to protest Oklahoma A&M's admission to the now Big Seven.[141]

---

[140]Rusco to author, October 20, 1992; Altus, "Incorporators (1941) of the University of Kansas Student Housing Association," p. 3; Walker and Eberhardt to author, December 17, 1992.

[141]The University of Colorado had recently joined the Big Six. It did not have any explicitly stated exclusionary policies against black athletes or students and no one seems to have protested their acceptance into the Big Six. "Petition to Bar Oklahoma A&M from the Big Six taken to Governor," Kansan, April 1, 1947, p. 1; "Carlson Opposes Aggie Application," Kansan, April 8, 1947, p. 8. Stannard's and Caldwell's actions furthered earlier ones by black fraternities and sororities. See Petition to Malott from

Students were divided over the issue. Kansan editorialists, in their current position as observers rather than leaders of campus desegregation, stated that the AVC's campaign against Oklahoma A&M only slowed "down the process" of integration. Editors argued that racial prejudice was "slowly being dispersed by a natural course of events. [C]ampaigns to speed up this natural relinquishment of prejudices against those of different colored skins only slow down the process."[142]

Pro-Aggie students also complained to Kansan editors that "a minority was overriding to the opinion of the majority." Other students said that the Aggies would be a "benefit to the conference." "If we don't let the Aggies in," announced an anonymous "College Freshman," "then kick out MU and OK, too."[143] Students then voted in April 1947, 2,559 to 744 to admit Oklahoma A&M to the Big

---

Carlton Pryor, Omega Phi Psi, et. al., dated January 23, 1947, Malott Papers. "16 KU Groups to Petition Governor Against A&M," Kansan, March 28, 1947, p. 1. The groups were the AVC, the International Club, the NSA, the Progressive and PGSL political parties, the Young Republicans Club, the YWCA, the YMCA, the Jewish Students Union, the Inter-Dorm Council, the LLPD, the editors of The Dove and the Kansan, Henley House, Alpha Phi Alpha, Zeta Phi Beta, and Alpha Kappa Alpha.

[142]Editorial, Kansan, January 17, 1947, p. 6.

[143]MU and OU refer to the University of Missouri and the University of Oklahoma which excluded black students as well.

Seven even with its exclusionary racial policies. The majority of KU students, it seemed, either subscribed to the attitudes displayed in the Kansan or their commitment to integration was superficial where athletics and school's reputation based on athletic success was concerned.[144]

Although it is difficult to find a reason, in May 1947, Chancellor Malott reversed the administration's traditional support of athletic segregation, telling the Kansan that "any regularly enrolled student at KU may try out for intercollegiate athletics subject only to the specific eligibility rules of the conference." Dr. E.C. Quigley, director of athletics, reiterated Malott's stance and told Frank Stannard that "negroes may try out for the basketball team on an equal basis with all new players reporting for the team." Phog Allen, however, quickly and publicly disagreed with Quigley. Quigley

---

[144]Platforms, Kansan, April 23, 1947, p. 1; "An Answer to PSGL," Kansan, February 19, 1948, p. 2; Clyde Shockley to the Editor, "Barring Aggies," April 11, 1947, p. 6; "Vote Against Aggie Ban," Kansan, April 25, 1947, p. 1; "College Freshman" to the Editor, Kansan, April 11, 1947, p. 6; Rusco to author, October 20, 1992. The controversy was the catalyst for the splintering of what Pachacamac considered its subversive elements into a new, liberal fraternity party, the Progressive Student Government League (PSGL). Pachacamac wanted Oklahoma's inclusion in the conference while PSGL students included anti-Aggie statements in their platforms. See "Both Pachacamac, PSGL Stronger after Party Split," Kansan, December 19, 1946, p. 1; Elliott to author, August, 1992.

retracted his statement, saying that he had done "the talking, but not for Allen." Allen suggested that African-American students try out for the track teams because "that didn't require as much body contact as basketball." And he told students he wanted "the precedent started somewhere else." William Scheinmen, AVC's president, replied that Allen "would rather lose every game on the schedule than allow a Negro to play on his team."[145]

Athletic protests were a catalyst for civil rights reformers to organize a group to coordinate student activism. The YMCA, the YWCA, the AVC, the Henley House and Jayhawk Co-op, the LLPD, the NSA and the black greek system established the Committee on Racial Equality (CORE) on January 21, 1947. As its first president, the students elected Frank Stannard, a divorced, older veteran, who was a member of the NAACP, the NSA, the AVC, the YMCA, and the LLPD. The second president, Beth Bell, was "one of the most important leaders" of CORE and "an honorary member" of Jayhawk Co-op. She "was bold and smart and an intimate member of all planning sessions,"

---

[145]"Quigley Did the Talking," Kansan, May 19, 1947, p. 1; Editorial, "A Summary of the A&M Issue," Kansan, April 23, 1947, p. 6;Editorial, Kansan, May 19, 1947, p. 6; Kansan, May 20, 1947, p. 1; Scheinman to Editor, Kansan, January 17, 1947. p. 6.

fellow CORE members, Wesley Elliott and George Caldwell, remembered. KU CORE drew most of its membership from the cooperatives and its faculty advisors from the LLPD. Those advisors included Cal VanderWerf, C. Fosburg Hughes, and D. Ned Linegar as well as Hilden Gibson.[146]

Initially, the "group was a coalition of representatives of several campus and community organizations ... who investigated the problem of racial discrimination," according to annual reports to CORE's national organization. With the influence of Ned Linegar, who brought Congress on Racial Equality leader Bayard Rustin to speak to the students, the organizations eventually decided "it would be best to form an independent organization to carry out direct action as

---

[146]Congress of Racial Equality Affiliation Blank for the Committee of Racial Equality at the University of Kansas, c/o Jayhawk Coop, 1614 Kentucky, Executive Secretary's File, CORE Papers, Reel 13, Series 3; Annual Report of KU CORE, 1947, Executive Secretary's File, Papers of CORE, Reel 8, Series 3; Robert Stewart, et al., "Report of Direct Action Against Racial Discrimination at a Cafe Near the Campus of the University of Kansas, April 15, 1948, Prepared and Distributed by the Committee on Racial Equality," sent to author by Wesley Elliott, also in the KU-CORE Papers, University Archives. Another copy may be found in the Elmer Rusco Papers. Ralph A. Smith to "Friends, Congress on Racial Equality, Cleveland, Ohio," March 25, 1947, Papers of CORE, Executive Secretary's File, Reel 8, Series 3; Walker and Eberhardt to author, December 17, 1992; The Jayhawker, Spring, 1948; Membership card for Frank Stannard, Jan. 16, 1947, in the Lawrence NAACP Papers; Glen Kappelman, interview with author, March 17, 1992; Elliott to author, August, 1992; Caldwell to author, November 13, 1992; Rusco to author, October 20, 1992.

outlined" by Rustin. The new moral reform organization, first investigated instances of segregation and then, negotiated with owners of segregated public accommodations. Only after negotiations broke down would committee members employ Ghandian tactics of direct action, usually a boycott or a "sit-down". At all times, members had to "understand both the attitude of the person responsible for a policy of racial discrimination and the social situation which engendered the attitude." Members could harbor "no malice or hate" toward any racist individual or group and they had to maintain "an attitude of humility ... and suffer the anger of any individual or group in the spirit of good-will and creative reconciliation."[147]

According to George Houser, the national organization remained a loose federation of local groups, "united mostly by their aim of tackling discrimination by a particular method." This way, the "emphasis was almost completely on local issues and organization." Indeed, the only criterion to join CORE was a commitment to its nonviolent policy. Violent action was the only reason for

---

[147] August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, CORE: A Study in the Civil Rights Movement, 1942-1968 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 18; "CORE Action Discipline As Amended by the National Convention of the Congress of Racial Equality," Pamphlet in the Rusco Papers.

which any group could be expelled.[148]

At first, KU's CORE postponed its schedule of direct action. Bob Stewart convinced Stannard "to prepare the ground better" with an educational program. That program included speaking to students and writing articles for the Kansan and The Dove. This prompted some students to think that CORE did "a lot of talking, but not much action."[149]

To invalidate this impression, CORE members investigated segregation at a local skating rink on May 21, 1947. For the first time, students attacked Lawrence's institutionalized racism. When the rink owner refused to sell black members tickets, Kansan editorialists, in a rare postwar move, denounced Lawrence owners' "reputation for inconsistency" and asked if students were "satisfied with Kansas as it [was]?" "How soon are we," the editors stated, "going to face the facts and decide that Kansas can achieve real greatness not through reactionary complacency, but by waking up and

---

[148]George Houser, "A Personal Retrospective on the 1947 Journey of Reconciliation," Paper Presented at Blufton College, October, 1992, p. 4, copy sent to author by Houser. The Blufton conference commemorated the Fiftieth Anniversary of CORE's founding. George Houser to author, September 26, 1993.

[149]Stewart to author, October 11, 1991; Bishop to author, May 16, 1992.

facing problems in our state in an honest and straight-forward manner?"[150]

CORE next investigated Lawrence service businesses that catered to students. The first target was the Cottage, owned by Henley's neighbor, J. Clifton Ramsey. CORE found that Ramsey, a local lawyer, had written an exclusionary clause into the lease. Even though Kansas law stated that exclusionary clauses were illegal, CORE abandoned its investigation. The legal clause may have stymied the students, but otherwise it is not known why they stopped so easily.[151]

CORE's next target was the Lawrence theaters' "Jim Crow" policies. It found that the four downtown theaters owned by the Lawrence Commonwealth of Theaters - the Jayhawker, the Patee, the Granada and the Varsity - either segregated or excluded blacks altogether. CORE members selected the largest theater, the Jayhawker, as their target for protest because "its patronage [was]

---

[150]Editorial, "Are You Satisfied with Kansas as It Is?" Kansan, May 22, 1947, p. 6; Bell, "Recent Activities of KU CORE"; Congress on Racial Equality Affiliation Blank for KU CORE; Cain, "Henley House Cooperative".

[151]Frank Stannard to Professor William M. Tuttle, Jr. October (?), 1990; Beth Bell, "Recent Activities of KU CORE," Report, July, 1947 and Beth Bell to George Houser, July 28, 1947. Both found in the Executive Secretary's File, CORE Papers, Reel 13, Series 3.

made up of students."[152]

On July 21, 1947, forty students in interracial groups of six or seven entered the Jayhawker theater through the balcony (blacks were not allowed on the main floor) to see "The Hucksters," starring Clark Gable and Deborah Kerr. After an hour, the manager, Stan Schwahn, "a pompous and non-intellectual businessman, immune to humanitarian sentiments and concerned mainly with the state of his pocketbook," interrupted the movie to preach to moviegoers against on racial integration. White agitators, according to him, were creating a problem that had not previously existed. Schwahn said that he "wanted what the majority wanted": segregation in his theaters. Arguing that "negroes had planned to take over," Schwahn told CORE protesters that if they wanted "social contacts with Negroes, alright, but not in his theaters." The audience seemed to side with CORE because the manager was not well liked by KU students and "people were disgusted with his stopping the picture." After the incident, Schwahn met with students and LLPD members in his office and was so upset that he looked as if he would "have a

---

[152]Bell to Houser, July 28, 1947, Executive Secretary's File, CORE Papers, Reel 13, Series 3; Henry Shapiro to George Houser, November 4, 1947, Executive Secretary's File, CORE Papers, Reel 13, Series 3; Ramsey to Malott, July 5, 1946. Because the Granada theater did not have a balcony, African Americans were excluded from the theater.

heart attack at any moment," Rachel VanderWerf recounted.[153]

One week later, Otha Hatfield, "a short, mean, chubby redneck," as one local remembered, wrote Chancellor Malott to complain of "racial strife, as agitated by a group of University Students" in the Jayhawker Theater. He also complained about faculty member Max Dresden, a physics professor who was a CORE advisor. Dresden had spoken at a recent Rotary meeting and, according to Hatfield, "let his hair down and carried the banner for communism and racial equality." Hatfield accused Malott of allowing professors like Dresden "a free hand to teach a foreign doctrine" to students who then were using these alien ideas to protest segregation. Hatfield said he had "no quarrel with the colored race," but he had "no desire...to eat, sleep and mix with them socially." The obvious solution to Hatfield was a screening process to rid the University of

---

[153]Bell, "Recent Activities of KU CORE"; Bell to Houser, July 28, 1947; Ad, Kansan, July 18, 1947, p. 5; "Film Interrupted," Lawrence Journal-World, July 22, 1947; "CORE Theater Incident Opens Interracial Seating Question," Kansan, July 25, 1947, p. 1; VanderWerf to author, May 13, 1992; Notes from sit-in at theater, untitled and undated, found in the papers of Elmer Rusco.

undesirable, liberal professors.[154]

Malott wrote Hatfield to calm his fears in September. He assured Hatfield that he, too, was "a pretty conservative person," and tried to have "a conservative, common sense group" of professors. World War II rhetoric still invaded Malott's letter, though, as he sought to protect his professors' right to speak on controversial topics. He could not, Malott said, screen an "entire faculty...to conform to the views of any one single person or group. That would lead to dangers under which Germany suffered for a good many years."[155]

Although Malott protected CORE's and the faculty's right to protest, LLPD members and KU students quickly distanced themselves from the organization after the Jayhawker sit-in. In one LLPD Bulletin, editors described CORE as "a separate organization, though its purposes parallel ours in some fields." Frank Stannard and Beth Bell had asked the LLPD to join in the proposed theater sit-in, but LLPD members said no. The LLPD was so against CORE's methods that in August 1947, the LLPD passed a

---

[154]Otha Hatfield to Chancellor Dean [sic] W. Malott, July 28, 1947, Malott Papers; Richard Raney, interview with author, November 7, 1991; [Stan Schwahn] to Chancellor Malott, September, 1947 [?], Malott Papers.

[155]Deane W. Malott to Mr. Otha Hatfield, September 10, 1947, Malott Papers.

resolution stating that "the board felt that it could not approve officially the methods of CORE. Their methods are not our methods, although their aims are our aims."[156]

KU students, in letters to the Kansan, also protested CORE's "undemocratic, irrational pressure" on Schwahn. For example, one woman, identified as "She's Fed-Up," recommended segregation as "ideal" for theaters. Another student, who considered CORE's aims good ones, still chastised the organization for its "brashness" which "alienated more people than [it] converted." Even a student who endorsed CORE's timely democratic reminder that "minorities ...don't always get a square deal," advised CORE that it would be "wise to allow the Negroes to speak for themselves when situations like this [arise]."[157]

The incident at the Jayhawker also sparked a reaction among owners of public accommodations in Lawrence like restaurants, barber shops and beauty parlors which excluded blacks. Led by Stan Schwahn, the Lawrence Citizens for the Entertainment of the Citizens

---

[156]"CORE Explained," LLPD Bulletin, 2:1(October 1947), p. 1; Meeting Minutes, June 3, 1947, August 8, 1947, LLPD Papers.

[157]"A Texan on CORE," "Fie On Everybody," "Along the Ice," "Social Rudeness," Letters to the Editor, Kansan, clippings found in the Executive Secretary's File, CORE Papers, Reel 13, Series 3.

of Lawrence (LCECL) sent a letter to Chancellor Malott in September 1947, blaming civil rights activism on what they considered the "new order of things at the university where both white boys and girls go with the colored." Schwahn held not only Malott responsible, but other university professors as well - namely, Cal VanderWerf, Max Dresden, and Hilden Gibson. Schwahn deemed it "deplorable...that we have so many Lincolns on our University teaching staff."[158] Schwahn did not blame black students who were obviously, in his opinion, "under the leadership of white students" who did "the thinking for the colored students." However, his theaters were not to be used as a "springboard to carry on the same program in restaurants, barber shops, beauty parlors and hotels."[159]

The LCECL also presented a petition to Schwahn signed by forty service business owners, a copy of which was also sent to Malott. Signers included Brick Murphy, owner of Brick's, one of the four segregated hill cafes. Petitioners appealed to Schwahn "to do nothing in the operation of your business that will in anyway jeopardize

---

[158]"Lincoln" probably refers to the Abraham Lincoln Brigade that Don Henry fought with during the Spanish Civil War in 1937.

[159][Stan Schwahn] to Chancellor Malott, September, 1947(?), Malott Papers.

seemed, to desegregate his theaters one row at a time as long as no one knew about it.[161]

After hearing about the negative reaction to the Jayhawker sit-in, Houser suggested that students size "up the temper of the community before ... [taking further] action." The hostility to the theater sit-in convinced him that CORE needed a broader base of support in the community. Beth Bell could foresee little success, however. She explained to Houser that a "certain clique of businessmen always succeed[ed] in running things to suit themselves, since they control the newspaper and all the city offices." Those businessmen (among them, Schwahn and Phog Allen) were not interested in civil rights. That left as possible allies "the lower middle class who are ill-educated and ill-disposed toward racial equality, and who thus become the tools of the business interests in any conflict of this nature." CORE's intellectual snobbishness manifested itself here. Only those who were

---

[161]Stan Schwahn to Marie Smith, November 29, 1947, in the LLPD Papers; Shapiro to Houser, October 9, 1947, Houser to Shapiro, October 16, 1947, Shapiro to Houser, November 4, 1947, Executive Secretary's File, CORE Papers, Reel 13, Series 3. CORE frightened Schwahn so much that, according to Bell, he asked the FBI and the Kansas Bureau of Investigation (KBI) to investigate individual CORE members for subversive activity. See Beth Bell to George [Houser], August 13, 1947, in Executive Secretary's File, CORE Papers, Reel 13, Series 3. It was impossible to double check Bell's claims because KBI files are closed for seventy five years.

educated (as middle class businessmen were, according to Bell) could understand immoral segregation. Lower class whites who seemed less educated could not understand the contradictions implicit in Lawrence's "Dilemma."[162]

Still, Bell and Stannard did not ignore Houser's admonition. When the 1947-1948 academic year at KU started soon after the sit-in, reports to Houser stated that KU's CORE outlined "an energetic campaign...to build a broader base of membership and support among the townspeople of Lawrence" and on campus. Toward that end, CORE elected a new executive board that included Robert Stewart as president and Kappa Alpha Psi brother, William White, as vice-president. Also elected was Henry Shapiro, a Lawrence businessman who had no ties to the university, but who could stabilize the organization when members were gone for summers or had graduated. As well, the group tried to forge tighter bonds with the Lawrence NAACP and the LLPD. And, while they tried to broaden their support in Lawrence, CORE members tried to guard against Houser's concern that "[t]here will be very good leadership for one college generation for two to four years, and then a dearth of leadership." Later, CORE

---

[162]Beth Bell to George Houser, September 21, 1947, Executive Secretary's File, CORE Papers, Reel 13, Series 3.

discovered how prophetic Houser's words were.[163]

CORE applied for university recognition in hope that university sponsorship would strengthen the organization. Administrators, however, stymied CORE's aspirations. Stannard blamed the university's withholding of recognition on "pressure exerted on the legislature and board of regents by downtown business interests, and directly by the business interests on the administration." CORE members sent a letter of protest to the administration, but offered the administration "no apologies" for its direct method. It was precisely this method that was "vigorously condemned ... because it [was] a strong threat to the stagnant policy of racial discrimination," Stannard, Bell, Stewart and White told Malott who did not support university recognition of CORE. They emphasized their belief "that in a democracy, an organization of CORE's nature should be entitled [to campus recognition] ... because it [was] a progressive social action to use the facilities of the school." George Houser also wrote Dean of Students, Laurence Woodruff (whom co-op students called the "greasy bastard"

---

[163]Houser to Wesley Elliott, Jr., May 10, 1947, Shapiro to Houser, October 9, 1947, Frank Stannard to George Houser, October 6, 1947, Frank Stannard to George Houser, September 18, 1947, Executive Secretary's File, CORE Papers, Reel 13, Series 3.

because they felt he conveniently changed his political positions), in September 1947 as well as Chancellor Malott, but to no avail.[164]

In October 1947, President Truman's Commission on Civil Rights released To Secure These Rights, the commission's report on, and recommended solutions for, racism and segregation in the United States. The LLPD and CORE immediately endorsed its call for equal access for all African Americans and brought the report to the attention of Governor Frank Carlson in November 1947. In separate visits to the governor, both the LLPD and CORE stated that these recommendations were "necessary" for Kansas if the state was "to practice the declared principles of Americanism as stated in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States." The groups recommended that democratic changes to Kansas law include:

---

[164]Beth Bell, Frank Stannard, Robert Stewart, George Brown, William M. White to Chancellor Deane W. Malott, September 18, 1947, Malott Papers; "Campus Rights Restricted, Says CORE Group," Kansan, clipping in Executive Secretary's File, CORE Papers, Reel 13, Series 3; "Dr. Woodruff To Succeed Dean Werner," Kansan, April 22, 1947, p. 1; Walker and Eberhardt to author, December 17, 1992; George M. Houser to Dr. Laurence C. Woodruff, September 24, 1947, Laurence C. Woodruff, Dean of Men, to Mr. George M. Houser, September 30, 1947, both letters in the Laurence Woodruff Papers, University Archives; Stewart to author, October 18, 1991.

1. Pass comprehensive and effective civil rights laws

2. Establish a state Employment Practices Commission.

3. Pass law forbidding state to purchase from vendors who discriminate.

4. Pass law extending the rights of full participation in all student activities, ie. [sic] dormitories and athletics.

5. Pass laws making discrimination in labor unions and professional societies illegal.

Carlson promised to read the report and submit the LLPD's and CORE's recommendations to the State Legislature.[165]

At the same time, Big Seven racial policies began haunting campus officials again. This time, however, protests raged not only at KU, but also at other Big Seven universities, namely Kansas State, University of Colorado, University of Nebraska, and Iowa State. Students convened a conference of the Missouri Valley Intercollegiate Athletic Association in Lincoln, Nebraska, in November 1947. Delegates attending the Lincoln conference unanimously passed resolutions to eliminate racial discrimination in the Big Seven. University of Oklahoma students did not attend, but they

---

[165]LLPD to Frank Carlson, Governor, November 12, 1947, LLPD Papers; "Kansas Governor for Act Against Discrimination," Pittsburgh Courier, Nov. 29, 1947, "Resolutions to Governor," LLPD Bulletin, 2:2(January, 1948), p. 3, Clippings from the Kansas City Call, LLPD Papers.

sent a telegram stating that "the question of discrimination would be put to a student vote in the near future."[166]

In January 1948, George Houser visited campus again. He met mostly with the sponsors of his trip: CORE, the co-op students, the YMCA, YWCA, the AVC and the NSA. Houser told the students that "Laws will not solve Problems": direct action and community pressure were the key to segregation's end. Houser hoped that on his next visit "we might set something on an action basis."[167]

Frank Stannard later wrote Houser to thank him for his visit. At the same time, he related some of the internal problems the organization faced. He was, for example, "disappointment in the little amount of interest, ideas, and activity of the Negroes in our groups, in the lack of positive approach -- of getting into activities." Instead of beneficial tactics to changing thought processes, Stannard was becoming wary of working with people who "only want to participate when

---

[166]Kansan, December 3, 1947, p. 1.

[167]Robert M. Stewart, Chairman, K.U.- CORE, Undated Announcement of George Houser's visit with campus schedule, Rusco Papers; "'Laws Will Not Solve Problems,' CORE Secretary Comment," Kansan, January 16, 1948, p. 4.

there is going to be some excitement."[168]

****

In February 1948, CORE turned its attention to the four student cafes near campus. NSA members tested the Jayhawk Cafe, Brick's, the Cottage, and the Rock Chalk and found that each excluded black students. CORE then created a committee, which included Robert Stewart, C. Fosburg Hughes, Wesley Elliott and several other students, to approach the owners of the four cafes. One refused to talk about the problem; the Cottage's manager held up his lease which prohibited "service to any person of African descent." Another said that he considered all student business bad. Not all service businesses, it seemed, liked students' business.[169]

Brick Murphy, owner of Brick's, offered to set up a separate lounge downstairs in his restaurant for black students. Negotiators, however, would accept no less than integration of the entire restaurant.[170]

---

[168]Frank Stannard to George [Houser], February 13, 1948, George M. Houser to Frank Stannard, February 20, 1948, Executive Secretary's File, CORE Papers, Reel 13, Series 3.

[169]Kansan, February 26, 1948, p. 1; "CORE and the Cafes," Information sheet from the private papers of I. Wesley Elliott.

[170]Ibid.

CORE members, seeing no other alternative, called a meeting at Jayhawk Co-op to plan the Brick's sit-down. President Stewart challenged as many members as possible to attend because "a policy of direct action to its successful conclusion cannot be done by a small number." Male members decided that women would not be directly involved with the sit-down because "it was too risky in case things did get out of hand." They therefore were to report what they witnessed. Women, however, participated in the sit-down anyway.[171]

On April 15, 1948, thirty student reformers, probably ten of whom were black, occupied the seventeen booths in Brick's. They refused to move until Murphy served the black students. Outside, Joyce Harkleroad distributed pamphlets that described CORE's outrage at the moral and civil indignities black students suffered. CORE held "these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal." Equality of man was a "basic part of the American Ideal and Christianity," the pamphlet explained and segregation was "a flagrant denial of the Christian precept of brotherly love, the true meaning of democracy and the principle that all men are created

---

[171]Robert M. Stewart, "Dear Member and Friend," April 10, 1948, Rusco Papers; Walker and Eberhardt to author, December 17, 1992; CORE Notebook of Witnesses, April 15, 1948, Rusco Papers.

equal." Therefore, sit-downs were necessary when the rules of fairness were not observed.[172]

For security, restaurant owners had a reciprocal relationship with KU football team members. In exchange for free food and drinks, football players acted as bouncers whenever there was trouble. Brick Murphy was no exception. When he saw that the sit-downers would not move, he called football team members, including Hugh Johnson and Clyde King, around 6:00 p.m. to end CORE's sit-down. At the same time, both CORE and Murphy called the police department: CORE, in hopes that the police would enforce the Kansas anti-segregation law; Murphy, with confidence that the officers would enforce the town's de facto segregation. Meanwhile, football team members insulted CORE members, calling war veterans "yellow cowards," and "jellyfishes" in an attempt to provoke them to react violently. No CORE member did.[173]

It took four hours for the police to arrive. After assessing the situation, one officer said to Murphy and

---

[172]Stewart, "Report on Direct Action;" Joyce Harkleroad to Bridget Cain, quoted in Cain, "Henley House Cooperative"; Robert Stewart to author, October 18, 1991; "Core: Direct Action Notebook, April 15, 1948," Rusco Papers; "Cafe Service-CORE Stand," April 15, 1948 [?], in the Elmer Rusco Papers; "An 'Information Please' About CORE," KU-CORE Papers.

[173]Stewart, "Report on Direct Action," p. 5.

the football players, "I don't care what you do with them." The football players (called "Huskies" in a report published later by CORE) then picked up some members and threw or pushed them out into the street while the others walked out.[174]

Campus opinion about CORE after the sit-down was decidedly negative. "CORE tactics won't work," Pat Penney, a KU student, told the Kansan. Those tactics employed by "CORE to better race relations [were] only making them worse and may lead to more serious incidents." Forrest A. Smith, told the Kansan that white students "insist on policies of segregation that owners enforce." Another student said CORE's "sensational approach, worsens conditions" and admonished it to use Booker T. Washington's appeasement policy since "agitation was the extreme policy." Others sided with Murphy's democratic right to "serve anyone of his choice."[175]

Those supporting CORE wrote the Kansan resolving

---

[174]Stewart, "Report on Direct Action"; "CORE: Direct Action April 15, 1948, Persons Present, Witness Info," Notebook, Rusco Papers; Robert Stewart to George Houser, June 7, 1948, Executive Secretary's File, CORE Papers, Reel 13, Series 3.

[175]Pat Penney to Editor, "Poor Tactics," Kansan, April 28, 1948, p. 6; Name Withheld, Letter to Editor, Kansan, April 30, 1948, p. 6; Forrest A. Smith to editor, Ellis Roberts to editor, Kansan, April 2, 1948, p. 6.

that "we do urge the owners and managers of the Hill restaurants to cease such un-Christian and undemocratic practices as discrimination in serving Negro people." Another letter writer said "the policy of the management of Brick's Cafe [was] obviously the product of a mind which [was] in no way concerned with either democracy or Christianity." Others protested Smith's letter claiming that "CORE was doing a fine job." The organization was merely "interested in securing rights endowed to them, not by man, but by God."[176]

In preparation for a possible court case, CORE interviewed witnesses and then wrote a report. Hoping it had a court test for the Kansas civil rights law, Stewart wrote to the NAACP Defense League, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), and the American Jewish Congress. Each sent discouraging replies because court action was possible only in the case of assault and battery charges against football players.[177]

CORE's radical activism seems to have caused

---

[176]Mary W. Lees, et.al., "Resolved;" Name Withheld, both letters to the Editor in Kansan, April 21, 1948, p. 6; Arthur O. Johnson to Editor, Kansan, April 28, 1948, p. 6.

[177]"CORE: Direct Action, April 15, 1948," Notebook of Eyewitnesses; Stewart, "CORE: A Report of Direct Action"; Stewart to Houser, June 7, 1948, Executive Secretary's File, CORE Papers, Reel 13, Series 3.

business owners to retreat further into their protective shells of segregation. Perhaps it stopped too soon. Stannard wanted to continue sit-downs until Brick's desegregated, and he called the members "crazy" for not going back the next day. No one followed his lead, however. Radicalism, it seemed, had its limits even among liberal CORE members.[178]

In June 1948, Bell, Stewart, and Stannard graduated from KU while Elliott moved onto graduate studies in the Chemistry Department. Houser wrote to each, trying to stimulate further action. But the vital leadership necessary to CORE's continued success no longer was available. As well, the failure of the Brick's sit-down demoralized the organization, and CORE slipped into obscurity.[179]

World War II was the catalyst for an intellectual, moral reform community that arose and protested racial segregation in Lawrence. A community of civil rights workers employed different means to end segregation: the LLPD attempted to use education while CORE used more

---

[178]Elliott to author, August, 1992; Stewart to author, October 18, 1991.

[179]"Dear-----," Unsigned, Undated letter in the Elmer Rusco Papers; Houser to Stewart, May 13, 1948, Houser to Bell, June 3, 1948, Houser to Stannard, June 3, 1948, Stewart to Houser, June 7, 1948, Executive Secretary's File, CORE Papers, Reel 13, Series 3.

direct tactics. Neither was successful since both groups were inconsistent. Limits within LLPD's liberalism and CORE's radicalism in the end proved to be each's downfall.

CHAPTER FIVE

PROGRESS DELIVERED
1948-1961

The KU branch of CORE was typical of many CORE affiliates that historians August Meyer and Elliott Rudwick wrote about. It followed its year of "intense activity" with "decline and dissolution." The loss of vibrant leadership (Frank Stannard, Beth Bell, Robert Stewart, and Wesley Elliott) that George Houser had warned Elliott about in 1947 devastated an organization that had suffered, according to members, a crushing defeat at Brick's Cafe. Remaining CORE members attempted to desegregate student cafes, attempts that were futile. They tried, for example, to sell meal tickets for one dollar to reimburse those restaurants which desegregated in an attempt to compensate owners who anticipated economic losses due to desegregation. This failed because few people would buy the tickets and no restaurant agreed to desegregate.[180]

The increasingly conservative era and Senator Joseph McCarthy's investigative committee against suspected

---

[180]August Meyer and Elliott Rudwick, CORE: A Study in the Civil Rights Movement, 1942-1968, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 30; Wendell J. Walker to Friends, November 28, 1949, letter in the Rusco Papers; Untitled, Undated memo in the Elmer Rusco Papers; George Houser to Wesley Elliott, May 10, 1947, Executive Secretary's File, CORE Papers, Feel 13, Series 3.

Communists further aided CORE's demise. The nickname "King of the Communists" - as townspeople called VanderWerf and George Caldwell - became a liability for both. Possible FBI and KBI investigations of CORE for anti-American activity probably frightened students even more. It was no wonder that CORE curtailed its activities.[181]

Even with the demise of CORE, however, more progress toward eliminating racial barriers transpired during the next ten years than in the previous ninety. A new national atmosphere of successful legal challenges against segregation (for example, Brown vs. Topeka Board of Education) and protests against segregated transportation and service businesses in the South (especially the Montgomery Bus Boycott) aided that transformation. Locally, two individuals were responsible for the completing the progress CORE and the LLPD promised: Chancellor Franklin D. Murphy and basketball player Wilt Chamberlain.

Murphy was a Kansas alumnus who earned a medical degree in cardiology from the University of Pennsylvania. He studied in Germany with vascular physiologist, Dr.

---

[181]VanderWerf to author, May 13, 1992; George Caldwell to author, May 20, 1992; Beth Bell to George [Houser], August 13, 1947, in the Executive Secretary's File, CORE Papers, Reel 13, Series 3.

Hermann Rein, but Rein's arrest by the Nazis cut Murphy's training short. In 1948, Murphy became Dean, at the age of thirty eight, of the University of Kansas Medical School. He quickly eliminated on-campus segregation in the operating rooms and the nursing dormitories. He also began employing black technicians in the school's medical laboratories.[182]

When Murphy replaced Malott in 1951, KU and Lawrence were still rigidly segregated, but there had been some promising advances on campus. The pep organization, the Jay Janes, announced on the front page of the Kansan that "Negro Women May Join" their organization in 1949. The LLPD, remnants of CORE (namely, Elmer Rusco, John Eberhardt and Wendell Walker) as well as other state civil rights workers lobbied for and won a state commission on Fair Employment Practices (FEP). Rusco, Eberhardt, and Walker also attempted to end dormitory discrimination. They tried to file a lawsuit against the university with help from the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, the American Jewish Congress, and the American Civil Liberties Union. The university evaded the suit by desegregating a new women's dormitory. The Dean of Women,

---

[182]Heidi Pitts, "Racism and Reformation with Franklin Murphy," Unpublished paper in author's possession, Spring, 1992; Murphy to author and Heidi Pitts, April 7, 1992.

Margaret Habein, informed Rusco, as chairman of CORE, that a new girls' dormitory would be quietly integrated. CORE quickly dropped the proposed suit. Eberhardt did not think that the civil rights groups affected Habein's decision, but he thought that the interracial cooperatives may have made her job easier. Murphy's desegregation of the nursing dormitories at the Medical Center may have also facilitated the dormitory's desegregation.[183]

During this time, too, the Brown vs. The Topeka Board of Education United States Supreme Court decision captured the nation's attention. Supreme Court justices declared that separate-but-equal facilities were inherently unequal, thus striking down "Jim Crow" and Plessy vs. Ferguson (1896) statutes in education. The case also had ramifications for segregated or

---

[183]"Negro Women May Join Jay Janes," Kansan, March 8, 1949, p. 1; "Kansas Legislature Consider Work Discrimination Bill," LLPD Bulletin, 5:1(March, 1951), p. 1; Joseph B. Robinson, American Jewish Congress, to Elmer Rusco, August 24, 1949, Herbert M. Levy, American Civil Liberties Union, to Elmer Rusco, September 1, 1949, Constance Baker Motley, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. to Elmer Rusco, August 23, 1949, in the Rusco Papers. All letters provided Rusco information on establishing that segregation existed in the dormitories so that a court case could be then waged. There is no evidence that this suit went any further than these informational letters. See also Walker and Eberhardt, interview with author, December 17, 1992; Eberhardt, memo to author, December 15, 1992; Rusco to author, October 20, 1992.

exclusionary service businesses. Legal defense fundraisers had come to Lawrence to ask CORE and probably the LLPD to contribute, but CORE had no treasury to do so. There is no record of any LLPD contributions; however, the LLPD, in conjunction with KU's Law School, did bring Thurgood Marshall, the lead NAACP lawyer in the Brown case, to Lawrence to speak at a Brotherhood Banquet. At the time, none of them knew how pathbreaking the suit would be and they continued to focus on local concerns.[184]

At the same time, however, the era witnessed many disappointments and heartaches. The cooperatives either disbanded or implemented exclusionary policies during this era. In 1955, for example, the YWCA refused a black woman residence in Henley House.[185] Students also tried to begin a new civil rights group, the Jayhawk Brotherhood, but it failed almost before it started. The LLPD continued to focus more on talk rather than action.

---

[184]Elmer Rusco, interview with author, May 7, 1993; VanderWerf to author, May 13, 1992; Fields to author, December 19, 1992; "Marshall to Be Guest at Event on Brotherhood," clipping probably from the Kansan, found in the private papers of Professor and Mrs. J. Eldon Fields.

[185]Franklin Murphy gently threatened the YWCA's secretary that the next time a black woman was refused residence at the house, he would end university funding of the organization. Franklin D. Murphy to Mrs. William Allaway, June 25, 1955, in the Franklin D. Murphy Papers, University Archives.

Its major activities were still the newsletter and annual banquet and it conducted ineffectual protests against the town's segregated swimming pool. More importantly in 1955, Hilden Gibson, a mentor to many Jayhawk Cooperative residents, suffered an aneurysm and died.[186]

A stronger connection between the university and Lawrence had been established when the LLPD and CORE protested the town's segregation. When Franklin Murphy became chancellor, it seemed to him that the chancellor's job was to make sure Lawrence reflected the progressive ideals of the university. He focused on Lawrence's public accommodations after a barber denied an African exchange student a hair cut. Murphy was decidedly protective of his students, and he took matters into his own hands after threats of a possible "international situation" with the student's native country did not weaken the barber's resolve to remain segregated. The barber complained that he could not tell an African from an African American. Murphy then threatened to open an campus barbershop if Lawrence barbers did not desegregate. The barbers knew that if they lost KU student business, they faced a bigger economic

---

[186]Walker and Eberhardt to author, December 17, 1992; Eberhardt, memo to author, December 15, 1992; Veda Gibson to Deborah Altus, March 5, 1990.

catastrophe than if they desegregated. At the same time, Murphy urged students to patronize the owner of a shop who agreed to desegregate on a trial basis. The owner, according to Murphy, soon had so much business that he had to hire a new barber. Murphy then levied the same threats against theater and restaurant owners: he would show first-run movies at KU for a dime and sell cheap hamburgers to the entire town if theaters and restaurants did not desegregate.[187]

Desegregation was not that simple, however, and it took another important factor - basketball - to topple racial boundaries. In 1950, La Vonnes Squires quietly became the first black basketball player at KU. No evidence in the University Archives and no articles in the Kansan showed what a dramatic step this was for the Athletic Department. KU won a national basketball championship in 1952 with the help of Squires who was a reserve player. Segregation in town, however, remained after Squires arrived. Desegregation of restaurants, barbershops, and theaters would await another player whose play was crucial to a national championship.[188]

---

[187]Franklin Murphy, telephone interview with author, November 20, 1991; Murphy to author, April 7, 1992.

[188]Pitts, "Racism and Reform"; Brad Pitts, "A Haircut and a History Lesson," Kansan, February 25, 1993, p. 1.

In 1955, Phog Allen found the player who would help win that championship: Wilt Chamberlain. Allen mounted a concerted effort to lure the seven-foot tall Philadelphian to KU. He recruited prominent African-American alumni, Etta Moten, the Broadway singer, and Kansas City Call editor, Dowdal Davis, to facilitate his "get Wilt" campaign. Moten wrote Chamberlain "extolling the virtues of a U. of K. education for Negroes." Davis, who wanted a national "Negro figure for his old school," was not "particular about how things desegregated" just as long as the school did. Allen also recruited Cal VanderWerf to visit the Chamberlain family in Philadelphia. VanderWerf spent an evening lauding the virtues of a KU education to Chamberlain's mother. When he left, Mrs. Chamberlain said, "We've had alums and coaches visit us. You are the first teacher to visit us." Chamberlain eventually chose KU, and VanderWerf was his faculty advisor for the three years Chamberlain attended KU.[189]

Chamberlain received offers from hundreds of schools, but refused to attend any school where he would suffer racial segregation. Therefore, segregation in Lawrence had to end if Chamberlain came to KU. Not only

---

[189]Fields, interview with author, December 19, 1992; VanderWerf to author, May 13, 1992.

did Murphy work behind the scenes to end segregation, but Phog Allen, ever the pragmatist and possibly in response to the national atmosphere, reversed himself and spoke to business owners. Chamberlain still found segregation, however, when he came to KU in 1955 and embarked on a personal campaign to desegregate "every restaurant within a forty mile radius."[190]

Chamberlain's attendance at KU and play on the basketball team proved an economic boom for Lawrence. That year, the team moved from Hoch Auditorium, where the seating capacity was 3,000, to the new Allen Fieldhouse, which sat 17,000. Chamberlain packed the auditorium every time he played, both as a freshman and a varsity player. Many attending came from out of town, and some began calling the I-70 Turnpike outside Lawrence, the "turnpike that Wilt Built." What restaurant owner after that would refuse to serve Chamberlain?[191]

By 1959, Murphy and Chamberlain had successfully integrated varsity athletics and many Lawrence business.

---

[190]VanderWerf to author, May 13, 1992; Wilt Chamberlain with David Shaw, Just Like Any Black Seven Foot Millionaire Who Lives Next Door (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1973); See Walker and Eberhardt to author, December 17, 1992, for information on Phog Allen's participation in desegregating Lawrence.

[191]Murphy to author, November 20, 1991; "Allen Field House Seats 17,000," University Daily Kansan, November 18, 1955, p. 6.

Although substantial parts of the University of Kansas and Lawrence remained segregated, Murphy and Chamberlain delivered in the 1950s some of the progress promised by 1940s reform organizations. When Murphy left in 1961, however, attacks against segregation again raged in Lawrence. This time, protests emulated Martin Luther King's nationwide movement. Segregated taverns and bowling alleys were targets as were fraternities and sororities which still excluded all black students as well as other minority students.[192]

---

[192]Memo on Discrimination, December 14, 1959, Dean of Men's Files, University Archives, quoted in Pitts, "Racism and Reform"; "Tavern Sit-In Here Brings No Legal Measures," Lawrence Journal-World, January 13, 1961, quoted in Pitts, "Racism and Reform."

EPILOGUE

For those who participated in the University of Kansas civil rights movements in the 1940s, such activism remained an enduring influence on them throughout their lives. Frank Stannard lived in Flint, Michigan, and worked in a United Auto Workers' cooperative grocery store. Until his death from cancer in Fall 1990, Stannard refused to sell his home in Flint even though its value plummeted as his neighborhood became an African-American ghetto.[193]

Wesley Elliott, (M.S., 1949, Ph.D., 1952, University of Kansas) is now a professor of chemistry at Fisk University. He and his wife were leaders in civil rights protests in Tallahassee and Nashville during the 1950s and 1960s. Both Elliott and his wife were supposed to meet with Martin Luther King in both places, but bomb threats kept them apart for King's safety.[194]

Although no one knows what happened to Beth Bell, she probably moved South after her graduation and marriage. Norma Bishop remembered that when Bell visited KU in the late 1940s, she expressed her discomfort with

---

[193]Olmsted to author, September 6, 1991; Eberhardt to author, December 15, 1992.

[194]I.W. Elliott to author, August, 1992.

the South's racial policies. She died in an automobile accident in the early 1950s.[195]

Elmer Rusco (Ph.D., Berkeley, 1960), earned his Masters in Political Science from KU and wrote his masters thesis on the passage of the Kansas Fair Employment Practices Commission. Now professor emeritus of political science at the University of Nevada, Reno, he remains active in minority affairs for the state of Nevada. [196]

George Caldwell, who earned a Masters in Political Science from Harvard and a Library Science degree from Columbia University, now works for the Library of Congress.[197]

The Lawrence League for the Practice of Democracy disbanded in 1965, and George Caldwell, its president at that time, deposited the organization's records in the Kansas Collection in the Spencer Research Library at KU. But the LLPD's legacy lives on; the cooperative interracial nursery school it began still operates on

---

[195]Bishop to author, May 16, 1992; Rusco to author, October 20, 1992.

[196]Elmer Rusco to author, correspondence and curriculum vitae in author's possession, October 20, 1992.

[197]Caldwell to author, May 16, 1992; Caldwell to author, November 13, 1992.

Maine Street in Lawrence.[198]

John Eberhardt and Wendell Walker both earned their Masters from KU. Walker wrote his thesis on the Consumers Cooperative Association in Kansas; as he said, "This was a way of life for us." Eberhardt was LLPD secretary from 1951 until 1953. Both Walker and Eberhardt live in Denver and continue to espouse the liberal ideals that motivated their participation in the 1940s and 1950s. During an interview, for example, both expressed their displeasure and "embarrassment" at the recent passage of anti-gay legislation in Colorado, their home state.[199]

Octavia (Walker) Burton moved to Seattle where she was involved in mental health and educational services in and around the Seattle area until her retirement.[200]

Stan Kelly earned his Ph.D. in political science from Johns Hopkins University and is now a professor at Princeton University.[201]

Cal and Rachel VanderWerf remained in Lawrence until Hope College in Michigan hired him as its president in

---

[198]VanderWerf to author, May 13, 1992; Jane Kleinberg to author, November 25, 1992.

[199]Walker and Eberhardt to author, December 17, 1992.

[200]Octavia Walker Burton to author, July 31, 1993.

[201]George Caldwell, correspondence with author, February 10, 1993; Elmer Rusco, telephone interview with author, March 12, 1993.

1963. They later moved to Gainesville, Florida where VanderWerf was the Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Florida. He died in 1988. Mrs. VanderWerf still lives in Gainesville.[202]

****

After reconstructing the environment and finding the ideas that provided a basis for students and faculty to participate in a liberal and radical civil rights movement in the 1940s, it was no surprise that their ideals followed them throughout their lives. Because of the particularly influential impact that the war especially had on this civil rights community, civil rights historians must acknowledge the importance of World War II and its attendant ideology. It forced larger numbers of white and black Americans to question segregation and attack it years before Martin Luther King led protesters against segregation in the South. Historians simply cannot understand King's successes without placing them in the context of earlier movements.

We also must acknowledge the importance, especially in local areas, of the rhetoric and symbols of interracial cooperation and the ways reformers used those

---

[202]VanderWerf to author, May 13, 1992.

democratic and religious symbols to further redefine their cause. Before the war, only whites enjoyed first-class citizenship; during and after the war, one could no longer deny that all Americans deserved service in restaurants, participation in athletics, and any seat any in a movie theater. Groups like KU's Committee on Racial Equality, the Lawrence League for the Practice of Democracy, and the interracial cooperative housing movement, which built on the successes of the generation of students during the war, sent a loud and clear message that segregation was wrong. Cultural perspectives like Clifford Geertz' allow historians to become part of students' and faculties' daily lives to find shared meanings and values. In this case, shared values of democracy and religion along with World War II were catalysts for Lawrence's moral reformers.

Were CORE and its counterparts successful in eliminating segregation? Probably not. Were they part of a national reform movement that eventually was successful? Definitely. Elmer Rusco saw KU-CORE and its national and branch compatriots as "part of one of the most successful moral reform movements in American history. It is impossible to tell how much impact our efforts may have made in changing views on racial discrimination in Kansas, but I hope we had some long-

range impact." Wesley Elliott said groups like CORE "provided one mechanism to enlist white people in this struggle and a philosophy and method that proved successful in India." John Eberhardt, however, said it best:

> Did our efforts speed up the rate of change? It's hard to say. One thing I do feel confident about. I doubt if any member of the University community (or the broader Lawrence community for that matter) in the late 1940's could ignore racial issues if at all politically or socially conscious. Whatever attitudes and views may have been held, the fact of discrimination had at least to be confronted. That's no mean accomplishment in itself.[203]

---

[203]Elliott to author, August, 1992; Rusco to author, October 20, 1992; Eberhardt memo to author, December 15, 1992.

APPENDIX ONE

SONG INDEX

"Atomic Showers" (to the tune of "April Showers")

Our children may be purple, green or blue
Born radioactive and I'm in love with you
Genes may leave their chromosomes
But our home will be so sweet
We will hear the patter of the monsters' feet
Our honeymoon will be a vision trip for you
Born radioactive and I'm in love with you.

Atomic Showers may come your way
You're here in April and gone in May
And though it's raining, have no regrets
It'll flatten out your lousy shack and liquidate your debts
You'll see the mushroom cloud up on the hill
No need to buy a shroud, just find a still
And keep on looking for the A-Bomb
and listening for its sound
You may be worried but not for long.

"Oh Chromosome" (to the tune of "O Tannenbaum")

Oh chromosome, Oh chromosome
How fateful is thy mission!
Thy giveth life variety
Obtained by simple fission!
(Unintelligible) antiquity
thou giveth my heredity
Oh chromosome, Oh chromosome
How fateful is thy mission!

"Untitled" (to the tune of "On Top of Old Smoky")

On top of the motion, the substitute for
the alternative motion was lost on the floor.
The amendment's amended, the commission did dread
and our parliamentarian was shot in the head.
On top of the Robert's, we're pledging our
(unintelligible)
And what do you scream for? The rules of the day!
The special permission we wisely do spurn

Oh please Mr. Chairman, we want to adjourn.

"Untitled" (to the tune of "Give Me That Old Time Religion")

Give me that old coop spirit
Give me that old coop spirit
Give me that old coop spirit
It's good enough for you

Give me that good old coop spirit
Give me that good old coop spirit
Give me that good old coop spirit
It's good enough for me.

It was good for the Rochdale Weavers
It was good for the Rochdale Weavers
It was good for the Rochdale Weavers
It's good enough for me.

It was good enough for old NASCAL
It was good enough for old NASCAL
It was good enough for old NASCAL
It's good enough for me.

It was good enough for Jerry Boise (?)
It was good enough for Jerry Boise
It was good enough for Jerry Boise
It's good enough for me.

"Untitled" (to the tune of "Glory, Glory, Hallelujah")

We are a mighty army though we bear no sword or gun
We're enlisted in the struggle for cooperations one
And beneath our banner glazing, one for all and all for one
Consumers marching on!

Come and let us work together
Come and let us work together
Come and let us work together
Consumers marching on!

Oh, we know our plan is righteous
and we know our cause is just!
Oh, what fun the Bible has of men we firmly base our trust
Oh, let us strive to win the victory for when we do and must

Consumers marching on!

Oh, let us work together
Come and let us work together
Come and let us work together
Consumers marching on!

Source: Luther Buchele, interview (and songfest) with Deborah Altus, November 7, 1992, transcript in author's possession.

"Uncle Joe is Coming to Town" (to the tune of "Santa Claus is Coming to Town")

You better watch out
You better not cry
Bourgeoisie is going to die
Uncle Joe is coming to town.

Source: Wendell J. Walker and John Eberhardt, interview with author, December 17, 1992.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Resources:

University Archives, Spencer Research Libraries, University of Kansas:
1. Committee on Racial Equality Papers
2. Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Association of the University of Kansas Papers
3. Chancellor Frank Strong Papers
4. Chancellor Ernest H. Lindley Papers
5. Chancellor Deane W. Malott Papers
6. Chancellor Franklin Murphy Papers

Kansas Collection, Spencer Research Libraries, University of Kansas:
1. The Jesse Milan Papers
2. The Lawrence League for the Practice of Democracy Papers
3. The Plymouth Congregational Church Papers

Watson Library, University of Kansas:
1. University Daily Kansan, microfilm copies.
2. The Lawrence Daily Journal-World, microfilm copies.
3. The Papers of the Congress on Racial Equality, microfilm copies.

Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, KS.:
1. Governor Payne Ratner Papers
2. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Papers, Lawrence Branch

Dissertations and Unpublished Student Papers:
1. Franke, Carrie, "Injustice Sheltered: Race Relations at the University of illinois and Champaign-Urbana," Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana, 1990.
2. Janken, Kenneth Robert, "The Life of Rayford W. Logan," Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Rutgers The State University of New Jersey, 1991.
3. Cain, Bridget, "Henley House Cooperative, 1945-1955," Unpublished Student Paper, Spring, 1992.
4. Pitts, Heidi, "Racism and Reform with Franklin Murphy," Unpublished Student Paper, Spring, 1992.
5. Rusco, Elmer, "The Great Books, Multiculturalism,

Political Correctness and Related Matters," Unpublished Paper, July 13, 1992.
6. Schick, Kaethe, "The Don Henry Case: Red Scare at K.U.," Unpublished Student Paper, Spring, 1972.

Interviews:
1. Norma Bishop, May 16, 1992.
2. Helen Lindquist Bonny, April 14, 1992.
3. Luther Buchele to Deborah Altus, November 7, 1992.
4. Octavia Walker Burton, July 31, 1993.
5. George Caldwell, May 17, 1992.
6. George Caldwell, November 13, 1992.
7. George Caldwell, correspondence, February 10, 1993.
8. John Eberhardt, memo, December 15, 1992.
9. Irwin Wesley Elliott, correspondence, August, 1992.
10. Shirley Elliott, correspondence, January 27, 1993.
11. Professor and Mrs. J. Eldon Fields, December 19, 1992.
12. Veda Gibson to Deborah Altus, March 5, 1990.
13. Clifford Griffin, February 23, 1993.
14. George Houser, September 26, 1993.
15. Glen Kappelman, March 17, 1992.
16. Jane Kleinberg, November 25, 1992.
17. Reverend Jonathan Knight, February 26, 1992.
18. Jesse Milan, September 9, 1991.
19. Franklin Murphy, telephone interview, November 20, 1991.
20. Franklin Murphy, April 7, 1992.
21. Raymond Nichols, October 30, 1991.
22. Greg Olmsted, September 6, 1991.
23. C. Kermit Phelps to Mary Kate Tews, June, 1988.
24. Richard Raney, November 7, 1991.
25. Elmer Rusco, October 20, 1992.
26. Elmer and Mary Jo Rusco, May, 1993.
27. Robert Stewart, telephone interview, October 18, 1991.
28. Rachel VanderWerf, telephone interview, May 13, 1992.
29. Wendell Walker and John Eberhardt, December 17, 1992.
30. Theodore Wilson, February 24, 1993.

Secondary Sources:

1. Branch, Taylor, Parting the Waters: America in the King Years (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988).
2. Capecci, Dominic J., The Harlem Riot of 1943 (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1977).
3. Dalfiume, Richard, Desegregation of the United States Armed Forces: Fighting on Two Fronts, 1939-1953 (Columbia, MO.: University of Missouri Press, 1969).

4. ----------, "The Forgotten Years of the Negro Revolution," Journal of American History, 55:1(June, 1968), 90-106.
5. Griffin, Clifford, The University of Kansas: A History (Lawrence, KS.: University of Kansas Press, 1974).
6. Hamby, Alonzo, Beyond the New Deal: Harry S. Truman and American Liberalism. New York: Columbia University Press, 1973.
7. ----------, Liberalism and its Challengers: Franklin Delano Roosevelt to Reagan. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.
8. Heffner, Richard D., A Documentary History of the United States (New York: New American Library, 1985).
9. Korstad, Robert and Neil Lichenstein, "Opportunities Found and Lost: Labor, Radicals, and the Early Civil Rights Movement," Journal of American History, 75:3(December, 1988), 786-811.
10.McCoy, Donald and Richard T. Ruetten, Quest and Response: Minority Rights and the Truman Administration (Lawrence, KS.: University of Kansas Press, 1973).
11.Meier, August and Elliott Rudwick, CORE: A Study in the Civil Rights Movements, 1942-1968 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973).
12.Myrdal, Gunnar, An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy (New York: Harper Brothers Publishing, 1944).
13.Sitkoff, Harvard, A New Deal for Blacks: the Emergence of Civil Rights as a National Issue, Volume I: The Depression Decade (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978).
14.----------, "The Preconditions for Racial Change," in Sitkoff and Chafe, ed., A History of Our Time (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).
15.Wynn, Neil, The Afro-American and the Second World War (London: Paul Elek, 1976).